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ICCS 2009 Asian report : civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among lower-secondary students in five Asian countries

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ICCS 2009 Asian Report

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Julian Fraillon
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Università degli Studi Roma Tre
Laboratorio di Pedagogia sperimentale

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The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, known as IEA, is an independent, international consortium of national research institutions and governmental research agencies, with headquarters in Amsterdam. Its primary purpose is to conduct large-scale comparative studies of educational achievement with the aim of gaining more in-depth understanding of the effects of policies and practices within and across systems of education.

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Foreword

Since the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in the late 1990s, educational researchers and policy-makers have increasingly recognized the regional context as an important aspect of civic and citizenship education and the way in which people undertake their role as citizens. In recognition of this development, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) initiated in its International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) regional modules for Asia, Europe, and Latin America as part of the study. Within each module, ICCS researchers developed regional student instruments that were administered to sampled Grade 8 students after they had completed the international test and questionnaire.

IEA is an independent, international cooperative of national research agencies, which, for over 50 years, has conducted large-scale comparative studies of educational achievement and reported on key aspects of education systems and processes. IEA carried out ICCS over the period from 2006 to 2010, with most of the data collection taking place during 2008/2009.

Five Asian countries involved in ICCS took part in the Asian regional module. Their participation involved gathering data from almost 24,000 students in their eighth year of schooling in approximately 700 schools. These student data were augmented, where relevant, by contextual data collected from teachers, school principals, and the study's national research centers.

The *ICCS 2009 Asian Report* presents results of analyses designed to investigate a number of important aspects of civic and citizenship education in Asia, such as characteristics of the individual citizen underpinning the notion of "Asian citizenship," students' perceptions of the role of government and its responsibilities, and students' views on the legal system and preservation of national traditional culture. The results are based on data collected through the regional student questionnaire and, where relevant, the international instruments.

This current report follows two international reports and the European and Latin American regional reports in the ICCS publication series. It will be followed by an ICCS encyclopedia on approaches to civic and citizenship education in participating countries. In addition, IEA published a technical report documenting procedures and providing evidence of the high quality of the data that were collected, and an international database that the broader research community can use for secondary analyses.

The ICCS and its regional modules were coordinated by the international study center (ISC) team at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) in Melbourne, Australia, in cooperation with other members of the ICCS consortium: the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) in Slough, the United Kingdom; the Laboratorio di Pedagogia Sperimentale (LPS) at the Roma Tre University in Rome, Italy; the IEA Secretariat; the IEA Data Processing and Research Center; and the national coordinators of the project. Members of the ICCS Project Advisory Committee and other consultants assisted with the study in its successive stages.

The development of the Asian regional instrument was directed by Julian Fraillon from the ISC at ACER and followed the recommendations of an expert group of advisors from the national research centers of the Asian countries participating in the project. They also reviewed a draft of this report and provided valuable comments. I would like to express thanks, on behalf of IEA, to all of them.



Special thanks go to the authors of the report: Julian Fraillon, Wolfram Schulz, and John Ainley. We are grateful to Professor David Grossman (East-West Center, Hawaii, United States) and Professor Judith Torney-Purta (University of Maryland, United States) who, as expert reviewers, provided valuable comments on the draft version of the report. The IEA Publication and Editorial Committee provided helpful suggestions for improvement of earlier versions of the report. Katy Ellsworth and Paula Wagemaker edited the document and contributed greatly to its final form.

IEA studies rely on national teams headed by the national research coordinators who manage and execute the study at the national level. Their contribution is highly appreciated. Also, no cross-national study of educational achievement, such as ICCS, would be possible without the participation of the many students, teachers, school administrators, and policy-makers involved. The education world benefits from their commitment.

Finally, I would like to thank the study's funders. A project of this size is not possible without considerable financial support. Funding for the Asian module of ICCS was assured by the ministries of education of the participating countries.

Dr Hans Wagemaker

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, IEA



Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	3
<i>List of tables and figures</i>	7
Executive summary	9
Chapter 1: Introduction	13
Background to ICCS and the Asian regional module	13
Overview of the Asian report	19
Chapter 2: Contexts for civic and citizenship education in Asian ICCS countries	21
Characteristics of participating Asian ICCS countries	21
Background and aims of civic and citizenship education	24
Approaches to civic and citizenship education	27
Levels of civic knowledge	29
Summary	32
Chapter 3: Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of governments and the law	33
Students' trust in civic institutions	34
Students' perceptions of government in their country	35
Students' perceptions of integrity in legal systems	39
Associations between civic knowledge and attitudes	40
Summary	43
Chapter 4: Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of public officials	45
Students' attitudes toward corruption in public service	45
Students' views of the importance of personal morality for holding political office	47
Students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office	48
Associations between students' attitudes and civic knowledge	52
Summary	53
Chapter 5: Students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship	55
Students' attitudes toward preservation of traditional culture and obedience to authorities	55
Associations between students' attitudes and civic knowledge	60
Students' perceptions of Asian identity and good citizenship	61
Summary	67
Chapter 6: Conclusion	69
National contexts for civic and citizenship education in Asia	69
Students' views on the role and responsibilities of government and the law in Asia	70
Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of public officials	70
Students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship	71
Research implications	71

Appendices	75
Appendix A: Instrument design, samples, and participation rates	75
Appendix B: Percentiles and standard deviations for civic knowledge	78
Appendix C: The scaling of questionnaire items	79
Appendix D: Item-by-score maps for questionnaire scale	80
Appendix E: Organizations and individuals involved in ICCS	87
References	93



List of tables and figures

Tables

Table 1.1: ICCS Asian regional questionnaire constructs	16
Table 2.1: Selected demographic and economic characteristics of Asian ICCS countries	22
Table 2.2: Selected political characteristics of Asian ICCS countries	23
Table 2.3: Selected education characteristics of Asian ICCS countries	24
Table 2.4: Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curriculum for lower-secondary education in Asian ICCS countries	27
Table 2.5: National averages for civic knowledge scores, average age, standard deviations, and percentile graph for Asian ICCS countries	30
Table 2.6: Gender differences in civic knowledge among students from Asian ICCS countries	31
Table 3.1: National percentages for students' trust in various civic institutions	35
Table 3.2: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the role of government in society	36
Table 3.3: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about authoritarian or paternalistic conduct by government	38
Table 3.4: National averages for students' acceptance of authoritarian government practices by gender	39
Table 3.5: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the integrity of the legal system	41
Table 3.6: National averages for students' perceptions of the integrity of the legal system by gender	42
Table 3.7: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groups of students' attitudes toward authoritarian government and their perceptions of the legal system	43
Table 4.1: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about corruption in public service	46
Table 4.2: National averages for students' attitudes toward corruption in public service	47
Table 4.3: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the personal morality of politicians	49
Table 4.4: National averages for students' attitudes toward the personal morality of politicians	50
Table 4.5: National percentages for students' agreement with the use of personal connections to hold public office	51
Table 4.6: National averages for students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office by gender	52
Table 4.7: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' attitudes toward corruption in the public service, toward personal morality of politicians, and toward use of personal connections to hold public office	53
Table 5.1: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the preservation of traditional culture	57
Table 5.2: National averages for students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture by gender	58
Table 5.3: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the preservation of traditional culture	59
Table 5.4: National averages for students' attitudes toward obedience to authorities by gender	60



Table 5.5: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' attitudes toward preserving traditional culture and toward obedience to authority	61
Table 5.6: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about sense of Asian identity	63
Table 5.7: National averages for students' sense of Asian identity by gender	64
Table 5.8: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about good citizenship	65
Table 5.9: National averages for students' perceptions of the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship by gender	66
Table 5.10: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' sense of Asian identity and perceptions of good citizenship	66

Figure

Figure 1.1: Asian countries participating in ICCS 2009	17
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Tables Appendices

Table A.1: ICCS test booklet design	75
Table A.2: Coverage of ICCS 2009 Asian target population	75
Table A.3: Participation rates and sample sizes for student survey	76
Table A.4: Participation rates and sample sizes for teacher survey	77
Table B.1: Percentiles of civic knowledge	78

Figures Appendices

Figure D.1: Example of questionnaire item-by-score map	80
Figure 3.1: Item-by-score-map for students' acceptance of authoritarian government practices	81
Figure 3.2: Item-by-score-map for students' perceptions of the integrity of the legal system	81
Figure 4.1: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward corruption in public service	82
Figure 4.2: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward personal morality of politicians	82
Figure 4.3: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office	83
Figure 5.1: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture	84
Figure 5.2: Item-by-score-map for students' attitudes toward obedience to authority	84
Figure 5.3: Item-by-score-map for students' sense of Asian identity	85
Figure 5.4: Item-by-score-map for students' perceptions of good citizenship	86



Executive summary

About the ICCS Asian regional module

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) focused on the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens. Preparing students for citizenship involves developing relevant knowledge and understanding as well as encouraging the formation of positive attitudes toward being a citizen. The conceptual background for and the design of ICCS are described in the ICCS Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008).

Regional contexts are important for civic and citizenship education because they shape how people undertake their roles as citizens. ICCS included regional modules in Europe, Latin America, and Asia as well as the core international survey. This report describes results from the ICCS Asian regional module. Five countries from the Asian region participated in ICCS: Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand. All five participated in the Asian regional module. Each country is located in either eastern or southeastern Asia. This Asian report should be read as complementary to and within the context of the ICCS international reports (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010a, 2010b).

The findings reported in this publication are based on data gathered from random samples of 23,654 students in their eighth year of schooling in 667 schools from the five Asian ICCS countries. These findings are mainly based on the regional student survey but they also make reference to data derived from the international instruments. It is important to note that using the term “Asian” to describe the five participating countries is partly a convenience based on geography and that the cultural and historical heterogeneity within this group should therefore be acknowledged.

The ICCS Asian regional module investigated a number of region-specific aspects of civic and citizenship education. It recognized the diverse national contexts in which civic and citizenship education were taking place at the time of the ICCS 2009 survey. This diversity covered social, economic, and demographic characteristics, educational policies and curricula, as well as the extent and distribution of students’ civic knowledge and understanding.

In the five Asian ICCS countries, ICCS investigated students’ views on the role and responsibilities of the government and the law in those countries, including trust in institutions, acceptance of authoritarian government practices, and beliefs in the integrity of the legal system. It described and analyzed students’ perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of public officials, including acceptance of using public office for personal benefit, as well as students’ views on the importance of personal morality for politicians, and the use of personal connections for holding public office. ICCS also explored students’ attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship, including support for the preservation of their countries’ traditional culture and for obedience to authority, their sense of Asian identity, and their views on the importance of morality and spirituality for being a good citizen.

Contexts for civic and citizenship education

There was considerable heterogeneity in the national contexts for civic and citizenship education in the five Asian ICCS countries. Most indicators suggested that there was a higher level of economic development for three countries (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea) but only medium development for the other two countries (Indonesia and Thailand). This pattern was reflected in characteristics of the political system, such as voter turnout, voting age, and the number of political parties in parliament. There was also variation in the place of civic and citizenship education in national curricula. However, only two countries reported that civic and citizenship education had high priority in their current education developments.



ICCS data also revealed a particular focus on concepts of character development and morality in civic and citizenship education in addition to the more common concepts of democratic citizenship and understandings of human rights. Results from the ICCS civic knowledge test indicated differences among these countries. Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea, were among the top four ICCS countries in terms of average student test scores. In contrast, student scores on civic knowledge in Indonesia and Thailand were relatively low compared to the scores of the other ICCS countries.

Students' views on government and the law in Asia

Overall, the level of trust that students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed with respect to national government, local government, and political parties was similar to that expressed by students in other ICCS countries. However, students in Indonesia and Thailand expressed much higher levels of trust in national and local governments, their parliaments, and political parties than did students in the other three Asian ICCS countries. Indonesia and Thailand had the highest proportions of students who accepted authoritarian government practices when it could be seen as facilitating social and economic goals. Within each country, acceptance of authoritarian government practices was negatively associated with civic knowledge. Whereas in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea few students endorsed authoritarian conduct by governments, their peers in Indonesia and Thailand were more accepting of this conduct if it was seen to facilitate social and economic goals.

High percentages of students expressed confidence in the integrity of national legal systems in terms of fairness, equality before the law, and lack of corruption. However, a majority of students in Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand also believed that governments intervened in court decisions, and large percentages of students believed that the law favored those who have money and power.

Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of public officials

Most students in Asian ICCS countries agreed that personal morality is an important characteristic of political leaders. Fewer than half of the students accepted corruption in public service or the use of personal connections to hold public office. However, there were differences regarding students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections (*guanxi* in the Chinese context) in public office. Although few students in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea accepted the use of public office for personal benefit or as the basis for political support, there were large percentages of students in Indonesia and Thailand who accepted these practices. In general, male students expressed greater acceptance of these practices than female students. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less accepting of corrupt practices or the use of personal connections by people in public office and were more supportive of statements highlighting the importance of personal morality among politicians.

Students' attitudes to Asian identity and citizenship

Most students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed support for the preservation of traditional cultures. The strongest support came from Indonesian and Thai students. Similar patterns were evident with respect to obedience to authority. Students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional cultures had a weak but positive association with civic knowledge. Conversely, a slight negative association was found between students' beliefs in the necessity of obeying authority figures and civic knowledge.



Students across all five Asian ICCS countries expressed a strong sense of Asian identity, and there was little variation in this regard across countries and little difference between boys and girls. Majorities of students also agreed that personal morality and strong spirituality were essential elements of good citizenship.

Conclusions

The ICCS Asian regional module adopted a perspective on civics and citizenship that is complementary to the international study. This particular perspective emphasized personal morality and character development as integral to civic and citizenship education. The results of the survey indicated that students in all five countries agreed that morality (which is a common focus of civic and citizenship education across the five countries) was a critical aspect of “good” citizenship and regarded morality as an important aspect of political leadership. In addition, students in all five Asian ICCS countries showed a strong sense of “Asian identity”. There was support for extending government responsibilities into personal and moral domains. Students were, however, less supportive of authoritarian conduct by government. The finding that rejection of authoritarian government practices, corruption in the public service, and use of personal connections to hold public office were positively associated with student civic knowledge suggests that an improvement in civic learning may help strengthen democracy and civil societies.



CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

This report describes results from the Asian regional module of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). The five countries¹ from the Asian region that participated in the international study—Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand—also participated in the Asian regional module. Each of these countries is located in either eastern or southeastern Asia. The report focuses on aspects of particular relevance for this geographic region, and should be viewed as part of the broader set of publications from ICCS (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010a, 2010b).

ICCS investigated the ways in which countries prepare their young people to undertake their roles as citizens. It studied student knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship as well as student attitudes, perceptions, and activities related to civics and citizenship. It also examined differences among countries in relation to these outcomes of civic and citizenship education, and it explored how differences among countries relate to student characteristics, school and community contexts, and national characteristics. As part of this international study, many countries participated in regional modules designed to address region-specific aspects of civic and citizenship education in Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

The Asian regional module aimed to gather data on a number of region-specific aspects of civics and citizenship that related to the general assessment framework for ICCS (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008) but were not included in the international instruments. The regional student questionnaire (its constructs and the items intended to measure those constructs) was developed through collaboration between researchers from the five participating Asian ICCS countries and the ICCS international study center (ISC). This report not only presents findings from the regional data collection but also draws on data collected through the international student instruments. It examines variation among the five participating countries and compares regional findings with international results.

Background to ICCS and the Asian regional module

Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework and design of ICCS builds on previous IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) studies of civic education, including the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED), carried out in 1999 (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002; Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Hong Kong (SAR) was the only education system from Asia that participated in CIVED. It also participated in the ICCS international study as well as in the Asian regional module.

As already noted, the general purpose of the ICCS regional modules was to collect and report on data concerned with civic-related contents and concepts deemed to be of particular relevance or significance to participating countries in a given geographical region but not represented in the international instruments and reports. The ICCS European regional module emphasized content and concepts relating to the institutions and social conditions relevant to the European Union, whereas the Latin American regional module emphasized content and concepts relating to public institutions and government as well as peaceful coexistence. The content and concepts included in the ICCS Asian regional module focused on a set of

¹ Several of the ICCS participants (such as, in the East Asia region, Hong Kong SAR) are distinct education systems within countries. We use the term “country” in this report to refer to both the countries and the systems within countries that participated in the study.



civic characteristics that, according to scholars from the region, underpins Asian citizenship and which all five participating Asian ICCS countries emphasize in their civic and citizenship education.

The data presented in this report should not be interpreted as being representative of Asia as a whole. Rather, this information allows us to explore some of the similarities and differences that appear in the profiles of student data across the five countries. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge that using the term “Asian” to describe the five participating countries is partly a convenience based on geography. Recognition must be given to the cultural and historical heterogeneity within and across them. For example, while Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea all have a common background in Confucianism, Indonesia is characterized primarily by an Islamic culture and Thailand mainly by Buddhism.

When discussing specific notions of Asian citizenship, Lee (2004a) recognizes the Western origin of the general concept of citizenship education but also identifies three distinctive features in Asian approaches to citizenship education: harmony in relations with others, spirituality, and the individual’s relationship to society. In their review of case studies of citizenship education across the Asia-Pacific region, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) conclude that given the many cultural, political, and social differences among the countries, we cannot assume a single Asian identity in regard to this area of education.

In addition to noting the various adaptations these countries have made with respect to Western values, in particular those relating to political institutions, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) discern specific Asian views of citizenship held by the five countries that anyone studying civic and citizenship education in these countries should take into account. According to the authors’ analysis, an important commonality is the rejection of certain Western values when they conflict with local traditional values. The Western notion of individualism, where independence and self-reliance are dominant values, is a case in point.

Assessment framework and research questions

The ICCS assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008) contains the general research questions that guided ICCS. The questions are concerned with (a) variations in civic knowledge, (b) changes in civic content knowledge since 1999, (c) whether and the extent to which students are interested in and disposed toward engaging in public and political life, (d) perceptions of threats to civil society, (e) features of education systems, schools, and classrooms that relate to civic and citizenship education, and (f) aspects of student background that relate to the outcomes of civic and citizenship education.

The ICCS assessment framework distinguishes four content domains: civic society and systems,² civic principles,³ civic participation,⁴ and civic identities.⁵ Each of these content domains includes a set of subdomains that incorporate elements referred to as aspects and key concepts. Student perceptions and behaviors relevant to civics and citizenship draw from four

2 *Civic society and systems* consists of three subdomains: citizens (roles, rights, responsibilities, and opportunities), state institutions (central to civic governance and legislation), and civil institutions (these mediate citizens’ contact with state institutions and allow citizens to pursue many of their roles in their societies).

3 *Civic principles* consists of three subdomains: equity (all people having the right to fair and just treatment), freedom (of belief, of speech, from fear, and from want), and social cohesion (sense of belonging, connectedness, and common vision held by individuals and communities within a society).

4 *Civic participation* consists of three subdomains: decision-making (organizational governance and voting), influencing (debating, demonstrating, developing proposals, and selective purchasing), and community participation (volunteering, participating in organizations, keeping informed).

5 *Civic identities* consists of two subdomains: civic self-image (individuals’ experience of place in each of their civic communities) and civic connectedness (sense of connection to different civic communities; it also refers to the civic roles individuals play within each community).



affective-behavioral domains: value beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behaviors.⁶ The two cognitive processes included in the ICCS framework are knowing, and reasoning and analyzing.⁷

A working group of experts from the five Asian ICCS countries developed the regional framework. This not only linked to the international framework but also included elements that the experts viewed as particularly important for the region, including those underpinned by selected concepts about the values and views of citizenship prevalent in the participating countries. The student questionnaire for the Asian regional module was designed after the regional framework had been established.

The aspects of civics and citizenship that the experts identified as relevant for the Asian region related to two of the affective-behavioral domains—value beliefs and attitudes. Both relate to states of mind and beliefs about concepts, institutions, people, and entities. According to the ICCS assessment framework, value beliefs are typically “more constant over time, deeply rooted and representative of broader and more fundamental beliefs” whereas attitudes are “narrower in nature, can change over time, and are less deeply rooted” (Schulz et al., 2008, p. 22).

More specifically, the aspects in the Asian regional module reflecting value beliefs included:

- Student perceptions of the role of government;
- Status and authority;
- Role of relationships when considering candidates in elections or for public affairs;
- Asian identity;
- Good citizenship; and
- Social harmony.

The attitudinal aspects included:

- Students’ acceptance of authoritarian or paternalistic governmental behavior;
- Students’ views on their national legal system;
- Students’ acceptance of corrupt practices;
- Students’ attitudes toward relationships between Asian countries as well as views on the preservation of national traditional culture.

Table 1.1 shows the Asian regional constructs that were conceptualized for inclusion in the Asian regional student questionnaire. The constructs in this table are mapped to the organizing structure of the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008) and are categorized according to their ICCS content and affective-behavioral domains.

In order to prevent the Asian regional questionnaire from overburdening students, the national research coordinators (NRCs) from the five countries agreed to focus its content on constructs relating to the attitudes and value beliefs shown in Table 1.1. The regional NRCs and experts identified constructs viewed as relevant to all five participating Asian ICCS countries, and recommended that they form the basis of the ICCS Asian regional instrument.

6 *Value beliefs* relate to fundamental beliefs about democracy and citizenship. Attitudes include self-cognitions related to civics and citizenship, attitudes toward the rights and responsibilities of groups in society, and attitudes toward institutions. *Behavioral intentions* refer to expectations of future civic action and include constructs such as preparedness to participate in forms of civic protest, anticipated future political participation as adults, and anticipated future participation in citizenship activities. Behaviors reflect present or past participation in civic-related activities at school or in the wider community.

7 *Knowing* refers to the learned civic and citizenship information that students use when engaging in cognitive tasks that help them to make sense of their civic worlds. *Reasoning and analyzing* refers to the ways in which students use civic and citizenship information to reach conclusions. These ways typically involve integrating perspectives that apply to more than a single concept and are applicable in a range of contexts.





Table 1.1: ICCS Asian regional questionnaire constructs

	Content Domain 1: Civic Society and System	Content Domain 2: Civic Principles	Content Domain 3: Civic Participation	Content Domain 4: Civic Identities
Knowing				
Analyzing/Reasoning				
Value Beliefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong (big) government versus weak (limited) government • Scope/range of government in individual spirituality • Status and authority (obedience to authority versus individual will) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of relationships (<i>guanxi</i>) when considering people in elections and public affairs 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian identity • The “good citizen” (personal morality in citizenship identity) • Social harmony versus saving face (as a social convention)
Attitudes		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of “undemocratic” governmental behaviors (previously listed as “acceptance of authoritarian rule”) • The legal system in own country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption • Necessary attitudes/qualifications of politicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships between Asian countries • Traditional culture (in own country)
Behavioral Intentions				
Behavior				

The NRCs and experts also agreed that the regional data collection should be restricted to measuring attitudes, given the paucity of region-specific cognitive aspects of civic and citizenship education. This restricted focus was also a consequence of the limited time available for administering the Asian regional instrument.

Participating countries, population, and sample design

Thirty-eight countries participated in ICCS. Among them were 26 from Europe, six from Latin America, the five from Asia, and one from Australasia. Figure 1.1 shows the geographical position of the five Asian countries on a map of the region. More detailed information about the contexts for civic and citizenship education in these countries can be found in Chapter 2.

Figure 1.1: Asian countries participating in ICCS 2009



This report draws primarily on data from the ICCS student population but is augmented by some data from the ICCS teacher survey. The ICCS student population comprised students in Grade 8 (students approximately 14 years of age), provided that the average age of students in this grade was 13.5 years or above at the time of the assessment. If, in a given country, the average age of students in Grade 8 was below 13.5 years, Grade 9 became the target population for that country.

The population for the ICCS teacher survey was defined as all teachers teaching regular school subjects to students in at least one of the classes of the target grade (generally Grade 8) at each sampled school. It included only those teachers who were teaching the target grade during the testing period and had been employed at that school since the beginning of the school year.

The samples were designed as two-stage cluster samples. In the first stage of sampling, PPS (probability proportional to size as measured by the number of students enrolled in a school) procedures were used to sample schools within each country. The numbers required in the sample to achieve the necessary precision were estimated on the basis of national characteristics. However, as a guide, each country was told to plan for a minimum sample size of 150 schools. The sampling of schools constituted the first stage of sampling both students and teachers.⁸

⁸ The international core of ICCS included questionnaires completed by a sample of teachers and the principal (or delegate) in each participating school. Data from these instruments are not presented in this report.



Within each sampled and participating school, an intact class from the target grade was sampled randomly, and all students in that class were surveyed. The achieved student sample sizes in the participating Asian countries ranged from 2,902 to 5,263 students, and the achieved school sample sizes ranged from 76 to 150 schools. Appendix A documents the coverage of the target population and achieved samples for each country.

The minimum participation rates required for each country were 85 percent of the selected schools and 85 percent of the selected students within the participating schools, or a weighted overall participation rate of 75 percent. Among the five Asian countries, three countries (Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, and the Republic of Korea) met the minimum sample participation requirements before the inclusion of replacement schools. One country, Thailand, met the requirements only after including replacement schools. The remaining country, Hong Kong SAR, failed to meet these requirements due to high levels of non-response among the sampled schools. The ICCS data collection in all five countries of the region took place between February and May 2009.⁹

Data collection and instruments

The student data contributing to this report were obtained from student responses to three instruments:

- *The international student cognitive test*: this 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 of seven item-clusters) according to a balanced rotated design (see Table A.1 in Appendix A). Each student completed one of the 45-minute booklets. The cognitive items were generally presented with contextual material that served as a brief introduction to each item or set of items.
- *A 40-minute international student questionnaire*: this was used to obtain students' perceptions about civics and citizenship as well as information about each student's background.
- *A 15-minute Asian student questionnaire*.

Overall assessment time for students in these countries was somewhat less than two hours. Students responded first to the international cognitive test and then to the international student questionnaire, followed by the Asian questionnaire.

ICCS also included additional international instruments designed to gather information from and about teachers, schools, and education systems. Two instruments were used to gather contextual data about schools:

- *A 30-minute teacher questionnaire*: this asked respondents to give their perceptions of civic and citizenship education in their schools and to provide information about their schools' organization and culture as well their own teaching assignments and backgrounds;
- *A 30-minute school questionnaire*: here, principals provided information about school characteristics, school culture and climate, and the provision of civic and citizenship education in their schools.



⁹ The Republic of Korea has school calendars that follow those for southern hemisphere countries, but it was not possible to collect data in this country during the corresponding testing period from October to December 2008. Therefore, Korean students were assessed at the beginning of the new school year when they were already in Grade 9. Their results are annotated accordingly.

A third instrument was used to collect information at the country level. National research coordinators (NRCs) coordinated the information provided by national experts responding to an online national contexts survey. This information concerned the structure of the education system, civic and citizenship education in the national curricula, and recent developments in civic and citizenship education. The international study center (ISC), in consultation with NRCs and experts, developed the ICCS international instruments during the first two years of the study.

Development of the Asian student questionnaire comprised four phases:

- *Establishment of an Asian regional framework:* NRCs and national experts shared information at a special meeting focused on their own national experiences of civic and citizenship education research. They also outlined constructs of interest for inclusion in the Asian regional questionnaire.
- *Development of questionnaire items:* this work was guided by the ICCS Asian regional framework and included smaller pilots in some of the participating countries as well as extensive consultations with the NRCs and national experts.
- *Implementation of an Asian regional questionnaire pilot in all participating countries in the region:* during this phase, data were collected from smaller samples of schools, students, and teachers.
- *Final revision of the material:* this work was undertaken by the ISC and national experts and was informed by the pilot results and further feedback from the national centers and experts.

The ICCS technical report (Kerr, Schulz, & Fraillon, 2011) includes more detailed information about the development of the Asian student questionnaire. Given the importance of ensuring the comparability and appropriateness of the measures in this study for such a diverse range of participating countries, the ICCS field trial data were used for a thorough review of cross-national validity for both the test and the questionnaire items.¹⁰

Overview of the Asian report

This report on findings from the participating Asian ICCS countries is part of a series of publications on ICCS and its findings. Other reports include a publication detailing initial findings from ICCS (Schulz et al., 2010a), the extended international report on ICCS (Schulz et al, 2010b), and the regional reports for the European (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, & Bethan, 2010) and Latin American (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011) ICCS countries. These reports are complemented by the ICCS technical report (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011) as well as the ICCS international database and user guide (Brese, Jung, & Schulz, 2011). A compilation of the expert accounts of policy and practice in civic and citizenship education in each country will be published in the form of an ICCS encyclopedia (Ainley, Schulz, & Friedman, forthcoming).

This current report, which has six chapters, presents findings for the different aspects addressed by the Asian student questionnaire as well as selected findings from the international cognitive test and student questionnaires. Most chapters conclude with a summary.



¹⁰ Schulz (2009) provides and describes examples of the different methodological approaches used to assess the measurement equivalence of the questionnaire scales.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the national contexts for civic and citizenship education in each of the five Asian ICCS countries. The data presented in this chapter include results from the international test of civic knowledge as well as basic demographic, economic, and political features from published sources. The chapter also presents data from the ICCS national contexts survey about the education systems in general and how each country approaches civic and citizenship education in particular.

Chapter 3 reports on how students in the five Asian ICCS countries view the roles and responsibilities of government and the law. It focuses on students' trust in civic institutions, their views of the roles and responsibilities of governments, their acceptance of authoritarian policies, and their perceptions of fairness in the legal system.

The focus in Chapter 4 is on how students in the five Asian countries view the roles and responsibilities of public officials. It includes students' perceptions of corruption, the importance of personal morality for politicians, and using personal connections in order to hold public office.

Chapter 5 reports students' attitudes to Asian identity and citizenship in the five countries. It primarily addresses students' support for preserving the traditional culture of their respective countries, their attitudes toward obedience to authority, their sense of being part of Asia, and their views on the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship.

The final chapter, Chapter 6, contains a summary of the findings of the report and discusses possible implications of the findings for policy and practice related to civic and citizenship education in the Asian region.



CHAPTER 2:

Contexts for civic and citizenship education in Asian ICCS countries

The contextual framework for ICCS (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008) explicitly recognizes the importance of the wider community and, in particular, national contexts for shaping the outcomes of civic and citizenship education. National contexts include historical background, political system, and the general structure of the education system. These contexts also provide information on how each education system defines and implements, through relevant policies and practices, civic and citizenship education.

In this chapter, we describe the national contexts for civic and citizenship education in the five Asian countries that participated in ICCS. The chapter relates to one of the study's general research questions, Research Question 5: What aspects of schools and education systems are related to knowledge about, and attitudes to, civics and citizenship? It also relates, more specifically, to the subquestion regarding countries' general approach to civic and citizenship education, curriculum, and/or program content structure and delivery.

Because students' general level of civic knowledge contributes to the context within which student civic and citizenship-related perceptions are analyzed, we also include in this chapter the results of the ICCS cognitive assessment. This information provides a broader picture of the milieu in which student perceptions in these five Asian countries develop.

The research questions specific to context that we explored were:

- What are the general demographic, economic, and political characteristics of these countries?
- What are the background and goals of civic and citizenship education of the Asian ICCS countries?
- How is civic and citizenship education implemented in these countries?
- What are the levels of students' civic knowledge in these countries, and to what extent do they differ between gender groups?

Characteristics of participating Asian ICCS countries

When reviewing results from the ICCS assessment in Asian countries, it is important to take account of the differences between them. Differences may relate to demographic factors, including economic status and social composition. It is also essential in a study of civic and citizenship education to consider differences between the countries' political systems.

Table 2.1 presents selected demographic and economic characteristics of the participating Asian countries. These include population size, Human Development Index (HDI) values,¹ gross domestic product per capita (in US\$), and an international index of perceived corruption in each country.

We can see from Table 2.1 that population size varies considerably across these countries, ranging from about 7 million in Hong Kong SAR to almost 243 million in Indonesia. Two countries (Indonesia and Thailand) have HDI values classified as *medium* whereas the three remaining countries (Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Hong Kong SAR) have HDI values classified as *very high*. These measures are also reflected in the gross domestic product per capita: Indonesia and Thailand have values below US\$4,000; the other three countries show figures of US\$20,000 per capita and above.

¹ The HDI, provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is "a composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development including a healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living" (UNDP, 2009). The HDI ranges from 0 to 1 and has four categories: *very high* (HDI greater than 0.9), *high* (HDI between 0.8 and 0.9), *medium* (HDI between 0.5 and 0.8), and *low* (HDI less than 0.5). The HDI is also used as one of the means of classifying a country as *developed* (very high HDI) or *developing* (all other HDI categories).



Table 2.1: Selected demographic and economic characteristics of Asian ICCS countries

Country	Population Size (in thousands)	Human Development Index (value, rank, and category)	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita (in USD \$)	Corruption Perceptions (index value and international rank)
Chinese Taipei	23,025	0.943 ^a (25) Very high	29,800 ^b	5.8 (33)
Hong Kong SAR	7,090	0.944 (24) Very high	29,912	8.5 (13)
Indonesia	242,968	0.734 (111) Medium	1,918	2.8 (110)
Korea, Republic of	48,636	0.937 (26) Very high	20,014	5.4 (39)
Thailand	62,348	0.783 (87) Medium	3,844	3.5 (78)

Notes:

Data for "population size" relate to 2010 unless otherwise stated and were taken from the U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division.

Data for "Human Development Index" and for "gross domestic product" (GDP) per capita are taken from the Human Development Report 2009 and relate to 2007.

a DGBAS of Taiwan.(2009). Human Development Index of Taiwan in 2007, *National Statistics*, 192. Retrieved August 24, 2010 from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/public/Data/910616273671.pdf>.

b Data estimated for 2009. Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html> [03/08/10].

Sources:

U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division: <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/> [12/08/10].

Human Development Report 2009—total population (millions): <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/135.html> [09/06/10].

CIA World Factbook—country comparison—population size: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html> [09/06/10].

Human Development Report 2009—Human Development Index: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/87.html> [09/06/10].

Human Development Report 2009—GDP per capita (US\$): <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/152.html> [09/06/10].

These two country characteristics highlight considerable differences among the five Asian countries that participated in ICCS. Whereas Thailand and Indonesia rank relatively low on the HDI, Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea are societies with considerable economic wealth and social development and so rank higher than many European economies on the HDI.

The Asian regional instrument includes questions relating to student attitudes toward corruption and authoritarian government practices. Because of this focus on corruption and lack of government transparency across the Asian ICCS countries, Table 2.1 also presents contextual data taken from the international Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). The CPI scores countries on a scale from 10 (very clean) to 0 (highly corrupt).² Hong Kong SAR has the lowest level of perceived corruption (with a score of 8.5 and an international rank of 13), while both Indonesia and Thailand have the highest perceived levels of corruption (with scores of 2.5 and 3.8 and corresponding ranks of 110 and 78 respectively).

Table 2.2 shows selected political characteristics for the five countries. These include voter turnout at the last legislative elections before the ICCS survey, whether voting is compulsory, the number of political parties in parliament, and the percentages of seats in parliament held by women.

The legal voting age ranges from 17 in Indonesia and the Republic of Korea to 20 in Chinese Taipei. Voting is compulsory in only one of the five countries (Thailand), and the percentages of voter turnout at the last legislative election prior to the ICCS survey were highest in Indonesia (84%) and Thailand (79%). In both Hong Kong SAR and the Republic of Korea, fewer than half of the eligible voters cast their votes (45% and 46% respectively). There is some variation with regard to the number of political parties represented in the parliaments of these countries. Numbers range from four parties in the Legislature of Chinese Taipei to 12 parties (or groups) in the Legislative Council of Hong Kong SAR. The percentages of female representatives in parliament range from 12 percent in Thailand to 30 percent in Chinese Taipei.



2 The Corruption Perceptions Index is published annually by Transparency International and consists of an aggregate measure combining different surveys of the perceptions of corrupt practices in 178 countries.

Table 2.2: Selected political characteristics of Asian ICCS countries

Country	Legal Age of Voting	Compulsory Voting	Voter Turnout at Last Legislative Election (%)	Number of Political Parties in Parliament	% seats Held by Women in Parliament
Chinese Taipei	20	No	58.5	4 ^a	30 ^b
Hong Kong SAR	18	No	45.2 ^c	12 ^d	18 ^e
Indonesia	17	No	84.1	9	18
Korea, Republic of	17	No	46.0	6	14
Thailand	18	Yes	78.5	7 ^f	12 ^f

Notes:

Data for legal age of voting and whether compulsory were correct as of June 2010 and are taken from *CIA World Factbook*.

Data for voter turnout relate to elections held between 2004–2009 and were taken from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).

Data relating to the number of political parties in parliament were correct from the date of the last parliamentary election in country and were taken from IPU PARLINE database on national parliaments. Alliances of a number of small parties may be counted as just one party.

Data for percentage of seats held by women in parliament were correct as of date of last parliamentary election in country and were taken from IPU PARLINE database on national parliaments.

^a Source: <http://www.taiwan.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=27167&ctNode=1921&mp=1001> [09/09/10].

^b Yang, W.-Y. (2008). *Critical mass in parliament*. Bongchhi Women's ePaper, 259. Retrieved August 24, 2010 from <http://forum.yam.org.tw/bongchhi/old/tv/tv258.htm>.

^c Source: http://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2008/eng/turnout/tt_gc_GC.html.

^d Number of parties in Parliament includes political parties as well as other political groups. Source: http://www.ndi.org/files/2408_hk_report_engpdf_10082008.pdf [13/09/2010].

^e Source: http://www.legco.gov.hk/general/english/sec/reports/a_0809.pdf.

^f Bicameral structured parliament. Data refer to lower house.

Sources:

CIA World Factbook—field listing—suffrage: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2123.html> [09/06/10].

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)—parliamentary—voter turnout: <http://www.idea.int/uid/fieldview.cfm?field=221> [09/06/10].

IPU PARLINE database on national parliaments—number of political parties in Parliament: <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> [08/09/2010].

IPU PARLINE database on national parliaments—seats in parliament (% held by women): <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp> [08/09/2010].

With regard to the political characteristics of the five Asian ICCS countries, it is important to note that all have experienced regime changes over the past two to three decades (Diamond & Plattner, 1998; Reilly, 2006). Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea established democratic regimes with competing political parties after decades-long periods of autocratic government. Indonesia has only recently undergone democratization after more than three decades of military rule.

Hong Kong constitutes a special case in terms of the transference of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China. Since 1997, it has been a special administrative region (SAR) of the Republic of China, retaining a certain level of political autonomy that includes local elections with a multi-party system. Democratic rule gained ground in Thailand during the 1980s, but has been frequently interrupted by political conflict and military interventions. Recent political turmoil following the military coup in 2006 may have influenced aspects of civic and citizenship education in this country.

Table 2.3 records two selected characteristics of each country's education system: the adult literacy rate and public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP. Adult literacy rates are above 90 percent in all five countries. They are lowest in Indonesia (92%) and highest in the Republic of Korea (98%). There is little variation in public expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product, with percentages ranging from four in Indonesia to five in the Republic of Korea.



Table 2.3: Selected education characteristics of Asian ICCS countries

Country	Adult Literacy Rate (%)	Public Expenditure on Education (% of GDP)
Chinese Taipei	96.1 ^a	4.4 ^b
Hong Kong SAR	93.5 ^a	3.9
Indonesia	92.0	3.6
Korea, Republic of	97.9 ^a	4.6
Thailand	94.1	4.2

Notes:

Data for "adult literacy rate" were taken from the *Human Development Report 2009*, relate to 2007, and refer to the percentage of those aged 15 and above, unless otherwise stated.

Data for "public expenditure on education" relate to 1999–2006 and were taken from *CIA World Factbook*.

^a Data taken from *CIA World Factbook*, relating to 2000–2004.

^b DGBAS of Taiwan. (2010). Governments' ratios of public expenditure on education to GDP, *Statistical Manual*, 2010(2). Retrieved August 24, 2010 from <http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/public/data/dgbas03/bs1/handbook/bs2/p2-24.xls>.

Sources:

Human Development Report 2009—adult literacy rate (% aged 15 and above): <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/89.html> [09/06/10].

CIA World Factbook—field listing—literacy: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2103.html?countryName=&countryCode=xx®ionCode=s?countryCode=xx#xx> [09/06/10].

CIA World Factbook—field listing—education expenditures: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2206.html?countryName=&countryCode=®ionCode=+> [09/06/10].

CIA World Factbook—country comparison—internet hosts: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2184rank.html>. [09/06/10].

Background and aims of civic and citizenship education

Lee (2004b) suggests that both common cultural patterns as well as national contexts are important considerations with respect to any study of emerging concepts of civic and citizenship education in the Asian region. In this section, we describe the background and aims of civic and citizenship education in each of the five Asian ICCS countries. The information presented here is based on data from the online national contexts survey completed by national centers in each participating country.

Chinese Taipei

In Chinese Taipei, civic and citizenship education is greatly influenced by the Confucian tradition, which emphasizes attributes such as humanity, filial piety, benevolence, and proper social relations. As a result of the country's political situation, in particular the continuing tension with the People's Republic of China, national and cultural identity has become a crucial and controversial issue in civic education. Since the end of martial law in 1987, the nature and role of government has become more democratic and pluralistic. There has also been a shift from official promotion of a monolithic Chinese identity to an increasing recognition of a distinct Taiwanese identity, which includes a developing sense of multiculturalism. The increasing influence of minority groups has led to recognition of social diversity and multiculturalism in the curriculum for civic and citizenship education.

According to the social studies curriculum guidelines for elementary and secondary education in Chinese Taipei, civic and citizenship education aims to develop students' civic knowledge, civic virtue, and civic participation through the study of nine thematic strands:

- People and time;
- Change and continuity;
- People and space;
- Individual, group, and interpersonal relations;
- Power, rule, and human rights;
- Production, distribution, and consumption;



- Science, technology, and society; and
- Global connection, meaning, and values.

These themes are reflected in the general curriculum guidelines for elementary and lower-secondary education, which require civic and citizenship education to accomplish the following:

- Enhance self-understanding and explore individual potential;
- Develop creativity and the ability to appreciate beauty and present one's own talents;
- Promote abilities related to career planning and lifelong learning;
- Cultivate knowledge and skills related to expression, communication, and sharing;
- Teach respect for others, promote care for the community, and facilitate team work;
- Further cultural learning and international understanding;
- Strengthen knowledge and skills related to planning, organizing, and their implementation;
- Support the learning of technology and information skills;
- Encourage a disposition toward active learning and studying;
- Develop abilities related to independent thinking and problem-solving.

In addition, since January 2009, the Ministry of Education has implemented in school curriculums four strategies relevant to civic and citizenship education. These are building rules for a “friendly campus,” developing curriculum and teaching materials for human rights and civic education, cultivating teaching for human rights and civic education, and promoting human rights and civic education.

The ministry's definition of citizenship encompasses the particular nationality of a person (*guo ming*, nation), membership in a state or nation with rights and duties (*shih ming*, citizen), the rights of citizens (*gong ming cyuan*, civil rights), non-governmental organizations representing the interests and rights of citizens (*gong ming she hwei*), a system of principles and values concerning people's behavior (*dao de*, morality), moral beliefs and rules about right and wrong (*lun li*, ethics), civic morality (*gong ming yu dao de*), character development (*pin de*), and civic volition and competence (*gong ming su yang*).

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. In addition, this area of learning should strengthen people's physical health as well as their ability to think, judge, and create; enhance respect for basic human rights; promote the protection of ecosystems and the natural environment; and enable students to understand social diversity (ethnicity, gender, religion, culture).

Hong Kong SAR

In Hong Kong SAR, civic and citizenship education continues to be influenced, particularly with respect to national identity, by the return of this former British crown colony to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. Hong Kong SAR currently has no mandated curriculum for civic and citizenship education. However, the various curriculum documents refer to five essential learning experiences, one of which is ethics. The scope of this learning area is further elaborated under the heading civic and moral education, which is defined as encompassing personal character and interpersonal skills, respect for others, perseverance, and national identity.



Public education documents mention the term civic (in English) far more frequently than the term citizenship. This may be (at least partly) a reflection of the fact that people in Hong Kong are “residents” of a special administrative region but citizens of the People’s Republic of China. Typically (and not only in China or Asia), the notion of citizenship within the context of civic and citizenship education resides at the national level. Hong Kong SAR positioned national identity education as one of the goals of its recent education reforms.

Formal documentation on the *role* of moral civic education at the legislative level is limited in Hong Kong SAR, although detailed references to moral and civic education are documented in the Basic Education Curriculum Guide. Essentially, moral and civic education includes a number of fragmented areas of the school curriculum related to a common set of values: perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity, and commitment. Civic and moral education also encompasses personal and national dimensions.

Indonesia

Civic and citizenship education in Indonesia has been influenced by recent sociocultural changes arising out of the country’s move from authoritarian rule to democracy. Since decentralization of its institutions, Indonesia has viewed civic education (*pendidikan kewarganegaraan*, formerly known as *pendidikan moral pancasila*) as playing a key role in emphasizing the unity of Indonesia throughout children’s and young people’s education. Civic and citizenship education in Indonesia is also increasingly being influenced by the process of globalization. In order to support this development, the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia recently implemented “value-based education,” which has civic education (*pendidikan kewarganegaraan*) as its core element.

Civic and citizenship education in Indonesia is intended to develop students’ awareness and knowledge of their rights and obligations and thereby improve their sense of citizenship under the Indonesian constitution. The name of the curricular subject (*kewarganegaraan*) relates to the rights and obligations of citizens. According to Indonesia’s National Education Act, the aim of this curricular area is to prepare students to become world citizens who adhere to democratic values and responsibilities.

Republic of Korea

Implementation of civic and citizenship education in the Republic of Korea has been influenced by pivotal events in the country’s history: the struggle for independence from Japan, the Korean War, the ideological conflict between communism and capitalism after World War II, the return to democracy after 1987, multiculturalism, and Westernization. The Korean Fundamentals of Education Act and Lifelong Learning Law give definition to the concept of civic education. According to this legal framework, the principle underpinning this learning area is that of providing all people with the competencies that enable them to become democratic citizens. In addition, the Lifelong Learning Law includes in its definition of “lifelong learning,” citizen participation as an activity.

Citizenship (*si min eui sik*) in the republic is defined in terms of attitudes toward life held by people in civil society. School autonomy is seen as the means through which the principal goals of educational policy, notably preparing young people to undertake their roles as citizens in the 21st century, are implemented in the school system. Autonomous school management is also seen as a means of encouraging young people to develop character and distinctive individual qualities.



Thailand

Among the factors that have influenced civic and citizenship education in Thailand are the change from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy in 1932 and a student rebellion in 1973. The latter led to a new, democratic system with increased political participation and new approaches to education, including education for all, non-formal education, and lifelong learning. The new constitution of 1997 ensured 12 years of free, public education, compulsory voting, and the establishment of the Constitutional Court and the National Anti-Corruption Commission.

Student learning in civic and citizenship education encompasses awareness of the political and democratic system under the constitutional monarchy. This learning area also emphasizes the importance of individual rights and responsibilities, freedom, respect for the rule of law, equality, and human dignity. Civic and citizenship education in Thailand aims to educate students so that they engage in and contribute to the enhancement of morality, integrity, ethics, desirable values, and good characteristics of Thai society.

Curricular goals encompass students' knowledge about themselves as well as their relationship with all sectors of society, namely family and local, national, and world communities. The curriculum also focuses on the historical development of Thai society, politics, and democratic government under the constitutional monarchy. Civic and citizenship education in Indonesia thus embraces students' learning processes, acquisition of knowledge, moral development, and integration into society

Approaches to civic and citizenship education

Approaches to civic and citizenship education vary considerably across the five Asian ICCS countries. National centers in Thailand and Indonesia reported that national educational policies give high priority to civic and citizenship education as a learning area. The centers in the other three countries said that this area of education is accorded medium priority in educational policies.

Table 2.4 shows the approaches to civic and citizenship education in the lower-secondary schools of the five Asian ICCS countries. In three countries (Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, and the Republic of Korea), civic and citizenship education is taught as a compulsory subject. Thailand integrates this learning area into several subjects. Hong Kong SAR was not explicitly teaching this learning area at the time of the ICCS survey.

Table 2.4: Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curriculum for lower-secondary education in Asian ICCS countries

Country	Approaches to Civic and Citizenship Education in the Curriculum for Lower-Secondary Education						
	Specific subject (compulsory)	Name of curriculum subject	Integrated into several subjects	Cross-curricular special events	Assemblies	Extra-curricular activities	Classroom experience/ethos
Chinese Taipei	●	Social Studies Learning Area (Civics)		●	●	●	●
Hong Kong SAR		N/A		●	●	●	
Indonesia	●	Civic Education					
Korea, Republic of	●	Moral Education, Social Studies, History	●	●	●	●	●
Thailand		N/A	●		●	●	●

Approach

● For all study programs and school types

Source: ICCS 2009 national contexts survey; reference year is 2008–2009.

In Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea, civic and citizenship education is cross-curricular in nature. All countries except Indonesia place school assemblies, special events, and extracurricular activities under the umbrella of civic and citizenship education. Classroom experiences and ethos are included as approaches in civic-related teaching in Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand.

All lower-secondary schools in Asian ICCS countries are expected to have school boards that are responsible for school governance. In Chinese Taipei, school synods consisting of school leaders and representatives of teachers, parents, and staff are responsible for school-based decision-making. In Hong Kong SAR, all schools are legally required to have school management committees. Implementation, which is at an early stage, is experiencing some opposition from the Catholic sector, which opposes government regulations regarding the constitution of the committees.

In Indonesia, national authorities require schools to establish school committees consisting of teachers, students, parents, and educational practitioners as governing bodies. The school boards of the Republic of Korea's education system are both advisory and decision-making bodies. They are involved in all educational activities at school. In Thailand, the decentralized nature of its education system is reflected in the school-based management of public and private schools. Each institution has a school board that supervises and supports management of the institution. The board consists of representatives from parents, teachers, community, and local administration organizations, as well as alumni. Buddhist monks or members of other religious institutions in the area are also represented on the board.

Student participation at school is frequently seen as playing a key role in civic learning (see, for example, Mosher, Kenny, & Garrod, 1994; Pasek, Feldman, Romer, & Jamieson, 2008). Three of the Asian ICCS countries (Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand) have in place official recommendations regarding student participation, through school or student councils, in lower-secondary schools. Chinese Taipei requires each junior secondary school to develop a student council charged with enhancing students' self-governance, building students' knowledge of democratic processes, and preserving harmony at school. Recommendations in the Republic of Korea relate to voluntary student participation in community activities after school. Schools in Thailand can establish elected student representations to participate in major decision-making at school.

Indonesia provides schools with only general guidelines regarding student organizations. Student participation is not included in the approaches to civic and citizenship education in Hong Kong SAR.

Information from the national contexts survey suggests that most Asian ICCS countries have already implemented recommendations regarding parent participation in school governance and parent representation on school boards or councils involved in decision-making for schools.

According to the findings from the ICCS national contexts survey, the school curriculum of four of the five Asian ICCS countries (Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand) specifies the amount of time that schools should spend on civic and citizenship education. In Chinese Taipei, each school can decide how much time it will devote to social studies. However, the allocation must lie between 10 and 15 percent of total instructional time. In Indonesia, about 10 percent of instructional time is dedicated to civic education. Students in the Republic of Korea spend about 15 percent of their learning time on moral education, social studies, and history. In Thailand, it is not possible to quantify the amount of time given to civic and citizenship education because it is integrated into a number of subjects. Given the



decentralized nature of the Thai curriculum, schools can differ substantially in their allocation of time to these subjects.

Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand assess student learning in civic and citizenship education. Assessments in all four countries include the use of written examinations, written tasks or essays, student presentations, and their responses in class. In Hong Kong SAR, there is no specific assessment of civic and citizenship education as there is for English, mathematics, and Chinese. School practices vary because moral and civic education is not a subject in this education system and therefore not part of the formal examination-based assessment system.

According to the national ICCS centers, all five Asian ICCS countries evaluate schools' approaches to civic and citizenship education. In all five, inspectors visit schools and schools use self-evaluation tools. External evaluations of this learning area (for example, through survey research) are also conducted in Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand, but not in Hong Kong SAR, given that civics and citizenship is not taught as a formal subject.

In Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand, educational policy on civic and citizenship education was being debated at the time of the ICCS survey. In Chinese Taipei and Indonesia, debate focused on issues of national identity. In the Republic of Korea, themes included citizenship paradigms, democratization, social tolerance, environmental issues, globalization and the information society, and multiculturalism. In Thailand, debate centered on revitalizing civic and citizenship education, particularly with respect to aspects relating to morality and democracy.

In Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand, the school curriculum of the target grade was being revised at the time of the ICCS survey. In Chinese Taipei, the curriculum subject *civics and morality* for junior secondary schools was being integrated with history and geography into a common social studies curriculum. In Hong Kong SAR, consideration was being given to the introduction of a new, non-compulsory lower-secondary subject called *life and society*. However, discussions were at an early stage at the time of data collection. In the Republic of Korea, revision of the national curriculum was focusing on learning-level emphasis, student choice, and discretionary activities for creativity development. Thailand was focusing revision of its curriculum on promoting decency, democracy, and a drug-free lifestyle.

Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand were also revising school approaches to civic and citizenship education at the time of the ICCS survey. Chinese Taipei's new *friendly campus* program was giving emphasis to students' basic rights, autonomy, and freedom from discrimination. The Republic of Korea was working toward giving schools more flexibility in planning and management, while in Thailand, the focus was on characteristics of Thai people as a theme in civic learning.

Levels of civic knowledge

As noted earlier, students' general level of civic knowledge needs to be taken into account during any study of the value beliefs and attitudes that students hold with respect to matters relating to civics and citizenship.

The ICCS international survey included a civic knowledge test comprising 80 items, of which 79 were used to form a scale in the analysis. Seventy-three of the items had a multiple-choice format with four response options—one correct and the other three distracters. The remaining six items allowed for open-ended responses, with students requested to write a short response to each question. The test was presented in a balanced rotated cluster design, which meant that any one student completed about 35 test items.



The civic knowledge test in ICCS covered a broad range of aspects of civic knowledge, which were mapped to four content domains (civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, civic identities) and two cognitive domains (knowing as well as reasoning and analyzing), as defined in the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008).

The international ICCS test items were scaled using the Rasch model (Rasch, 1960) and had a high reliability of 0.84. Plausible value methodology with full conditioning was applied to derive summary student achievement statistics (von Davier, Gonzalez, & Mislevy, 2009). The international civic knowledge reporting scale was set to a metric that had a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100 for equally weighted national samples (see details in Schulz & Fraillon, 2011).

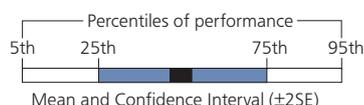
Table 2.5 shows the results of the civic knowledge test for all Asian countries participating in ICCS. The bars in the table provide graphical representations of statistics regarding student scores for each country. The left-hand edge of each bar represents the 10th percentile, and the right-hand edge represents the 90th percentile. The longer bars therefore indicate wider distributions of student scores. The midpoint of each bar shows the mean and the confidence interval around the mean score for each country. Each bar also shows the 25th and 75th percentiles and thus the range of scores of the middle proportion of students in each country. The table also provides numerical information about the average age of the participating Grade 8 students, the mean test scores, and the standard deviations of test scores for each of the countries.

Table 2.5: National averages for civic knowledge scores, average age, standard deviations, and percentile graph for Asian ICCS countries

Country	Civic Knowledge										Average scale score	Standard deviation
	Average age	200	300	400	500	600	700	800				
Korea, Republic of ¹	14.7										565 (1.9) ▲	81 (1.1)
Chinese Taipei	14.2										559 (2.4) ▲	94 (1.2)
Thailand [†]	14.4										452 (3.7) ▼	77 (2.0)
Indonesia	14.3										433 (3.4) ▼	70 (2.0)
ICCS Asian average	14.4										502 (1.5)	80 (0.8)
ICCS average	14.4										500 (0.6)	89 (0.3)

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	14.3										554 (5.7)	97 (3.1)
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- ▲ Achievement significantly higher than ICCS Asian average
- ▼ Achievement significantly lower than ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

The average age of the students included in the ICCS survey was very similar across the participating countries in Asia. The range extended from 14.2 in Chinese Taipei to 14.7 in the Republic of Korea, where students were tested at the beginning of the following school year.



The regional average of 502 (based only on countries that had met sample participation requirements) was about the same size as the average for all ICCS countries (500). Students from Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea had average test scores of more than half an international standard deviation (of 100 score points) above the ICCS average (both internationally and for the region). Indonesian and Thai students, however, had average test scores of about half an international standard deviation or more below the international and regional ICCS averages. In Hong Kong SAR, where results have to be interpreted with caution given that it did not meet the sample participation requirements,³ the country average was also more than half an international standard deviation above the ICCS averages.

Among the countries that met sample participation requirements, the spread within countries was highest in Chinese Taipei, with a standard deviation of 94 score points, and lowest in Indonesia, with a standard deviation of 70 score points.

Table 2.6 shows the differences between the test scores of female students and the test scores of male students in the Asian ICCS countries. In all five countries, female students obtained significantly higher test scores than male students.⁴ Across the countries that met sample participation requirements, the difference in test score points ranged from 19 score points in Indonesia to 48 score points in Thailand. As was the case in the ICCS countries from other regions, female students scored higher than male students.

Table 2.6: Gender differences in civic knowledge among students from Asian ICCS countries

Country	Mean Scale Score Females	Mean Scale Score Males	Difference Absolute Value (males-females)	Gender Difference				
				-100	-50	0	50	100
Indonesia	442 (3.9)	423 (3.5)	-19 (3.0)			■		
Korea, Republic of ¹	577 (2.4)	555 (2.3)	-22 (3.0)			■		
Chinese Taipei	573 (2.7)	546 (2.7)	-26 (2.5)			■		
Thailand [†]	474 (3.9)	426 (4.5)	-48 (4.5)			■		
ICCS Asian average	516 (1.7)	488 (1.7)	-29 (1.7)			■		
ICCS average	511 (0.7)	489 (0.7)	-22 (0.8)			■		
Country not meeting sampling requirements								
Hong Kong SAR	564 (6.5)	543 (8.3)	-21 (9.8)			■		

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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

■ Gender difference statistically significant at the 0.05 level

3 In Hong Kong SAR, school participation in the student and teacher surveys was below the level that IEA deemed acceptable. Results from Hong Kong SAR are therefore represented in a special section of the tables, and interpretation of them should take possible non-response bias into account.

4 In this report, the term “significantly different” is always used with regard to the statistical significance of a difference and refers to statistical significance at $p < .05$.



Summary

The comparison of country characteristics for the five Asian ICCS countries showed notable differences with regard to population size, economic strength, and human development. Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea boast very high levels of economic development while Indonesia and Thailand are characterized by relatively low GDP per capita rates. Voter turnout rates in the last legislative election prior to the ICCS survey were highest in Indonesia and Thailand, whereas in Hong Kong SAR and the Republic of Korea fewer than half of the eligible voters voted.

The development and features of civic and citizenship education are clearly influenced by the historical background in each of the five Asian ICCS countries. However, there are also common patterns across these countries, in terms of an emphasis on morality and values education in this learning area.

In four of the five Asian ICCS countries, civic and citizenship education is implemented either as a specific and compulsory subject or is integrated into other compulsory subjects. In three of these countries, it is conceived as a cross-curricular learning area. Only two countries reported placing a high priority on civic and citizenship education in their educational policies.

There was some variation with respect to the approaches the participating countries were taking to school governance and parent participation at the time of the ICCS countries. Approaches to student participation at schools as a way of enhancing students' civic engagement were mostly being implemented in the form of recommendations to schools.

In four of the five Asian ICCS countries, civic and citizenship education was being formally assessed and schools were being evaluated with regard to this learning area. Results from the ICCS national contexts survey also showed the countries debating aspects of civic and citizenship education and undertaking educational policy reforms that could have an impact on this learning area in the near future.

Results from the ICCS civic knowledge test showed considerable variation in test scores across the participating Asian countries. Students in Indonesia and Thailand demonstrated considerably lower levels of civic knowledge than students in the more developed countries of the region. Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea were among the top four countries in the international comparison of civic knowledge (see a more detailed discussion in Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010b). In all Asian ICCS countries, female students showed significantly higher levels of civic knowledge than male students. This was also the case in nearly all non-Asian ICCS countries.



CHAPTER 3:

Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of governments and the law

As described in Chapter 2, several aspects of the context for civic and citizenship education in East Asia potentially influence students' views of the roles and responsibilities of governments and the law. This chapter reports on how students in the five Asian ICCS countries viewed the scope and role of government as well as their national legal systems. It focuses not only on students' views of these matters but also on differences in these views across countries. The five countries that participated in the Asian regional module have different historical and political backgrounds, and we could expect those backgrounds to affect student views.

The issues explored in this chapter relate to Research Question 3: What is the extent of interest and disposition to engage in public and political life among adolescents, and which factors within or across countries are related to it? These matters are reflected in affective-behavioral outcomes, including attitudes measured in line with the definition set down in the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008).

We begin the chapter by considering student trust in various civic institutions, including government, parliament, and other political structures, and courts. We then extend our analysis to an examination of student perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of governments and the law that the participating Asian countries identify as important.

Students were asked to give their perceptions of the scope and range of government responsibility, including governments' paternalistic roles in terms of caring for citizens and addressing their personal and moral development. Student perceptions also related to the balance between authoritarian government conduct and positive outcomes for society. Students were also asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with a series of statements concerning endorsement of authoritarian government conduct when the ultimate purpose is pursuit of greater benefits for society.

Students were furthermore asked about their perceptions of the integrity of the legal system. Here, students were asked whether the law treats people equally and fairly, whether the legal system operates independently of government, and whether and to what extent the legal system is corrupt.

This chapter addresses the following research questions specific to the Asian region:

- What is the general level of students' trust in different civic institutions in their countries?
- To what extent do lower-secondary students see the role of government as embracing a wide range of direct responsibilities in society rather than being primarily concerned with a facilitative role?
- To what extent do students accept authoritarian government practices that may secure greater benefits for the society?
- Do students regard the legal system of their country as operating fairly so that all citizens are treated equally and operate independently of government and vested interests?



The data presented in this chapter were derived from the Asian and international student questionnaires. The results are reported either as percentages for categories of single items or as score averages for questionnaire scales. We report both item percentages and also scale scores for those constructs where reliable scales could be derived from item sets. In addition, we present scale score differences between males and females as well as civic knowledge scores within national tertile groups of questionnaire scales.

When describing differences between national averages and the ICCS Asian average, we flag country results with a white triangle pointing up or down to denote if the results were significantly¹ above or below the *national* average. We use a corresponding black triangle if the results were three score points (or 10 percentage points) above or below the *regional* average.

Appendix C explains the scaling of questionnaire items using IRT (Item Response Theory) and their descriptions in item-by-score maps as well as their graphic presentation.

Students' trust in civic institutions

Low levels of trust in institutions have been found to reduce the effectiveness of government as well as citizens' political engagement and have the potential to undermine the legitimacy of the political system (see Mishler & Rose, 2005). Klingemann (1999) showed that low levels of trust in political institutions are typical in societies that have recently undergone political transitions.

Data from the World Values Survey indicate a steady decline in institutional trust over the latter decades of the 20th century (Newton & Norris, 2000). However, some researchers regard this decrease as relatively insubstantial (see, for example, Fuchs & Klingemann, 1995). Using data from the Asian Barometer,² Chang and Chu (2008) found evidence that citizens' trust in a number of East Asian countries was negatively influenced by perceptions of corruption in the political system.

The international student questionnaire contained a question that asked students about the extent to which they trusted ("completely," "quite a lot," "a little," or "not at all") civic institutions or groups in society, including their national government, national parliament, local government, political parties, and courts of justice.

Table 3.1 shows the percentages of students in Asian ICCS countries who trusted these institutions "completely" or "quite a lot." Given that Hong Kong SAR did not meet sample participation requirements, its data in this and all subsequent tables are presented outside the table and not included in the calculation of the ICCS Asian average.

Overall, the level of trust that students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed in regard to national government, local government, and political parties was similar to that expressed by students in all 38 ICCS countries. However, students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed higher levels of trust than students from all ICCS countries in the national parliament and courts of justice.



1 In this report, the term "significantly different" is always used with regard to the statistical significance of a difference and refers to statistical significance at $p < 0.05$.

2 The Asian Barometer survey program is based on a series of surveys of citizens' political attitudes and behaviors. It also covers a country's political values, democracy, governance, human security, and economic reforms. The data are gathered through face-to-face interviews with randomly selected samples of respondents representing the adult population in each country (see <http://www.asianbarometer.org/newenglish/introduction/>).

Table 3.1: National percentages for students' trust in various civic institutions

Country	Percentages of Students Trusting Completely or Quite a Lot in ...				
	national government	national parliament	local government	political parties	courts of justice
Chinese Taipei	44 (0.9) ▼	54 (0.8) ▽	54 (1.0) ▽	26 (0.8) ▼	69 (0.8) ▽
Indonesia	96 (0.4) ▲	83 (0.7) ▲	92 (0.6) ▲	66 (1.1) ▲	89 (0.6) ▲
Korea, Republic of ¹	20 (0.7) ▼	21 (0.7) ▼	24 (0.7) ▼	18 (0.7) ▼	51 (0.8) ▼
Thailand [†]	85 (0.8) ▲	79 (0.7) ▲	85 (0.8) ▲	61 (1.0) ▲	87 (0.7) ▲
ICCS Asian average	61 (0.4)	59 (0.4)	64 (0.4)	43 (0.4)	74 (0.4)
ICCS average	62 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	65 (0.2)	41 (0.2)	67 (0.2)

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	70 (1.1)	63 (1.3)	59 (1.1)	38 (1.0)	86 (0.8)
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National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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

When comparing percentages across Asian ICCS countries, we found large differences in levels of trust in these civic institutions. Most students from Indonesia and Thailand expressed very high levels of trust in their national government, national parliament, and local government. In contrast, only a few students from the Republic of Korea reported complete or quite a lot of trust in these institutions. A minority of students from Chinese Taipei (44%) expressed trust in their national government. However, their levels of trust in the national parliament were similar to those of students in all ICCS countries.

Trust in local government among students from Chinese Taipei was a little lower than the average across all ICCS countries. Trust in courts of justice was more even across the Asian ICCS countries. Trust in political parties was notably lower in the Republic of Korea and Chinese Taipei, but higher in Indonesia and Thailand, than in all ICCS countries.

Students' perceptions of government in their country

Over the past decades, there have been debates about the extent to which traditional values prevalent in many East Asian countries are compatible with Western liberal democracy (see Bell, 1995; Sen, 1999). Drawing on (adult) survey data from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the People's Republic of China, Chang, Chu, and Tsai (2005) found a negative association between people's adherence to Confucian values and their democratic beliefs. They also found in modernized, more educated sectors of Chinese society less prevalence of traditional values and more democratic consciousness.

Park and Shin (2006) analyzed survey data from the Republic of Korea and claimed that attachment to Confucian values made it more difficult for adult citizens to reject authoritarian rule and embrace democracy. Based on survey data from Chinese Taipei, however, Fetzer and Soper (2007) suggested that attachment to Confucian values did not consistently undermine citizens' support for democracy.



One question on the ICCS Asian student questionnaire asked students to what extent they agreed or disagreed (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) with different statements regarding their perceptions of government in their country. The two following statements addressed the general role of government in society:

- The government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children;
- It is the role of the government to promote people’s religious or spiritual life.

Table 3.2 shows the percentages of students who either agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. On average, 92 percent of students agreed or strongly agreed that “the government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children.” The level of support for this view of the scope of government does seem high even though it is not possible to make comparisons with other ICCS countries. Moreover, there was relatively little variation across these Asian ICCS countries, a result which is consistent with the expectation that young people’s responses in the region are affected by a long-standing tradition of bureaucratic paternalism.

Table 3.2: National percentages for students’ agreement with statements about the role of government in society

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:			
	The government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children.			It is the role of the government to promote people’s religious or spiritual life.
Chinese Taipei	95	(0.4)	△	71 (0.8) △
Indonesia	96	(0.3)	△	92 (0.6) ▲
Korea, Republic of ¹	86	(0.5)	▽	23 (0.6) ▼
Thailand [†]	93	(0.4)		94 (0.5) ▲
ICCS Asian average	92	(0.2)		70 (0.3)
Country not meeting sampling requirements				
Hong Kong SAR	89	(0.8)		47 (1.4)

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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

There was greater variation among countries in student responses to the statement that “It is the role of the government to promote people’s religious or spiritual life.” In Indonesia and Thailand, more than 90 percent of students agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Seventy-one percent of students in Chinese Taipei and 47 percent of students in Hong Kong SAR agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. In contrast, the level of agreement with this statement was much lower in the Republic of Korea, where only 23 percent of students responded with agree or strongly agree.

The extent to which citizens regard authoritarian conduct by government as acceptable in terms of pragmatic pursuit of social and economic goals is an issue related to the concept of paternalistic governance in many Asian countries (see Pye, 1985, 2001). The Asian regional questionnaire included five items concerned with students’ views of the acceptability of authoritarian conduct by governments in their pursuit of a greater good.

- As long as everyone can enjoy prosperity, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not;



- As long as the government represents citizens' ideas, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not;
- It is acceptable for the government to act undemocratically in order to do its job more efficiently;
- The more power the government has, the more likely it is to solve its people's problems;
- It is acceptable for the government to break the law when it considers it necessary.

Students were invited to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) with these statements. The national percentages of students who strongly agreed or agreed with each of these statements are recorded in Table 3.3.

These data indicate that, on average across the Asian ICCS countries, four of these statements attracted similar levels of agreement (averaging a little over one-third of students). However, there was greater agreement (averaging about half of students) with the statement, “The more power the government has, the more likely it is to solve its people’s problems.” Of course, this statement could be seen as a description of a relationship between two concepts (power and ability to solve problems) rather than a statement about the desirability of a principle, which is the essence of the other four statements.

The percentage agreements shown in Table 3.3 indicate, for all five items, lower levels of acceptance of authoritarian government practices in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea and more acceptance of such conduct by government among students from Indonesia and Thailand. Hong Kong SAR students responded in a similar manner to those in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea but tended to be a little more accepting of authoritarian conduct by government than students in those two countries.

The first two items required students to weigh up the ideal of a broad concept of democratic government behavior against specific outcomes of representation of views and prosperity. Only a small minority (one in five or fewer) of students in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea agreed with the statements that “As long as everyone can enjoy prosperity, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not” and “As long as the government represents citizens’ ideas, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not.” In contrast, 55 percent of students in Thailand and 64 percent of students in Indonesia expressed agreement with these statements. The corresponding percentages from Thailand and Indonesia for the second item were 47 percent and 63 percent, respectively.

The third and fifth items refer to the acceptability of a government either acting undemocratically or breaking the law to support broader unqualified outcomes of efficiency and necessity. Once again, only one in five or fewer students in Chinese Taipei or the Republic of Korea agreed with these statements. In contrast, 37 percent of students in Indonesia and 61 percent of students in Thailand expressed agreement with the item concerned with governments acting undemocratically in order to do their jobs more efficiently. For the fifth item, concerned with the acceptability of the government breaking laws when it considers it necessary to do so, the corresponding percentages were 37 percent in Indonesia and 59 percent in Thailand.

The fourth item—“The more power the government has, the more likely it is to solve its people’s problems”—attracted more agreement than the other four statements. Twenty-five percent of the students in the Republic of Korea and 29 percent in Chinese Taipei agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Seventy-two percent of students in Thailand and 85 percent of students in Indonesia agreed or strongly agreed with it. This higher level of agreement most likely resulted from the lack of explicit reference to national democratic or non-democratic behavior.





Table 3.3. National percentages for students' agreement with statements about authoritarian or paternalistic conduct by government

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:					
	As long as everyone can enjoy prosperity, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not.	As long as the government represents citizens' ideas, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not.	It is acceptable for the government to act undemocratically in order to do its job more efficiently.	The more power the government has, the more likely it is to solve its people's problems.	It is acceptable for the government to break the law when it considers it necessary.	
Chinese Taipei	17 (0.6) ▼	20 (0.6) ▼	19 (0.6) ▼	29 (0.8) ▼	12 (0.6) ▼	
Indonesia	64 (1.2) ▲	63 (1.1) ▲	37 (1.3) △	85 (0.8) ▲	37 (1.5) △	
Korea, Republic of ¹	18 (0.7) ▼	16 (0.6) ▼	14 (0.5) ▼	25 (0.7) ▼	20 (0.7) ▼	
Thailand †	55 (1.3) ▲	47 (1.2) ▲	61 (1.3) ▲	72 (1.0) ▲	59 (1.3) ▲	
ICCS Asian average	38 (0.5)	36 (0.5)	33 (0.5)	53 (0.4)	32 (0.5)	

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	26 (1.2)	30 (1.4)	24 (1.4)	42 (1.3)	
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National percentage

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

The five items formed a scale measuring students' acceptance of authoritarian government practices with a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.81 for the pooled ICCS Asian database. Figure 3.1 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that students with a regional average score of 50 were expected to disagree with all five items. Positive scale scores indicate higher levels of acceptance of authoritarian government practices.

Table 3.4 records national averages on the scale reflecting attitudes toward authoritarian conduct by government. These data show a marked difference between the attitudes of students in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea (which are not significantly different from each other) and their peers in Indonesia and Thailand (which also are not significantly different from each other). The difference is approximately 10 scale points and equivalent to one international standard deviation.

Table 3.4: National averages for students' acceptance of authoritarian government practices by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Acceptance of Authoritarian Government Practices				
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	
Chinese Taipei	44 (0.2) ▼	46 (0.2)	43 (0.2)	-3 (0.3)	
Indonesia	55 (0.2) ▲	56 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	-2 (0.2)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	45 (0.2) ▼	46 (0.2)	44 (0.2)	-2 (0.3)	
Thailand †	55 (0.2) ▲	57 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	-4 (0.3)	
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	-3 (0.1)	

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.2)	49 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	-1 (0.5)	
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements regarding undemocratic government with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Table 3.4 also records scores for female and male students on the scale reflecting attitudes toward authoritarian conduct by government in each country. Overall, the difference is three scale score points (one-third of a standard deviation) and is slightly larger in Thailand and Chinese Taipei than in the Republic of Korea and Indonesia. These data indicate that in each country male students are more accepting than female students of authoritarian government practices. Similar gender differences were found for the Latin American ICCS countries with regard to attitudes toward authoritarian government, which were measured with a different item set (see Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011, p. 45).

Students' perceptions of integrity in legal systems

Based on their analysis of macro-level data, Staton, Reenock, and Radean (2008) suggest that having legal institutions limiting government power contributes to the stability of democratic regimes. Having conducted multivariate analyses of Asian Barometer survey data from seven East Asian countries, Huang, Chu, and Chang (2007) found, after controlling for background variables and other attitudes, that for adult citizens, affirmative perceptions of the rule of law in their respective countries was a significant positive predictor of support for democracy.



The question in the Asian regional student questionnaire on student views of public service and politicians also included the following five items designed to measure students' agreement ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with different statements regarding the integrity (fairness and equality) of the legal system:

- The law favors those who have money and power;
- Everyone is equally treated by the law;
- The government often intervenes in decisions made by the courts;
- The courts are able to apply the law fairly;
- There is no corruption in the legal system.

Table 3.5 shows that, on average, relatively high percentages of students agreed or strongly agreed with the three statements that indicated confidence in the integrity of the legal system. Eighty-six percent expressed agreement (i.e., they either agreed or strongly agreed) that the courts are able to apply the law fairly, 79 percent expressed agreement that everyone is equally treated by the law, and 60 percent expressed agreement that there is no corruption in the legal system. Forty-two percent of students expressed agreement with the statement that the law favors those who have money and power, and 61 percent expressed agreement that the government often intervenes in decisions made by the courts.

The five items formed a scale with an average reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.68 for the pooled ICCS Asian database. Figure 3.2 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that a student with a score of 50 was expected to agree with the three positively worded statements and disagree with the negatively worded statements. Positive scale scores indicate higher levels of agreement with statements related to the integrity of the legal system.

Table 3.6 shows the national averages for this scale overall and by gender groups. Students in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea recorded lower scores on this scale (and the two country means were not different from each other) than students from Thailand and Indonesia (the mean score for Thailand was a little lower than that for Indonesia). The difference was approximately eight scale points.

No statistically significant difference between males and females was found in Chinese Taipei or Indonesia. Differences of one scale point were found in the Republic of Korea and Thailand, with female students having more favorable views than males of the integrity of the legal system.

Associations between civic knowledge and attitudes

This section assesses to what extent student attitudes toward authoritarian conduct by government and student perceptions of the integrity of the legal system related to civic knowledge. We computed, for each country, three tertile groups representing low, medium, or high attitudinal or perception levels for each of the two questionnaire-based scales described in the previous sections. We then compared the average civic knowledge scores across these groups.

Statistical differences between the tertile groups are indicated in the tables in this section of the chapter as follows. The right-facing triangles indicate positive and the left-facing triangles indicate negative associations. The black triangles indicate that the average civic knowledge score for the medium-tertile group was significantly different from and in between the scores for the lowest- and highest-tertile groups. The white triangles indicate that there was at least a significant difference between the scores of the lowest- and the highest-tertile groups.



Table 3.5: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the integrity of the legal system

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:					
	The law favors those who have money and power.	Everyone is equally treated by the law.	The government often intervenes in decisions made by the courts.	The courts are able to apply the law fairly.	There is no corruption in the legal system.	
Chinese Taipei	47 (0.8) △	72 (0.7) ▽	71 (0.7) ▲	73 (0.6) ▼	37 (0.8) ▼	
Indonesia	26 (1.4) ▼	87 (0.8) △	49 (1.2) ▼	96 (0.4) △	83 (1.0) ▲	
Korea, Republic of ¹	55 (0.8) ▲	64 (0.8) ▼	66 (0.7) △	81 (0.5) ▽	41 (0.7) ▼	
Thailand [†]	43 (1.4)	93 (0.5) ▲	58 (1.0) ▽	95 (0.5) △	81 (0.8) ▲	
ICCS Asian average	42 (0.6)	79 (0.4)	61 (0.5)	86 (0.3)	60 (0.4)	
Country not meeting sampling requirements						
Hong Kong SAR	37 (1.3)	79 (1.0)	24 (1.3)	84 (0.9)	57 (1.2)	

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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



Table 3.6: National averages for students' perceptions of the integrity of the legal system by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Perceptions of the Integrity of the Legal System								
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	30	40	50	60	70
Chinese Taipei	46 (0.2) ▼	46 (0.2)	46 (0.2)	0 (0.3)					
Indonesia	55 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	0 (0.3)					
Korea, Republic of ¹	46 (0.2) ▼	46 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	1 (0.3)					
Thailand [†]	53 (0.2) △	52 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	1 (0.3)					
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	1 (0.1)					

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	51 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	0 (0.5)					
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about legal system with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Table 3.7 shows the results of these analyses. Acceptance of authoritarian conduct by government was negatively associated with civic knowledge. In each of the Asian ICCS countries, students who were the least accepting of authoritarian conduct by government (i.e., the lowest-tertile group) had the highest civic knowledge scores. The average difference in civic knowledge scores between the highest- and the lowest-tertile group was 75 scale points. The largest difference was 98 scale points in Chinese Taipei, and the smallest difference was 57 scale points in Indonesia. In other words, the negative association between civic knowledge and attitudes toward authoritarian conduct by government was fairly strong in all participating Asian ICCS countries.

Perceptions of integrity in the legal system were associated with civic knowledge in different directions in the Asian ICCS countries. In Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea, students who were in the lowest-tertile group for perceptions of integrity in the legal system had higher civic knowledge scores than those in the highest-tertile group (by 23 and 37 scale points respectively). Thus, in these two countries, students with lower civic knowledge scores were the students most likely to have more positive views of the integrity of the system. In contrast, in Indonesia, Thailand, and Hong Kong SAR, there was a positive association between perceptions of integrity in the legal system and civic knowledge (the differences in civic knowledge being 38, 60, and 44 scale points respectively). In these three countries, students with high levels of civic knowledge had more favorable perceptions of the integrity of the legal system.

These contrasting relationships prompt a number of questions not only about the differing nature of civic and citizenship education in each of the countries but also about the ways in which legal systems operate.



Table 3.7: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groups of students' attitudes toward authoritarian government and their perceptions of the legal system

Country	Lowest-Tertile Group	Medium-Tertile Group	Highest-Tertile Group	
Attitudes toward undemocratic government				
Chinese Taipei	600 (3.0)	573 (2.8)	502 (3.2)	◀
Indonesia	460 (4.3)	424 (3.1)	403 (3.1)	◀
Korea, Republic of ¹	592 (2.1)	572 (2.2)	527 (2.7)	◀
Thailand [†]	494 (4.1)	440 (3.8)	413 (3.5)	◀
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	582 (5.9)	559 (6.1)	517 (7.5)	◀
Perceptions of the integrity of the legal system				
Chinese Taipei	581 (3.7)	546 (3.0)	557 (3.3)	◁
Indonesia	415 (4.6)	431 (3.5)	453 (3.4)	▶
Korea, Republic of ¹	593 (2.6)	549 (2.7)	556 (2.5)	◁
Thailand [†]	422 (5.4)	440 (3.4)	482 (3.6)	▶
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	529 (7.8)	556 (5.5)	573 (6.0)	▶

National average

- ▶ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **lower** than in highest-tertile group
- ▷ Average in highest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group

- ◀ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **lower** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group
- ◁ Average in lowest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- ^{††} Did not meet sampling requirements.

Summary

The results presented in this chapter indicate that the level of trust expressed by students from the Asian ICCS countries in national government, local government, and political parties was similar to that expressed by students in all ICCS countries. However, students from the Asian ICCS countries tended to express just a little more trust in their national parliaments and courts of justice than did students from all ICCS countries

Also, there were some differences in levels of trust in these civic institutions across the Asian ICCS countries. Most students from Indonesia and Thailand expressed very high levels of trust in their national government, national parliament, and local government. In contrast, few students from the Republic of Korea expressed trust in these institutions. Trust in courts of justice was relatively even across the Asian ICCS countries and was a little higher than the corresponding levels of trust in all ICCS countries. When compared to the ICCS average, the average score for level of trust in political parties was notably lower in the Republic of Korea and Chinese Taipei but higher in Indonesia and Thailand.

There was considerable variation among the five countries in the level of acceptance of authoritarian government practices. In Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea, only a small minority expressed acceptance of authoritarian conduct by governments. However, in Indonesia and Thailand, there was greater acquiescence to this conduct if it was seen as facilitating other social and economic goals. Males were a little more prone to accept authoritarian government conduct than were females in all countries. Civic knowledge appeared to be strongly related to these attitudes. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less supportive of authoritarian government than students with lower levels of civic knowledge.



Relatively high percentages of students expressed integrity in the legal systems of their countries in terms of fairness, equality before the law, and lack of corruption. However, a majority of students believed that government intervenes in court decisions, and a substantial minority believed that the law favors those who have money and power. The associations of perceptions of integrity in legal systems and civic knowledge appeared to be complex and different in each country.



CHAPTER 4:

Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of public officials

This chapter reports how students in the Asian ICCS countries viewed the roles and responsibilities of public officials. It relates to Research Question 3 (“What is the extent of interest and disposition to engage in public and political life among adolescents and which factors within or across countries are related to it?”) and includes affective-behavioral variables (attitudes) as defined in the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008).

The chapter addresses the following research questions specific to the Asian region:

- To what extent do lower-secondary students find corruption in public service acceptable?
- To what extent do lower-secondary students view personal morality as important for politicians?
- What are the attitudes of lower-secondary students toward the use of personal connections by public officials?
- What are the associations between these attitudes and civic knowledge?

The data presented in this chapter were derived from responses to the Asian student questionnaires. Item percentages are reported, as are scale scores for those constructs where reliable scales could be derived from item sets. In addition, scale score differences between gender groups as well as civic knowledge scores for national tertile groups of questionnaire scales are presented.

Students' attitudes toward corruption in public service

Cross-national research suggests that higher levels of corruption tend to be associated with lower economic growth and efficiency (Gyimah-Brempong & Muñoz, 2006; Mauro, 1995). The phenomenon of increasing corruption during periods of economic growth in some Asian countries has been interpreted as a result of unique economic policies and state–business relationships (Lim & Stern, 2002).

With regard to the effects of corruption on democracy, recent studies have found that increased levels of corruption may lead to growing distrust among citizens and consequently to legitimacy crises in democratic regimes (Anderson & Tverdova, 2003). Chang and Chu (2008) also confirmed the correlation between perceptions of corruption and distrust in democratic institutions for the East Asian region. Their analysis drew on cross-national survey data collected from adult citizens.

A cross-national study using data from the World Values Survey (Gatti, Paternostro, & Rigolini, 2003) found that being female, older in age, employed and lacking wealth were associated with negative attitudes toward corruption.

Findings from the ICCS survey among lower-secondary students in six Latin American countries also indicated that females are less likely than males to endorse corrupt practices in public service (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011, p. 47). (Findings also pointed to context effects, with students more likely to accept corrupt practices in contexts where most other people were accepting of corruption.) Several other studies have also found that females are less likely than males to become involved in bribery and to accept corrupt practices (see, for example, Swamy, Knack, Lee, & Azfar, 2001; Sung, 2003)

The Asian ICCS student questionnaire included a question that asked students to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) with a series of statements about public officials and politicians. ICCS used the following three statements to measure student attitudes toward corruption in public service:



- It is acceptable to bribe government officials to get things done effectively;
- It doesn't matter if a public official uses resources from the institution where he/she works for his/her personal benefit;
- Preventing corruption is adults' business; it has nothing to do with me.

Table 4.1 shows the percentages of students who either agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. On average, across the four countries that met participation requirements, 30 percent of students agreed that bribes are acceptable if they increase efficiency, 28 percent agreed that public resources can be used for personal benefit, and 30 percent agreed that corruption is adults' business.

There were, however, considerable differences across the countries. In Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Hong Kong SAR, only small minorities agreed with these items. The percentages of students agreeing with these items were much higher in Indonesia and Thailand. Among Thai students, a majority (71%) agreed that bribes are acceptable if they increase efficiency.

Table 4.1: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about corruption in public service

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:		
	It is acceptable to bribe government officials to get things done effectively.	It doesn't matter if a public official uses resources from the institution where he/she works for his/her personal benefit.	Preventing corruption is adults' business; it has nothing to do with me.
Chinese Taipei	10 (0.5) ▼	18 (0.6) ▼	11 (0.5) ▼
Indonesia	30 (1.5) ▲	35 (1.4) △	47 (1.4) ▲
Korea, Republic of ¹	8 (0.4) ▼	13 (0.6) ▼	12 (0.6) ▼
Thailand [†]	71 (1.2) ▲	48 (1.3) ▲	49 (1.4) ▲
ICCS Asian average	30 (0.5)	28 (0.5)	30 (0.5)
Country not meeting sampling requirements			
Hong Kong SAR	11 (1.1)	17 (1.4)	17 (1.0)

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

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

The three corruption items were used to derive a scale that had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.71 for the pooled ICCS Asian database. Figure 4.1 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that students with a regional average score of 50 were expected to disagree with all three items. Positive scale scores indicate higher levels of acceptance of corruption in public service.

Table 4.2 shows the national averages for students' attitudes toward corruption in public service overall and by gender groups. As we noted previously, students in Indonesia and Thailand tended to be more accepting of corruption than students in the other three countries. These results are also consistent with the notion that in countries with a relatively higher standard of living (as measured by HDI), young people are less likely to endorse corrupt practices in public service.



Table 4.2: National averages for students' attitudes toward corruption in public service

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Perceptions of the Integrity of the Legal System by Gender				
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	
Chinese Taipei	44 (0.2) ▼	43 (0.2)	45 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	30 40 50 60 70
Indonesia	53 (0.3) ▲	52 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	30 40 50 60 70
Korea, Republic of ¹	46 (0.1) ▼	45 (0.2)	46 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	30 40 50 60 70
Thailand [†]	57 (0.2) ▲	55 (0.3)	59 (0.3)	3 (0.3)	30 40 50 60 70
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	2 (0.1)	30 40 50 60 70

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	46 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	2 (0.6)	30 40 50 60 70
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about corruption in the public service with:

Disagree or strongly disagree
Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

The results also show that male students in all five East Asian countries were significantly more accepting of corruption in public service than their female counterparts. This finding aligns with research findings from adult surveys that indicate males are more accepting than females of corrupt practices.

Students' views of the importance of personal morality for holding political office

Confucian morality, which is commonly regarded as a foundation of traditional values in many East Asian countries, assumes an inherent connection of each individual to others (Marsella, De Vos, & Hsu, 1985). In two of the East Asian countries that participated in ICCS, values informed by Islamic (Indonesia) and Buddhist (Thailand) principles provide a strong influence on perspectives concerned with civics and citizenship.

Fredrickson (2002) states that matters of morality are more prevalent in the traditional Asian notions of bureaucracy and government than in Western concepts of political leadership. Data from the Asian Barometer Survey, for example, shows that in the Republic of Korea about two-thirds of the population were prepared to leave all decisions to political leaders if they (the leaders) were morally upright (Park & Shin, 2006).

The emphasis on morality in civic and citizenship education in East Asian countries tradition is also highlighted in the literature (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2008). The importance of moral behavior in this learning area is also evident from the review of the national contexts survey data for Asian ICCS countries in Chapter 2 of this report.

The Asian question on student views of public service and politicians included the following five items designed to measure students' attitudes toward the importance of moral behavior among politicians:

- The honesty and morality of a politician is more important than his/her abilities;
- Political leaders should be role models of morality;
- Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family obeys the law;



- Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family behaves morally;
- Politicians should be accountable if a member of their family breaks the law or behaves immorally.

Table 4.3 shows that, on average across the Asian ICCS countries, very high percentages of students agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. Ninety-one percent agreed that political leaders should be role models of morality and that they have a responsibility to ensure the moral behavior of their families. Ninety percent considered that politicians had a responsibility to ensure their families' obedience to the law, 86 percent that honesty and morality in a politician were more important than their abilities, and 81 percent that politicians should be accountable for immoral or illegal family behavior. Considerably lower levels of agreement were found only for the last statement—that politicians should be accountable for family members—and only in Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR. Otherwise, there was little variation in these percentages across participating countries.

The five items formed a scale that had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.68 for the pooled ICCS Asian database. Figure 4.2 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that a student with a score of 50 was expected to disagree with all five statements. Positive scale scores indicate higher levels of agreement with statements focused on the importance of personal morality for political leaders.

Table 4.4 shows the national averages for this scale overall and by gender group. It confirms that there was little variation across participating countries. Only in Thailand were statistically significant gender differences found, with female students more likely than male students to hold relatively positive attitudes toward the importance of politicians exercising personal morality.

Students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office

With regard to the uniqueness of prevalent traditional values in East Asia, scholars have frequently emphasized the importance of the use of personal connections in sustaining political and social relationships (see, for example, Khatri & Tsang, 2003). In Chinese culture, this social interaction is referred to as *guanxi*, a long-term relationship of familial or non-familial nature with implications of continued exchange of favors (Goodwin & Tang, 1991; Pye, 1992).

The ICCS Asian student questionnaire included a question designed to measure students' views on using personal connections or social relationships in order to secure public office (*guanxi* in the Chinese context). Students were requested to indicate their agreement or disagreement ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with the following statements (expressions in angled brackets were adapted to the national context):

- If there are many candidates in an election, we should only vote for the people from our <hometown/local area>;
- Only the candidates we have <connections> with would truly serve us after they get elected;
- If a candidate is a friend or relative, then we should vote for him/her even if he/she is not the best candidate for the job;
- It is acceptable for public officials to give preference to family and friends when hiring people for public office;
- It is acceptable for a public official to give government contracts to people they have <connections> with even if they are not the best qualified to do the contract work.



Table 4.3: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the personal morality of politicians

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:					
	The honesty and morality of a politician is more important than his/her abilities.	Political leaders should be role models of morality.	Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family obeys the law.	Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family behaves morally.	Politicians should be accountable if a member of their family breaks the law or behaves immorally.	
Chinese Taipei	88 (0.6) △	91 (0.5)	93 (0.4) △	88 (0.5) ▽	59 (0.8) ▼	
Indonesia	85 (0.6)	93 (0.5) △	91 (0.6)	94 (0.5) △	88 (0.6) △	
Korea, Republic of ¹	79 (0.6) ▽	86 (0.5) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	88 (0.5) ▽	91 (0.5) ▲	
Thailand [†]	91 (0.5) △	96 (0.4) △	91 (0.7)	93 (0.5) △	86 (0.5) △	
ICCS Asian average	86 (0.3)	91 (0.2)	90 (0.3)	91 (0.2)	81 (0.3)	
Country not meeting sampling requirements						
Hong Kong SAR	85 (0.8)	94 (0.8)	90 (0.8)	87 (0.8)	57 (1.2)	

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.



Table 4.4: National averages for students' attitudes toward the personal morality of politicians

Country	Gender Differences for Students' Attitudes Toward the Personal Morality of Politicians								
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	30	40	50	60	70
Chinese Taipei	49 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	0 (0.3)					
Indonesia	50 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	0 (0.3)					
Korea, Republic of ¹	49 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	0 (0.3)					
Thailand [†]	52 (0.2) △	53 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	-2 (0.4)					
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	0 (0.2)					

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	0 (0.5)					
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about morality of politicians with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Table 4.5 shows the percentages of students who strongly agreed or agreed with these statements. On average across countries, 26 percent of students agreed that one should vote for friends or relatives even if they are not the best candidates, 33 percent that public officials should favor people they have connections with when giving government contracts, even if they are not the best qualified ones, and 34 percent that voters should always give preference to local candidates. Forty percent found it acceptable to prefer family and friends when hiring for local office, and 44 percent that only those candidates with whom voters feel connected would truly serve them.

Comparison of the extent to which students across countries in the East Asia region agreed with statements on using personal connections in order to hold public office revealed considerable differences among them. The percentages of students in Indonesia and Thailand who agreed with positive statements on using personal connections were much higher than in the other three countries. In Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea, only smaller minorities of students tended to agree with these statements.

The five items measuring students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office¹ formed a scale that had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.85 for the pooled ICCS Asian sample. Students with a score of 50 on this scale (equivalent to the regional ICCS average) were expected to disagree with all five statements. Positive values indicated higher levels of endorsement for the use of personal connections when holding public office.

Table 4.6 shows the national averages for students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office overall and by gender groups. As we have already seen from the percentages in the previous table, there was considerable variation across countries, with Indonesian and Thai students having much higher levels of acceptance of the use of personal connections than their counterparts in the other three countries.



¹ In the ICCS technical report (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011) and the ICCS user guide (Brese, Jung, & Schulz, 2011), the scale is labelled as "student attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office." However, in this report, we have added "personal" to this label because it is more appropriate in terms of the underlying construct.

Table 4.5: National percentages for students' agreement with the use of personal connections to hold public office

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:					
	If there are many candidates in an election, we should only vote for the people from our <hometown/local area>.	Only the candidates we have <connections> with would truly serve us after they get elected.	If a candidate is a friend or relative, then we should vote for him/her even if he/she is not the best candidate for the job.	It is acceptable for public officials to give preference to family and friends when hiring people for public office.	It is acceptable for a public official to give government contracts to people they have <connections> with even if they are not the best qualified to do the contract work.	
Chinese Taipei	15 (0.6) ▼	20 (0.7) ▼	16 (0.6) ▼	17 (0.5) ▼	17 (0.6) ▼	
Indonesia	57 (1.8) ▲	69 (1.4) ▲	34 (1.4) △	51 (1.5) ▲	38 (1.7) △	
Korea, Republic of ¹	10 (0.6) ▼	29 (0.8) ▼	16 (0.7) ▼	20 (0.8) ▼	15 (0.7) ▼	
Thailand [†]	53 (1.4) ▲	59 (1.4) ▲	40 (1.5) ▲	74 (1.1) ▲	63 (1.4) ▲	
ICCS Asian average	34 (0.6)	44 (0.6)	26 (0.6)	40 (0.5)	33 (0.6)	
Country not meeting sampling requirements						
Hong Kong SAR	13 (1.3)	22 (1.2)	16 (1.3)	18 (1.4)	15 (1.3)	

National percentage

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.



Table 4.6: National averages for students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office by gender

Country	Gender Differences for Students' Attitudes Toward the Use of Personal Connections to Hold Public Office								
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	30	40	50	60	70
Chinese Taipei	45 (0.2) ▼	44 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	3 (0.2)					
Indonesia	54 (0.3) ▲	53 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	3 (0.3)					
Korea, Republic of ¹	45 (0.2) ▼	44 (0.2)	46 (0.2)	2 (0.3)					
Thailand †	56 (0.3) ▲	54 (0.3)	58 (0.3)	4 (0.3)					
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	48 (0.1)	52 (0.1)	3 (0.1)					

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	45 (0.3)	44 (0.3)	46 (0.5)	1 (0.5)					
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about use of connections to hold public office with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

We also found considerable gender differences for this scale, with males responding more positively than females in all countries to the notion that it is acceptable for individuals to use personal connections in order to gain public office. On average, the difference between male and female students was three score points (about one-third of an ICCS standard deviation) and ranged from one (in Hong Kong SAR) to four score points (in Thailand) across countries.

Associations between students' attitudes and civic knowledge

In this section, we assess to what extent students' attitudes toward corruption in public service, the importance of moral behavior of politicians, and the use of personal connections to hold public office related to civic knowledge. For each country, we computed tertile groups according to low, medium, and high average scores on each of the three questionnaire scales described in the previous sections. We then compared the average civic knowledge scores across these groups for each scale.

In the following tables, statistical differences across the tertile groups are flagged as follows: right-facing triangles indicate positive and left-facing triangles negative associations; black triangles that the average score for the medium-tertile group was significantly different from and in between the average scores for the lowest- and highest-tertile groups; and white triangles that there was at least a significant difference between the average scores of the lowest- and highest-tertile groups.

Table 4.7 shows the results of this analysis. All three attitudinal scales appear to be associated with civic knowledge. Positive attitudes toward acceptance of corruption in public service and toward the use of personal connections to hold public office were negatively associated with civic knowledge. However, there was a positive relationship between students' civic knowledge and positive attitudes toward the importance of personal morality for politicians. This association was fairly strong in all participating Asian ICCS countries.



Table 4.7: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' attitudes toward corruption in the public service, toward personal morality of politicians, and toward use of personal connections to hold public office

Country	Lowest-Tertile Group	Medium-Tertile Group	Highest-Tertile Group	
Attitudes toward corruption in public service				
Chinese Taipei	594 (2.9)	577 (3.0)	513 (3.1)	◀
Indonesia	472 (4.5)	440 (3.2)	396 (3.1)	◀
Korea, Republic of ¹	592 (2.1)	575 (2.7)	536 (2.5)	◀
Thailand [†]	505 (4.8)	455 (3.6)	412 (3.2)	◀
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	582 (5.9)	559 (6.1)	517 (7.5)	◁
Attitudes toward personal morality of politicians				
Chinese Taipei	542 (3.4)	554 (3.2)	577 (3.1)	▶
Indonesia	426 (3.3)	433 (4.2)	440 (4.3)	▷
Korea, Republic of ¹	524 (2.8)	566 (2.5)	590 (2.2)	▶
Thailand [†]	432 (3.6)	449 (4.1)	475 (4.2)	▶
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	537 (6.8)	559 (6.1)	564 (6.7)	▷
Attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office				
Chinese Taipei	602 (2.9)	578 (2.7)	482 (3.2)	◀
Indonesia	473 (4.3)	426 (3.4)	400 (3.0)	◀
Korea, Republic of ¹	601 (2.6)	571 (2.2)	519 (2.7)	◀
Thailand [†]	509 (4.2)	449 (3.4)	409 (3.2)	◀
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	580 (5.8)	566 (6.0)	498 (8.3)	◀

National average

- ▶ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **lower** than in highest-tertile group
- ▷ Average in highest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group

- ◀ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **lower** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group
- ◁ Average in lowest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- ^{††} Did not meet sampling requirements.

Summary

The results presented in this chapter show that, on average across the Asian ICCS countries, fewer than half of the participating students supported statements indicating acceptance of corruption in public service or endorsing the use of personal connections to hold public office. In addition, large majorities of students in all countries supported the notion that personal morality is important for political leaders.

However, there were also marked differences across the countries. Whereas only a few students in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea expressed acceptance of the notion of using public office for personal benefit or predicating political support on the basis of personal connections, higher levels of acceptance were evident in Indonesia and Thailand. There were also marked gender differences in most countries, with male students holding more positive attitudes than females toward acceptance of corrupt practices and using personal connections in order to hold public office.

Civic knowledge appeared to be strongly related to these attitudes. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge showed less support for corrupt practices or for using personal connections when in public office but were also more supportive of statements highlighting the importance of personal morality among politicians.



CHAPTER 5:

Students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship

In this chapter, we report students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship in the Asian ICCS countries. The chapter relates to Research Question 3 ("What is the extent of interest and disposition to engage in public and political life among adolescents and which factors within or across countries are related to it?") and includes affective-behavioral variables (attitudes) as defined in the ICCS assessment framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008).

The chapter addresses the following research questions specific to the Asian region:

- To what extent do students support the preservation of traditional culture in their countries?
- What are students' attitudes toward obedience to authority?
- To what extent do students express a sense of Asian regional identity?
- How do students perceive the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship?
- What is the relationship between these student attitudes and students' levels of civic knowledge?

We derived the data presented in this chapter from the Asian student questionnaires. Item percentages are reported, as are scale scores, for those constructs where reliable scales could be derived from item sets. We also present scale score differences between gender groups as well as civic knowledge or attitude scale scores for national tertile groups of questionnaire scales.

Students' attitudes toward preservation of traditional culture and obedience to authorities

Numerous scholars have emphasized the important role national cultures play in shaping the political, social, and economic features of societies (see, for example, Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Harrison & Huntingdon, 2000; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Schwartz, 2009). The researchers involved in the Asian regional module were interested in the attachment students expressed toward the traditional cultures in their countries.

This area was of interest not only as an independent point of study but also within the context of the interaction between traditional values and attitudes toward democracy as a form of government. For example, some scholars regard Confucian and other traditional values as impediments to the establishment of democratic regimes (see, for example, Fukuyama, 1998; Pye, 1985, 2001). Recent analyses of the Asian Barometer Survey data suggest that there is still considerable attachment to traditional values in East Asian societies and that this attachment is associated with non-democratic convictions (Chang & Chu, 2007).

To assess the extent to which lower-secondary students in Asian ICCS countries supported the preservation of traditional values, the regional student questionnaire included a question that asked students to indicate to what extent they agreed (the response range was "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with a series of statements about traditional culture in their society. The following four statements were designed to measure student attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture in their countries:¹

- I would like to have more opportunities to learn about <country of test>'s traditional culture;
- <Country of test> needs to maintain its unique cultural identity against the influence of other cultures;



¹ Expressions in angle brackets (< >) were adapted to national contexts.

- Because <country of test>'s traditional culture represents our cultural heritage, all parts of our traditional culture should be preserved;
- I feel responsible for preserving <country of test>'s traditional culture.

Table 5.1 shows the percentages of students who either agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. Large majorities of students in all countries tended to endorse these statements. Overall, the percentages of agreement were 86 percent for the statement about the need to maintain a unique cultural identity and 93 percent for the other three statements.

These four items formed a scale that had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.75 for the pooled ICCS Asian data. Figure 5.1 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that students with a regional average score of 50 were expected to agree with all of these statements. Positive scale scores indicated higher levels of support for the preservation of traditional culture.

The national averages for students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture overall and by gender groups are presented in Table 5.2. Students from the Republic of Korea had the lowest scale scores (six points below the ICCS Asian average), whereas both Indonesia and Thailand had scores of three points or more above the regional average. Differences between gender groups were statistically significant only in the Republic of Korea and Thailand, where female students were slightly more supportive than males of the need to preserve traditional culture.

Schwartz (2009) compared survey data reflecting cultural traits across geographic regions and found that Asian societies had generally higher scores on the "hierarchy" dimension encompassing values such as humility or respect for authority.

These findings correspond with claims by other scholars that obedience to authority and conformity is part of the Confucian heritage in many Asian countries (see, for example, Pye, 1985). Using data from the World Values Survey, however, Dalton and Ong (2005) found only minor differences in authoritarian orientations between Western countries and East Asian countries. The two authors observed, however, that variation within and across countries within the East Asian region was considerable. These latter findings contradict claims that a common cultural pattern of obedience and conformity is an impediment to democratic development.

The Asian questionnaire included a question seeking students' agreement or otherwise with statements about the need for obedience and harmony. The question contained the following five statements:

- Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions;
- Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of the people with the highest-status position when making important decisions;
- Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers;
- Classmates or colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony;
- Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents.

Table 5.3 records the percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. On average, the percentages of agreement ranged from 47 percent (always follow advice of people with highest-status positions) to 87 percent (classmates or colleagues should not argue so as to maintain social harmony). Students from Thailand had considerably higher percentages of agreement compared to students from other countries, whereas Korean students' levels of agreement with these statements were 10 percentage points or more below the regional average for each one.



Table 5.1: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the preservation of traditional culture

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:				
	I would like to have more opportunities to learn about <country of test>'s traditional culture.	<Country of test> needs to maintain its unique cultural identity against the influence of other cultures.	Because <country of test>'s culture represents our cultural heritage, all parts of our traditional culture should be preserved.	I feel responsible for preserving <country of test>'s traditional culture.	
Chinese Taipei	93 (0.4)	79 (0.7) ▽	91 (0.5) ▽	91 (0.5) ▽	91 (0.5) ▽
Indonesia	98 (0.3) △	95 (0.5) △	96 (0.4) △	96 (0.4) △	96 (0.4) △
Korea, Republic of ¹	82 (0.6) ▼	73 (0.6) ▼	87 (0.5) ▽	87 (0.5) ▽	87 (0.5) ▽
Thailand †	98 (0.2) △	96 (0.4) △	96 (0.4) △	96 (0.4) △	96 (0.4) △
ICCS Asian average	93 (0.2)	86 (0.3)	93 (0.2)	93 (0.2)	93 (0.2)
County not meeting sampling requirements					
Hong Kong SAR	87 (0.8)	80 (1.0)	90 (0.8)	90 (0.8)	90 (0.8)

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.



Table 5.2: National averages for students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Attitudes Toward the Preservation of Traditional Culture				
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	
Chinese Taipei	49 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	0 (0.3)	
Indonesia	53 (0.2) ▲	53 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	0 (0.4)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	44 (0.2) ▼	45 (0.2)	44 (0.2)	-1 (0.2)	
Thailand [†]	54 (0.2) ▲	55 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	-2 (0.3)	
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	-1 (0.2)	

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	46 (0.2)	46 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	0 (0.4)	
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about the preservation of traditional culture with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) gender coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Four of the five items (the fifth, on the need for social harmony with classmates or colleagues, did not fit with the others) were used to derive a scale reflecting students' attitudes toward obedience to authority. The scale had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.84 for the ICCS Asian database. Figure 5.2 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale, which indicates that students with a regional average score of 50 were expected to agree with three of these statements but to disagree that one should always follow the advice of people with a higher-status position. Positive scale scores indicate higher levels of agreement with the need for obedience to authority.

Table 5.4 presents the national averages for students' attitudes toward obedience to authority overall and by gender groups. Students from Indonesia and Thailand had the highest average scores whereas those from Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea had average scores of three points or more below the Asian regional average. We found significant gender differences in three countries, where male students were somewhat more supportive than females of obedience toward authority.

These results suggest that Confucianism is not necessarily the only factor at play with respect to young people's attitudes to authority. In Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea (ICCS countries with a Confucian heritage), students were much less likely to endorse unconditional obedience to authorities than were students from Indonesia (with an Islamic tradition) and Thailand (with a Buddhist tradition).



Table 5.3: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about the preservation of traditional culture

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:					
	Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions.	Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of the people with the highest-status position when making important decisions.	Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers.	Classmates or colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony.	Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents.	
Chinese Taipei	68 (0.7)	35 (0.7) ▼	44 (0.8) ▼	81 (0.6) ▽	55 (0.8) ▼	
Indonesia	78 (1.0) △	48 (1.4)	83 (0.8) ▲	96 (0.4) △	92 (0.5) ▲	
Korea, Republic of ¹	36 (0.7) ▼	19 (0.7) ▼	22 (0.8) ▼	76 (0.6) ▼	33 (0.9) ▼	
Thailand [†]	93 (0.4) ▲	86 (0.6) ▲	89 (0.6) ▲	94 (0.5) △	95 (0.4) ▲	
ICCS Asian average	69 (0.4)	47 (0.5)	60 (0.4)	87 (0.3)	69 (0.3)	
Country not meeting sampling requirements						
Hong Kong SAR	63 (1.1)	46 (1.1)	54 (1.2)	84 (0.9)	59 (1.1)	

National percentage

▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average

△ Significantly above ICCS Asian average

▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average

▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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



Table 5.4: National averages for students' attitudes toward obedience to authorities by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Attitudes Toward Obedience to Authority				
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males–females)*	
Chinese Taipei	47 (0.1) ▼	46 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	
Indonesia	54 (0.2) ▲	53 (0.3)	55 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	42 (0.2) ▼	41 (0.2)	43 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	
Thailand [†]	58 (0.1) ▲	58 (0.2)	57 (0.2)	0 (0.2)	
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	0 (0.4)	
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about obedience to authority with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Associations between students' attitudes and civic knowledge

Table 5.5 shows the average scores of students' civic knowledge within tertile groups of students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture and obedience to authority.

The results show somewhat different associations in countries between attitudes to preserving traditional culture and civic knowledge. In Indonesia and Thailand, students more in favor of preserving traditional culture were those with higher levels of civic knowledge. In the Republic of Korea and Hong Kong SAR, civic knowledge scores in the highest- and medium-tertile groups were not different, but the scores of students in these two groups were significantly higher than the scores of the students in the lowest group. In Chinese Taipei, students in the highest-tertile group for attitudes toward preservation of traditional culture had significantly lower civic knowledge scores than those in the lowest group. The highest scores, however, were found in the medium group.

The associations between civic knowledge and attitudes toward obedience to authority were consistently negative in three of the countries (Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, and the Republic of Korea). In Thailand, there were no significant differences in civic knowledge between the three tertile groups. In Hong Kong SAR, the students least supportive of obedience to authority had significantly higher civic knowledge scores than those in the highest-tertile group.



Table 5.5: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' attitudes toward preserving traditional culture and toward obedience to authority

Country	Lowest-Tertile Group	Medium-Tertile Group	Highest-Tertile Group	
Attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture				
Chinese Taipei	559 (2.8)	567 (3.5)	552 (3.6)	◁
Indonesia	413 (4.0)	427 (3.8)	451 (4.0)	▶
Korea, Republic of ¹	561 (2.1)	574 (2.8)	571 (4.0)	▷
Thailand [†]	421 (4.4)	449 (4.4)	469 (3.5)	▶
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	548 (5.7)	558 (7.6)	560 (7.4)	▷
Student attitudes toward obedience to authority				
Chinese Taipei	583 (3.1)	566 (2.8)	523 (3.6)	◀
Indonesia	456 (4.3)	425 (3.1)	416 (3.3)	◀
Korea, Republic of ¹	594 (2.5)	573 (2.1)	526 (2.6)	◀
Thailand [†]	451 (4.8)	452 (4.3)	452 (3.2)	
Hong Kong SAR ^{††}	561 (6.6)	554 (6.0)	540 (7.1)	◁

National average

- ▶ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **lower** than in highest-tertile group
- ▷ Average in highest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group

- ◀ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **lower** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group
- ◁ Average in lowest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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

^{††} Did not meet sampling requirements.

Students' perceptions of Asian identity and good citizenship

Despite considerable heterogeneity within the East Asian region with regard to the political, social, and economic development of its countries, there has been, over the past decade, a considerable increase in political and economic cooperation within the region, in particular in conjunction with the creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Komori, 2009). Commentators have argued that these developments will lead to an emerging East Asian regionalism, including the creation of a regional "community" (Stubbs, 2002; Terada, 2004).

The ICCS Asian questionnaire included a question designed to capture the extent to which lower-secondary students had developed a sense of identity with respect to their geographical region. Students were asked to what extent they agreed ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with the following seven statements related to Asian identity:

- I think of myself as an Asian citizen;
- I am proud of the economic progress that has been made across Asia as a whole;
- I am proud of being Asian;
- I am proud of Asian cultural traditions;
- I am proud of the progress in democracy that has been made across Asia as a whole;
- I am proud of the progress that has been made in human rights across Asia as a whole;
- I feel I have a lot in common with other young people in Asia.



Table 5.6 shows the percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed with these items in Asian ICCS countries. The percentages ranged from 77 percent agreement (a lot in common with other young people in Asia) to 89 percent (proud of the progress made in human rights across Asia). Over 90 percent of the students in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea agreed that they thought of themselves as Asian citizens. The corresponding percentages in Indonesia and Thailand were below 80 percent.

The seven items were used to derive a scale reflecting students' sense of Asian identity. It had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.85 for the pooled ICCS Asian data. Figure 5.3 in Appendix D shows the item-by-score map for this scale. Students with a score of 50 were expected to agree with all seven items. Higher scale scores indicated higher levels of students' sense of Asian identity.

Table 5.7 records the national averages of students' sense of Asian identity overall and by gender. There was little variation across countries, with scale scores ranging from 49 in the Republic of Korea and Hong Kong SAR to 51 in Chinese Taipei and Thailand. Male students had slightly but significantly higher scale scores (between one and two score points) than females in four of the countries.

Scholars have emphasized common notions of harmony, spirituality, and moral individual development across Asian countries as important in terms of educating for "good citizenship" (Ahmad, 2008; Lee, 2004b; Tan, 2008). These notions are reflected in the emphasis on morality and moral education as aspects of civic and citizenship education reported in Chapter 2.

To measure the importance of morality and spirituality that Asian lower-secondary students assign to notions of good citizenship, the regional questionnaire asked students how much they agreed ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with the following seven statements:

- A person who obeys the law is a good citizen;
- A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen;
- One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person;
- Having good morality is more important than having good knowledge for one to be a good citizen;
- Self-cultivation is an important process of becoming a good citizen;
- For one to become a good citizen, one must have a high quality of spirituality;
- Even if a person behaves properly, they cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality.

The national percentages of students who reported agreeing or strongly agreeing with these statements are reported in Table 5.8. The overall percentages (i.e., the average of country percentages) ranged from 78 (even a person who behaves properly cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality) to 93 percent (self-cultivation is an important process of becoming a good citizen). The variation across countries was largest for the statement that one can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person. Whereas in Indonesia and Thailand over 90 percent of students expressed agreement with this statement, only 63 percent of students shared this view in the Republic of Korea.

The seven items were used to derive a scale measuring students' perceptions of good citizenship that had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.73 for the ICCS Asian database. Figure 5.4 shows the item-by-score map for these items. Students with a score of 50 were expected to agree with all seven statements. Higher scale scores indicated higher levels of support for the idea that morality and spirituality is a requirement for good citizenship.



Table 5.6: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about sense of Asian identity

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:						
	I think of myself as an Asian citizen	I am proud of the economic progress that has been made across Asia as a whole.	I am proud of being Asian.	I am proud of Asian cultural traditions.	I am proud of the progress of democracy that has been made across Asia as a whole.	I am proud of the progress that has been made in human rights across Asia as a whole.	I feel I have a lot in common with other young people in Asia.
Chinese Taipei	91 (0.5) △	83 (0.6) ▽	84 (0.5) △	87 (0.5)	85 (0.6) ▽	84 (0.6) ▽	83 (0.6) △
Indonesia	72 (1.4) ▼	90 (0.7) △	80 (1.2) ▽	84 (0.9) ▽	85 (1.0) ▽	91 (0.6) △	77 (0.9)
Korea, Republic of ¹	94 (0.3) ▲	84 (0.5) ▽	81 (0.6) ▽	86 (0.6)	85 (0.5) ▽	91 (0.4) △	62 (0.8) ▼
Thailand [†]	77 (0.9) ▽	92 (0.5) △	85 (0.7) △	88 (0.6) △	95 (0.4) △	93 (0.6) △	85 (0.6) △
ICCS Asian average	83 (0.5)	87 (0.3)	83 (0.4)	86 (0.3)	87 (0.3)	89 (0.3)	77 (0.4)
Country not meeting sampling requirements							
Hong Kong SAR	93 (0.7)	85 (1.0)	86 (0.8)	87 (0.9)	84 (0.9)	82 (1.0)	80 (1.0)

National percentage

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.



Table 5.7: National averages for students' sense of Asian identity by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Sense of Asian Identity								
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	30	40	50	60	70
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2) \triangle	50 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	1 (0.4)					
Indonesia	50 (0.3)	49 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	2 (0.5)					
Korea, Republic of ¹	49 (0.1) ∇	49 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	1 (0.3)					
Thailand [†]	51 (0.2) \triangle	50 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	1 (0.3)					
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	1 (0.2)					

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	49 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	1 (0.4)					
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about sense of Asian identity with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Table 5.9 reports the national averages for this scale overall as well as for gender groups. The score averages ranged from 47 (Republic of Korea) to 54 in Thailand. Gender differences tended to be rather small and inconsistent across participating countries.

Table 5.10 shows the civic knowledge scores in national tertile groups for students' sense of Asian identity and students' perceptions of good citizenship. In all countries, the results suggested a positive relationship between civic knowledge and sense of Asian identity. In four countries, there were significant differences in civic knowledge scores, with the differences increasing across the three groups. In Hong Kong SAR, there was a significant difference between the highest and lowest groups.

The association between perceptions of good citizenship and civic knowledge was positive in Thailand and the Republic of Korea. In these countries, students in the highest-tertile group had significantly higher levels of civic knowledge than students in the lowest-tertile group. No significant differences between civic knowledge and perceptions of good citizenship emerged in the other three countries.



Table 5.8: National percentages for students' agreement with statements about good citizenship

Country	Percentages of Students Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing That:							
	A person who obeys the law is a good citizen.	A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen.	Only can be a good citizen if one is a good moral person.	Having good morality is more important than having good knowledge for one to be a good citizen.	Self-cultivation is an important process of becoming a good citizen.	For one to become a good citizen, one must have a high quality of spirituality.	Even if a person behaves properly, they cannot be a good citizen without a high quality of spirituality.	
Chinese Taipei	75 (0.8) ▼	81 (0.6) △	76 (0.7) ▽	92 (0.4) △	93 (0.4)	91 (0.4) △	76 (0.7) ▽	
Indonesia	99 (0.2) △	72 (1.0) ▽	91 (0.5) ▲	78 (0.9) ▽	96 (0.5) △	83 (0.8) ▽	78 (0.8)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	92 (0.4) △	86 (0.5) △	63 (0.7) ▼	86 (0.5)	89 (0.4) ▽	92 (0.3) △	73 (0.7) ▽	
Thailand [†]	98 (0.3) △	78 (0.6)	95 (0.4) ▲	91 (0.5) △	93 (0.5)	94 (0.4) △	86 (0.6) △	
ICCS Asian average	91 (0.2)	79 (0.4)	81 (0.3)	86 (0.3)	93 (0.2)	90 (0.3)	78 (0.4)	
Country not meeting sampling requirements								
Hong Kong SAR	75 (1.1)	81 (0.9)	79 (1.1)	89 (0.7)	94 (0.6)	87 (0.8)	68 (0.9)	

National percentage

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- [†] Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.



Table 5.9: National averages for students' perceptions of the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship by gender

Country	Gender Differences in Students' Perceptions of Good Citizenship				
	All students	Females	Males	Differences (males-females)*	
Chinese Taipei	49 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	-1 (0.4)	
Indonesia	50 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	47 (0.1) ▽	47 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	
Thailand †	54 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	-1 (0.4)	
ICCS Asian average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	0 (0.2)	

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	0 (0.5)	
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National average

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average
- △ Significantly above ICCS Asian average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS Asian average

- Female students' score +/- confidence interval
- Male students' score +/- confidence interval

On average, students with a score in the range indicated by this color have more than a 50% probability of responding to positive statements about good citizenship with:

	Disagree or strongly disagree
	Agree or strongly agree

Notes:

- * Statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

Table 5.10: National averages for civic knowledge by tertile groupings of students' sense of Asian identity and perceptions of good citizenship

Country	Lowest-Tertile Group	Medium-Tertile Group	Highest-Tertile Group	
Sense of Asian identity				
Chinese Taipei	534 (3.5)	563 (2.9)	577 (3.1)	▶
Indonesia	407 (3.5)	440 (3.3)	451 (4.2)	▶
Korea, Republic of ¹	558 (2.5)	566 (2.3)	573 (3.0)	▶
Thailand †	424 (3.5)	455 (4.1)	470 (4.3)	▶
Hong Kong SAR ††	543 (6.9)	556 (5.7)	557 (7.7)	▷
Perceptions of good citizenship				
Chinese Taipei	555 (3.3)	561 (3.1)	561 (3.7)	
Indonesia	430 (4.3)	436 (3.3)	431 (4.0)	
Korea, Republic of ¹	556 (2.4)	570 (2.2)	573 (3.6)	▷
Thailand †	418 (4.6)	444 (3.7)	469 (3.9)	▶
Hong Kong SAR ††	552 (5.9)	554 (6.9)	549 (7.3)	

National average

- ▶ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **lower** than in highest-tertile group
- ◀ Average in medium-tertile group significantly **lower** than in lowest-tertile group **and** significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group
- ▷ Average in highest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in lowest-tertile group
- ◁ Average in lowest-tertile group significantly **higher** than in highest-tertile group

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- ¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- †† Did not meet sampling requirements.



Summary

This chapter reported on students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship in the five ICCS countries of the region. The chapter's particular focus concerned the extent of student support for several ideas: preserving traditional culture in those countries, being obedient to authority, a sense of Asian regional identity, and perceptions of the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship. Overall, students gave high levels of support to the preservation of traditional cultures, held positive beliefs about the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship, and had a strong sense of Asian identity.

The strongest support among students for preserving their national traditional cultures was found in Indonesia and Thailand. The lower level of support came from the Republic of Korea. In most countries, students who were more in favor of preserving traditional culture were also those with higher levels of civic knowledge. The reverse was the case in Chinese Taipei, however.

Students expressed somewhat less support for obedience to authority. Just under half and just a little more than two-thirds of students expressed agreement with the statements related to this concept. There were also greater differences among countries on this aspect of citizenship. Students from Indonesia, with an Islamic tradition, and Thailand, with a Buddhist tradition, recorded the highest levels of support for obedience to authority. Students from Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea (both having strong Confucian traditions) were found to be least supportive. Male students had somewhat higher scores than female students on the ICCS scale reflecting greater obedience to authority. In most countries, the students who were more supportive of authority were also those with higher levels of civic knowledge.

Majorities of surveyed students in the participating countries in the region expressed some sense of Asian identity. Four out of every five (or more) students agreed with statements relating to identification with the Asian region. There was little variation across countries on the scale reflecting a sense of Asian identity, but male students tended to express slightly stronger support than female students for statements relating to Asian identity.

We also found that larger majorities of students agreed with the notion that good citizenship should be linked to morality and spirituality. However, there was notable variation among countries, with students in Thailand recording the highest percentages of agreement that good citizenship should be characterized by moral and spiritual values.



Conclusion

The purpose of the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) was to study the way young people are being prepared for citizenship at the beginning of the 21st century. The establishment of regional modules addressed specific aspects of civic and citizenship education that were of particular relevance in three geographical regions where the study was carried out: Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

The Asian regional module focused on a number of issues that national experts in the ICCS countries of the region saw as being of regional importance but that were not addressed in the international data collection. Particular emphases in the regional questionnaire were “traditional values” and citizenship concepts considered not only to be common to the countries that participated in the Asian regional module but also to have implications for civic and citizenship education.

In this report, we presented findings on the following aspects of civic and citizenship education in the East Asian region:

- The national contexts in which Asian civic and citizenship education were taking place at the time of the ICCS survey, including demographic, political, and economic characteristics, and educational policies and curricula, as well as the extent and distribution of students’ general civic knowledge and understanding;
- Students’ views on the role and responsibilities of the government and the law in their countries, including trust in institutions, acceptance of authoritarian government practices, and beliefs in the integrity of the legal system;
- Students’ perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of public officials, including acceptance of using public office for personal benefit, views on the importance of personal morality for politicians, and the use of personal connections for holding public office;
- Students’ attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship, including support for the preservation of their countries’ traditional culture and for obedience to authority, their sense of Asian identity, as well as their views on the importance of morality and spirituality for being a good citizen.

In this final chapter, we summarize the main findings presented in this report for each of these aspects of civic and citizenship education in the Asian ICCS countries. We also consider some implications of these findings.

National contexts for civic and citizenship education in Asia

Our comparison of national contexts for civic and citizenship education in the five Asian ICCS countries showed considerable heterogeneity. In particular, most international indicators suggest a higher level of economic development for three countries (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea) but only medium development for the other two countries (Indonesia and Thailand). This heterogeneity is also reflected in characteristics of the political system, such as voter turnout, voting age, and the number of political parties in parliament, as well as in the extent of perceived corruption in these countries.

The place of civic and citizenship education in the countries’ curricula also showed substantial variation. According to the results from the national contexts survey, this learning area was seen as having high priority in current education policy and reform in only two countries.

The national contexts survey data also revealed a particular focus on concepts of character development and morality in civic and citizenship education in addition to the more common (i.e., across the broader range of ICCS countries) concepts of democratic citizenship and understandings of (and respect for) human rights. This focus is congruent with patterns



reported in the literature on civic and citizenship education in the region (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2008).

Results from the ICCS civic knowledge test underlined marked differences within the region. Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea, for which international indicators signal high economic development, were among the top four ICCS countries, with very high average student test scores. However, the student scores from Indonesia and Thailand, countries that are economically less developed, were characterized among the ICCS countries by relatively low averages in civic knowledge.

Students' views on the role and responsibilities of government and the law in Asia

The level of trust that students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed with respect to national government, local government, and political parties was similar to that expressed by students in other ICCS countries. However, data from ICCS also showed substantial variation in how much adolescents trusted civic institutions in their countries. On average, students in Indonesia and Thailand expressed much higher levels of trust in national and local governments, their parliaments, and political parties than did students in the other three Asian ICCS countries.

Interestingly, Indonesia and Thailand had by far the highest proportions of students who accepted authoritarian government behavior when it could be seen as facilitating social and economic goals. It is also worth noting that acceptance of authoritarian government behavior was negatively associated with civic knowledge, which meant that students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely than students with lower levels of civic knowledge to endorse authoritarian government practices.

There was considerable variation among countries in the level of acceptance of authoritarian behavior by government. In Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea, only small minorities of students expressed acceptance of authoritarian conduct by governments. Their counterparts in Indonesia and Thailand, however, were much more accepting of this conduct if it was seen to facilitate social and economic goals. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less supportive of authoritarian conduct than students with lower levels of civic knowledge.

Relatively high percentages of students expressed confidence in the integrity of the legal systems of their countries in terms of fairness, equality before the law, and lack of corruption. However, a majority of students in Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand also believed that their respective governments were intervening in court decisions, and there were also large percentages of students who believed that the law favors those who have money and power. The associations between perceptions of integrity in legal systems and civic knowledge scores were not consistent across countries, although in Indonesia, Hong Kong SAR, and Thailand, students with higher levels of civic knowledge were more inclined than students with lower levels to express confidence in the integrity of their countries' legal systems.

Students' views on the roles and responsibilities of public officials

In all of the Asian ICCS countries, most students supported the notion that personal morality is an important characteristic of political leaders. Furthermore, fewer than half of the students in these countries indicated acceptance of corruption in public service or endorsement of the use of personal connections to hold public office.

However, there were differences among Asian ICCS countries regarding the use of personal connections (*guanxi* in the Chinese context) in public office. Whereas few students in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR, and the Republic of Korea expressed acceptance of the use of public office for personal benefit or making political support dependent on connections, more students



accepted these practices in Indonesia and Thailand. There were also gender differences in all five countries, with male students expressing greater acceptance than females of corrupt practices and the use of personal connections to hold public office.

Civic knowledge appeared to be consistently related to these attitudes. Across and within the Asian ICCS countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less accepting of corrupt practices or using personal connections when in public office and were also more supportive of statements highlighting the importance of personal morality among politicians.

Students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship

In general, large majorities of students from the Asian ICCS countries expressed support for the preservation of traditional culture in their countries. Students in Indonesia and Thailand showed even higher levels of agreement than students from the other three countries. Similar patterns existed across the countries with respect to obedience to authority, although the overall level of agreement with these items was lower than for traditional culture and ranged from an average of 47 percent to an average of 69 percent across countries. Students did, however, strongly value the maintenance of social harmony, with 87 percent of all participating Asian students agreeing that “classmates or colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony.”

Students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional cultures had a weak but positive association with civic knowledge. Conversely, a slight negative association was found between students' beliefs in the necessity of obeying authority figures and civic knowledge.

Students across all five Asian ICCS countries expressed a strong sense of Asian identity, and there was little variation in this regard across countries and little difference between boys and girls. Students also expressed high levels of agreement with the notion that personal morality and strong spirituality are essential elements of good citizenship, independent of notions of law abidance and “good” behavior. Students from Thailand showed the strongest agreement with items conveying these ideas. Differences between the responses of boys and girls within countries were negligible.

Neither students' sense of Asian identity nor their perceptions of the relationship between morality and citizenship showed any clear pattern of association with civic knowledge scores across three of the Asian countries. The exceptions were Thailand, where there was a positive association between both of these attitudes and students' civic knowledge, and Indonesia, where there was a positive association between students' sense of Asian identity and civic knowledge.

Research implications

The ICCS Asian regional module adopted a perspective on civics and citizenship that was a little different from that of the core ICCS international instruments. The region's national research coordinators agreed that this perspective, which sees an emphasis on personal morality and character development as integral to civics and citizenship education, was relevant across the five Asian ICCS countries despite their cultural and educational diversity. In all five countries, members of the ICCS national centers reported that self-cultivation and moral development are emphasized in their countries' approaches to civic and citizenship education.

The student survey data showed that, overall, students across the five countries agreed that morality is a critical aspect of “good” citizenship and regard morality as an important aspect of political leadership. In addition, and despite the diversity across the region, students in all five Asian ICCS countries showed a strong sense of “Asian identity.”



The ICCS Asian questionnaire included items relating to the scope of government and students' conditional acceptances of authoritarian behavior by governments. Together, these sets of items can be used to explore an underlying perception of the "paternalistic" role of government. As the ICCS results make evident, students showed consistent support across the Asian ICCS countries for extending government responsibilities into the personal and moral consciousness of their citizens but were less consistent in their acceptance of authoritarian behaviors.

Endorsement of authoritarian government conduct was significantly lower in Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, and Hong Kong SAR than in Thailand and Indonesia. Similar differences in attitudes between these groups of countries were found with respect to the acceptance of corruption in public service and the use of personal connections to hold office.

The finding that rejection of authoritarian government practices, corruption in the public service, and use of personal connections to hold public office were all positively associated with student civic knowledge suggests that an improvement in civic learning may help strengthen democracy and civil societies in these countries. However, given the cross-sectional design of ICCS, it is not possible to provide any clear evidence about the direction of causality for these relationships.

The findings from the five Asian ICCS countries elicit two questions about the extent to which the findings can be generalized:

- Are these same citizenship characteristics manifested by students from other Asian countries?
- Do these citizenship characteristics distinguish students in Asian countries from those in non-Asian countries?

The ICCS Asian regional data provide empirical support for including the concepts of self-cultivation and personal morality in citizenship identity as discernible outcomes of civic and citizenship education. However, these data neither provide information about how pervasive these characteristics are across students in the whole Asian region nor indicate whether the characteristics are *uniquely* Asian. The answers to both questions above could be investigated through the application of the ICCS Asian regional questionnaire in a broader range of countries within and outside of Asia.

Further questions relating to the dominance of these notional Asian citizenship characteristics could be investigated among young people from Asian backgrounds living abroad. If, for example, the characteristics of Asian citizenship are strongly maintained by students from Asian backgrounds, there are implications for the ways in which civic and citizenship education programs in the adopted countries of Asian students interact with and engage those students.

A second set of questions raised by these data from the Asian regional module relate to the clear and common pattern of differences between the attitudes of students from Thailand and Indonesia and those from the Republic of Korea, Chinese Taipei, and Hong Kong SAR. Overall, students in Thailand and Indonesia demonstrated greater trust in institutions, belief in obedience to authority, and acceptance of authoritarian government behavior than the students in the other three countries. Across all five countries, students indicated strongly positive attitudes toward their own country and belief in the value of preserving their own culture. However, the strongest expressions of belief and attitude came from Indonesia and Thailand. In contrast, there were fewer differences across countries regarding the necessary morality and spirituality underlying "good citizenship" and students' sense of Asian identity.

The first question these data raise is whether the "pattern" of difference would become more or less clear with the investigation of a broader range of Asian countries. It is possible that this observed pattern is a consequence of idiosyncratic features of the particular countries involved



in this study. Furthermore, the question arises as to how the observed differences relate to the cultural, political, historical, and economic contexts within the countries.

At first glance, the distinctions between Indonesia and Thailand on one side and Hong Kong SAR, Chinese Taipei, and the Republic of Korea on the other appear to be clear. Hong Kong SAR, Chinese Taipei, and the Republic of Korea have strong Confucian heritages, are economically more developed, and have relatively high-achieving students on the ICCS test of civic knowledge. Indonesia and Thailand have strong Islamic and Buddhist heritages respectively, are less economically developed, and have students achieving at the lower end of the ICCS set of countries. The question of how each of these differences relates to the pattern of attitudinal differences across the countries is complex.

The observed differences in attitudes can also be considered in light of the educational policy contexts described in the national contexts survey data for each country. These data suggest, not surprisingly, similar aspirations for and implementation strategies of civic and citizenship education across the countries that, in part, generated the core of the ICCS Asian regional framework and questionnaire. So one other point of interest is reflected in the question of how these broadly similar approaches lead to such varied outcomes across the ICCS Asian regional module countries.

The ICCS Asian regional module has provided civic and citizenship education data inspired by regional conceptualizations of citizenship and civics and citizenship education. These data, collected through the ICCS Asian questionnaire, will support further detailed analysis by scholars. They will also raise a new set of questions regarding the nature of Asia-specific concepts of citizenship and the context in which young people develop their citizenship identities in the countries of this region.



Appendices

APPENDIX A: INSTRUMENT DESIGN, SAMPLES, AND PARTICIPATION RATES

Table A.1: ICCS test booklet design

Booklet	Position		
	A	B	C
1	C01	C02	C04
2	C02	C03	C05
3	C03	C04	C06
4	C04	C05	C07
5	C05	C06	C01
6	C06	C07	C02
7	C07	C01	C03

Note:

CIVED link cluster shaded in grey.

Table A.2: Coverage of ICCS 2009 Asian target population

Country	International Target Population		Exclusions from Target Population		
	Coverage	Notes on coverage	School-level exclusions	Within-sample exclusions	Overall exclusions
Chinese Taipei	100%		0.4%	1.5%	1.9%
Hong Kong SAR	100%		1.2%	0.0%	1.2%
Indonesia	100%		0.9%	0.2%	1.1%
Korea Rep. of	100%		1.6%	0.3%	1.8%
Thailand	100%		2.7%	0.3%	3.0%

Note:

Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.



Table A.3: Participation rates and sample sizes for student survey

Country	School Participation Rate (in %)			Total Number of Schools that Participated in Student Survey	Student Participation Rate (Weighted) in %	Total Number of Students Assessed	Overall Participation Rate (in %)	
	Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)	After replacement (unweighted)				Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)
Chinese Taipei	98.6	100.0	100.0	150	99.0	5,167	97.6	99.0
Hong Kong SAR	42.1	50.7	50.7	76	97.0	2,902	40.8	49.2
Indonesia	98.8	100.0	100.0	142	97.4	5,068	96.2	97.4
Korea Rep. of	100.0	100.0	100.0	150	98.6	5,254	98.6	98.6
Thailand	75.2	100.0	100.0	149	98.1	5,263	73.8	98.1



Table A.4: Participation rates and sample sizes for teacher survey

Country	School Participation Rate (in %)			Total Number of Schools that Participated in Teacher Survey	Teacher Participation Rate (Weighted) in %	Total Number of Teachers Assessed	Overall Participation Rate (in %)	
	Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)	After replacement (unweighted)				Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)
Chinese Taipei	94.1	95.1	95.3	143	98.6	2,367	92.8	93.8
Hong Kong SAR	49.7	67.2	67.3	101	95.8	1,446	47.6	64.3
Indonesia	98.7	99.3	99.3	141	89.8	2,097	88.7	89.2
Korea Rep. of	98.7	98.7	98.7	148	99.7	2,340	98.5	98.5
Thailand	70.5	100.0	100.0	149	99.9	1,766	70.4	99.9



APPENDIX B: PERCENTILES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR CIVIC KNOWLEDGE

Table B.1: Percentiles of civic knowledge

Country	5th Percentile	25th Percentile	75th Percentile	95th Percentile
Chinese Taipei	397 (5.4)	495 (4.6)	626 (5.3)	705 (5.1)
Indonesia	321 (6.4)	385 (4.6)	479 (5.7)	551 (6.0)
Korea, Republic of ¹	424 (4.3)	512 (4.8)	621 (3.9)	688 (3.9)
Thailand [†]	327 (6.1)	396 (6.1)	507 (6.5)	579 (7.1)

Country not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	379 (12.0)	494 (8.4)	621 (5.8)	702 (5.5)
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Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

¹ Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

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



APPENDIX C: THE SCALING OF QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

ICCS used sets of student, teacher, and school questionnaire items to measure constructs relevant in the field of civic and citizenship education. Usually, sets of Likert-type items with four categories (e.g., “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” and “strongly disagree”) were used to obtain this information, but at times two-point or two-point rating scales were chosen (e.g., “Yes” and “No”). The items were then recoded so that the higher scale scores reflected more positive attitudes or higher frequencies.

The Rasch Partial Credit Model (Masters & Wright, 1997) was used for scaling, and the resulting weighted likelihood estimates (Warm, 1989) were transformed into a metric with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted ICCS national samples that satisfied guidelines for sample participation. Details on scaling procedures are provided in the ICCS technical report (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

The resulting ICCS scale scores can be interpreted with regard to the average across countries participating in ICCS, but they do not reveal the extent to which students endorsed the items used for measurement. However, use of the Rasch Partial Credit Model allows mapping scale scores to item responses. Thus, it is possible for each scale score to predict the most likely item response for a respondent. (For an application of these properties in the IEA CIVED survey, see Schulz, 2004.)

Appendix D provides item-by-score maps to predict the minimum coded score (e.g., 0 = “strongly disagree,” 1 = “disagree,” 2 = “agree,” and 3 = “strongly agree”) a respondent would obtain on a Likert-type item. For example, for students with a certain scale score, one could predict that they would have a 50 percent probability of agreeing (or strongly agreeing) with a particular item (see example item-by-score map in Figure D.1). For each item, it is possible to determine Thurstonian thresholds, the points at which a minimum item score becomes more likely than any lower score and which determine the boundaries between item categories on the item-by-score map.

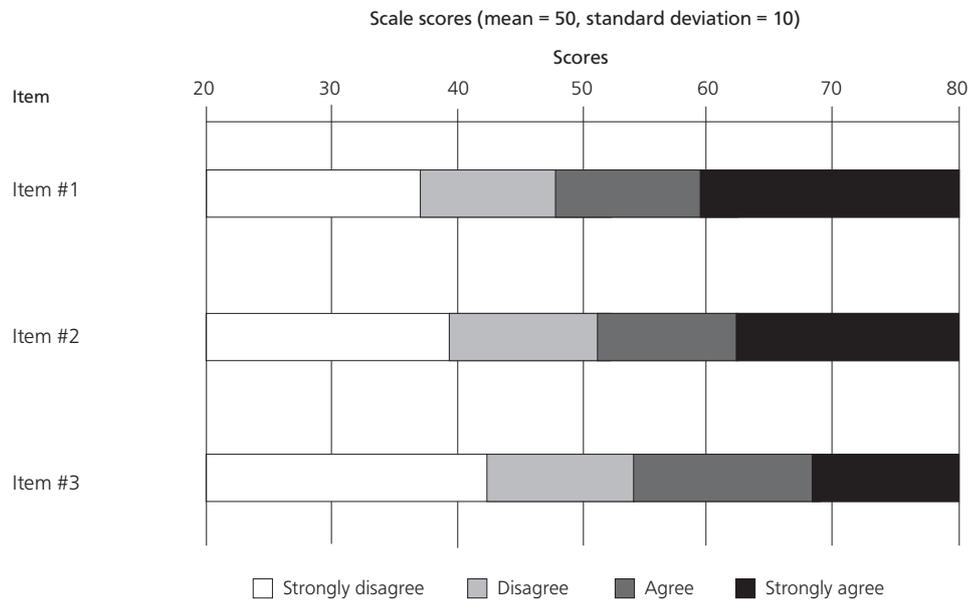
This information can also be summarized by calculating the average thresholds across all items in a scale. For four-point Likert-type scales, this was usually done for the second threshold, making it possible to predict how likely it would be for a respondent with a certain scale score to have (on average across items) responses in the two lower or upper categories. Use of this approach in the case of items measuring agreement made it possible to distinguish between scale scores with which respondents were most likely to agree or disagree with the average item used for scaling.

National average scale scores are depicted as boxes that indicate their mean values plus/minus sampling error in graphical displays (e.g., in Table 3.4 in the main body of the text) that have two underlying colors. If national average scores are located in the area in light blue on average across items, students would have had responses in the lower item categories (“disagree or strongly disagree,” “not at all or not very interested,” “never or rarely”). If these scores are found in the darker blue area, then students’ average item responses would have been in the upper item response categories (“agree or strongly agree,” “quite or very interested,” “sometimes or often”).



APPENDIX D: ITEM-BY-SCORE MAPS FOR QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Figure D.1: Example of questionnaire item-by-score map



Example of how to interpret the item-by-score map

#1:	A respondent with score 30 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly disagreeing with all three items
#2:	A respondent with score 40 has more than a 50 percent probability of not strongly disagreeing with Items 1 and 2 but of strongly disagreeing with Item 3
#3:	A respondent with score 50 has more than a 50 percent probability of agreeing with Item 1 and of disagreeing with Items 2 and 3
#4:	A respondent with score 60 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly agreeing with Item 1 and of at least agreeing with Items 2 and 3
#5:	A respondent with score 70 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly agreeing with Items 1, 2, and 3



Figure 3.1: Item-by-score-map for students' acceptance of authoritarian government practices

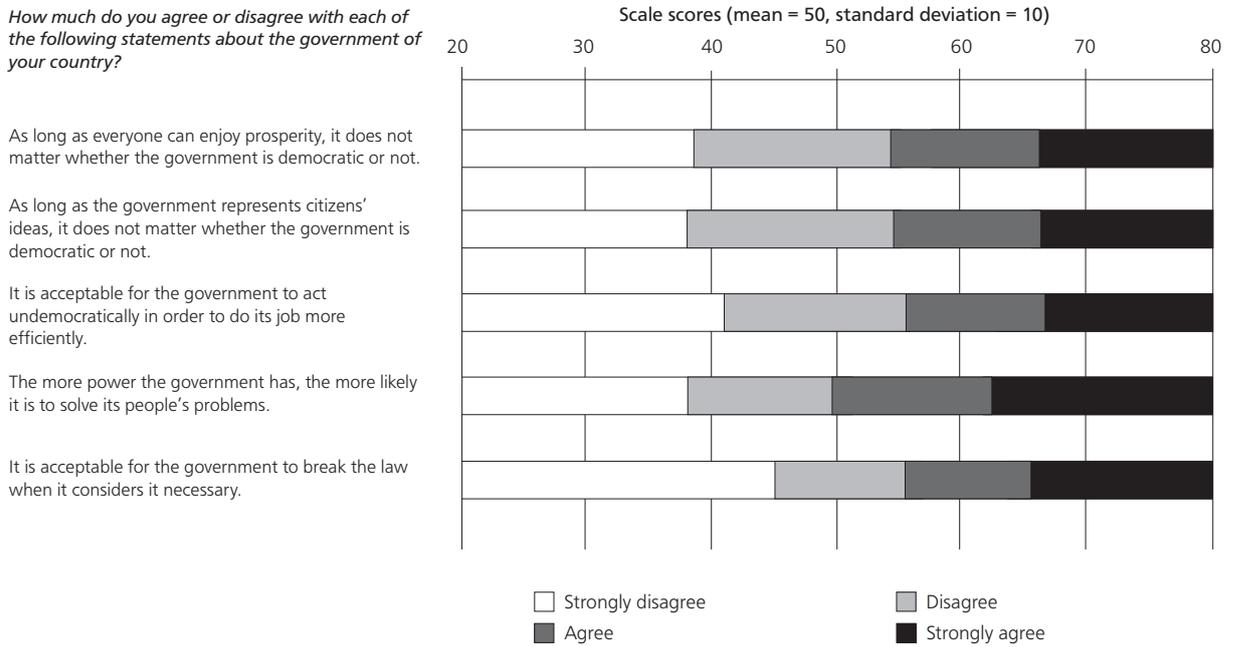


Figure 3.2: Item-by-score-map for students' perceptions of the integrity of the legal system

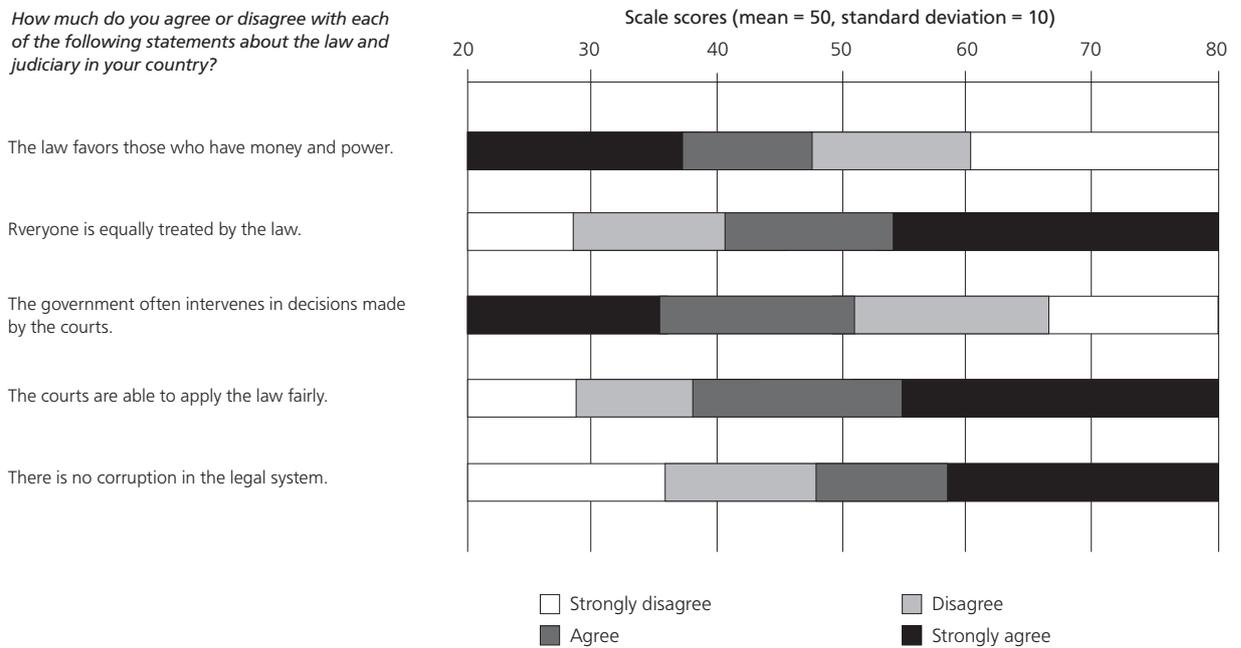


Figure 4.1: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward corruption in public service

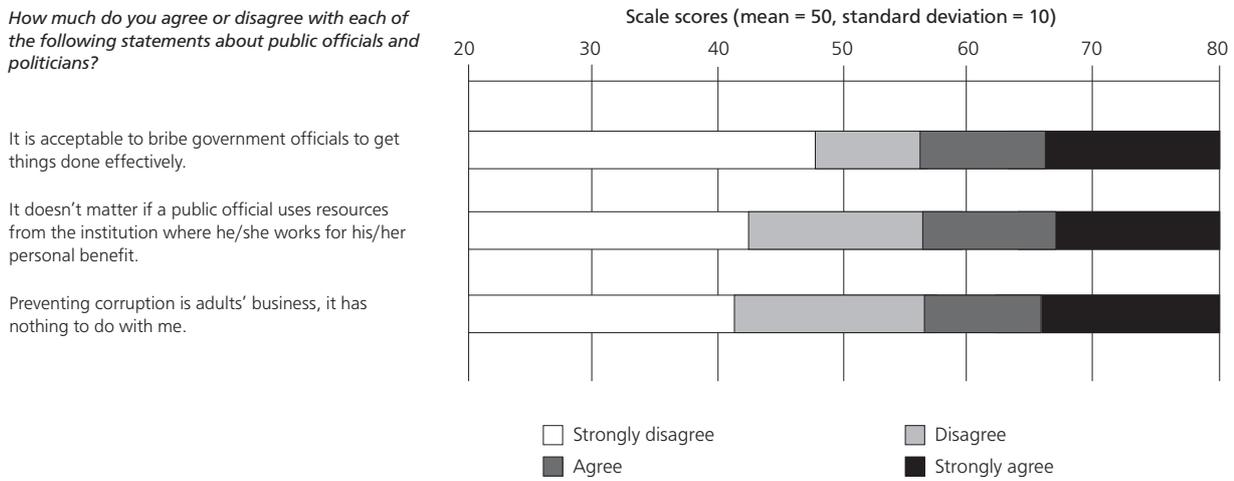


Figure 4.2: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward personal morality of politicians

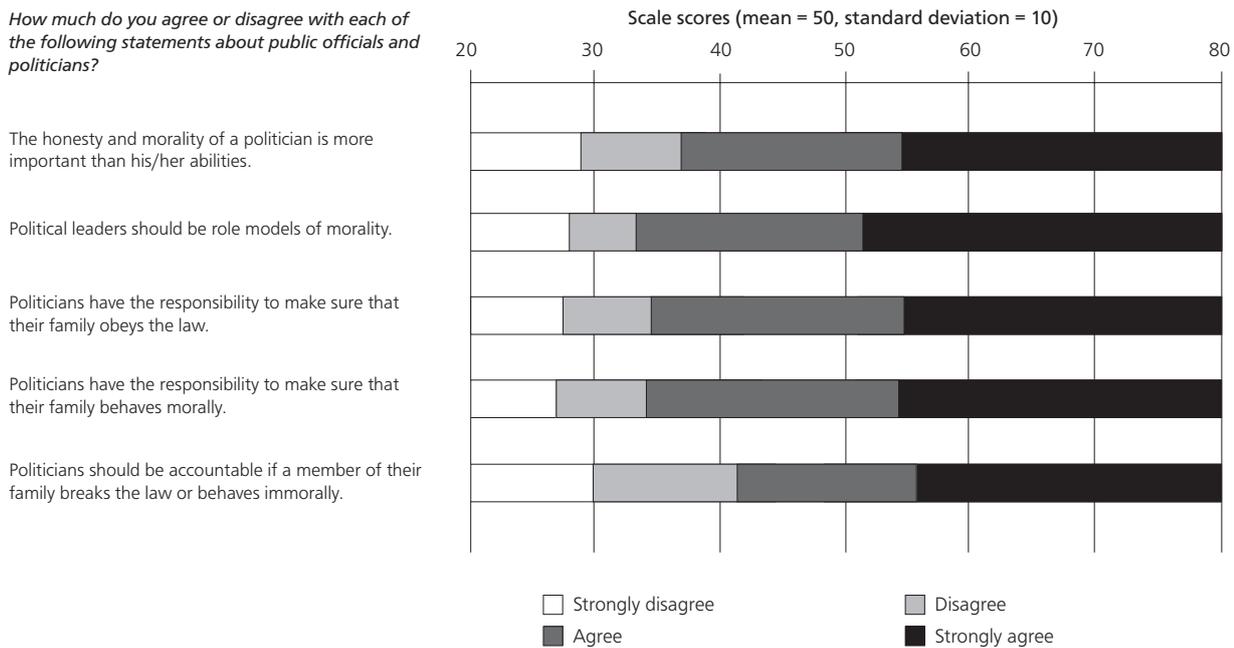


Figure 4.3: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the role of <connections> in elections or public office?

If there are many candidates in an election, we should only vote for the people from our <hometown/local area>.

Only the candidates we have <connections> with would truly serve us after they get elected.

If a candidate is a friend or relative, then we should vote for him/her even if he/she is not the best candidate for the job.

It is acceptable for public officials to give preference to family and friends when hiring people for public office.

It is acceptable for a public official to give government contracts to people they have <connections> with even if they are not the best qualified to do the contract work.

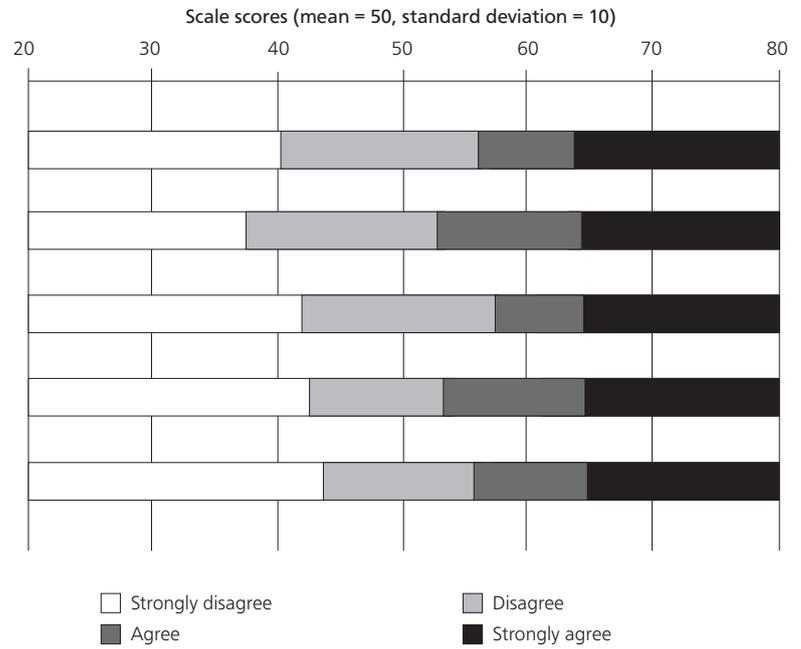


Figure 5.1: Item-by-score map for students' attitudes toward the preservation of traditional culture

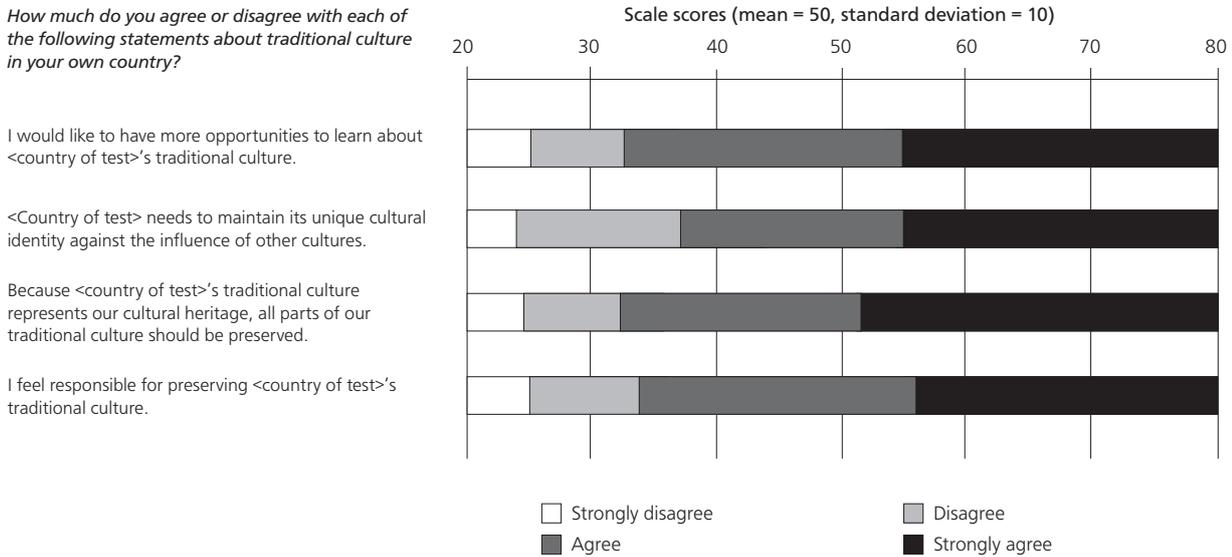


Figure 5.2: Item-by-score-map for students' attitudes toward obedience to authority

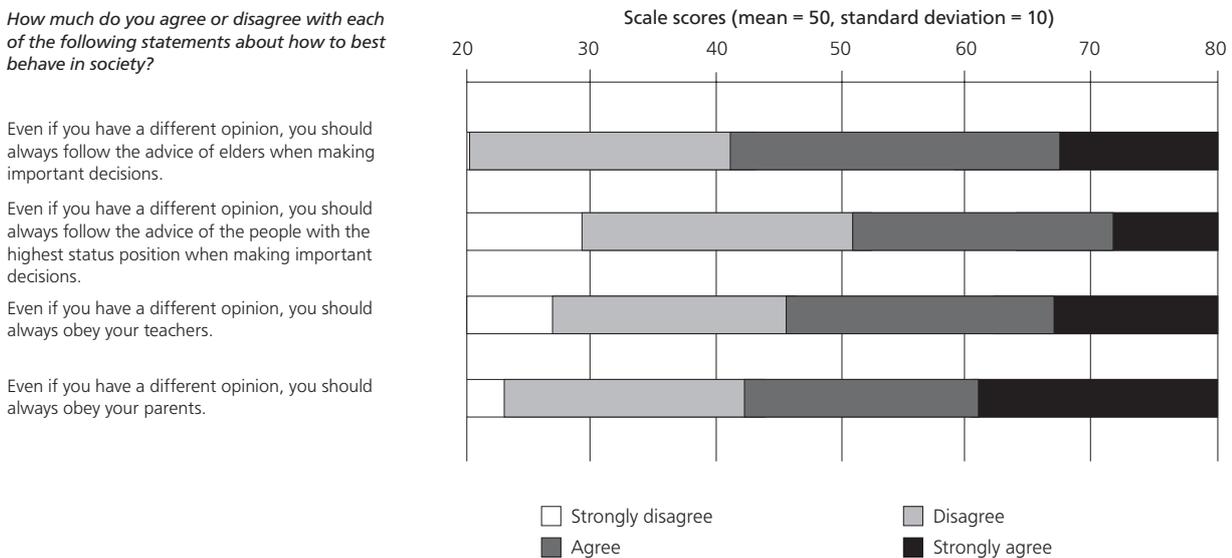


Figure 5.3: Item-by-score-map for students' sense of Asian identity

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the Asian region and Asian identity?

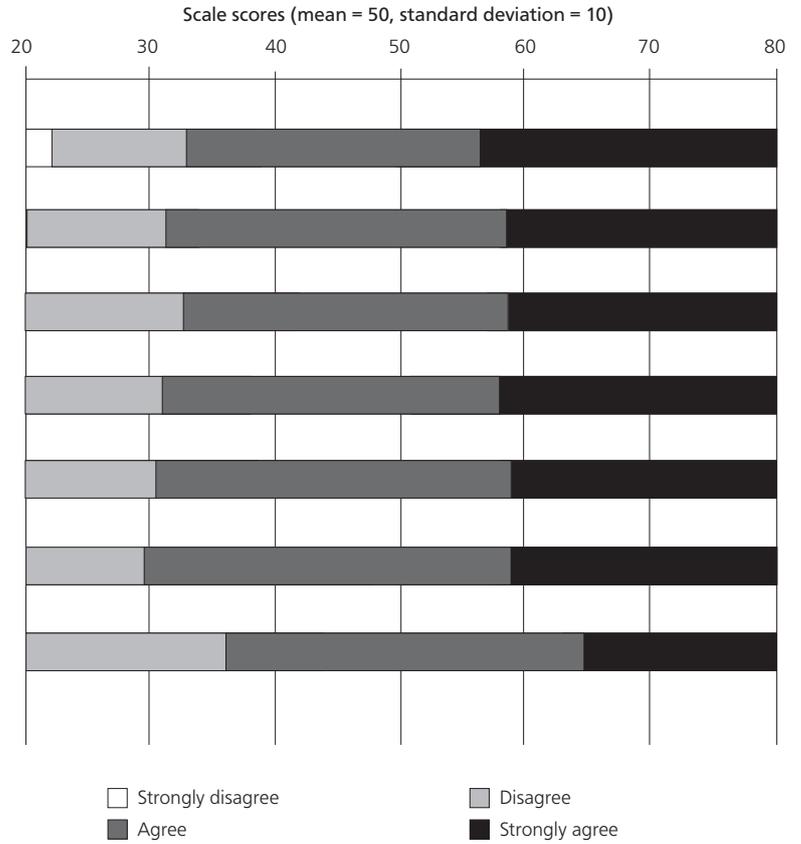
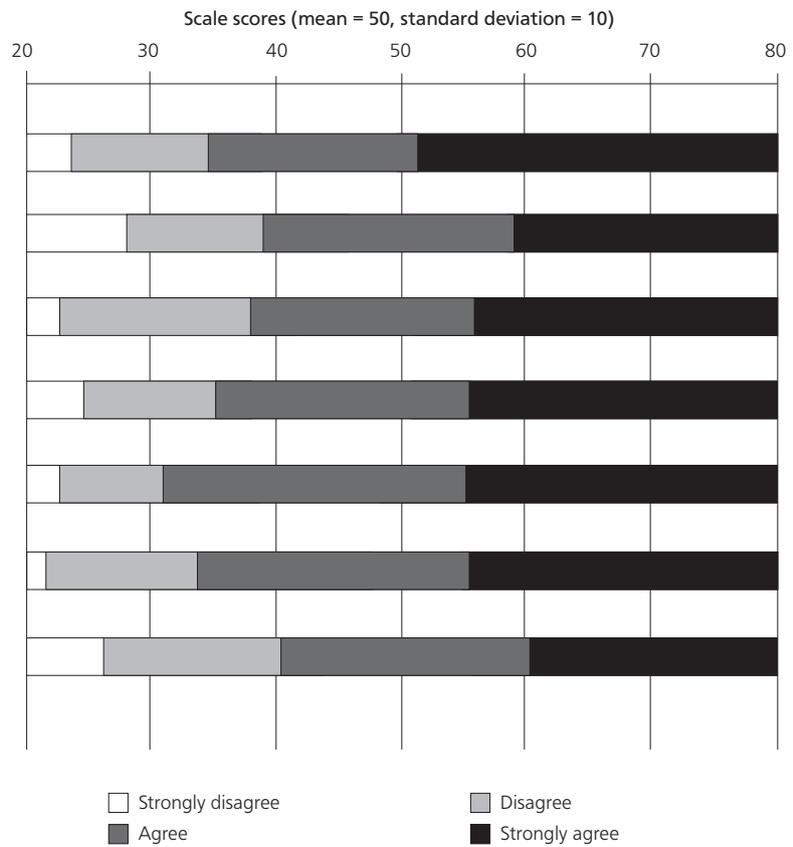


Figure 5.4: Item-by-score-map for students' perceptions of good citizenship

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about being a good citizen?



APPENDIX E: ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN ICCS

The international study center and its partner institutions

The international study center is located at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) and serves as the international study center for ICCS. Center staff at ACER were responsible for the design and implementation of the study. They worked in close cooperation with the center's partner institutions NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research, Slough, United Kingdom) and LPS (Laboratorio di Pedagogia Sperimentale at the Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy), as well as the IEA Data Processing and Research Center (DPC) and the IEA Secretariat.

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International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

IEA provides overall support in coordinating ICCS. The IEA Secretariat in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, is responsible for membership, translation verification, and quality control monitoring. The IEA Data Processing and Research Center (DPC) in Hamburg, Germany, is mainly responsible for sampling procedures and the processing of ICCS data.

Staff at the IEA Secretariat

Hans Wagemaker, *executive director*
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Staff at the IEA Data Processing and Research Center (DPC)

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ICCS project advisory committee (PAC)

PAC has, from the beginning of the project, advised the international study center and its partner institutions during regular meetings.

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Jean Dumais from Statistics Canada in Ottawa is the sampling referee for the study. He has provided invaluable advice on all sampling-related aspects of the study.

National research coordinators (NRCs)

The national research coordinators (NRCs) played a crucial role in the development of the project. They provided policy- and content-oriented advice on the development of the instruments and were responsible for the implementation of ICCS in participating countries.

NRCs for countries participating in the Asian module are marked with an asterisk (*).

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This report presents findings from the Asian regional module of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), sponsored by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Over the past 50 years, IEA has conducted 30 comparative research studies focusing on educational policies, practices, and outcomes in various school subjects in more than 80 countries around the world.

ICCS studied the ways in which young people in lower-secondary schools are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a range of countries. The ICCS regional modules for Asia, Europe, and Latin America supplemented the international survey in order to investigate specific regional aspects of civic and citizenship education.

Five countries participated in the Asian regional module. Data were gathered from approximately 24,000 Grade 8 students and 10,000 teachers in nearly 700 schools. The Asian module focused on the individual characteristics underpinning “Asian citizenship,” as well as students’ perceptions of and attitudes toward the role of government and its responsibilities, the legal system, and preservation of a national traditional culture. The data gathered for this module provide unique evidence on a number of Asia-specific aspects that may be used to improve policy and practice in civic and citizenship education. The data also provide a new baseline for future research in this area.

The results of analyses presented in this report revealed that Asian countries place similar emphases on self-cultivation and moral development in their approaches to civic education. The majority of young people surveyed agreed that morality is a critical aspect of both good citizenship and good political leadership, and they showed a strong sense of Asian identity. Some differences across the region were also evident. For example, endorsement of authoritarian government conduct was significantly lower among students in East Asia than those in Southeast Asia. Students with higher civic knowledge scores reported less acceptance of authoritarian government practices and corruption in public service.

This report follows publication of two international and two other regional reports from the ICCS project (European and Latin American). A technical report and international database are also available for those in the research community wanting to carry out secondary analyses. The civic and citizenship education encyclopedia will be the final publication in the ICCS series.