



Democratic Efficacy and the Varieties of Populism in Europe

Working Paper

Democratic Efficacy and Schools

Curricula, Institutions, and Attitudes

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Abstract

This working paper studies the role of schools in developing attitudes related to democratic efficacy which, as proven by previous DEMOS research, offers a protection against populist appeal. We analyse the subject matter from three different perspectives.

First, we study the relationship between civic education (CE) curricula at schools and democratic political efficacy of youth in 14 European countries. We look at whether national level policies related to civic education have an effect on internal and external political efficacy, political interest, political participation and support for democratic values (equality, tolerance and autonomy) of youth. As our explanatory variables at country level we include 5 variables identified in the Eurydice Report 'Citizenship at School in Europe Education 2017': compulsory guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education, recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject, inclusion of competences related to 'knowledge of political processes', 'knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts' and 'knowledge of/participation in civil society' in national citizenship education curricula. As the data source for investigating the relationship at the individual and country levels we employ data from the European Social Survey, Round 9. We find that the most consistent effect on youth's democratic political efficacy is exerted by the recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject.

Second, we go beyond formal education and study the role of school climate in developing democratic attitudes among the students. Using PISA survey data from 18 countries we found that the sense of belonging to school, the perception of competitiveness at school, the perception of cooperation at school and the perception of teacher commitment by students predict democratic attitudes. At the same time, if the school climate is characterised by bullying and discrimination, this hinders the consolidation of democratic habits. To a lesser extent, it also hinders the consolidation of critical, democratic thinking when there is poor discipline in the classroom. These correlations are general, since they apply to all types of countries.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION.....	4
CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULA AND DEMOCRATIC EFFICACY	6
1.1 DATA, MODELS, AND METHODS	7
1.2 FINDINGS	9
1.3 CONCLUSIONS.....	25
STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES AND SCHOOL CULTURE: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS	
USING PISA2018 ASSESSMENT DATA	26
1.4 DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS.....	26
1.5 DEPENDENT VARIABLE: GLOBAL DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES	27
1.6 FINDINGS	33
1.7 CONCLUSIONS.....	37
REFERENCES.....	38
APPENDIX.....	40

Introduction

Civic participation is a cornerstone in democratic societies. The interest, attitudes and engagement of individuals towards civic issues fundamentally shape the functioning of our democratic systems. Thus, it is not surprising that scholars from various disciplines are interested in the contextual factors and conditions that shape attitudes and engagements towards civic issues. Understanding the influence of different actors, activities and interactions that shape political participation and engagement of the youth is crucial for developing standards of civic education (Dudley and Gitelson 2002). Schools are considered to play an important role as institutions educating young people democratic principles and to serve as niches for the development of civic engagement (Guillaume et al. 2015). However, interestingly, there are still many lacunas in the research about the democratic role of schools. It is not clear which characteristics of the schools affect what kind of outcome variable (attitudes and which kind of attitudes; behaviour etc.). The present working paper focuses on civic education school curricula and specific measures of school climate as the most important explanatory variables and democratic attitudes as well as engagement as dependent variables.

Many countries experience a decline of civic involvement (Galston, 2007) and one of the strategies to foster political and civic participation is to provide an active civic education for the young generation. However, it is still debated whether this has any effect at all on democratic attitudes. Civic education, which is a broad concept, is often used to describe ‘the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that children are expected to learn to be virtuous and civically productive members of society’ (Levinson, 2014, p.1). In this respect it is suggested to think about different traditional forms of citizenship, i.e. civil, political, and social as it was described by T.H. Marshall, and include current developments of a citizenship concept, such as digital, transnational, global, or cosmopolitan citizenship (Levinson, 2014).

As emphasised by Levinson (2014), there are 2 major reasons why states need civic education to be included into school curricula:

- to perpetuate the state itself: no individual can spontaneously develop the knowledge and skills to maintain the state.
- to realise states’ civic ideals: through civic education individuals may internalise such values as ‘equality, natural hierarchy, mutual respect, shared adoration for the fatherland, mutual non-interference, or common national identity’ (p.5) and many more (especially freedom of speech and other core democratic rights and values).

To serve these goals, civic education is an essential means to maintain democracy and to serve as a vehicle for democratic efficacy. And the role of schools, which may be one of the most important spaces where civic education takes place, stands at its root.

In civic education, civic knowledge is of crucial importance. Galston (2007) paid specific attention to the importance of civic knowledge arguing that ‘that civic knowledge directly affects civic competence, character, and conduct’ (p.624).

Another aspect is a pedagogical approach and methods used. As argued by Levinson (2014), open classroom climate, discussions, simulations may be very helpful to teach democratic principles.

The school subjects through which civic education is taught, might be classified to be (a) indirect or (b) direct. The first includes such subjects as history, and the latter presents civic courses. Thus, civic education might be incorporated into different subjects or presented as a separate course, which exclusively focuses on this topic. Also, a third alternative is possible as well, when citizen education is taught as a cross-curriculum subject. Different countries have different strategies to implement civic education.

Regarding the content, the focus is on different types of skills and knowledge: 1) interacting effectively and constructively with others; 2) thinking critically; 3) acting in a socially responsible manner; and 4) acting democratically (European Commission report 'Citizenship Education at School in Europe', 2017).

According to European Commission report 'Citizenship Education at School in Europe' (2017), 'citizenship education is part of the national curricula for general education in all countries' (p.10). This report indicates that in the majority of European countries curricula are rather broad in scope and cover "most of the competences related to democratic and socially responsible action, critical thinking and inter-personal interactions", however 'nearly half of the countries still have no regulations or recommendations on the development of prospective teachers' citizenship education competences through initial teacher education' (p.10). Data show, that citizenship education is usually integrated into other subjects, however, there are substantial differences between countries in the duration of provision:

'The longest periods of provision can be found in Estonia, France, Slovakia and Finland, where citizenship as a separate subject is taught in each grade for at least seven school years and at most 12. At the other extreme, the compulsory subjects in Croatia, Cyprus, and Turkey are only provided in one grade of general education. These substantial differences are in turn reflected in the recommendations on the average taught time across the whole period of general education, which ranges from six hours in Croatia to 72 hours in France' (p. 12).

Thus, our research question focuses on whether there is an effect of citizenship education (CE) on political interest, younger people who were/are exposed to an education system that provides CE should be more interested and show more internal and external efficacy with respect to the rest of the citizens in their country. Our hypothesis is that the structure of civic education (whether it is a separate course on civic education or some topics that are being integrated into the curricula of other courses) and the duration of citizen education provision have an impact on a person's political interest, political efficacy, political activism, and democratic values.

In the second section of the present working paper, we will dig deeper than studying the curricula themselves: we investigate on the school climate and its role in forming democratic attitudes. The interactions between individual level variables and school-level ones are, of course, complex. It is known that children from families with lower socioeconomic status exhibit less political participation (Castillo et al. 2015). Not only do students' backgrounds affect later engagement, but also interaction with peers. Luengo Kanacri et al. (2017)

demonstrate that students' pro-social behaviours towards close peers constitute foundations for later civic engagement. Moreover, civic engagement has been shown to be more pronounced for students with a stronger sense of belonging to the school and its community (Encina and Berger 2021).

With regard to contextual factors, recent studies find a positive effect of a school's social climate on students' civic behaviour. Castillo et al. (2015) investigate the role of civic knowledge and classroom climate on political participation and find a positive influence. Jagers et al. (2017) also study the role of classroom climate on civic engagement of Black and Latino middle school students. They find that an equitable school climate predicts higher civic attitudes one year later. Moreover, research suggests that a school's climate cannot only directly affect students' civic outcomes, but also act as a moderating factor. In an empirical study with students from middle schools, Guillaume et al. (2015) find that individual positive perceptions of a school's climate are positively related to school connectedness that in turn affects civic engagement. Schulz et al. (2017) find a positive association between classroom climate, which they measure as students' perception of the openness of classroom discussions about political and societal issues, and students' interest in political and societal issues. More recently, Encina and Berger (2021) find that a school's social climate can effectively moderate students' sense of belonging and valuing of the school that in turn fosters their civic behaviour. Understanding these interactions between a school's climate, individual characteristics and their civic engagement is of major interest to develop measures of civic education.

As this previous research suggests, a school's social climate is not clearly defined, and empirical studies came up with conceptual approaches that focus on different components and processes (Encina and Berger 2021). For instance, while Guillaume et al. (2015) and Quin (2017) use students' individual perceptions of teacher-student or student-student relationships, Jagers et al. (2017) use students' perceptions of equitable treatment of racial, socioeconomic, and gender groups. In contrast, Encina and Berger (2021) measure school climate on the teacher- and school-staff level by asking about the schools' disciplinary structure and student support. Their measure rests on authoritative school climate theory.

Our research used one approach in operationalizing school climate. Using data of a major international survey (PISA) we created a scale of student behaviour as well as another on teacher behaviour (as perceived by the principle).

As for the dependent variables, the PISA study builds on the survey items about democratic values that we labelled 'global democratic attitudes', given the weight of intercultural and global issues in the scale. However, the items cover several dimensions of the concept of democratic efficacy, developed by DEMOS (democratic values, democratic skills, democratic knowledge). Although they do not cover exactly the concept of democratic efficacy (the variables of political efficacy are lacking), we believe that the scale can be used as a proxy of it.

Civic education curricula and democratic efficacy

This section of the working paper studies the connections between civic education (CE) at schools and democratic political efficacy of youth in 14 European countries. We look at

whether national level policies related to civic education have an effect on internal and external political efficacy, political interest, political participation and support for democratic values (equality, tolerance and autonomy) of youth. As our explanatory variables at the country level we include five variables identified in the Eurydice Report ‘Citizenship at School in Europe Education 2017’: compulsory guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education, recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject, inclusion of competences related to ‘knowledge of political processes’, ‘knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts’ and ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national citizenship education curricula. As the data source for investigating the relationship on the individual and country level we employ data from the European Social Survey, Round 9. We find that the most consistent effect on youth’s democratic political efficacy is exerted by the recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject. Also, parental education level is positively associated with different aspects of democratic political efficacy of youth in Europe.

1.1 Data, models, and methods

In order to test the hypotheses about the effects of different national CE policies on political attitudes and behaviours of young people in Europe we use data from the European Social Survey, Round 9 (2018-2020). As pointed out above, we try to assess whether levels of exposure and contents of CE increase interest in politics, internal and/or external efficacy, as well as support for equality, tolerance and autonomy values that are important for democratic political efficacy.

out of 29 countries where the ESS Round 9 survey was conducted only **14** had information on all the **country** level variables measuring national CE policies: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, Croatia, Ireland, Lithuania, Montenegro, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. The total **size of the sample** including only respondents 22 years of age or younger and countries for which country level data is available equals **1722**.

As our **dependent variables** reflecting various aspects of democratic political efficacy, we employed several individual level variables:

- For measuring **political interest** of young people we used variable “polintr” (How interested in politics, measured on 0-3 scale)
- For measuring **internal political efficacy** we constructed an index from two items (by means of averaging, Cronbach’s alpha=0.78):
 - *actrolga* (Able to take active role in political group, measured on 1-5 scale)
 - *cptppola* (Confident in own ability to participate in politics, measured on 1-5 scale)
- For measuring **external political efficacy** we constructed an index from two items (by means of averaging, Cronbach’s alpha=0.60):
 - *psppsgva* (Political system allows people to have a say in what government does, measured on 1-5 scale)
 - *psppipla* (Political system allows people to have influence on politics, measured on 1-5 scale)

- For measuring **political efficacy** we constructed an index from the four items included into internal and external political efficacy indices (by means of averaging, Cronbach's alpha=0.78).
- For measuring **political activism** we constructed an index from 8 binary items (by means of summing the positive answers):
 - *contplt* (Contacted politician or government official last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *wrkprty* (Worked in political party or action group last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - "wrkorg" (Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *badge* (Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *sgnptit* (Signed petition last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *pbldmn* (Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *bctprd* (Boycotted certain products last 12 months, Yes/No)
 - *pstplonl* (Posted or shared anything about politics online last 12 months, Yes/No)
- For measuring **democratic values of equality, tolerance and autonomy** we used three separate items (all other (21 in total) value items are mean centred as advised by Schwartz 2009) from the Schwartz value scale:
 - *ipeqopt* (Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities, measured on 1-6 scale)
 - *ipudrst* (Important to understand different people, measured on 1-6 scale)
 - *impfree* (Important to make own decisions and be free, measured on 1-6 scale)

As our main **explanatory** variables we used **five country level variables measuring various aspects of national CE policies** taken from the Eurydice Report 'Citizenship at School in Europe Education 2017' (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018):

- Nature of guidelines on **classroom assessment** in CE (No guidelines vs. General or specific guidelines)
- Recommended **minimum number of hours of compulsory CE** as a separate subject (mean centred)
- Inclusion of **competences** related to '**knowledge of political processes**' in national CE curricula (Not mentioned vs. Explicitly mentioned)
- Inclusion of **competences** related to "**knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts**" in national CE curricula (Not mentioned vs. Explicitly mentioned)
- Inclusion of **competences** related to "**knowledge of/participation in civil society**" in national CE curricula (Not mentioned vs. Explicitly mentioned)

As **control** variables we also included two individual level socio-demographic items:

- "gndr" (Gender, Male/Female)
- "eiscdf" (Father's education measured on 3 category scale: Low: ES-ISCED I and ES-ISCED II vs. Middle: ES-ISCED IIIa, ES-ISCED IIIb and ES-ISCED IV vs. High: ES-ISCED V1 and ES-ISCED V2)

We used weighted (country, design and post-stratification) multilevel linear regression for running the **models** with respondents as our first level units and countries as our second level units. Each dependent variable was modelled separately with all the same control variables included into the models. However, due to small sample size on the second level we modelled our second level variables separately.

1.2 Findings

The results of multilevel linear regression models for predictors of youth's political interest, political efficacy, political activism and support for values of equality, tolerance and autonomy in 14 studied countries are described below. Results in Table 1 indicate that only recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 1) effect on political interest of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the political interest of youth. In this case parental education also has a positive effect on political interest.

Table 1. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of political interest.

	Dependent: How interested in politics (scale: 0-3)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	0.75 (0.00)*	0.83 (0.00)	0.99 (0.00)	0.76 (0.00)	0.91 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	0.08 (0.67)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.03)	--	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of political processes’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.21 (0.36)	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	0.09 (0.57)	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.15 (0.36)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	-0.01 (0.86)	-0.02 (0.85)	-0.01 (0.86)	-0.01 (0.86)	-0.01 (0.86)
Father’s highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.08 (0.01)	0.07 (0.02)	0.08 (0.02)	0.08 (0.02)	0.08 (0.02)
High	0.50 (0.00)	0.50 (0.00)	0.50 (0.00)	0.50 (0.00)	0.50 (0.00)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06
Residual	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1646				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

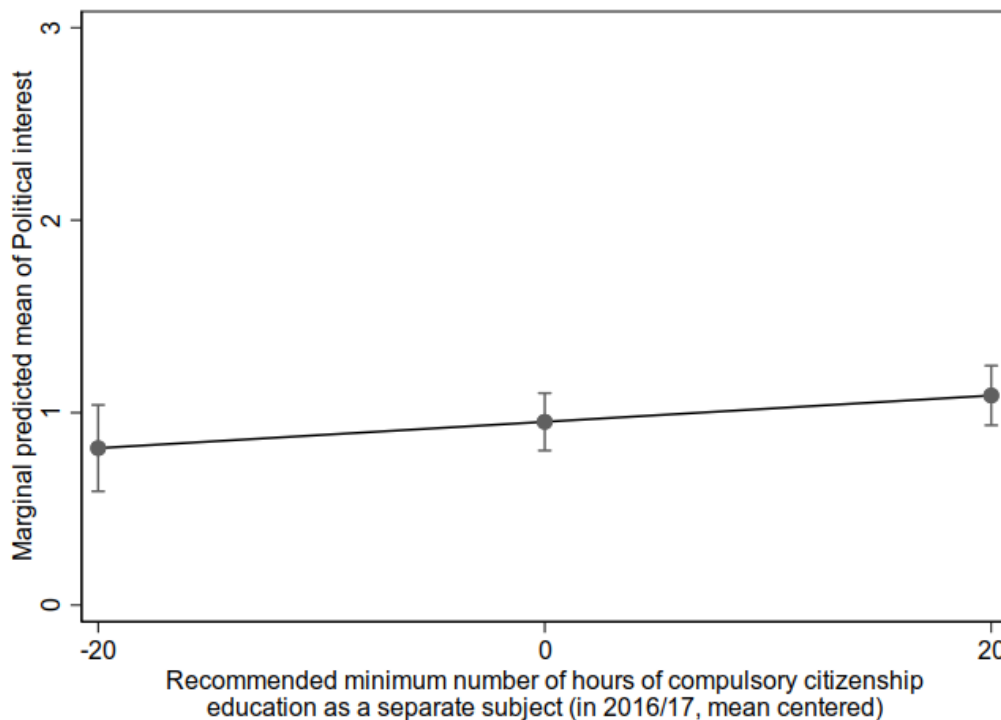


Fig. 1. Marginal predicted means of levels of political interest (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 2 again indicate that only recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 2) effect on political efficacy of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the political efficacy of youth. In this case both parental education and gender have an effect: political efficacy of male young people and those having parents with higher levels of education is higher.

Table 2. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of political efficacy.

	Dependent: 4 item political efficacy index (scale: 1-5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	2.05 (0.00)*	2.02 (0.00)	2.07 (0.00)	2.03 (0.00)	2.04 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	-0.03 (0.85)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.03)	--	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of political processes' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.06 (0.54)	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	-0.02 (0.89)	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of/participation in civil society' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.04 (0.79)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.03)
Father's highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.15 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)
High	0.31 (0.00)	0.30 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.05
Residual	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.47
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1607				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with *p*-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

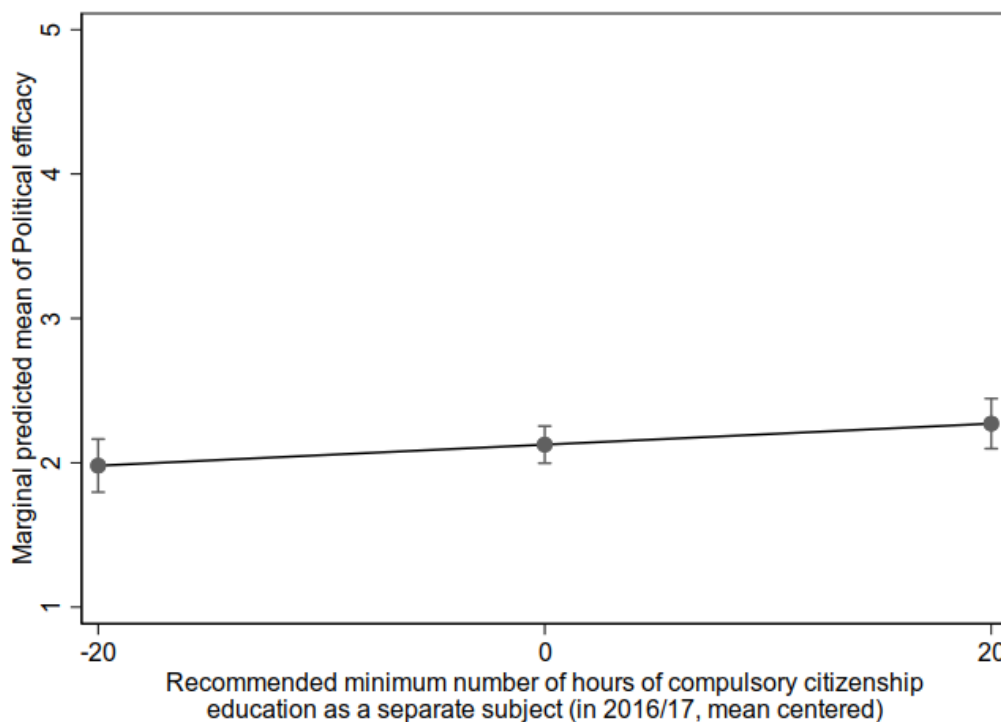


Fig. 2. Marginal predicted means of levels of political efficacy (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 3 again indicate that only a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 3) effect on internal political efficacy of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the internal political efficacy of youth. Looking at the control variables we see that only parental education has a positive effect on internal political efficacy.

Table 3. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of internal political efficacy.

	Dependent: 2 item internal political efficacy index (scale: 1-5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	1.84 (0.00)*	1.91 (0.00)	1.92 (0.00)	1.99 (0.00)	1.97 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	0.07 (0.69)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.02)	--	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of political processes' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.02 (0.85)	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	-0.13 (0.34)	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of/participation in civil society' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.13 (0.37)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)
Father's highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.16 (0.07)	0.15 (0.08)	0.16 (0.07)	0.16 (0.07)	0.16 (0.07)
High	0.44 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)	0.44 (0.00)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05
Residual	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1592				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* *Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.*

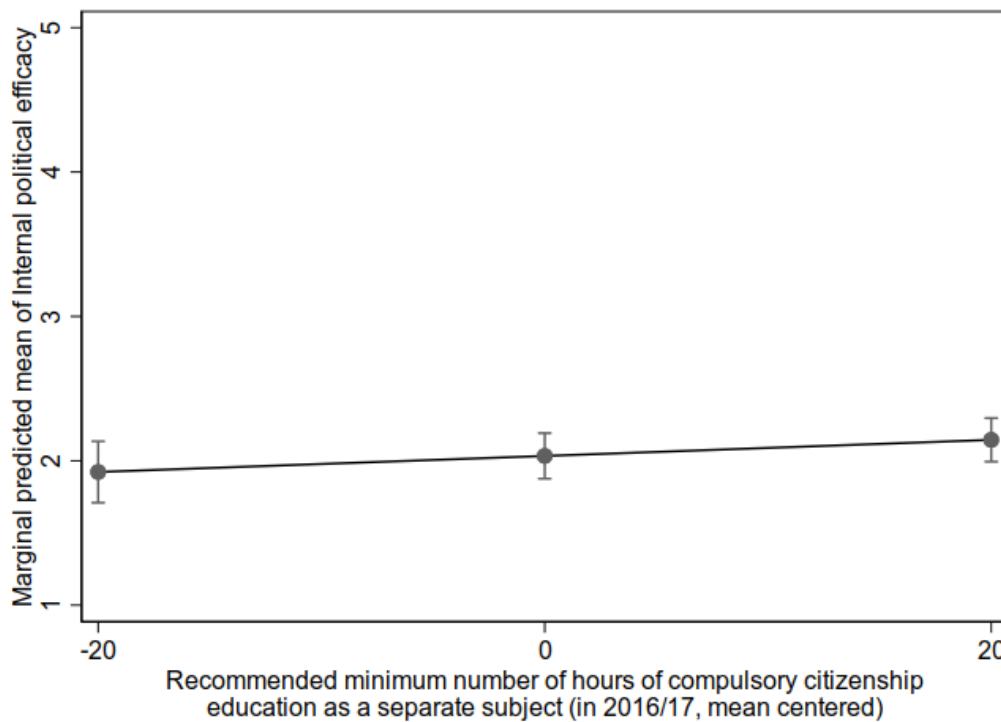


Fig. 3. Marginal predicted means of levels of internal political efficacy (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 4 indicate that only a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a very small positive (see Fig. 4) effect on external political efficacy of young people. Interestingly, we find that national CE policies are more important for internal and not external political efficacy. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the external political efficacy of youth. Looking at the control variables we see that parental education has a positive effect on internal political efficacy. Also, male young people express higher levels of external political efficacy.

Table 4. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of external political efficacy.

	Dependent: 2 item external political efficacy index (scale: 1-5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	2.30 (0.00)*	2.17 (0.00)	2.25 (0.00)	2.11 (0.00)	2.14 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	-0.15 (0.35)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.052)	--	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of political processes’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.11 (0.50)	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	0.07 (0.73)	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	0.05 (0.77)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	-0.05 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.00)
Father’s highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.12 (0.00)	0.12 (0.01)	0.12 (0.00)	0.12 (0.01)	0.12 (0.00)
High	0.16 (0.050)	0.16 (0.050)	0.16 (0.050)	0.16 (0.052)	0.16 (0.050)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.08	0.08
Residual	0.65	0.65	0.65	0.65	0.65
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1583				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

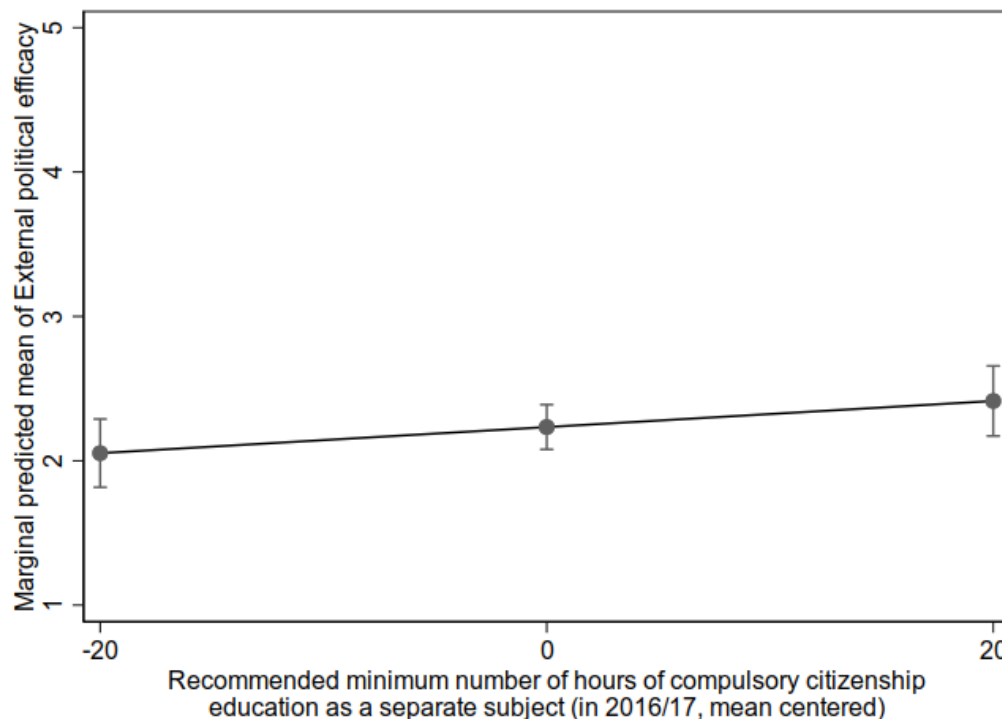


Fig. 4. Marginal predicted means of levels of external political efficacy (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 5 reveal that only a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 5) effect on political activism of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the political activism of youth in the studied countries. In this case both parental education and gender have an effect: political activism of female young people and those having parents with higher levels of education is higher.

Table 5. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of being politically active.

	Dependent: 8 binary item political activity scale (scale: 0-8)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	0.01 (0.99)*	0.21 (0.21)	0.39 (0.30)	0.17 (0.35)	0.46 (0.02)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	0.22 (0.49)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.02)	--	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of political processes’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.24 (0.54)	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	0.03 (0.88)	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.44 (0.09)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	0.43 (0.02)	0.43 (0.02)	0.43 (0.02)	0.43 (0.02)	0.43 (0.02)
Father’s highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.41 (0.00)	0.40 (0.00)	0.41 (0.00)	0.41 (0.00)	0.41 (0.00)
High	1.06 (0.00)	1.05 (0.00)	1.06 (0.00)	1.06 (0.00)	1.06 (0.00)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.16	0.12	0.15	0.16	0.11
Residual	2.09	2.09	2.09	2.09	2.09
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1613				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables is available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

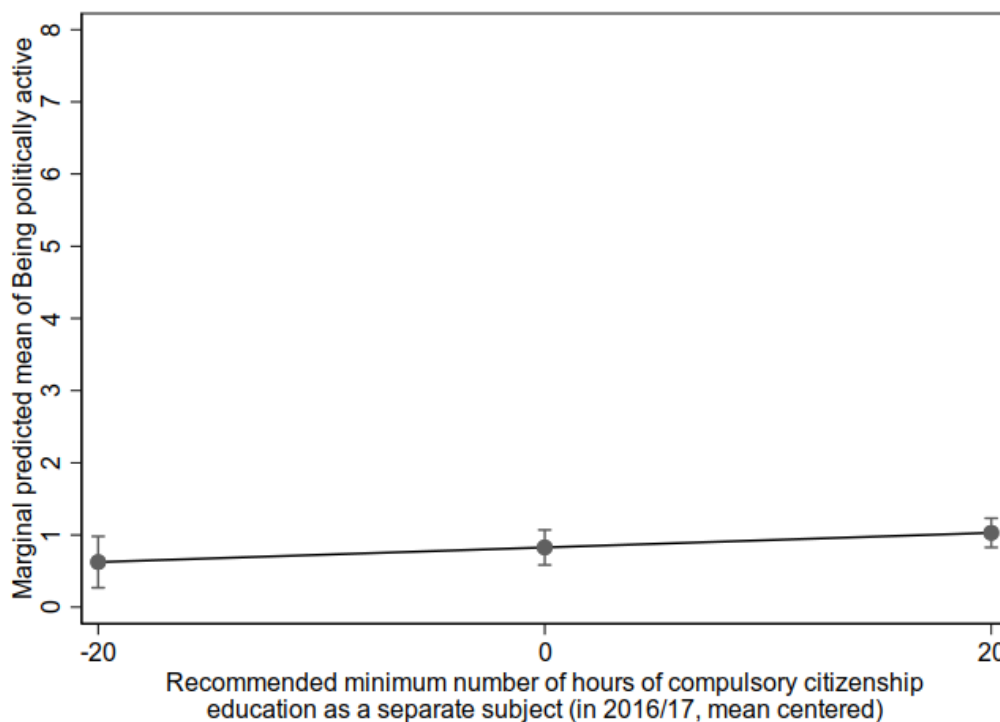


Fig. 5. Marginal predicted means of levels of being politically active (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 6 show that only a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 6) effect on support for equality values of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the support for equality values of youth in the studied countries. And in this case only gender has an effect on support for equality values: female young people are more supportive of equality values.

Table 6. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of support for equality values.

	Dependent: row mean centred support for equality values (scale: -5 - 5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	0.60 (0.01)*	0.50 (0.00)	0.42 (0.01)	0.46 (0.00)	0.57 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	-0.12 (0.56)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.00)	--	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of political processes' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	0.10 (0.57)	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	0.05 (0.70)	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of/participation in civil society' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.14 (0.39)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	0.22 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)	0.22 (0.00)
Father's highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	-0.07 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.21)	-0.07 (0.24)	-0.07 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.25)
High	0.02 (0.65)	0.01 (0.77)	0.02 (0.65)	0.02 (0.66)	0.02 (0.64)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.08	0.03	0.07	0.07	0.07
Residual	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.66
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1618				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

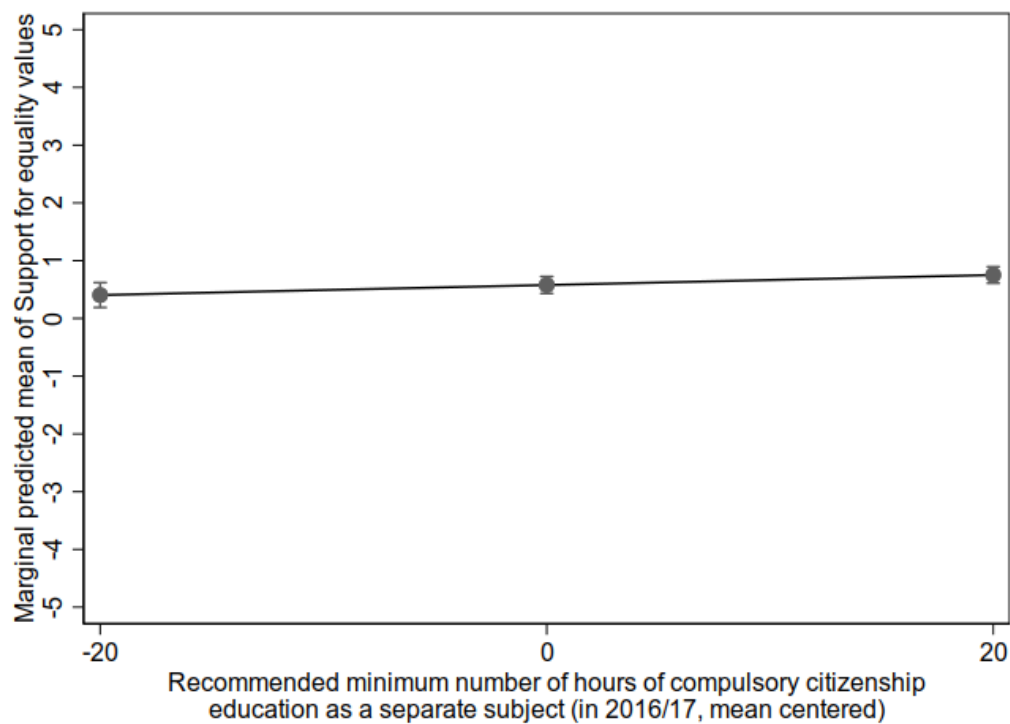


Fig. 6. Marginal predicted means of support for equality values (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 7 indicate that only a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 7) effect on support for tolerance values of young people. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining the support for tolerance values of youth in the studied countries. And in this case, none of the control variables is significant.

Table 7. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of support for tolerance values.

	Dependent: row mean centred support for tolerance values (scale: -5 - 5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	*				
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	-0.20 (0.25)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.01 (0.01)	--	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of political processes’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	0.08 (0.82)	--	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	-0.26 (0.20)	--
Competences related to ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.24 (0.31)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	0.10 (0.28)	0.10 (0.28)	0.10 (0.28)	0.10 (0.28)	0.10 (0.28)
Father’s highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	-0.02 (0.85)	-0.02 (0.81)	-0.03 (0.84)	-0.02 (0.86)	-0.02 (0.85)
High	0.13 (0.16)	0.12 (0.18)	0.13 (0.17)	0.13 (0.16)	0.13 (0.16)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.14	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.12
Residual	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.95	0.95
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1622				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

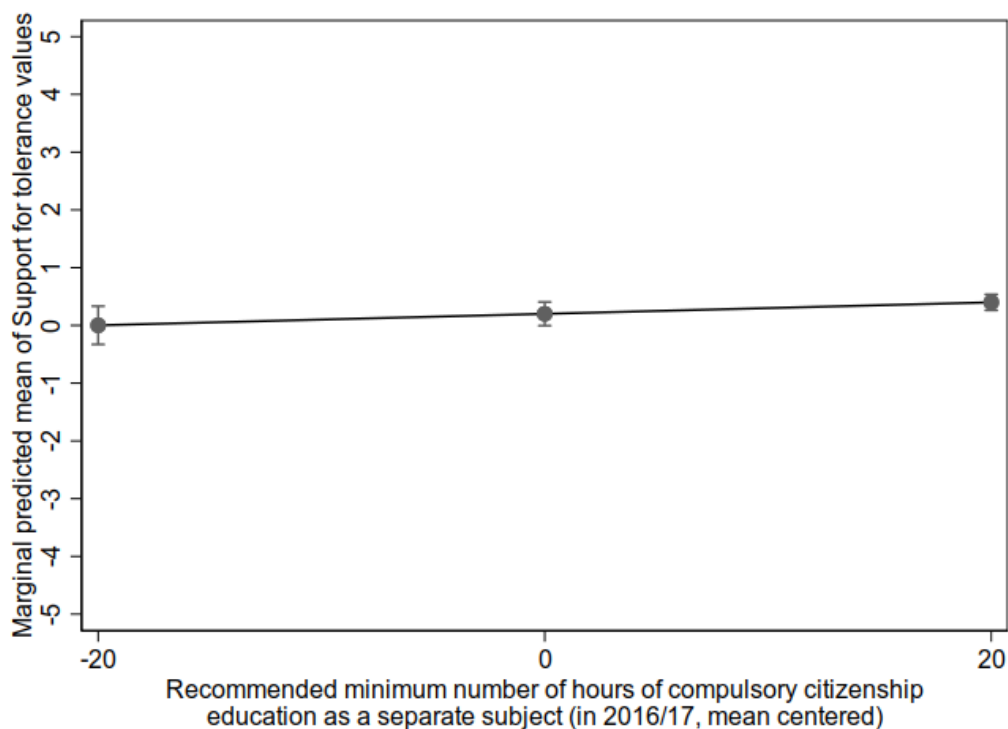


Fig. 7. Marginal predicted means of support for tolerance values (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

Results in Table 8 show at least three variables related to national CE policies have an effect on support for autonomy values. A recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory CE as a separate subject has a rather small positive (see Fig. 8). However, inclusion of competences related to “knowledge of political processes” and ‘knowledge of/participation in civil society’ in national CE curricula has a surprising negative effect of support for autonomy values of youth in the studied countries. Out of the control variables only parental education has a positive effect on support for autonomy values.

Table 8. Results of two-level linear regression models for predictors of support for autonomy values.

	Dependent: row mean centred support for autonomy values (scale: -5 - 5)				
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Fixed effects					
(Intercept)	0.33 (0.00)*	0.38 (0.00)	0.58 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)	0.55 (0.00)
Country level					
Guidelines on classroom assessment in citizenship education (2016/17, base: no guidelines)					
General or specific guidelines	0.05 (0.39)	--	--	--	--
Recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (2016/17, mean centred)	--	0.00 (0.03)	--	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of political processes' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	-0.25 (0.00)	--	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	0.11 (0.25)	--
Competences related to 'knowledge of/participation in civil society' in national citizenship education curricula (2016/17, base: not mentioned)					
Explicitly mentioned	--	--	--	--	-0.23 (0.00)
Individual level					
Gender (base: male)					
Female	0.11 (0.17)	0.11 (0.17)	0.11 (0.16)	0.11 (0.17)	0.11 (0.17)
Father's highest level of education, ES – ISCED (base: Low)					
Middle	0.09 (0.39)	0.08 (0.42)	0.10 (0.29)	0.08 (0.42)	0.06 (0.52)
High	0.37 (0.01)	0.36 (0.01)	0.37 (0.00)	0.36 (0.01)	0.35 (0.00)
Random effects					
	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance	Variance
Country	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
Residual	0.86	0.85	0.85	0.86	0.86
Model characteristics					
Individuals	1628				
Countries	14				

Data source:

European Social Survey, Round 9, ed. 3.0 (sample includes only persons aged 22 or younger and 14 countries for which data on all citizenship education variables are available).

Notes:

* Regression coefficients with p-values in parentheses reported for fixed effects.

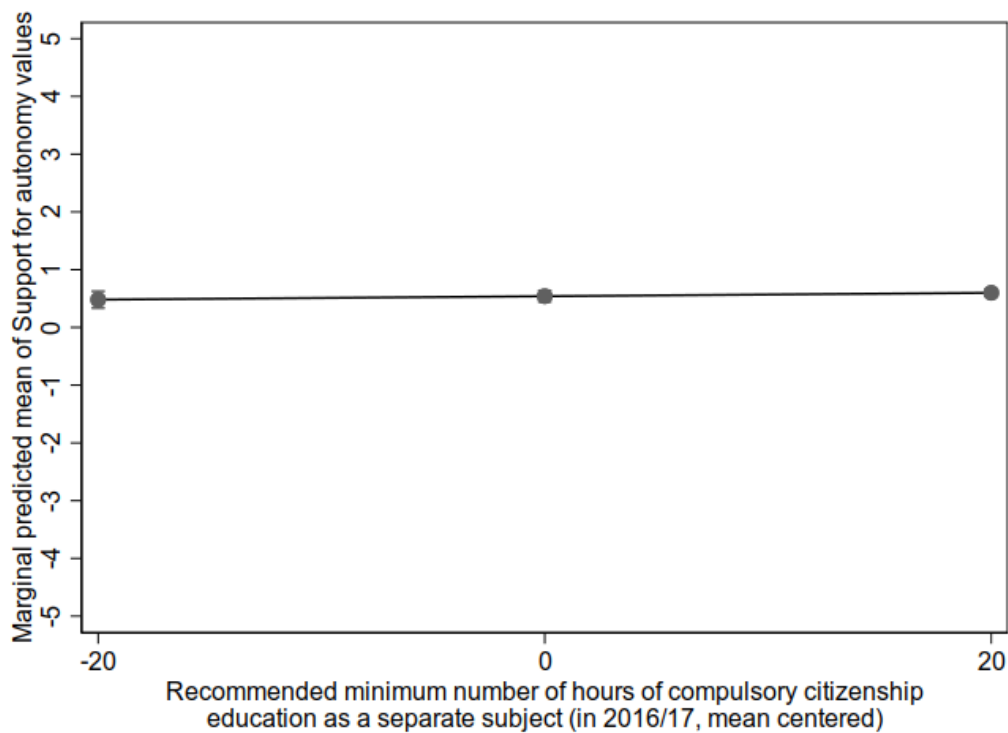


Fig. 8. Marginal predicted means of support for autonomy values (in 2018-20) for different values of nationally recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject (in 2016-17)

1.3 Conclusions

We find that the most consistent (though rather small) effect on youth's democratic political efficacy is exerted by a recommended minimum number of hours of compulsory citizenship education as a separate subject. Interestingly, we find that national CE policies are more important for internal and not for external political efficacy of young people in the 14 studied countries. All the other variables related to the national CE policies are not significant in explaining different aspects of democratic political efficacy studied in this working paper. Finally, in most cases parental education level is positively associated with different aspects of democratic political efficacy of youth in Europe.

Students' Democratic Attitudes and School Culture: An Empirical Analysis

Using PISA2018 Assessment Data

In this section, we aim at corroborating the hypothesis on the role of school climate and values on student democratic attitudes using international data from the 2018 PISA survey. It is important to emphasise that the survey itself is primarily concerned with students' academic performance, while our secondary analysis is an attempt to operationalise the concepts under investigation and to explore generalisable relationships. In short, although the original objective of the PISA surveys is to examine school performance, they also allow to analyse how school characteristics may be related to democratic attitudes and values. Moreover, as this survey covers more than 70 countries, the questions we ask can be examined globally and regionally.

Our initial model was that certain characteristics of the school and school activities, the social context, as well as the students' family background and values, affect students' democratic attitudes, the focus being on school characteristics. For the analysis, we reviewed the student and school questionnaires used in the PISA measurement and the derived variables, using items from the question blocks of the questionnaire used in PISA. Democratic attitudes were interpreted in terms of openness, acceptance and respect for other cultures, reflection and awareness of global-social processes. In operationalising it, we have therefore considered the variables/questions that express this habitus and, since – due to the specificity of the PISA questionnaires – these opinions mainly relate to global issues, we have created a so-called 'global democratic attitudes' variable by data reduction on the basis of the identified variables. This data reduction was carried out using principal component analysis.

We tried to explain the democratic attitudes thus created by the students' school-related attitudes, other general values (students' attitudes, values) and the school's internal characteristics, which were derived from the school questionnaire (filled in by the headteachers). And, of course, we cannot ignore the contextual variables of schools and the socio-demographic background of the students, so we included them in the analysis.

1.4 Description of the variables included in the analysis¹

In our analysis, we aggregated the student-level data at the institutional level, then merged the student and school databases and ran the analysis on the school database. Both original databases already contained indices (derived variables) that we can use in our explanatory model. We are also aware that the PISA databases are analysed using a wide range of statistical weights, but as we did not use variables for the competency scores in the model and only

¹ For a detailed description of the derived variables see:

analysed data from the student and institutional background questionnaire, we only used the so-called senate weight.

1.5 Dependent variable: Global democratic attitudes

The dependent variable was composed by principal component (PC) analysis, the input variables are listed in Table 9. These initial indices were integrated in the public PISA2018 student database, and their descriptions could be found in the Technical Report. Here we will mention only the basic characteristics of these variables. It is worthy to mention that the direction of the scales used in questionnaire in some cases were reversed in order to assure the unique interpretation: the higher the value of an index, the higher the presence of the attitude.

Table 9. Input variables

	<i>NAME OF THE VARIABLE</i>	<i>LABEL OF THE VARIABLE</i>	<i>Nr. of the question in the questionnaire</i>
Global democratic attitudes	INTCULT	Student's interest in learning about other cultures	ST214
	PERSPECT	Perspective taking	ST215
	COGFLEX	Cognitive flexibility/adaptability	ST216
	RESPECT	Respect for people from other cultures	ST217
	AWACOM	Awareness of intercultural communication	ST218
	GLOBMIND	Global-mindedness	ST219
	GCAWARE	Student's awareness of global issues	ST197
	ATTIMM	Student's attitudes towards immigrants	ST204

Student's interest in learning about other cultures: the questions behind this variable (ST214) query the student interest in learning about other cultures, and it was compiled by using these items:

I want to learn more about the religions of the world.

I am interested in how people from various cultures see the world.

I am interested in finding out about the traditions of other cultures.

Perspective taking: the index assesses how far a person takes the perspective of other people, the initial items were:

I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.

I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.

I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.

Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

Cognitive flexibility/adaptability: this variable measures the student's flexibility in dealing with challenging or problematic situations, which may include intercultural aspects. The initial items were:

I can deal with unusual situations.

I can change my behaviour to meet the needs of new situations.

I can adapt to different situations even when under stress or pressure.

When encountering difficult situations with other people, I can think of a way to resolve the situation.

I am capable of overcoming my difficulties in interacting with people from other cultures.

Respect for people from other cultures: it means 'having positive regard and esteem for those people because they are perceived to have an intrinsic importance, worth or value which stems from their inherent dignity as human beings (cf. the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights).' (Technical Report p.21). The items used were:

I respect people from other cultures as equal human beings

I treat all people with respect regardless of their cultural background

I give space to people from other cultures to express themselves

I respect the values of people from different cultures

Awareness of intercultural communication: this index measures a student's intercultural communication awareness, and has three facets: observing and monitoring communication, careful expression of own meanings, and managing communication breakdowns. The initial items were:

I carefully observe their reactions.

I frequently check that we are understanding each other correctly.

I listen carefully to what they say.

I choose my words carefully.

I give concrete examples to explain my ideas.

I explain things very carefully.

If there is a problem with communication, I find ways around it (e.g. by using gestures, re-explaining, writing etc.).

Global-mindedness: assesses a student's sense of global mindedness. In this context this sense of global mindedness 'is a worldview in which one sees oneself as connected to the world community and feels a sense of responsibility towards its members. A globally-minded person has concerns for other people in all parts of the world and feelings of responsibility to try to improve their conditions and the global environment irrespective of distance and cultural differences.' (Technical Report p. 22) The initial items were:

I think of myself as a citizen of the world.

When I see the poor conditions that some people in the world live under, I feel a responsibility to do something about it.

I think my behaviour can impact people in other countries.

It is right to boycott companies that are known to provide poor workplace conditions for their employees.

I can do something about the problems of the world.

Looking after the global environment is important to me.

Student's awareness of global issues: the items behind the indices are:

Climate change and global warming

Global health (e.g. epidemics)

Migration (movement of people)

International conflicts

Hunger or malnutrition in different parts of the world

Causes of poverty

Equality between men and women in different parts of the world.

Student's attitudes towards immigrants: 'It queries the student's attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants (ATTIMM) and has been taken from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)' (Technical Report p.20-21). The items used were:

Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have.

Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections.

Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle.

Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has.

1.5.1.1 Explanatory (independent) variables

We have three types of independent variables: 1. some of them represent student attitudes related to the inner life of the school; 2. variables which represent student individual values; 3.

variables which represent the school principal point of view about the inner characteristics of the school. Shortly, we assume that global democratic attitudes are framed by student's value and school characteristics. However, as the latter aspects can be valued both by student and teachers, we use information from the student and school questionnaires, too.

Variables which represent the inner life of the school from the student perspective are the followings: Subjective well-being (sense of belonging to school), student's experience of being bullied, disciplinary climate in test language classes, perception of competitiveness at school Perception of cooperation at school, Discriminating school climate, Adaptation of instruction, and Perceived teacher's interest.

The questions for the sense of belonging to school are:

- I feel like an outsider (or left out of things) at school.
- I make friends easily at school.
- I feel like I belong at school.
- I feel awkward and out of place in my school.
- Other students seem to like me.
- I feel lonely at school.

The student's experience of being bullied is measured by the following items:

- Other students left me out of things on purpose.
- Other students made fun of me.
- I was threatened by other students.

Disciplinary climate in test language classes consist of 5 items

- Students don't listen to what the teacher says.
- There is noise and disorder.
- The teacher has to wait a long time for students to quiet down.
- Students cannot work well.
- Students don't start working for a long time after the lesson begins.

Perception of competitiveness at school is a PISA scale which consists of the following three items:

- I enjoy working in situations involving competition with others.
- It is important for me to perform better than other people on a task.

I try harder when I'm in competition with other people.

Perception of cooperation at school is measured by these items:

Students seem to value cooperation.

It seems that students are cooperating with each other.

Students seem to share the feeling that cooperating with each other is important.

Discriminating school climate is measured by items which asks students whether their teachers treat equally students from all cultural groups.

They have misconceptions about the history of some cultural groups.

They say negative things about people of some cultural groups.

They blame people of some cultural groups for problems faced by <country of test>.

They have lower academic expectations for students of some cultural groups.

Adaptation of instruction is measured in the test language context by items which address the adaptivity of the test language lessons (ADAPTIVITY). The used items were:

The teacher adapts the lesson to my class's needs and knowledge.

The teacher provides individual help when a student has difficulties understanding a topic or task.

The teacher changes the structure of the lesson on a topic that most students find difficult to understand.

Perceived teacher's interest is a complex variable which indicates the student's perception of the teacher's interest in teaching. The items are:

It was clear to me that the teacher liked teaching us.

The enthusiasm of the teacher inspired me.

It was clear that the teacher likes to deal with the topic of the lesson.

The teacher showed enjoyment in teaching.

The second branch of independent variables consist of students' individual values, i.e. work mastery, general fear of failure, meaning in life, subjective well-being, and resilience. Due to lack of information about these values in some countries, in our explanatory models we used only the general fear of failure and resilience.

The students' general fear of failure consists of three items:

When I am failing, I worry about what others think of me.

When I am failing, I am afraid that I might not have enough talent.

When I am failing, this makes me doubt my plans for the future.

The resilience variable can be interpreted as a dispositional one, and as such is a 'result of a lifetime of socialisation from parents, teachers, coaches and one's cultural surroundings, and it captures how behaviour is energised over time.' (Technical Report p. 18.). This type of variable is influenced by both students' view and the particular situation in which he/she finds him/herself.

The scale on students' resilience consists of the following items:

I usually manage one way or another.

I feel proud that I have accomplished things.

I feel that I can handle many things at a time.

My belief in myself gets me through hard times.

When I'm in a difficult situation, I can usually find my way out of it.

The third type independent/explanatory variables represent the school principals' point of view about some inner characteristics of the school. In our explanatory model we particularly use: creative extra-curricular activities, student behaviour hindering learning, teacher behaviour hindering learning, school principal's view on teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs.

According to the PISA Technical Report the index of creative extra-curricular activities at school 'was computed as the total number of the following activities that occurred at school: i) band, orchestra or choir; ii) school play or school musical; and iii) art club or art activities.' (p.24.)

The student and teacher behaviour hindering learning variables measured the school principals' view on school climate. The first one concentrates on factors related to students, and consists of four items:

Student truancy

Students skipping classes

Students lacking respect for teachers

Student use of alcohol or illegal drugs

Students intimidating or bullying other students

Students not being attentive

The other school climate variable (teacher behaviour hindering learning) concerns factors related to teacher characteristics perceived by school principal. It consists of five items, such as:

Teachers not meeting individual students' needs

Teacher absenteeism

Staff resisting change

Teachers being too strict with students

Teachers not being well prepared for classes

Besides the students' and teachers' related factors in the explanatory model described above we use some school context variables, such as the settlement type where the school is functioning, the school type (public or private/religious), percentage of girls in the school, school-size, student-teacher ratio, and the social and economic background of the students (aggregated at school level). Among the context variable we enlisted two other variables representing school principals' view on shortage of educational material and educational staff.

1.6 Findings

We attempt to explain global democratic attitudes using linear regression models with the combination of independent variables detailed above. Table 2 shows the beta-coefficients, which express the pure effect of the explanatory variables. The analysis was run for all countries, for OECD members only, and for the so-called partner countries (with the results for the DEMOS countries also shown in the Appendix).

Our initial question was therefore to what extent and how do contextual and other school characteristics influence democratic attitudes? We can see that the explanatory variables included explain more than 50 percent of the variance of the dependent variable across the three country groups. We also find that the effect of the variables changes only slightly depending on which country group is considered, which could be interpreted as a generalisable validity of the relationship between democratic attitudes and the explanatory factors.

The contextual school variables suggest that school size, or where the number of students per teacher is small, significantly increases democratic attitudes, and that this is also reinforced by the composition of the student body: the more affluent the parental background of the students, the more open to global challenges and other democratic ideas the students are. Moreover, this parental effect is more pronounced in poorer – that is, non-OECD – countries, presumably because of the more selective school systems in these countries. It is also striking that a greater proportion of girls increases the democratic habitus, and this is true within all three groups of countries.

Among the contextual variables, the settlement type should definitely be mentioned, as it seems that, controlling for other variables, those living in larger settlements are – to a small but significant extent – more likely to be characterised by openness and democratic attitudes. This characteristic is maintained within OECD countries, but not among partner countries. We also included the type of school in the model and found that only in partner countries is it the case that public schools have a more democratic habitus (or, conversely: young people attending church schools seem to be less sensitive to social and global challenges).

Let's examine how student values and other school characteristics influence democratic attitudes. The sense of belonging to school, the perception of competitiveness at school, the perception of cooperation at school and the perception of teacher commitment by students increase the chances of democratic thinking. At the same time, if the school climate is characterised by bullying and discrimination, this hinders the consolidation of democratic habits. To a lesser extent, it also hinders the consolidation of critical, democratic thinking when there is indiscipline in the classroom. These correlations are general since they apply to all types of countries.

We also examined the impact of two other factors on students' values²: the general fear of failing at school or of having to solve problems is interestingly associated with a small reinforcement of democratic attitudes. This can perhaps be interpreted as a compensatory effect of the perception of failure, which makes students – beyond school – more open to social and global issues and more supportive of different disadvantaged groups. However, the clearest positive impact of students' values on democratic attitudes is their perceived resilience in their own activities: confidence in their own abilities and a positive self-image clearly contribute to the consolidation of critical thinking.

In our explanatory model, we also attempted to measure the impact of school characteristics, identified from information provided by teachers rather than pupils, on pupils' democratic thinking. We hypothesised that if the school provided extra-curricular creative activities, this might influence pupils' habitus, but our data did not confirm this. Two variables in the school database also referred to hindering learning. In one, this type of error attribution was related to learners and, in the other, to teachers. Both error attributions have a slight effect on students' democratic efficacy, but subtle differences can be identified: when teachers blame students for their failure to learn, a kind of Pygmalion effect is observed in the partner countries, which works against the development of students' critical, democratic thinking. If teachers (that is, school leaders) blame themselves, the teachers, for students' underachievement, this self-critical attitude will reflect on the students, who will be more likely to develop a critical attitude (which in turn can strengthen their democratic habitus). This latter correlation can also be said to be general (for all countries) and, as can be seen, is significantly stronger for the partner countries.

It is also generally the case that if the school staff is perceived by the headteacher as being committed to multiculturalism and social equality, then students will also be more likely to

² We originally wanted to look at the impact of several value variables, but it turned out that some variables were missing for several countries, so in order to include as many countries as possible in the analysis, we dropped some variables.

share similar values. In many ways, the values of teachers translate into a model for students. Note that, according to our data, this is mostly the case at the level of OECD countries, with no significant relationship being found for partner countries.

Finally, we can mention the impact of two other factors on the internal characteristics of the school. The lack of teaching resources or teacher turnover also has a small impact on students' democratic attitudes: the lack of teaching resources in OECD countries reduces students' critical reflection on social issues, while the perceived lack of teachers/jobs, which is associated with their turnover, increases students' democratic, multicultural attitudes.

Table 10. The effects of students' and schools' characteristics on students' global democratic efficacy (linear regression, beta-coefficients)

	All countries	OECD countries	Partner countries
Subjective well-being: Sense of belonging to school (mean)	0.186**	0.189**	0.207**
Student's experience of being bullied (mean)	-0.051**	-0.074**	-0.030**
Disciplinary climate in test language classes (mean)	-0.024**	-0.059**	-0.046**
Perception of competitiveness at school (mean)	0.148**	0.131**	0.160**
Perception of cooperation at school (mean)	0.114**	0.115**	0.109**
Discriminating school climate (mean)	-0.181**	-0.168**	-0.193**
Adaptation of instruction (mean)	0.025**	0.010	0.038**
Perceived teacher's interest (mean)	0.111**	0.101**	0.087**
General fear of failure (mean)	0.071**	0.097**	0.065**
Resilience (mean)	0.275**	0.264**	0.286**
Creative extra-curricular activities (Sum)	-0.002	-0.002	0.008
Student behaviour hindering learning (WLE)	-0.011	0.005	-0.038**
Teacher behaviour hindering learning (WLE)	0.039**	0.018	0.047**
School principal's view on teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs (WLE)	0.027**	0.033**	0.012
Student-teacher ratio	0.046**	0.024**	0.056**
School size	0.039**	0.062**	0.016
Index of economic, social and cultural status	0.163**	0.122**	0.236**
percentage of girls in school	0.122**	0.131**	0.119**
CITY_Dummy (0 – village, small town (up to 15000 inhab.) 1 – city, big city)	0.054**	0.067**	0.016
Is your school a public or a private school? (1 – public 2 - private)	-0.008	-0.005	-0.019**
Shortage of educational material (WLE)	-0.006	-0.024**	-0.006
Shortage of educational staff (WLE)	0.022**	0.046**	0.019
R-square	0.536	0.518	0.586

Dependent Variable: global democratic efficacy

**sig. $p < 0.05$

1.7 Conclusions

Summing up the effects of the used contextual and other variables on the democratic efficacy one might observe that certain students' values are most effective, while school-related factors have influence to a lesser degree or they have no significant effects. Students' resilience, sense of belonging to school, perceived competitiveness and cooperation, and students' social-economic background have decisive positive effect on formation of democratic, critical thinking. At the same time the discriminatory climate of the school has a negative effect on democratic attitudes.

Not all the used variables have significant effect at country level. During the analysis we run the general explanatory model at some countries participating in DEMOS project. The majority of the contextual variables have the same effect on critical thinking in the case of Italy and Spain: the student background and the ratio of the girls increases the formation of critical thinking, and also it seems that public schools are more open towards the formation of democratic attitudes. One could also observe that the effect of the students' background is the highest in Hungary and Slovakia, and the school size tends to have positive effect only in the case of the UK.

School-related student values in certain countries has the same effect, however we can observe some opposite effects: for example, in the case of Germany, students' experience of being bullied has a positive effect on democratic attitudes. Presumably this can be explained by the student heterogeneity and the ratio of students with migrant background in German schools. Also, it could be mentioned that in Greece, competitiveness has negative effect on democratic attitudes, while in other countries this variable increases it. Another controversial effect has the adaptation of instruction, which in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Greece and in Poland has a negative effect, while in Hungary and to a lesser degree also in Italy it has a positive effect. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the student resilience has a strong positive effect on democratic attitudes in almost all countries. While school-related factors seem to rarely have effect on formation of critical thinking in the analysed DEMOS countries, however the creative extra-curricular activities in Greece and Spain have a decisive positive effect on the formation of democratic thinking.

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Appendix

	Bosnia and H.		Germany		Greece		Hungary		Italy	
	Beta	sig.	Beta	sig.	Beta	sig.	Beta	sig.	Beta	sig.
(Constant)		0,186		0,154		0,346		0,000		0,002
Subjective well-being: Sense of belonging to school (mean)	0,258	0,000	0,148	0,043	0,053	0,450	0,109	0,053	-0,027	0,509
Student's experience of being bullied (mean)	-0,059	0,392	0,127	0,041	-0,044	0,470	-0,101	0,083	-0,043	0,291
Disciplinary climate in test language classes (mean)	-0,030	0,602	0,039	0,566	0,017	0,818	0,094	0,093	0,088	0,040
Perception of competitiveness at school (mean)	0,289	0,000	0,029	0,624	-0,191	0,002	0,121	0,017	-0,008	0,823
Perception of cooperation at school (mean)	-0,014	0,816	0,247	0,000	0,024	0,701	0,027	0,649	0,153	0,000
Discriminating school climate (mean)	0,025	0,691	-0,004	0,957	-0,248	0,000	-0,213	0,001	-0,229	0,000
Adaptation of instruction (mean)	-0,116	0,071	-0,032	0,661	-0,335	0,000	0,178	0,005	0,068	0,095
Perceived teacher's interest (mean)	0,171	0,014	0,121	0,130	0,351	0,000	-0,098	0,162	0,059	0,197
General fear of failure (mean)	-0,010	0,862	0,065	0,297	0,153	0,006	0,086	0,094	-0,009	0,808
Resilience (mean)	0,338	0,000	0,237	0,001	0,400	0,000	0,269	0,000	0,170	0,000
Creative extra-curricular activities (Sum)	0,069	0,181	-0,034	0,606	0,114	0,041	0,103	0,069	0,015	0,642
Student behaviour hindering learning (WLE)	0,056	0,421	-0,038	0,570	-0,092	0,160	-0,068	0,241	0,021	0,623
Teacher behaviour hindering learning (WLE)	0,005	0,946	0,025	0,689	-0,040	0,534	0,012	0,819	0,029	0,466
School principal's view on teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs (WLE)	0,010	0,862	0,045	0,448	-0,023	0,668	0,012	0,808	0,029	0,383
Student-Teacher ratio	-0,109	0,216	-0,041	0,564	0,004	0,950	0,058	0,226	0,025	0,435
School Size (Sum)	0,034	0,695	0,028	0,695	-0,004	0,957	-0,009	0,858	0,036	0,350
ESCS_mean	0,265	0,000	0,270	0,001	0,130	0,095	0,320	0,000	0,264	0,000
GIRL_perc	0,148	0,009	0,136	0,038	0,092	0,113	0,086	0,089	0,217	0,000
CITY_Dummy	0,029	0,603	0,131	0,036	0,019	0,747	0,032	0,556	0,062	0,062
Is your school a public or a private school?	0,045	0,413	0,021	0,730	-0,034	0,617	-0,089	0,079	-0,204	0,000
Shortage of educational material (WLE)	0,008	0,894	0,024	0,717	0,040	0,516	-0,038	0,470	0,035	0,301
Shortage of educational staff (WLE)	0,000	0,996	-0,006	0,931	0,032	0,602	0,045	0,390	-0,030	0,413
<i>a. Dependent Variable: global democr. effectiv.</i>										
R-square	0,717		0,592		0,537		0,669		0,580	