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Introduction to the IEA Civic Education Study

During a single decade, beginning in the late 1980s, initiatives toward democratic reform took place across the world. New constitutional regimes came into being. In countries that were establishing or re-establishing democracies after a period of non-democratic rule, the general public as well as leaders realized that major changes in formal and informal civic education were required to prepare young people for this new social, political and economic order. What those changes should be and how they should be initiated was not clear, however.

During the same period, many well-established democracies recognized that their own methods of preparing young people for citizenship were far from ideal. In some countries, young adults were unlikely to vote or participate in other conventional political activities. Youth demonstrated gaps both in their understanding of the pivotal ideas of democracy and in their knowledge of existing political structures. Few seemed to have the skills to analyze political issues presented in the newspaper or on television news (if they paid attention to these media at all). In some countries, 'civil society', the web of community groups and private associations that operates independently from government and market sectors, seemed to be drawing in few youth.

These issues called for a rethinking of civic education, a challenge that many countries began to face during the 1990s. The home, school, community, peer group and mass media remained important considerations, but there were also new factors. A global youth culture was intensifying in its importance and nurturing common aspirations for freedom along with shared consumer tastes. Environmental organizations and human rights groups often involved youth on an equal footing with adults and seemed poised to replace more hierarchically organized political groups such as political parties. An enhanced emphasis on individual choice challenged long-standing views of youth as passive recipients of lessons from their elders. Young people could be seen as active constructors of their own ideas, as people whose everyday experiences in their homes, schools and communities influenced their sense of citizenship.

In light of these factors, questions were asked regarding the direction that should be taken in order to enhance the contribution of schools to citizenship. Should the emphasis be on teaching factual information about the country and its structure of government? Should it be instead on making young people aware of political issues or interested in news provided by the mass media? Should they be encouraged to join explicitly political organizations, such as parties? Or should the emphasis be on providing opportunities for involvement in environmental organizations, or groups providing assistance to the community, or school councils? And how could community support be gained for programs that would provide more rigorous study of citizenship within schools and more opportunities for the practice of civic education outside schools? These questions were faced by countries where schools offered courses labeled civic education as well as by countries where civic-relevant material was embedded in history courses or spread throughout the curriculum.

No single piece of research could be expected to fully answer questions such as these. However, it was clear that rigorous cross-national research in civic education could play a role in providing an empirical foundation for policy-makers, those who design curricula and those who prepare educators, as well as for teachers or youth workers and the public.

Educational policy-makers in this area often operate with many aspirations but little up-to-date information about civic knowledge, attitudes and behavior in their own countries. On a cross-national basis, where the experience of other countries might provide a rich set of possibilities and comparisons, data were even more limited. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study was designed to address this gap and to create the possibility of a rigorous data-based approach to a number of questions with implications for policy and educational practice. IEA has served as a coordinating organization for comparative research in various school subject areas since the 1960s. The best-known IEA study is TIMSS (the Third International Mathematics and Science Study), but over the years, other areas, including reading literacy and civic education, have been surveyed.

Specifically, what can a cross-national study contribute to the educational debate? It can document similarities and differences in student outcomes, and also in the organization and content of programs and practices across the world. Another contribution of well-designed cross-national research is that it can show connections between practices or policies and the achievement of certain goals for civic education in different nations. It can also foster awareness of the importance of education for citizenship in its many forms.

The goal of the IEA Civic Education Study is to identify and examine in a comparative framework the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their role as citizens in democracies. One focus of the study is the school. This is not limited to the formal curriculum in any particular school course, but includes several subject areas across the curriculum. Opportunities for discussion in the classroom and participation in the school are important, as are textbooks and curriculum. A second focus is on opportunities for civic participation outside the school, especially in the community.

A primary purpose is to obtain a picture of how young people are initiated into the political communities of which they are members, including in- and out-of-school experience. The study concentrates on political processes and institutions. But the concept 'political' is used in a fairly broad sense and is not limited to formal political organizations or legislative structures.

The remainder of this chapter sets the IEA Civic Education Study within several frameworks:

1. the history and structure of IEA (the sponsoring organization) and the participating countries;
2. the context of its two-phased design;
3. the context of existing theoretical and research frameworks; and
4. the structure of a set of policy questions.

THE STUDY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF IEA AND THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES

The Organization of the Study by IEA

Responding to the expressed need of many countries for empirical data as they began to rethink their civic education programs in the early 1990s, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement decided to mount a cross-national study of civic education. A two-phase study was designed. The first phase would consist of qualitative case studies that would examine the contexts and meaning of civic education in different countries and provide background for the development of the instruments to be administered to students and teachers. The second phase would consist of a test of civic knowledge and a survey of civic engagement for statistical analysis. It was expected that the project would complete its testing of the 'standard population' of 14-year-olds before the end of the 20th century and release an international report early in the 21st. It was also expected that the testing of an older population would be completed in 2000 in a smaller number of countries and that the findings would be reported approximately one year after the report on the standard population.

In 1971, the IEA conducted a civic education survey that employed nationally representative samples of three age groups in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975). About 30,000 students responded to instruments measuring knowledge and attitudes, while 5,000 teachers and 1,300 principals and headmasters described pedagogy and the characteristics of schools. The instrument included a test of civic knowledge, measures of support for democratic values (including tolerance and support for women's political rights), support for the national and local government, and participation in political activities. No country's 14-year-olds achieved high scores on all of these factors. There were substantial gender differences, with males scoring higher on civic knowledge and on participation in political discussion, and females scoring higher on support for democratic values. Another major finding from this study was that stress on rote learning and on patriotic ritual in the classroom tended to be negatively related to civic knowledge and democratic attitudes, while the opportunity to express an opinion in class had a positive impact. The socioeconomic status of the family and the type of school were statistically controlled in these analyses, and the predictors of success were similar within each of the nine countries. As interesting as these findings were, the intervening 20 years had seen many changes in schools and political systems, thereby raising new issues and intensifying concern about old ones.

In 1994, the governing body of IEA, its General Assembly, voted to undertake the current Civic Education Study because of interest among its diverse member countries, many of which were experiencing political, economic and social transitions. An International Steering Committee to guide the research and an International Coordinating Center to coordinate its day-to-day operations were appointed. The international oversight and coordination of this study has been funded by agencies and foundations in Germany and the

United States, by the IEA organization, and by contributions from participating countries. The two senior authors of the current volume have been, respectively, the Chair of the International Steering Committee (at the University of Maryland in College Park, USA) and the International Coordinator (at the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany). National Research Coordinators were appointed in each participating country. Their work, including data collection, has been funded by governments and foundations within each country.

Participating Countries

Twenty-eight countries accepted IEA's invitation, sent to all 51 member-countries, to participate in the test and survey reported in this volume. (Figure 1.1 lists the 28 countries.) Approximately two-thirds of the participating countries collaborated in the research from the beginning. They:

- completed case studies for Phase 1 (thus influencing the framework and item development);
- sent representatives to National Research Coordinators' meetings beginning in 1995;
- contributed items or critiqued instruments as they were being developed; and
- pre-piloted and pilot-tested the preliminary forms of the test and survey and examined the results.

The other one-third of the countries joined the study later; the last in November 1998.

The study was a massive one both in the breadth of its coverage relating to the material identified in Phase 1 and in the number of respondents (nearly 90,000).

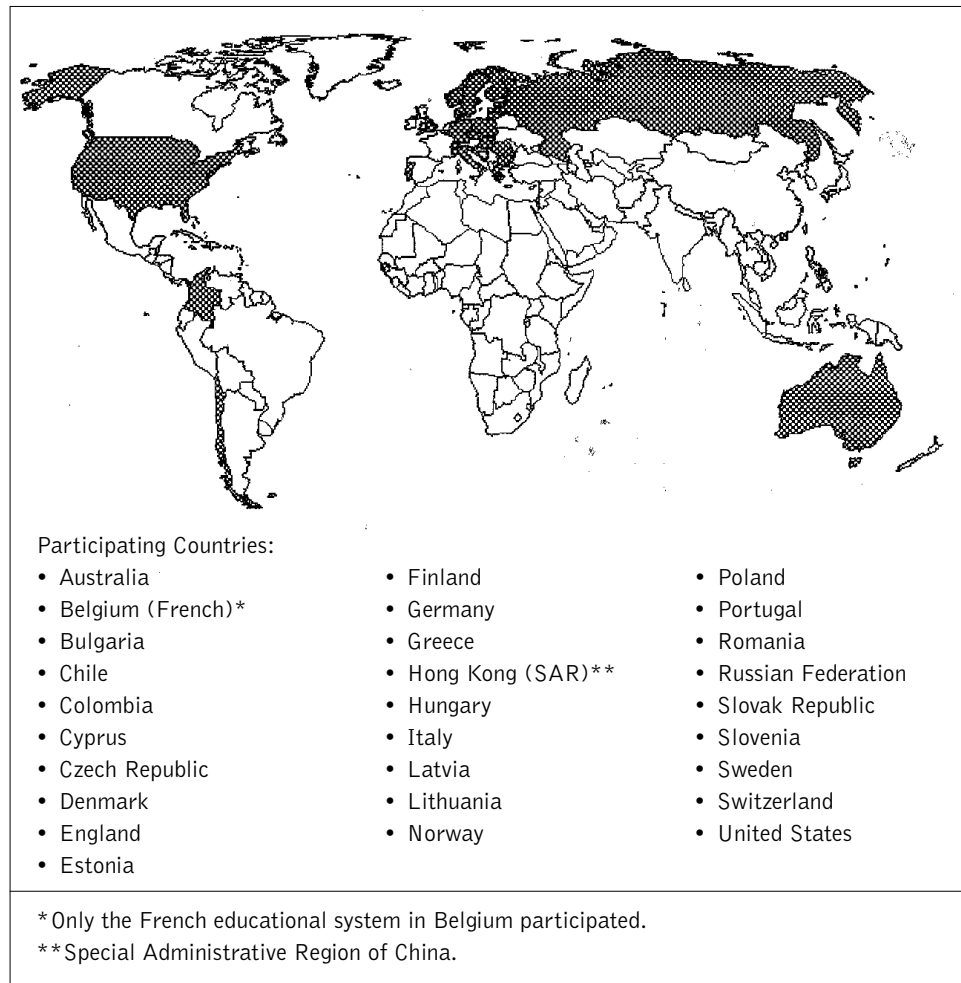
Three aspects of the participating countries are important in terms of understanding the data collected: national demographics, characteristics of the educational system, and characteristics of the political system.

Table 1.1 presents selected demographic data from the participating countries. Both large and small countries participated in the study. On the United Nations Human Development Index, about three-quarters of the countries fall into the highly developed category and about one-quarter into the medium developed category. Population, GNP per capita and unemployment rates are also found in the table.

Table 1.2 presents some educational characteristics of participating countries. Adult literacy levels are generally high in participating countries. The table also shows that there is a great deal of variation in the number of Internet hosts per country (although these figures are changing rapidly), and it provides information about expenditures for public education.

Table 1.3 presents political characteristics of participating countries. These include the number of political parties represented in the lower house (ranging from two to 11), voter turnout at the last election for the lower house (ranging from 36 to 95 percent), and percentage of seats in the national legislature held by women (ranging from 5.6 to 42.7 percent). All participating countries can

Figure 1.1 Countries Participating in the IEA Civic Education (CivEd) Study



be classified as liberal or electoral democracies, according to Diamond (1999). The age at which people can cast their first vote is 18 in all the countries in the study.

THE TWO PHASES OF THE IEA CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

When IEA first discussed undertaking a study in this area, relatively little was known about what civic education meant in many countries. For this reason, as already mentioned, the study was designed to begin with a more qualitative case study phase and to follow it with a second phase including a test and survey more typical of IEA studies.

In Phase 1, each participating country completed a national case study of civic education, submitting four documents to an international document base:

1. A plan for Phase 1, including a summary of the current status of civic education.
2. A review of empirical literature concerning civic education and the social and political attitudes and behavior of youth.
3. Information regarding current policies, practices and issues concerning preparation for citizenship organized around a set of 18 case study framing questions.

Table 1.1 Selected Demographic Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Population (in millions) (1998)	Human Development Index ^b (value, rank & category) (1998)	GNP per capita (in US \$) ^c (1998)	Unemployment Rate (% of labor force) (1998)
Australia	18.5	0.93 (4) High	20,640	7.6 ^d
Belgium (French) ^a	10.1	0.93 (7) High	25,380	8.8
Bulgaria	8.3	0.77 (60) Medium	1,220	12.2 ^e
Chile	14.8	0.83 (38) High	4,990	N/A
Colombia	40.8	0.76 (68) Medium	2,470	N/A
Cyprus	0.8	0.89 (22) High	11,920	N/A
Czech Republic	10.3	0.84 (34) High	5,150	6.5
Denmark	5.3	0.91 (15) High	33,040	5.1
England ^a	58.6	0.92 (10) High	21,410	6.3
Estonia	1.4	0.80 (46) High	3,360	5.1 ^e
Finland	5.2	0.92 (11) High	24,280	11.4
Germany	82.1	0.91 (14) High	26,570	9.4
Greece	10.6	0.88 (25) High	11,740	9.6 ^f
Hong Kong (SAR)	6.7	0.87 (26) High	23,660	N/A
Hungary	10.1	0.82 (43) High	4,510	8.0
Italy	57.4	0.90 (19) High	20,090	12.2
Latvia	2.4	0.77 (63) Medium	2,420	9.2 ^e
Lithuania	3.7	0.79 (52) Medium	2,540	6.9 ^e
Norway	4.4	0.93 (2) High	34,310	3.3
Poland	38.7	0.81 (44) High	3,910	10.6
Portugal	9.9	0.86 (28) High	10,670	4.9
Romania	22.5	0.77 (64) Medium	1,360	10.3 ^e
Russian Federation	147.4	0.77 (62) Medium	2,260	13.3 ^e
Slovak Republic	5.4	0.83 (40) High	3,700	15.6 ^e
Slovenia	2.0	0.86 (29) High	9,780	14.6 ^e
Sweden	8.9	0.93 (6) High	25,580	8.2
Switzerland	7.3	0.92 (13) High	39,980	4.2 ^f
United States	274.0	0.93 (3) High	29,240	4.5

a Figures for all of Belgium used for Belgium (French); figures for United Kingdom used for England.

b The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite index that reflects three basic dimensions: (a) longevity (life expectancy at birth); (b) knowledge (adult literacy and combined gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrollment ratio); and (c) standard of living (adjusted per capita income in PPP US\$). The HDI value ranges from 0 to 1. Countries are divided into categories of high, medium and low human development, and are ranked.

c Data refer to GNP calculated using the World Bank Atlas method, in current US dollars.

d Data refer to 1998-99. Source: W. McLennan, *Year book Australia*, No. 82, p. 123, Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

e Data are estimates by the UN Economic Commission for Europe, based on national statistics. They refer to registered unemployment, which is likely to bias unemployment figures downward.

f Data refer to 1997.

Sources:

All column sources are from the *Human development report 2000*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Population (pp.223-26).

Human Development Index (pp.157-60).

Gross National Product per capita (GNP) (pp.202-04).

Unemployment rate (pp.241-42).

Table 1.2 Selected Educational Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Adult Literacy Rate (in %) (1998)	Public Education Expenditure (as % of GNP) ^c (1995-1997)	Internet Hosts (per 1000 people) (1998)
Australia	99.0 ^b	4.4 ^d	40.1
Belgium (French) ^a	99.0 ^b	3.2 ^e	20.6
Bulgaria	98.2	3.2	1.2
Chile	95.4	3.3	2.0
Colombia	91.2	4.4 ^f	0.4
Cyprus	96.6	4.5	7.9
Czech Republic	99.0 ^b	5.1	8.4
Denmark	99.0 ^b	8.1	56.3
England ^a	99.0 ^b	5.3	24.6
Estonia	99.0 ^b	7.2	16.6
Finland	99.0 ^b	7.5	89.2
Germany	99.0 ^b	4.8	17.7
Greece	96.9	3.1	4.7
Hong Kong (SAR)	92.9	2.9	12.4
Hungary	99.3	4.6	9.4
Italy	98.3	4.9	6.7
Latvia	99.8	6.3	5.8
Lithuania	99.5	5.5	2.7
Norway	99.0 ^b	7.4	71.8
Poland	99.7	4.6 ^g	3.4
Portugal	91.4	5.8	5.6
Romania	97.9	3.6	1.1
Russian Federation	99.5	3.5	1.2
Slovak Republic	99.0 ^b	5.0	4.1
Slovenia	99.6	5.7	11.5
Sweden	99.0 ^b	8.3	42.9
Switzerland	99.0 ^b	5.4	34.5
United States	99.0 ^b	5.4 ^e	112.8

a Figures for all of Belgium used for Belgium (French); figures for United Kingdom used for England.

b Human Development Report Office estimate.

c Data refer to the most recent year available during the period 1995-97.

d Source: W. McLennan, *Year book Australia*, No. 82, p.285, Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

e Data refer to a year other than those encompassed by 1995-97. Belgian data are from *Human development report 1999* and refer to years 1993-96.

f Data refer to expenditures by Ministry of Education only.

g Source: K. Konarzewski (2000) *Educational infrastructure in the first year of educational system reform in Poland*, Poland, Institute for Public Issues.

Source:

All column sources are from the *Human development report 2000*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Literacy rate (pp.157-60).

Public education expenditures (pp.194-97).

Internet hosts (pp.194-97).

Table 1.3 Selected Political Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Seats in Parliament Held by Women as of February 2000 (% of total)	Voter Turn-out at Latest Elections ^b (%)	Political Parties Represented in Lower or Single House
Australia	25.1	95	5 ^c
Belgium (French) ^a	24.9	91	11
Bulgaria	10.8	68	5
Chile	8.9	86	7 ^d
Colombia	12.2	45	2 ^d
Cyprus	7.1	93	5
Czech Republic	13.9	74	5
Denmark	37.4	86	10
England ^a	17.1	72	10 ^d
Estonia	17.8	57	7
Finland	36.5	65	7 ^d
Germany	33.6	82	5
Greece	6.3	76	5
Hong Kong (SAR)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hungary	8.3	56	6 ^d
Italy	10.0	83	9 ^e
Latvia	17.0	72	6
Lithuania	17.5	53	6 ^d
Norway	36.4	78	7 ^d
Poland	12.7	48	6
Portugal	18.7	62	5
Romania	5.6	76	7
Russian Federation	5.7	62	7 ^d
Slovak Republic	14.0	84	6
Slovenia	10.0	74	8
Sweden	42.7	81	7
Switzerland	22.4	43	8 ^d
United States	12.5	36	2 ^d

a Figures for all of Belgium used for Belgium (French); figures for United Kingdom used for England.

b Voter turn-out for lower or single house.

c Source: W McLennan, *Year book Australia*, No. 82, Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

d There are also independent and other parties not sufficiently represented to constitute a parliamentary group.

e Source: Italian Parliament web site.

The age of first vote for all countries is 18 years. (Source: The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) web site. [Http://www.idea.int/turnout/>](http://www.idea.int/turnout/>))

Source:

All column sources are from the *Human development report 2000*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Seats in parliament held by women (pp.165-68).

Voter turn-out (pp.243-46)

Political parties (pp.243-46).

4. An in-depth analysis of core issues in democracy, citizenship, national identity and diversity, including an examination of textbook treatment of these issues and teaching methods.

Many countries collected data from focus groups or interviews in addition to examining printed materials as they prepared these documents. All of this material provided a view of the participating countries' intended curricula in civic education as well as extensive contextual material.

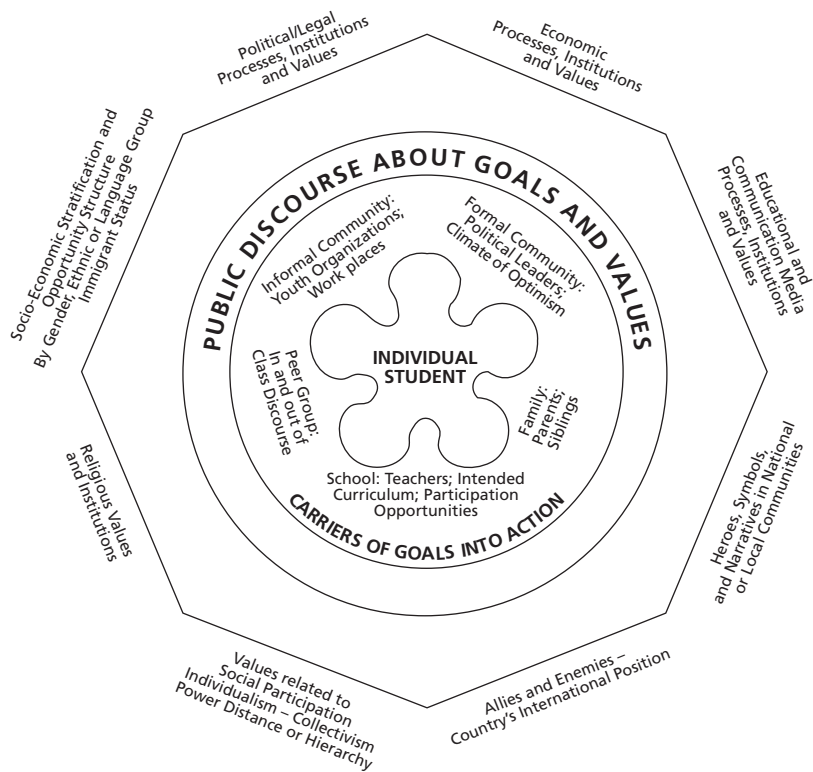
Each National Research Coordinator also prepared a chapter for *Civic education across countries: Twenty-four national case studies from the IEA Civic Education Project* (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999), the first volume arising out of Phase 1 of the study. The documents used as the basis for this publication have also been used in the preparation of the second volume from Phase 1 (Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta & Schwille, forthcoming), which reports the findings of cross-national analysis of the case study material. The themes identified during the first phase are reviewed under the section on the policy questions in this chapter and in the next chapter. Chapter 2 also describes the development of the test and survey used in the second phase.

This second phase of the study, reported in this present volume, tested and surveyed nationally representative samples of 14-year-olds in 28 countries regarding their knowledge of civic-related content, their skills in understanding political communication, their concepts of and attitudes toward civics, and their participation or practices in this area. The instrument drew from material submitted during Phase 1 and benefited from the input of members of the International Steering Committee, IEA's Technical Executive Group, National Research Coordinators and National Advisory Committees throughout the five-year process of framework development, item writing, pre-piloting and piloting and final item choice.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS GUIDING THE DESIGN

The National Research Coordinators at their first meeting took on the task of developing an overall model for the study. This model, described as the Octagon, graphically represents a framework for organizing the information being collected in both phases (Figure 1.2). It is a visualization of ways in which the everyday lives of young people in homes, with peers and at school serve as a 'nested' context for young people's thinking and action in the social and political environment. Learning about citizenship involves engagement in a community and development of an identity within that group. These 'communities of discourse and practice' provide the situation in which young people develop progressively more complex concepts and ways of behaving. The model has its roots in two contemporary psychological theories—ecological development (Bronfenbrenner, 1988) and situated cognition (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). At the center of this model is the individual student. The public discourse and practices of the society have an impact on the student through contacts with family (parents, siblings and sometimes extended family), school (teachers, implemented curriculum and participation opportunities), peer group (both in and out of class), and neighbors (including

Figure 1.2 Model for IEA Civic Education Study



people in out-of-school youth organizations). Earlier work in political socialization usually referred to these groups of people as ‘agents’ of socialization.

In addition to these face-to-face relationships, there is also a broader society that has an impact through its institutions and the mass media. The outer octagon in Figure 1.2, which circumscribes these processes, includes institutions, processes and values in domains such as politics, economics, education and religion. It also includes the country’s position internationally, the symbols or narratives important at the national or local level, and the social stratification system, including ethnic and gender-group opportunities.

Other models have also influenced the study. Sociologists and political scientists see the IEA study in relation to studies of political socialization—a sub-field of political science research that was popular 20 to 25 years ago and seems currently to be experiencing renewed interest (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998). Social scientists link studies in this area to recent surveys of adults concerned with social capital (Van Deth, Maraffi, Newton & Whiteley, 1999), democratic transitions (Diamond, 1999; Dalton, 2000), post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Baker, 2000) and political culture and citizenship (Norris, 1999).

These models from the social sciences suggest that young people move from peripheral to central participation in a variety of overlapping communities (at the school or neighborhood level, as well as potentially at the national level). Learning about citizenship is not limited to teachers explicitly instructing young people about their rights and duties. The political community itself (and

its everyday practices) surrounds and provides a context for developing political understanding (Wenger, 1998; Torney-Purta, Hahn & Amadeo, 2001).

For young people, the peer group plays a vital role. The reactions of peers to ideas and choices are essential parts of the context for civic development. The extent to which students are able to incorporate what they are learning into meaningful identities is also important. Schools as well as neighborhoods are important sites for peer interaction and identity development.

POLICY AND RESEARCH ISSUES IN THE IEA CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

In addition to these models, a list of policy-relevant questions was developed to focus the study and make it useful to those who teach, make education policy, educate teachers, prepare curriculum materials, provide guidance to student associations and conduct research. The original list of 18 questions has been merged into 12 questions. Information from Phase 1 (reported in Torney-Purta *et al.*, 1999) and Phase 2 (reported in this volume) is referenced in treating each policy question in the following section.

Some of these policy-relevant questions deal with the *organization of educational programs*:

1. *What is the status of citizenship education as an explicit goal for schools?* There is considerable diversity among countries in the extent to which the preparation of future citizens is thought of as an important responsibility for schools. Phase 1 indicated that all the participating countries have courses under a variety of titles with specific responsibilities to prepare students for citizenship. The aims of civic education are also addressed throughout the curriculum and the entire school day, as well as through the climate for interaction in the classroom. In many countries, civic education courses and programs do not have a high status, however. Analysis relating to school experience from Phase 2 is relevant to this question (found in Chapters 7 through 9).
2. *To what extent is there agreement among nations about priorities within formal civic education?* Knowledge of domestic political institutions and traditions is a focus in most of the participating countries. Lowering levels of youth alienation or raising levels of interest in political participation is also important in many. During Phase 1 a high level of unanimity was identified across participating countries about the major content domains of civic education. These domains encompass democracy and democratic institutions, citizenship, national identity, international or regional organizations and social cohesion and diversity. Items relating to these topics form the core of the Phase 2 test and survey (reported in Chapters 3 through 9).
3. *Around what instructional principles and through what courses are formal programs of civic education organized?* There is considerable diversity in the extent to which citizenship education is addressed through subjects such as history, through more interdisciplinary programs such as social studies or social

science, through courses focused on conduct such as moral education, and through specific courses in civic education or government. There is also variation in the extent to which the community or the school is thought of as an arena in which the student should practice citizenship. The case studies prepared for Phase 1 showed agreement among specialists that civics-related courses *should be* participative, interactive, related to life in school and community, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of diversity and co-constructed with parents and the community. Many countries, however, saw difficulties in implementing this kind of civic education because it is not a curriculum-bound subject. Most countries thought that the school had an important role in regard to it, however. The Phase 2 results include data from students about their opportunities for interactive and participatory experience (especially in classroom discussion and in organizations inside and outside the school, reported in Chapters 7 and 8, and from teachers about their methods, reported in Chapter 9).

4. *To what extent does formal education deal with civic identity development in students?* In societies that have recently become independent, national identity is an especially important component of citizenship. Civic education must often balance identities relating to the ideal values of democracy with support for the current structure. Phase 1 of the Civic Education Study indicated the complexity of this issue in many countries. The data from Phase 2 deal with positive feelings about one's nation, with concepts of the role of the good citizen, and with groups that shape identity (reported in Chapters 4 and 5).
5. *To what extent is civic education intended to contribute to the resolution of conflicts and tensions between societal groups?* Many societies are experiencing such tensions. The information collected during Phase 1 indicated that this was an area of widespread concern but did not suggest clear-cut directions for program development. Some countries experience diversity primarily in terms of race or ethnicity; others in terms of immigration (often related to diversity in language or religion). Phase 2 assessed attitudes relating to support for opportunities for immigrants (reported in Chapter 5).

Some policy-relevant questions are focused on *students*:

6. *How do students define and understand the concept of citizenship and related issues?* Students have developed their own ideas about their political system and society, and about what citizenship means within it. The Phase 1 process identified major concepts that experts in all the participating countries agreed were important. Many country representatives also pointed to substantial gaps between the concepts that schools were trying to foster and what students actually believed. The Phase 2 data provide descriptive information on how students understand citizenship, democracy and government. They also allow an analysis of the extent to which knowledge of civics relates to expected civic engagement. These data are reported in Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 8.

7. *For what rights and responsibilities of participation are students being prepared in their own political system or society?* In democratic societies, participation in the community and political system is vital, although the nature of that participation may vary. Information from Phase 1 indicated that educators often seek to make students aware of the excitement of politics and the importance of participation. Students, however, often show a general disdain for politics. Some countries are responding by using student-generated projects, while others are encouraging students to assist others in the community. Such programs do not yet exist on a widespread basis across countries. The Phase 2 data describe students' current civic participation and their future expectations of participation (reported in Chapters 6 through 8).
8. *Do male and female students develop different conceptions of citizenship, and do they develop different potential roles in the political process?* Beliefs about the role of women in politics still vary across countries, even though there have been rapid changes in the past decade. Phase 1 indicated that most countries did not see gender issues as central in preparation for citizenship, although some did refer to the small proportion of women holding political office as an issue. Phase 2 data indicate the extent to which male and female students see the civic culture and citizenship similarly or differently. A set of items relating to support for women's political rights was included in the instrument. These data are reported in Chapters 3 through 8.
9. *Are there socioeconomic differences in students' understanding of or attitudes to civic-related topics or in the way their civic education is structured?* Research in political socialization and civic education suggests that there are important differences in civic knowledge between students from homes with ample educational and economic resources and those from homes that are less well endowed. The Phase 1 case studies in a few countries dealt with this concern. The Phase 2 analyses presented in this volume address this question by looking at the relation of civic education outcomes to a measure of home literacy resources (in Chapters 3 and 8).

Some policy-relevant questions focus on *teachers and teaching* and on *schools*:

10. *How do teachers deal with civic education in their teaching, and what is the influence of different types of classroom practices?* Research suggests that different pedagogies make a difference, particularly in terms of whether discussion is encouraged and how controversy and conflicting beliefs are handled. The Phase 1 material across countries confirmed that teachers are expected to balance cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral goals in preparing students for citizenship. The relevant Phase 2 data are discussed in the chapters where students report about their schools and in the chapter about teachers (Chapters 7 and 9).
11. *How well does the education of teachers prepare them to deal with the different facets of civic education?* Teacher education or training programs often do not address civic education issues explicitly. The Phase 1 documents showed that, in some countries, teachers who have prepared to teach another subject have been asked to serve as teachers of civic education.

This Phase 2 volume provides data on the extent to which the teachers themselves believe that their training has prepared them adequately to teach topics relevant to civic education (reported in Chapter 9).

12. *How does the way in which schools are organized influence students' civic education?* The opportunities schools provide for meaningful participation, self-government and respect for rights are among the factors potentially influencing students' attitudes and behaviors. Most countries' Phase 1 submissions highlighted aspirations to provide students with such experiences but few reported successful concrete initiatives. The idea that schools should be models of democracy is often stated but difficult to put into practice. Participation in the school as a community is covered in Phase 2 (Chapters 7 and 8).

SUMMARY OF AIMS OF THE STUDY AND INFLUENCES ON IT

This two-phased research study is intended to inform and stimulate discussion among policy-makers, curriculum developers, teachers, teacher educators, researchers and the general public. The study does not, however, try to identify a single best definition of citizenship or advocate a particular approach to civic education. Rather it tries to deepen the understanding of possibilities and practices in civic education as it takes place in different contexts.

Although our conceptual model has focused the study's attention on school-based, family, community and peer-group factors, the study is not an effort to refine theory. It has not been a curriculum development effort, although the test framework and the findings have implications for others who will develop curriculum, programs and materials in the future.

Three major sources of influence have shaped this study. The first relates to the IEA organization and the member countries that chose to participate in it. Rigor and collaboration are the hallmarks of IEA studies. The rigorous standards for research developed by IEA over the past decades therefore have served as our standard. At several points we chose to narrow the focus of the study to ensure that we could meet the standards of rigor in instrumentation, sampling and analysis set by recent IEA studies, including TIMSS. The participating countries were collaborators in the design of the Civic Education Study, providing the International Coordinators and the International Steering Committee with advice about models, items and interpretations throughout the process.

The second source of influence includes the theoretical frameworks and research literature not only in civic education but also in sociology, political science and developmental psychology. Some aspects of these frameworks are discussed in the sections of this chapter on the model (Figure 1.2), and others will become evident as the construction of particular scales is described in subsequent chapters.

The policy questions guiding and linking both phases of the study are the third source of influence. Although formulated by the International Steering Committee five years ago, these questions remain important. We have collected data to address all of them.

It has not been possible in this volume to explore many questions interesting to policy-makers, educators and researchers. IEA will release the full set of data in 2002 for use by the research community, which will be able to conduct many additional analyses. To give only a few examples, those researchers who focus on a subset of countries may formulate scales using items that were left out of this volume because they could not be scaled to IEA standards across the full range of countries. Other researchers may form a broader measure of attitudes toward democratic values that includes opportunities for immigrants, women and ethnic minorities (dimensions that we separated or could not include). Still others may choose different methods for analyzing socioeconomic differences or school practices.

The remainder of this volume provides analysis that is closely related to the original aims of the study, and suggests many directions that future analysis might take.