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**Students' Attitudes
toward the Nation,
the Government,
Immigrants and
Women's Political
Rights**

HIGHLIGHTS RELATING TO CIVIC ATTITUDES

- Fourteen-year-olds across countries are moderately trusting of their government institutions. Courts and the police are trusted the most, followed by national and local governments. In contrast, political parties are trusted very little. Most young people also seem to have a positive sense of national identity, although less so in some countries than in others. In almost all the participating countries, however, the average young person seems to have a sense of trust or attachment either to the country as a political community or to government institutions (or to both).
- Fourteen-year olds across countries are generally positive about immigrants and especially believe they should have educational opportunities. The majority of these young people also support the right of immigrants to vote and to retain their language and culture. There are national differences, however.
- Fourteen-year-olds across countries are largely supportive of women’s political and economic rights. Females are much more likely to be supportive of these rights than are males, the most substantial gender difference found in the study.
- Fourteen-year-olds overall have mostly positive attitudes toward the institutions and groups asked about in the survey. The minority of those with negative attitudes may be large enough to cause some concern, however.

Knowledge of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and the nature of government are important to creating and sustaining democratic institutions, but they are by no means sufficient for that purpose. Democracy requires a certain degree of adherence to underlying principles, along with common values and attitudes. The IEA Civic Education Study gives as much attention to attitudes and beliefs as to knowledge. In this chapter, we focus on attitudes from each of the three major domains of the study—*democracy and democratic institutions*, *national identity*, and *social cohesion and diversity*—choosing those scales where special interest was expressed by participating countries:

- For the first domain, we report on trust in government, addressing the fear in some countries that young people are losing confidence in their public institutions.
- For the second domain, we also deal with issues of support or alienation, touching more specifically on national feeling and attachment to the country and its political symbols. Scales in these first two domains address both support for the political community (national pride) and support for the regime (trust and confidence in political institutions) (Dalton, 1999; Norris, 1999).
- For the third domain, social cohesion and diversity, we selected two scales. The first ascertains the extent to which students support certain rights or opportunities for immigrants, and the second scale probes the extent to which they endorse political and economic rights for women.

TRUST IN GOVERNMENT-RELATED INSTITUTIONS AND THE MEDIA

Relation of this Area to the Study's Design

Students' reactions to government-related institutions were dealt with extensively in the Phase 1 studies (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999). These revealed concern in some countries that young people do not have reasonable levels of trust in the government-related institutions and that this might lead to an erosion of legitimacy of the foundations of the nation and representative government in the next generation. Concern about the fragility of support for these institutions in countries establishing democratic government anew after a period of non-democratic rule therefore prompted special scrutiny. There was also apprehension in the older democracies of the Phase 1 studies about increasing mistrust and lack of confidence among youth. There has also been considerable research, primarily by political scientists with adult samples, studying these issues (Panel 5.1).

Development of the Trust Scale in the 1999 IEA Instrument

Six items in this four-point scale (with end points of 'always' and 'never') deal with political/civic institutions, three with media institutions, one with the United Nations, one with schools and one with people in the country. A confirmatory factor analysis revealed two factors. Only items from the trust in government-related institutions factor were Rasch-scaled and are reported in that format here. (See also Appendix Table C.1 for alpha reliabilities.) A further three items that asked about trust in the news media—television, radio and newspapers—are presented here as individual items.

Results for Trust in Government-related Institutions

Item results

The courts and police are the most trusted institutions, being trusted 'always' by 20 to 25 percent of students, and trusted 'most of the time' by 40 to 45 percent of students across countries. The national legislature, local council (or government of town or city), and the national (federal) government are in an intermediate position, being 'always' trusted by about 10 percent and trusted 'most of the time' by about 40 percent of the respondents across countries. In contrast, political parties are 'always' trusted by only 4 percent, with an additional 24 percent expressing trust 'most of the time'. See Figure B.2e of Appendix B, which presents the percentages for the sample as a whole for these items along with an item-by-score map; the next section of this chapter presents country differences.

In general, these overall levels of endorsement are moderately high, indicating neither blind trust nor extreme distrust on the part of the average student across the participating countries. In other sections of the volume we have noted that students in some countries indicate that it is of little importance for adult citizens to join political parties, and that students express the view that conflict mobilized by political parties is bad for democracy.

PANEL 5.1 Previous Research on Trust in Government-related Institutions

One item in the rating scales for national government in the 1971 IEA Civic Education Study survey (previously described) dealt directly with trust. Five items (forming a scale) also dealt with the perceived responsiveness of the government (for example, 'cares about me and my family'). These were included in the 'support for national government' factor. Scores on the scales in this factor were especially high in the United States and low in Finland (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975).

Items asking adults about their confidence in civic and political institutions were included in the World Values Survey (WVS) in 1990/91 in order to look at comparative country differences and trends across time. The WVS items called on respondents to express their level of confidence in 14 institutions, with the set of responses ranging from 'a great deal' to 'none at all'. Another item asked 'How much do you trust the government in [seat of national government] to do what is right?' (Inglehart, 1997).

In a re-analysis of the 1990/91 World Values Survey, McAllister (1999) presented country rankings of confidence in parliament and the civil service. Thirteen of the 24 countries included in that analysis of adults are also participating in the current IEA Civic Education Study of adolescents. Poland ranks first in confidence in the WVS, although that finding may be due to the time the questionnaire was administered, namely the early 1990s when Poland experienced a flush of optimism.

When McAllister plotted scores of confidence in government against the number of years of continuous democracy in each country, groupings of countries were highlighted. In well-established democracies that had not experienced major threats to the system, confidence tended to be high, with Norway ranking third out of 24 countries, Germany sixth, Britain eighth, Sweden ninth, the United States tenth and Denmark 11th. Despite its long history of democracy, Finland ranked 18th. Other studies (for example, Newton & Norris, 2000) have documented a fall in Finnish confidence during the 1980s, perhaps because of economic difficulties. In the McAllister analysis, the following countries had lower confidence scores: Czechoslovakia (a ranking of 14), Belgium (15), Hungary (17), Portugal (22) and Italy (23). Most had experienced less than 40 years of continuous democracy at the time of the survey. McAllister and also Klingemann (1999) suggest that the process of building support for democratic institutions is cumulative and so can take considerable time to achieve.

There is debate about the extent to which trust and confidence in political institutions (especially parliamentary institutions) declined during the 1980s. Using WVS data from 1981 and 1990/91, Newton and Norris (2000) concluded that there has been a significant diminution of confidence in public institutions but not in private institutions. This conclusion contrasts with that of Fuchs and Klingemann (1995), who judged the declines as less substantial. Putnam, Pharr and Dalton (2000) have attributed declines in confidence to the poor performance of governments and not to declines in interpersonal trust or membership in voluntary organizations that build social cohesion.

A number of analyses presented in Norris (1999) suggest that those who hold more political power in society (the well-educated, those who are not minority group members, those who support the political party in power) feel more confidence in government institutions than do less powerful groups.

Plasser, Ulram and Waldrauch (1998) studied adults' institutional trust in post-Communist countries and Austria in the 1994–97 period. West and East Germany were analyzed separately. Ratings of trust in government were highest in the Czech Republic, Slovenia and West Germany; the lowest were in Hungary and Russia. Trust in the media was rated at a higher level than trust in government in every country except the Czech Republic.

There have been other studies comparing confidence in a more differentiated way. These include feelings about local members of parliament versus parliament as a whole (Norton, 1997); confidence in civic institutions such as the police and political institutions such as parliament (Miller, Timpson & Lessnoff, 1996); trust of the Hong Kong government compared with the Chinese government (McIntyre, 1993; Leung, 1997); and trust in the leading party as compared with the opposition party in post-Communist countries (Hibbing & Patterson, 1994).

In a study using the 'Monitoring the Future' data collected yearly in the United States from high school seniors, Rahn and Transue (1998) found a significant association between lack of interpersonal or social trust and materialistic attitudes such as the importance of possessions. Other researchers (Kaase, 1999; Newton, 1999), however, have expressed caution about attributing causality to relationships between interpersonal trust and trust in government.

Hahn (1998) surveyed small samples of adolescents in five countries (four of which overlap with IEA countries). The items had to do with government's responsiveness to citizens. She found greatest trust in the United States in 1986 and in Denmark in 1993, and the least in Germany in both years. She commented on the relatively low trust levels; as many as 60 percent of the German students said people in government could not be trusted. Ule (1995) found very low levels of confidence in political parties among youth in Slovenia, as did Minulescu (1995) in Romania.

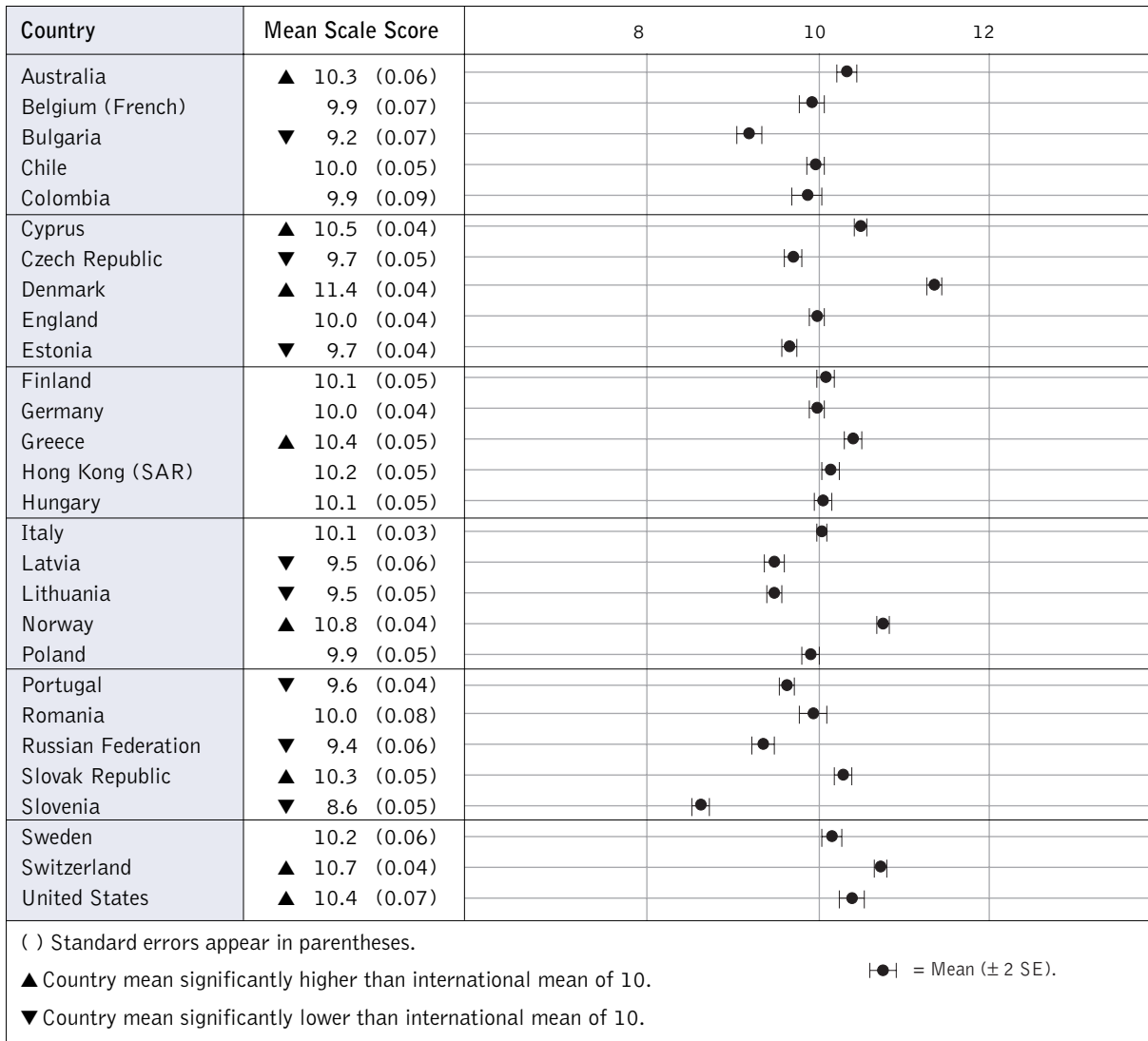
When gender differences have been found, they usually indicate higher trust among females (Rahn & Transue, 1998; Newton & Norris, 2000).

Analysis of scale scores by country

The *highest level of trust in government-related institutions is found in Denmark, Norway and Switzerland* (Figure 5.1). Other countries in which this trust score is significantly above the international mean are Australia, Cyprus, Greece, the Slovak Republic and the United States. The *lowest trust scores are found in Bulgaria, the Russian Federation and Slovenia*. Other countries in which this trust score is significantly below the international mean are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Portugal.

These results show considerable similarity to those from the 1990/91 World Values Survey of adults (Inglehart, 1997). In that study, countries with 40 years or less of continuous democracy in 1990 had lower governmental trust levels. As Figure 5.1 shows, all of the countries whose 14-year-olds are significantly below the international mean have had less than 40 years of continuous democracy. These 14-year-olds, who have lived most of their lives under a democratic system, nevertheless have levels of mistrust of government institutions similar to those of adults. The majority of the countries whose 14-year-olds are significantly above the international mean have had more than 40 years of continuous democracy.

Figure 5.1 Trust in Government-related Institutions



Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

Analysis of scale scores by gender

There are no significant gender differences in 23 countries in trust in government-related institutions. In Belgium (French), Denmark and Switzerland, females express more trust than males. In Cyprus and Portugal, males express more trust than females.

Summary for Trust in Government-related Institutions

It is remarkable how closely the attitudes of 14-year-olds match those of adults in previous surveys of trust in government institutions. Substantial skepticism exists, especially in newer democracies. Will this mistrust lead to enhanced motivation to participate in, monitor or improve government, or is it likely to result in alienation from engagement?

Results for Trust in the Media

Item results

Table 5.1 presents the percentage of students who trust the three media sources 'always' or 'most of the time'. For comparison, national government (one of the government-related institutions from the scaled score) is also included in this figure. In most countries, slightly more than half of the students express trust in the media sources. Overall, news presented on television is trusted by the most respondents, followed by news on the radio, followed by news in the press (newspapers). Between-country variations exist, however, in the trustworthiness of the sources.

All three sources for news are trusted highly, with percentages significantly above the international mean percentage in the following countries: Cyprus,

Table 5.1 Trust in Media and National Government

Country	Percentage of students who trust always or most of the time in...			
	News on television	News on the radio	News in the press	The national government
Australia	▼ 50 (1.0)	▼ 49 (1.0)	50 (1.0)	▲ 59 (1.1)
Belgium (French)	58 (1.7)	▼ 53 (1.7)	54 (1.8)	45 (1.6)
Bulgaria	58 (1.6)	55 (1.4)	▼ 44 (1.4)	▼ 30 (1.3)
Chile	64 (0.9)	▼ 56 (0.8)	54 (1.0)	▼ 37 (1.4)
Colombia	60 (1.4)	57 (1.4)	▲ 58 (1.4)	44 (1.8)
Cyprus	▲ 66 (0.9)	▲ 63 (0.9)	▲ 60 (0.8)	▲ 63 (0.9)
Czech Republic	▼ 56 (1.1)	▼ 55 (1.0)	51 (1.2)	▼ 40 (1.4)
Denmark	▲ 82 (0.7)	▲ 83 (0.7)	▲ 71 (1.1)	▲ 85 (0.7)
England	▲ 66 (1.1)	61 (1.0)	▼ 28 (0.9)	▼ 44 (1.3)
Estonia	62 (1.0)	62 (0.9)	53 (1.0)	▼ 40 (1.4)
Finland	▲ 75 (1.1)	▲ 68 (1.2)	▲ 61 (1.0)	▲ 55 (1.2)
Germany	▼ 54 (0.8)	56 (1.2)	53 (0.9)	▼ 44 (1.2)
Greece	▼ 42 (1.0)	▼ 45 (0.9)	53 (0.9)	49 (1.1)
Hong Kong (SAR)	▼ 59 (0.8)	57 (0.7)	▼ 34 (1.1)	49 (1.0)
Hungary	▲ 68 (1.0)	▲ 65 (1.0)	▲ 56 (1.1)	▲ 56 (1.3)
Italy	▼ 39 (1.1)	▼ 33 (1.0)	▼ 45 (0.9)	50 (1.2)
Latvia	66 (1.2)	62 (1.4)	50 (1.3)	▼ 34 (1.4)
Lithuania	▲ 75 (0.9)	▲ 73 (1.1)	▲ 63 (1.0)	▼ 41 (1.4)
Norway	▲ 71 (1.0)	▲ 68 (0.9)	▲ 60 (1.0)	▲ 72 (1.0)
Poland	▲ 68 (1.2)	▲ 66 (1.1)	▲ 57 (1.2)	▼ 39 (1.3)
Portugal	▲ 73 (0.8)	▲ 67 (0.9)	▲ 64 (0.9)	▼ 35 (1.2)
Romania	▲ 66 (1.1)	61 (1.3)	▼ 45 (1.3)	▼ 35 (1.6)
Russian Federation	61 (1.4)	▼ 54 (1.3)	▼ 44 (1.1)	▼ 29 (1.3)
Slovak Republic	▼ 58 (1.1)	58 (1.1)	53 (1.1)	51 (1.6)
Slovenia	▼ 52 (1.1)	▼ 51 (0.9)	▼ 38 (1.0)	▼ 16 (0.8)
Sweden	▲ 70 (1.5)	▲ 68 (1.2)	▲ 56 (1.2)	▲ 53 (1.4)
Switzerland	▼ 53 (1.1)	▼ 54 (1.4)	51 (1.1)	▲ 76 (1.3)
United States	▼ 53 (1.5)	▼ 48 (1.2)	▲ 60 (1.3)	▲ 65 (1.4)
International mean percentages	62 (0.2)	59 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	48 (0.2)

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.
▲ Country mean significantly higher than international mean.
▼ Country mean significantly lower than international mean.

Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal and Sweden. This group includes all four Nordic countries, three post-Communist countries and two countries in Southern Europe. It is interesting to note that, among these countries, trust in government-related institutions is high in Cyprus, Denmark and Norway (see previous section). In Lithuania and Portugal, however, trust in government institutions is low while trust in the media is high. In fact, in most of the post-Communist countries, students are more likely to endorse items expressing trust in the media than an item expressing trust in the national government (Table 5.1), a finding that corresponds to previous research with adults.

In contrast, there are low levels of trust in all three media sources in Italy and Slovenia (mean percentages of endorsement significantly below the international mean percentage). In a few countries, trust in one of the media sources is higher than trust in the others. Specifically, in England and Romania the percentage who indicate that they trust television news is above the international mean percentage, while the percentage who indicate that they trust newspapers (the press) is below the international mean percentage. In the United States, in contrast, the percentage who indicate that they trust newspapers is above the international mean percentage, while the percentage who indicate that they trust television and radio news is below the international mean percentage.

Summary for Trust in the Media

Across countries, news on television tends to be the most trusted, although there are some country variations. There are countries where both media news and government institutions are trusted, countries where neither media nor government is trusted, countries where media news is trusted but the government is not, and countries where one media source is trusted more than others. Further analysis is needed to explore these patterns.

POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ONE'S NATION

Relation of this Area to the Study's Design

National identity constituted the second domain identified in the country reports of Phase 1. The content specifications for this domain were rich in implications, as were the corresponding parts of the national case study chapters. Ambivalence is sometimes expressed about positive national attitudes. They can mean many different things—political nationalism verging on arrogance or militarism, attachment to patriotic symbols, positive feelings about belonging to the national community, sense of connection to folk culture, or conviction about the existence of economic or political threat, to mention only a few. National identity has also been the subject of considerable research (see Panel 5.2).

PANEL 5.2 Previous Research on Positive National Attitudes

There have been several studies of children's national attitudes. Hess and Torney (1967), in one of the first major surveys of political socialization among primary school children in the United States, found that nearly all respondents expressed a strong sense of attachment in the form of pride in the nation and flag. Connell (1972) found a similar attachment among children in Australia. Some studies by other developmental psychologists have focused on children's conceptions of the nation (Piaget & Weil, 1951, with Swiss children) and of broader alliances, such as the European Union (Barrett, 1996, with English children).

Political researchers Dalton (1999) and Norris (1999) view national pride as support for the national political community and as a vital element of healthy democracy. Their research used an item from the World Values Survey, which asked how proud adults were of their nation. Half or more of the respondents in Britain, Finland, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and the United States were very proud. Much lower percentages endorsed this item in Belgium, Germany and Italy (Inglehart, 1997).

Social psychologists Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) developed 120 items about the flag, national pride and respect. Patriotism included feelings of affection for one's country, while nationalism was the view that one's country should be dominant; these two scales had distinct patterns of correlation in the United States. Using a variation of this scale, Baughn and Yaprak (1996) separated economic nationalism from patriotism.

Weiss (1999) studied adults in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and the Slovak Republic. Those over 30 years of age had a combination of nationalistic and patriotic beliefs, which contrasted with the detachment that predominated in the younger group.

Within the last decade, some researchers have concentrated on relating national identity and European identity (Chrysochoou, 1996, in France and Greece; Hilton, Erb, Dermoit & Molian, 1996, in Britain, France and Germany; Sousa, 1996, in Portugal; Cinnirella, 1997, in Britain and Italy). Italiano (1991) found in Belgium that identity with the nation is stronger than European identity (which is also important, however). Turner's (1987) social identity theory and Moscovici's (1998) paradigm of social representations have been used as frameworks. For example, Topalova (1996) studied social identities among Bulgarians and Poles using these frameworks. Muller-Peters (1998) found three factors in a survey of adults in 15 countries regarding attitudes toward the Euro: nationalism, patriotism and European patriotism. Nationalistic attitudes correlated with opposition to the Euro.

Development of the National Attitudes Scale in the 1999 IEA Instrument

The 1971 IEA Civic Education Study included several questions about the frequency with which patriotic rituals were practiced in the school, but did not include measures of attitudes toward the nation. The National Research Coordinators of the current IEA study decided to concentrate on the latter, noting that in the intervening 30 years patriotic rituals had nearly disappeared from some school systems. To the lists of items used by other researchers we added items about protecting the country against economic or political influence from outside the country, for a total of 15 items in the pilot instrument and ten in the final instrument.

A confirmatory factor analysis revealed two factors: protecting the country from outside influence and positive attitudes toward one's nation. The second is similar to the patriotism scales, such as feelings about the flag, pride in the country and disinclination to live in another country, that other researchers have used. The positive attitudes toward one's nation scale is presented here, with the other items left for later analysis. Alpha reliabilities are found in Appendix Table C.1.

Results for Positive Attitudes toward One's Nation

Item results

In general, students have highly positive feelings about their countries. International distributions indicate that about 45 percent of students 'strongly agree' with the positively worded items about love for the country and the flag, and that another approximately 40 percent 'agree' with these items. In response to the item, 'this country should be proud of what it has achieved', 34 percent 'strongly agree' while 52 percent 'agree'. The large majority of students would not want to live permanently in another country. (See item-by-score map and distributions in Figure B.2f of Appendix B).

Analysis of scale scores by country

Figure 5.2 shows the differences by country. *Those countries showing high scores, indicating very positive attitudes toward their nation, are Chile, Cyprus, Greece and Poland.* Other countries with means significantly above the international mean are Colombia, the Czech Republic, Finland, Portugal and the Slovak Republic. In contrast, *countries with low scores, indicating relatively less positive attitudes toward their nation, are Belgium (French), Germany and Hong Kong (SAR).* Other countries with means significantly below the international mean are Denmark, England, Estonia, Italy, Latvia, Sweden and Switzerland. However, the mean of even the lowest scoring country shows that the average student does not have negative attitudes (a true negative value would correspond to a scale score of 6). Youth in some of these countries must balance identity and membership in several groups (based on language or region, for example), a situation that could lead to lower levels of positive national identity.

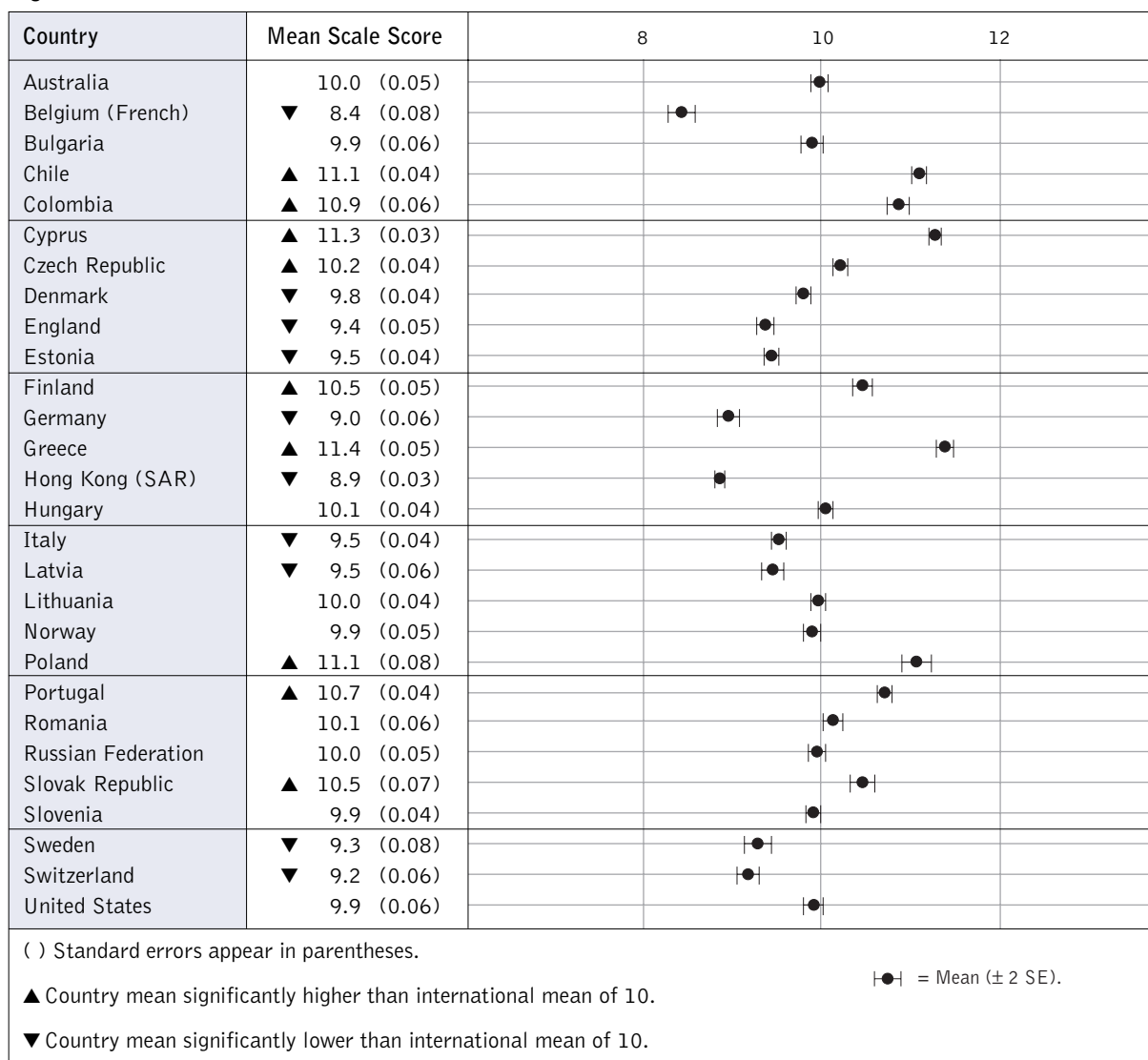
Analysis of scale scores by gender

There are no significant gender differences in 18 countries in positive attitudes toward one's nation. In Colombia females have more positive attitudes than males. In England, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, the Russian Federation and Sweden, males have more positive attitudes than females.

Summary for Positive Attitudes toward One's Nation

A comparative look at Figure 5.1 (presenting trust in government-related institutions) and Figure 5.2 (presenting positive national feeling) reveals only two countries (Estonia and Latvia) with scores significantly below the international mean on both scales. Thus, the large majority of the adolescents in the participating countries have relatively positive feelings either to their national government institutions or to their country as a national and symbolic community.

Figure 5.2 Positive Attitudes Toward One's Nation



Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

The large majority of young people surveyed indicate a positive attitude toward their country and its symbols. They express little desire to live elsewhere. Together with the findings about consensus on the understanding of concepts of democracy and the findings about trust, this result suggests that youth in most of these countries are not seriously alienated.

POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

Relation of this Area to the Study's Design

Social cohesion and diversity constitutes the third domain identified in the country reports submitted during Phase 1 of this study. Nearly all of the countries' case studies recognized problems of discrimination and disenfranchisement. It was also clear that the targets of such discrimination differed. In some countries it was a problem of racism or religious intolerance; in other places of discrimination against national minorities, immigrants or those who spoke a mother tongue different from that of the majority population. In the process of developing attitude items for the survey, we

examined a number of scales relating to discrimination, most of which dealt with some form of racism or discrimination against racial minorities, immigrants or foreigners.

In many countries, discrimination directed specifically toward immigrants or foreign-born individuals was recognized as a widespread problem relevant to social cohesion and diversity. A review of previous literature concentrated on attitudes toward immigrants is presented in Panel 5.3.

Development of the Immigrant Attitudes Scale in the 1999 IEA Instrument

The items that we developed for this scale were based on the research review, and each required respondents either to agree or disagree with it. The final instrument included eight items, some of which dealt with immigrant rights, and some with opportunities for immigrants to retain their customs and language. There was one statement about the threat that immigrants might pose to having a united country and one item about political refugees. Because the items were constructed to be meaningful in both countries with many and countries with few immigrants, the items about economic threat were potentially ambiguous and not used. It must also be noted that the term 'immigrants' was translated as 'foreigners' in the German survey (used in Germany and in the German-speaking areas of Switzerland), which may have given the items a slightly different meaning.

A confirmatory factor analysis showed a one-factor solution with five items. It was comprised of affirmation of the rights of immigrants to keep their language, receive the same education, vote, keep their customs and generally have the same rights as other members of the country. Alpha reliabilities are found in Table C.1 of Appendix C. It is important to note here that although several items dealing with norms of ethnic and racial equality were also included in the pilot and the IEA instrument, they did not consistently form a scale across countries.

Results for Positive Attitudes toward Immigrants

Item results

Forty percent of the respondents 'strongly agree' and 50 percent 'agree' that immigrants should have the right to equal educational opportunity. Immigrants' rights to keep their customs, retain their language, vote and have generally the same rights are endorsed by slightly more than three-quarters of the respondents (about 25 percent 'strongly agreeing' and 50 percent 'agreeing'). Between 6 and 8 percent of the respondents 'strongly disagree' that immigrants should have the right to vote and to keep their own language, customs and lifestyle. Figure B.2g in Appendix B gives the item-by-score map and percentage distributions.

These attitudinal items give a picture similar to that provided by one of the concept items, where students on average thought that requiring immigrants to give up their customs and language would be bad for democracy. Young people in most countries do not especially restrict voting rights for immigrants, as some other studies have shown.

PANEL 5.3 Previous Research on Attitudes toward Immigrants

Miller, Timpson and Lessnoff (1996) in a study of British adults included items such as this: 'Immigrants should try harder to be like other British people.' They found that politicians were more likely to be positive about immigrants maintaining their culture than were the general public, and they also found a positive correlation between respect for women's rights and for immigrants' culture. Westin (1998) used items relating to immigrants' retention of cultural traditions and language with Swedish adults. Billiet (1995) used items regarding economic threat and the right to vote for immigrants in Flemish Belgium and found that educational level was the strongest predictor of immigrant attitudes. Knigge (1997) used Eurobarometer data from 1988 to study anti-immigrant sentiment among adults in France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany. Rights of individuals to maintain their own language and culture were assessed as well as beliefs about schooling, group threat and national pride. Negative stereotyping tended to be related to opposition to immigration primarily when there was also a perception of immigrant groups as threats.

Watts (1996) reported a study in Germany of youths' attitudes toward assimilation, award of political asylum and participation in political and electoral activities. Both his study and that of Kracke, Oepke, Wild and Noack (1998) concluded that perceptions of economic threat were important in influencing the attitudes of German youth (especially those in East Germany).

Frindte, Funke and Waldzus (1996) surveyed 14- to 18-year-olds regarding immigrants' voting rights and restrictions on asylum seekers. Flanagan (1999) formulated items for adolescents cross-nationally that dealt with immigrants as economic threats and with their possible criminal behavior. She also formulated positive statements about immigrants enriching the national culture. Angvik and von Borries (1997), in the Youth and History Study conducted in 26 countries in 1994/95, asked respondents whether immigrants should be granted the right to vote and whether immigration should be reduced. There was substantial sentiment in this study that only immigrants who accepted the host countries' language and customs should have the right to vote. Youth in post-socialist and Nordic countries appeared the least supportive of unconditional voting rights for immigrants. Most research shows the greater level of support being for limits on voting rights and the least support for limits on educational opportunity.

Sniderman, Peri, de Figueiredo and Piazza (2000) asked Italian adults to rate immigrants from North or Central Africa or from Eastern Europe on one positive adjective and seven negative adjectives and also asked them about their contact with immigrants, immigration policies and perceived problems with immigrants. When responsibility for one social problem was attributed to an immigrant group, blame tended to be ascribed to the same group for other problems. The focus of the study was on prejudice and not on immigrants' rights.

Toth (1995) found negative attitudes toward gypsies among youth in Hungary. Another recent study with similar results conducted in four post-Communist countries dealt with ethnic groups within countries, including gypsies (Weiss, 1999).

Torney-Purta (1983), using data from the Council on Learning's Survey of Global Awareness, assessed affective concern for those living in other countries. University-student respondents in the United States who themselves were immigrants expressed higher levels of positive concern, as did female respondents. A study of university students in 35 countries also found that groups who felt they had experienced collective injustice had stronger attitudes toward rights (Doise, Spini & Clemence, 1999). Other research finding that females hold more positive attitudes than males toward rights for groups such as immigrants has been conducted in Germany (Adler, 1996; Frindte, Funke & Waldzus, 1996; Watts, 1996), Hungary (Toth, 1995), Sweden (Westin, 1998) and the United States (Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little & Gibbs, 1995).

Many studies have asked whether respondents perceive that immigrants take jobs away from those born in the country (for example, Klein-Allermann, Kracke, Noack & Hofer, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Legge, 1996). Such survey items can have different meaning in countries with many or few immigrants and in countries with strong or with weak demand for workers.

Analysis of scale scores by country

Understanding the data presented in this section is helped by knowing whether the respondents are likely to be in contact with many immigrants in their schools. Table 2.2, which describes the sample, includes information about the percentage of students who report that they had not been born in the country. Although this information does not identify students whose parents immigrated, it is a more satisfactory index of the number of immigrants with whom a student is likely to come into contact than were any we were able to obtain from other sources.

The following countries had 10 percent or more of their student sample stating that they had been born outside the country: Australia, Belgium (French), Germany, Hong Kong (SAR), the Russian Federation, Switzerland and the United States. The following countries had between 5 and 9 percent of the student sample reporting that they had been born outside the country: Cyprus, Denmark, England, Estonia, Greece, Norway, Portugal and Sweden.

Figure 5.3 shows that the following countries have *mean positive attitudes toward immigrants that are significantly above the international mean*: Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and the United States. Some of these countries have relatively substantial numbers of students who are immigrants, but there are others whose immigrant population is quite small. Figure 5.3 also shows that the following countries have relatively more negative attitudes toward immigrants, significantly below the international mean: Bulgaria, Denmark, England, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Switzerland. Again, there are some countries with substantial numbers of students who are immigrants and some countries with small numbers of students who are immigrants.

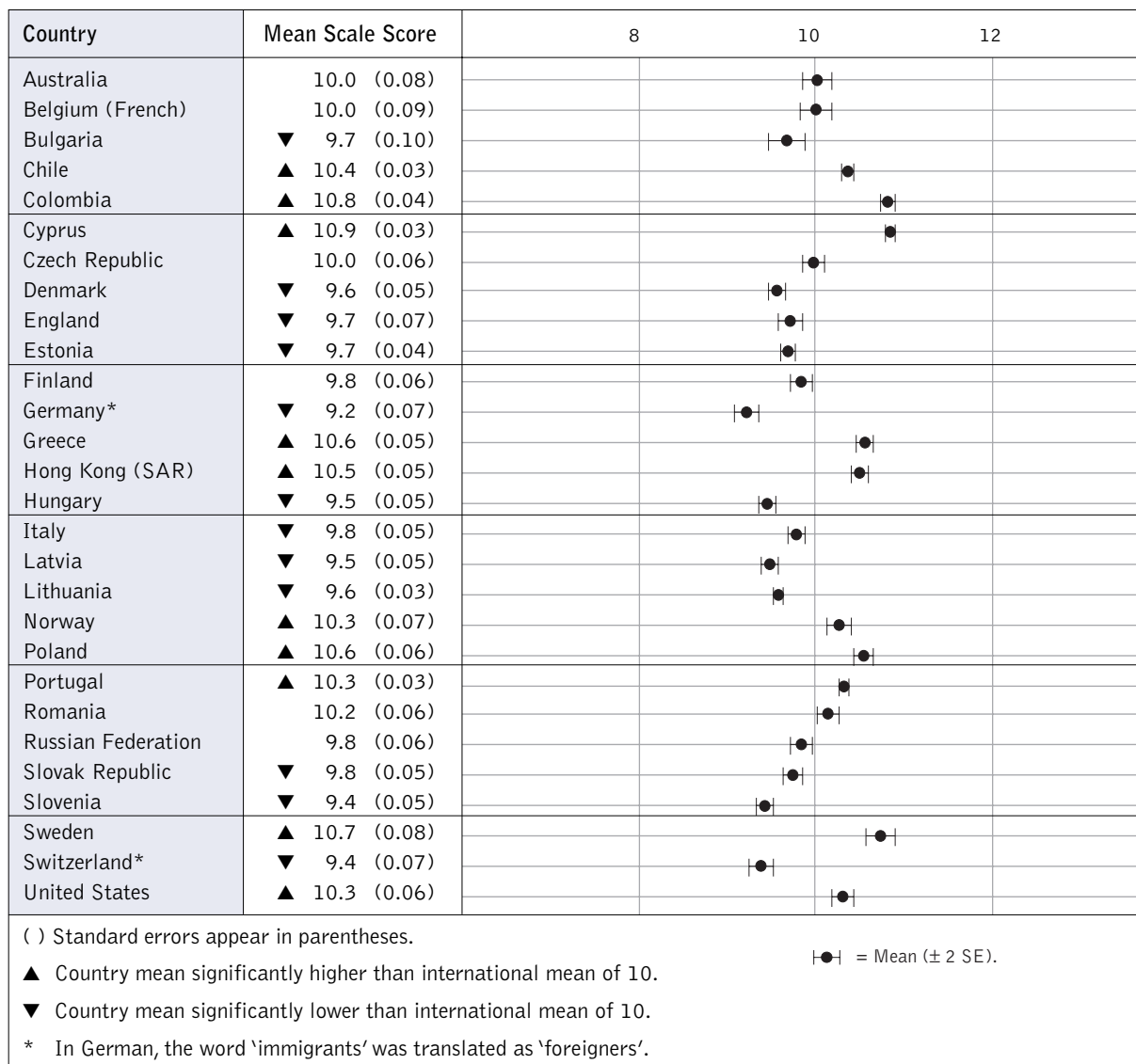
In most of the countries, respondents who are themselves immigrants are more likely to have positive attitudes about immigrant rights and opportunities than are native-born students. Even if one looks only at native-born students, however, the country differences outlined in the previous paragraphs are maintained.

Analysis of scale scores by gender

Figure 5.4 indicates significant gender differences in 23 countries. In all of these cases, females have more positive attitudes than males, supporting the findings of previous research.

This is the first concept or attitude scale examined to show substantial gender differences. Females in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) are especially likely to support opportunities for immigrants. The only countries without significant gender differences are Chile, Colombia, Hong Kong (SAR), Portugal and Romania.

Figure 5.3 Positive Attitudes Toward Immigrants

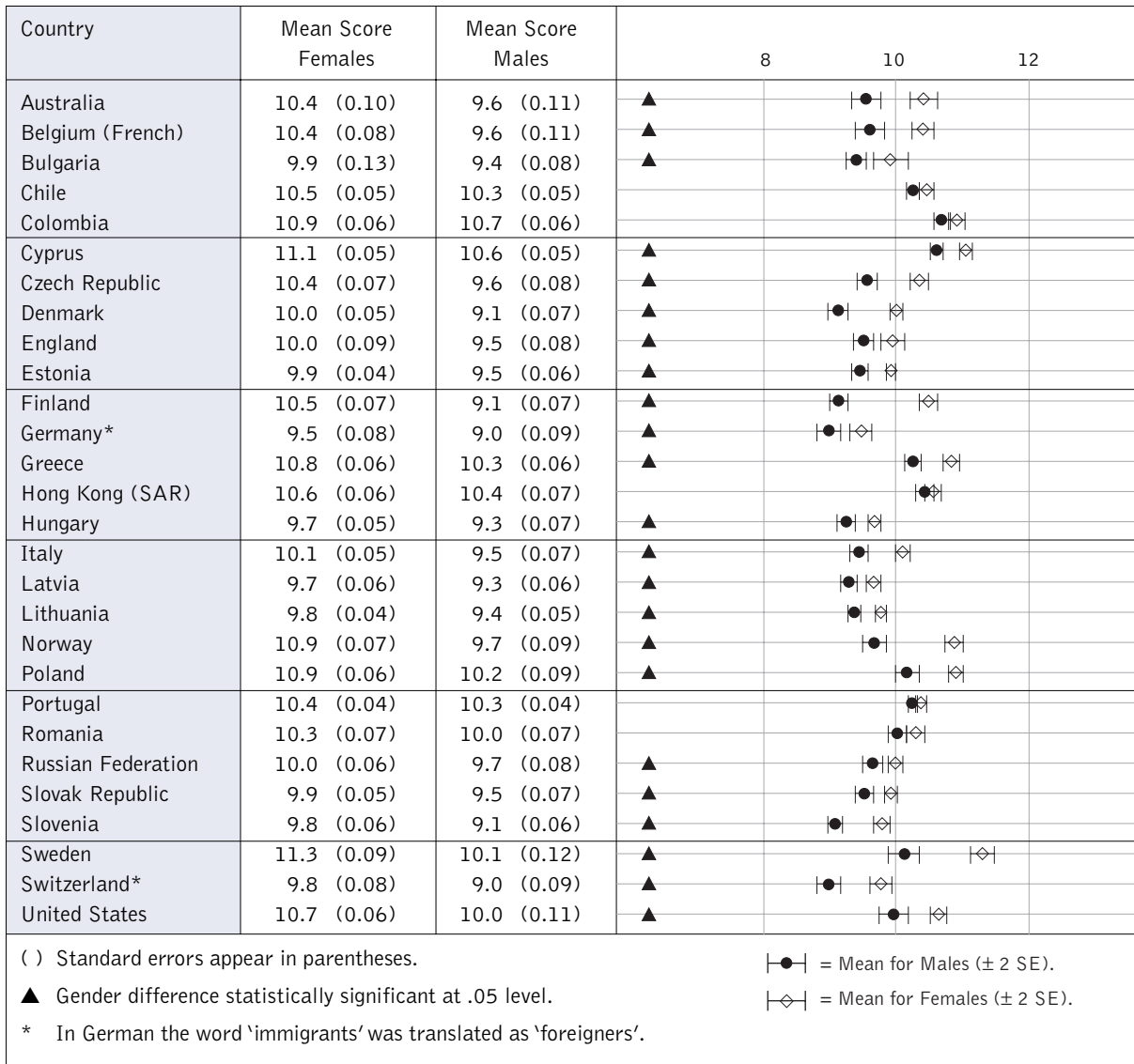


Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

Summary for Attitudes toward Immigrants

Attitudes toward immigrants are generally positive. The mean scores even in the lowest scoring countries do not indicate negative attitudes among the majority of respondents. Females have more positive attitudes than males. There is considerable potential for further analysis of these items, especially in those countries that have many immigrants. It would be possible to look also at students' perceptions of the extent to which discrimination exists (items that were included in the survey but have not yet been analyzed). It would also be interesting to examine the small group of students with especially negative attitudes.

Figure 5.4 Gender Differences in Positive Attitudes Toward Immigrants



Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL RIGHTS

Relation of this Area to the Study's Design

Social cohesion and diversity constitutes the third domain identified in the country reports submitted during Phase 1 of the IEA Civic Education Study. Although discrimination against minority groups or immigrants was more widely discussed in these reports, gender discrimination and the imbalance between the number of men and women holding political office also was noted in some. A review of previous literature concentrated on attitudes toward women's political rights is presented in Panel 5.4.

Development of the Women's Political Rights Scale in the 1999 IEA Instrument

Three of the 1971 IEA Civic Education Study items were used in the 1999 instrument. These were two positively stated items about women running for public office and having the same rights as men, and a negatively stated item

about women staying out of politics. Eight items in the pilot instrument were reduced to six items in the final survey: the three from the 1971 study; one dealing with men having more rights to a job than women when jobs are scarce; another with equal pay; and one concerned with the suitability of men and women for political leadership.

A confirmatory factor analysis showed these items on one factor. Although two of the items deal with economic matters in the public sphere, the title of the scale is 'support for women's political rights'. Three of the items are stated negatively and reversed in scoring. For alpha reliabilities, see Table C.1, Appendix C.

Results for Support for Women's Political Rights

Item results

Nearly 60 percent of the respondents 'strongly agree' with the items about women having the same rights as men and receiving equal pay for the same job, with an additional 30 to 35 percent 'agreeing'. About 40 percent of the respondents 'strongly agree' with the positively phrased item about women running for office, and another 48 percent 'agree' (see Figure B.2h in Appendix B).

Fifty-two percent of the students 'strongly disagree' with the negatively phrased item about women staying out of politics and another 33 percent 'disagree'. A somewhat smaller percentage (35 to 40) 'strongly disagree' with the item regarding men being better qualified to be political leaders than women, and with the item about men having more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce. An additional 35 percent 'disagree' with these items.

Overall support for women's political and economic rights is strong, although there is some variation between items. It is not that young people believe that women should stay out of politics altogether, but rather that some believe they should not expect equal chances to hold elected positions. Some also believe that conditions such as high unemployment give men more rights than women to a job.

Analysis of scale scores by country

Figure 5.5 shows that students in *Australia, Denmark, England and Norway have the highest scores on support for women's political rights*. Also significantly above the international mean are Cyprus, Finland, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. In contrast, *the lowest scores on support for women's rights are evident among students in Bulgaria, Latvia, Romania and the Russian Federation*. Other countries with means significantly below the international mean are Chile, Estonia, Hong Kong (SAR), Hungary, Lithuania and the Slovak Republic.

Table 1.1 shows that all the countries below the international mean in this analysis (with the exception of Hong Kong/SAR) have a GNP per capita of less than \$5000 (US\$ equivalent). A number of these countries also have unemployment rates greater than 10 percent of the labor force (Bulgaria, Romania, the Russian Federation and the Slovak Republic). The inclusion of items about men and women having rights to jobs and equal pay may have influenced students' scores on the scale in these countries. The countries with

PANEL 5.4 Previous Research on Attitudes toward Women's Political Rights

The 1971 IEA Study of Civic Education administered four items on support for women's rights. The most supportive attitudes among 14-year-olds were found in Germany and Finland, moderately supportive attitudes were evident in Italy, and the least supportive attitudes were found in the United States. There were very large differences between the attitudes of males (less supportive of women's political rights) and females (more supportive) (analysis summarized in Torney-Purta, 1984).

Furnham and Gunter (1989), using the IEA items to which they added others about women's work opportunities and women entering politics, studied 12- to 22-year-olds from Britain in 1985. Females in this study were also substantially more supportive than males of enhanced political participation of and rights for women.

Hahn (1998) administered women's rights items in her study of adolescents in Denmark, England, Germany and the United States. In all countries except Germany there was greater support for women in politics in 1993 than in 1986. The gender difference on this scale, with females more supportive, was the largest in all the scales on her instrument. She found especially substantial differences in willingness to vote for a woman for a high political position, as did Gillespie and Spohn (1987, 1990), in studies conducted in the United States.

Angvik and von Borries (1997) reported general support for full equality for women from the Youth and History Study of 15-year-olds in 26 countries. This support was stronger in Northern, Western and Southern European countries and weaker in Eastern and Central European nations. Gender differences were substantial. The resistance of gender stereotypes to change was noted in Greece by Deliyanni-Kouimtzi and Ziogou (1995) and in Finland by Lahteenmaa (1995).

Miller, Timpson and Lessnoff (1996) in the British Rights Survey found that substantial numbers of the public favored changes in laws to encourage more female Members of Parliament.

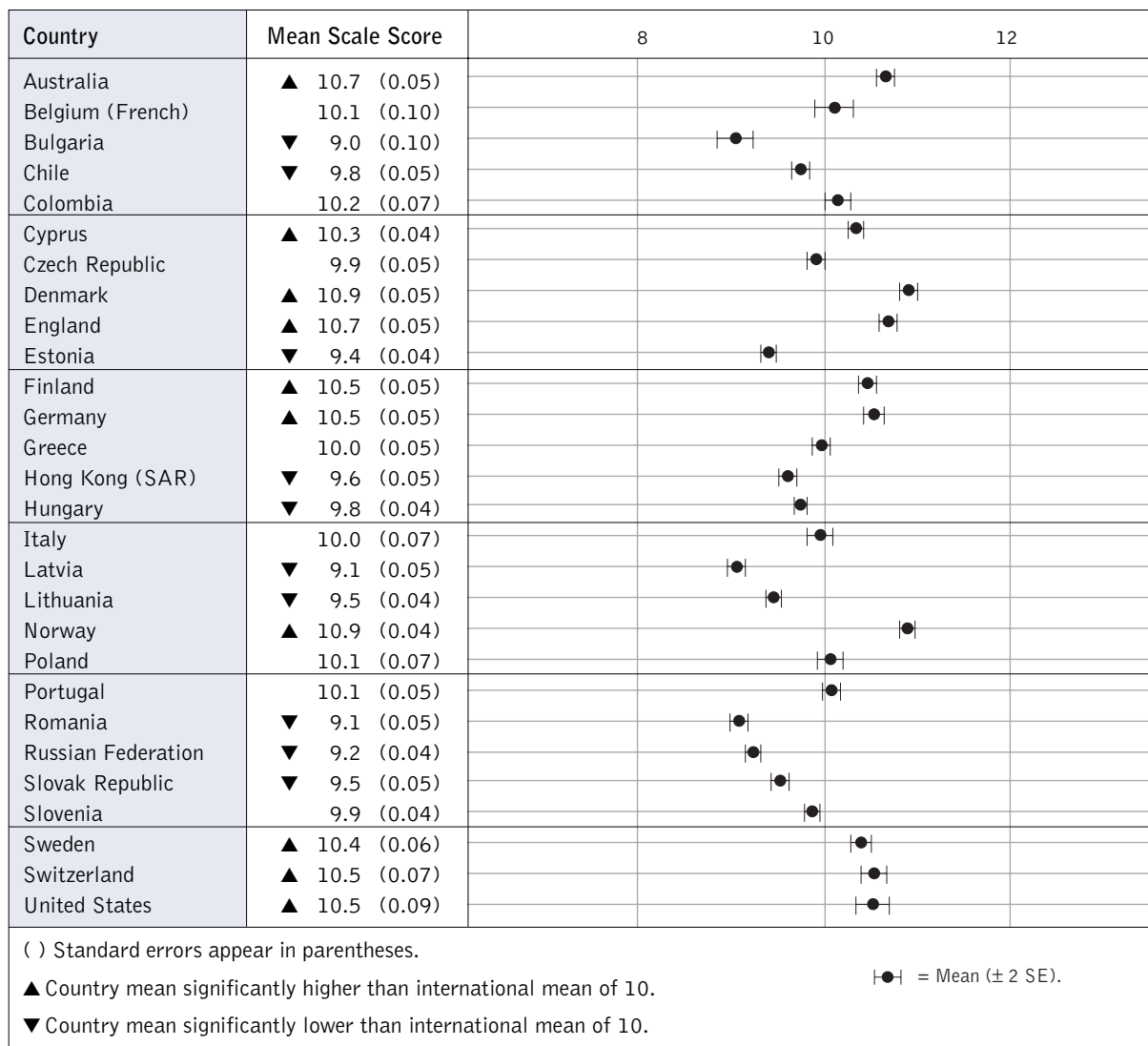
Sapiro (1998) examined adult Eurobarometer data where adult respondents were asked which causes were 'worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for?' Achieving equality between the sexes was the lowest ranked cause in Britain, Denmark, Germany, Italy and Portugal. Poverty and the environment were among the other causes listed.

low support for women's political rights are also predominantly post-Communist countries, where there have been substantial changes during the last decade in the prevailing ideology about women's rights and in the positions of women and men in the labor market and public life.

These data also present an opportunity to compare a wide range of countries from several regions with differing representations of women in national legislatures. In Sweden and Denmark, where women hold about 40 percent of the seats in the national legislature, young people's support for women's rights is high. There are some countries, however, where adolescents show strong support for women's rights even though there are relatively few women in the national legislature (Cyprus, 7 percent, and the United States, 13 percent).

In the Russian Federation and Romania, women comprise only about 6

Figure 5.5 Support for Women’s Political Rights



Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

percent of the parliament, and students’ support for women’s rights is low. In fact, the majority of the countries whose adolescents score significantly below the international mean on this scale have relatively few women in their national legislatures. The exceptions are Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania where women hold approximately 17 percent of the seats.

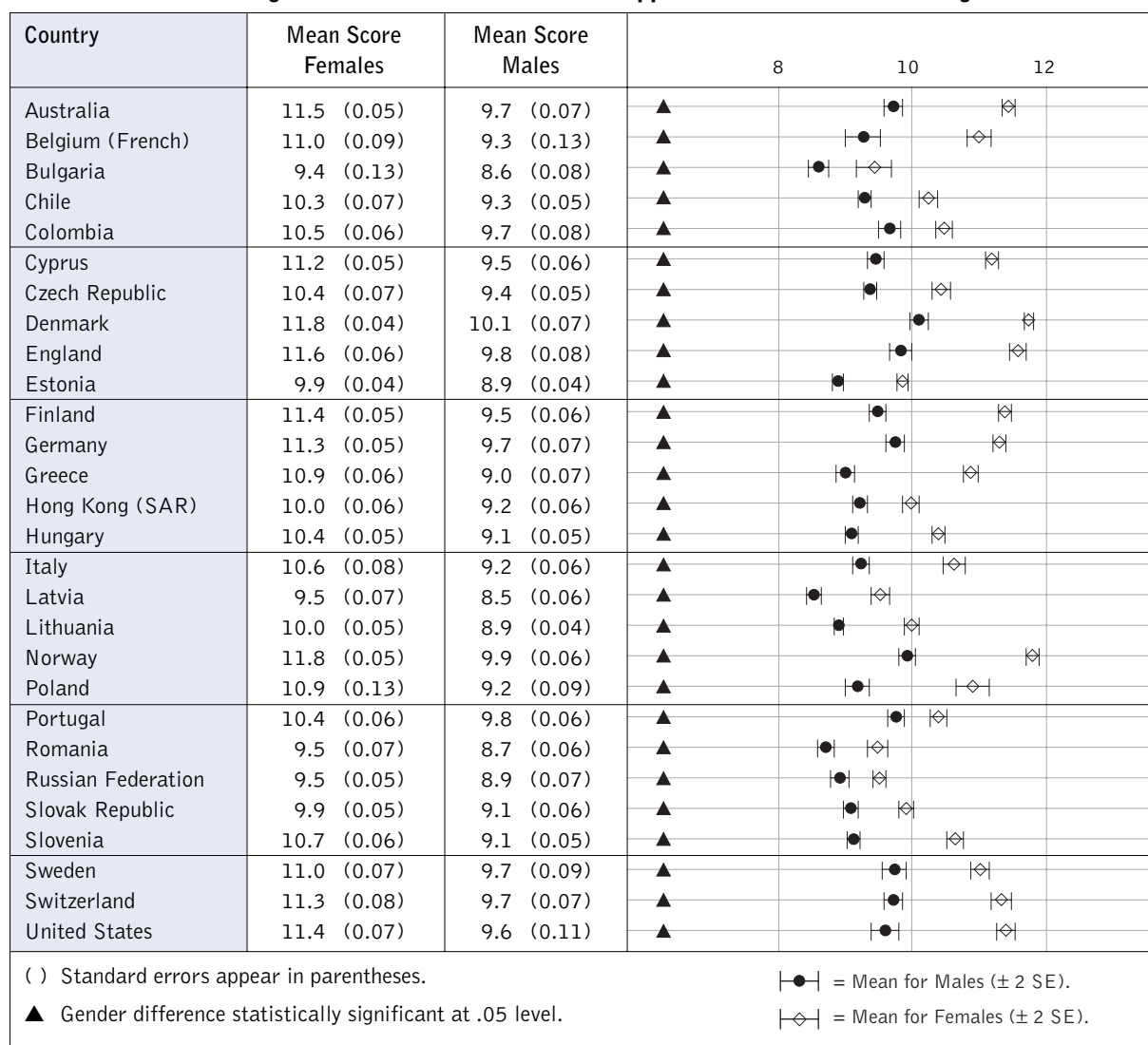
Support for women’s political rights among adolescents tends to be stronger in countries where many women are in the national legislature than in countries where there are few women in these positions. One must be tentative in offering explanations because of the lack of direct evidence, but there are at least two possibilities to consider. It may be that young people see women holding political positions, view them as role models, and develop more positive attitudes toward women’s political rights. Or it may be that voters who developed support for women’s rights during their adolescence are more likely to vote for women candidates when they become adults. Another alternative is that a combination of these processes (and others such as a well-organized and visible women’s movement) may be influential in different countries.

Analysis of scale scores by gender

The gender differences in support for women's political rights are significant and large in every country (Figure 5.6). Females are more likely than males to support women's political rights. The smallest effect is more than one-third of a standard deviation. The largest is nearly a full standard deviation. The countries that have especially large gender differences are Australia, Belgium (French), Cyprus, England, Finland, Greece, Norway, Poland and the United States.

The distributions for the two genders generally do not overlap. If we look only at male responses, the two highest means are Norway (9.9) and Denmark (10.1), just below and just above the international mean, respectively. These differences are even more striking because there are so few gender differences in the remainder of the instrument. In interpreting this scale, however, it is important to keep in mind that overall support is high and that these items may have a somewhat different meaning for males and for females.

Figure 5.6 Gender Differences in Support for Women's Political Rights



Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-year-olds tested in 1999.

Summary for Support for Women's Political Rights

There appears to be somewhat more support for women's political and economic rights than existed 30 years ago (the time of the first IEA Civics Study), but the gaps between males' and females' attitudes remain large. Gender is clearly an identity group for adolescents, and one that intensifies in importance at adolescence (Galambos, Almeida & Petersen, 1990). Countries where women hold many seats in the national legislature tend to have adolescents who are more supportive of women's rights.

SUMMARY

The differentiated picture of country and gender differences presented by these four attitude scales suggests that it was appropriate for us to develop and analyze the four scores separately rather than sum them together into larger scores such as 'tolerance' or 'positive feelings toward government and nation'. Having conducted the more fine-grained analysis, however, we can examine country patterns on the two scales from Domain III (social cohesion and diversity) together. It is important to keep in mind that overall the responses are quite positive on these scales, and that gender differences appear in a substantial number of countries on both of them, a finding that generally confirms previous research with adults and young people.

If we look across the figures in this chapter, it is possible to examine the countries where the students' responses placed their countries *significantly above the international mean on both immigrants' and women's political rights*, and those where the students' responses placed their countries *below the international mean on both scales*. Fourteen-year-olds in Cyprus, Norway, Sweden and the United States are highly supportive of rights for both groups. Countries where support of rights for both groups is low include Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and the Slovak Republic. The Baltic States and three countries in the Central European region have relatively low levels of support for rights and opportunities for immigrants and women when compared with other participating countries, findings that confirm some recent research. Economic factors, such as a relatively poor economy in which there is competition between groups (men and women, immigrants and non-immigrants) for jobs, should be taken into account when seeking explanations.

What is the potential role of the school in the four attitudinal areas covered in this chapter? Positive feelings about the nation and about political institutions are much more likely to be the subject of instruction than are support for women's political rights or immigrant rights in most countries, according to our Phase 1 results. The Scandinavian countries do place considerable curricular emphasis on women's rights, however. Some countries are also instituting educational programs dealing with student diversity, which may include attempting to foster positive attitudes toward immigrants. In some other countries these are thought of as rather controversial issues for teachers to discuss. Further analysis and research can assist in identifying areas where intensified instructional attention would be appropriate.

