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### Citizenship of young people

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# Citizenship of young people

*Ellen Geboers*

CITIZENSHIP OF YOUNG PEOPLE



# Citizenship of young people



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

# CITIZENSHIP OF YOUNG PEOPLE

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# Chapter 1

## *Introduction*

Citizenship has recently received an increased attention in an effort to promote democratic ideas and a shared, communal perspective on citizenship within Dutch society. This increased attention stems from political and social tensions in the Netherlands, including increasing individualism, Dutch policy in the areas of adaptation and social integration of immigrants and violence (Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012; Veugelers, 2011). In particular, the citizenship of young people has become a topic of increased discussion due to an observed lack of citizenship knowledge among young people along with a reduced interest in and attention to societal issues (i.e. Coleman, 1993; Niemi, Sanders, & Wittington, 2005). To enhance the engagement and the functioning of young people in their community, it is thought that they should acquire at least the following: knowledge about social behaviour and democracy; an ability to critically reflect upon societal issues and to formulate opinions; the skills for effective societal participation and communication; and a willingness to take responsibility in society, adjust to other people and to behave respectfully (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; Schuitema, Ten Dam, & Veugelers, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002; Westheimer, 2008). Pluriform Western society requires such competences because they contribute to the development and the adequate functioning of individuals within such a heterogeneous society; citizenship competences also contribute to social cohesion and a shared perspective on citizenship among the citizens in a society (Dijkstra, 2012; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; Peschar, Hooghoff, Dijkstra, & Ten Dam, 2010). The school is seen as a place where the willingness and ability of young people to critically participate in a community should be promoted (Barber, 1998; Campbell, Levinson, & Hess, 2012; Dijkstra, 2012; Euridyce, 2012; Schuitema et al., 2008; Torney-Purta, 2004). Accordingly, in almost all European countries, the US, Canada and Australia, the development of citizenship has recently been identified to be an essential task of schools (Euridyce, 2005; 2012). In 2006, citizenship education became an obligatory part of the education of young people in the Netherlands (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2005). This obligatory nature of the citizenship task is expected to lead to the development of explicit and systematic approaches to citizenship education for schools to call upon (Inspectorate of Education, 2006; Council of Education, 2003; 2012).

Given the many views on what citizenship should be about and the differing educational strategies and practices adopted to promote its development, the question of whether all schools have achieved the goal of effective citizenship education arises. In order to assess this, however, we first need insight into the citizenship competences of students, the development of these competences and the potential effects of education on students' development. The research in this thesis aims to help establish this knowledge base – knowledge of the citizenship competences of young people in the Netherlands and the development of these competences.

## **1 THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP**

In the literature on citizenship, a democratic political orientation towards the concept of citizenship has recently been expanded to include a social orientation towards citizenship (Oser & Veugelers, 2008). In this broadened view of citizenship, the democratic political orientation with trust in the government, democratic knowledge and political participation as key aspects is augmented with attention to the relationships between citizens, shared values, cultural symbols, engagement in society and social interactions.

In both the political and social orientations towards citizenship, both the adaptive and critical character of citizenship are emphasized. On the one hand, the internalization of shared political norms by young people is emphasized. Acceptance of values and societal rules are viewed as important goals for learning to live in a democratic society with behaviour that is prosocial (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004). On the other hand, the individual development of autonomy also stands central (Veugelers, 2011). From this perspective, the critical evaluation of social, political and economic structures within society and the formulation of one's own opinion together with a capacity to support one's opinion are seen as key goals for citizenship education. The broader conception of citizenship encompasses both of the foregoing orientations, and citizenship is therefore not limited to political activities but also concerned with such aspects of functioning in society as volunteer work, respectful social behaviour and informal care for family and neighbours.

With regard to the development of the citizenship of young people, we can distinguish the following components: knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection (Billing & Waterman, 2003; Cogan & Morris, 2001; Grant, 1996; Rychen & Salganik, 2003; Ten Dam & Volman, 2007). Citizenship knowledge concerns the organization and functioning of a democratic society - for example, knowledge of government, the rights of citizens, different cultures and the rules of social behaviour. Citizenship attitudes concern a willingness to engage in and contribute to society - for example, showing respect for others, tolerance, appreciation of differences, responsibility and attention to societal issues. Citizenship skills concern the ability to adequately participate in society - for example, social efficacy and sufficient communication capacity. Citizenship reflection concerns critical thinking about societal issues - for example, differences between people and (in)equalities within a society. In the research presented in this thesis, the focus is on a broad conceptualization of citizenship in the context of the daily lives of young people in which their citizenship is situated. From this perspective, insight can be provided into the actual citizenship competences of young people in primary and secondary education.

## 2 CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Adopting a situated perspective on the citizenship of young people, students can be viewed as 'active agents' in the learning process of citizenship competences (Biesta, 2011; Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Kioussis & McDevitt, 2008; Lawy & Biesta, 2006). The period in which people become acquainted with the norms and values of the society in which they live but also the culture and different perspectives within that society is seen as an essential period in the development of a social-democratic identity (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004; Erikson, 1968; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). During adolescence, the knowledge of one's own society but also the global society increases via media exposure, family discussions and school. Furthermore, via participation in everyday situations, young people develop a picture of themselves as citizens and this identity development influences the development of their citizenship competences (Haste, 2004; Veugelers, 2011).

The citizenship development of students concerns mostly democratic and social practices as opposed to future political citizenship. Young people interact; they make use of social media; and they have acquire a place within their family, peer group, school, work, sport club and community (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Biesta, 2007; Biesta, Lawy & Kelly, 2009). In other words, young people become citizens at an early age - with many options for social and political activities.

We have little further empirical knowledge of the development of the citizenship competences of young people. Only a few studies, such as the Citizenship Educational Longitudinal Study (CELS; Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy, & Lopez, 2010) have investigated

the development of citizenship over time. We therefore draw upon the little information which is available and, in this thesis, examine the development of the citizenship competences of students over time together with the possible differences between groups of students in this development.

## 3 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Since the rise of the Western knowledge society during the past century, there has been a focus in education on cognitive learning results (e.g. math, language learning, geography). With the turn of the century, however, attention shifted to the socialization function of the school (Euridyce, 2005; 2012). The socialization function of schools within democratic society can be traditionally seen as twofold. On the one hand, education is expected to enhance societal cohesion and the social integration of citizens via the establishment of shared values and respect for rules. On the other hand, education is expected to promote individual autonomy and critical citizenship via discussion and dialogue about the differences between people and the (in)equalities within society (Leenders et al., 2008; Schuitema et al., 2008; Veugelers, 2011; Westheimer, 2008). From a sociological perspective, schools can be seen as places where citizenship at the level of society and citizenship at the level of the individual ideally meets.

Given the pedagogical task of education, acquisition of the knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflective capacity which are needed for citizenship stands central. This acquisition occurs directly via the learning of content but also indirectly via the general teaching and school climate. That is, the everyday social interactions between students at school but also between teachers and students in addition to the particular religious and moral values fostered by the school are also all part of the promotion of citizenship development (Schuitema et al., 2008). The everyday experiences of students outside the school – including those with the family, peers, media and sport clubs – cannot be isolated from either the direct or indirect roles of the school in the citizenship education of young people.

The formulation of clear and measurable learning goals for the citizenship education of students is therefore not an easy task. To fulfil the task of citizenship education, schools must take a stance on what constitutes 'good citizenship'. Furthermore, they must define the goals of citizenship education and identify the pedagogical approaches which they want to adopt for these goals. And in order to do this schools must also know about the citizenship competences required of students.

However, linking pedagogical theory to clear and specific but also relevant learning goals is difficult. And furthermore, the connection of empirical knowledge of the citizenship competences of students to the goals and practices of citizenship education is not always easy. That is, the aim to provide insight into the actual citizenship competences of young people must have not only a solid empirical foundation but also significance and relevance for educational practice and thus the daily lives of students.

In the present thesis a foundation is therefore laid to understand the citizenship competences and citizenship development of students in such a way that schools can align their educational goals and strategies with the knowledge acquired of the citizenship competences of students.

## 4 THE DUTCH CONTEXT

Research on the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands has shown Dutch students to have only limited knowledge of cultural, political and economic citizenship issues (Wagenaar, Van der Schoot, & Hemker, 2011). The results of international research also show Dutch students to score below the international mean with regard to citizenship attitudes and knowledge in the realm of politics (Hoskins, Villalba, & Saisana, 2012; Maslowski, Naayer, Isac, Oonk, & Van der Werf, 2010). The citizenship of students in Dutch primary and secondary education thus appears to lag behind that of

students in other countries (Peschar et al., 2010). The evidence in these studies is insufficient, however, to determine to what extent the citizenship education goals of the Dutch schools were reached.

The ways in which Dutch schools can fulfil their citizenship education obligation has not been dictated by the government. The Dutch Ministry of Education only requires schools to 'actively promote citizenship and social integration' (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2005). Schools can thus define citizenship education as they see fit, and schools and teachers can identify their own priorities for citizenship education. This has resulted in widely differing perspectives, goals and approaches for citizenship education both across and within schools (Peschar et al., 2010). There is no well-defined framework for citizenship education accompanying teaching methods and materials as a result. And only a few schools use standardized instruments to assess the citizenship competences of their students and monitor their development (Inspectorate of Education, 2013). Educators in the Netherlands thus have very little knowledge of the citizenship competences of their student populations. This situation can be seen to present an obstacle for the provision of high-quality citizenship education in the Netherlands (Dijkstra, 2012; Peschar et al., 2010).

## 5 THE CITIZENSHIP ALLIANCE

In 2007, a consortium with two universities, two educational organisations and the Dutch Inspectorate of Education was formed to gain empirical insight into the citizenship competences of students and their development; factors which play a role in the citizenship competences of students and their development; and the role of different forms of citizenship education in the citizenship competences of students and their development. The empirical data in this thesis were collected in schools that were part of this Citizenship Alliance (Alliantie Burgerschap). Data was collected during three school years (2007/2008, 2008/2009 and 2009/2010) from 38 participating schools at three levels of education (primary education, prevocational education and general secondary education).

The most important criteria for the participation of the schools were: active implementation of citizenship education or an intention to start with this, dispersion across the country, school size, school denomination and composition of the student population. The universities in the consortium were responsible for the data collection and documentation of the results. The educational organizations in the consortium provided support for the development of the citizenship education efforts in the participating schools. The Dutch Inspectorate of Education monitored the research development and evaluation process.

## 6 RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis was to gain insight into the citizenship of young people and the potential effects of citizenship education in the Netherlands. To understand the concept of citizenship for young people, we situated citizenship in their daily lives. A broad orientation towards citizenship was adopted, in which the actual citizenship competences of students in primary and secondary education stood central. It was assumed that such an understanding is essential for schools to align their goals and strategies for citizenship education with the competences of students. In this regard, the outcomes of the present studies can help improve citizenship education efforts in the Netherlands. In order to do this, four research questions were formulated.

1. *What are the effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship?*
2. *What are the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students in primary and secondary education and which student characteristics can explain the differences between students?*
3. *Which types of citizenship can be distinguished in primary and secondary education and do these types relate to individual characteristics of students and school levels?*
4. *How do citizenship competences of students in secondary education develop over time and which characteristics of the students or schools can explain the observed similarities and differences in the citizenship development of secondary education students?*

## 7 ORGANIZATION OF THIS THESIS

In this Chapter One, the perspective on citizenship adopted in this thesis is present together with the research aims and questions to be answered. In Chapter Two the possible role of citizenship education is considered on the basis of a review of the relevant research literature. The results of empirical research on the effects of citizenship education on the citizenship competences of students in secondary education are examined and a framework to assess, analyze and monitor the citizenship competences and behaviour is formulated.

The next three chapters concern the citizenship competences of students and those factors which appear to play a role in their development and variation. In the study reported in Chapter Three, the citizenship competences of students between 11 and 16 years of age were first measured. The self-estimated citizenship competences and tested citizenship knowledge of the students were then combined into an overarching framework to understand citizenship orientations and domains of knowledge needed to understand the citizenship competences of the students in this age range. Specific background characteristics (e.g. gender, SES, ethnicity) were then examined in relation to the citizenship orientations and domains of knowledge of the students as well.

In Chapter Four, a typology of student citizenship is presented with the aim of identifying clearly interpretable types of student citizenship. With this knowledge, teachers can be helped to recognize different forms of citizenship within their classrooms and during daily classroom practice. They can then align their educational goals and strategies to the identified citizenship competences and different groups of students. In addition, just how the different types of citizenship relate to the specific characteristics of the students and the different levels of school was analyzed.

Chapter Five reports on the results of a longitudinal analysis of the citizenship development of students in secondary education. Once again, the citizenship development of the students is analysed in relation to the background characteristics of the students and the school levels.

Finally, in Chapter Six, the results of the four studies are summarized and interpreted as a whole. The main results are discussed and conclusions with regard to the overall aim of the present research – namely, to gain insight into the citizenship of young people and the potential effects of citizenship education in the Netherlands – are presented. The major strengths and some possible weaknesses of the present research are considered. And to close, the relevance of the present findings for Dutch citizenship education in primary and secondary education schools is presented.

## Chapter 2

### *Review of the effects of citizenship education<sup>1</sup>*

Based on the assumption that schools can play a significant role in the citizenship development of students, in most contemporary modern societies schools are obligated to provide citizenship education. However, the effectiveness of different forms of citizenship education is still unclear. From the empirical literature on citizenship over the period of 2003-2009 28 articles were selected on effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship. Our review showed the political domain of citizenship to be emphasized more than the social domain. An open and democratic classroom climate in which discussion and dialogue takes place appears to effectively promote the development of citizenship among secondary school students. Moreover, a formal curriculum that includes citizenship projects and courses also appears to be an effective type of citizenship education. The effects of citizenship education are discussed in relation to the quality of the studies reviewed.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The development of citizenship of young people and the role of education in this are current subjects of research as well as a lively societal discussion. The concept of citizenship in contemporary modern societies is primarily linked to the notion of democracy (Thayer-Bacon, 2008; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004). Democracy is interpreted as "a mode of associated living" (Dewey, 1966). Citizens are expected to be engaged in different contexts with different degrees of heterogeneity (e.g., the school, home, playground, community). "Good citizenship" requires people to behave socially but also be willing and able to reflect upon political and social issues and contribute critically to society (Westheimer, 2008). Generally speaking, citizenship is learned during the course of life through participation in different social practices (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009). For young people, school is not only one of those practices, it is also an institution that explicitly aims at facilitating and optimizing the development of citizenship. Over the past two decades in almost all European countries (Euridyce, 2005) but also in Australia, Canada, and the US, compulsory citizenship education has been introduced into the school curriculum.

Imperative to the introduction of citizenship goals into the school curriculum is the assumption that the school can really contribute to the development of citizenship. However, the question remains whether this assumption can be established through empirical evidence. Which effects are reported of citizenship education on the development of students' citizenship competences and behavior? Despite the increasing number of studies on citizenship education, a systematic review of the literature on this topic has yet to be published. Before presenting the methodology and outcomes of the current review we will elaborate upon the various conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education to frame the scientific discourse of the studies that are central to our review.

#### 1.1 The concept of citizenship

In their review of contemporary discourses on citizenship, Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) have convincingly argued that in Western democracies multiple sets of meanings of citizenship occur in relation to varying discourses: from civic republican and liberal discourses to critical discourses (e.g., feminist, queer). Accordingly, citizenship is considered an essentially contested concept (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Nevertheless, Enslin (2000, cited in Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006)) provides a generalized definition by stating that citizenship in a democracy (a) gives membership status to individ-

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<sup>1</sup> Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal W., & Ten Dam, G. (2012). Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review*, 9, 158-173.

uals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and (e) entails acquisition of an understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance and the use of this knowledge. Depending upon the particular discourse, thus, the concept of citizenship is given specific form and content.

The form and content of the concept of citizenship particularly varies with respect to the question about the extent to which norms that are at issue for a democratic manner of living must be adopted by individual citizens. Westheimer and Kahn (2004), for example, distinguish the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the social-justice citizen. The personally responsible citizen is one who acts responsibly in the community, helps those in need, works, and pays taxes. The participatory citizen is one who is actively involved in community organizations, helps organize community efforts to care for those in need, and knows how government agencies work. The social-justice citizen is one who critically assesses social, political, and economic structures, knows about social movements, detects and addresses domains of injustice, and tries to be fair and promote equal opportunities. Westheimer and Kahn actually plea for a conceptualization of citizenship that goes beyond “being nice,” “consideration of others,” “helping of others,” “caring for each other,” and so forth (cf. Leenders & Veugelers, 2006). In a democratic and multiform society, citizens must be prepared to make their own critical contributions (Wardekker, 2001). “Good citizenship” thus implies that citizens are willing and able to critically evaluate different perspectives, explore strategies for change, and reflect upon issues of justice, equality/inequality, and democratic engagement (Westheimer, 2008). A capacity to function in a socially accepted and responsible manner within a community is nevertheless, according to Westheimer, also part of “good citizenship.”

Beyond the conceptualization of citizenship largely in terms of a democratic political orientation, recent thinking has emphasized the notion of a “civil society” (Alexander, 2006) and the connections between citizens in terms of values and shared cultural meanings. As opposed to a classical political interpretation of citizenship with a focus on the state and the market economy, a conceptualization of citizenship in terms of civil society emphasizes social cohesion, the coexistence of citizens, and the personal development of individuals, norms, and values (cf. Oser & Veugelers, 2008). This social domain of citizenship is particularly important for the discourse on the citizenship of young people and their citizenship education. In a classical political interpretation of citizenship, youngsters are primary seen as future citizens. As a consequence, citizenship education is understood as the preparation of students to participate in society as adult citizens by enhancing, for example, their civic knowledge as required for political participation and voting and by fostering a democratic attitude (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Associating citizenship with the civil society provides more space for understanding young people’s actual citizenship practices.

Social practices constitute the everyday lives of young people in which they interact with others (family, leisure time, work, and school) (Biesta, 2007). Situating citizenship in social practices means that one can discern the ‘social tasks’ that students need to fulfill in their everyday life as part of being a citizen (Ten Dam & Volman, 2007; cf. Rychen & Salganik, 2003). Ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, and Ledoux (2011) make a distinction between the social tasks of acting democratically, acting on a social responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences to jointly represent the citizenship of young citizens. Adequate fulfillment of these social tasks is considered to be exemplary of student’s everyday citizenship in a democratic and multicultural society.

With regard to citizenship, a distinction can be made between the citizenship behavior and the components of competences on which this behavior is build. Those components of competences

can be formulated in terms of knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection (Rychen & Salganik, 2003). Knowledge entails insight into the functioning of a democratic society and can thus include knowledge of the government, civil rights, and different cultures (e.g., Hicks, 2001; Kerr, 1999). Attitudes pertain primarily to respect for each other, tolerance of different views, responsibility, involvement in society, and appreciation of differences between people (e.g., Cogan & Morris, 2001; Grant, 1996). Among the skills to be mastered are those needed to communicate effectively and consider different perspectives (e.g., Battistoni, 1997; Beane, 2002). Reflection is mostly approached in terms of critical thinking in particular about the reciprocal relations between society and individual (e.g., Billing, 2003; Ten Dam & Volman, 2007).

## 1.2 The concept of citizenship education

Via participation in everyday situations, young people can develop a picture of themselves as citizens (i.e., identity development; cf. Haste, 2004). Ideally, the school is a place for young people to accumulate democratic experiences and reflect upon these in addition to experiences acquired elsewhere (Daniels, 2001). Such reflection can contribute to the identity development of young people and thereby enhance the quality of their participation in society. Citizenship education should thus primarily be aimed at the enhancement of reflection by stimulating the critical capacities of young people (Lawy & Biesta, 2006).

In the literature the concept of citizenship education overlaps with related concepts such as moral education, character education and/or civic education (see for a discussion Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). The moral education tradition, in particular, emphasizes ‘values’ and ‘values development’, while citizenship education focuses on participation in society. Both traditions, however, are linked, as developing citizenship presupposes developing one’s identity which is by definition a value-loaded endeavour.

In a review by Schuitema, Ten Dam, and Veugelers (2008), a broad conceptualization of education embracing the different domains of citizenship was found to be advocated by many authors — albeit from different perspectives on learning. The main focus of citizenship education is found to be enhancement of engagement with democratic society and active participation in that society. Engagement and participation pertain to not only the political domain of citizenship but also increasingly to the social domain, and can include a “willingness to volunteer,” “confidence in the ability to make a difference in the social environment” and/or “willingness to protest against injustice” (cf. Haste, 2004; Torney-Purta, 2004). Various authors explicitly link citizenship of students to the pluralistic and multicultural features of modern societies. For example, Banks (2004) argues that it is important for students to understand that multiple perspectives exist on moral and social issues and that their own viewpoint is thus only one of many possible viewpoints. A capacity to deal with diversity and possible interpersonal conflict is then conceived as one of the goals of citizenship education.

Of the studies reviewed by Schuitema et al. (2008) over the period 1995-2003, a relatively small number included empirical data: 15 out of 76. Twelve of these empirical studies concerned the effects of citizenship education, either in terms of student learning experiences or learning results. With regard to the learning results effect studies show that most programs use a problem-based approach to instruction with room for dialogue and interaction between students (e.g., Covell & Howe, 2001; McQuaide, Leinhardt, & Stainton, 1999; Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001). The effects found are related in particular to the attitudes of students, for example decreasing racist attitudes (Schultz et al., 2001), more positive attitudes towards refugees and homeless people (Day, 2002), more willingness to take responsibility (McQuaide et al., 1999), and more support for rights of others in the curriculum

classes (Covell & Howe, 2001). Although some of the programs explicitly aimed at affecting students' ability for moral reasoning, these effects are virtually absent. The review authors concluded that the theoretical discourse on moral education calls for more rigorous empirical research in which the various objectives (attitudes, skills, knowledge and reflection) are systematically studied.

The review of Schuitema et al. (2008) represents the state of the art in citizenship education, up to 2003. Actually since the change of centuries citizenship education has developed rapidly. Legislation in almost all European countries, the US, Canada, and Australia has obliged schools to establish policy in this domain and consequently citizenship has been explicitly introduced in the curriculum. As might be expected, studies into the effects of citizenship education have followed and increased in number since 2003. A review of those effect studies is of interest to gain initial understanding of the relevance of citizenship education for the citizenship of students. We therefore will study the empirical literature on the effects of citizenship education on citizenship of students. We specify situated citizenship of young people aged 13 to 16 years (i.e., the early years of secondary education) as the citizenship competences and the citizenship behavior regarding the social tasks that they need to fulfill in daily practice. The research question is: "What are the effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship?"

## 2 METHOD

### 2.1 Databases and search terms

The studies in this review cover the period of 2003 to 2009. The year 2003 was considered as a cut point since this was the year in which the first effect studies about citizenship education were published, after the obligation of citizenship education in different countries. A systematic literature review is performed including two steps of searching relevant articles.

The first step concerned the search of eight commonly used literature databases using the following search terms or combinations of terms: 'citizenship or civi\*' as well as 'citizenship or civi\*education combined with 'education', 'competence', 'knowledge', 'skills', 'attitudes', 'reflection', 'democra\*', and 'youth development', with \* used as a joker.

We restricted ourselves to terminology of citizenship as this is evidently used in the theoretical discourse and can therefore be assumed to have its empirical representation. The following databases were examined at the time:

- Eric (Educational Resources Information Center),
- PsycINFO,
- Catalogue of the University of Amsterdam,
- PICARTA,
- Web of Science,
- Academic search premier, and
- Scopus (abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature).
- ScienceDirect

In the second step, the reference lists from the selected articles (cf. next paragraph) were inspected for relevant studies (i.e., the snowball method).

### 2.2 Selection procedure, criteria, and outcomes

We evaluated the search results of the literature using the following selection criteria:

- article had to be published between 2003 and 2009,
- article had to be based on empirical research,
- article had to be published in a peer-reviewed journal (i.e., to have an assertion of quality),
- study had to include students between the age of 13 and 16 years (i.e., in early secondary education), and
- study had to focus on citizenship or citizenship education.

Both the abstracts and the full texts were evaluated with regard to the aforementioned criteria. This search produced a total of 90 journal articles to fit our criteria.

*Table 1. Types of citizenship education*

Type of citizenship education	Description	Examples
Curriculum in School (CIS)	activities that were part of an educational method or program and carried out in the classroom setting	- formal high school course work - critical thinking course
Curriculum out of School (CoS)	activities that were an obliged part of the curriculum, but undertaken outside the school	- organized government visits - required services
Pedagogical Climate (PG)	all teacher practices aimed at influencing the organization of the classroom and the atmosphere in the classroom	- teacher support - classroom civic learning opportunities - discussion and dialogue in the classroom - democratic ethos of the teacher
Extra curricular activities (EA)	all additional student activities supervised by the school to develop the citizenship competences of students	- student participation in voluntary service activities - participation in school clubs - participation in school sport teams

These 90 articles were then analyzed in order to determine whether the research concerned empirical data on the effects of citizenship education. To do this, descriptive characteristics of the studies were coded, such as the type of problem and research questions addressed, the purpose of each study, the research design, and the types of results presented (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's  $K$  of 0.84, with a 95% confidence interval of  $0.78 \leq K \leq 0.90$ ). Only those articles were selected that describe effect of citizenship education, resulting in a selection of 22 journal articles.

This procedure was also used for the results of the second step from our search procedure (snowball method based on the reference lists of the selected journal articles). This step produced 6 additional journal articles to be included in the review. Thus, in the end, a total of 28 articles concerning the effects of citizenship education on secondary education students were included in the review.

## 2.3 Analyses

In order to examine the quality of the research methods reported in the 28 effect studies, we categorized the research designs as cross-sectional, longitudinal, quasi-experimental with control group, quasi-experimental without control group, review, or qualitative exploratory. The reliability of the classification of the research designs was found to be satisfactory with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's  $K$  of 1.0.

We then distinguished between the characteristics of citizenship education and citizenship competences.

### 2.3.1 Citizenship education

We classified the diverse curricular practices pertaining to citizenship education as studied in the selected 28 articles. Through inductive construction out of the literature we assembled the interventions evaluated in the reviewed literature (Wilson, 2009) into four types of citizenship education: curriculum in school (CiS), curriculum out of school (CoS), pedagogical climate (PG), and extracurricular activities (EA) (see Table 1). This classification is similar to the practices used in different Western countries found by Hahn (1998). The reliability of the classification procedure for the types of citizenship education addressed in the relevant effect studies was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's  $K$  of 0.94, with a 95% confidence interval of  $0.83 \leq K \leq 1.00$ ).

### 2.3.2 Social tasks, citizenship competences and behavior

Based on our conceptualization of citizenship as situated in social practices, students' citizenship was classified in two different ways: 1) in terms of social tasks as representatives of young people's citizenship practices, and 2) in terms of competences and behavior to adequately fulfill these tasks. For classifying students' citizenship in terms of the social tasks that were under study in the articles, the following categories were used: acting democratically (AD), acting in a social responsible manner (AS), dealing with conflicts (DC), and dealing with differences (DD). The last three social tasks refer predominantly to the social domain of citizenship. Acting democratically, however, can pertain to government and political institutions (e.g., voting, discussion of politics, political participation) but also social interactions with other citizens (e.g., interaction in the neighborhood, interaction in the classroom). For this reason and to trace the possibly differential effects of citizenship education, we distinguished between acting democratically in a political manner (ADp) and acting democratically in a social manner (ADs). The reliability of the classification of the social tasks into five categories was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's  $K$  of 0.90, with a 95% confidence interval of  $0.79 \leq K \leq 1.00$ ).

The components of students' citizenship competences were classified in terms of knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection. The category of behavior was used to classify the actual citizenship activities of students that were studied. The reliability of the classification of the students' citizenship competences and behavior was found to be satisfactory (with a two-coder reliability in terms of Cohen's  $K$  of 0.90, with a 95% confidence interval of  $0.80 \leq K \leq 1.00$ ).

### 2.3.3 Effects of independent on dependent variables

The effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship were examined by calculating frequencies of reported effects (in terms of either social tasks or competences/behavior) per type of citizenship education. When mean scores and standard deviations or t-values, correlations or R-squares were provided, the effect sizes were calculated using the Cohen's  $f$  or Cohen's  $d$ . We qualified the calculated effect sizes as small ( $f \leq 0.10$  or  $d \leq 0.20$ ), moderate ( $f \geq 0.10 - \leq 0.50$  or  $d \geq 0.20 - \leq 0.80$ ) or large ( $f \geq 0.50$  or  $d \geq 0.80$ ) (Cohen, 1988).

## 3 RESULTS

In this section, first the overall results are presented by means of tables and figures, followed by a discussion of the results for each type of citizenship education separately. The results on the relative impact of the different types of citizenship education on citizenship in terms of social tasks and in terms of both the citizenship competences and behavior of the students are presented in Table 2 and 3.

In some of the articles, the authors report more than one category of citizenship education or students' citizenship. Thus, the total of frequencies can be higher than 28.

**Table 2. Effects of the types of citizenship education on the citizenship of students in terms of social tasks**

	Acting democratically (political)			Acting democratically (social)			Acting in a socially responsible manner			Dealing with differences			Dealing with conflicts			Total
	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	
Curriculum in school	42	5	24	3		2										76
Curriculum out of school	6	1	10			2	3	3	4							29
Pedagogical climate	47	1	37	6		5				1	2	2				101
Extracurricular activities	16		7	6		1	8		5	1						44
Total	111	7	78	15		10	11	3	9	2	2	2				250
	196			25			23			6			0			

**Table 3. Effects of the types of citizenship education on the citizenship of students in terms of competences and behavior**

	Knowledge			Attitudes			Skills			Reflection			Behavior			Total
	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	
Curriculum in school	9	2	6	19	3	13	9	1	2	3	6	3	76			
Curriculum out of school	2		1	3	2	10			1				29			
Pedagogical climate	9		10	17	3	19	3		2	2	4	13	101			
Extracurricular activities	4		1	16		11	1						44			
Total	24	2	18	65	8	53	13	4	4	7	33	2	17			250
	44			126			17			11			52			

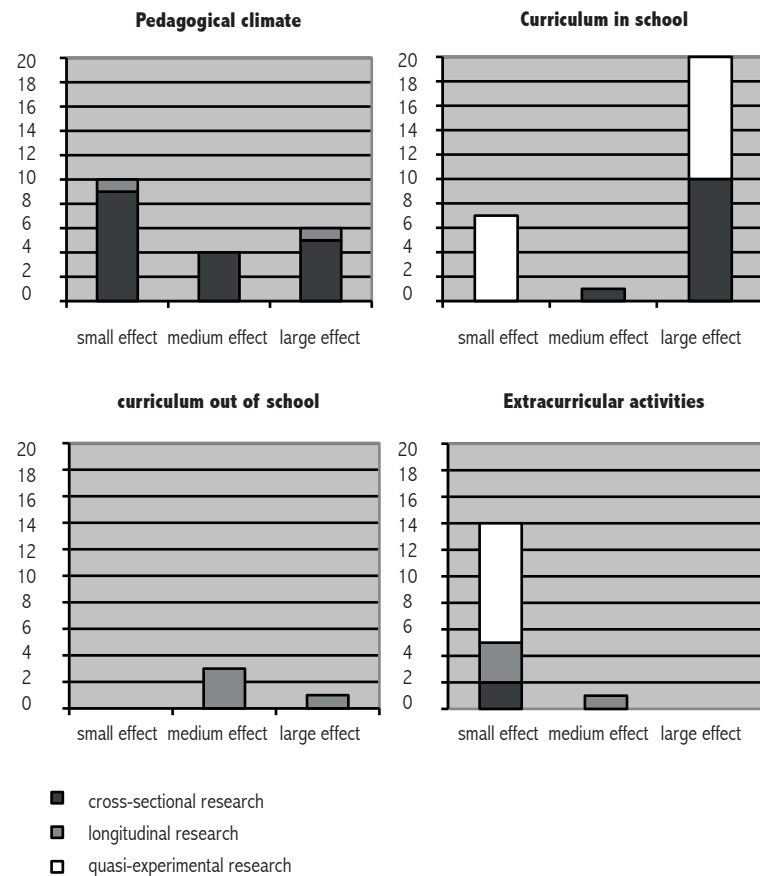
We were able to calculate effect sizes in terms of Cohen's *f* or *d* for 80 out of the 250 effects reported for curricular practices pertaining to citizenship education (for an overview of the calculated effect sizes, see Table 4). In Figure 1, the effects sizes according to the different types of citizenship education are summarized.

**Table 4. Overview of calculated effect sizes (Cohen's *f* or *d*) with the direction (+/-)**

Author	Type of citizenship education			
	*CiS	CoS	PG	EA
Fjeldstad & Mikkelsen (2003)			<i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .20 (+) (ADp/K) <i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADp/A)	
Flanagan et al. (2005)			<i>f</i> = .40 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .42 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .54 (+) (ADp/A)	
Gniewosz & Noack (2008)			<i>f</i> = .54 (-) (DD/A)	
Ichilov (2007)			<i>f</i> = .34 (+) (ADp/K)	
Iyamu & Obinu (2005)				<i>d</i> = .31 (+) (ADp/A)
Kahne & Sporte (2008)			<i>f</i> = .41 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .06 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .10 (+) (ADs/A) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADs/A)	
Kiousis & McDevitt (2008)			<i>f</i> = .24 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/B)	

Lopez et al (2009)	<i>d</i> = 2.06 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 1.14 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.05 (+) (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 2.50 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.03 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.47 (+) (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 1.70 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .96 (-) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .00 (ADp/K) <i>d</i> = 3.20 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.58 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .78 (+) (ADp/K)	
Maiello & Biedermann (2003)		<i>f</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/S) <i>f</i> = .25 (+) (ADp/K) <i>f</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/K)
McDevitt & Kiousis (2007)	<i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .20 (+) (ADp/A) <i>f</i> = .22 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/K) <i>f</i> = .00 (ADp/R)	
McFarland & Thomas (2006)		<i>f</i> = .33 (+) (ADp/B) <i>f</i> = .23 (+) (ADp/B)
McLellan & Younis (2003)	<i>f</i> = .31 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .40 (-) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .44 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .56 (+) (AS/B) <i>f</i> = .00 (AS/B)	
Metz et al. (2003)		<i>d</i> = .61 (+) (AS/S) <i>d</i> = .40 (+) (ADp/A)
Metz & Youniss (2005)	<i>d</i> = .19 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .11 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .26 (+) (AS/A) <i>d</i> = .33 (+) (ADp/A)	<i>d</i> = .18 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .31 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .17 (+) (AS/A) <i>d</i> = .34 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .12 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = .26 (+) (ADs/A) <i>d</i> = .20 (+) (As/A) <i>d</i> = .17 (+) (ADp/A)
Papanastasiou & Koutselini (2003)		<i>d</i> = 1.89 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.18 (+) (ADP/B) <i>d</i> = 1.90 (+) (ADp/B) <i>d</i> = 1.91 (+) (ADp/B)
Schmidt et al. (2007)		<i>d</i> = .21 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .15 (+) (ADp/K)
Yang & Chung (2009)	<i>d</i> = 1.75 (+) (ADp/S) <i>d</i> = 1.23 (+) (ADp/S) <i>d</i> = 1.95 (+) (ADP/S) <i>d</i> = 2.94 (+) (ADp/S) <i>d</i> = 1.37 (+) (ADp/S) <i>d</i> = 1.44 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 1.65 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.09 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = 2.18 (+) (ADp/A) <i>d</i> = .73 (+) (ADp/A)	

\*Note: CiS=curriculum in school, CoS=curriculum out of school, PG=pedagogical climate, EA=extracurricular activities. ADp=acting democratically (political), ADs=acting democratically (social), AS=acting in a socially responsible manner, DD=dealing with differences, DC=dealing with conflicts. K=knowledge, A=attitudes, S=skills, R=reflection, B=behavior. Cohen's *f* =  $\sqrt{r^2/(1-r^2)}$ , Cohen's *f* =  $\sqrt{[R^2/(1-R^2)]}$ , Cohen's *d* =  $[2t/\sqrt{df}]$ , Cohen's *d* =  $(m1 - m2) / \sqrt{[(\sigma1^2 + \sigma2^2)/2]}$  Cohen's *f*:  $\leq .10$  small,  $.30$  reasonable, and  $\geq .50$  large; Cohen's *d*:  $\leq .20$  small,  $.50$  reasonable, and  $\geq .80$  large



**Figure 1. Number of effects according to effect size (Cohen's  $f$  or  $d$ ) and research design, by type of citizenship education**

Note: small effects:  $f \leq 0.10$  or  $d \leq 0.20$ , moderate effects:  $f \geq 0.10 - \leq 0.50$  or  $d \geq 0.20 - \leq 0.80$ , and large effects:  $f \geq 0.50$  or  $d \geq 0.80$  (Cohen, 1988).

Additionally, the more detailed results are included in Appendix A, showing that significantly more effects were studied in the area of acting democratically (political) than in the other areas ( $\chi^2(4) = 542.12$ ;  $p < .001$ ), and attitudes were examined most in the empirical literature ( $\chi^2(4) = 168.52$ ;  $p < .001$ ) as opposed to knowledge, skills, reflection and citizenship behavior. In general, we found significantly more positive effects (139 or 55.6% of the effects) and non-effects (99 or 39.6% of the effects) than negative effects (12 or only 4.8% of the effects;  $\chi^2(2) = 101.20$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

In the next sections, the results will be discussed in more detail.

### 3.1 Effects of the pedagogical climate

The effects of teacher and classroom practices pertaining to pedagogical climate were most frequently investigated using a cross-sectional research design (71%). In more recent research, however, relatively more longitudinal designs were applied (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008; McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2006). Quasi-experimental research designs were not used. The size of the effects of pedagogical climate varied from small (Kahne & Sporte, 2008) to large (Papanastasiou & Koutselini, 2003) with most of the effects tending to be small (around 0.10 in terms of Cohen's  $f$ ). The largest effects were mostly reported in cross-sectional studies (see Figure 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of the social tasks students need to fulfill in daily life, the results show that effects of pedagogical climate on students' citizenship classified in the domain of acting democratically (political) were most frequently reported (85 effects) with effect sizes that ranged from small (Maiello, Oser, & Biedermann, 2003) to large (Papanastasiou & Koutselini, 2003) (see Table 4). The effects of pedagogical climate on students' acting democratically (social) (11 effects) and dealing with differences (5 effects) were reported much less frequently (see Table 2), with effect sizes (Cohen's  $f$ ) that again varied from small (Kahne & Sporte, 2008) to large (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008) (see Table 4). The influence of pedagogical climate on students' citizenship in the context of the social tasks acting in a socially responsible manner and dealing with conflicts has not yet been investigated (see Table 2).

Exemplary of effects classified in the domain of acting democratically (political) are those found in the questionnaire studies conducted by McDevitt and Kiouisis (2006), McDevitt and Kiouisis (2007), where students reported how often they discuss politics with friends or parents, listen to conversations about politics, attend to campaign news or politics, and how important they consider such societal issues as the state's economy or the expansion of gambling. In their study of the influences of school climate ( $N = 1427$ ; 13 schools, 12-14 years of age, 56.8% Jewish, 43.2% Arab, 53.9% female), Khoury-Kassabri and Ben-Arieh (2008) found positive effects of the pedagogical climate (student-teacher relationships, student participation in decision-making, and room to voice critical remarks) on students' understanding of rights and their attitudes towards personal rights, interpersonal rights, and public rights which were classified as acting democratically (political) for purposes of the present review. Similarly, an additional positive effect was found for these three school-climate variables on students' ability to understand violations of rights (classified as acting democratically (social)). In studying the Norwegian IEA data ( $N = 3200$ ; 150 schools, 14 years of age), Fjeldstad and Mikkelsen (2003) found positive effects of a perceived open classroom climate on students' civic knowledge and trust in the government - classified as acting democratically (political) for this review. They also found positive effects on students' support for women's rights - classified as acting democratically (social). The three effects reported here were small effects, as indicated by a Cohen's  $f$  of .20, .23, and .23, respectively (see also Table 4).

The only study to examine the influence of pedagogical climate on citizenship in the context of the social task of dealing with differences was that of Gniewosz and Noack (2008) who studied the influence of classroom climate on students' attitudes towards immigrants ( $N = 1309$ ; 36 schools, 72 classes, 12.3-15.5 years of age, 57.8% higher school track students, 1% foreign students). Both positive and negative effects were found. The one positive effect involved perceived fairness in the classroom. Perception of the classroom as an open climate for discussion and positive perceptions of the school environment showed no effects on students' ability to deal with differences. And perceived intolerance in the classroom and perceived achievement pressure negatively affected students' dealing with differences.

When classifying the effects in terms of students' citizenship competences and behavior, the results show that in most cases, the citizenship attitudes of the students were focused upon (49 effects, 58.5%; see Table 3). The effects were mainly small to moderate (see Fjeldstad & Mikkelsen, 2003; Flan-

agan Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Maiello et al., 2003) with a few large effects in terms of Cohen's  $f$  (Flanagan et al., 2007; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008). The influence of pedagogical climate on citizenship behavior (22 effects), knowledge (19 effects), reflection (6 effects), and skills (5 effects) was less studied (see Table 3) and showed — when studied — effect sizes that varied from small to large. It should also be noticed that the pedagogical climate type of citizenship education showed a relatively large amount of zero-effects on knowledge, attitudes and behavior (see Table 4). A few illustrative studies will be discussed in more detail below.

Finkel and Ernst (2005) ( $N = 600$ ; 15-23 years of age, 79.5% black, 56.8% female), reported positive effects of elements of pedagogical climate (as part of two educational settings: the “Democracy for all” program and formal civic instruction) on attitudes such as political tolerance, institutional trust, or approval of legal behavior and on the civic skills of students, such as their self-assessment of how they communicate ideas with others. The effective elements of the pedagogical climate were, according to the authors, participatory teaching methods and teacher quality. Participation in group work during class projects and classroom discussions did not affect students' attitudes or skills.

In a different study, McDevitt and Kiousis (2006) ( $N = 491$  (student-parent dyads); 150 high schools) reported some positive effects of discussion of political issues, participation in classroom debate, and media literacy on citizenship knowledge, attitudes, reflection, and behavior of students. In a later study, however, Kiousis and McDevitt (2008) ( $N = 491$  (student-parent dyads); 150 high schools, 11th and 12th graders, 57% female, 1% native American, 3% Asian, 7% African American, 64% Anglo, 50% parents with graduation from college) did not find an effect of interactive civic curricula resulting from use of the “Kids Voting Program” lesson plans by teachers (which we classified as pedagogical climate in this review) on students' reflection. The ability to explain their political ideologies did not increase.

Finally, on the basis of their review of the literature, Ten Dam and Volman (2004) we conclude that a pedagogical climate, in which group discussions and cooperative learning takes place, can promote critical thinking on the part of students (i.e., reflection) with regard to their citizenship ( $N = 55$  reviewed studies about critical thinking as perspective of citizenship education of students).

In sum, teacher practices in the domain of pedagogical climate, thus creating a classroom atmosphere in which discussion, dialogue, and a concern for others are highly valued, are shown to be the most frequently investigated type of citizenship education with small to large effect sizes. Effects of pedagogical climate were most frequently examined in the area of students' attitudes concerning the political sphere of acting democratically. The larger effects were mostly found in cross-sectional studies and the few small effects in longitudinal studies. The effects of pedagogical climate have not yet been investigated in quasi-experimental research but the reasonable large sample sizes make this type of citizenship education consistent despite of the multitude of cross sectional research designs. In addition to this summary it should be noted that the pedagogical climate stands out in the relatively large amount of ‘no effects’ on knowledge as compared to the other types of citizenship education.

### 3.2 Effects of the curriculum in school

Effects of curriculum activities that were classified in this review as curriculum in school are frequently reported (76 effects, 30.4%; see Tables 2 and 3) and were mostly studied using a cross-sectional research design (42.9%; see Appendix A). However, in recent years, the use of quasi-experimental research designs has increased (Feldman, Pasek, Romer, & Hall Jamieson, 2007; McDevitt & Kiousis, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009). The study of Feldman et al. (2007), for example, compared two semesters of the “Students Voices program”. Remarkably, there are no longitudinal studies of the effects of the curriculum

in school (see Figure 1). While the size of the reported effects for this type of citizenship education varies from small (McDevitt & Kiousis, 2007) to large (Lopez, Levine, Dautrich, & Yalov, 2009), the effects are generally large. The effects are mostly found in quasi-experimental research; the large effect also in cross-sectional research (see Figure 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, the most effects of in school curricular activities are reported in the domain of acting democratically (political) (71, 93.4%) with generally large effect sizes. Only a few effects are reported in the domain of acting democratically (social) (5 effects) with no effect-size information available (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009). None of the studies reported effects of the curriculum in school type of education on the other three social tasks (see also Table 2).

According to Lopez et al. (2009) (large national sample  $N = 100,000$ ; 254 schools; high school students), taking classes on the First Amendment, discussion of the role of the media in society, discussion of how to deal with journalism, and discussion of the use of news media — which were all classified as curriculum in school for purposes of the present review — positively affected student attitudes towards freedom of expression, their news consumption, and their knowledge of the First Amendment — which were all classified as acting democratically (political) in the present review. Relatively large effect sizes are reported (Cohen's  $d$  varying from 0.78 to 3.20 see also Table 4). Simply taking a journalism class, however, did not affect students' citizenship knowledge and negatively affected their attitudes towards freedom of expression with a large effect size, as indicated by a Cohen's  $d$  of 0.96 (Lopez et al., 2009). Torney-Purta et al. (2007) reported only one effect of the use of official materials by teachers in secondary education, such as materials from state or local authorities for the planning of civics lessons —classified as curriculum in school— on the expectation of students to be informed when they vote in the future (acting democratically (political)) after re-analyzing IEA data from the United States ( $N = 2811$ ; 124 schools, 14 years of age, 84.4% Non-Latino, 13.5% Latino). The effect of curriculum in school did not influence students' civic knowledge (classified as acting democratically (political)), or students' attitudes towards immigrant rights (classified as acting democratically (social)).

When classifying the effects in terms of competences and behavior, most effects concern attitudes (35 effects) and these involve large effect sizes. Lower numbers of effects of in school curricular activities are reported for knowledge (17 effects), behavior (9 effects), skills (10 effects), and reflection (5 effects) but also with mostly large effects. The studies described below provide a better picture of the reported effects.

Feldman et al. (2007), McDevitt and Kiousis (2007), and Yang and Chung (2009) all reported effects of curriculum in school on the citizenship competences and behavior of students (Appendix A). Yang and Chung (2009) ( $N = 68$ ; 13-15 years of age, 50% female, 50% male) found positive effects for participation in a critical thinking course on students' self-reported knowledge of civics, attitudes towards divergent views (the 5-point Likert scales addressed truth seeking, open-mindedness, analyticity, systematicity, and inquisitiveness), critical thinking and communication skills, and on such behavior as sharing thoughts via discussion. Feldman, et al. (2007) ( $N = 731$ ; 14 Philadelphia high schools) reported positive effects of the one-year “Student Voices Program” (classified as curriculum in school) on students' knowledge of civics and their attitudes towards political efficacy, being informed, and political discussion. However, either negative effects or no effects of the “Student Voices Program” on knowledge and attitudes were found when the students participated for only one semester.

In sum, citizenship education that we typified as curriculum in school, such as the use of a special method or program during class, appeared to be examined much less frequently than pedagogical climate, but the limited results revealed large effect sizes. This type of education like pedagogical climate

is investigated most often for its effects on the citizenship attitudes of students in the domain of the social task of acting democratically (political). The larger effects of the curriculum in school type of citizenship education were reported in cross-sectional and quasi-experimental studies with a control group. The latter allowing for causal inferences in addition to the large effects, lead to the conclusion so far that the research on the effects of curriculum in school has been more rigorous than research on the effects of pedagogical climate

### 3.3 Effects of the curriculum out of school

Curricular activities pertaining to citizenship education typified as curriculum out of school are predominantly aimed at fostering citizenship by compelling students to actively participate in obligatory activities outside the school such as field trips or service learning. Only 29 effects were reported for this type of citizenship education (11.6%; see Tables 2 and 3) with again mostly a cross-sectional research design being used (42.9%), for example the study of Finkel and Ernst (2005) in which government visits were studied. But more recent also longitudinal studies are carried out (28.6%). Only one study used a quasi-experimental design with a control group (see Appendix A). The effect sizes for curriculum out of school vary from small to large (see Figure 1). The large and medium effects appeared to be mostly found in the longitudinal studies; the smaller effects in the quasi-experimental study (Metz & Youniss, 2005; see Figure 1).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, most of the effects of curriculum out of school were reported for students' citizenship classified in the domains of, on the one hand, acting democratically (political) (17 effects, 58.6%) with small to moderate effect sizes (Metz & Youniss, 2005) and on the other hand, acting in a socially responsible manner (10 effects, 34.5%) with small to large effect sizes (McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Remarkably, the studies showed more negative effects or no effect than positive effects. The studies considered in greater detail below reflect the range of effects found.

After government visits as part of their civic education like the "Democracy for all" program or as part of normal civics instruction (classified as curriculum out of school), Finkel and Ernst (2003) found no changes in student attitudes towards civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills, or approval of legal behavior (all classified as acting democratically (political)). However, they did find positive effects on students' civic knowledge. A few positive effects of out of school curricular activities are also described by McLellan and Youniss (2003) ( $N = 783$ ; 2 high schools, 52% female, 60% had mothers with college or higher degrees, 20% African American, Hispanic or Asian, 81% Catholic) and Metz and Youniss (2005) ( $N = 486$ ; 11th grade students, 1 school in a middle- to upper-middle class community, 78% white, 22% African American, Asian or Latino, 50% Catholic, 25% Protestant, 10% no affiliation) (Appendix A). Both general service learning structured by the school and service learning in which students had direct contact with the 'needy' recipients of a service positively affected their intended future conventional involvement (classified as acting in a socially responsible manner) (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005). The effect sizes were small to moderate. Most studies did not find any positive effects of the out of school curricular activities, however. Henderson, Brown, Panser, and Ellis-Hale (2007) ( $N = 1768$ ; 12th -13th grade students, 62.3% female, 87% born in Canada, 73.7% with a father which had at least some secondary education), did not find any effects of mandatory service as part of the school curriculum on students' attitudes towards volunteering (classified as acting in a socially responsible manner). Other studies (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Warburton & Smith, 2003) reported negative effects of different forms of service learning (obligatory, school-structured, and the "Work for the dole program") on the volunteer activities of students and their attitudes towards the community (also classified as acting in a socially responsible manner).

When classifying the effects in terms of students' citizenship competences and behavior, the most effects of the curriculum out of school were reported for attitudes (15 effects, 51.7%) and behavior (10 effects, 34.5%; see Table 3) with reasonable effect sizes (see Table 4). Only three effects were reported for students' knowledge and just one effect for their skills. Reflection was not investigated in regard to this type of citizenship education. Henderson et al. (2007) found positive effects of mandatory service learning (classified as curriculum out of school) on the citizenship behavior of students when measured as the frequency of their use of media to follow the news, but no effects on their attitudes towards volunteering, politics and public or private institutions. Metz and Youniss (2005) reported positive effects of obligatory service learning not only on the attitudes of students with small effect sizes, but on their citizenship behavior as well (small effect sizes). Students discussed politics with parents and friends more often, read more about politics in newspapers and magazines, or watched the news on television.

In short, the results reported about the effects of curriculum out of school are somewhat more diverse and difficult to grasp than those of the pedagogical climate and curriculum in school types of education. In addition to attitudes also behavioral effects come up; not only with regard to the social tasks of acting democratically (political) but also acting in a socially responsible manner. Sample sizes used for this research are reasonably large; the sizes of the effects nevertheless tend to be much smaller and sometimes the effects turned out to be negative.

### 3.4 Effects of extracurricular activities

Extracurricular activities — activities organized by schools, in which students can participate voluntarily, aimed at fostering the active participation of students beyond the school in society — were investigated somewhat more than the out of school curricular activities (44 effects, 17.6%; Tables 2 and 3). The effects of the extracurricular activities were mostly investigated in longitudinal research (40%). An example is the study of Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) in which performance of unpaid community service work by students was examined. More recently also quasi-experimental research is carried out (20%). The effect sizes were generally small (see Figure 1) and reported mostly in the quasi-experimental studies; the few moderate effects were reported in longitudinal studies. Extracurricular activities was the only type of citizenship education to show no negative effects (see Tables 2 and 3).

When classifying the effects in terms of social tasks, most of the relevant studies again reported effects of extracurricular activities on students' citizenship classified in the domain of acting democratically (political) (23 effects, 52.3%) and acting in a socially responsible manner (13 effects, 29.5%) with effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) from small (Metz & Youniss, 2005) to large (Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; see Table 4). Only seven effects (15.9%) of extracurricular activities were reported in the domain of acting democratically (social) and only one effect (2.3%) in the domain of dealing with differences. A clear example of studying the effects of citizenship education on acting democratically (social) is the study by Iyamu and Obiunu (2005) ( $N = 100$ ; Nigerian youth). Students between 11 and 16 years of age participated in a four-week vacation program and were then asked about the extent to which they agree with a number of statements concerned moral values, civic responsibility, tolerance, and getting along with others. The study of Lee, Olszewski-Kubilius, Donahue, and Weimholt (2008), for example, examined students who participated in a service-learning program. They reported not only clearly positive effects on their sense of responsibility, desire to help, and self-confidence, but also greater respect and understanding of different viewpoints.

In several longitudinal studies, positive effects for extracurricular activities have been reported on students' citizenship classified in the domain of acting in a socially responsible manner. These extracurricular activities were general volunteer social service (Hart et al., 2007 ( $N = 12144$ ; 10th grade);

McLellan & Youniss, 2003) or service learning that gives students direct contact with the 'needy' recipients of a service (Metz et al., 2003;  $N = 428$ ; 1 public high school in a middle-class community, 78% white, 22% Asian, Hispanic or African American). Particularly with regard to students' expectations that they will participate in social service in the future, positive effects of these extracurricular activities were reported; no effects were found for adult voting nor future volunteering in social service, however (Hart et al, 2007; Metz & Youniss, 2005; Metz et al, 2003). The effects sizes varied from small to moderate (Table 4).

Turning to the competences and behavior classification of effects of extracurricular activities, most effects are reported in the attitudes domain of citizenship competences (27 effects, 61.4%), but these were generally small effects. Less frequent and even smaller effects were reported for behavior (11 effects), knowledge (5 effects), and skills (1 effect). Reflection was not investigated.

McFarland and Thomas (2006) investigated the effects of participation in different extracurricular activities such as drama clubs, student councils, and academic clubs (First dataset: NELS  $N = 10,827$ ; 1476 schools, 14-26 years of age; second dataset: Add Health  $N = 14,738$ ; 7th-12th graders). Their study, in which they made use of two large longitudinal datasets, revealed positive effects on the citizenship behavior of students when measured as the extent to which the students are -as adults- registered to vote, involved in a political campaign, and/or are member of a political organization. When measured as participation in music groups, journalism clubs, or sports teams, however, no effects of the extracurricular activities were found for behavior.

In a different study, Lee et al. (2008) described positive effects of a voluntary program for extracurricular service learning ( $N = 100$ ; 10th-12th graders, 60% female, 45% East cost, 30% Midwest, 20% West cost, 5% other regions of US, 45% white, 10% black, 25% Asian American, 10% Latino). The attitudes of the students towards civic engagement, different perspectives, and their civic awareness were positively influenced and also their leadership skills with which they could positively contribute to society through, for example, problem solving and teamwork.

In short, the results reveal that -despite of the small effects sizes- extracurricular activities appears to contribute particularly to students' citizenship attitudes regarding the social tasks of acting democratically (political) and acting socially responsible in particular. Further, this type of citizenship education is the only type reported in all distinguished research designs (cross sectional research, longitudinal research, and quasi-experimental research) and sample sizes used for this research are reasonable to large.

## 4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the assumption that schools can play a significant role in the citizenship development of students, in most contemporary modern societies schools are obligated to provide citizenship education. However, the effectiveness of different forms of citizenship education is still unclear. In order to answer our research question concerning the effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship between 13 and 16 years of age, we specified the situated citizenship of young people as the citizenship competences and the citizenship behavior regarding the social tasks that they need to fulfill in daily practice. We selected the empirical literature on citizenship over the period of 2003-2009 and filtered 28 articles to review effects of citizenship education. The types of citizenship education as described in the articles were systematically classified and we examined the effects per type of education on students' citizenship in two different ways: 1) effects on students' citizenship in terms of the social tasks that they need to fulfill in their daily live as citizens; and 2) effects on students' citizenship in terms of their underlying competences and behavior. An overall summary of the results might be that attention in the effect studies was particularly paid to political attitudes, with in most cases a cross-sectional research design. Further,

a pedagogical climate in the classroom was the most studied and an apparently quite effective type of citizenship education, and citizenship education by means of curriculum in school appeared to be the most effective. Our review shows a different picture for citizenship education typified as either curriculum out of school or extracurricular activities because these types of citizenship education appeared to be less studied and the size of the effects were relatively small; with a relatively large amount of 'no effects' - as well as negative effects in the case of curriculum out of school. Nevertheless, most effects were reported on students' attitudes and behavior with regard to acting democratically (political) and acting in a socially responsible manner as areas to be affected by out of school curricular or extracurricular activities. In the following sections, we will discuss the results more rigorously focusing upon the research designs, the conceptualization, the schooling of citizenship and implications for research and schooling, taking into account the limitations of this study.

### 4.1 Limitations of the study

The study presented here was limited in size and scope. Although there were many studies focusing on either citizenship education or citizenship outcomes, only a few were on both. And of these, we could only present effect sizes of some of them as some authors did not provide sufficient information. In addition, concepts that were theoretically linked to citizenship education, such as multicultural education or social skills training were not included in our search if these were not linked to citizenship in the studies that were reviewed. This might have limited our scope and could have resulted in a bias in some domains. For example, research about citizenship outcomes regarding the social task of dealing with conflicts could be underrepresented in this study. With these limitations in mind we will now discuss our findings more deeply from the perspective of the research designs, the conceptualization and the schooling of citizenship.

### 4.2 Research design

Research designs were evaluated to assess the quality of the research methods of the effect studies. Cross-sectional research designs were employed in slightly more than half of the studies included in our review. However, longitudinal study appears to be on the rise. Observational studies are certainly suitable for both the exploration of unknown and/or unintended effects and a systematic examination of specific issues or processes. Experimental and quasi-experimental studies are considered the "golden standard" for establishing effects of a certain intervention (cf. Petticrew, 2006; Vandembroucke, 2004; Vandembroucke, 2008), and thus might be plead for to establish the effects of well-developed and well-documented curricular practices in the area of citizenship education. In our review, some studies investigated the intended and predicted effects of a given curriculum on students' citizenship (e.g., Feldman et al., 2007; McDevitt & Kiousis, 2007; Yang & Chung, 2009); others investigated learning outcomes for a - sometimes already existing - citizenship curriculum in a more open and exploratory manner (e.g., Finkel & Ernst, 2003; Lopez et al., 2009; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). Taking the applied research designs into account, we thus interpret these results as only indicating "what might work" rather than as evidence.

Moreover, the effect sizes found in the longitudinal, experimental, and quasi-experimental studies did not show consistent patterns. The quasi-experimental studies with a control group showed the relatively largest effect sizes, followed by the longitudinal studies, and then the quasi-experimental studies without a control group. The reviewed studies also differed with regard to the information provided on student characteristics and the characteristics of the (school) environment. This makes it difficult to understand citizenship education in relation to differences between students and school contexts.

### 4.3 Reflecting the broad conceptualization of citizenship

In this review we found the rather small amount of 28 articles between 2003-2009 to fit our criteria, thus to concern effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship. This may question the search terms of our review: were they well chosen? Should we, for example, have included alternate terminology such as multicultural education, political socialization or moral education in order to look after more potential evidence for citizenship education? We then would have treated citizenship as a container concept, however, which in our opinion is better to avoid. So the question is: what does the existing empirical literature on effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship tells us about the conceptualization of citizenship as the denominator?

On the basis of our review, we can conclude that the research does not yet reflect a broad conceptualization of citizenship education encompassing a social-oriented domain of citizenship. Researchers still focus mostly on the political domain of citizenship. The elements of citizenship belonging to the social domain are only studied in so far as they pertain to learning outside the school. This actually might be understood as rather obvious from the argument of authenticity in education. But then again, authentic out of school experiences are known to have only additional value to meaningful learning if accompanied by in-school reflections (Volman & ten Dam, 2007). Furthermore, the effects of citizenship education continue to be studied largely in terms of students' attitudes and behavior only. Empirical studies of the reflection component of citizenship competences are nearly nonexistent. This is striking because reflection is necessary to adequately participate in a democratic and pluriform society but also to think critically and to introduce change when necessary.

The empirical narrowing of the construct of citizenship to the attitudes and behavior of students in mainly the political realm runs the risk of also narrowing the realm of educational practice. In the age of New Public Management, with a focus on quantitative objectives or output instead of outcome (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Marsh, 1993), schools are obliged to justify their performance within the field of citizenship. The availability of evidence showing a classical political conceptualization of citizenship to be associated with citizenship education that is effective to at least a certain extent can lead to the premature conclusion that such a conceptualization of citizenship is what citizenship education should be all about. The present literature review, however, makes it clear that it is not yet possible to draw clear-cut conclusions regarding the effects of citizenship education in the social domain as the empirical basis is still too thin.

There are some promising indications that certain aspects of the pedagogical climate and curriculum in the school may successfully promote the development of citizenship. Given small effects and ambiguous results we cannot be very specific about which activities should take place beyond the school. The empirical literature cannot as yet provide specific guidelines for schools or educational policy due to the still relatively immature status of the empirical research on citizenship education.

### 4.4 Schooling for citizenship?

The results of this review raise the question of the added-value of the school for citizenship education. The school is not the only place where citizenship can be learned and is learned. The characteristics of students and their home environments play an important role in the development of citizenship, which means that the contribution of education may be relatively modest. It can thus be asked if large effects of schooling on citizenship can or — for that matter — should be expected. The results of this review indicate that some characteristics of schooling for citizenship indeed have some added value for learning citizenship. Those types of citizenship education that involve the pedagogical climate and include dialogue and discussion in the classroom can promote the development of citizenship. Citizenship education that

includes classroom activities carried out as part of a formal educational method or program such as civics instruction can also promote the development of citizenship. This conclusion is analogous to the theory that learning experiences, which include formal education, enable people to develop citizenship competences (e.g., civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, and reflection) and thus become and stay active citizens (cf. Hoskins, D'Hombres, & Campbell, 2008). Again we cannot be very specific about the effective elements or characteristics of the different types of citizenship education reviewed here — given yet the lack of overwhelming evidence. The results nevertheless suggest that schools can play an important role in the development of citizenship of secondary school students. Moreover, the typology of citizenship education that came out of this study needs further specification and clarification. The review results could help researchers better articulate their research focus, designs and conclusions in the future.

### 4.5 Implications for research and schooling

Following the results of our review study we plea for a mixed-method approach in which the comparability of measurements is taken into greater concern in order to achieve more evidence-based citizenship education. Especially within a relatively new domain as citizenship education, gaining a picture of what works when, why, and how requires exploratory research, observational study, development work and practical experience. More rigorous research involving randomized experiments and quasi-experimental research designs are needed to gather evidence regarding the effectiveness of carefully developed means for citizenship education; and ideally several methods are combined.

With respect to citizenship education we argue that it should focus more on the dialogue and cooperation between students during class. This not only facilitates active learning but even more important enables them to practice citizenship (learning-by-doing) and accumulate democratic experiences. Regarding the curriculum out of school and extracurricular activities such as service learning or academic school clubs, we have to be cautious. The effects found are much more mixed and sometimes even contradictory. However, in particular these kinds of educational practices have the potential to engage students in meaningful learning and problem solving while dealing with authentic problems. An important condition for realizing this learning potential seems to be whether the school is capable of stimulating young people to reflect upon the experiences acquired. Can they — learn to — discuss their actions and explore different perspectives? This implies a broad interpretation of citizenship education, which encompasses the political and social domain.



## Chapter 3

### *Citizenship orientations and knowledge in primary and secondary education<sup>1</sup>*

Despite widespread attention to citizenship in educational practice, knowledge of the citizenship of students is still fragmented. We therefore present a comprehensive framework to integrate empirical data and theoretical insights into the citizenship of young people today. To develop and validate the framework exploratory and confirmative factor analyses were conducted on the measurements of citizenship attitudes, skills, reflections and knowledge of a sample of 7,768 students from grades 5-9 in 38 Dutch schools for primary and secondary education. The results were cross-validated on a different sample of 15,940 students from primary and secondary education. We distinguished four citizenship orientations of the students –societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking and assertiveness– and two domains of citizenship knowledge –societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge. Use of this framework might support large-scale empirically based evaluation of citizenship education on students competence and facilitate schools in formulating educational goals that supports the development of citizenship competences of their students.

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

Since citizenship education was introduced in the formal school curricula of most modern societies at the turn of the 21st century (Euridyce, 2005, 2012), the citizenship of students has been examined to enable profound understanding of the effects of schooling on citizenship (e.g. Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Geboers, Geijssel, Admiraal, & Ten Dam, 2012; Geijssel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012; Ireland, Kerr, Lopes, Nelson, & Cleaver, 2006; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002). In these empirical studies, citizenship is usually unfolded in terms of specific knowledge, skills, attitudes and reflection that people basically need in order to be able to participate in a responsible and adequate way in a democratic society. These components form part of the broader concept of 'competences' (Rychen & Salganik, 2003; Ten Dam & Volman, 2007; cf. Eraut, 1994). While this line of research provides insight into the citizenship of students, it is nevertheless difficult to relate the findings to the pedagogical goals strived for in citizenship education. Pedagogical goals of citizenship education are mostly formulated in terms of general combinations of attitudes and behaviors needed for individuals to become competent and effective active citizens, with specific citizenship knowledge, skills, attitudes and values combined and integrated (Hoskins, Barber, Van Nijlen, & Villalba, 2011). For example, 'develop political literacy' or 'develop social responsibility'. This 'mismatch' of the integrated pedagogical goals of citizenship education with the separate components of citizenship competences coming to front in empirical research and measurements hinders to the opportunities to build upon empirical research and measurements in school practice. Put differently, it obstructs opportunities to give meaning to student measurements in light of educational goals and thus to evaluate education and adjust education based on results. Consequently, because of this mismatch, the question whether citizenship education -as taking place in schools- achieves its goals remains largely unanswered.

The aim of the present study was to develop and evaluate a framework for understanding the current theoretical insights and empirical data on the citizenship of the students, which should also be supportive for educational practice.

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<sup>1</sup> Geboers, E., Geijssel, F., Admiraal, W., & Ten Dam, G. (submitted). Citizenship orientations and knowledge in primary and secondary education.

### 1.1 Citizenship competences, goals of citizenship education and the Dutch context

A body of knowledge about the citizenship competences of students has gradually been built up over recent years. The focus in this research has been mainly on the relationships between citizenship competences and the background characteristics of young people. Citizenship knowledge has been found, for example, to generally increase over the years although students in adolescence have been found to have less positive attitudes towards citizenship than younger students (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002; Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Geijssel et al., 2012; Ireland, et al., 2006; Kerr, Lopes, Nelson, White, Cleaver, & Benton, 2007; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). Girls outperform boys with regard to citizenship knowledge (Schulz et al., 2010), although gender differences in citizenship attitudes and skills are much smaller and appear to be topic-specific (Geijssel et al., 2012). Furthermore, students with a higher social economic status (Lopes, Benton, & Cleaver, 2009; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2004; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2004) and with a majority background (Geijssel et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2006) show more citizenship knowledge. And while majority students are more willing to vote than students from ethnic minorities (e.g. Lopez, 2003), minority students are more interested in politics (Cleaver et al., 2005; Schulz et al., 2010), show more positive attitudes towards citizenship, have greater citizenship skills and reflect more on citizenship issues (Geijssel et al., 2012).

In addition to empirical studies of students' citizenship competences, there is a line of literature on citizenship education focusing on visions and goals in citizenship education. In the Dutch educational context, schools have substantial freedom in the design and implementation of citizenship education. The legal task of schools in the Netherlands only asks for the promotion of "active citizenship" and social integration in order to develop students' willingness and ability to be part of the community and to contribute actively to that community (Council of Education, 2012; Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2005). The goals outlined for citizenship education therefore differ between schools depending on the perspectives taken on citizenship, for example, the extent to which "the common" is emphasized versus "autonomy" (Veugelers, 2011). Emphasizing "the common" (shared moral goals) stems from a communitarian perspective on citizenship (Etzioni, 1993, 1996; Taylor, 1989), in which "bonding moral values" are viewed as the cement of a community (Etzioni 1996, pp. 90-91). The common is not about forced or external values but, rather, the inner acceptance of values, transferred by the family, neighbors and teachers (Etzioni, 1993). The citizenship competences which students should acquire from such a perspective on citizenship are thus primarily related to social adjustment and prosocial behaviour. In contrast, both a liberal and a critical-emancipatory perspective on citizenship emphasize the importance of "autonomy". The liberal point of view places the rights of the individual in the middle of the concept of citizenship and pleads for strict neutrality with respect to values and citizenship (cf. Rawls, 1993). The critical-emancipatory perspective on citizenship links autonomy to social concern and social justice (Giroux, 1989).

Next to the marked variation in citizenship education depending on different citizenship perspectives emerging in schools (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008), previous research has shown differences between school levels. In the Dutch educational system students are selected at the age of 12 for different tracks of secondary education. In the lower levels of secondary education (four pre-vocational tracks), the elementary rules of social interaction and adaptation are emphasized in particular, whereas in the higher levels of secondary education (three general secondary tracks) critical citizenship and societal knowledge are emphasized (Ten Dam & Volman, 2003; Leenders et al., 2008).

### 1.2 Citizenship orientations and the purpose of the present study

Citizenship orientations might form a framework which aligns better with the different perspectives and goals of schools, compared to citizenship attitudes, skills and behaviour. Citizenship orientations are combinations of knowledge, attitudes and skills and of the perspectives on citizenship underlying these attitudes (Almond & Verba, 1989; Janmaat, 2007; Qinghua, 2002; Van de Werfhorst & De Graaf, 2004). For example, such an orientation could involve the combination of attitudes reflecting the willingness to participate in a community, the skills needed for proper participation in that community and the critical reflection on issues of the social (in)equality of that participation in the community.

In the present study, we aim to derive relevant orientations from available self-assessments of specific citizenship attitudes, skills and reflections of students and relate these orientations to students' citizenship knowledge. By doing so we intend to contribute to the empirical knowledge on citizenship competences as daily practiced by students in schools on which schools and teachers can build upon in educational practice. We formulated the following research questions:

1. What are the citizenship orientations of students in primary and secondary education?
2. How do the citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge of students in primary and secondary education relate?
3. Can certain student characteristics explain the differences found in the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students in primary and secondary education?

## 2 METHOD

### 2.1 Participants

Data was collected in 38 schools: 14 schools for primary education, 13 schools for prevocational education and 11 schools for general secondary education. These schools were part of the Dutch Citizenship Alliance in which schools, universities and institutes for curriculum development and testing cooperated with the Dutch Inspectorate of Education for the development and evaluation of citizenship education in the Netherlands. The schools varied with regard to denomination and were located throughout the country. Data was collected in the school year of 2007/2008, from 7,768 students (see Table 1).

*Table 1. Overview of measurements and number (N) of students*

School year	Primary education	Secondary education		Total
		Prevocational	General	
2007-2008	Grade 5 N = 390	Grade 7 N = 1926	Grade 7 N = 1840	N = 4156
	Grade 6 N = 360	Grade 9 N = 1812	Grade 9 N = 1440	N = 3612
Total				N = 7768

### 2.2 Citizenship competences

Students between 11 and 16 years of age completed the Citizenship Competences Questionnaire (CCQ) developed for measuring the citizenship competences (Ten Dam, Geijssel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011). In this questionnaire, citizenship is situated in the daily social practice of young people and operation-

alized in terms of the competences which they need to adequately fulfil four categories of social tasks (i.e. acting democratically, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences). The questionnaire consists of 85 items, divided across 17 scales measuring the core components of citizenship competence (i.e. knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection) for the four categories of social tasks. See Table 2 for an overview of the scales, descriptive statistics and reliability coefficients.

Knowledge was measured using 27 multiple choice items within three response options and the instruction to indicate which option best answers the question. For example: 'All children have the right to: a) pocket money b) choose who they want to live with, c) education'. Option c is the correct answer here and assigned a score of 1, the other options are assigned a score of 0. The 27 items encompass four knowledge scales (i.e. categories of social tasks). For each scale, students received a score which was the proportion of correct answers.

Attitudes, skills and reflection were measured using four-point Likert type scales, with the higher the scores, the higher the frequency or applicability. The general question 'How well does this statement apply to you?' was opposed for the attitude items. A sample statement was then: 'I like to know something about different religions'. The skills items required the students to estimate their own skills on the four categories of social tasks and were introduced with the question: 'How good are you at' -for example-, 'finding a solution to a disagreement which everyone is satisfied with?'. The reflection items were introduced with 'How often do you think about -for instance- whether students are listened to at your school? A total of 67 items represented 5 attitude scales, 4 skill scales and 4 reflection scales.

**Table 2. Descriptive statistics for 17 citizenship scales: reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) and means (standard deviations).**

	Scale	$\alpha$	Mean (sd)
Attitudes	Acting democratically factor 1 (willingness to hear everyone's voice) (3 items)	.71	3.38 (0.51)
	Acting democratically factor 2 (willingness to contribute critically) (3 items)	.66	2.70 (0.67)
	Acting in a social responsible manner (6 items)	.69	3.04 (0.51)
	Dealing with conflicts (6 items)	.80	2.86 (0.58)
	Dealing with differences (6 items)	.87	2.84 (0.68)
Skills	Acting democratically factor 1 (come up for one's own opinion) (3 items)	.75	3.19 (0.58)
	Acting democratically factor 2 (listening to the opinions of others) (3 items)	.72	3.06 (0.56)
	Acting in a social responsible manner and dealing with conflicts (5 items)	.78	3.02 (0.52)
	Dealing with differences (4 items)	.71	3.10 (0.50)
Reflection	Acting democratically (6 items)	.82	2.28 (0.66)
	Acting in a social responsible manner (6 items)	.86	2.10 (0.70)
	Dealing with conflicts (8 items)	.91	2.51 (0.70)
	Dealing with differences (8 items)	.87	2.06 (0.70)
Knowledge	Acting democratically (8 items)	.65	0.79 (0.22)
	Acting in a social responsible manner (6 items)	.56	0.77 (0.23)
	Dealing with conflicts (7 items)	.63	0.67 (0.26)
	Dealing with differences (6 items)	.64	0.77 (0.25)

## 2.3 Student background, participation in school and society and school climate

Information on the background of the students was obtained by posing 9 questions following administration of the CCQ. Students were asked, for example, what grade they were in, what their age was and what the school level of their parents was. In addition, the students' participation in school and society and their perceptions of the school climate were collected (cf. Schulz, Ainly, Fraillon, Losito, & Kerr, 2008). The students were asked if they participated (yes/no) in societal activities such as scouting, multicultural organizations, human rights organizations, environmental organizations, the youth section of a political party, religious communities or volunteer work; in school activities such as the student council, the school paper, class representative, mediator or the organization of school celebrations; and about their engagement with the news as presented in newspapers or television programmes. In addition, the students were asked about their perceptions of the school climate in order to gain insight into the social safety of the school and the quality of teacher-student and student-student interaction as relevant features of the school context for the development of citizenship. Students were asked -for example-, 'Whether the teachers respect the students?', 'Whether the students bully each other?' or 'Whether the students are willing to help each other, even if they are not friends?'. In

Table 3, we summarize these variables.

**Table 3. Overview of student characteristics in percentages and means and standard deviations (N=7768; N of schools=38)**

Background characteristics									
Gender	51.8%	Boy	48.2%	Girl					
SES	5.3%	Low	38.7%	Middle	56.1%	High			
Ethnic origin	79.3%	Majority	20.7%	Minority					
Language spoken at home	87.4%	Dutch	2.4%	Dutch dialect	10.1%	Not Dutch			
Age	7.5%	10-11 years	49.0%	12-13 years	37.9%	14-15 years	5.7%	16 years or older	
Grade	5.0%	Grade 5	4.6%	Grade 6	48.3%	Grade 7	42.1%	Grade 9	
School level	9.6%	Primary	47.8%	Prevocational	42.6%	General secondary education			
<b>Students' citizenship participation:</b>							$\alpha$	Mean	Sd.
Societal participation (8 activities, mean activity)								0.11	.13
School participation (5 activities, mean activity)								0.05	.13
News engagement (4 items, judged using 4-point Likert scale)							.78	2.16	.73
<b>Students' perspective on school climate:</b>									
1: student-teacher relationships (6 items, 4-point Likert scale)							.94	2.94	.65
2: student relationships (5 items, 4-point Likert scale)							.92	2.70	.80
3: social behaviour between students (5 items, 4-point Likert scale)							.92	2.62	.63

## 2.4 Analysis

In order to construct and test our comprehensive framework for understanding citizenship orientations and knowledge of students in primary and secondary education, the following procedure was followed.

First, exploratory factor analyses with varimax rotation were conducted on the mean scores of the 13 CCQ subscales representing the students' citizenship attitudes, skills and reflection for the four categories of social tasks. The four knowledge subscales were analyzed separately as knowledge is understood as a conceptually different measurement than attitudes, skills and reflection. Three factors were extracted with an eigenvalue larger than 1 explaining 64.45% of the variance in the subscale means. We excluded the subscale skill acting democratically 1 (come up for one's own opinion) from the initial analysis because this scale showed to form a separate factor in all models. At the end of this analytic step, this subscale was included again as a separate factor without consequences for the formation of other factors and thus the model eventually contained four factors of citizenship orientations.

Secondly, we conducted confirmatory factor analyses on the four factor model of citizenship orientations applied to a random half ( $N=3,825$ ) of the total sample of students. The fit of the model was considered acceptable with a RMSEA (root mean square error of approximation)  $\leq .08$ , SRMR (standardized root mean square residual)  $\leq .06$ , and CFI (comparative fit index)  $\geq .95$  (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The general fit of the initial model was quite satisfactory ( $\chi^2(60) = 2896.361, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .078, SRMR = .047, CFI = .94, BIC = 143106.361), although three scales did not meet our standard of loading of  $>.30$  on one factor only. We optimized the model with four factors by excluding the following three scales: reflection dealing with conflicts, attitude acting democratically factor 1 (willingness to hear everyone's voice) and attitude acting socially responsible. Removing these scales significantly improved the fit of our model ( $\chi^2(30) = 960.702, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .063, SRMR = .032, CFI = .969, BIC = 114667.886;  $\Delta \chi^2_{SB}(30) = 1935.659, p = .001$ ).

Thirdly, the stability of the final four factor model which included the mean scores of 10 subscales of the CCQ was checked on a random half of the total sample of students and found to produce again a good fit of the model ( $\chi^2(30) = 488.143, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .063, SRMR = .032, CFI = .970, BIC = 56357.603).

Fourthly, the results were validated with confirmatory analysis on two datasets formed from the two random halves of a total representative sample of 15,940 sixth and ninth grade students from 80 primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands (COOL<sup>5-18</sup>, 2009 [Dutch National Cohort Study Educational Careers Students 5 to 18 years]). For both datasets the fit of the model was good (COOL-dataset 1:  $\chi^2(30) = 925.897, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .061, SRMR = .029, CFI = .972, BIC = 107820.601; COOL-dataset 2:  $\chi^2(30) = 1148.957, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .069, SRMR = .033, CFI = .965, BIC = 107278.144).

In a fifth step, separate exploratory factor analyses with varimax rotation were conducted on the mean scores of the four knowledge subscales from the CCQ. All of the factor results met our standard loading  $>.30$  on only one factor. Two factors were extracted with an eigenvalue larger than 1 explaining 77.38% of the variance in the mean scores.

In a sixth step, the fit of the resulting two factor model of citizenship knowledge was found to be good in a confirmatory factor analysis ( $\chi^2(1) = 27.788, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .059, SRMR = .009, CFI = .997, BIC = -8453.069) and stable when conducted on the random half of the student sample ( $\chi^2(1) = 15.067, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .061, SRMR = .008, CFI = .996, BIC = -3973.127).

In a seventh and last step, the validation of the results for citizenship knowledge in confirmatory analysis conducted on the two random halves of the large COOL dataset showed the fit of the two-factor model to be acceptable (COOL-dataset 1:  $\chi^2(1) = 35.213, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .066, SRMR = .009, CFI = .996, BIC = -11156.534; COOL-dataset 2:  $\chi^2(1) = 50.631, p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .079, SRMR = .011, CFI = .994, BIC = -11180.303).

The scores on the six scales (four orientation and two knowledge scales) were calculated based

on the means of the subscales from the CCQ. In addition to descriptive statistics, multivariate analyses were performed with the four citizenship orientations and two citizenship knowledge scales as dependent variables, and student background, participation in school and society, news engagement and school climate as explanatory variables.

## 3 RESULTS

### 3.1 Citizenship orientations

The findings of the final four factor model for the mean scores on the 10 competence subscales of the CCQ, measuring specific citizenship attitudes, skills and reflection of the students in the sample are presented in Figure 1.

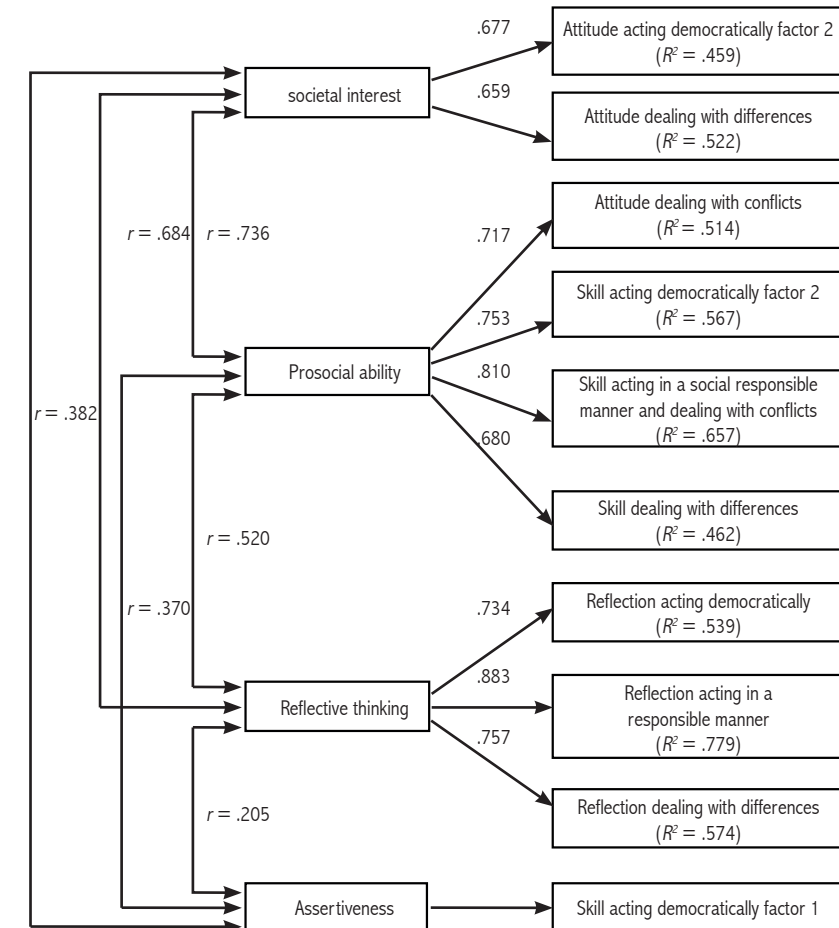


Figure 1. Final four factor model for the citizenship orientations with the factor loadings, the explained variances per subscale ( $R^2$ ), and the correlations ( $r$ ).

The four factors as distinguished can be seen to represent the following citizenship orientations of the students: societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking and assertiveness. The societal interest orientation involves attitudes reflecting the willingness to be a part of a community and willingness to take responsibility for other people in the community, such as interest in social issues and other people, an interest in maintaining relationships, and respect for others with their differences. The prosocial ability orientation concerns the skills needed for proper communication and for adaptation to practices and habits of people in society, familiarity with social rules, like being polite, consideration for others, and the ability to converse and the ability to empathize with others. The reflective thinking orientation concerns critical reflection on social issues and social structures in society, discrimination, and trying to understand social relations. The assertiveness orientation concerns the skills needed to stand up for your own ideas and clearly formulate these.

Figure 1 shows that the correlations between the four factors which represent the citizenship orientations of students are moderate to relatively high. The reliability of the citizenship orientation scales along with the mean scale scores and standard deviations for the students are shown in Table 4. The results in Table 4 show the students to have relatively high scores on prosocial ability and assertiveness but rather low scores on reflective thinking.

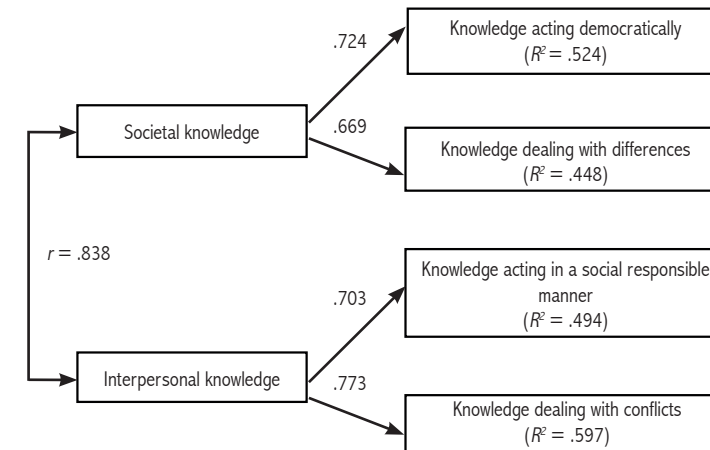
**Table 4. Overview of the means, standard deviations, and reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha$ ) of the citizenship orientations (N=7644).**

Citizenship orientations	Mean	(sd.)	$\alpha$
Societal interest (2 competence scales)	2.77	(.58)	.85
Prosocial ability (5 competence scales)	3.01	(.44)	.88
Reflective thinking (3 competence scales)	2.14	(.59)	.91
Assertiveness (1 competence scale)	3.19	(.58)	.75

\*Note: To calculate Cronbach's alpha, the Spearman-Brown correction of test length up to 6 items was applied.

### 3.2 Citizenship knowledge

The findings of the final two factor model for the mean scores on the four knowledge scales of the students in the sample are presented in Figure 2.



**Figure 2. Final two factor model for the citizenship knowledge with the factor loadings, the explained variances per subscale ( $R^2$ ), and the correlations ( $r$ ).**

The two factors are found to represent two domains of knowledge; societal and interpersonal. Societal knowledge concerns knowledge of the democratic principles of society, the organization of society, and the norms that are at issue in society. Interpersonal knowledge concerns knowledge of prevailing social values, behavioural rules, and social everyday manners. Figure 2 shows that the correlation between the two factors which represent the two domains of citizenship knowledge of students is high.

In Table 5, the descriptive statistics and reliabilities for the two domains of citizenship knowledge are presented. As can be seen, the students between 11 and 16 years of age generally know more about democracy and societal structures than about social rules and social contact.

**Table 5. Overview of the means, standard deviations, and reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) for two domains of citizenship knowledge (N=7644)**

Citizenship knowledge	Mean	(sd.)	$\alpha$
Societal knowledge (2 scales)	.78	(.20)	.88
Interpersonal knowledge (2 scales)	.72	(.22)	.85

\*Note: To calculate Cronbach's alpha, the Spearman-Brown correction of test length up to 6 items was applied.

In Table 6, the correlations between the four citizenship orientations of the students and their citizenship knowledge in the societal and interpersonal domains are considered.

**Table 6. Correlations between four citizenship orientations and two domains of citizenship knowledge**

Citizenship orientations	Citizenship knowledge	
	Societal knowledge	Interpersonal knowledge
Societal interest	.124	.245
Prosocial ability	.101	.283
Reflective thinking	-.105	.069
Assertiveness	.090	.049

The correlations between the citizenship orientations of the students and their citizenship knowledge were significant but generally low. This shows the citizenship orientations to relate marginally to the citizenship knowledge in either the societal or the interpersonal domain.

### 3.3 Background characteristics of students and their citizenship orientations

Table 7 shows the results of the MANOVA analyses that were conducted in order to obtain an overview of the relations between the four citizenship orientations and the backgrounds of the students.

**Table 7. Overview of significant differences in citizenship orientations of students according to background characteristic together with means (and standard deviations)\***

Student characteristics		Citizenship orientations			
		Societal interest	Prosocial ability	Reflective thinking	Assertiveness
Gender	Boy	2.68 (.59)	2.92 (.44)	2.07 (.59)	n.s.
	Girl	2.86 (.56)	3.11 (.41)	2.22 (.59)	
SES	Low	2.87 (.68)	3.00 (.52)	2.31 (.67)	3.21 (.62)
	Medium	2.72 (.58)	2.98 (.43)	2.10 (.57)	3.15 (.58)
	High	2.82 (.57)	3.04 (.43)	2.16 (.58)	3.23 (.57)
Ethnic origin	Majority	2.71 (.57)	2.99 (.43)	2.09 (.58)	3.16 (.58)
	Minority	3.01 (.56)	3.09 (.46)	2.34 (.61)	3.29 (.57)
Language spoken at home	Dutch	n.s.	n.s.	2.11 (.58)	n.s.
	Dutch dialect			2.09 (.67)	
	Other language			2.36 (.63)	
Age	10-11 years	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	12-13 years				
	14-15 years				
	16 years and older				

Grade	Grade 5	2.94 (.58)	3.16 (.47)	2.31 (.57)	n.s.	
	Grade 6	2.91 (.52)	3.06 (.48)	2.09 (.55)		
	Grade 7	2.84 (.57)	3.05 (.43)	2.25 (.60)		
	Grade 9	2.65 (.59)	2.94 (.42)	2.00 (.56)		
School level	Primary education	2.93 (.55)			3.22 (.57)	
	Prevocational education	2.70 (.60)	n.s.	n.s.	3.16 (.59)	
	General secondary education		2.81 (.56)			3.21 (.56)

\*Note: Results significant at 5% level; non-significant results indicated with n.s.

The results of the MANOVAs show that the citizenship orientations of the students to differ significantly depending on background characteristics. Gender appears to be significantly related to the differences in the citizenship orientations of the students ( $\Lambda = .945$ ,  $F(4, 5095) = 74.01$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .055$ ). Compared to boys, girls generally showed more societal interest ( $F(1) = 104.85$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .020$ ), prosocial ability ( $F(1) = 233.65$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .044$ ) and reflective thinking ( $F(1) = 86.16$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .017$ ). Differences in the social economic statuses of their families appears also to be related to the differences in the citizenship orientations of the students ( $\Lambda = .988$ ,  $F(8, 10190) = 7.86$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .006$ ). Students with the lowest social economic backgrounds reported the most societal interest ( $F(2) = 20.33$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .008$ ) and reflective thinking ( $F(2) = 12.06$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .005$ ). Students with the highest economic background showed higher scores on prosocial ability ( $F(2) = 16.34$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .006$ ) and assertiveness ( $F(2) = 10.02$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ ), compared to students with medium or low social economic background. The ethnic origins of the students also appears to be significantly related to the citizenship orientations of students ( $\Lambda = .974$ ,  $F(4, 5095) = 34.21$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .026$ ). Minority students showed higher scores on all four citizenship orientations than majority students (societal interest:  $F(1) = 130.55$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .025$ ; prosocial ability:  $F(1) = 28.96$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .006$ ; reflective thinking:  $F(1) = 47.88$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .009$ ; assertiveness:  $F(1) = 21.64$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ ).

The language spoken at home only relates significantly to differences in the reflective thinking orientation of students, with speakers of Dutch at home being less reflective than speakers of a language other than Dutch at home ( $\Lambda = .996$ ,  $F(8, 10190) = 2.38$ ,  $p = .015$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ ;  $F(2) = 4.95$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ ). Grade significantly relates to some of the differences in the citizenship orientations of the students ( $\Lambda = .995$ ,  $F(8, 10190) = 3.46$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ). The students in fifth grade showed more of an orientation towards societal interest ( $F(2) = 5.81$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ ), prosocial ability ( $F(2) = 7.12$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ), and reflective thinking ( $F(2) = 7.49$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ) than the students in the higher grades. Finally, school level appears to significantly relate to differences in the citizenship orientations of the students ( $\Lambda = .986$ ,  $F(4, 5095) = 18.64$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .014$ ). Students in prevocational education showed less societal interest ( $F(1) = 49.74$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .010$ ) and assertiveness ( $F(1) = 16.51$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ) than students in primary education and general secondary education. The MANOVAs showed that student age is not related to the citizenship orientations of the students.

### 3.4 Background characteristics of students and their citizenship knowledge

In Table 8, we present an overview of the differences in citizenship knowledge of the students according to their background characteristics, again based on MANOVA analyses.

**Table 8. Overview of significant differences in citizenship knowledge of students according to background characteristic together with means (and standard deviations) \***

Student characteristics		Citizenship knowledge	
		Societal knowledge	Interpersonal knowledge
Gender	Boy	.75 (.21)	.67 (.23)
	Girl	.82 (.17)	.77 (.18)
SES	Low	.65 (.24)	.62 (.24)
	Medium	.79 (.19)	.72 (.21)
	High	.82 (.19)	.74 (.21)
Ethnic origin	Majority	n.s.	n.s.
	Minority		
Language spoken at home	Dutch	.80 (.19)	.73 (.21)
	Dutch dialect	.75 (.23)	.67 (.24)
	Other language	.69 (.22)	.63 (.22)
Age	10-11 years	.72 (.19)	.74 (.20)
	12-13 years	.76 (.19)	.74 (.20)
	14-15 years	.83 (.20)	.71 (.22)
	16 years and older	.76 (.22)	.64 (.23)
Grade	Grade 5	.65 (.18)	.71 (.19)
	Grade 6	.80 (.18)	.79 (.18)
	Grade 7	.75 (.20)	.73 (.21)
	Grade 9	.83 (.20)	.70 (.23)
School level	Primary education	.72 (.19)	.75 (.19)
	Prevocational education	.73 (.21)	.67 (.22)
	General secondary education	.85 (.17)	.77 (.21)

\*Note: Results significant at 5% level; non-significant results indicated with n.s.

Gender appears to relate significantly to the differences in their citizenship knowledge ( $\Lambda = .945$ ,  $F(2,5134) = 150.83$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .055$ ). Girls scored higher than boys in both knowledge domains (societal knowledge:  $F(1) = 138.23$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .026$ ; interpersonal knowledge:  $F(1) = 288.90$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .053$ ). Social economic status relates significantly to the differences in the citizenship knowledge of the students as well ( $\Lambda = .984$ ,  $F(4,10268) = 20.65$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .008$ ). The higher the social economic background, the higher the scores on both societal knowledge ( $F(2) = 41.14$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .016$ ) and interpersonal knowledge ( $F(2) = 11.47$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ ). The language spoken at home appears to be slightly related to the differences observed in citizenship knowledge ( $\Lambda = .989$ ,  $F(4, 10268) = 13.84$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .005$ ). Students who spoke Dutch at home showed more knowledge in both domains than students who spoke a Dutch dialect or a language another than Dutch at home (societal

knowledge:  $F(2) = 22.19$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .009$ ; interpersonal knowledge:  $F(2) = 19.65$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .008$ ).

The age of the students explains a significant part of the differences in citizenship knowledge but, differently depending on the knowledge domain ( $\Lambda = .955$ ,  $F(6, 10268) = 4.62$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ). Students in the range of 14-15 years of age showed the highest scores on societal knowledge ( $F(3) = 7.33$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ ) while students in the younger ranges of 10-11 years and 12-13 years showed the highest scores on interpersonal knowledge. Students of 16 years and older even showed the lowest scores on interpersonal knowledge ( $F(3) = 5.76$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ). Grade also appears to relate significantly to the observed differences in citizenship knowledge but, again differently depending on the knowledge domain ( $\Lambda = .971$ ,  $F(4,10268) = 37.98$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .015$ ). Ninth grade students showed the highest societal knowledge ( $F(2) = 72.31$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .027$ ) while sixth grade students showed the highest interpersonal knowledge ( $F(2) = 6.95$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ). Finally, school level was related similarly and with a relatively large effect size to the differences in both domains of citizenship knowledge ( $\Lambda = .920$ ,  $F(2,5134) = 221.72$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .080$ ). Students in general secondary education (i.e. highest level of school) produced significantly the highest societal knowledge scores ( $F(1) = 430.06$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .077$ ) while the students in prevocational education (i.e. lower level of school) produced the lowest interpersonal knowledge ( $F(1) = 188.89$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .035$ ). The ethnic origin of the students did not explain differences between students in their citizenship knowledge.

### 3.5 Citizenship orientations and knowledge and citizenship participation of students and their perceptions of school climate

In Table 9 and Table 10 we present the multivariate outcomes on the relationships of citizenship participation, perceptions of the school climate and news engagement with the citizenship orientations (Table 9) and with the citizenship knowledge (Table 10) of the students.

**Table 9. Overview of significant differences in citizenship orientations of students according to their citizenship participation, news engagement and perceptions of school climate \***

	Citizenship orientations			
	Societal interest	Prosocial ability	Reflective thinking	Assertiveness
Societal participation	+	+	+	n.s.
School participation	+	+	+	n.s.
News engagement	+	+	+	+
School climate 1: student-teacher relationships	+	+	+	+
School climate 2: student relationships	n.s.	n.s.	-	-
School climate 3: social behaviour between students	+	+	+	+

\*Note: Results significant at 5% level; non-significant results indicated with n.s.

**Table 10. Overview of significant differences in citizenship knowledge of students according to their citizenship participation, news engagement and perceptions of school climate \***

	Citizenship knowledge	
	Societal knowledge	Interpersonal knowledge
Societal participation	-	-
School participation	-	-
News engagement	+	+
School climate 1: student-teacher relationships	+	+
School climate 2: student relationships	+	+
School climate 3: social behaviour between students	-	n.s.

\*Note: Results significant at 5% level; non-significant results indicated with n.s.

Citizenship participation and perceptions of the school climate together explained less than 3% of the variance in the citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge of students respectively. This means that student participation and students' perceptions of the school climate appear to have only little relation with the outcome variables. Only news engagement appears to relate somewhat higher to the citizenship orientations of the students (see Table 9;  $\Lambda = .846$ ,  $F(72, 28566) = 17.30$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .041$ ). This holds for all four of the citizenship orientations: The more students were engaged with the news, the higher the scores (societal interest:  $F(18) = 53.25$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .120$ ; prosocial ability:  $F(18) = 19.68$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .046$ ; reflective thinking:  $F(18) = 37.58$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .085$ ; assertiveness:  $F(18) = 10.86$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .026$ ).

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

A framework for integrating the theoretical insights and empirical data on the citizenship competences of young people was developed and evaluated. The aim of this endeavour was to integrate the separate components of the student competences (attitudes, skills, knowledge and reflection) and to find a way towards more systematic research in citizenship. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses on the measurements of the attitudes, skills, knowledge and reflection of a large sample of students provided an appropriate framework for the citizenship of the students. The framework distinguishes four citizenship orientations and two domains of citizenship knowledge- of students. The citizenship orientations of students can differ with respect to interest (i.e. societal interest orientation), adjustment and social behaviour (i.e. prosocial ability orientation), reflections and attention to social issues (i.e. reflective thinking orientation) and formulating one's own opinion (assertiveness orientation). Besides, their citizenship knowledge can differ with respect to political and democratic knowledge (i.e. societal knowledge) and social- behavioural knowledge (i.e. interpersonal knowledge). This framework facilitates the large-scale empirically based evaluation of educational goals on the students' citizenship and could enable schools to formulate educational goals that are directly related to the development of students' citizenship in a particular area. It might be that school formulate different goals and perform

different activities when they want to development students' citizenship in different areas (such as societal interest, prosocial abilities, reflective thinking or assertiveness).

The four citizenship orientations of the students showed a weak relationship with students' citizenship knowledge. This position of the citizenship knowledge of young people's as separate aspects of students' citizenship aligns with the results of the study of Ten Dam et al. (2011) on the construct validity of the Citizenship Competences Questionnaire. Strong interrelations were found between young people's attitudes, skills, and reflection but not with knowledge. With our framework of orientations and knowledge, it therefore seems relevant to conclude that both citizenship knowledge and citizenship orientations of the students need distinctive attention in educational goals concerning the development of citizenship. While the framework is based on information from a large sample of students and has been cross validated using a nation-wide representative sample of students in the Netherlands, an important point of discussion considers the international validation of our framework. Only further research can answer the question of just how culture-specific the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains of students may be. The way students' citizenship is conceptualized could be different across countries for example, due to social structures in a society (Banks, 1993), which is not taken into account in the empirical literature yet. So, we recommend to test the present framework in international research.

The Dutch educational system is characterized by a large degree of differentiation (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010). After primary school, students are selected for admission to different types of schools (i.e. educational tracks). Our finding of differences in the citizenship knowledge of students from different school tracks confirms the results of other empirical research in the Netherlands (Geijsel et al., 2012; Maslowski, Naayer, Isac, Oonk, & Van der Werf, 2010). The higher the educational track, the greater students' citizenship knowledge. We developed the framework of citizenship to better understand the citizenship competences of young people, however, we were also able to highlight differences between the citizenship orientations of students: after controlling for students' SES and origin, students from prevocational education are less oriented towards societal interest and assertiveness than students in higher general secondary education. This finding supports the findings of earlier research in the field of citizenship education in the Netherlands showing teachers in prevocational education to primarily teach students how to behave appropriately and emphasize the elementary rules of social interaction and adaptation, while teachers in the higher general secondary education tracks focus more on the competences needed for active and critical citizenship (Ten Dam & Volman, 2003; Leenders et al., 2008). To gain greater insight into the inequalities in citizenship education as a result of different educational institutions and different levels of education, further research is required.

## Chapter 4

### *Typology of student citizenship*<sup>1</sup>

Most of the empirical frameworks and theories concerned with the development of citizenship today are quite complex and only provide some guidance for what citizenship education should attend to; they do not provide insight into the actual citizenship of students. We constructed a typology of student citizenship, on the basis of data collected from students. Patterns of scores for the citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge of students were examined, and four clearly interpretable profiles could be identified (committed citizenship, indifferent citizenship, ordinary citizenship and self-assured citizenship). A sample of 7,768 students from grades 5-9 from 38 primary and secondary education schools participated in this research. The typology was then cross-validated on a separate sample of 15,940 students from Dutch primary and secondary education schools. The types of the citizenship differed depending on the individual demographic characteristics of the students and their level of education. Implications of the typology for citizenship education and future research are discussed.

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

To lay a solid foundation for citizenship education, considerable effort has been made to understand the citizenship of students of different ages. In empirical studies, various dimensions of citizenship of students have been described and analysed (Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Ireland, Kerr, Lopes, & Nelson, 2006; Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010;). Ten Dam and Volman (2007) have analysed the citizenship behaviour of students and the citizenship competences on which this behaviour is built, in terms of specific knowledge, attitudes, skills, and reflection (cf. Rychen & Salganik, 2003). In their work the authors clearly situate the content of citizenship in the social practices which constitute the daily lives of young people (cf. Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009). In the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a distinction is made between three dimensions of citizenship (Schulz et al., 2010): a content dimension (subject matter about civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities); an affective-behavioural dimension (value beliefs, attitudes, behavioural intentions, and behaviours); and a cognitive dimension (knowing and reasoning, and analysing). In the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) from the Department of Education and Skills (DfES) in England, Cleaver et al. (2005) have developed another framework to describe the dimensions of citizenship. They distinguish students' knowledge, understanding and conceptions; students' views, trust and experiences; students' attitudes; and students' participation and engagement.

The ultimate goal of the various attempts undertaken to understand the concept of citizenship of students is to provide schools with frameworks to build upon. These largely academic discussions of student citizenship have led to rather complex empirical frameworks of citizenship elements, dimensions, and underlying components, which are not easy to interpret for teachers. Moreover, many of the theoretical assumptions underlying the citizenship classifications have not been based on measurements of student citizenship. The endeavours to classify and understand the different types of citizenship have been classifications in terms of the citizenship elements outlined by teachers and schools; they are not in terms of the citizenship competences of students.

One exception is the work of Torney-Purta, Barber, Wilkenfeld and Homana (2008) who examined the variation and clustering of citizenship attitudes, skills and knowledge among 14-year-old students. They identified a number of citizenship profiles. In the present research, we intended to continue on this path and searched for clearly interpretable types of student citizenship. The aim of

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<sup>1</sup> Geboers, E., Admiraal, W., Geijsel, F., & Ten Dam, G. (in press). Typology of student citizenship. *European Journal of Education*.

this research was to help teachers to recognize forms of citizenship in daily classroom practice and to align their educational goals and strategies with the daily citizenship of students, which could improve the quality of citizenship education.

### 1.1 Citizenship competences, citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge

Research conducted in the field of citizenship education has been mainly concerned with the relationship between young people's citizenship and background characteristics (Cleaver et al., 2005; Geijsel et al., 2012; Ireland et al., 2006; Schulz et al., 2010). Yet the picture laid-out in the literature is still rather diffuse and fragmented due to a focus on the isolated components of citizenship competences (i.e. knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection). Linked to the citizenship competences of students, citizenship orientations reflect how someone assesses his or her affinities, perspectives and attitudes towards citizenship participation and provide a more holistic meaning of daily citizenship of students (see Geboers, Admiraal, Geijsel, & Ten Dam, submitted). From a developmental perspective, citizenship orientations can be understood as socialized and internalized elements of citizenship, which can be influenced by education as well (Van de Werfhorst & De Graaf, 2004). Via their participation in everyday situations, young people develop a picture of themselves as citizens (i.e. identity development; cf. Haste, 2004) which construct the underlying pattern of citizenship attitudes, skills, and reflection. We denote these patterns as citizenship orientations of students. In a nationwide study of the citizenship of students in the Netherlands (Geboers et al., submitted), a comprehensive framework was developed for four citizenship orientations (societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking and assertiveness) and two domains of citizenship knowledge (societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge).

Societal interest concerns students' interest in social issues and tolerance towards social differences. Prosocial ability indicates students' capability to adapt oneself to social rules, moral values and social conventions in daily life, and to empathize with others. Reflective thinking refers to students' critical thinking about social issues and social structures in society. Assertiveness concerns students' ability to stand up for their own ideas and clearly formulate these ideas. Societal knowledge concerns the political domain or more abstract knowledge about democratic principles of society, the organization of society and the norms in society. And interpersonal knowledge reflects primarily the social domain of knowledge and thus knowledge of prevailing social values, behavioural rules and social everyday manners.

### 1.2 Types of citizens

Various attempts have been made in the literature on citizenship to unfold citizenship in categorizations, classifications or types. Based on theoretical reasoning about what constitutes "good" citizenship that appeared in the curricula of democratic citizenship programmes, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) classified three types of citizens. There is the personal responsible citizen who is willing to act responsibly in the community, helps those in need, works, pays taxes and obeys laws. There is the participatory citizen who is actively involved in community organizations, in organizing community efforts to care for those in need and knows how government agencies work. And there is the social-justice citizen who critically assesses social, political, and economic structures; knows about social movements; detects and addresses domains of injustice; and tries to be fair and promotes equal opportunities. Leenders, Veugelers and De Kat (2008) examined teachers' perceptions of the pedagogical goals for citizenship education and identified the following three types of citizens: the adapting citizen who

focuses on discipline, social values and rules with otherwise relatively little attention to autonomy and reflective thinking. The individualistic citizen who accentuates discipline and autonomy with relatively less attention to social values and rules. And the critical-democratic citizen who emphasizes autonomy, social values and rules and with relatively little attention to discipline. Torney-Purta et al. (2008) identified clusters of citizenship for students in the ICCS-sample. The political skills of 14-year-old students and their attitudes towards political activities, voting and community activities together with their knowledge of civic content were found to cluster into four citizenship profiles. These are: 1) the indifferents or students showing average scores for such attitudes as trust, efficacy and support but not particularly interested in participation and only willing to do the absolute minimum as citizens; 2) the social justice supporters or students who score above average on citizenship skills; show strong support for the rights of immigrants, minorities and women; and are most willing to construct social change; 3) the conventionals or students who score highest on citizenship norms, trust and patriotism but show average scores on support for rights; and 4) the alienated or students who score the lowest on all civic attitudes and disagree with nearly all beliefs about democracy and political culture. In our opinion these citizenship profiles present an interpretable and detailed picture of citizenship of students and may therefore be of value for citizenship education efforts.

### 1.3 The present study

Building upon the work of Torney-Purta et al. (2008), we examined the citizenship of students using a wider range of variables and ages. In doing so, the following research questions were considered:

1. Which types of citizenship could be distinguished in primary and secondary education?
2. How do the types of citizenship relate to the individual characteristics of students?
3. How do types of citizenship differ across school levels?

Patterns of scores on citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge were clustered in order to identify student profiles of citizenship. In this study, not only political citizenship attitudes, skills and knowledge were examined but also reflective thinking about citizenship along with an emphasis on social competences. Our operationalization concerns a broad conceptualization of citizenship which includes not only the political domain but also the social domain of citizenship as the latter is thought to be more suitable for understanding the actual citizenship of students (Ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011; Geijsel et al., 2012). Additionally, in the present study a large age range of students between 11 and 16 years were included in order to provide insight into the actual citizenship of students in different age groups. By exploring student profiles, we aimed at enhancing an expressive understanding of the citizenship of students in contemporary society thereby helping educators with the design of their citizenship education.

The focus on differences of citizenship depending on the school level was investigated because the Dutch educational system is highly differentiated. Students are selected and differentiated at the tender age of 12 for separate schools for prevocational versus general secondary education, with different tracks of secondary education being offered as a result. Previous research has shown marked variation in citizenship education depending on school track with the elementary rules of social interaction and adaptation emphasized in prevocational education (i.e. the lower levels of secondary education) and critical citizenship and societal knowledge emphasized in general secondary education (i.e. the highest levels of secondary education; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003; Leenders et al., 2008).

## 2 METHOD

### 2.1 Participants

Data was collected in 14 schools for primary education; 13 schools for prevocational education; and 11 schools for general secondary education. These 38 schools were part of the Dutch Citizenship Alliance in which schools, universities and institutes for curriculum development and testing cooperated with the Dutch Inspectorate of Education on the development and evaluation of citizenship education in the Netherlands. The schools varied with regard to denomination and were located throughout the country. Data was collected in the school year of 2007-2008, from 7,768 students (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Overview of measurements and number (N) of students**

School year	Primary education	Secondary education		Total
		Prevocational	General	
2007-2008	Grade 5 N = 390	Grade 7 N = 1926	Grade 7 N = 1840	N = 4156
	Grade 6 N = 360	Grade 9 N = 1812	Grade 9 N = 1440	N = 3612
Total				N = 7768

### 2.2 Instrument

The comprehensive framework of citizenship, which distinguishes four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains form the input variables of the typology. The citizenship orientations and knowledge are measured using the Citizenship Competences Questionnaire (CCQ; Ten Dam et al., 2011). In this questionnaire, citizenship is situated in the daily social practices of young people. The questionnaire consists of 85 items divided across 17 scales. Students are asked to estimate their own attitudes, skills and reflections regarding citizenship along a four-point Likert scale with higher scores indicating a higher frequency or greater applicability. A total of 10 scales represent the four citizenship orientations and 4 scales represent the two domains of citizenship knowledge; three scales were not included in the framework (see Geboers et al., submitted).

A societal interest orientation is measured via 2 scales indicating attitudes towards acting democratically and dealing with differences. The general question To what extent do you agree with this statement? is posed for these scales.

A prosocial ability orientation is measured using 5 scales indicating attitudes towards dealing with conflicts, the skills to act democratically, skills to act in a social responsible manner, skills to deal with conflicts and skills to deal with differences. A question like How good are you at -for example- finding a solution that makes everyone happy after a quarrel? is posed for these scales.

A reflective thinking orientation is measured using 3 scales indicating the extent to which the student thinks about democratic issues, issues of social responsibility and differences between people. A question like How often do you think about -for example- whether students in your school are listened to? is posed for these scales.

An assertiveness orientation is measured using 1 scale indicating the skills of the student to formulate and assert one's own opinion. A question like How good are you at -for example- making your opinion clear in a discussion? is posed for these scale.

Societal citizenship knowledge is measured via multiple choice items concerned with knowledge of democracy and three response options accompanied by the instruction to indicate which

option best answers the question. For example: A country is referred to as undemocratically when: a) political parties criticize each other, b) people have to pay high taxes, c) people are not allowed to criticize the government. Option c is the correct answer here and assigned a score of 1; the other options are assigned a score of 0.

Interpersonal citizenship knowledge is measured via multiple choice items like the following: You have had a heavy fight with one of your classmates. It turned out afterwards that you were wrong. What could you do at best? a) ignore each other, b) say that you are sorry and that you were wrong, c) not speak about the incident but treat at each other normally. Option b is the correct answer here and assigned a score of 1, the other options were assigned a score of 0.

The reliability coefficients and means are presented in Table 2 for the citizenship orientations of the students and their citizenship knowledge.

**Table 2. Overview of the means, standard deviations, and reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha$ ) of the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains (N=7644)**

Citizenship orientations	Mean	(sd.)	$\alpha$
Societal interest (2 competence scales)	2.77	(.58)	.85
Prosocial ability (5 competence scales)	3.01	(.44)	.88
Reflective thinking (3 competence scales)	2.14	(.59)	.91
Assertiveness (1 competence scale)	3.19	(.58)	.75
Societal knowledge (2 scales)	.78	(.20)	.88
Interpersonal knowledge (2 scales)	.72	(.22)	.85

### 2.3 Student backgrounds

Information on the backgrounds of the students is obtained by posing 9 questions following administration of the CCQ. Students are asked, for example, what grade they are in, what their age is and what the school level of their parents is. In addition, the students' citizenship participation and perceptions of the school climate are probed. The students are asked if they participate (yes/no) in societal activities like scouting, multicultural organizations, human rights organizations or volunteer work. The students are asked if they participate (yes/no) in school activities like the student council, the school paper, class captain or the organization of school celebrations. The students are asked about their engagement with the news as presented in newspapers or television programmes. In addition, the students are asked about their perceptions of the school climate, they were asked -for example- Whether the teachers respect the students? (student-teacher relationships); Whether the students bully each other? (student relationships); or Whether the students are willing to help each other, even if they are not friends (social behaviour between students; see Table 3).

**Table 3. Overview of student characteristics in percentages; means (sd.) for citizenship participation and perceptions of school climate (N=7768; N of schools=38)**

Background characteristics								
Gender	51.8%	Boy	48.2%	Girl				
SES	5.3%	Low	38.7%	Middle	56.1%	High		
Ethnic origin	79.3%	Majority	20.7%	Minority				
Language spoken at home	87.4%	Dutch	2.4%	Dutch dialect	10.1%	Not Dutch		
Age	7.5%	10-11 years	49.0%	12-13 years	37.9%	14-15 years	5.7%	16 years or older
Grade	5.0%	Grade 5	4.6%	Grade 6	48.3%	Grade 7	42.1%	Grade 9
School level	9.6%	Primary	47.8%	Prevocational	42.6%	General secondary education		
Students' citizenship participation:				$\alpha$	Mean	Sd.		
Societal participation (8 activities, mean activity)					0.11	.13		
School participation (5 activities, mean activity)					0.05	.13		
News engagement (4 items, judged using 4-point Likert scale)				.78	2.16	.73		
Students' perspective on school climate:								
1: student-teacher relationships (6 items, 4-point Likert scale)				.94	2.94	.65		
2: student relationships (5 items, 4-point Likert scale)				.92	2.70	.80		
3: social behaviour between students (5 items, 4-point Likert scale)				.92	2.62	.63		

## 2.4 Analysis

Cluster analyses were conducted in order to decide which citizenship profiles or types of citizenship can be distinguished for primary and secondary education students. Groups of individual students were formed on the basis of the similarity of their scores for the four citizenship orientations and the two domains of citizenship knowledge. *K*-means cluster analysis was applied, which means that differences on the citizenship orientations and knowledge between the students within groups were minimized and differences between groups were maximized. Unlike the more commonly used hierarchical cluster analysis, *K*-means cluster analysis are appropriate for use with very large data sets (Stoffel & Belkoniene, 1999).

In a first step involving the full sample of 38 schools, the students were clustered into 2 to 10 clusters. Dividing students into 4 clusters provided an optimal discrimination between different types of student citizenship with the highest VRC (Variance Ratio Criterion; Calinski & Harabasz, 1973) in combination with the lowest  $\omega$  (omega) (VRC= 2427.71,  $\omega = -61.65$ ) (see Table 4). The use of 4 clusters explained between 38.0% and 58.2% of the variance in the citizenship orientations of the students but much less of the variance in both of the knowledge domains (societal knowledge: 1.2%; interpersonal knowledge: 3.7%).

After determination of the 4 clusters of students we checked the stability of the clusters for two subsets of 75% and 50% of the original data, which resulted in a satisfactory correspondence with the grouping in the whole data set (Rand's statistic (Rand, 1971) = .97 and .89 respectively) (see also Morey & Agresti, 1984).

To cross-validate the clustering, we checked if the 4 clusters of students were identifiable and stable in a separate representative sample of 15,940 sixth and ninth Grade students from 80 Dutch primary and secondary education schools from the so-called COOL study (Dutch National Cohort Study Educational Careers Students 5 to 18 year).

**Table 4. Overview of cluster analysis with VRC,  $\omega$  (omega) for four citizenship orientations and two domains of citizenship knowledge**

	Cluster 10	Cluster 9	Cluster 8	Cluster 7	Cluster 6	Cluster 5	Cluster 4	Cluster 3	Cluster 2
	VRC=1527.98	VRC=1658.59	VRC=1667.48	VRC=1901.05	VRC=2049.85	VRC=2161.42	<b>VRC=2472.71</b>	VRC=2722.35	VRC=3677.96
	$\omega = -122.71$	$\omega = -84.78$	$\omega = 224.68$	$\omega = -37.23$	$\omega = 199.73$	$\omega = -61.65$	$\omega = 705.97$		
N = 7643									
Citizenship orientations									
Societal interest	.70	.70	.67	.68	.62	.64	<b>.56</b>	.45	.47
Prosocial ability	.46	.45	.47	.44	.41	.40	<b>.38</b>	.30	.32
Reflective thinking	.73	.70	.66	.68	.66	.58	<b>.53</b>	.43	.39
Assertiveness	.74	.75	.70	.66	.66	.56	<b>.58</b>	.53	.19
Citizenship knowledge									
Societal knowledge	.08	.07	.06	.06	.06	.03	<b>.01</b>	.00	.00
Interpersonal knowledge	.12	.10	.09	.09	.08	.07	<b>.04</b>	.02	.03

Chi-square tests and ANOVAs were conducted to determine how the four types of student citizenship relate to the individual characteristics of the students.

Similarly, we conducted chi-square tests and ANOVAs to determine if the distribution of the types of citizenship differed significantly depending on the level of education (primary, prevocational or general secondary education).

### 3 RESULTS

In the following, we present a typology of student citizenship and describe the differences between the types. In table 5 the mean scores and standard deviations for the citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge of the students according to the type of citizenship are presented.

**Table 5. Means (sd.) for citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge according to the type of citizenship**

Clusters of citizenship	N	Citizenship orientations				Citizenship knowledge	
		Societal interest	Prosocial ability	Reflective thinking	Assertiveness	Societal knowledge	Interpersonal knowledge
Committed citizen	1824	3.40 (.37)	3.42 (.34)	2.74 (.49)	3.67 (.34)	.79 (.19)	.77 (.19)
Indifferent citizen	1448	2.17 (.40)	2.62 (.37)	1.62 (.38)	2.60 (.49)	.75 (.21)	.64 (.23)
Ordinary citizen	2348	2.86 (.35)	3.01 (.30)	2.33 (.37)	2.84 (.36)	.77 (.21)	.74 (.21)
Self-assured citizen	2024	2.56 (.44)	2.93 (.38)	1.77 (.38)	3.57 (.33)	.81 (.18)	.71 (.21)
Total	7644	2.77 (.58)	3.01 (.44)	2.14 (.59)	3.19 (.58)	.78 (.20)	.72 (.21)

#### 3.1 Types of citizenship

The first cluster contained 24.0% of the students. These students showed relatively high scores overall and can therefore be considered to be broadly knowledgeable and orientated towards citizenship; these students are willing and able to participate adequately in society. Above all they reflect on societal issues and stand up for their opinion. These students are committed to deal with daily citizenship tasks and thus this cluster is labelled as committed citizenship.

The second cluster contained 19.0% of the students. These students have relatively low scores for all of the citizenship orientations (i.e. societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking, and assertiveness) and also for the two domains of citizenship knowledge (societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge). These students are much less knowledgeable and oriented towards citizenship, than students with a committed citizenship. The relatively low score of these students on the citizenship orientations show them to consider themselves neither able nor willing to participate in society, and inclined to reflect upon societal issues or to stand up for their opinions. These students are little concerned with daily citizenship tasks and thus this cluster is labelled as indifferent citizenship.

The third cluster contained one third of the students (30.5%). These students show average scores for the two domains of citizenship knowledge, average scores for three of the citizenship orientations (i.e. societal interest, prosocial ability, and reflective thinking) and relatively low scores

on assertiveness, which shows them to have little affinity with publicly standing up for their opinions. This cluster concerned the largest percentage of the students and therefore indicates the mainstream student in the Netherlands. The cluster is therefore labelled as ordinary citizenship.

The fourth cluster contained 26.5% of the students. This group of students shows the most diverse scores for both citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge. These students score relatively high on societal knowledge and assertiveness; average on societal interest, prosocial ability and interpersonal knowledge; and relatively low on reflective thinking. These students are thus quite knowledgeable of societal issues, and their relatively high scores on assertiveness shows them to be inclined to stand up and give their opinion. The relatively low scores for reflective thinking accompanied by high scores for assertiveness suggest that these students base their opinions on what they know in general and not on reflection. This cluster of students is therefore labelled as self-assured citizenship.

### 3.2 Relations of the citizenship types to characteristics of the students and school level

The background characteristics of the students but also their mean scores for citizenship participation and perceptions of the school climate are presented in Table 6 for the four types of citizenship we identified. The percentages according to the types of citizenship were compared to the row totals in Table 6.

**Table 6. Frequencies (%) of student characteristics and means (sd.) for citizenship participation and perceptions of the school climate according to type of citizenship**

Student characteristics		Committed citizen (N = 1824)	Indifferent citizen (N = 1448)	Ordinary citizen (N = 2348)	Self-assured citizen (N = 2024)	Total (N = 7644)
Gender	Boy	41.8%	62.8%	48.2%	56.6%	58.6%
	Girl	58.2%	37.2%	51.8%	43.4%	48.4%
SES	High	6.9%	4.2%	5.5%	4.2%	5.3%
	Medium	33.0%	45.5%	39.2%	38.8%	38.7%
	Low	60.1%	50.3%	55.3%	57.0%	56.0%
Ethnic origin	Non-Minority	67.7%	89.4%	78.5%	84.2%	79.5%
	Minority	32.3%	10.6%	21.5%	15.8%	20.5%
Language spoken at home	Dutch	81.7%	91.3%	87.9%	89.1%	87.5%
	Dutch dialect	2.2%	2.9%	2.0%	2.7%	2.4%
	Other language	16.2%	5.8%	10.1%	7.8%	10.1%
Age	10-11 years	10.9%	4.7%	7.8%	6.1%	7.5%
	12-13 years	56.4%	40.1%	53.2%	44.3%	49.1%
	14-15 years	28.1%	48.8%	33.5%	43.7%	37.8%
	16 years and older	4.6%	6.5%	5.5%	5.9%	5.6%
Grade	Grade 5	8.1%	3.2%	5.2%	3.4%	5.0%
	Grade 6	5.3%	3.3%	4.6%	5.1%	4.7%
	Grade 7	56.2%	39.1%	53.1%	42.5%	48.4%
	Grade 9	30.4%	54.4%	37.2%	49.0%	42.0%

Citizenship participation	Mean (sd.)				
Societal participation	0.14 (.14)	0.08 (.13)	0.11 (.12)	0.09 (.11)	0.11 (.13)
School participation	0.08 (.15)	0.04 (.13)	0.05 (.12)	0.04 (.10)	0.05 (.13)
News engagement	2.53 (.76)	1.75 (.60)	2.22 (.65)	2.03 (.70)	2.16 (.73)
Perceptions of the school climate					
1: student-teacher relationships	3.22 (.62)	2.66 (.66)	2.99 (.57)	2.82 (.69)	2.93 (.66)
2: relationship between students	2.70 (.86)	2.61 (.78)	2.75 (.75)	2.67 (.82)	2.69 (.80)
3: social behaviour between students	2.88 (.68)	2.34 (.57)	2.67 (.55)	2.51 (.61)	2.61 (.63)

The four types of citizenship relate significantly to the background characteristics of the students. The chi-square results showed the types of citizenship to differ depending on gender ( $\chi^2(3) = 172.87, p = .001, \eta^2 = .023$ ). Compared to the row totals in Table 6, the percentages for gender according to the four types of citizenship showed significantly higher percentages of students in the indifferent or self-assured type of citizenship were boys while a significantly higher percentage of the students in the committed type of citizenship were girls.

The types of citizenship also differed significantly depending on the age of the students ( $\chi^2(9) = 234.46, p = .001, \eta^2 = .025$ ). There was a higher concentration of the young students (10-11 years) in the committed citizenship cluster as opposed to the other three types. The ordinary and the self-assured types of citizenship included significantly higher percentages of older students (12-13 years and 14-15 years). There was a significantly higher percentage of the oldest students (16 years or older) in the indifferent citizenship cluster compared to the other clusters.

The four types of citizenship showed further to differ significantly depending on the ethnic origin of the students ( $\chi^2(3) = 260.47, p = .001, \eta^2 = .035$ ). The committed cluster of citizenship showed a significantly higher percentage of minority students compared to the other clusters of citizenship. Small but significant differences were found in the four types of citizenship depending on the social economic backgrounds of the students and the language spoken at home ( $\chi^2(6) = 45.65, p = .001, \eta^2 = .002$  and  $\chi^2(6) = 109.14, p = .001, \eta^2 = .013$  respectively).

When the four types of citizenship were examined in relation to the students' reported engagement and perceptions of the school climate, significant relations were detected. ANOVAs showed the types of citizenship to differ depending on students' news engagement ( $F(3,7420) = 371.72, p = .001, \eta^2 = .131$ ). Not surprisingly, students in the committed citizenship cluster showed the highest scores for news engagement when compared to the students in the other clusters. Similarly, students in the committed citizenship cluster showed the highest scores for perceptions of student-teacher relationships in the school (school climate 1;  $F(3,7604) = 241.00, p = .001, \eta^2 = .087$ ) and perceived social behaviour of students in the school (school climate 3;  $F(3,7600) = 250.81, p = .001, \eta^2 = .090$ ).

Students in the ordinary citizenship cluster showed the highest scores for perceptions of the relationships between students in the school (school climate 2;  $F(3,7600) = 9.66, p = .001, \eta^2 = .004$ ). Students in the indifferent citizenship cluster showed the lowest scores for all measures of perceptions of the school climate.

Other differences in the four types of citizenship concerned the participation of the students in societal and/or school activities. The differences were small (societal participation:  $F(3,7586) = 61.54, p = .001, \eta^2 = .022$ ; school participation:  $F(3,7599) = 36.67, p = .001, \eta^2 = .014$ ). Students in the committed citizenship cluster showed to participate the most in society and/or at school

when compared to the students in the other clusters of citizenship.

In Table 7, the distribution of the four types of citizenship according to the level of school is presented. The percentages per type of citizenship were again compared to the row totals in the table. Small but nevertheless significant relations were detected ( $\chi^2(6) = 93.25, p = .001, \eta^2 = .002$ ). In primary education a significantly higher proportion of students who showed a committed type of citizenship was found when compared to the other levels of school. In prevocational education a higher proportion of students who showed an indifferent type of citizenship was found and in general secondary education a higher proportion of students who showed a self-assured type of citizenship was found when compared to the other levels of school.

In sum, the results of our analysis show the typology of citizenship identified on the basis of the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students to differentially relate to students characteristics, which differ to the level of school.

**Table 7. Percentages of the types of citizenship for the school levels**

School level	Committed citizenship N=1824	Indifferent citizenship N=1448	Ordinary citizenship N=2348	Self-assured citizenship N=2024	Total N=7644
Primary education	13.1%	6.6%	9.7%	8.5%	9.7%
Prevocational education	43.8%	56.8%	45.7%	46.4%	47.5%
General secondary education	42.8%	36.7%	44.5%	45.1%	42.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

#### 4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study we were able to distinguish four types of citizenship for students of different ages and in different levels of primary and secondary education. A typology of student citizenship was successfully constructed using the patterns of responding for the four citizenship orientations (i.e. social interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking, and assertiveness) and the two domains of citizenship knowledge (societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge). The four types of citizenship identified and validated for a wide range of students in primary and secondary education are: committed citizenship, indifferent citizenship, ordinary citizenship and self-assured citizenship.

Students with a committed citizenship show a generally high willingness to contribute to society and report having the necessary skills for this. This group also possesses a relatively high level of citizenship knowledge. The knowledge and skills of this group of students give them ample opportunities to further develop their citizenship competences. This group of students consists of relatively young girls, mostly from ethnic minority groups, with generally positive perceptions of their school climate; relatively high engagement with the news; and active participation in their daily environment (e.g. volunteer work, school council).

The group of students with an indifferent citizenship shows a lower willingness to contribute to society relative to the other types and also report not having the necessary skills to participate in society. This group of students also possesses relatively less citizenship knowledge than the students in the other groups. This might explain the indifference of this group to participate in society. Relatively older boys from mostly a non-minority background are present in this group of students. These stu-

dents have generally negative perceptions of the school climate; they are the least engaged with the news of all groups; and they participate least of all in the daily environment.

The group of students with an ordinary citizenship shows an average citizenship across the board and report having the necessary skills for this. The group also possesses an average or mainstream level of citizenship knowledge for the Netherlands. This group of students consists of both boys and girls from both minority and non-minority groups and is represented by all grades and at all ages. The students in this group show relatively positive perceptions of the school climate; average engagement with the news; and average participation in the daily environment.

The group of students with a self-assured citizenship generally shows a lower willingness to contribute to society relative to committed or ordinary students and report not having the necessary citizenship skills to participate. Nevertheless, this group of students possesses a relatively high level of societal knowledge and also shows a relatively high assertiveness towards their own opinions of society which suggest that these students base their opinions only on what they generally know of society but not on reflection. This group of students consists of relatively older boys who show relatively negative perceptions of their school climate; less engagement with the news; and generally participate less in their daily environment.

To summarize: four clearly interpretable types of citizenship can be distinguished with different patterns of citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge, which relate differentially to the individual characteristics of students, their citizenship participation and their perceptions of the school climate.

Our results further showed significant differences in the predominant types of citizenship for the different levels of education. The committed type of citizenship is overrepresented in primary education. The indifferent type of citizenship is relatively common in prevocational education and relatively less common in both primary education and general secondary education. The self-assured type of citizenship is relatively common in general secondary education.

The citizenship of the students in prevocational education can therefore be typified as less assertive and reflects less of an interest in society than the citizenship of students in either primary and general secondary education. The same holds for the citizenship knowledge of the prevocational students, who we found to score lower than the students in either primary education or general secondary education. These findings confirm the results of earlier empirical research in the Netherlands. Both Geijsel et al. (2012) and Maslowski, Naayer, Isac, Oonk, & Van der Werf (2010) have shown: the higher the educational level of the students, the greater their citizenship knowledge. Other research has also shown students in adolescence to have more citizenship knowledge but less positive attitudes towards social citizenship than younger students in primary education (Cleaver et al., 2005; Geijsel et al., 2012; Ireland et al., 2006). In other words, the background characteristics of students and their level of education clearly influence the type of citizenship which they show.

Student characteristics might explain the pattern of association found between the different types of citizenship and the school level of the students. The present results nevertheless raise the question of whether the educational practices of the teachers might underlie the difference observed per level of school. According to Leenders et al. (2008) and Ten Dam & Volman (2003), teachers in prevocational education show a tendency to teach students how to behave in an appropriate manner by emphasizing the basic rules of social interaction and adaptation while, in contrast, teachers in general secondary education focus more on the competences needed for active and critical participation in society. These different pedagogical goals for citizenship education might, in combination with the characteristics of the individual students, contribute to the type of citizenship displayed within the different school levels. Further research is needed to examine the possible influence of school perceptions

of what constitutes “good citizenship” and the concomitant educational practices of teachers on the types of citizenship displayed by students in different levels of education.

The next step in the development of the citizenship typology initiated here is to further validate the types of citizenship we identified. The typology presented in this study is based on a sample of students who were 11 to 16 years of age. It was cross-validated for a representative nationwide sample of students from the so-called COOL study in the Netherlands. International validation is called for as types of citizenship may certainly differ across countries. For example, Torney-Purta et al. (2008) found not only different distributions of the types of citizenship in Sweden compared to the United States but also additional -but differing- types of citizenship for the two countries: in Sweden the nationalist citizen occurred as well; in the United States, the alienated citizen occurred as well. These country specific types of citizenship point to the influence of social structures in a society (Banks, 1993). In other words, the types of citizenship could be influenced by social systems and (in)equality of the society in which one lives (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). Further characterization and analysis of the social and cultural context within which citizenship develops is needed. Further cross-cultural comparison should certainly be promoted as this can give us insight into the impact of national educational institutions on the development of citizenship and (in)equalities in citizenship (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010).

Finally, longitudinal research is called for in order to trace the development of individual citizenship. The types of citizenship we identified reflect a profile which is not static and thus not tied to a particular set of personality traits or an archetype. Under the influence of societal conditions and citizenship education, students can presumably change from one type to another. Our results indeed show differences in the distribution of the four types of citizenship depending on the age of the students. We cannot draw conclusions about the specific development of the different types of citizenship, however, as this requires tracing the same students over time. A longitudinal study of how students develop from—for instance- indifferent citizenship into committed citizenship is needed.

Recall that the broader aim of the present research was to shed light on the actual citizenship of students and thereby help schools to provide high quality citizenship education. This study was not the first to identify types of citizenship. Westheimer and Kahn (2004) have similarly analysed citizenship programme materials to identify clusters of citizenship education and thus types of citizenship. Leenders et al. (2008) clustered citizenship according to the goals which teachers want to achieve for the citizenship of students. In both the curriculum-oriented approach and the teacher-oriented approach, however, the actual citizenship practices and competences of students remained out of sight. Our study fulfils this need and thereby provides a bridge between the pedagogical goals of teachers and the aims outlined in programme materials on the one hand, and the actual citizenship practices of students, on the other hand. The influence of citizenship education can thus be studied more carefully in the future and in relation to the individual characteristics of students and their citizenship participation. Pedagogical goals of education can thus be embedded in the actual citizenship orientations and knowledge of students.

The study by Torney-Purta et al. (2008) is—to our knowledge- the only study until now in which a student-oriented approach was adopted to identify clusters of citizenship characteristics. However, the profiles developed by Torney-Purta et al. are based upon political citizenship, which leaves the social domain of students’ citizenship out of sight. In our study, we adopted a broad conceptualization of citizenship (Ten Dam et al., 2011; Geijsel et al., 2012) and considered both the political and social domains of citizenship. By also doing this in the context of the daily lives of students, we discovered a different set of distinct and clearly interpretable types for the citizenship of students in primary and secondary education.

## Chapter 5

### *Citizenship development of students in secondary education<sup>1</sup>*

Only a few studies have longitudinally examined the development of the citizenship of students over time. In the present study, we therefore followed 2,224 students aged 12 to 16 years across a period of three years, i.e. the first three years of secondary education, in order to gain insight into the development of their citizenship, whether they show different or similar patterns of development and whether any observed differences can be explained by characteristics of the students and/or schools. The citizenship competences of the students were analysed according to four citizenship orientations and two domains of citizenship knowledge. The citizenship competences indeed develop during the secondary school period, but the observed changes were not always positive. Certain differences in development were also found to relate to certain background characteristics of the students. Understanding these differences in the citizenship development of students is important for schools to improve their practices within the field of citizenship education and thereby enhance the citizenship of all groups of adolescents.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

In education, students have access to knowledge, skills and values which can improve their functioning as a citizen in a democratic society—regardless of their cultural background. The school is a place where students spend a lot of their time, can meet and interact with other people and can accumulate democratic experiences in addition to reflecting upon these in connection with experiences acquired elsewhere. The school therefore forms a unique context for the development and practice of citizenship (Parker, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002). Fostering ‘educated citizenship’ is also one of the main tasks of schools today, moreover (Campbell, Levinson, & Hess, 2012; Nussbaum, 2010; Barber, 1998).

From the relevant empirical literature it is known that citizenship competences and behaviours differ for groups of students (see for example: Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002; Benton, Cleaver, Featherstone, Kerr, Lopes, & Whitby, 2008; Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012; Ireland, Kerr, Lopez, Nelson, & Cleaver, 2006; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). For example, girls outperform boys on prosocial competences, but boys outperform girls on competences related to politics. Students from ethnic minorities are more tolerant of differences and more socially engaged than other students but have less democratic understanding and less critical thinking than the other students. Furthermore, students from a higher socio-economic background show greater citizenship competences than students from lower social-economic backgrounds. Only a few studies have examined the development of the citizenship of students over time (Cleaver et al., 2005; Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy & Lopez, 2010). The question which remains is, however, whether there is variation in the patterns of development across groups of students. More detailed, longitudinal study of the development of the citizenship competences of students in secondary education is thus needed. In the present study, we therefore followed 2,224 students aged 12 to 16 years across a period of three years, i.e. the first three years of secondary education, in order to gain insight into the development of their citizenship, whether they show different or similar patterns of development and whether any observed differences can be explained by characteristics of the students and schools.

<sup>1</sup> Geboers, E., Geijsel, F, Admiraal, W, & Ten Dam, G. (submitted). Citizenship development of students in secondary education.

### 1.1 The development of citizenship competences

To become responsible, active citizens in a Western society students need to develop citizenship competences. Students have to acquire knowledge of democracy and society, learn about prevailing norms and values within the society, develop a willingness and the necessary attitudes to participate in a society and also learn to critically contribute to society (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Schuitema, Ten Dam, & Veugelers, 2008; Ten Dam, Geijsel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Students have to develop a picture of themselves as citizens (i.e. identity development; Haste, 2004) and this –in turn– is expected to improve the quality of their participation in society (Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008).

Dewey (1916) was one of the first to note that young people should not be seen as passive recipients to be simply shaped and moulded for future citizenship but as active participants who construct their own citizenship via participation in society. In much of the current empirical literature on the citizenship of students, authors build upon this line of thought. Via their participation in social practices, young people are considered to develop and practice their own citizenship (e.g. Biesta, 2011; Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Quintlier & Dejaeghere, 2008; Rubin, 2007; Tohlander, 2007). Childhood but especially adolescence are viewed as essential periods for the acquisition, practice, development and expansion of social skills, attitudes and behaviour (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004; Erikson, 1968; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). This period is also critical for the development of a social-political identity (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Haste, 2004; Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008). From the perspective of political socialization theories, for example, it is suggested that adolescents formulate and develop their opinions but also learn to deal with differences through experiences in the family, at school, within the peer group and via the media (Flanagan, Bowes, Johnsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998; Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008; McLeod, 2000; Shah, Jaeho Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Flanagan and Sherrod (1998) but also Bogard and Sherrod (2008) argue that the period between 14 and 25 years of age is a period of great flexibility and openness for identity development, and thereby is particularly suitable for learning about social and political issues.

Despite these developmental expectations for adolescence, there is very little longitudinal research available concerning the development of the citizenship competences of students during this period, as became also clear in the review of the literature up until 2009 revealed (Geboers et al., 2012). The studies of Cleaver et al. (2005) and Keating et al. (2010) are the only longitudinal studies which we know of to date. In both studies, the attitudes, skills and knowledge of students relating to the political dimension of citizenship were followed across a five year period. The focus was on such aspects of citizenship as obeying and agreement with the law, equal rights, trust in the government and participation in voluntary activities. In both studies a ‘dip’ was found in the citizenship attitudes with less positive efficacy, participation and trust in the government of the students between the age of 14 and 15 years. The physical and emotional transition to adulthood and pressures of exam preparation are posited in these studies as possible explanations for the reported ‘dip’.

Several cross-sectional studies shed light on the development of students’ citizenship although more indirectly than longitudinal studies. For example, students in secondary education, aged 13 to 15 years, have been found to have greater citizenship knowledge but less positive attitudes towards citizenship than students in primary education aged 10 to 11 years (e.g. Amadeo et al., 2002; Cleaver et al., 2005; Geijsel et al., 2012; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). These cross-sectional results also suggest a negative development or ‘dip’ in the citizenship related attitudes and skills of adolescents, a dip which holds on differing degrees depending on gender, SES and ethnicity of the students.

In sum, a few studies longitudinally investigated the development of citizenship while others have investigated the development of citizenship competences cross-sectionally and taken group differences into account. The question, which remains is whether there is variation in the patterns of citizenship development across groups of students. The importance of this question has been pointed out by a number of authors, including Bogard and Sherrod (2008) who investigated if and how the cultural backgrounds of students interact with the context in which they develop and learn to influence the development of their citizenship. In particular, the loyalty of ethnic minority students to the family, school and community in general positively influenced their attitudes towards citizenship responsibilities. Causality could not be concluded on the basis of the cross-sectional results, however. Longitudinal analyses were needed, and the present study set out to do just that: investigate the patterns and development of group differences over time.

### 1.2 The school as a place for citizenship practice

Following along on the question whether variation in the patterns of citizenship development occur across groups of students is the question of what roles schools play in the development of citizenship competences. In general, research shows only a small impact of most programmes aimed specifically at citizenship (Wigelsworth, Humphrey, Kalambouka, & Lendrum, 2011; Geboers et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the degree to which students experience the school climate as a positive, supporting environment showed to have positive effects on their citizenship competences (Anderson, 1982; Flanagan et al., 1998; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & Van der Werf, 2013). That is, a school climate in which students feel that they are treated honestly and with respect but also experience positive interpersonal relationships between both teachers and other students is found to foster citizenship. The possibilities which schools offer to practice democracy via participation in activities (e.g. student councils, school clubs or extracurricular activities) has also been found to promote later citizenship involvement (Isac et al., 2013; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; McLellan & Youniss, 2003). In addition, the engagement of schools with news via televisions, newspapers or radio has been shown to foster the development of citizenship competences of students (Kiouisis & McDevitt, 2008; McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2006).

The educational track or level of a school also appears to promote differences between citizenship competences (Geijsel et al., 2012; Isac et al., 2013; Maslowski, Naayer, Isac, Oonk, & Van der Werf, 2010). In the differentiated educational system of the Netherlands where students at the end of primary school are selected for admission to different school tracks (i.e. prevocational education versus general secondary education), the school track attended has been found to correlate with different types of citizenship (see also Geboers, Admiraal, Geijsel, & Ten Dam, in press). There are some indications that teachers in prevocational education primarily teach students about how to behave appropriately and thus emphasize the elementary rules of social interaction and adaptation while teachers in general secondary education tracks focus more on the competences needed for active, critical citizenship (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003).

### 1.3 The present study

Despite the growing understanding on the citizenship of students, most research has only considered the citizenship of students at a single moment in time. Conclusions can therefore not be drawn about the development of citizenship over time or factors that play a crucial role in this. Insight into the role of the school in the stimulation of citizenship practice in the daily lives of adolescents is also still limited. The relevant longitudinal studies, sufficient attention has not been paid to either the background characteristics of the students or the educational environments in relation to their citizenship development.

In the present study we took the next step in research on citizenship of students and gained insight into the development of citizenship among students from different social backgrounds and attending different schools. The specific research questions which we posed were:

1. How do citizenship competences of students in secondary education develop over time?
2. Which characteristics of the students or schools can explain the observed similarities and differences in the citizenship development of secondary education students?

## 2 METHOD

### 2.1 Participants

Data was collected in 23 secondary education schools: 12 prevocational education and 11 general secondary education. The schools were all located in the Netherlands and part of the Dutch Citizenship Alliance in which institutes for curriculum development, the Dutch Inspectorate of Education, universities and schools cooperate for the development and evaluation of citizenship education. The schools varied with regard to denomination and location. Data was collected in the school years of 2007-8, 2008-9 and 2009-10, from 2,224 students that were followed across a period of three years.

### 2.2 Measures of citizenship

Four citizenship orientations (societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking and assertiveness) and two knowledge domains (societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge) were measured using the Citizenship Competences Questionnaire (CCQ; Ten Dam et al., 2011). The CCQ is composed of 85 items divided across 17 subscales measuring the core components of citizenship competences (i.e. knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection) for four categories of social tasks (i.e. acting democratically, acting in a social responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences). Students are asked to estimate their own attitudes, skills and reflection regarding citizenship along four-point Likert scales with higher scores indicating a higher frequency or greater applicability. For the knowledge component a multiple-choice test was administered with three response options for each question.

Scores for the four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains were calculated on the basis of 14 subscales from the CCQ after a procedure of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses (Authors, submitted). The reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains were calculated on the basis of the scores for the original CCQ subscales across the three year period. The reliability of the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains were satisfactory. See Table 1 for an overview of the subscales, reliability coefficients and descriptive statistics.

The citizenship orientations can be understood as the integration of the specific citizenship attitudes, skills and values needed for individuals to become competent citizens. A combination of attitudes indicating a willingness to participate in the community, skills needed for suitable participation in the community and critical reflection on issues of social equality or inequality related to that participation can thus manifest itself as an orientation. Such an orientation could, for example, be reflected by the development of 'political literacy' or the development of 'social responsibility' (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Ten Dam, submitted).

A societal interest orientation involves attitudes reflecting a willingness to be a part of a community and take responsibility for other people in the community; an interest in social issues and other people; an interest in maintaining relationships; and respect for others and their differences. A societal interest orientation is measured via two scales indicating attitudes towards acting democratically and

dealing with differences. The general question How well does this statement apply to you? was posed for the items constituting these scales; for example, People who earn enough, should jointly care for those who are less well off. The correlation of this orientation with the other three orientations has been found to vary between  $r = .52$  (prosocial ability) and  $r = .30$  (assertiveness).

A prosocial ability orientation concerns the skills needed for adequate communication and adaptation to the habits and practices of the people in a society; familiarity with the social rules, being polite (for instance); consideration for others; and an ability to converse and show empathy with others. The prosocial ability orientation is measured using five scales measuring attitudes towards dealing with conflicts, the efficacy to act democratically, skills to act in a socially responsible manner, skills to deal with conflicts and skills to deal with differences. Questions like How good are you at thinking up a solution to the satisfaction of everyone? constituted these scales. The correlation of this orientation with the other three orientations was found to vary between  $r = .52$  (societal interest) and  $r = .33$  (assertiveness).

A reflective thinking orientation concerns critical reflection on social issues and social structures in society, discrimination and trying to understand social relations. The reflective thinking orientation is measured using three scales indicating the extent to which students think about democratic issues, issues of social responsibility and differences between people. Questions like How often do you think about whether or not pupils are listened to at your school? Constituted the items in these scales. The correlation of this orientation with the other three orientations was found to vary between  $r = .50$  (societal interest) and  $r = .16$  (assertiveness). For this reflective thinking orientation lower scores were produced, which shows students to not estimate their critical reflection on social issues and existing social structures in society very highly (see Table 1).

An assertiveness orientation concerns the skills needed to clearly formulate ideas and opinions and also to stand up for them. The assertiveness orientation is measured using one scale indicating the skill of the students to formulate and assert their own opinion. Questions like How good are you at making your opinion clear in a discussion? was posed for the items in this scale. The correlation of this orientation with the other three orientations was found to vary between  $r = .33$  (prosocial ability) and  $r = .16$  (reflective thinking). As can be seen in Table 1, the students in our study produced the highest score for this assertiveness orientation; they think they are good in formulating their own ideas and opinions but also standing up for these.

Two citizenship knowledge domains were measured using a knowledge test which contains 27 multiple choice items and is part of the CCQ. Societal knowledge concerns knowledge of the democratic principles of society, the organization and the norms of society. To measure societal knowledge, respondents are presented three response options for each test item and asked to Choose the best answer. This is illustrated as follows: a country is referred to as undemocratic when: a) political parties criticize each other, b) people have to pay high taxes, c) people are not allowed to criticize the government. Option c is the correct answer here and assigned a score of 1; the other options are assigned a score of 0. Relatively high scores were produced for this domain of societal knowledge; the students are relatively knowledgeable of democratic principles, societal norms and the organization of society (see Table 1).

Interpersonal knowledge concerns knowledge of prevailing social values, behavioural rules, and everyday social manners. To measure interpersonal knowledge respondents are presented a scenario and three response options per test item, as illustrated in the following: You get into a big argument with a classmate. Looking back, it is clear that you were wrong. What should you do? a) simply avoid each other, b) say that you are sorry because you were wrong, c) simply do not talk about it and act normal again towards each other. Option b is the correct answer here and assigned a score of 1; the other options are assigned a score of 0. The correlation between the two knowledge domains was found to be

relatively high ( $r = .64$ ). The correlation between the respective citizenship orientations and knowledge domains were found to be relatively low and vary between  $r = .27$  (interpersonal knowledge with prosocial ability) and  $r = .01$  (interpersonal knowledge with reflective thinking).

**Table 1. Overview of reliability ( $\alpha$ ) and mean scores (sd.) for citizenship orientations and knowledge domains on three measurement occasions**

Subscales of the CCQ	Citizenship orientations	$\alpha^*$	T1	T2	T3
			Mean (sd.)	Mean (sd.)	Mean (sd.)
Attitude acting democratically factor 2 (willingness to contribute critically; 3 items)	Societal interest	.85	3.02 (.128)	2.73 (.129)	2.81 (.043)
Attitude dealing with differences (6 items)					
Attitude dealing with conflicts (6 items)	Prosocial ability	.87	3.01 (.021)	3.00 (.021)	3.00 (.021)
Skill acting democratically factor 2 (listening to the opinions of others) (3 items)					
Skill acting in a social responsible manner and dealing with conflicts (5 items)					
Skill dealing with differences (4 items)					
Reflection acting democratically (6 items)	Reflective thinking	.92	2.37 (.035)	2.24 (.035)	2.14 (.035)
Reflection acting in a social responsible manner (6 items)					
Reflection dealing with differences (8 items)					
Skill acting democratically factor 1 (come up for one's own opinion; 3 items)	Assertiveness	.76	3.25 (.031)	3.27 (.032)	3.25 (.031)
	Citizenship knowledge domains				
Knowledge acting democratically (8 items)	Societal knowledge	.89	.71 (.012)	.77 (.013)	.81 (.012)
Knowledge dealing with differences (6 items)					
Knowledge acting in a social responsible manner (6 items)	Interpersonal knowledge	.89	.74 (.047)	.64 (.048)	.71 (.017)
Knowledge dealing with conflicts (7 items)					

\*Note: To calculate Cronbach's alpha, the Spearman-Brown correction of test length up to 6 items was applied.

### 2.3 Student backgrounds

Information on the backgrounds of the students was obtained by asking them 9 questions following administration of the CCQ. The students were asked if they are a boy or girl (dichotomous variable), what their age is (categorical variable: 10-11 years, 12-13 years, 14-15 years, 16 years or older), what the school level of their father is (categorical variable: no school or only primary school = low SES, primary school and secondary education = medium SES, at least higher vocational education = high SES), which

language they speak at home (dichotomous variable: Dutch or not Dutch) and where their parents were born (dichotomous variable: in the Netherlands or in another country).

In addition, the students' citizenship participation and perceptions of the school climate were probed. The students were asked if they participated (yes/no) in societal activities like scouting, multi-cultural organizations, human rights organizations, environmental organizations, the youth section of a political party, religious communities or volunteer work. The total number of societal activities was than mediated. They were also asked if they participated (yes/no) in school activities like the student council, the school paper, class captain, mediator or the organization of school celebrations. The total number of school activities was than mediated. The students were further probed about their engagement with the news as presented via newspapers or television programmes and thus asked for example, How often do you read articles in newspapers? (scale: mean news engagement). Finally, the students were asked about the school climate, using questions like Do the teachers respect the students? Do the students bully each other? or Are the students willing to help each other, even if they are not friends? (scale: mean perception of school climate). For an overview of the background characteristics of the students in our study and their citizenship characteristics at three measurement moments, see Table 2.

**Table 2. Overview of student background characteristics in percentages; mean (sd.) for citizenship characteristics**

Student background characteristics						N = 2224
Gender	50.5%	Boy	49.5%	Girl		
Age	1.3%	10-11 years	94.2%	12-13 years	4.5%	14-15 years
SES	4.9%	Low	36.7%	Middle	58.4%	High
Ethnic origin	79.6%	Non-minority	20.4%	Minority		
Language	90.1%	Dutch	9.9%	Not Dutch		
Educational level	64.5%	Prevocational level	35.5%	General secondary		
Citizenship characteristics						
	$\alpha^*$	T1 Mean (sd.)	T2 Mean (sd.)	T3 Mean (sd.)		
Societal participation (8 activities, mean activity)		0.14 (.12)	0.15 (.13)	0.15 (.13)		
School participation (5 activities, mean activity)		0.06 (.14)	0.21 (.11)	0.21 (.11)		
News engagement (4 items, judged using 4 point Likert scale)	.86	2.15 (.74)	2.14 (.74)	2.22 (.75)		
School climate (16 items, judged using 4 point Likert scale)	.70	2.88 (.48)	2.64 (.47)	2.56 (.46)		

\*Note: To calculate the Cronbach's alpha 's, a correction of test extension up to 6 items was applied.

To assess the representativeness of our sample, we compared our follow-up Citizenship Alliance to a representative sample of secondary education students in the Netherlands (COOL<sup>5-18</sup> (2009); Ten Dam et al., 2011; for more information about the comparisons of both samples see Appendix A). Compared to the sample of COOL<sup>5-18</sup> (2009). Inspection of Appendix 1 shows the student of our study to produce higher mean scores for the orientations of societal interest, prosocial ability and reflective thinking than

the other students. The samples, which were not completely comparable with regard to background characteristics, did not differ for the orientation of assertiveness. Significantly higher scores are found in both knowledge domains for the COOL sample. The effect sizes for these differences were small, though. Further inspection of Appendix 1 shows the COOL sample to include more students in general secondary education (i.e. the higher level of secondary education) than our sample to thus have more students in prevocational education than the other sample. The students sample in our study thus differed somewhat from the representative student sample on the COOL study. For more information on the comparison of the samples, see Ten Dam et al., 2011).

## 2.4 Analyses

Longitudinal multilevel analyses were performed to analyse possible variations in the patterns of citizenship development across groups of students. Both levels at the school and the student were taken into account with the four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains as outcome variables and the students' background characteristics, societal participation, school participation, their engagement with the news and perceptions of the school climate as predictor variables.

## 3 RESULTS

The results of the longitudinal multilevel analyses are presented for the four citizenship orientations below and the two knowledge domains thereafter. Effects on school and student level are reported for the citizenship orientations and for both of the knowledge domains.

### 3.1 Citizenship orientations

In Table 3 the ANOVA's with the four citizenship orientations as the outcome variables and the effects of school controlled for are presented. After a brief summary of the results in Table 3, we will examine the observed differences in the development of the citizenship orientations of the students in greater detail (see interaction effects with time).

**Table 3. ANOVA results for the development of the four citizenship orientations**

	<b>Societal interest</b>	<b>Prosocial ability</b>	<b>Reflective thinking</b>	<b>Assertiveness</b>
School variance	.009 (.003)*	.001 (.001)	.007 (.003)*	.002 (.001)
Log Likelihood	7677.96	4447.966	8726.289	8945.956
Parameter:	<i>F</i> (df1, 2) <i>p</i>	<i>F</i> (df1, 2) <i>p</i>	<i>F</i> (df1, 2) <i>p</i>	<i>F</i> (df1, 2) <i>p</i>
Constant	1025.82 (1, 621.44) <i>p</i> =.001	507.01 (1, 5227) <i>p</i> =.001	555.57 (1, 864) <i>p</i> =.001	2772.85 (1, 2387) <i>p</i> =.001
Time	29.06 (2, 2472.75) <i>p</i> =.001	.17 (2, 2509) <i>p</i> =.845	4.52 (2705) <i>p</i> =.011	1.24 (2515) <i>p</i> =.289
Gender	69.91 (1, 2884.65) <i>p</i> =.001	199.27 (1, 2976) <i>p</i> =.001	8.07 (1, 3274) <i>p</i> =.005	0.26 (1, 3062) <i>p</i> =.610
Age	.37 (3, 3168.84) <i>p</i> =.774	.33 (3, 3198) <i>p</i> =.807	.98 (3, 3219) <i>p</i> =.401	3.18 (3, 3230) <i>p</i> =.023
SES	11.27 (2, 3159.79) <i>p</i> =.001	11.75 (2, 3164) <i>p</i> =.001	5.18 (2, 3182) <i>p</i> =.006	6.39 (2, 3235) <i>p</i> =.002

Ethnicity	58.178 (1,3126.22) <i>p</i> =.001	18.71 (1, 2000) <i>p</i> =.001	12.68 (1, 3049) <i>p</i> =.001	6.55 (1, 2360) <i>p</i> =.011
Language	.01 (1, 3372.14) <i>p</i> =.992	4.11 (1, 3368) <i>p</i> =.043	1.20 (1, 3409) <i>p</i> =.158	.12 (1, 3410) <i>p</i> =.733
Educational level	2.81 (1, 26.66) <i>p</i> =.106	13.06 (1, 14) <i>p</i> =.003	7.31 (1, 24) <i>p</i> =.012	2.97 (1, 22) <i>p</i> =.099
School climate	188.15 (1, 5771.70) <i>p</i> =.001	127.68 (1, 5606) <i>p</i> =.001	37.23 (1, 5769) <i>p</i> =.001	7.22 (1, 5528) <i>p</i> =.007
Societal participation	13.16 (1, 5378) <i>p</i> =.001	26.16 (1, 5300) <i>p</i> =.001	79.19 (1, 5407) <i>p</i> =.001	.59 (1, 5225) <i>p</i> =.441
School participation	.03 (1, 4617.06) <i>p</i> =.872	1.39 (1, 4606) <i>p</i> =.238	.76 (1, 4614) <i>p</i> =.382	1.71 (1,4415) <i>p</i> =.191
News engagement	818.45 (1, 5667.21) <i>p</i> =.001	39.17 (1, 5604) <i>p</i> =.001	273.53 (1, 5656) <i>p</i> =.001	108.37 (1, 5775) <i>p</i> =.001
School climate*news engagement		5.25 (1, 5597) <i>p</i> =.022		
Gender*SES			5.71 (2, 3125) <i>p</i> =.003	
Gender*educational level			6.18 (1,2936) <i>p</i> =.013	
Time*gender	6.02 (2, 2006.82) <i>p</i> =.002			
Time*ethnicity	3.55 (2, 2203.45) <i>p</i> =.029		4.73 (2, 2236) <i>p</i> =.009	
Time*educational level			3.47 (2, 2021) <i>p</i> =.031	
Time*societal participation			5.40 (2, 3352) <i>p</i> =.005	
Time*News engagement			3.26 (2, 2706) <i>p</i> =.039	

\*Note *p*<.05

In Table 3 the school variances show that there are significant differences between the schools with regard to societal interest and reflective thinking. The actual differences between the schools were minimal, however. We therefore did not analyse the contribution of school characteristics to the explanation of the citizenship development of the students further.

The development of the societal interest orientation showed two trends: a significant negative linear development ( $t(2949.72) = -8.96, p = .001$ ) and a significant negative quadratic development ( $t(2339.62) = -2.33, p = .020$ ). A sharp decrease in societal interest orientation was found between measurement occasions 1 and 2, and a less steep — but nevertheless significant — decrease between measurement occasions 2 and 3. The development of the reflective thinking orientation also showed a significant negative linear trend over time ( $t(3008.39) = -13.747, p = .001$ ) (see also Figure 1). The prosocial ability and assertiveness orientations did not show significant changes across the study period.

The results in Table 3 further show that boys scored lower on almost all citizenship orientations with the exception of assertiveness. Moreover, students from the highest socio-economic status scored the highest on all citizenship orientations; post hoc analyses revealed no significant differences between the highest and lowest SES students leaving the medium SES students to score lowest and significantly different from the highest and lowest SES students. Furthermore, minority students scored significantly higher than non-minority students on all citizenship orientation. And prevocational education students scored somewhat higher than general secondary education students on both prosocial ability and reflective thinking orientations.

Of particular relevance for education, of course, are the findings with regard to the influence of the students' perceptions of the school climate, societal participation, school participation and engagement with the news. The results as can be seen in Table 3 show more positive student perceptions of the school climate to be related to higher scores on all citizenship orientations than students reporting less positive perceptions of

the school climate. Those students who are more engaged with the news show higher scores for most of the citizenship orientations than students reporting less engagement with the news. And those students reporting greater participation in the society also score higher on all citizenship orientations than students reporting less participation in society.

Looking at the variation in the patterns of the development of the citizenship orientations across groups of students (i.e. the interaction effects with time), the results in Table 3 show group differences between students to relate most strongly to the development of the reflective thinking orientation. Minority students ( $\eta = .001$ ) and general secondary education students ( $\eta = .001$ ) showed a somewhat less steep decrease in the demonstration of the reflective thinking orientation over the three year period of the present study than non-minority students and prevocational education students, but the differences were quite small (see Figure 2). Students reporting greater societal participation ( $\eta = .001$ ) and engagement with the news ( $\eta = .0003$ ) showed greater development of the reflective thinking orientation towards citizenship. Boys ( $\eta = .001$ ) and non-minority students ( $\eta = .001$ ) showed a somewhat deeper decrease for the societal interest orientation than girls and minority students, but again the differences were quite small (see Figure 3). For the prosocial ability and assertiveness orientations no group differences were found to relate to the developmental differences between the students.

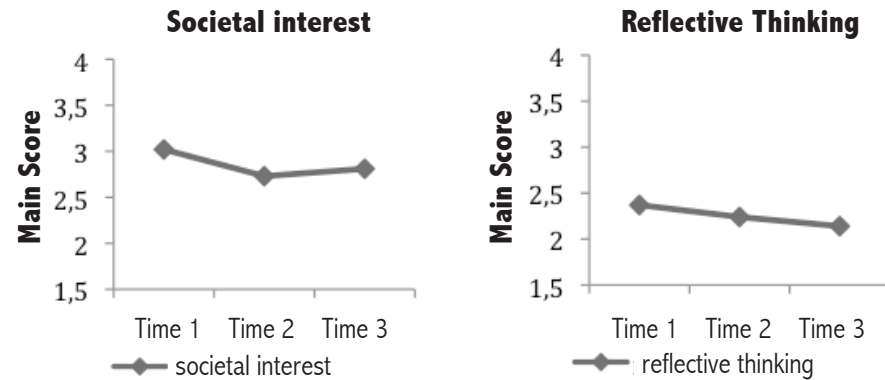


Figure 1. Overview of the development of societal interest and reflective thinking orientation

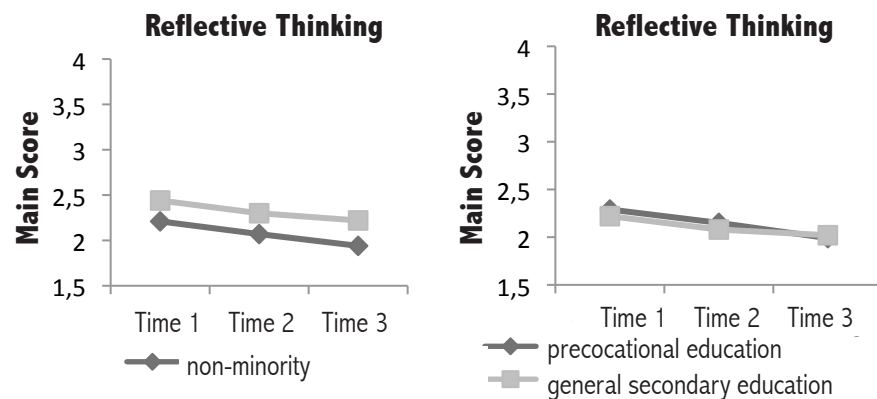


Figure 2. Overview of specific group differences on the development of reflective thinking orientation

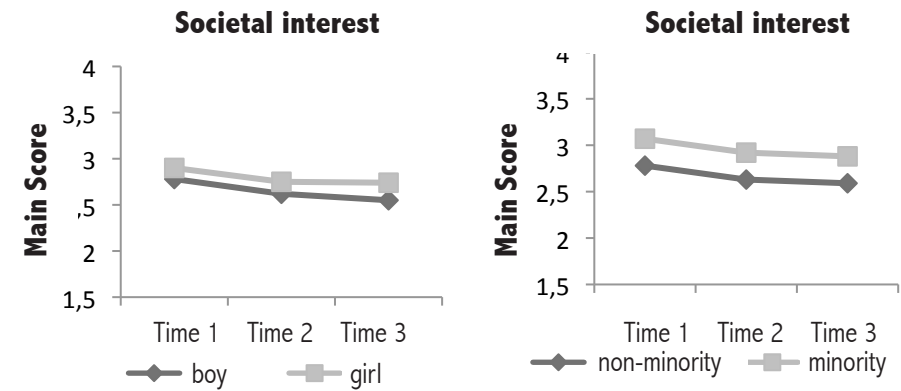


Figure 3. Overview of specific group differences in the development of societal interest orientation

### 3.2 Citizenship knowledge

In Table 4 the ANOVA's with the two citizenship knowledge domains as the outcome variables and the effects of school controlled for are presented. We will first briefly summarize the results and then examine the differences found in the development of the citizenship knowledge of the students in greater detail.

Table 4. ANOVA results for the development of two knowledge domains

	Societal knowledge	Interpersonal knowledge
School variance	.001 (.0004)*	.0003 (.0002)*
Log Likelihood	-4613.010	-3224.120
Parameter:	<i>F</i> ( <i>df</i> 1, 2) <i>p</i>	<i>F</i> ( <i>df</i> 1, 2) <i>p</i>
Constant	1627.67 (1, 740.55) <i>p</i> = .001	646.18 (1, 2253.04) <i>p</i> = .001
Time	117.50 (2, 2505.19) <i>p</i> = .001	14.98 (2, 2578.48) <i>p</i> = .001
Gender	80.40 (1, 3131.18) <i>p</i> = .001	80.95 (1, 3070.45) <i>p</i> = .001
Age	2.37 (3, 3155.63) <i>p</i> = .069	6.92 (3, 3199.94) <i>p</i> = .001
SES	5.79 (2, 3034.39) <i>p</i> = .003	3.90 (2, 3086.15) <i>p</i> = .020
Ethnicity	3.56 (1, 2978.68) <i>p</i> = .059	5.33 (1, 2555.74) <i>p</i> = .0212
Language	11.49 (1, 3265.01) <i>p</i> = .001	13.38 (1, 3309.59) <i>p</i> = .001
Educational level	89.07 (1, 29.69) <i>p</i> = .001	84.51 (1, 25.45) <i>p</i> = .001
School climate	14.56 (1, 5719.64) <i>p</i> = .001	137.99 (1, 5535.90) <i>p</i> = .001
Societal participation	69.24 (1, 5457.21) <i>p</i> = .001	25.69 (1, 5419.69) <i>p</i> = .001
School participation	25.97 (1, 4495.25) <i>p</i> = .001	23.83 (1, 4441.35) <i>p</i> = .001
News engagement	15.97 (1, 5612.96) <i>p</i> = .001	58.48 (1, 5561.90) <i>p</i> = .001

Gender*SES	4.41 (2, 2975.04) $p = .012$	
Gender*Ethnicity		8.11 (1, 3023.84) $p = .004$
Gender*educational level	5.43 (1, 2772.65) $p = .020$	
Time*gender		3.99 (2, 2041.51) $p = .019$
Time*educational level	11.01 (2, 1940.34) $p = .001$	11.39 (2, 2007.37) $p = .001$

\*Note  $p < .05$

As can be seen from top of the row of Table 4 (school variance), significant differences occurred between the schools with regard to the domains of citizenship knowledge. Once again, however, the differences were minimal and did not explain the citizenship development of students in our study. We therefore did not analyse the contribution of school characteristics to the explanation of the citizenship development of the students further.

The results of our ANOVAs show significantly positive changes in the societal knowledge of the students over time (linear trend:  $t(2868.610) = 15.35, p = .001$ ; quadratic trend:  $t(2344.747) = 3.429, p = .001$ ). A sharp increase occurred for societal knowledge between measurement occasions 1 and 2 and a slightly less steep increase between measurement occasions 2 and 3. Students' interpersonal knowledge showed a significant negative linear development ( $t(2922.296) = -5.522, p = .001$ ; see Figure 4).

The results in Table 4 further show boys to score lower than girls in both of the knowledge domains. Students from the higher socio-economic groups scored higher in both knowledge domains than students from the lower socio-economic groups. Post hoc analyses showed no significant differences between the highest and medium SES students while the lowest SES students scored significantly lower in the two knowledge domains. Non-minority students generally scored significantly higher than minority students in the interpersonal knowledge domain. Also, the general secondary education students scored higher in both knowledge domains than the prevocational education students.

When student perceptions of the school climate, their societal participation, their school participation and the engagement with the news are considered, the results in Table 4 show more positive perceptions of the school climate and greater engagement with the news to be associated with both greater societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge (i.e. higher scores in the two knowledge domains). However, the more students participate in society and school, the lower their scores in both knowledge domains.

Looking at the variation in the patterns of the development of the citizenship knowledge across groups of students (i.e. the interaction effects with time), the results in Table 4 show the educational level of the students to be most strongly related to the development of the citizenship knowledge (societal knowledge:  $\eta = .003$ ; interpersonal knowledge:  $\eta = .003$ ). Students in general secondary education show significant steeper development in both domains of knowledge across the three-year period of study than students in prevocational education (see Figures 5 and 6). Furthermore, girls show somewhat steeper development in the interpersonal domain of knowledge than boys  $\eta = .001$ ; see also Figure 6), but the reported effects are again very small.

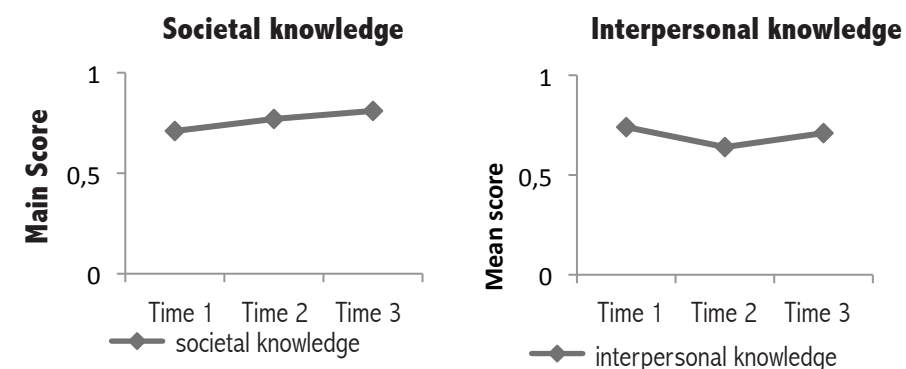


Figure 4. Overview of the development of societal and interpersonal knowledge

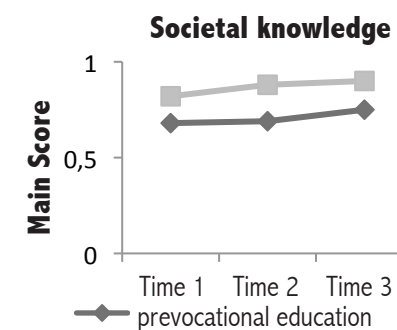


Figure 5. Overview of specific group differences on the development of societal knowledge

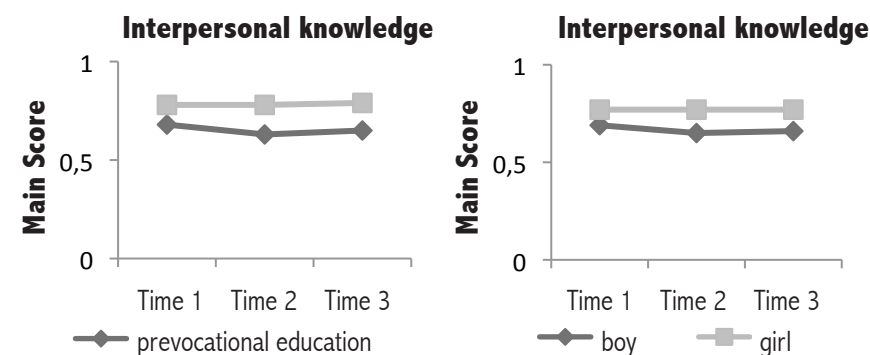


Figure 6. Overview of specific group differences on the development of interpersonal knowledge

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to gain greater insight into the development of the citizenship of students over time in relation to the characteristics of the students and their schools. In answering the first research question, the results of the longitudinal multilevel analyses indeed showed development of the citizenship competences over time. The societal interest, the reflective thinking, the societal knowledge and the interpersonal knowledge of the students in secondary education show to change significantly across the three-year period of our study. This development was not always positive, however. The students showed a negative development with regard to societal interest and reflective thinking (i.e. two citizenship orientations), but positive development with regard of the two domains of citizenship knowledge during their first three years of secondary education. The prosocial ability and assertiveness orientations of the students showed no significant changes at all.

The present results confirm the result of earlier studies by Cleaver et al. (2005) and Keating et al. (2010) who report a 'dip' in the citizenship attitudes, engagement and interest of students between the ages of 14 to 16 years. The life-stage of young people at this ages can possibly be assumed to play a key role in the citizenship development. From a developmental psychology perspective, for example, Geijsel et al. (2012) suggest that rebellion against social conventions and rejection of a community orientation or so-called 'puberty effects' may explain the 'dip' observed for citizenship development. From a critical pedagogical perspective, moreover, not only hormones are to be blamed but also the experiences of students with having to follow rules without explanation and little or no discussion or a voice in issues. Such experiences, both in and out of school, can prompt disengagement among older adolescents in particular (Geijsel et al., 2012). Other research findings showing a democratic school climate to enhance students' citizenship also support this interpretation (Flanagan et al., 1998; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002). Nevertheless, further research is needed to clarify the extent to which and just how education can compensate for the prevailing dip in the citizenship competences of students and how secondary schools can be made better places for students to learn and practice citizenship. In schools social injustice and the power relations in the daily lives of adolescents can be reflected upon.

In the present study, we found significant but only very small differences between schools with regard to students' societal interest, reflective thinking, societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge. The very limited influence of schools on the citizenship of students corresponds to the results of earlier studies reporting only small to medium school effects (e.g. Isac, Maslowski, & Van der Werf, 2011; Keating, et al., 2010; Wigelsworth et al., 2011). Given the minimal differences found between the schools of our study but also the relatively small sample of schools included in the study, we were not able to explain the differences in terms of specific school characteristics. Additional research in which more detailed information is collected on a larger number of schools is therefore recommended for the future.

Our results similarly correspond to the results of earlier research into the citizenship competences of different groups of students (i.e. Amadeo et al., 2002; Geijsel et al., 2012; Ireland et al., 2006; Lopes, Benton, & Cleaver, 2009; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002; 2004; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2004). Relevant for education is our finding that the citizenship competences of secondary education students relate to their perception of the school climate, their participation in society in addition to school and their engagement with the news. In general, when students perceived student-teacher relationships and the social behaviours in the school in a positive light the citizenship orientations and knowledge scores were higher (see also Isac et al., 2013). Additionally, the greater the reported engagement of the students with the news, the higher their citizenship orientations and citizenship knowledge as well (see also Torney-Purta, Richardson, & Barber, 2004). However, greater participation in society in general and the school in particular were related to lower levels of citizenship knowledge. This finding is consistent

with the findings of an international study on the (cognitive) citizenship outcomes for secondary-school students across countries (Isac et al., 2013). In a recent review of the effects of citizenship education on the citizenship of students, moreover involvement in extracurricular activities and social service were indeed found to only affect students' social and political attitudes and their behaviour related to citizenship but hardly their citizenship knowledge (Geboers et al., 2012).

To answer our second research question, the development of the citizenship orientations and knowledge shown by the students in this longitudinal study was significantly related to some of their background characteristics. Minority student developed a greater societal interest and more reflective thinking than non-minority students. Girls developed more of a societal interest and greater interpersonal knowledge than boys. The development of the reflective thinking was also positively related to societal participation and engagement with the news on the part of the students. Moreover, our results showed students in a higher educational track (i.e. general secondary education) to develop somewhat more reflective thinking and also greater citizenship knowledge – both societal and interpersonal- than students in a lower educational track (i.e. prevocational education). This finding is in line with the interpretations of previous studies indicating teachers in general secondary education to focus more than teachers in prevocational education on the competences needed for active and critical citizenship; the latter are perceived to focus more on the elementary rules for social interaction and adaptation (Leenders et al., 2008; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003). Such research on educational inequality and citizenship is still in its infancy, however.

To conclude, a more thorough understanding of the emergence of differences in the development of citizenship as a result of socio-economic or cultural groups but also ongoing educational practices is needed. On the one hand, schools are expected to play a role in the maintenance and enhancement of social cohesion within society with effective citizenship education called for as part of this. On the other hand, from a sociological perspective, schools can be seen to reproduce existing inequalities in social structures and the distribution of 'cultural capital' (Archer, 2013; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Schools can and should use their pedagogical space to pursue emancipatory goals (Volman & Ten Dam, 2007). Dutch society –for example- is a relatively democratic society when it comes to the educational opportunities of students (OECD, 2010), but an education gap exists and is also increasing with clear consequences for the social cohesion of society (Bovens & Wille, 2009; 2010). Further research on the differences in the development of citizenship competences across students but also schools may therefore help schools improve their practices in the field of citizenship education and thereby contribute to enhancement of the citizenship of all groups of adolescents and thereby promote social cohesion.

**Appendix A. Student characteristics and scores for our Citizenship Alliance sample compared to representative COOL<sup>5-18</sup> (2009) sample.**

Student characteristics		Citizenship Alliance Grade 9 N=2224		COOL 5-18 (2009) Grade 9 N=3845				
		$\alpha$	Mean (sd.)	$\alpha$	Mean (sd.)	$F(df1,2)$	$p$	$\eta^2$
Gender	Boys		50.5%		50.0%			
	girls		49.5%		50.0%			
Ethnic origin	Non-minority		79.6%		93.3%			
	Minority		20.4%		6.7%			
Educational level	Prevocational		64.5%		42.2%			
	Higher general		35.5%		57.5%			
Citizenship orientations	Societal interest	.85	2.73 (.58)	.84	2.61 (.54)	$F(1, 13864)= 135.91$	.001	.02
	Prosocial ability	.88	3.00 (.43)	.86	2.92 (.39)	$F(1, 13908)= 117.18$	.001	.07
	Reflective thinking	.91	2.13 (.61)	.92	2.01 (.53)	$F(1, 13830)= 131.76$	.001	.05
	Assertiveness	.75	3.20 (.57)	.75	3.19 (.54)	$F(1, 13909)= 1.20$	.270	.00
Knowledge domains	Societal knowledge	.84	0.79 (.21)	.86	0.87 (.17)	$F(1, 13825)= 530.08$	.001	.05
	Interpersonal knowledge	.88	0.72 (.22)	.90	0.77 (.21)	$F(1, 13825)= 157.14$	.001	.02

## Chapter 6

### *Summary, discussion and conclusions*

The aim of this thesis was to gain insight into the citizenship of young people and the potential effects of citizenship education. In order to understand the concept of citizenship of people, we focused on a broad conceptualization of citizenship in the context of the daily lives of young people in which their citizenship is situated. It was assumed that such an understanding is essential for schools to align their educational goals and strategies with the citizenship competences of students.

In the recent past, political and social tensions in the Dutch society prompted discussion of the functioning of democratic society and the citizenship of people living in the Netherlands. The citizenship of young people in particular became the topic of discussion because of indications of a lack of citizenship knowledge, limited interest in society and little attention to societal issues among young adults (i.e. Coleman, 1993; Niemi, Sanders, & Wittington, 2005). Citizenship is considered an important factor in the development of interpersonal and societal competence (i.e. learning to act responsibly and adequately in Western society). The school is part of the daily life context of students and thus ideally a place to accumulate democratic experiences, meet and contact with others, reflect upon interpersonal relationships but also societal issues and both develop and practice citizenship competences (Biesta, 2011; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Parker, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002). It was therefore decided in 2006 to make citizenship education obligatory in all schools in the Netherlands (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2005).

For schools to instil and promote citizenship, a basic understanding of the actual citizenship competences of students is needed in addition to those factors which play a role in the development of these competences – including the citizenship education efforts. The results of the studies reported on in this thesis provide insight into the citizenship of young people and the effects of citizenship education on the development of the citizenship competences of young people in Dutch schools.

## 1 SUMMARY

### 1.1 Effects of citizenship education

In the review of the relevant research literature in Chapter Two of this thesis, insight was gained into the role of citizenship education in the citizenship development of students. The following research question stood central to the study reported on in Chapter Two:

#### *What are the effects of citizenship education on students' citizenship?*

A total of 28 effect studies on citizenship education were reviewed and covered the period between 2003 and 2009. Four types of citizenship education were identified as interventions: 1) curriculum in school in which citizenship education is part of an educational method or programme which is carried out in the classroom setting such as 'Student Voices Program' or other official materials used by the teachers to enhance the citizenship competences of students; 2) curriculum out of school in which citizenship education is part of the obligatory curriculum but nevertheless undertaken in such activities outside the school as excursions or -for example- the 'Democracy for all' programme; 3) pedagogical climate in which citizenship education is part of the organization of the classroom and the atmosphere created within the classroom by teachers including discussion and dialogue and nature of the interactions between teachers and students; 4) extracurricular activities in which citizenship education is part of additional, volunteer

activities such as 'service learning' programmes supervised by the school to develop citizenship competences of students.

The effects of a pedagogical climate in which citizenship is part of the entire classroom organization and climate have been studied most. Moderate effects on the citizenship competences of students were reported for such an approach. A citizenship curriculum in school in which citizenship education is part of an educational method or programme was found to be most effective and showed the largest effect sizes. A citizenship curriculum outside of the school and extracurricular activities were studied much less and found to produce no effects, small effects or contradictory effects compared to the other types of citizenship education.

The citizenship competences for which these types of citizenship education were found to have an effect were categorized along the line of 1) social tasks which are representative of young people's citizenship practices (i.e. acting democratically in a political manner or social manner, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences); and as 2) citizenship competences and behaviour which are needed to fulfil social tasks (i.e. knowledge, attitudes, skills, reflection and behaviour).

The quality of the reviewed effect studies was examined in terms of six possible research designs (i.e. cross-sectional, longitudinal, quasi-experimental with control group, quasi-experimental without control group, review or qualitative exploratory). The results show particular attention to be paid to the political attitudes and behaviour of students as an effect of an out of school curriculum and extracurricular activities in mostly cross-sectional studies although longitudinal studies of these types of citizenship education have also recently been undertaken. The quasi-experimental effect studies conducted with a control group showed the largest effect sizes for the use of an official curriculum in the school. It was further difficult to discern clear relations between the type of citizenship education, characteristics of the students, characteristics of the schools and the citizenship competences of the students. Most of the time limited information was provided about the characteristics of the students and schools. Questions thus remain about how citizenship education can encourage the development of citizenship on the part of the students particularly in light of differences between groups of students and schools. Despite some indications that aspects of the pedagogical climate and school curriculum can be successful in the enhancement of citizenship competences of students, the review of the empirical literature made it clear that it was not yet possible to draw clear-cut conclusions about the effects of citizenship education.

## 1.2 Citizenship competences of students

The aim of the study presented in Chapter Three was to develop and to validate a comprehensive framework to integrate the empirical data and theoretical insights into the citizenship of young people. The research question in this chapter was:

***What are the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students in primary and secondary education and which student characteristics can explain the differences between students?***

The citizenship competences of the students were measured using the Citizenship Competences Questionnaire (CCQ) of Ten Dam, Geijssels, Reumerman and Ledoux (2011). Students were asked to estimate their own citizenship competences but also to demonstrate their citizenship knowledge. The assessed citizenship competences were all situated in contexts which are representative of the daily lives of young people and operationalized in terms of four different components of citizenship (i.e. attitudes, skills,

reflection and knowledge) needed to adequately fulfil four categories of social tasks (i.e. acting democratically, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences).

The self-estimated citizenship competences and assessed citizenship knowledge of the students were next transformed into a framework to capture the citizenship orientations and domains of knowledge which are important for understanding the citizenship competences of young people. First the scores on the subscales of the CCQ for 7,768 students between the ages of 11 and 16 years were factor analyzed. The identified citizenship orientations and domains of knowledge were then validated using a representative sample of 15,940 students (COOL<sup>5-18</sup>, 2009). Four citizenship orientations (i.e. societal interest, prosocial ability, reflective thinking and assertiveness) and two domains of citizenship knowledge (i.e. societal knowledge and interpersonal knowledge) could thus be distinguished.

A societal interest orientation involves attitudes which reflect a willingness to be a part of the society and take responsibility for others within the society. A prosocial ability orientation involves the skills needed for communication and adaptation of one's practices and habits to society in addition to familiarity with the social rules of society. A reflective thinking orientation involves critical thinking about social issues and social structures, critical reflection upon inequality and discrimination and trying to understand social relations. Finally an assertiveness orientation involves the skills needed to clearly formulate one's own opinions and stand up for these.

Societal knowledge concerns knowledge of the democratic principles of society, the organization of society and the norms which are at issue in society. Interpersonal knowledge concerns knowledge of prevailing social values, behavioural rules, and everyday social manners.

Taken together, the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains represent the specific citizenship attitudes, skills, reflection and knowledge needed for individuals to become competent citizens. And the overarching framework developed to understand the citizenship competences of young people not only contributes to the empirical knowledge base regarding the citizenship competences of young people but also any significant differences in these.

With regard to the latter, a number of background characteristics of students (e.g. gender, SES, ethnicity) were examined in relation to their citizenship orientations and domains of knowledge. The results showed girls to score higher than boys on most of the citizenship orientations and in both knowledge domains; the assertiveness orientation was the only exception. Students from ethnic minorities and students who do not speak Dutch in the home generally scored higher on the four citizenship orientations than majority students and Dutch-speaking students; these majority and Dutch-speaking students also scored higher on both domains of knowledge. Other background characteristics also affected the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains of the students but to only a small extent.

In addition, the results showed that different levels of school (primary education, prevocational education, general secondary education) to relate to differences found between the students. Students in prevocational education showed lower scores than other students for Societal interest, Assertiveness and both of the knowledge domains.

Finally, the participation of the students in societal or school activities, their engagement with the news and their perceptions of the school climate showed little positive relations to the citizenship orientations but also some little negative relations to the domains of knowledge. It is concluded that the framework for citizenship orientations and knowledge domains developed here can help schools to formulate goals which are directly related to the particular citizenship competences of students.

### 1.3 Types of student citizenship

The aim of the study presented in Chapter Four was to present types of student citizenship which may help teachers recognize the different forms of citizenship of relevance for their daily classroom practice but also align their educational goals and strategies with the citizenship competences of students. The following research question stood central in this study:

***Which types of citizenship can be distinguished in primary and secondary education and do these types relate to individual characteristics of students and school levels?***

A typology of student citizenship was successfully constructed using the response patterns of 7,768 students between 11 and 16 years of age for the four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains described in Chapter Three. Four types of citizenship were identified and validated for a wide range of students in primary and secondary education (COOL<sup>5-18</sup>, 2009). And just how these four types of citizenship related to the characteristics of students and the different levels of school (primary education, prevocational education, general secondary education) was then examined.

For the four types of student citizenship, the following associations and characteristics were found to play a role:

1. Committed citizenship. These students report a generally high willingness and ability to contribute to society, and to participate in society. They reflect upon societal issues and formulate their own ideas. This group of students consists of relatively young girls, mostly from ethnic minority groups, with generally positive perceptions of their school climate, relatively high engagement with the news and active participation in their daily environment.
2. Indifferent citizenship. Students included in this type of citizenship report a lower willingness and ability to contribute to society and to participate in society than students showing other types of citizenship. They hardly reflect upon societal issues and do not come up with their own ideas or stand up for their own ideas. This group of students also possesses relatively less citizenship knowledge than the other groups of students. Relatively older boys from mostly a non-minority background are represented among this group of students who have generally negative perceptions of their school climate, are least engaged of all students with the news and participate least in their daily environment.
3. Ordinary citizenship. These students appear to represent an average level of willingness and ability to contribute to society, but they are not inclined to publically defend their own ideas. The group consists of both boys and girls from all ethnic backgrounds, ages and school years. The group shows average scores and is generally engaged with the news, participates in the daily environment and has a generally positive perception of the school climate.
4. Self-assured citizenship. The students in this group show to have a generally high level of societal knowledge and report high scores on the formulation and defence of their own ideas. They reflect relatively less on societal issues than the students in the other groups. This group of students consists of relatively older boys with generally negative perceptions of the school climate, less engagement with the news and low participation in the daily environment.

The results further showed the four types of citizenship to be distributed differently across the different levels of school: the committed type of citizenship was overrepresented among the primary education schools. The indifferent type of citizenship was relatively common among the prevocational education

schools while the self-assured type of citizenship was relatively common among the general secondary education schools. It was concluded that the types of citizenship identified here offer insight into the citizenship competences of students and thereby have the potential to provide a bridge between the pedagogical goals of schools and teachers, on the one hand, and the citizenship practices of students, on the other hand.

### 1.4 Citizenship development of students

The aim of the study presented in Chapter Five was to provide insight into the development of the citizenship competences of students during the first three years of secondary education. In the empirical literature, very little longitudinal research was available to provide insight into the development of the citizenship competences of students. Cross-sectional studies shed some light on the development of students' citizenship but more indirectly than longitudinal studies. The research question in this Chapter Five was therefore:

***How do citizenship competences of students in secondary education develop over time and which characteristics of the students or schools can explain the observed similarities and differences in the citizenship development of secondary education students?***

We collected longitudinal data on the citizenship competences of students in primary and secondary education. The longitudinal analysis included 2,224 students from 23 secondary education schools. The citizenship competences of the students were measured three times in a period of three school years (school year 2007/2008, 2008/2009 and 2009/2010). The responses of the students on the CCQ were analyzed in terms of the framework of four citizenship orientations and two knowledge domains presented in Chapter Three.

The longitudinal results revealed significant changes in the citizenship competences of the students throughout the first three years of secondary education, but not all changes were positive: 1) Societal interest and reflective thinking on the part of the students decreased over time, 2) Societal knowledge increased over time while interpersonal knowledge decreased, and 3) Prosocial ability and assertiveness of the students showed no changes during the first three years of secondary education. Furthermore, the results showed students from a minority background and the students in higher level schools (i.e. general secondary education) to develop a somewhat higher level of reflective thinking than the students from a majority background and the students in lower level schools (i.e. prevocational education). Those students who reported actively participating in society and engagement with the news also developed a higher level of reflective thinking than other students. Girls and students from a minority background developed more societal interest than other students. And the girls in this study developed somewhat more interpersonal knowledge than the boys in the study. Furthermore, the students in the higher level schools were found to develop a higher level of societal knowledge than the students in the lower level schools. Finally, in the present study, no or very small differences were found between schools with regard to students' citizenship orientation and knowledge domains.

## 2 DISCUSSION

### 2.1 Citizenship competences

The purpose of this thesis was to gain insight into the citizenship competences of students, their development and the effects of citizenship education on this development. Based on the earlier work of Ten Dam et al. (2011), the citizenship competences of students were understood and measured as knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection regarding four social tasks (i.e. acting democratically, acting in a socially responsible manner, dealing with conflicts and dealing with differences). The results of the body of knowledge provided by the studies in this thesis were combined to create an overarching framework of citizenship orientations and knowledge domains, which was then tested and validated. This framework contains specific combinations of knowledge, attitudes, skills and reflection related to the daily citizenship practices of young people.

The approach adopted in the research reported on here takes a broad perspective on citizenship – a perspective which entails both a political and social orientation towards citizenship with attention to shared norms, values and manners of behaving but also attention to individual autonomy and critical citizenship (see also Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008; Ten Dam et al., 2011). Other conceptual frameworks for citizenship research mainly concern a political orientation towards citizenship with attention to primarily the future, political citizenship practices of adolescents when in adulthood (i.e. voting or willingness to demonstrate) (Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Schulz, Ainly, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004). The citizenship orientations and knowledge domains of students provide an eligible understanding and interpretation of the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands. The overarching framework of citizenship orientations and knowledge domains presented here thus represents an important empirical step towards more systematic research on the citizenship competences and practices of young people.

The framework we constructed has not only scientific validity but also practical relevance for education. The citizenship orientations and knowledge domains provide a possibility for schools to formulate goals that can be linked to the citizenship competences of students along with their development. The typology presented in Chapter Four, moreover, makes it possible to differentiate on the basis of their orientations and knowledge. The capacity to identify not only individual but also group patterns of citizenship competences and development opens up opportunities to improve citizenship education.

Prior research on the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands showed Dutch students to have limited knowledge of cultural, political and economic citizenship issues (Wagenaar, Van der Schoot, & Hemker, 2011). International research also showed Dutch students to score substantially beneath the international mean on attitudes and knowledge of citizenship (Hoskins, Vilalba, & Saisana, 2012; Maslowski, Naayer, Isac, Oonk, & Van der Werf, 2010; Kerr, Lopes, Nelson, White, Cleaver, & Benton, 2007; Schulz et al., 2010). All in all, the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands appear to be lagging behind those of students in other countries (see also Dijkstra, 2012). The present study, based on a large sample of young people in the Dutch educational system, provides additional insight into the state of the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands. In particular the students who participated in our studies were found to have a relatively high degree of societal interest; be relatively well-adapted to prevailing norms and habits; be capable of acting socially; and to be rather able to reflect upon social issues. The students in our studies were also found to be relatively good at forming their own opinions in addition to demonstrate high levels of social democratic knowledge and knowledge of appropriate social behaviour. A relatively positive picture of the citizenship of Dutch students thus emerged from the present research. Despite this positive picture, the absence of international comparisons for the studies presented here prevents us from formulating final conclusions.

### 2.2 Differences between students

With regard to differences in the citizenship competences of students, our results partly confirm the results of other research (Geijsel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & Ten Dam, 2012) and partly contradict the results of previous research (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehman, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002; Cleaver et al., 2005; Ireland, Kerr, Lopes, Nelson, & Cleaver, 2006; Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy, & Lopez, 2010; Kerr et al., 2007; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002). For example, in the ICCS, Schulz et al. (2010) found that girls in the Netherlands do not significantly outperform boys on civic knowledge while results of the present study and those studies in the Netherlands show girls to clearly outperform boys on citizenship knowledge (e.g. Geijsel et al., 2012; Ledoux, Geijsel, Ten Dam, & Reumerman, 2010; Netjes, Van de Werfhorst, Dijkstra, & Geboers, 2011). This inconsistency of our results with regard to the outcomes of international research can perhaps be explained by inclusion of the social dimension of citizenship. Most of empirical research shows girls to perform better on socially-oriented citizenship items than boys while boys do not necessarily score lower than girls on politically-oriented items (Amadeo et al., 2002; Cleaver et al., 2005; Ireland et al., 2006; Keating et al., 2010; Kerr et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002). This presupposition is supported by our finding that there are no significant differences between boys and girls on our measure of assertiveness or, in other words the most politically-oriented scale in our study (see also Geijsel et al., 2012). We can nevertheless not conclude on the basis of these outcomes that girls or – for that matter – boys are better citizens (see also Ledoux et al., 2010). Both dimensions of citizenship – namely social responsibility and an ability to critically contribute to society – are considered important aspects of functioning adequately in society (Leenders et al., 2008; Westheimer, 2008). Future research on gender differences in the citizenship competences of students should thus examine gender-specific perspectives on citizenship in general and differing citizenship intentions in particular. This could conceivably lead to different strategies for empowering the two genders and stimulating active, participative citizenship (cf. Biesta, 2011).

In the CIVED study of Amadeo et al. (2003) and Torney-Purta (2002) but also in the CELS research, Cleaver et al. (2005), Ireland et al. (2006) and Keating et al. (2010) found that a higher socio-economic status (SES) on the part of the parents of students correlated with higher scores for citizenship knowledge and attitudes among students. This finding contradicts with the findings of our research, which showed the socio-economic status (SES) of the students to only exert a small effect on the results and then only for those students with a medium SES (i.e. parents with a secondary education level). Our findings are nevertheless in line with the results of the ICCS and the Dutch Cohort Study (COOL<sup>5-18</sup>), which also found only small effects of the SES of Dutch students on their citizenship knowledge (Ledoux et al., 2010; Schulz et al., 2010). It is possible that differing measures of SES can account for the discrepant results. In the CIVED study and the CELS, the SES of the students was measured using a question concerned with the number of books in the home (Amadeo et al., 2003; Cleaver et al., 2005; Ireland et al., 2006; Torney-Purta, 2002). In the ICCS and Dutch Cohort Study, SES was measured via questions about parental level of education, which is more in line with our measure of the students' SES in terms of the educational level of the parents. Regardless of how the SES of students is measured, the contradictory findings summarized here, call for additional research on the influence of sociological structures and equalities/inequalities within a society on the development of the citizenship competences of students.

Overlooking the international available knowledge base on the citizenship of young people led us to conclude that clear differences in the citizenship competences of students exist across countries (Amadeo et al., 2002; Geijsel et al., 2012; Ireland et al., 2006; Kerr et al., 2010; Maslowski et al., 2010; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002). Differences within countries also exist. For example, our research shows students from an ethnic minority background in the Netherlands to score higher on

citizenship orientations than majority Dutch students, who nevertheless show greater citizenship knowledge. Several authors have pointed out that the experiences and knowledge which people accumulate are influenced by their positions within a particular social, economic and political system and structure of the society they are living in (e.g. Banks, 1993; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). The experiences of ethnic minority students are presumably more dominated by differentiation and the presence of conflicting perspectives (cf. Geijsel et al., 2012), which may – in turn – prompt them towards a social interest and also to critically think about differences and inequalities more than majority students in society.

Building on this line of thought, we can assume that not only the citizenship competences of students can differ, but also their interpretations of citizenship. Once again, what counts as a 'good citizen' can differ from society to society and therefore probably depending on societal structures and equalities/inequalities within a particular society as well (cf. Hoskins et al., 2012). The question which logically arises from this is whether the country-specific characteristics of our pluriform Western society – which is dominated by attention to social cohesion and the integration of immigrants but also political and social tensions within Dutch society today - have influenced the citizenship perspectives and values of students living in the Netherlands. Cultural differences both across and within countries can conceivably result in different interpretations of citizenship, different values of citizenship and different citizenship competences across students (Cleaver et al., 2005; Geijsel et al., 2012; Netjes et al., 2011).

Given that students from different countries, cultures and backgrounds can lay a different emphasis on their citizenship competences (see also Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008). The question is also whether the present results regarding the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains of students in primary and secondary education can be generalized to contribute to international understanding of citizenship competences. An international knowledge base and international comparisons are obviously needed to provide insight into the different citizenship competences which develop in differing socio-cultural contexts (Kerr et al., 2010). A more thorough understanding of the emergence of differences in the development of citizenship competences via cross-cultural research is thus needed to determine just how culture- or country-specific our findings with regard to the citizenship orientations and knowledge domains of students in the Netherlands may be.

The possibilities of the different interpretations of people across and within countries also holds for the interpretations with regard to the items of the CCQ. Whether or not students from differing cultural backgrounds similarly interpreted the items of the CCQ is open to question. Qualitative research using - for example - think aloud protocols or interviews can help provide insight into this question. The results of earlier research showing minority background students in the Netherlands to score higher on most citizenship competences than Dutch majority students (with citizenship knowledge as the exception) (Ledoux et al., 2010) also require consideration with this context. According to the authors, who also found such a pattern of results when motivational and self-confidence questionnaires were administered, minority students may be less self-critical when responding to questionnaire items than the Dutch majority students. Further examination of the CCQ - in which the citizenship of students was measured through a self-estimation of the competences - is therefore called for. Future research should also collect citizenship information from the parents, teachers and peers of students in order to gain a complete picture of the citizenship competences of students.

### 2.3 Development of citizenship

In addition to providing insight into the citizenship competences of different groups of students, the framework used here also provides insight into the similarities and differences in the development of the citizenship orientations and domains of citizenship knowledge of students. We observed a 'dip' in

the citizenship development of the students in our research around the age of 14-15 years, which suggests an influence of so-called 'puberty effects'. From a developmental psychologically perspective, rebellion against social conventions and rejection of a community orientation are known to occur around this age (Geijsel et al., 2012; Ledoux et al., 2010). From a critical pedagogical perspective, however, not only hormones may be blamed but also the experiences of students with having to follow rules without explanation, little or no possibility for discussion and little or no voice in school and other matters (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). Such experiences, both in and out of school, can prompt disengagement among older adolescents in particular (Geijsel et al., 2012; Ledoux et al., 2010). And as students get older, they are likely to be able to better estimate their own competences and become more critical of themselves, which may then be reflected in their responding to the CCQ (Ledoux et al., 2010). The question is, what happens after the age of 14-15 years. In the CELS, Keating et al. (2010) found the attitudes of students towards engagement and participation in society along with their reported political efficacy to increase during grade 13 (i.e. around the age of 18 years). In this thesis, we only followed students through grade 9 (i.e. 15-16 years of age). It therefore remains to be seen if the citizenship competences of students in the Netherlands show a developmental incline following their developmental decline.

The age differences in the types of student citizenship displayed by students in different age ranges (see Chapter Four) also raises the question of if and when indifferent citizenship can develop into committed citizenship (for instance). Additional longitudinal research which includes older age groups of students is thus needed to fully understand the development of citizenship.

Another important issue concerning the citizenship development of students is whether their demonstrated citizenship competences endure in their further lives. Social-psychological research has shown the attitudes and views of adolescents to be changeable but to stabilize later in life (Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1991). Similarly, both McFarland and Thomas (2006) and McLellan and Youniss (2003) found the political participation of students to become stable after the onset of adulthood. Dutch research has further shown societal orientations and participation during early life-stages to be predictive of these during later life-stages (see also Dijkstra, 2012). Citizenship competences acquired early in life thus appear to endure. Whether or not the competences acquired early in life actually contribute to social, critical citizenship and successful participation in the labour market later in life remains to be seen, however. It would therefore be very interesting to examine the citizenship competences of the students in our research again in their adulthood.

### 2.4 Citizenship education: the role of schools

The different citizenship competences of students in secondary education found in our study appear to correspond to the different levels of school. For example, students in schools for prevocational education showed the lowest citizenship orientation scores and also less citizenship knowledge. In contrast, students in general secondary education showed higher citizenship orientation scores and more citizenship knowledge than the other students in our research. The citizenship orientations of students in prevocational education appeared to be more directed towards appropriate social behaviour and socially responsible citizenship while the citizenship of the other students appear to be more directed towards reflection and autonomy or critical citizenship. These results showing different types of student citizenship for different levels of education (see also Chapter Four) provide evidence for the role of the school in the development of citizenship competences. In prevocational education indifferent citizenship was relatively common; in general secondary education, the self-assured type of citizenship was relatively common. The pressing question concerns the role of the school in these differences.

In principle in education, students should have equal access to the knowledge, values and skills

needed to adequately function in society. Our finding of differences between the citizenship competences of students within the different levels of school thus raise questions about the highly differentiated educational system in the Netherlands where students are tested and selected for different levels of secondary education at a relatively young age (i.e. 12 years). On the one hand, we can assume that students in the Netherlands are selected for a particular level of education depending on their cognitive abilities. Students in the lower levels of education may cognitively be less able to acquire knowledge of societal issues and critically reflect upon societal issues than students in higher levels of education – an assumption which seems to be supported by the results of the studies by Geijssels et al. (2012) and Ledoux et al. (2010). In both studies, students with higher cognitive abilities produced higher scores for citizenship knowledge but also somewhat higher scores for citizenship attitudes and skills when compared to students with lower cognitive abilities. On the other hand, there are indications that teachers in higher level schools focus more on the competences needed for active, critical participation in society while teachers in lower level schools focus more on the basic rules needed for social interaction and socially acceptable behaviour (Leenders et al., 2008; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003). Students in higher level education may thus accumulate more experiences with discussion and dialogue in the classroom than students in lower level education and these differences may, in turn teach them to reflect and think more critically about societal issues than students in lower level education. It can be argued that reflection and critical thinking have become basic skills in modern society and therefore constitute a relevant part of citizenship education (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004). Reflection and critical thinking about societal issues should thus be part of the education of students at all levels. The task for further research along these lines is to create greater clarity with regard to which citizenship education practices, methods and programmes are most effective for the different levels of education provided in the Netherlands.

In addition to the different cognitive capacities and levels of education, it can be argued that students in prevocational education in the Netherlands to have relatively low levels of self-confidence and social and communicative skills. As a result, teachers in schools for prevocational education might feel forced to focus on the basic rules of socially accepted behaviour and social interaction at this level of education, which leaves little time to attend to other citizenship orientations like reflective thinking and assertiveness (cf. Ten Dam & Volman, 2003). From a sociological perspective it can thus be argued that schools in at least the Netherlands reinforce social and cultural structures existing in society (cf. Archer, 2013; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Van de Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010). Only minimal differences were found between the schools with regard to the citizenship competences of their students, however. And we therefore did not analyse the characteristics of the school in relation to the citizenship development of the students within the context of the present research further. The question thus remains of whether the different emphases and goals for citizenship education stem from differing school perspectives and interpretations of citizenship or from educational practices which have been adapted to the characteristics of the students and the characteristics of the school. School interpretations of citizenship and the concomitant educational strategies and practices which they adopt for citizenship education for their students should thus be examined in conjunction with the citizenship development of their students in future research.

### 2.5 Limitations of this research

Despite the informative picture of the citizenship competences of students in primary and secondary education, a limitation on the present research is that information on the characteristics and citizenship practices of the schools was not available for analysis. It was also not possible to draw clear-cut conclusions about the effects of specific approaches to citizenship education and practices as earlier research showed it was difficult to separate the influences of citizenship education from those of the family, peers,

work and clubs. The question of exactly which school characteristics and educational practices contribute to the citizenship competences of students thus remains. The minimal differences in the citizenship competences of students found across schools, however, suggest that the influence of variation in the characteristics of citizenship education may be minimal. Assumptions about the specific role of schools in the development of the citizenship competences of students must also therefore be treated with caution.

It should also be noted that the schools within the Citizenship Alliance may be highly similar to each other as they were either already active with the implementation of citizenship education or intending to start with this. Nevertheless, we validated all of the findings in our research with findings from a representative COOL<sup>5-18</sup> sample. It can therefore be assumed that the outcomes reported here hold for the Dutch primary and secondary education context in general.

## 3 CONCLUSIONS

Specific activities and types of citizenship education as provided by teachers were found to have particular added value for the citizenship development of students. A pedagogical climate in which positive relationships between teachers and students exist, in which social behaviour is encouraged and in which dialogue and discussion takes place was seen to provide students with democratic experiences and opportunities to practice their citizenship competences (see also Anderson, 1982; Flanagan, Bowes, Johnsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & Van der Werf, 2013). Directing the attention of students to the news (via newspapers, television, radio) also appeared to be of value for the development of the students' ability to reflect upon societal issues (see also Torney-Purta, Richardson, & Barber, 2004).

More explicit educational methods in which teachers use official materials to develop the citizenship knowledge can probably enhance citizenship education further. Citizenship knowledge appears to develop differently than citizenship orientations and should therefore be approached differently. Negative results regarding the effects of active student participation in societal or school activities were found for the citizenship knowledge; the more students reported to be active in societal activities like volunteer work or such school activities as the student council, the lower their scores on citizenship knowledge (see also Isac et al., 2013). Citizenship knowledge can thus be viewed as a distinct aspect of citizenship and thus an aspect in need of its own, unique promotion. This position of citizenship knowledge aligns with the results of Ten Dam et al. (2011) who showed strong interrelations between the citizenship attitudes, skills and reflections of students but few interrelations with their citizenship knowledge. Citizenship knowledge should thus be attended separate from the citizenship orientations in the education of the students.

To close, insights provided in this thesis into the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students can help schools to work on their (obligatory) citizenship task. Knowledge about the citizenship orientations and knowledge of students in addition to the possibilities for their further development can support the schools to explicit and develop a vision and systematic approaches for citizenship education for all students in all levels of education. Schools can emphasize those citizenship values that they consider to be important on the basis of their pedagogical visions. By making the school a place to practice citizenship competences, students are promoted to be critically and socially engaged in society.

## Chapter 7

### *Samenvatting*

De constatering van een verminderde interesse en aandacht voor maatschappelijke vraagstukken en een afname van burgerschapskennis onder jongeren heeft de afgelopen decennia tot meer aandacht voor burgerschap van jongeren geleid (Coleman, 1993; Niemi, Sanders, & Wittington, 2005). Om de betrokkenheid en een adequaat functioneren van jongeren in de maatschappij te bevorderen wordt door wetenschappers (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; Schuitema, Ten Dam, & Veugelers, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002; Westheimer, 2008) beargumenteerd dat jongeren kennis moeten verwerven over democratie en sociaal gedrag, moeten leren reflecteren op maatschappelijke vraagstukken, kritische ideeën moeten kunnen formuleren, vaardigheden moeten leren voor maatschappelijke participatie en de bereidheid moeten ontwikkelen tot het nemen van sociale verantwoordelijkheid, het zich aanpassen aan anderen en tot actieve deelname aan de samenleving. De huidige westerse maatschappij vereist dat jongeren zich dergelijke competenties eigen maken omdat deze bijdragen aan het adequaat functioneren van individuen in een pluriforme maatschappij, alsmede aan sociale cohesie en de gemeenschappelijke perspectieven tussen mensen in de samenleving (Dijkstra, 2012; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; Peschar, Hooghoff, Dijkstra, & Ten Dam, 2010).

Het begrip burgerschap heeft in de literatuur vooral betrekking op de formele politieke participatie van mensen (zoals stemmen, vertrouwen in de overheid, en politiek-democratische kennis). Deze politieke oriëntatie op burgerschap wordt de laatste jaren echter verbreed met een sociale oriëntatie die het interpersoonlijke leven van mensen omvat, zoals de sociale relaties tussen mensen, gedeelde waarden en normen, culturele symbolen en betrokkenheid bij de eigen leefomgeving (Oser & Veugelers, 2008). Bij beide oriëntaties worden aanpassingsgerichte en kritische vormen van burgerschap onderscheiden (Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat, 2008; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004).

De school is een van de plaatsen waar jongeren burgerschapscompetenties kunnen leren en oefenen (Biesta, 2011; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Parker, 2003; Torney-Purta, 2002). In hoeverre scholen hun pedagogische doelen op dit terrein ook daadwerkelijk bereiken is echter zo goed als onbekend. In Nederland zijn er verschillende benaderingen van burgerschapseducatie en ontbreekt een wettelijk gedefinieerd kader voor burgerschapseducatie met bijbehorende onderwijsmethoden en materialen (Peschar et al., 2010). Om de kracht van een gekozen benadering te beoordelen is inzicht nodig in de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen, de ontwikkeling van deze competenties en de bijdrage die de school daaraan kan leveren.

Dit proefschrift heeft als doel om inzicht te bieden in de burgerschapscompetenties van jongeren in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs in Nederland en de rol die burgerschapseducatie daarin kan spelen. Om burgerschap van jongeren te begrijpen wordt in het proefschrift uitgegaan van het dagelijks leven van jongeren en de sociale praktijken waarin hun burgerschap is gesitueerd. In het onderzoek staat een brede oriëntatie op burgerschap centraal, waarin zowel politieke als sociale aspecten en zowel aanpassingsgerichte als kritische aspecten worden meegewogen. Een dergelijk nauwkeurig begrip van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen kan scholen handvatten bieden voor het afstemmen van hun onderwijsdoelen en strategieën op de feitelijke burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen. De studies die in dit proefschrift worden gepresenteerd kunnen daarmee bijdragen aan de verdere verbetering van burgerschapseducatie.

## 1 STUDIE 1: EFFECTEN VAN BURGERSCHAPSEDUCATIE

In dit proefschrift wordt gerapporteerd over vier studies met elk een eigen onderzoeksvraag. De eerste studie betreft een literatuurreview over de effecten van burgerschapseducatie (beschreven in hoofdstuk 2). De vraag die hierin centraal stond was:

*Wat zijn de effecten van burgerschapseducatie op de burgerschap van leerlingen?*

In totaal werden 28 effectstudies onderzocht uit de periode 2003 tot 2009. Er zijn vier typen burgerschapseducatie onderscheiden: 1) curriculum binnen de school, waarin burgerschapseducatie vorm krijgt via officiële programma's en onderwijsmethoden; 2) curriculum buiten de school, waarin burgerschapseducatie vorm krijgt via een verplicht curriculum dat buitenschools plaatsvindt, zoals excursies; 3) pedagogisch klimaat, waarin burgerschapseducatie deel uitmaakt van de organisatie van het onderwijsleerproces in de klas en vorm krijgt via het klassenklimaat; en 4) extracurriculaire activiteiten, waarin burgerschapseducatie vorm krijgt via vrijwillige activiteiten zoals 'service learning'. Van deze typen burgerschapseducatie zijn effecten gevonden op de competenties van de leerlingen (attituden, vaardigheden, reflectie, kennis en gedrag) in relatie tot de sociale taken die zij worden geacht te vervullen in hun dagelijks leven (democratisch handelen, maatschappelijk verantwoord handelen, omgaan met conflicten en omgaan met verschillen). De resultaten laten zien dat bepaalde typen burgerschapseducatie van toegevoegde waarde kunnen zijn voor de burgerschapontwikkeling van leerlingen. Vooral het pedagogische klimaat, waar positieve relaties tussen leerlingen onderling en tussen leerlingen en docenten worden bevorderd, waar leerlingen sociaal democratische ervaringen opdoen en hun burgerschapscompetenties verder kunnen ontwikkelen. Daarnaast blijkt dat ook een formeel curriculum voor burgerschapseducatie in scholen dat bestaat uit officiële materialen en lespakketten zoals bepaalde programma's of projecten, een effectieve manier kan zijn om de politieke burgerschapsattituden en –kennis van leerlingen te bevorderen. De effecten van vrijwillige extracurriculaire activiteiten zoals een maatschappelijke stage (service learning) en verplichte buitenschoolse activiteiten zoals excursies gericht op de bevordering van burgerschap, zijn minder eenduidig. De resultaten laten zien dat deze typen activiteiten wel enig effect hebben op de politieke attituden en het burgerschapsgedrag van leerlingen, maar nauwelijks of zelfs negatieve effecten laten zien op hun burgerschapskennis.

De effecten van burgerschapseducatie zijn tot op heden voornamelijk onderzocht via cross-sectionele onderzoeksdesigns, maar we zien wel dat er steeds meer longitudinaal onderzoek wordt gedaan. Op basis van longitudinale studies kunnen uitspraken worden gedaan over de ontwikkeling van burgerschap van jongeren in de tijd. De huidige stand van zaken in het onderzoek naar burgerschapseducatie laat nog nauwelijks uitspraken toe over de ontwikkeling van burgerschapscompetenties van verschillende groepen leerlingen in relatie tot onderwijs. Daarmee blijft de vraag bestaan wat effectieve onderwijspraktijken zijn voor welke groepen jongeren. Ondanks indicaties dat het pedagogische klimaat en het officiële curriculum in de school succesvol kunnen zijn voor het bevorderen van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen, maakt de verrichte review bovenal duidelijk dat het nog niet mogelijk is om specifieke conclusies te trekken over de effecten van burgerschapseducatie.

## 2 STUDIE 2: BURGERSCHAPSORIËNTATIES EN KENNISDOMEINEN

De tweede studie betreft de ontwikkeling en validering van een overkoepelend kader voor het begrijpen van de burgerschapscompetenties van de leerlingen (beschreven in hoofdstuk 3). In dit hoofdstuk werd een antwoord gegeven op de tweede onderzoeksvraag:

*Wat zijn de burgerschapsoriëntaties en kennis van leerlingen in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs en welke leerlingkenmerken kunnen de verschillen tussen leerlingen verklaren?*

De burgerschapscompetenties van 7.768 leerlingen tussen de 11 en 16 jaar, van 38 scholen voor primair en voortgezet onderwijs, werden gemeten met de vragenlijst Burgerschapscompetenties ontwikkeld door Ten Dam, Geijssel, Reumerman en Ledoux (2011). Vervolgens werden deze burgerschapscompetenties geclusterd in vier burgerschapsoriëntaties (maatschappelijke interesse, prosociale bekwaamheid, reflectief denken en assertiviteit) en twee kennisdomeinen (maatschappelijke kennis en interpersoonlijke kennis). De oriëntatie 'maatschappelijke interesse' gaat over de bereidheid om onderdeel uit te maken van de samenleving en verantwoordelijkheid te nemen voor andere mensen in de samenleving. 'Prosociale bekwaamheid' wordt gevormd door de vaardigheden die nodig zijn voor sociale communicatie en het zich kunnen aanpassen aan de praktijken en gewoonten van anderen in de maatschappij en door bekendheid met sociale regels. 'Reflectief denken' heeft betrekking op kritisch nadenken over maatschappelijke vraagstukken en sociale structuren en over discriminatie in de samenleving en op het proberen te begrijpen van sociale relaties. De burgerschapsoriëntatie die we met de noemer 'assertiviteit' hebben aangeduid betreft, ten slotte, de vaardigheid om op te komen voor de eigen mening en om eigen ideeën en opvattingen te formuleren. De twee onderscheiden kennisdomeinen hebben enerzijds betrekking op kennis van de democratische principes in de samenleving ('maatschappelijke kennis') en anderzijds op kennis van de geldende waarden, gedragsregels en alledaagse sociale manieren ('interpersoonlijke kennis').

De leerlingen in deze studie laten een relatief hoge mate van maatschappelijke interesse zien en rapporteren een relatief hoge mate van prosociale bekwaamheid. Ook achten leerlingen zichzelf redelijk in staat tot reflectief denken over maatschappelijke vraagstukken. Verder laten de resultaten zien dat leerlingen zichzelf relatief goed achten in het vormen en formuleren van eigen meningen. Daarnaast blijken de leerlingen zowel over maatschappelijke kennis als over interpersoonlijke kennis te beschikken. De resultaten laten verder zien dat meisjes een hogere score behalen dan jongens op de meeste burgerschapsoriëntaties en kennisdomeinen, behalve als het gaat om 'assertiviteit'. Leerlingen van etnische minderheden schatten zichzelf over het algemeen hoger in op de burgerschapsoriëntaties dan de leerlingen van autochtone herkomst, terwijl de Nederlandse autochtone leerlingen hogere prestaties laten zien op de beide kennisdomeinen. Verder behalen leerlingen in de lagere onderwijsniveaus (vmbo) over het algemeen een lagere score op de burgerschapsoriëntaties en beide kennisdomeinen dan leerlingen in het primair onderwijs of in de hogere onderwijsniveaus (havo/vwo). Opvallend is dat participatie van leerlingen in maatschappelijke- of schoolactiviteiten, hun betrokkenheid bij het nieuws en hun perceptie van het schoolklimaat in beperkte mate positief samenhangen met hun burgerschapsoriëntaties, maar negatief met hun burgerschapskennis. Al met al schetst het verrichte onderzoek een positief beeld van de staat van de burgerschapscompetenties van de leerlingen in Nederland. Het ontwikkelde kader voor burgerschapsoriëntaties en kennisdomeinen kan scholen helpen om doelen te formuleren die zijn gerelateerd aan de feitelijke burgerschapscompetenties van verschillende groepen leerlingen.

### 3 STUDIE 3: TYPOLOGIE VAN BURGERSCHAP

De derde studie (beschreven in hoofdstuk 4) betreft een presentatie van vier typen burgerschap van leerlingen. De typen kunnen docenten handvatten bieden om verschillende vormen van burgerschap bij hun leerlingen te herkennen en daarop hun onderwijs af te stemmen. De volgende onderzoeksvraag stond daarbij centraal:

***Welke typen burgerschap kunnen worden onderscheiden in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs en zijn deze typen te relateren aan de individuele kenmerken van de leerlingen en de schoolniveaus?***

De vier typen burgerschap werden geconstrueerd op basis van de antwoordpatronen van 7.768 leerlingen tussen de 11 en 16 jaar op de vier burgerschapsoriëntaties en de twee kennisdomeinen beschreven in hoofdstuk drie. De vier typen werden gevalideerd aan de hand van een grote steekproef van leerlingen uit het primair en voortgezet onderwijs (Cool<sup>5-18</sup>, 2009).

De vier typen zien er als volgt uit:

1. Toegewijd burgerschap. Deze leerlingen rapporteren een hoge mate van bereidwilligheid en de bekwaamheid om te participeren in de maatschappij. Ze reflecteren op maatschappelijke vraagstukken en formuleren hierover hun eigen ideeën. Deze groep toegewijde burgers bevat relatief veel jonge meisjes met een niet-Nederlandse achtergrond. Ze rapporteren over het algemeen een positieve perceptie van het schoolklimaat en een relatief hoge mate van betrokkenheid bij het nieuws, en participeren naar eigen zeggen actief in hun dagelijkse omgeving.
2. Onverschillig burgerschap. Deze leerlingen rapporteren een relatief lage mate van bereidwilligheid en bekwaamheid om bij te dragen aan en te participeren in de maatschappij. Ze reflecteren weinig op maatschappelijke vraagstukken en komen weinig op voor de eigen mening. Deze groep bezit daarnaast weinig burgerschapskennis in vergelijking met andere leerlingen. Vooral oudere jongens van autochtone herkomst representeren dit type burgerschap. Leerlingen in het type 'onverschillig burgerschap' hebben over het algemeen een negatievere perceptie van het schoolklimaat van hun school, zijn van alle typen het minst betrokken bij het nieuws en participeren het minst in maatschappelijke of schoolactiviteiten.
3. Gemiddeld burgerschap. Deze leerlingen rapporteren een gemiddelde mate van bereidheid en bekwaamheid om bij te dragen aan en te participeren in de maatschappij. Ze hebben echter weinig neiging om publiekelijk op te komen voor de eigen mening. Deze leerlingen vormen de grootste groep en bestaat uit meisjes en jongens van verschillende leeftijden en van verschillende herkomst. Ze zijn in vergelijking met andere leerlingen over het algemeen gemiddeld betrokken bij het nieuws en participeren ook gemiddeld in activiteiten binnen en buiten de school. Ze hebben over het algemeen een positieve perceptie van het schoolklimaat.
4. Zelfverzekerd burgerschap. Van alle typen blijken deze leerlingen over de meeste maatschappelijke kennis te beschikken en behalen zij een hoge score als het gaat om het opkomen voor hun eigen mening. Deze 'zelfverzekerde' burgers reflecteren naar eigen zeggen echter nauwelijks op maatschappelijke vraagstukken. Het gaat bij deze groep leerlingen om relatief oudere jongens met een algehele negatieve perceptie van het schoolklimaat, relatief weinig betrokkenheid bij het nieuws en een relatief geringe participatie in maatschappelijke of schoolactiviteiten.

De resultaten laten verder zien dat het toegewijd type burgerschap het meest voorkomt in het primair

onderwijs. Het onverschillige type burgerschap komt het meest voor in het vmbo, terwijl we het zelfverzekerde type burgerschap het meest aantreffen in havo en vwo.

### 4 STUDIE 4: ONTWIKKELING VAN BURGERSCHAPSCOMPETENTIES

In hoofdstuk vijf wordt gerapporteerd over de vierde studie. In deze studie wordt inzicht geboden in de ontwikkeling van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen gedurende de eerste drie jaren van het voortgezet onderwijs. Uit de literatuur komt naar voren dat er weinig longitudinaal onderzoek beschikbaar is dat inzicht geeft in de ontwikkeling van burgerschapscompetenties. In dit hoofdstuk werd een antwoord gegeven op de volgende onderzoeksvraag:

***Hoe verloopt de ontwikkeling van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen gedurende de eerste drie jaren van het voortgezet onderwijs en welke kenmerken van scholen en leerlingen kunnen de ontwikkelingsverschillen verklaren?***

Om de onderzoeksvraag te beantwoorden werd longitudinale data verzameld over de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs. De longitudinale rapportage in dit hoofdstuk betreft de burgerschapscompetenties van 2.224 leerlingen van 23 scholen voor voortgezet onderwijs. De data is verzameld gedurende drie schooljaren. De burgerschapscompetenties van de leerlingen werden geanalyseerd volgens het kader voor burgerschapsoriëntaties en kennisdomeinen dat is beschreven in hoofdstuk 3.

Uit de analyses komt naar voren dat de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen in de eerste drie jaar van het voortgezet onderwijs veranderen, maar deze veranderingen zijn niet altijd positief:

1. 'Maatschappelijke interesse' en 'reflectief denken' nemen over het algemeen af;
2. 'Maatschappelijke kennis' neemt toe, terwijl de ontwikkeling van 'interpersoonlijke kennis' enigszins afneemt, en
3. 'prosociale bekwaamheid' en 'assertiviteit' veranderen niet in de eerste drie jaar van het voortgezet onderwijs.

De resultaten laten zien dat leerlingen van etnische minderheden en leerlingen van de havo en het vwo zich meer ontwikkelen in 'reflectief denken' dan leerlingen met een autochtone herkomst en leerlingen van het vmbo. Ook leerlingen die naar eigen zeggen actief participeren in de maatschappij en betrokken zijn bij het nieuws, ontwikkelen zich relatief meer wat betreft 'reflectief denken'. Meisjes en leerlingen van niet-Nederlandse herkomst ontwikkelen meer sociale interesse dan andere leerlingen. Daarnaast verwerven meisjes in de loop van de tijd iets meer interpersoonlijke kennis dan jongens. Leerlingen van de havo en het vwo ontwikkelen over het algemeen een hoger kennisniveau dan leerlingen van het vmbo. Ten slotte werden geen of zeer kleine verschillen gevonden tussen scholen met betrekking burgerschapscompetenties van hun leerlingen.

### 5 DISCUSSIE EN CONCLUSIE

In hoofdstuk zes worden de bevindingen van dit proefschrift bediscussieerd en de belangrijkste conclusies getrokken. Daarnaast worden er aanbevelingen gegeven voor de relevantie van dit onderzoek voor burgerschapseducatie en toekomstig onderzoek.

### 5.1 Burgerschapscompetenties en ontwikkeling

Vanuit een brede oriëntatie op burgerschapscompetenties is in dit proefschrift een kader voor burgerschapsoriëntaties en –kennisdomeinen ontwikkeld en wetenschappelijk valide gebleken. Met de studies die vanuit dit kader ten behoeve van dit proefschrift zijn verricht, is het inzicht in de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen in Nederland vergroot. Zo wordt met dit proefschrift een belangrijke stap gezet naar meer systematisch onderzoek naar burgerschapscompetenties en burgerschapspraktijken van jongeren. Daarnaast kan het ontwikkelde kader van praktische betekenis zijn voor scholen. Met de kennis van de burgerschapsoriëntaties en kennisdomeinen en de mogelijkheid om niet alleen individuele maar ook groepspatronen in burgerschapscompetenties te onderscheiden, kunnen onderwijsdoelen naar verwachting specifiek worden afgestemd op de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen en de ontwikkeling hierin.

Het verrichte onderzoek schetst een positief beeld van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen in Nederland. Internationaal en Nederlands onderzoek naar de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen lieten geen eenduidige resultaten zien. Een internationale validering van het kader van burgerschapsoriëntaties en –kennisdomeinen is nodig om de resultaten tussen landen beter vergelijkbaar te maken. Internationale vergelijkingen kunnen inzicht bieden in de verschillende burgerschapscompetenties die zich ontwikkelen in verschillende sociaal-culturele contexten. In toekomstig onderzoek zou tevens kwalitatief onderzoek een plaats moeten krijgen - zoals het gebruik van interviews of hardop denkprotocollen - om verschillende interpretaties van burgerschap en verschillende ervaringen van leerlingen in een samenleving beter te kunnen begrijpen. Bovendien verdient het aanbeveling om in toekomstig onderzoek tevens informatie te verzamelen bij ouders, leerkrachten en leeftijdsgenoten om een completer beeld te krijgen van de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen.

De ontwikkeling van de burgerschapscompetenties vertoont een 'dip' bij leerlingen rond de 14-15 jaar. Andere studies lieten hierop vergelijkbare resultaten zien (Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005; Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy, & Lopez, 2010). Toekomstig onderzoek moet echter uitwijzen of de gerapporteerde negatieve ontwikkeling van leerlingen in de eerste drie jaar van het voortgezet onderwijs in Nederland positief omhoog gaat als leerlingen ouder worden. Ook de verschillende typen burgerschap die zijn gevonden bij verschillende leeftijdsgroepen leiden tot de vraag in hoeverre –bijvoorbeeld- 'onverschillig burgerschap' zich kan ontwikkelen naar 'toegewijd burgerschap'. Vervolgonderzoek zou zich bij voorkeur moeten richten op de burgerschapscompetenties van jonge en wat oudere leerlingen (16 jaar en ouder) om een vollediger beeld te krijgen van burgerschapsontwikkeling van leerlingen.

### 5.2 Burgerschapseducatie

De verschillen tussen leerlingen in havo, vwo en vmbo laten zien dat vmbo-leerlingen over het algemeen de laagste scores behalen op zowel de burgerschapsoriëntaties als op de burgerschapskennis. Daarenboven is burgerschap van leerlingen in het vmbo meer gericht op gepast sociaal en sociaal verantwoordelijk gedrag, terwijl burgerschap van leerlingen in havo en vwo meer is gericht op autonoom en kritisch nadenken. Deze bevindingen roepen vragen op over het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem. Naast indicaties dat de cognitieve mogelijkheden van de leerlingen een rol kunnen spelen in de gevonden verschillen in de burgerschapscompetenties, zijn er namelijk ook indicaties dat docenten in de verschillende schooltypen verschillende accenten leggen in hun doelen voor burgerschapseducatie (Leenders et al., 2008; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003). Dit heeft mogelijk consequenties voor uitkomsten op leerlingniveau. Alhoewel kenmerken van de leerlingenpopulatie in scholen de keuzes van scholen

en docenten voor bepaalde doelen of praktijken van burgerschapseducatie beïnvloeden, kunnen docenten voor onderscheiden groepen leerlingen ook een verschillende invulling van 'goed burgerschap' nastreven. De vraag blijft dus bestaan in hoeverre de verschillende doelen van burgerschapseducatie voortkomen uit de verschillende perspectieven en interpretaties op burgerschap of dat de verschillende onderwijspraktijken en doelen worden afgestemd op de kenmerken van de leerlingenpopulatie.

Ten behoeve van dit proefschrift zijn geen gegevens verzameld over burgerschapseducatie zoals deze op school wordt verzorgd door docenten. Hierdoor was het niet mogelijk om duidelijke conclusies te trekken over specifieke aanpakken voor burgerschapseducatie. Daarnaast komt uit onderzoek naar voren dat het lastig is om het effect van burgerschapseducatie te scheiden van de mogelijke invloeden van het gezin, leeftijdsgenoten, werk en sportclubs. Wel hebben we in dit proefschrift gekeken naar de verschillen tussen scholen betreffende de burgerschapscompetenties van leerlingen, waarbij sprake bleek van slechts zeer minimale verschillen. Het moet bovendien worden opgemerkt dat er zich mogelijk sterke overeenkomsten tussen de scholen binnen de Alliantie Burgerschap voordoen omdat deze scholen allemaal bezig waren met de implementatie van burgerschapseducatie of de intentie hadden daarmee te starten. De kleine verschillen tussen scholen suggereren dus weliswaar dat de invloed van de variërende kenmerken van burgerschapseducatie minimaal is, maar op basis van de resultaten van dit onderzoek moeten we hierbij de nodige voorzichtigheid in acht nemen. Een interessante vraag voor vervolgonderzoek blijft dan ook welke specifieke kenmerken van scholen of aanpakken voor burgerschapseducatie bij kunnen dragen aan de bevordering van burgerschap van leerlingen.

Ondanks de bovengenoemde beperkingen van dit onderzoek kunnen waardevolle aanbevelingen voor burgerschapseducatie worden gegeven, met name op basis van de literatuurstudie. Vooral het bieden van een pedagogisch klimaat waarin ruimte is voor discussie en dialoog met anderen, waarin sociaal gedrag wordt gestimuleerd en waarin positieve relaties tussen leerlingen en docenten bestaan, beïnvloedt de burgerschapsontwikkeling van leerlingen positief. Het richten van de aandacht van de leerlingen op het nieuws (in kranten, televisies, radio) bevordert kritisch denken over maatschappelijke vraagstukken. Daarnaast is het gebruik van expliciete onderwijsmethoden in burgerschapseducatie van waarde voor de ontwikkeling van burgerschapskennis. Omdat de kenniscomponent van burgerschap zich anders blijkt te ontwikkelen dan de burgerschapsoriëntaties zouden daarvoor ook aparte doelen en onderwijspraktijken moeten worden geformuleerd.

De inzichten die in dit proefschrift worden gepresenteerd bieden scholen handvatten voor het effectief werken aan hun (wettelijke) burgerschapsopdracht. Het kan hen helpen bij de ontwikkeling en explicitering van een visie op burgerschapseducatie, de concretisering daarvan in leerdoelen en een planmatige aanpak voor alle leerlingen in alle onderwijsniveaus. Welke burgerschapskennis en burgerschapsoriëntaties bezitten zij reeds en welke mogelijkheden zijn er voor verrijking? Welke burgerschapsoriëntaties acht de school op grond van hun (pedagogische) onderwijsvisie van belang voor de leerlingen en welke vorm van educatie sluit daarbij aan? Door van de school zelf een oefenplaats voor burgerschap te maken, worden leerlingen gestimuleerd om actief te participeren in de maatschappij.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

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