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Citizenship of young people

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Chapter 5

Citizenship development of students in secondary education¹

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.

¹ 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; Tohlender, 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 (α) and mean scores (sd.) for citizenship orientations and knowledge domains on three measurement occasions

Subscales of the CCQ	Citizenship orientations	α^*	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						
	α^*	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 (COOL⁵⁻¹⁸ (2009); Ten Dam et al., 2011; for more information about the comparisons of both samples see Appendix A). Compared to the sample of COOL⁵⁻¹⁸ (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

	Societal interest	Prosocial ability	Reflective thinking	Assertiveness
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.

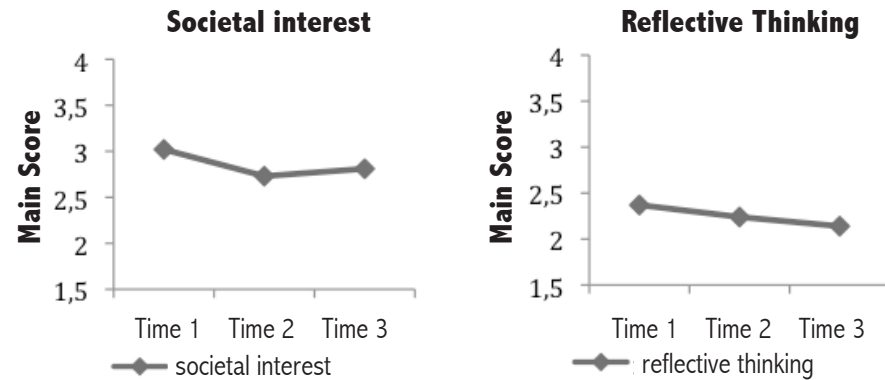


Figure 1. Overview of the development of societal interest and reflective thinking orientation

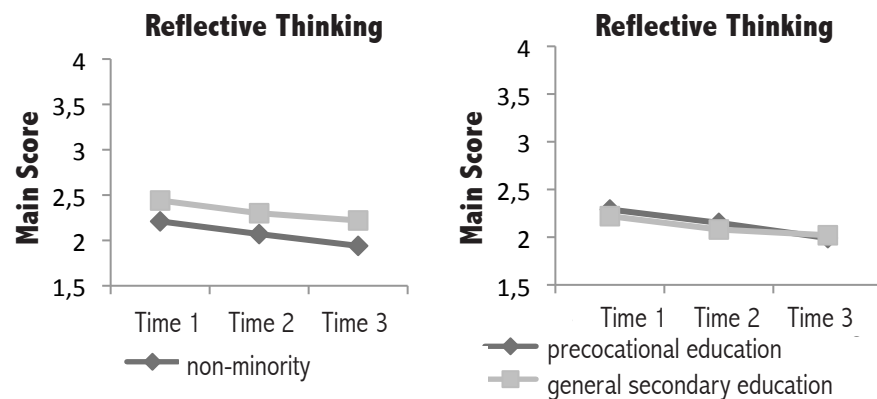


Figure 2. Overview of specific group differences on the development of reflective thinking orientation

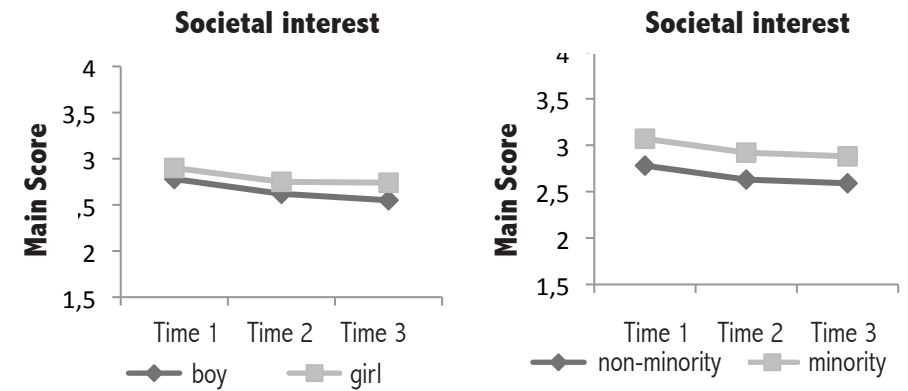


Figure 3. Overview of specific group differences in the development of societal interest orientation

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.

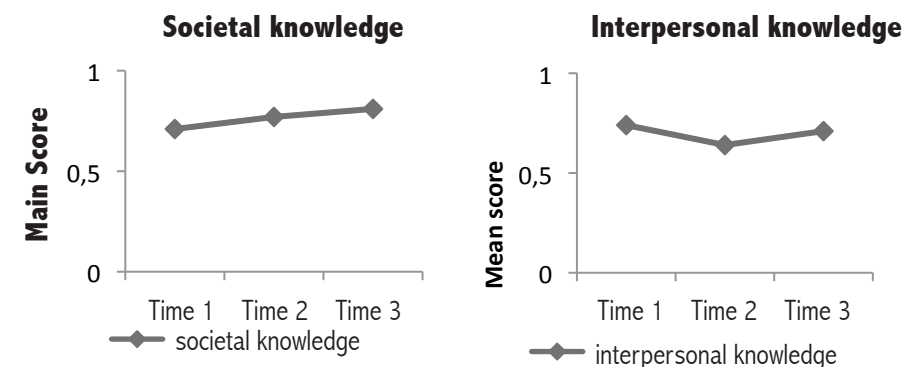


Figure 4. Overview of the development of societal and interpersonal knowledge

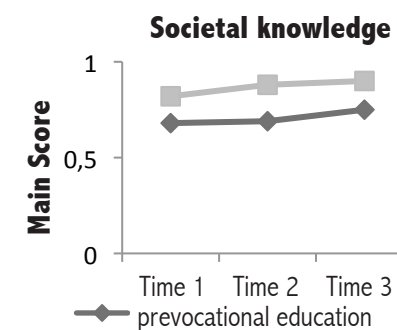


Figure 5. Overview of specific group differences on the development of societal knowledge

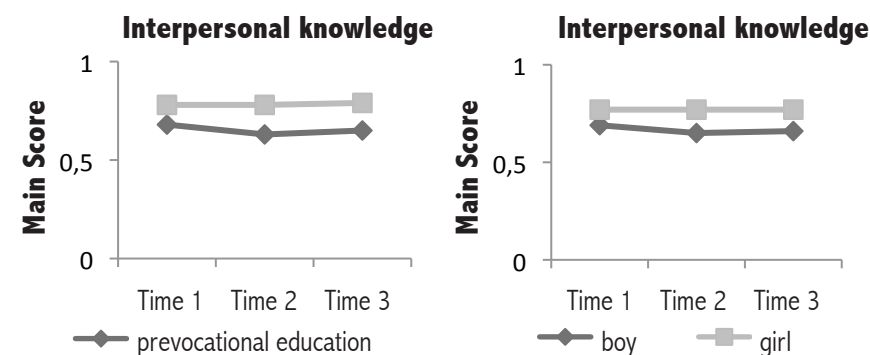


Figure 6. Overview of specific group differences on the development of interpersonal knowledge

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 COOL⁵⁻¹⁸ (2009) sample.

Student characteristics		Citizenship Alliance Grade 9 N=2224	COOL 5-18 (2009) Grade 9 N=3845					
		α	Mean (sd.)	α	Mean (sd.)	$F(df1,2)$	p	η^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