Young citizens and their parents, peers, and teachers in a changing world

Social contexts of citizenship competences in adolesence

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Chapter 6

Discussion and conclusion

Citizenship knowledge, attitudes and skills enable adolescents to understand and participate in society. Adolescents develop these competences during everyday experiences, within *mini-polities* or *mini-democracies* (De Winter, 2004; Flanagan, 2012). In these social settings, adolescents share opinions, exchange ideas, practice principles of democracy and experience what it means to be part of a community. These experiences stimulate the development of their citizenship competences. Moreover, adolescents today grow up in a complex and uncertain world, facing severe challenges such as climate change. Despite wide acknowledgement of the role of contextual factors with regard to adolescents' civic development, they remain underexplored in the field of citizenship education. This dissertation aimed to enhance understanding of the associations between adolescents' citizenship competences and contextual factors. The central research question was: "To what extent are adolescents' experiences with their parents, peers and teachers, as well as their concerns about the world's future, associated with their citizenship competences?".

To answer this question, a quantitative, large-scale and representative dataset among adolescents in the second grade of secondary school in the Netherlands (13-14 years old) was used. The data included a civic knowledge test, a questionnaire on civic attitudes, engagement and skills, and a questionnaire about European issues. By including additional questions about parents and peers, a unique dataset was created that provided deeper insight into adolescents' citizenship competences in relation to various important social contexts.

As discussed in the first chapter, citizenship competences encompass a wide range of knowledge, attitudes and skills. Therefore, the four studies included in this dissertation address various aspects of citizenship competences. The studies examined different contexts in which adolescents develop citizenship competences. The first two studies focused on specific elements of the school and home context. The third study focused on congruence in civic attitudes of important socializing agents: adolescents' parents, classmates and friends within the class. The fourth study examined associations between different ways of civic engagement and individual characteristics. In this final chapter, the main findings and implications are discussed.

Main findings

The school context: an open classroom climate for discussion and student–teacher relationships

A safe and respectful school climate is essential for fostering students' citizenship competences (Geboers et al., 2013; Jerome et al., 2024). An open classroom climate for discussion and positive student-teacher relationships provide students with opportunities to practice democratic principles and respectful social interactions. However, the societal context of citizenship education has changed during the past decade. Societal developments such as concerns about polarization (Dekker, 2022), individualism (Santos et al., 2017) and intolerance (Janmaat & Keating, 2019), and subsequent increased

attention to citizenship education (De Groot et al., 2022) may have affected the school climate and its association with students citizenship competences. These societal developments may also pose challenges to the citizenship education task of schools. Whereas changes could be anticipated in light of contextual developments, it is yet unclear whether the well-established associations between student-teacher relationships, an open classroom climate for discussion, and students' citizenship competences have changed during the last decade.

Therefore, in the first study (Chapter 2), it was examined whether Dutch adolescents' perceptions of school climate characteristics and the associations with their citizenship competences changed across 2009, 2016 and 2022. The study specifically focused on citizenship knowledge, institutional trust and attitudes toward equal rights for people with a migration background. The findings show that over time, students experienced the classroom climate for discussion as less open, whereas their perception of the student-teacher relationship became somewhat more positive. Interestingly, there was no clear trend towards a stronger or weaker relationship over time for all three outcome variables. With some exceptions, the association between school climate characteristics and students' citizenship competences remained stable over time, showing that the school climate remains an essential component of citizenship education. Given the increasing complexity of schools' citizenship task, the finding of stability can be interpreted as encouraging: even when the societal context changes and becomes more challenging, experiencing a respectful class environment that encourages the expression of different viewpoints remains important and provides an opportunity for schools to contribute to students' development of citizenship competences.

The home environment: perceived parental autonomy support and responsiveness

Decades of research on parental political socialization showed that adolescents often hold sociopolitical attitudes that are to some extent similar to those of their parents (e.g., Degner & Dalege, 2013; Gniewosz et al., 2009). An aspect of parenting that received less empirical attention within the field of citizenship competences, is the idea that parents contribute to adolescents' civic development in more implicit ways (Flanagan, 2003; Šerek et al., 2012). In general, it is well-established that a parenting style characterized by autonomy support and responsiveness is related to a range of positive developmental outcomes, such as prosocial behavior (e.g., Wong et al., 2021; Pinquart & Fischer, 2022). It has also been suggested that "democratic parenting", often referring to openness to communication, joint-decision making and compromise, would be beneficial for adolescents citizenship competences (e.g., Flanagan & Gallay, 1995; De Winter, 2011; Miklikowska & Hurme, 2011). Such a home environment could serve as a practice ground for living together in society and may interact with an open classroom climate for discussion: adolescents who are accustomed to discussions at home may find it easier to engage in and benefit from conversations in the classroom. However, empirical evidence for the association between

parenting practices and citizenship competences is still limited and inconsistent, as some studies on specific civic outcomes have found positive associations with democratic parenting (Bougher, 2018; Miklikowska & Hurme, 2011), whereas other studies find differences between boys and girls (Bebiroglu et al., 2013) or even negative associations (Pavlova et al., 2016).

The second study (Chapter 3) therefore examined multiple aspects of citizenship competences in relation to parental autonomy support and responsiveness, exploring both the association and consistency of the association across various aspects of civic attitudes and engagement. Four different patterns of perceived autonomy support and parenting were distinguished among the participants. Most adolescents experienced both high autonomy support and responsiveness: responsive autonomous (63%). A relatively small group (11%) reported a similar level of responsiveness, but a low level of autonomy support: responsive controlling. About one out of five of the adolescents (18%) reported average levels of autonomy support and below average levels of responsiveness: moderate supportive. A small group (8%) experienced low autonomy support and low responsiveness: non-responsive controlling.

Overall, in contrast to our expectations, no robust relationship between the different patterns of parental autonomy support and responsiveness, and adolescents' citizenship competences was found, nor interaction between parenting and school climate. Adolescents who experienced a more open classroom climate for discussion were more likely to have higher civic self-efficacy and participate more in civic activities, regardless the perceived parental autonomy support and responsiveness. There were some exceptions, showing that parental autonomy support and responsiveness are related to some citizenship competences, in line with the hypotheses: adolescents in the responsive controlling group were less likely to be interested in social and political issues, in comparison to the responsive autonomous group. In contrast, adolescents in the non-responsive group were likely to experience more citizenship self-efficacy in comparison to the adolescents in the responsive autonomous group.

Despite these exceptions, the most consistent finding was the absence of an association, which is remarkable given the consistently found beneficial effects of autonomy supportive and responsive parenting on adolescents' development, for example with regard to adolescents' prosocial behavior (Wong et al., 2021). With regard to citizenship competences, our findings do not support the idea of one beneficial "democratic parenting" style. Rather than a consistent association, the link between citizenship competences and perceived parental autonomy support and responsiveness is often absent. When it does emerge, it manifests in varying ways.

Similarity in different contexts

Adolescents' civic attitudes are often related to the civic attitudes of their parents and peers (e.g., Degner & Dalege, 2013; Dostie-Goulet, 2009; Huijsmans et al., 2024; Miklikowska et al., 2019; White et al., 2021). According to the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979), the role of these socializing agents are

best understood when their interrelatedness is considered. The importance of congruence across different socializing contexts has scarcely been investigated with regard to citizenship competences, although it has also been emphasized in other developmental and socialization literature(e.g., Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Spera & Matto, 2007). The third study (Chapter 4) aimed to provide new empirical insights in the role of congruence in adolescents' civic attitudes by examining similarity between parents, classmates and friends within the class in their positive attitudes toward people with a migration background and trust in groups, institutions and sources of information. Following the theoretical assumptions, it was expected that more similarity between socializing agents strengthens the association between their attitudes and adolescents' own attitudes.

The study first examined the underlying hypothesis that adolescents' civic attitudes are positively related to the civic attitudes of their parents, classmates and friends within the class. Both for positive attitudes toward people with a migration background and for trust in groups, institutions and sources of information, positive associations were found with parents' attitudes and the class average, but not for the civic attitudes of the friends within the class. This shows that the class average was of more importance than the individual friends within the class. When examining whether these associations were moderated by the quality of each relationship, no robust support was found. However, most importantly, the congruence hypothesis was supported by the findings: civic attitudes of adolescents were more strongly related to the attitudes of their parents, classmates and friends within the classroom when the attitudes of those socializing agents were more similar.

In sum, the study offers a significant contribution to the literature on adolescents' citizenship competences and the role of congruency, for which empirical evidence is still scarce. It emphasizes that, besides the individual associations with attitudes of socializing agents, the interplay of the home and school context is of importance for adolescents' civic attitudes. By providing empirical support for the interrelatedness of parents and peers, this study highlights the need of considering multiple social contexts simultaneously when examining citizenship competences in adolescence.

Individual characteristics

Adolescents are also active agents in their own civic development (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002). It is therefore essential to take into account individual characteristics that may be associated to adolescents' civic engagement. As young people grow up in times of (geo)political tensions and rapid global change, many adolescents are worried about the future of the world, especially with regard to climate change (Hickman et al., 2021; Ojala et al., 2021). Their worries were found to motivate pro-environmental behavior (Ojala, 2021) as well as being related to helplessness and cynicism about politics (Threadgold, 2012). However, research on associations with civic engagement is still scarce. Whereas the literature often focuses on climate change, pro-environmental

behavior and wellbeing, the fourth study (Chapter 5) expands understanding by focusing on associations between civic engagement and concerns about a broad spectrum of concerns about the future of the world and Europe. The concept *macrosocial worries* was used, referring to worries about perceived threats to society or the world (Boehnke et al., 1998). In line with work of Amnå and Ekman (2014) and Tzankova and colleagues (2021; 2022), citizenship orientations were first distinguished to account for the multidimensionality of civic engagement: by investigating patterns of civic participation, sociopolitical interest and political trust, it was possible to differentiate between different ways of (un)engagement. This enhances new and more nuanced understanding of the association between adolescents' civic engagement and their macrosocial worries. Moreover, citizenship knowledge was included to examine its moderating role in the association between macrosocial worries and civic engagement.

Five citizenship orientations were identified among a representative sample of Dutch adolescents in the eighth grade. The largest group of adolescents was part of the group *unengaged trustful* (45%): they were trustful towards political institutions, but showed little interest in sociopolitical issues and participated in few civic activities. The low levels of participation were similar in the group *unengaged untrustful* (5%)¸ but these adolescents also had very low scores on trust and interest. Adolescents in the *occasionally engaged* (29%) and *frequently engaged* (16%) groups were generally not very interested in sociopolitical issues, but showed considerable trust in institutions. In the frequently engaged group, adolescents participated above average, whereas adolescents in the occasionally engaged group had an average score on participation. One small group scored very high on participation, labeled as *active* (5%). This group was also interested, but had a below average level of trust.

In the next step, it was investigated how these different citizenship orientations are related to perceptions of global environmental threats, negative expectations of the future of Europe and citizenship knowledge. The association was most clearly found for negative expectations about the future of Europe, representing worries about a broad spectrum of societal issues (e.g., religious intolerance, racism, poverty and unemployment). Perceptions of global environmental threats was only related to citizenship orientations in interaction with civic knowledge. Adolescents who had more negative expectations about Europe's future were more likely to belong to the unengaged untrustful group. This chance was even higher when adolescents had more civic knowledge. Perceptions of global environmental threats were more strongly related to being in the active group when adolescents had more civic knowledge, in comparison to the occasionally engaged and unengaged trustful groups. These different findings suggest that civic knowledge may help some adolescents who are worried to cope with their worries, whereas other adolescents seem to resemble the more disillusioned young citizens (cf. Threadgold, 2012). The study provides new insights in individual differences in civic engagement among adolescents. It underscores that their concerns about macrosocial issues, together with their

civic knowledge, are related to the way adolescents are engaged in civic life.

Main conclusions

With regard to the central research question, three main conclusions are drawn based on these findings:

1. Adolescents' citizenship competences are associated with their (interrelated) experiences with their parents, peers and teachers.

The assumption that adolescents' citizenship competences are shaped by their interrelated experiences with parents, peers, and teachers is widely held in educational research and practice. Empirical evidence, however, is limited. This dissertation examined these assumptions. The findings consistently show that adolescents' experiences across various social contexts are related to their citizenship competences. Specifically, civic attitudes of parents and classmates, as well as the school climate, are relevant elements of the social settings in which adolescents experience and practice citizenship competences. Importantly, this dissertation provides empirical evidence for the role of congruence: when civic attitudes of parents and peers align, adolescents' attitudes are more similar as well. However, no interaction between the home and school environment was found for perceived parenting and the open classroom climate for discussion. Parenting characterized by autonomy support and responsiveness was not consistently linked to adolescents' citizenship competences.

Altogether, the dissertation shows that adopting a broader perspective, which takes into account the various social contexts in which adolescents are embedded, enhances our understanding of the association between these contexts and adolescents' citizenship attitudes, knowledge and skills. This deeper understanding can help teachers, parents, and researchers to identify underlying factors influencing adolescents' civic attitudes and more effectively support their civic development.

2. Even in times of societal and educational changes, adolescents' experiences within schools remain important for their citizenship competences.

Perhaps even more than before, a safe environment to respectfully share and discuss different opinions is important for adolescents to develop competences needed to participate in a democratic society. Schools can provide such an environment through a school climate with positive student-teacher relationships and openness for discussion: where students and teachers respect each other and feel safe to share their opinions, even if they differ from others. Chapter 2 showed that the association between these school climate characteristics and adolescents' citizenship competences has remained positive and relatively stable across 2009, 2016 and 2022 in the Netherlands. This is especially important in light of increasing societal concerns, such as increasing polarization and declining social cohesion. Even though adolescents perceive the classroom climate as less open, the school climate remains a key element

of citizenship education. Chapter 3 showed that regardless of adolescents' perception of parenting behavior, the perception of an open classroom climate for discussion is positively related to adolescents' citizenship competences. Both studies show the strength of the association between the school climate and adolescents' citizenship competences. Schools can provide a safe and supportive environment where adolescents can practice and develop their citizenship competences. This is a way in which schools can continue to make a meaningful difference in times of heightened societal tensions.

3. Civic engagement in adolescence manifests in various ways and is intertwined with individual perspectives on macrosocial issues

The world in which adolescents, as well as their parents, peers and teachers, live is facing severe societal and environmental challenges. Chapter 5 shows that adolescents' perceptions of these matters are also linked to their interest in social and political issues, their participation in civic activities and their trust in civic institutions. However, this association varies between individuals and in relation to their level of citizenship knowledge, showing the merit of investigating individual differences. By unraveling different patterns of civic (un)engagement among adolescents, underlining that civic engagement is multifaceted, we can better understand associations between macrosocial worries and civic (un)engagement. The meaningful differences between adolescents in civic engagement emphasize the need of moving beyond an active-passive dichotomy (cf. Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Tzankova et al., 2021). Moreover, this dissertation provides new empirical insights into individual factors related to adolescents' citizenship competences, specifically their perspectives on societal and environmental threats to the future of the world or Europe, in addition to other socioeconomic or sociocultural factors (e.g. socioeconomic status, gender, migration background) emphasized in existing literature.

Contributions and future research

This dissertation contributes both theoretically and methodologically to the field of citizenship education. First, by building upon a large, representative sample and including data on parents and peers, a unique dataset was created that included both validated scales on citizenship competences as well as seldom included information about perceived parental behavior and civic attitudes of parents and peers. This enabled us to examine aspects of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which is often used as a theoretical framework in the literature on citizenship competences, but rarely empirically investigated. New insights into adolescents' citizenship knowledge, attitudes and skills in relation to contextual factors (parents, peers, and schools) are provided. Most notably, empirical support was found for the theoretical concept of congruence, which is seldom addressed in prior research in this field. Within a research domain that is strongly focused on schools, this broadening perspective contributes to deeper understanding of differences between adolescents and the developmental

context of their citizenship competences. The findings in this dissertation show that further examination of the role of contextual factors, particularly congruence, is a promising direction for future research on citizenship competences. One important avenue to build on these results is conducting qualitative research to investigate adolescents' experiences and needs related to (in)congruence. Although this dissertation specifically investigated congruence, it inevitably also points to the role of incongruence: dissimilarity or even contradictions between socializing agents. This becomes more pressing when differences in opinions become more pronounced and increasingly perceived as divisive (Dekker, 2022). Moreover, it is recommended to further examine the concept of congruence in longitudinal research, to gain more understanding of how the alignment of socializing agents' attitudes develops over time and its sustained influence on individuals' citizenship competences.

Second, the dissertation adds new insights into differences in civic (un)engagement among adolescents. The findings support the theoretical assumption of multiple patterns of civic engagement, instead of a dichotomous distinction between active or passive (Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Tzankova et al., 2021). While the often used variable-centered approach can offer meaningful insights into relationships between variables on average, a person-centered approach provides a promising direction for further research as it recognizes individual differences. By using a person-centered approach, it was possible to distinguish several patterns of civic (un)engagement in adolescence. Moreover, it allowed for zooming in on adolescents with (combinations of) exceptionally high or low scores. Also from a societal perspective, a better understanding of and support for these distinct groups is essential. The findings also indicate that considering adolescents' concerns about macrosocial issues helps to understand these differences.

Third, this dissertation contributes to the understanding of citizenship education in the Netherlands during the period from 2009 to 2022, a period of increasing attention to the subject (De Groot et al., 2022). Whereas research on citizenship education often focuses on specific periods, the comparison across three timepoints addresses a research gap regarding possible changes over time in the associations between school characteristics and students' citizenship competences. As citizenship education continues to receive considerable attention in research, practice, and education policy, a comparison across time provides valuable insights into changes in, or stability of, well-established associations. With regard to future research, including the upcoming ICCS 2027 cycle in comparisons across time may offer further insights into the evolving role of schools.

Limitations and future research

When discussing and interpreting the main findings, some overarching limitations should be considered. An important restriction is that the findings are based on cross-sectional data, which cannot be used to understand direction of effects. Longitudinal data are necessary to investigate causality and socialization processes. This limitation extends beyond this dissertation, as longitudinal data on civic development is still relatively scarce and requires more attention in future research. Longitudinal research could also be used to distinguish socialization effects from potential selection effects (Ryan et al., 2019), given that adolescents were asked about three self-chosen friends and prior research shows that individuals tend to form friendships with peers who have similar attitudes (Kandel, 1978; McPherson et al., 2001; Zingora et al., 2020). However, this issue may be more pronounced in other peer contexts, as the association between adolescents' attitudes and those of their friends within the class was limited in our study. Moreover, longitudinal research would allow for investigating the reciprocal influences, as socialization is not unidirectional, and adolescents also play an active role and may influence their parents, peers and teachers in their sociopolitical development (Hatemi & Ojeda, 2021; Guhin, 2021; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002). From a developmental perspective, it is expected that the whole system plays a role in development and that parents, peers and teachers also develop over time.

Participants of the studies were adolescents within the second grade of secondary schools, who are generally between 13 and 14 years old. As discussed in Chapter 1, this is an important age period for the development of citizenship competences and civic engagement in adulthood (Amnå, 2012; Metzger et al., 2018; Prior, 2010; Rekker et al., 2015; Russo & Stattin, 2017). However, adolescence is also characterized by rapid social and cognitive developments. At age 13-14, knowledge and attitudes are not yet crystallized. Instead, they are still developing, and different aspects of citizenship competences follow different developmental pathways and growth rates (Grütter & Buchmann, 2021; Zaff et al., 2011). Moreover, the role of socializing agents may change when adolescents are older, given that individuals become more autonomous from parents and peer influence increases during adolescence (De Goede et al., 2009; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Lionetti et al., 2019). In sum, the findings specifically apply to adolescents in the eighth grade, and associations may vary across different ages. For example, the role of congruence may change as young people become more independent from their parents. Future research could shed more light on these associations throughout adolescence.

Finally, this dissertation specifically focused on parents, peers, and teachers. Although these are all regarded as important socializing agents during adolescence (e.g., Degner & Dalege, 2013; Giletta et al., 2021; Wanders et al., 2021), adolescents' social environment extends beyond the home, peer, and school contexts. Therefore, only several aspects of the ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) could be examined. Adolescents are embedded

in various other interconnected social environments that can also influence their ideas and opinions about social and political issues. Social media, in particular, might play a pivotal role (e.g., Cheng et al., 2024; Harff & Schmuck, 2024). The digital environment has been changing rapidly, and social media is nowadays a central aspect of the lives of adolescents (Vogels et al., 2022; Weigle & Shafi, 2023).However, our results indicated that adolescents' civic engagement online was rather low. The role of social media is multifaceted, providing both risks and opportunities. With regard to civic development, especially the role of influencers in shaping opinions about politics and civic life seems an important avenue for future research. For example, recent studies show that political influencers may raise adolescents' political interest and confidence in political efficacy by making political news comprehensible, but can also foster political cynicism (Harff & Schmuck, 2023; Schmuck et al., 2022). Moreover, influencers can be an important source of information that adolescents use to form opinions (Muth & Peter, 2023). In sum, adopting an even broader perspective which incorporates social media, and other important contexts such as sport clubs and religious institutions, may further enrich our understanding of the associations between contextual factors and adolescents' citizenship competences.

Practical implications

Especially in light of the increased attention to adolescents' citizenship competences and the role of citizenship education (De Groot et al., 2022), the insights from these studies offer valuable directions for supporting adolescents in their civic development. In times of rising populism, misinformation, growing perceived societal divides, and pressing global issues like climate change and conflicts, it is increasingly evident that democracy should not be taken for granted (e.g., Ecker et al., 2024; Ruth-Lovell & Grahn, 2022). These challenges call for a collective responsibility. Knowledgeable and engaged citizens are vital to maintain a resilient, democratic society. This highlights the importance of understanding and supporting adolescents in their development of citizenship competences, which enable them to understand and participate in a pluriform and democratic society.

This dissertation demonstrates that adolescents' citizenship competences are related to their experiences at home, among peers, and at school. For some adolescents, the experiences across these social settings align more closely than for others. Reflecting on these different social settings and making sense of other opinions is an essential aspect of adolescents' civic development. Schools can play an important role in supporting this, as adolescents encounter peers from different social backgrounds and come across opinions that differ from those of their family members and self-selected peer groups. In its role as secondary apprenticeship system (Ten Dam et al., 2004), schools can support adolescents to reflect upon the different mini-polities they are part of. Moreover, parents could be involved in this process, for example by discussing the issues addressed at school. This interplay can also offer an opportunity for adolescents to cross boundaries,

and to develop a more nuanced and coherent understanding of differences in civic attitudes and behaviors in various social settings. In this perspective, reflecting on (in)congruence can also be seen as a valuable learning opportunity, as it may encourage adolescents to critically engage with different perspectives when provided with the necessary support.

Especially in a period of increasing concerns about polarization, schools can make a difference by creating a safe environment in which adolescents are stimulated to listen to each other and discuss and respect different point of views. Literature on discussing controversial issues shows that classroom discussions about controversial issues promote civic engagement and understanding of opposing views (Ho et al., 2017), highlighting the importance of this aspect of citizenship education. At the same time, the societal context for citizenship education may have become more complex in recent years. Societal tensions and polarization also make their way into the classroom, and teachers may become more hesitant to discuss controversial political issues in the classroom (e.g., Journell, 2022). Moreover, students experience the classroom climate for discussion as less open than before. In this light, the stable association between the school climate and adolescents' citizenship competences underscores that even when the context changes and becomes more challenging, experiencing a respectful class environment that encourages the expression of different viewpoints remains important.

Finally, navigating society is even more challenging when that society is facing serious threats. The findings of this dissertation point to the importance of acknowledging adolescents' concerns regarding the future of Europe and the world in supporting their civic development, both at school and at home. For example, exploring ways to address and critically engage with these concerns could be a valuable approach. This is especially important for the unengaged untrustful adolescents with high macrosocial worries, as it may provide them a constructive way to cope, fostering a sense of agency and responsibility in shaping their future. Given the serious threats society is facing, it is vital to help adolescents facing them. Studies on adolescents' environmental engagement point to the importance of constructive hope (Ojala, 2012, 2023). In contrast to hope based on denying or de-emphasizing the seriousness of the problem, constructive hope refers to the capacity to face macrosocial risks and uncertainty, based on positive reappraisal, and trust in the capabilities of laypeople, politicians and other societal actors (Ojala, 2015, 2023). These studies also point to the importance of teachers' communication about emotions in relation to societal problems. Given that adolescents' macrosocial worries are related to their civic engagement, awareness of emotions related to societal problems should play a role in fostering civic involvement.

Conclusion

This dissertation calls for adopting a broader perspective on adolescents' citizenship competences and citizenship education, one that considers the various social contexts in which adolescents are embedded. Adolescents' experiences at home, with peers, and in school, and their macrosocial concerns about the future, relate to how they engage with and relate to society. Recognizing and acknowledging the role of these elements is crucial in supporting young citizens in participating and finding their place in society.