



## CHAPTER 4:

# Aspects of students' civic engagement

### Chapter highlights

Television news and discussions with parents remained important sources of information for students engaging with political and social issues.

- Students' use of newspapers declined between 2009 and 2016. (Table 4.1)
- In most countries, students were talking more frequently than previously with their parents about what was happening in other countries. (Table 4.1)
- Students' use of new social media for civic engagement remained limited but varied across participating countries. (Table 4.2)

Students' engagement in discussions about political and social issues and their confidence to participate in civic activities were somewhat stronger than they were in 2009. (Tables 4.4, 4.6)

- Students who reported high levels of interest in political and social issues were the students most likely to discuss these issues. (Table 4.5)
- Students who said they engaged confidently in civic activities also tended to be the students most interested in civic issues. There were no consistent associations between civic engagement and civic knowledge. (Table 4.7)

While few changes were apparent in the extent of students' participation at school, students valued this participation as highly as they did in 2009. (Tables 4.8, 4.9)

- Students' willingness to participate at school was higher among females and among students who expressed higher levels of interest in social and political issues. (Table 4.12)
- The associations between students' willingness to participate at school and their civic knowledge were less consistent. (Table 4.12)

Students' participation in voluntary activities and their expectations of engaging in elections increased in many countries between 2009 and 2016. (Tables 4.13, 4.17)

- While the data analyses showed no associations between participation in legal protest activities and civic knowledge, the students who expected to participate in illegal protest activities were those most likely to have low levels of civic knowledge. (Tables 4.15, 4.16)
- Expected active political participation was higher among students who said they were interested in civic-related issues but lower among students with higher levels of civic knowledge. (Table 4.20)

## Conceptual background and prior research

This chapter addresses Research Question 3 of the ICCS 2016 assessment framework (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016): *What is the extent of students' engagement in different spheres of society and which factors within or across countries are related to it?* This broad research question was accompanied in the ICCS 2016 framework with a subset of specific research questions:

- *What is the extent and variation of students' civic participation in and out of school?*
- *What beliefs do students hold regarding their own capacity to engage and the value of civic participation?*
- *What expectations do students have regarding civic and political participation in the near future or as adults?*
- *What changes in student engagement can be observed since 2009?*

In addressing these questions, the chapter examines:

- (1) Students' personal engagement with political and social issues and their citizenship self-efficacy;
- (2) Students' civic participation in school;
- (3) Students' civic participation outside school; and
- (4) Students' expected future civic engagement.

Analyses reported in this chapter involve:

- (1) Comparisons among participating countries in 2016;
- (2) Comparisons between ICCS 2009 and 2016 for countries that participated in both cycles and where the same measure was used in each cycle; and
- (3) Within-country associations between measures of civic engagement and selected independent variables.

The selected independent variables were student interest in political and social issues, student level of civic knowledge, and either parental education (for measures of personal engagement with civic issues) or gender (for measures of civic participation at school, out of school, or beyond school); see category percentages for these variables in Appendix C.

Because civic engagement of citizens is a central characteristic of a democratic society, one of ICCS 2016's key goals was to measure the extent of students' engagement with aspects included in civic and citizenship education. Civic engagement refers not only to students' personal involvement in activities related to this area but also to their motivation to participate in civic activities, their confidence in the effectiveness of their participation, and their beliefs about their own capacity to become actively involved. As Putnam (1995) points out, civic engagement is not narrowly confined to the sphere of politics. He defines civic engagement as "people's connections with the life of their communities, not merely politics" (p. 665).

A large body of literature concerns students' engagement as supported and encouraged by schools. One of the important contributions to the research literature on engagement has been the distinction between emotional engagement (positive and negative reactions to teachers, academic work, and school), behavioral engagement (involvement in academic, social, and extracurricular activities), and cognitive engagement (willingness to exert effort to comprehend complex ideas and master difficult skills) (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). Our focus in this chapter is on students' behavioral engagement in civics and citizenship as well as their interest in various aspects of civics and citizenship. For each questionnaire scale, we compare scale score averages across three comparison groups, each consisting of two categories (e.g., students with high and low levels of civic knowledge). Graphical displays of differences between groups and their statistical significance ( $p < 0.05$ ) accompany these comparisons.

The ICCS 2016 international student questionnaire was used to measure the constructs underpinning the scales and items presented in this chapter, while IRT (Item Response Theory) scaling was used to derive new scales. For reporting purposes, the ICCS 2016 scales have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 with equally weighted national data. The 2016 scales employing the same or almost identical item sets to those used in ICCS 2009 equate to those established in 2009. For these scales, 50 reflects the mean and 10 the standard deviation of all equally weighted countries that participated in ICCS 2009. In this chapter, we describe the scale score differences through reference to the international standard deviations, which for the new scales reflect those in ICCS 2016 and for the equated scales those in ICCS 2009.

All scales are described in item maps contained in Appendix D of this report. The maps map scale scores to expected item responses under the ICCS scaling model, which is also set out in Appendix D. Greater detail on the scaling and equating procedures for questionnaire items will be provided in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, forthcoming).

When interpreting cross-country comparisons of questionnaire data, please be aware that the formats used to gauge respondents' attitudes or perceptions across diverse national contexts may not always measure respondents' beliefs consistently across the different languages and cultures (for evidence of this matter, see, for example, Desa, van de Vijver, Carstens, & Schulz, in press; Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002; van de Gaer, Grisay, Schulz, & Gebhardt, 2012). Although ICCS extensively reviewed issues of measurement invariance during the development stage of both cycles of the study (see Schulz, 2009; Schulz & Fraillon, 2011), we acknowledge that variations of scale scores across countries may be partly due to differences related to cultural or linguistic contexts.

### **Personal engagement with political and social issues**

Students' civic engagement refers to students (a) gaining information about issues that arise in civic and political life; (b) discussing aspects of civic and political life with peers and adults; and (c) being disposed to actively engage in society. Civic engagement also concerns students' expectations of participating in civic activities in the future, and being able to actively engage in society. In addition to active involvement in the civic forums open to this age group (such as school-based activities, youth organizations, and community groups), many young people now become involved in the virtual networks featuring civic and political content that are available through social media. Today, there is wide recognition of the important role that formal education plays in influencing the extent of adult engagement in society (Pancer, 2015).

According to Ekman and Amnå (2012), we need to distinguish civic participation (latent political participation) from manifest political participation. Latent involvement includes characteristics such as interest and attentiveness, while manifest political participation takes the form of active engagement and involves activities undertaken either individually or collectively. Many commentators have observed the growing phenomenon of political passivity among young people, but as Amnå & Ekman (2014) emphasize there is also a need to distinguish unengaged from disillusioned citizens. Although unengaged passive citizens may keep themselves informed and be willing to become engaged if needed, disillusioned passive citizens have lost faith in being able to exert an influence on civic practices and institutions and have accordingly become alienated from civic processes. Therefore, in addition to active engagement, basic dispositions toward engagement (interest or self-efficacy) and behavioral intentions (underlying preparedness to take action) are of crucial importance in any study of young people's civic engagement.

ICCS 2016 asked students how often they used both traditional sources (watching television, reading newspapers, and talking with parents) and social media to obtain information about political or social issues. The data point to an important role for television, a moderately important role

for discussions with parents, and a relatively smaller role for newspapers (Table 4.1). In 2016, an average of two-thirds of students (66%) in countries meeting sampling requirements watched television at least once a week in order to obtain information about national and international news. The corresponding average percentage for talking with parents was 46 percent, while the average percentage for reading newspapers was 27 percent.

A closer look at these results revealed considerable variation across countries. The percentages of ICCS 2016 students who reported television as a source of national and international news were notably higher<sup>1</sup> than the international average in Chile (76%), Chinese Taipei (80%), Colombia (79%), and Peru (80%), but notably below average in Finland (45%) and Norway (55%). The percentages of students reading newspapers at least weekly as a source of national and international news were notably higher than the ICCS 2016 average in the Dominican Republic (39%) and Peru (60%), but notably below this average in Malta (16%) and Slovenia (17%). Denmark (58%) and Italy (61%) recorded the highest percentages of students talking with parents about what was happening in other countries.

ICCS 2016 revealed some intriguing changes over time between 2009 and 2016 for those 18 countries with comparable data (Table 4.1). The percentages of students reporting weekly use of television as a source of national and international news declined significantly over that seven-year period in 11 of the 18 countries but increased in three countries—Belgium (Flemish), Slovenia, and Sweden. The percentages of students using newspapers as a source of national and international news declined in 16 of the 18 countries. No significant changes were apparent in two countries—Belgium (Flemish) and Colombia. Percentages of students who said they talked with their parents about what was happening in other countries increased between 2009 and 2016 in 12 of the 18 countries and declined in just two of the countries with comparable data—Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

In most countries, the overall pattern of change in the frequency with which students were engaging with political and social issues through the various information media was one of decline. The decline in (at least) weekly use of newspapers as a source of information about national and international news was 15 percentage points on average. We observed only a small decline in the percentages (on average, three percentage points) of students using television at least once a week as a source of information about national and international news. However, the percentages of students talking with parents at least once a week about what was happening in other countries increased slightly over the period from 2009 to 2016 (by seven percentage points on average).

Various commentators have suggested that civic participation is more likely when information about political and social issues is conveyed through interactive means (e.g., via chat rooms or message boards) instead of the one-way communication of more traditional media (Bachen, Raphael, Lynn, McKee, & Philippi, 2008; Kahne, Lee, & Feezell, 2011; Rainie, Smith, Schlozman, Brady, & Verba, 2012; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011). Given the increasing importance of this type of civic engagement, the ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included three new items designed to measure young people's engagement with political and social issues via social media. The items asked students to report the frequency with which they were (a) "using the internet to find information about political or social issues;" (b) "posting a comment or image regarding a political or social issue on the internet or social media;" and (c) "sharing or commenting on another person's online post regarding a political or social issue."

The extent to which students were using internet and social media for information and to exchange information about political and social issues varied markedly across countries but was generally lower than might have been expected (Table 4.2). Note, however, that this finding is not about use

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1 The term "notably" means a statistically significant difference that is greater than 10 percentage points.

Table 4.1: Students' participation in communication in communication about political or social issues

Country	Percentages of students who reported doing the following activities at least once a week:											
	Watching television to inform yourself about national and international news				Reading the newspaper to inform yourself about national and international news				Talking with your parent(s) about what is happening in other countries			
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference
Belgium (Flemish)	72 (1.2) Δ	62 (1.1)	10 (1.6)	33 (1.0) Δ	33 (0.9)	0 (1.4)	44 (1.6)	28 (1.1)	17 (1.9)	44 (1.6)	28 (1.1)	17 (1.9)
Bulgaria	72 (1.1) Δ	72 (1.1)	-1 (1.6)	20 (1.0) ▽	37 (0.9)	-16 (1.3)	41 (1.3) ▽	40 (1.3)	2 (1.9)	41 (1.3)	40 (1.3)	2 (1.9)
Chile	76 (0.7) ▲	80 (0.8)	-4 (1.1)	23 (0.6) ▽	38 (1.1)	-14 (1.3)	38 (0.9) ▽	40 (1.0)	-2 (1.4)	38 (0.9)	40 (1.0)	-2 (1.4)
Chinese Taipei	80 (0.6) ▲	80 (0.6)	0 (0.8)	35 (1.0) Δ	56 (0.9)	-21 (1.3)	39 (1.0) ▽	38 (0.7)	1 (1.2)	39 (1.0)	38 (0.7)	1 (1.2)
Colombia	79 (0.8) ▲	84 (0.6)	-6 (1.0)	35 (1.4) Δ	38 (1.3)	-3 (1.9)	45 (0.8)	48 (1.0)	-3 (1.3)	45 (0.8)	48 (1.0)	-3 (1.3)
Croatia	64 (1.0)	-	-	25 (1.0) ▽	-	-	49 (1.1) Δ	-	-	49 (1.1)	-	-
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	60 (0.9) ▽	69 (1.0)	-10 (1.4)	20 (0.7) ▽	28 (0.8)	-8 (1.1)	58 (1.1) ▲	45 (1.1)	12 (1.6)	58 (1.1)	45 (1.1)	12 (1.6)
Dominican Republic	72 (1.1) Δ	74 (1.2)	-2 (1.6)	39 (1.2) ▲	54 (1.4)	-15 (1.9)	47 (1.0)	50 (0.9)	-4 (1.4)	47 (1.0)	50 (0.9)	-4 (1.4)
Estonia <sup>†</sup>	65 (1.1)	75 (1.0)	-10 (1.5)	30 (1.4) Δ	53 (1.2)	-23 (1.8)	40 (1.1) ▽	30 (1.2)	10 (1.7)	40 (1.1)	30 (1.2)	10 (1.7)
Finland	45 (1.0) ▼	50 (1.1)	-5 (1.5)	30 (1.1) Δ	48 (1.0)	-18 (1.5)	41 (1.2) ▽	24 (1.1)	18 (1.6)	41 (1.2)	24 (1.1)	18 (1.6)
Italy	74 (1.0) Δ	78 (0.9)	-4 (1.4)	27 (1.1)	36 (1.3)	-10 (1.7)	61 (1.2) ▲	55 (1.2)	7 (1.6)	61 (1.2)	55 (1.2)	7 (1.6)
Latvia <sup>†</sup>	57 (1.2) ▽	76 (1.1)	-18 (1.6)	20 (0.8) ▽	37 (1.2)	-17 (1.4)	47 (1.3)	41 (1.4)	7 (1.9)	47 (1.3)	41 (1.4)	7 (1.9)
Lithuania	73 (1.0) Δ	76 (0.9)	-4 (1.4)	23 (1.1) ▽	45 (1.2)	-22 (1.6)	50 (1.0) Δ	40 (0.9)	11 (1.3)	50 (1.0)	40 (0.9)	11 (1.3)
Malta	65 (0.9)	64 (0.9)	1 (1.3)	16 (0.7) ▼	28 (1.0)	-13 (1.2)	51 (0.8) Δ	40 (1.3)	11 (1.5)	51 (0.8)	40 (1.3)	11 (1.5)
Mexico	59 (0.8) ▽	63 (0.8)	-3 (1.1)	26 (0.7)	31 (0.9)	-5 (1.1)	36 (0.8) ▽	38 (0.7)	-2 (1.0)	36 (0.8)	38 (0.7)	-2 (1.0)
Netherlands <sup>†</sup>	63 (1.3) ▽	-	-	18 (1.2) ▽	-	-	46 (1.2)	-	-	46 (1.2)	-	-
Norway (9) <sup>†</sup>	55 (1.0) ▼	71 (1.3)	-16 (1.6)	27 (0.8)	54 (1.3)	-27 (1.5)	43 (0.9) ▽	35 (1.3)	8 (1.6)	43 (0.9)	35 (1.3)	8 (1.6)
Peru	80 (0.7) ▲	-	-	60 (1.2) ▲	-	-	51 (0.9) Δ	-	-	51 (0.9)	-	-
Russian Federation	57 (1.1) ▽	61 (1.1)	-3 (1.5)	21 (0.9) ▽	38 (0.9)	-17 (1.3)	38 (0.9) ▽	33 (1.0)	5 (1.4)	38 (0.9)	33 (1.0)	5 (1.4)
Slovenia	59 (1.2) ▽	54 (1.3)	4 (1.8)	17 (0.9) ▼	32 (1.0)	-15 (1.3)	43 (1.2) ▽	33 (1.1)	10 (1.6)	43 (1.2)	33 (1.1)	10 (1.6)
Sweden <sup>†</sup>	57 (1.1) ▽	49 (1.0)	8 (1.5)	29 (0.9) Δ	51 (1.2)	-22 (1.5)	48 (1.4)	28 (1.0)	20 (1.7)	48 (1.4)	28 (1.0)	20 (1.7)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	66 (0.2)	69 (0.2)	-3 (0.3)	27 (0.2)	41 (0.3)	-15 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	38 (0.3)	7 (0.4)	46 (0.2)	38 (0.3)	7 (0.4)
<b>Common countries average</b>	65 (0.2)	69 (0.2)	-3 (0.3)	26 (0.2)	41 (0.3)	-15 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	38 (0.3)	7 (0.4)	45 (0.3)	38 (0.3)	7 (0.4)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>												
Hong Kong SAR	71 (1.2)	-	-	44 (1.0)	-	-	39 (1.0)	-	-	39 (1.0)	-	-
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	60 (1.0)	-	-	14 (0.8)	-	-	41 (1.2)	-	-	41 (1.2)	-	-
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>												
North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	60 (1.3)	-	-	23 (1.5)	-	-	57 (1.6)	-	-	57 (1.6)	-	-

**Notes:**

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.  
 ▲ Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.  
 (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.  
 † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.  
 1 National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.  
 2 Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.  
 - No comparable data available.

**National percentage**

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average  
 Δ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average  
 ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average  
 ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average

of the internet and social media in general but about use of these communication technologies for specific purposes related to civic engagement.

The ICCS 2016 international average percentages for students' engagement with political and social issues through the internet and other social media at least once a week ranged from 31 percent for using the internet to find information about political or social issues down to 10 percent for sharing or commenting on another person's online post regarding a political or social issue, and nine percent for posting a comment or image regarding a political or social issue on internet or social media.

Table 4.2: Students' engagement with internet and social media

Country	Percentages of students who reported doing the following activities at least once a week:			Average scale scores indicating students' engagement with social media
	Using the internet to find information about political or social issues (%)	Posting a comment or image regarding a political or social issue on the internet or social media (%)	Sharing or commenting on another person's online post regarding a political or social issue (%)	
Belgium (Flemish)	23 (1.1) ▽	5 (0.6) ▽	6 (0.4) ▽	48 (0.3) ▽
Bulgaria	26 (0.9) ▽	12 (0.9) △	11 (0.6) △	50 (0.3)
Chile	21 (0.6) ▽	9 (0.5)	8 (0.4) ▽	48 (0.2) ▽
Chinese Taipei	65 (1.0) ▲	20 (0.7) ▲	15 (0.6) △	57 (0.2) ▲
Colombia	29 (0.9) ▽	11 (0.6) △	16 (0.8) △	51 (0.2) △
Croatia	34 (1.2) △	3 (0.4) ▽	3 (0.4) ▽	49 (0.2) ▽
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	38 (0.8) △	3 (0.3) ▽	4 (0.4) ▽	50 (0.2)
Dominican Republic	37 (1.2) △	19 (0.8) ▲	23 (0.9) ▲	54 (0.2) ▲
Estonia <sup>‡</sup>	26 (1.2) ▽	5 (0.4) ▽	8 (0.6) ▽	49 (0.2) ▽
Finland	18 (0.9) ▼	3 (0.3) ▽	3 (0.4) ▽	46 (0.2) ▼
Italy	35 (1.0) △	9 (0.5)	10 (0.6)	51 (0.2) △
Latvia <sup>‡</sup>	37 (1.2) △	14 (0.8) △	14 (0.7) △	53 (0.3) △
Lithuania	37 (1.1) △	8 (0.6)	9 (0.6)	52 (0.2) △
Malta	25 (0.7) ▽	7 (0.4) ▽	8 (0.4) ▽	48 (0.2) ▽
Mexico	29 (0.8)	12 (0.5) △	12 (0.5) △	50 (0.2) △
Netherlands <sup>‡</sup>	10 (0.7) ▼	3 (0.3) ▽	5 (0.5) ▽	44 (0.2) ▼
Norway (9) <sup>‡</sup>	27 (0.7) ▽	4 (0.3) ▽	5 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.2) ▽
Peru	33 (0.9) △	17 (0.7) △	18 (0.7) △	53 (0.2) △
Russian Federation	40 (1.1) △	8 (0.5)	10 (0.6)	52 (0.2) △
Slovenia	20 (0.9) ▼	3 (0.4) ▽	4 (0.4) ▽	47 (0.2) ▼
Sweden <sup>‡</sup>	33 (1.1) △	5 (0.5) ▽	7 (0.7) ▽	50 (0.2)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>31 (0.2)</b>	<b>9 (0.1)</b>	<b>10 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.0)</b>

#### Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	29 (1.0)	16 (0.8)	16 (0.8)	52 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>1</sup>	41 (1.2)	8 (0.6)	11 (0.7)	52 (0.2)

#### Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements

North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany)	14 (1.0)	8 (0.6)	7 (0.7)	47 (0.2)
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#### National percentage or average:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points or 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above average
- ▽ Significantly below average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points or 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

#### Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

(9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

Students were less likely to use internet and social media than television to find information about political and social issues, but were marginally more likely to use the internet and social media than newspapers. In terms of interactive civic engagement, students were considerably less likely to (at least weekly) share or comment on an online post or to post a comment or image online than they were to talk to their parents about what was happening in other countries.

We also observed considerable variation in the percentages of students using the internet at least once a week to find information about political or social issues (Table 4.2). The percentages ranged from 10 percent in the Netherlands to 65 percent for Chinese Taipei. The percentages sharing or commenting on another person's online post at least once a week ranged from three percent in Croatia and Finland to 23 percent in the Dominican Republic. The percentages of students posting a comment or image relating to a political or social issue on the internet or social media at least once a week were lowest (at three percent) in Croatia, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, and Slovenia, and highest (with 20%) in Chinese Taipei.

The average national scale scores in Table 4.2 represent students' use of the internet and other social media for the three civic engagement purposes. The three items formed a scale with a marginally acceptable reliability (average Cronbach's alpha = 0.63) (see item map in Figure 4.1, Appendix D). Comparisons of the national scale scores with the ICCS 2016 international average showed that the students most frequently using social media for civic engagement were those from Chinese Taipei (by more than half of an international standard deviation) and the Dominican Republic (by more than a third of an international standard deviation). The students least likely to be using social media for civic engagement were those from Finland (with a national average below the ICCS 2016 average by more than a third of an international standard deviation), the Netherlands (by more than half of an international standard deviation), and Slovenia (by one third of an international standard deviation).

Table 4.3 presents the associations between the national average scale scores for students' engagement with political or social issues and three student characteristics: (a) "highest level of parental education;" (b) "extent of students' interest in political and social issues;" and (c) "extent of students' civic knowledge." The columns show the average scale scores for each comparison group (e.g., males and females), while the bar in between graphically illustrates the direction of each association: the red bars to the left of the zero line indicate score point differences where students in the left-hand side group have significantly ( $p < 0.05$ ) higher values; the green bars indicate score point differences where the group on the right-hand side has significantly higher averages. (The tables in Appendix E set out the percentages of students in the comparison groups.)

Our comparison of social media engagement and parental education revealed a very small difference between students for whom at least one parent had a university degree and those whose parents did not have a university degree. The difference, equivalent to one tenth of an international standard deviation, was in favor of the students who had at least one parent who was a university graduate. In 10 countries, the difference was statistically significant. The largest difference (in the Netherlands) was equivalent to about a third of an international standard deviation. The only country where we found a significant difference in the reverse direction was Belgium (Flemish).

In all countries, average scores on the social media engagement scale were consistently higher for those students who expressed interest in civic issues than for those students not interested in civic issues. On average, the difference between interested and not interested students was about six score points (more than half of an international standard deviation), making for a moderately large difference. However, there is no way to discern the direction of causality. In addition, our analyses revealed very few significant differences in scores on the social media engagement scale between students with high and students with low levels of civic knowledge.

Table 4.3: National average scale scores indicating students' engagement with social media by parental education, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score by parental university degree		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	No parent with university degree	At least one parent with university degree	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	49 (0.6)	48 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	53 (0.5)	50 (0.6)	48 (0.3)
Bulgaria	51 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	51 (0.5)	49 (0.3)
Chile	48 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	46 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	49 (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	57 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	56 (0.2)	60 (0.4)	56 (0.6)	57 (0.2)
Colombia	51 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	51 (0.3)
Croatia	49 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	47 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.5)	49 (0.2)
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	50 (0.2)	51 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	50 (0.5)	50 (0.2)
Dominican Republic	53 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	57 (0.4)	54 (0.2)	54 (0.7)
Estonia <sup>†</sup>	50 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	49 (0.2)
Finland	45 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	44 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	45 (0.6)	46 (0.2)
Italy	50 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	51 (0.3)
Latvia <sup>†</sup>	52 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	56 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	52 (0.3)
Lithuania	51 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	51 (0.3)
Malta	48 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.2)
Mexico	50 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	51 (0.3)
Netherlands <sup>†</sup>	44 (0.2)	45 (0.3)	43 (0.2)	50 (0.6)	44 (0.3)	45 (0.2)
Norway (9) <sup>†</sup>	48 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	49 (0.4)	48 (0.2)
Peru	52 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	52 (0.3)
Russian Federation	52 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	52 (0.5)	52 (0.3)
Slovenia	47 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	51 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	47 (0.2)
Sweden <sup>†</sup>	49 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.6)	50 (0.2)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	50 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	48 (0.1)	54 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>						
Hong Kong SAR	52 (0.3)	53 (0.6)	48 (0.3)	56 (0.4)	52 (0.5)	52 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	53 (0.3)

**Notes:**

<sup>0</sup> Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

<sup>†</sup> Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

 Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

In summary, we found significant associations across all countries between scores on the social media engagement scale and students' interest in civic issues. We recorded only weak associations with parental education and no consistent associations between civic knowledge and social media engagement.

ICCS 2016 asked students a series of questions regarding the frequency with which they discussed political and social issues outside school. The questions had four response categories: "never or hardly ever," "monthly (at least once a month)," "weekly (at least once a week)," and "daily or almost daily."

The following items were used to measure students' discussion of political or social issues: (a) "talking with parents about political or social issues" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of at least weekly discussions: 25%); "talking with friends about political or social issues" (16%); "talking with parent(s) about what is happening in other countries" (46%); and "talking with friends about what is happening in other countries" (27%).

We used the responses to these items to derive an IRT scale reflecting the frequency of student discussion of political and social issues outside of school. The scale had a satisfactory international average reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.74); see item map in [Figure 4.2](#), Appendix D. Because ICCS 2009 also used the items making up this scale, we were able to equate the 2016 IRT scale to the one derived in the previous cycle, thereby allowing us to examine not only the changes between 2009 and 2016 but also the associations between the average scores on this scale and the other indicators.

The 2016 findings revealed variation across countries in the frequency with which students discussed political and social issues outside their schools; the difference between the country with the lowest and the country with the highest average score was four scale points (equivalent to over a third of an international standard deviation). The students least likely to discuss civic issues outside school came from Chile and Mexico; those most likely to hold such discussions were from Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, and Peru.

The ICCS 2016 students engaged slightly more often (by more than two scale points or almost a quarter of an international standard deviation) than their 2009 counterparts in discussions of social and political issues outside school ([Table 4.4](#)). This difference suggests that students were discussing political and social issues outside school somewhat more often in 2016 than they were in 2009.

The increase across the seven years was statistically significant in 12 countries; six countries, however, recorded no significant change. The largest increases (of more than half an international standard deviation) were recorded in Sweden, Finland, and Belgium (Flemish). We also recorded moderate increases (equivalent to around a third of an international standard deviation) in Denmark, Estonia, Slovenia, Lithuania, and Malta.

Strong associations emerged between the frequency with which students discussed political and social issues outside school and their interest in these issues ([Table 4.5](#)). In every participating country, discussion scale scores were higher among students who said they were quite or very interested in political and social issues than among the students who expressed little or no interest. On average, the difference was eight scale points (equivalent to more than three quarters of an international standard deviation), suggesting a consistently strong relationship between student interest in political and social issues and their propensity to discuss those issues outside school.

In addition, in most countries, students with at least one parent who had attained a university degree discussed social and political issues more frequently than students whose parents had not attained a university degree. The difference was statistically significant in all but one participating

Table 4.4: National average scale scores indicating students' discussion of political and social issues outside school

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Belgium (Flemish)	50 (0.3) ▽	45 (0.2)	<b>5.3</b> (0.6)		■	■		
Bulgaria	51 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	0.9 (0.6)			■	■	
Chile	49 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	0.1 (0.5)			■		
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	<b>1.9</b> (0.5)			■	■	
Colombia	51 (0.2) ▽	51 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.5)			■	■	
Croatia	53 (0.2) △	-	-				■	
Denmark†	54 (0.2) △	50 (0.3)	<b>4.0</b> (0.5)			■	■	
Dominican Republic	52 (0.3) △	52 (0.2)	0.3 (0.5)				■	
Estonia	52 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	<b>2.9</b> (0.6)		■	■		
Finland	51 (0.2) ▽	46 (0.3)	<b>4.9</b> (0.6)		■	■		
Italy	53 (0.2) △	52 (0.3)	0.9 (0.5)				■	■
Latvia	54 (0.2) △	53 (0.2)	0.7 (0.5)				■	■
Lithuania	54 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	<b>2.8</b> (0.5)			■	■	
Malta	53 (0.1) △	51 (0.2)	<b>2.5</b> (0.5)			■	■	
Mexico	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	<b>1.1</b> (0.5)		■	■		
Netherlands†	50 (0.2) ▽	-	-			■		
Norway (9)	51 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.3)	<b>2.2</b> (0.6)		■	■		
Peru	54 (0.2) △	-	-				■	
Russian Federation	52 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	<b>2.0</b> (0.6)			■	■	
Slovenia	51 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	<b>2.8</b> (0.5)		■	■		
Sweden	53 (0.3) △	47 (0.3)	<b>6.4</b> (0.6)		■	■		
ICCS 2016 average	52 (0.0)							
Common countries average	52 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	<b>2.3</b> (0.1)					

## Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	51 (0.3)	-	-				■	
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.2)	-	-				■	

## Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements

North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	53 (0.3)	-	-				■	
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■ 2016 average score +/- Confidence interval  
 ■ 2009 average score +/- Confidence interval

## National percentage or average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

Less than weekly
Weekly or more

## Notes:

- ( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses.  
 Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.  
 (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.  
 † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.  
<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.  
<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.  
 - No comparable data available.

country (Dominican Republic). However, on average, the difference was relatively small (just two scale points, equivalent to a fifth of an international standard deviation).

In 16 countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge had significantly higher scores on the scale denoting discussion of political and social issues outside school than those whose civic knowledge scores were below Level B (refer Table 4.5). On average, the difference was two scale points (equivalent to about a fifth of an international standard deviation). Overall, these results suggest a weak association between the frequency with which students discuss political and social issues and their level of civic knowledge.

There is wide acceptance in the research literature that individuals' "judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances" denote self-efficacy and that these judgements have a strong influence on the choices individuals make in regard to undertaking tasks, the effort they put into those tasks, and the extent to which they persevere with them (Bandura, 1986, p. 391). Consequently, students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy is widely considered as an important part of personal engagement with political and social issues. We defined students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy as students' self-confidence in undertaking specific behaviors in the area of civic participation.

To assess this construct, ICCS 2016 included seven items that also featured in the ICCS 2009 student questionnaire. The items were (a) "discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expressing a fair or very good degree of confidence: 65%); "argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue" (68%); "stand as a candidate in a school election" (59%); "organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school" (65%); "follow a television debate about a controversial issue" (59%); "write a letter or email to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue" (60%); and "speak in front of your class about a social or political issue" (60%). The items had similar levels of agreement, and we used them to derive an IRT scale with high average reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.84). The scale also equated with the scale derived in ICCS 2009 so allowing us to compare scores across the two ICCS cycles (see item map in [Figure 4.3](#), Appendix D).

The national average scale scores for students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy in 2016 were similar in range to the self-efficacy scores in 2009 ([Table 4.6](#)). The 2016 average scale scores ranged from 48 (Finland, Latvia, Netherlands) to 60 (Dominican Republic). In 2009 the corresponding range across the countries that also participated in 2016 was from 47 to 57 scale points.

If civic and citizenship education had improved between 2009 and 2016, then a reasonable expectation is for a corresponding increase in citizenship self-efficacy. We observed an increase in citizenship self-efficacy scores between 2009 and 2016 in 12 of the 18 countries with comparable data across the two cycles. Latvia was the only country to show a decline in citizenship self-efficacy. The five remaining countries showed no significant differences between 2009 and 2016. On average across the common countries, the increase was 1.5 scale points (equivalent to less than one fifth of an international standard deviation), indicating that the increase over seven years in students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy was relatively small.

Students who had at least one parent with a university degree had slightly higher levels of citizenship self-efficacy than other students ([Table 4.7](#)). Although this difference was statistically significant in 14 countries, it was very small, averaging just over one scale point (about a tenth of an international standard deviation).

The ICCS 2016 data revealed strong to moderate associations between citizenship self-efficacy scale scores and students' interest in political and social issues. In every participating country, the mean scale score for citizenship self-efficacy was significantly higher for students who were quite or very interested in political and social issues than for those with no or little interest. On average across the ICCS 2016 countries, this difference was five scale points (equivalent to half an international standard deviation). While this pattern suggests a consistent and moderately strong association between students' citizenship self-efficacy and their interest in political and social issues, it does not indicate any direction of causality.

In 12 countries, citizenship self-efficacy scores for students with higher levels of civic knowledge were slightly (but significantly) higher than the scores for the less knowledgeable students. However, in five countries (Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Russian Federation), students with lower levels of civic knowledge had slightly but significantly higher

Table 4.5: National average scale scores indicating students' discussion of political and social issues outside school by parental education, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score by parental university degree		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	No parent with a university degree	At least one parent with a university degree	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	50 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	56 (0.4)	50 (0.6)	51 (0.3)
Bulgaria	51 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	56 (0.4)	51 (0.5)	52 (0.3)
Chile	49 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	56 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	51 (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	52 (0.2)
Colombia	50 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	51 (0.3)
Croatia	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	54 (0.2)
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	54 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	59 (0.2)	51 (0.5)	55 (0.2)
Dominican Republic	52 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	56 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	52 (0.7)
Estonia <sup>†</sup>	51 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	53 (0.3)
Finland	50 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	47 (0.6)	51 (0.3)
Italy	53 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	51 (0.2)	58 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	54 (0.2)
Latvia <sup>†</sup>	53 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	58 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	54 (0.3)
Lithuania	53 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	57 (0.2)	53 (0.5)	54 (0.2)
Malta	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	58 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	54 (0.2)
Mexico	49 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	47 (0.2)	54 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.3)
Netherlands <sup>†</sup>	49 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	48 (0.2)	57 (0.5)	47 (0.5)	51 (0.3)
Norway (9) <sup>†</sup>	50 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	57 (0.2)	49 (0.4)	52 (0.2)
Peru	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	53 (0.3)
Russian Federation	51 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	53 (0.2)
Slovenia	50 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	51 (0.3)
Sweden <sup>†</sup>	52 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	58 (0.3)	51 (0.6)	53 (0.4)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>53 (0.1)</b>	<b>49 (0.0)</b>	<b>57 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>						
Hong Kong SAR	51 (0.3)	54 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	52 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	50 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	52 (0.2)

■ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

#### Notes:

0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

Table 4.6: National average scale scores indicating students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	35	40	45	50	55	60	65
Belgium (Flemish)	50 (0.2) ▽	47 (0.2)	<b>2.7</b> (0.4)				■			
Bulgaria	52 (0.3) △	50 (0.3)	<b>1.6</b> (0.5)				■			
Chile	52 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	0.1 (0.4)				■			
Chinese Taipei	52 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	<b>3.6</b> (0.4)				■			
Colombia	53 (0.2) △	53 (0.3)	0.5 (0.4)				■			
Croatia	54 (0.2) △	–	–				■			
Denmark†	51 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	<b>1.1</b> (0.4)				■			
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.2) ▲	57 (0.3)	<b>3.6</b> (0.5)				■		■	
Estonia	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	<b>1.0</b> (0.4)				■			
Finland	48 (0.2) ▼	46 (0.2)	<b>1.8</b> (0.4)			■	■			
Italy	52 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	0.6 (0.4)				■			
Latvia	48 (0.2) ▼	49 (0.2)	<b>-1.2</b> (0.4)				■			
Lithuania	51 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	<b>0.8</b> (0.4)				■			
Malta	50 (0.2) ▽	47 (0.3)	<b>3.9</b> (0.4)				■			
Mexico	54 (0.2) △	53 (0.2)	<b>1.5</b> (0.4)				■			
Netherlands†	48 (0.2) ▼	–	–				■			
Norway (9)	51 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.3)	<b>1.2</b> (0.5)				■			
Peru	55 (0.2) ▲	–	–				■			
Russian Federation	50 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	0.6 (0.4)				■			
Slovenia	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	0.2 (0.4)				■			
Sweden	52 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	<b>2.6</b> (0.5)				■			
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	51 (0.0)									
<b>Common countries average</b>	51 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	<b>1.5</b> (0.1)							
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>										
Hong Kong SAR	50 (0.2)	–	–				■			
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	59 (0.3)	–	–						■	
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>										
North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	–	–				■			

■ 2016 average score +/- Confidence interval  
 ■ 2009 average score +/- Confidence interval

**National average:**

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

Not or not very well
Very or quite well

**Notes:**

( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from international defined population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

– No comparable data available.

An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

scores than the more knowledgeable students. On average across countries, the difference was less than one scale point (equivalent to less than a tenth of an international standard deviation).

## Students' participation in civic activities at school

Evidence within the research literature suggests that more democratic forms of school governance can contribute to higher levels of political engagement among students (see, for example, Mosher, Kenny, & Garrod, 1994; Pasek, Feldman, Romer, & Jamieson, 2008). Based on their analyses of longitudinal data in the United Kingdom, Keating and Janmaat (2015) suggest that participation in school-based political activities tends to have a positive influence on future civic engagement. The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire asked students about a wide range of civic-related participation at school (e.g., in school councils/parliaments or in student debates). The results from that cycle of ICCS showed majorities of students saying they had participated in many of these activities at school. These results also revealed positive associations between civic participation at school and civic knowledge (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

In order to assess students' civic-related participation at school, ICCS 2016 used a set of items in the student questionnaire that were mostly identical to the items used in the previous survey. The following comparative presentation of results from 2016 and 2009 sets out the percentages of students who had, within the past 12 months or a year ago, (a) "voted for a class or school parliament representative;" (b) "took part in decision-making on how their school was run;" or (c) "become a candidate for class representative or member of a school parliament" (see [Table 4.8](#)).

Across the countries participating in ICCS 2016, 77 percent of students, on average, said that during or before the last 12 months they had voted for a class or school parliament representative. Forty-one percent said they had taken part in decisions on how their school was being run, and 42 percent reported having been a candidate for class representative or a member of a school parliament.

On average across countries, the national percentages of students who said they had voted for a class or school parliament representative ranged from 50 to 93 percent. Percentages were above 90 percent in three countries (Chile, Croatia, Norway) and below 60 percent in three countries (Bulgaria, Italy, Netherlands). The national percentages of students who said they had participated in decisions on the running of their school ranged from 20 to 64 percent. Percentages were greater than 50 percent in four countries (Dominican Republic, Mexico, Norway, Sweden) and below 30 percent in five other countries (Croatia, Estonia, Finland, Netherlands, Slovenia). The national percentages of students who said they had been a candidate for class representative or member of a school parliament ranged from 21 to 62 percent. Percentages were greater than 50 percent in four countries (Croatia, Dominican Republic, Norway, Slovenia) and below 30 percent in three countries (Italy, Netherlands, Russian Federation).

Over the seven years between ICCS 2009 and 2016, eight countries (Chinese Taipei, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Russian Federation, Sweden) saw significant increases in the percentages of students who said they had voted for a class or school parliament representative ([Table 4.8](#)). We recorded significantly higher percentages of students who said they had participated in decisions about the running of their school in nine countries (Chile, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden), and significantly lower percentages in two countries. Six countries (Dominican Republic, Finland, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, Sweden) witnessed significant increases across time in the percentage of students who reported standing as a candidate for class representative or member of a school parliament; two countries experienced a decline. On average across the common countries that participated in both ICCS cycles, the proportion of students reporting participation in all three activities increased (significantly so) by three percentage points.

Consideration of students' beliefs regarding the value of participating in civic-related activities at school is important because of its close association with the more general concept of political efficacy (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954). Although adolescents at lower-secondary level (the ICCS 2016 target age) are generally unable to vote or run for office in "adult politics," experimentation

Table 4.7: National average scale scores indicating students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy by parental education, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by parental university degree			Scale score average by students' interest			Scale score average by level of civic knowledge		
	No parents with a university degree	At least one parent with a university degree	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	
Belgium (Flemish)	50 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	50 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	50 (0.3)	
Bulgaria	51 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	55 (0.4)	51 (0.5)	53 (0.3)	51 (0.5)	53 (0.3)	
Chile	52 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	50 (0.2)	58 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	
Chinese Taipei	52 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	55 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	55 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	
Colombia	53 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	51 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	
Croatia	54 (0.2)	55 (0.5)	52 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	55 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	55 (0.2)	
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	50 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	48 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	48 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.3)	61 (0.4)	59 (0.3)	62 (0.4)	61 (0.3)	59 (0.7)	61 (0.3)	59 (0.7)	
Estonia <sup>†</sup>	49 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	47 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	
Finland	47 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	45 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	45 (0.5)	48 (0.2)	45 (0.5)	48 (0.2)	
Italy	51 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	50 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	
Latvia <sup>†</sup>	47 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	
Lithuania	50 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	
Malta	50 (0.2)	52 (0.4)	48 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.2)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.2)	
Mexico	54 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	53 (0.2)	58 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	
Netherlands <sup>†</sup>	48 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	47 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	48 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.5)	48 (0.3)	
Norway (9) <sup>†</sup>	49 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	49 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.6)	51 (0.2)	
Peru	55 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	53 (0.2)	57 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	
Russian Federation	49 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	51 (0.5)	49 (0.2)	51 (0.5)	49 (0.2)	
Slovenia	49 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.2)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.2)	
Sweden <sup>†</sup>	51 (0.4)	52 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	50 (0.7)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.7)	52 (0.3)	
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>55 (0.1)</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>	
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>									
Hong Kong SAR	50 (0.3)	52 (0.6)	48 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	57 (0.4)	60 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	60 (0.3)	56 (0.6)	60 (0.3)	56 (0.6)	60 (0.3)	

 Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .  
 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

**Notes:**

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- 1 National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- 2 Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Table 4.8: Students' participation in civic activities at school

Country	Percentages of students who reported having participated in the following activities:											
	Voting for <class representative> or <school parliament>				Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run				Becoming a candidate for <class representative> or <school parliament>			
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference
Belgium (Flemish)	64 (2.0) ▼	68 (2.0)	-4 (2.8)	37 (1.3) ▽	36 (1.3)	2 (1.8)	37 (1.3) ▽	34 (1.2)	3 (1.7)	37 (1.3) ▽	34 (1.2)	3 (1.7)
Bulgaria	56 (1.7) ▼	52 (1.9)	5 (2.5)	32 (1.2) ▽	31 (1.2)	1 (1.6)	37 (1.3) ▽	34 (1.1)	3 (1.6)	37 (1.3) ▽	34 (1.1)	3 (1.6)
Chile	91 (0.7) ▲	89 (0.7)	2 (1.0)	49 (1.0) △	39 (1.1)	9 (1.5)	46 (0.9) △	47 (1.0)	-1 (1.3)	46 (0.9) △	47 (1.0)	-1 (1.3)
Chinese Taipei	72 (0.8) ▽	67 (0.9)	5 (1.2)	43 (0.8) △	43 (0.7)	-1 (1.1)	34 (0.9) ▽	32 (0.9)	1 (1.2)	34 (0.9) ▽	32 (0.9)	1 (1.2)
Colombia	90 (0.8) ▲	90 (0.5)	0 (0.9)	49 (1.0) △	57 (0.9)	-7 (1.4)	42 (1.1)	44 (0.8)	-2 (1.4)	42 (1.1)	44 (0.8)	-2 (1.4)
Croatia	91 (0.6) ▲	-	-	20 (1.0) ▼	-	-	58 (1.1) ▲	-	-	58 (1.1) ▲	-	-
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	80 (1.1) △	73 (1.1)	6 (1.5)	47 (1.0) △	44 (1.0)	4 (1.4)	50 (1.0) △	49 (1.0)	1 (1.4)	50 (1.0) △	49 (1.0)	1 (1.4)
Dominican Republic	66 (1.0) ▼	61 (1.5)	5 (1.8)	60 (1.1) ▲	59 (1.1)	1 (1.5)	62 (1.1) ▲	58 (1.2)	4 (1.6)	62 (1.1) ▲	58 (1.2)	4 (1.6)
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	74 (1.7)	75 (1.8)	0 (2.5)	29 (1.0) ▼	24 (1.2)	5 (1.5)	30 (1.2) ▼	32 (1.5)	-2 (1.9)	30 (1.2) ▼	32 (1.5)	-2 (1.9)
Finland	85 (1.1) △	83 (1.3)	2 (1.7)	27 (1.0) ▼	15 (0.7)	12 (1.3)	46 (1.5) △	35 (1.4)	11 (2.0)	46 (1.5) △	35 (1.4)	11 (2.0)
Italy	50 (2.5) ▼	49 (2.3)	2 (3.4)	36 (1.2) ▽	34 (1.5)	2 (1.9)	22 (1.6) ▼	21 (1.3)	0 (2.0)	22 (1.6) ▼	21 (1.3)	0 (2.0)
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	62 (2.0) ▼	67 (2.5)	-5 (3.1)	30 (1.3) ▼	31 (1.3)	-1 (1.9)	34 (1.3) ▽	39 (1.6)	-5 (2.1)	34 (1.3) ▽	39 (1.6)	-5 (2.1)
Lithuania	89 (0.8) ▲	84 (0.9)	5 (1.2)	43 (1.5)	35 (1.1)	8 (1.8)	47 (1.3) △	30 (1.1)	17 (1.6)	47 (1.3) △	30 (1.1)	17 (1.6)
Malta	78 (0.7) △	62 (1.2)	16 (1.4)	42 (0.8)	29 (1.0)	13 (1.2)	48 (0.8) △	24 (0.9)	25 (1.3)	48 (0.8) △	24 (0.9)	25 (1.3)
Mexico	76 (1.0)	74 (0.9)	3 (1.4)	57 (0.8) ▲	54 (0.9)	3 (1.2)	42 (0.9)	36 (0.7)	6 (1.2)	42 (0.9)	36 (0.7)	6 (1.2)
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	51 (2.3) ▼	-	-	27 (1.0) ▼	-	-	21 (1.3) ▼	-	-	21 (1.3) ▼	-	-
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	93 (0.4) ▲	90 (0.8)	3 (0.9)	59 (0.9) ▲	56 (1.1)	3 (1.4)	58 (0.8) ▲	59 (1.0)	-1 (1.3)	58 (0.8) ▲	59 (1.0)	-1 (1.3)
Peru	84 (1.0) △	-	-	45 (1.0) △	-	-	45 (1.0) △	-	-	45 (1.0) △	-	-
Russian Federation	84 (1.4) △	76 (1.4)	7 (2.0)	33 (1.1) ▽	32 (1.2)	1 (1.6)	25 (1.0) ▼	28 (1.1)	-3 (1.5)	25 (1.0) ▼	28 (1.1)	-3 (1.5)
Slovenia	84 (0.8) △	84 (0.8)	-1 (1.2)	24 (0.9) ▼	28 (1.2)	-4 (1.4)	59 (1.2) ▲	59 (1.1)	0 (1.7)	59 (1.2) ▲	59 (1.1)	0 (1.7)
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	89 (0.8) ▲	85 (0.9)	4 (1.2)	64 (0.9) ▲	54 (1.1)	11 (1.4)	47 (0.8) △	40 (1.0)	6 (1.3)	47 (0.8) △	40 (1.0)	6 (1.3)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	77 (0.3)			41 (0.2)			42 (0.2)			42 (0.2)		
<b>Common countries average</b>	77 (0.3)	74 (0.3)	3 (0.5)	42 (0.2)	39 (0.3)	3 (0.4)	42 (0.3)	39 (0.3)	3 (0.4)	42 (0.3)	39 (0.3)	3 (0.4)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>												
Hong Kong SAR	71 (1.2)	-	-	30 (1.1)	-	-	30 (1.0)	-	-	30 (1.0)	-	-
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	88 (0.8)	-	-	53 (1.4)	-	-	47 (1.1)	-	-	47 (1.1)	-	-
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>												
North Rhine-Westphalia Germany <sup>1</sup>	82 (1.2)	-	-	50 (2.2)	-	-	60 (1.4)	-	-	60 (1.4)	-	-

**Notes:**

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent. Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- 1 National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- 2 Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- No comparable data available.

**National percentage:**

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average

as students can help them understand how they can collectively influence what happens in their schools (Bandura, 1997, p. 491). CIVED included seven items measuring the extent to which students thought they had an influence at school. Four of these questions focused on general confidence in school participation (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire used a set of four (partly modified) CIVED items and one additional item to reflect students' attitudes toward the value of student-based participation in civic-related activities at school. While most students across the ICCS 2009 countries valued students' participation at school, females tended to give more positive responses than males to this form of participation (Schulz et al., 2010).

The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire asked students to state their level of agreement with a set of five statements (items) on the value of participation at school: (a) "Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students agreeing with this item: 90%); (b) "Lots of positive changes can happen in schools when students work together" (93%); (c) "Organizing groups of students to express their opinions could help solve problems in schools" (87%); (d) "Students can have more influence on what happens in schools if they act together rather than alone" (90%); and (e) "Voting in student elections can make a difference to what happens at schools" (81%). These items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.78); see the item map in [Figure 4.4](#), Appendix D. Because ICCS 2009 included the first four of these items, we were able to equate and then examine changes over time between the 2016 scale scores and the 2009 scale scores ([Table 4.9](#)).

The national averages in ICCS 2016 ranged from 48 to 56 scale points. Three countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic) had average scale scores of 54 or greater, while the lowest average scale score was 48 (Netherlands). There were significant increases in seven countries (Bulgaria, Chinese Taipei, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Italy, Lithuania, Mexico). A significantly lower score was recorded in one country.

ICCS 2016 collected data that allowed us to explore possible associations between students' perceptions of the value of participation at school and student gender, students' interest in political or social issues, and students' level of civic knowledge ([Table 4.10](#)). A significantly lower score was recorded in one country.

We included student gender as an independent variable in ICCS 2016 because ICCS 2009 showed associations between gender and perceived usefulness of school participation. In 2016, students' perceptions of the value of participation at school again appeared to be related to student gender. On average across the participating countries, female students recorded higher values than males on the value of participation at school scale, with the difference amounting to two scale points (equivalent to one fifth of an international standard deviation). The difference was statistically significant in 16 of the common countries.

We also found higher levels of interest in political and social issues associated with higher scores on the value of participation at school scale. On average across countries, the difference in the value of participation at school scores between students who were quite or very interested in political or social issues and those who had little or no interest was three scale points (equivalent to about a third of an international standard deviation). We observed similar and statistically significant associations in all participating countries. The associations varied in magnitude across countries, however.

In all countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge scores tended to value student participation at school more than students with lower levels of civic knowledge did. The difference across countries was three scale points on average (equivalent to about a third of a standard deviation).

Table 4.9: National average scale scores indicating students' perception of the value of participation at school

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Belgium (Flemish)	49 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.4)					
Bulgaria	51 (0.2) ▲	49 (0.3)	<b>2.3</b> (0.4)					
Chile	55 (0.2) ▲	56 (0.2)	<b>-1.4</b> (0.4)					
Chinese Taipei	53 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	<b>2.7</b> (0.4)					
Colombia	54 (0.2) △	54 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.4)					
Croatia	53 (0.2) △	-	-					
Denmark <sup>†</sup>	49 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.4)					
Dominican Republic	56 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.3)	<b>1.7</b> (0.4)					
Estonia	51 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	<b>1.1</b> (0.5)					
Finland	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)					
Italy	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	<b>2.1</b> (0.3)					
Latvia	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.3)	0.7 (0.4)					
Lithuania	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	<b>0.8</b> (0.4)					
Malta	51 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.4)					
Mexico	53 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	<b>2.1</b> (0.4)					
Netherlands <sup>†</sup>	48 (0.2) ▼	-	-					
Norway (9)	51 (0.2) ▽	51 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.4)					
Peru	53 (0.2) △	-	-					
Russian Federation	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.4)					
Slovenia	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	0.4 (0.4)					
Sweden	49 (0.4) ▽	49 (0.2)	0.2 (0.5)					
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>							
<b>Common countries average</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>0.6 (0.1)</b>					

## Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.3)	-	-					
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)	-	-					

## Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements

North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.4)	-	-					
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■ 2016 average score +/- Confidence interval  
 ■ 2009 average score +/- Confidence interval

## National average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

	No strong agreement with positive statements
	Strong agreement with positive statements

## Notes:

( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

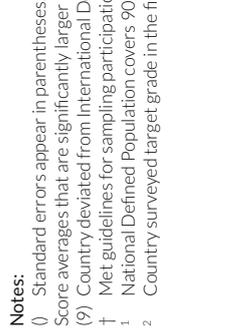
- No comparable data available.

ICCS 2016 included a question gauging students' willingness to participate at school. The question asked students to rate the likelihood ("very likely," "quite likely," "not very likely," or "not at all likely") of them personally participating in the following civic activities if they had the chance to do so: (a) "vote in a school election for class or school parliament representatives;" (b) "join a group of students campaigning for an issue they agreed with;" (c) "become a candidate for class or school parliament representative;" (d) "take part in discussions in a student assembly;" and (e) "participate in writing articles for a school newspaper or website."

Table 4.10: National average scale scores indicating students' perception of the value of participation at school by gender, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	49 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.3)
Bulgaria	50 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	53 (0.3)
Chile	54 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	57 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	57 (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	53 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	55 (0.4)	51 (0.6)	54 (0.2)
Colombia	53 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	55 (0.3)
Croatia	52 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	51 (0.5)	53 (0.3)
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	49 (0.2)
Dominican Republic	56 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	56 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	56 (0.2)	59 (0.5)
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	50 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	46 (0.6)	53 (0.3)
Finland	49 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	46 (0.5)	51 (0.2)
Italy	50 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	52 (0.2)
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.3)
Lithuania	47 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	46 (0.5)	50 (0.2)
Malta	50 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	53 (0.2)
Mexico	52 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	55 (0.2)
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	47 (0.2)	51 (0.5)	46 (0.5)	48 (0.3)
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	50 (0.2)	51 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	51 (0.2)
Peru	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	56 (0.3)
Russian Federation	49 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.2)
Slovenia	49 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	47 (0.5)	51 (0.3)
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.5)	50 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	51 (0.4)	46 (0.8)	49 (0.3)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>53 (0.1)</b>	<b>49 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>						
Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	46 (0.3)	49 (0.4)	46 (0.4)	49 (0.4)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	<b>51 (0.3)</b>	50 (0.4)	49 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	47 (0.6)	52 (0.3)

Notes:  
 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.  
 Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.  
 (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.  
 † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.  
 1 National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.  
 2 Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.



A large majority (an international average of 81%) of the ICCS 2016 students said they would be very or quite likely to vote in an election for a class or school parliament representative, while 65 percent said they anticipated joining a group of students campaigning for an issue they agreed with (Table 4.11). Fifty-four percent said they would be very or quite likely to take part in discussions in a student assembly, 48 percent said that they would be very or quite likely to stand as a candidate for class or school parliament representative, and 43 percent said they would be very or quite likely to participate in writing articles for a school newspaper or website.

The five items reflecting students' willingness to participate in school activities formed a scale that, on average across the participating countries, had high reliability—a Cronbach's alpha of 0.81 (see the item map in Figure 4.5, Appendix D). The highest recorded scale scores (three score points or more above the ICCS 2016 international average) were for Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru; the lowest scores (three or more points below the average) were for Belgium (Flemish), Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden (refer to Table 4.11).

Although students' gender was only weakly associated with to students' willingness to participate in school activities, the female students' scores on the willingness scale were significantly higher than the scores of the male students in 19 of the 21 ICCS 2016 countries (Table 4.12). However, on average across the countries, the difference was only two scale points (equivalent to one fifth of an international standard deviation). Consistent associations were also evident between students' willingness to participate in school activities and students' interest in political and social issues: in all participating countries, students who said they were quite or very interested in this type of participation had significantly higher willingness scores than the students who expressed little or no interest. On average, the difference between the groups of students was four scale points (equivalent to more than a third of an international standard deviation).

In 13 of the participating countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge had significantly higher scores on the willingness scale than students with lower civic knowledge scores. In Colombia, we recorded the reverse pattern. We found no statistically significant differences in the remaining seven countries. On average across countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge had scores that were one scale point higher than the scores of the comparison group (a difference equivalent to one tenth of an international standard deviation).

### **Students' actual and expected civic participation outside school**

Students in the age group under study in ICCS are not yet old enough to have access to many forms of citizenship participation in society. However, there is evidence of links between youth participation and later engagement as adult citizens (Verba et al., 1995). Some researchers, among them Pancer (2015), suggest that students' participation in civic-related activities at school influences future citizenship engagement (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). If so, students' current or past involvement in youth groups, school governance, or campaigns focused on civic issues may serve as a contextual factor in determining students' civic-related learning outcomes.

In order to measure students' engagement in organizations and groups outside of school, the ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included a number of relevant (although slightly modified) items from the previous ICCS cycle. These items asked students to state whether they had participated "within the last 12 months," "more than a year ago," or "never" in a youth organization affiliated with a political party or union, a voluntary group doing something to help the community, or a group of young people campaigning for an issue.

On average across the ICCS 2016 countries, we recorded relatively low levels of participation among students, whether within the past 12 months or more than a year ago, in the three civic activities in the wider community (see Table 4.13). Only 10 percent of students had participated in a youth organization affiliated with a political party or union. Thirty-seven percent had participated

Table 4.11: Students' willingness to participate in school activities

Country	Percentages of students who reported that they would be very or quite likely to:							Average scale scores indicating students' preparedness to participate in school activities
	Vote in a school election <class representatives> or <school parliament> (%)	Join a group of students campaigning for an issue you agree with (%)	Become a candidate for <class representative> or <school parliament> (%)	Take part in discussions in a <student assembly> (%)	Participate in writing articles for a school newspaper or website (%)			
Belgium (Flemish)	62 (1.4) ▼	48 (1.2) ▼	34 (1.0) ▼	43 (1.1) ▼	26 (0.9) ▼			46 (0.3) ▼
Bulgaria	76 (1.1) ▼	75 (1.0) △	47 (1.3)	56 (1.2)	51 (1.2) △			50 (0.3)
Chile	82 (0.7) △	70 (0.8) △	53 (0.9) △	52 (0.9) ▼	47 (0.9) △			51 (0.2) △
Chinese Taipei	87 (0.7) △	57 (0.7) ▼	58 (1.0) △	84 (0.7) ▲	33 (0.7) ▼			51 (0.2) △
Colombia	86 (0.7) △	78 (0.7) ▲	56 (1.1) △	58 (1.0) △	57 (1.3) ▲			53 (0.2) ▲
Croatia	87 (0.7) △	78 (0.9) ▲	48 (1.2)	56 (0.9) △	48 (1.5) △			52 (0.2) △
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	78 (0.9) ▼	55 (1.1) ▼	32 (0.9) ▼	37 (1.0) ▼	24 (0.9) ▼			47 (0.2) ▼
Dominican Republic (r)	88 (0.7) △	83 (1.0) ▲	77 (0.8) ▲	74 (1.1) ▲	74 (0.8) ▲			57 (0.2) ▲
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	80 (1.0)	65 (1.2)	32 (1.1) ▼	45 (1.3) ▼	27 (0.9) ▼			48 (0.3) ▼
Finland	83 (1.0) △	40 (1.0) ▼	27 (1.0) ▼	37 (1.1) ▼	26 (1.0) ▼			47 (0.2) ▼
Italy	87 (0.8) △	73 (0.9) △	47 (1.0)	63 (1.0) △	56 (1.0) ▲			52 (0.2) △
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	72 (1.0) ▼	67 (1.0) △	48 (1.2)	53 (1.1)	41 (1.2)			49 (0.2) ▼
Lithuania	87 (0.8) △	77 (0.9) ▲	55 (1.1) △	64 (1.0) △	41 (1.2) ▼			51 (0.2) △
Malta	83 (0.7) △	71 (0.6) △	53 (0.8) △	54 (0.8)	42 (0.9)			50 (0.2) △
Mexico	88 (0.6) △	82 (0.7) ▲	68 (0.9) ▲	68 (0.8) ▲	62 (0.8) ▲			54 (0.2) ▲
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	56 (1.5) ▼	35 (1.3) ▼	28 (1.3) ▼	31 (1.3) ▼	27 (1.1) ▼			44 (0.3) ▼
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	89 (0.5) △	50 (0.8) ▼	46 (0.8)	44 (0.9) ▼	29 (0.8) ▼			49 (0.2) ▼
Peru	92 (0.5) ▲	86 (0.7) ▲	71 (0.8) ▲	65 (0.7) ▲	65 (0.7) ▲			55 (0.1) ▲
Russian Federation	82 (0.9)	69 (1.2) △	45 (1.3) ▼	69 (1.0) ▲	59 (0.9) ▲			51 (0.3) △
Slovenia	72 (1.0) ▼	67 (1.0) ▼	43 (1.1) ▼	46 (1.1) ▼	43 (1.1) ▼			49 (0.2) ▼
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	77 (1.0) ▼	47 (1.2) ▼	32 (1.0) ▼	42 (1.0) ▼	30 (0.9) ▼			47 (0.2) ▼
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	81 (0.2)	65 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	43 (0.2)			50 (0.0)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>								
Hong Kong SAR	73 (0.9)	46 (1.2)	44 (0.9)	43 (1.0)	36 (1.1)			47 (0.2)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	82 (0.9)	41 (1.2)	43 (1.2)	48 (1.0)	33 (1.0)			48 (0.2)
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>								
North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	70 (1.4)	36 (1.7)	49 (1.5)	46 (1.8)	34 (1.4)			47 (0.4)

**National percentage:**

- ▲ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points above average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- More than 10 percentage points or 3 score points below average

**Notes:**

- ( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Table 4.12: National average scale scores indicating students' willingness to participate in school activities by gender, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	45 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	44 (0.2)	49 (0.5)	46 (0.6)	46 (0.3)
Bulgaria	49 (0.4)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	50 (0.5)	51 (0.3)
Chile	50 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	55 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	52 (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	51 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.6)	52 (0.2)
Colombia	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	53 (0.3)
Croatia	51 (0.3)	53 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	50 (0.5)	52 (0.2)
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	46 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	45 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	46 (0.5)	47 (0.2)
Dominican Republic (r)	57 (0.3)	58 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	59 (0.3)	57 (0.2)	57 (0.5)
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	46 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	45 (0.5)	48 (0.3)
Finland	45 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	45 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	44 (0.6)	47 (0.2)
Italy	50 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	52 (0.2)
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	47 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	49 (0.3)
Lithuania	50 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	52 (0.3)
Malta	50 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	51 (0.2)
Mexico	53 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	54 (0.2)
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	43 (0.4)	44 (0.3)	43 (0.3)	47 (0.7)	42 (0.5)	44 (0.4)
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	48 (0.5)	49 (0.1)
Peru	54 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	55 (0.2)
Russian Federation	50 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	54 (0.3)	51 (0.5)	51 (0.3)
Slovenia	48 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	49 (0.2)
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	46 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	44 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	46 (0.8)	47 (0.2)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	49 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	53 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	50 (0.1)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>						
Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	45 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	48 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	46 (0.6)	49 (0.3)

■ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

#### Notes:

( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

(9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.

† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.

<sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.

<sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.

An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

in a voluntary group doing something to help the community, and 24 percent had participated in a group of young people campaigning for an issue.

We did observe some variation in the national percentages of students who reported participating in a youth organization affiliated with a political party or union. These percentages ranged from two percent to 23 percent. Four countries (Chinese Taipei, Croatia, Finland, Netherlands) recorded national percentages of less than five percent and four countries (Dominican Republic, Lithuania, Malta, Peru) recorded national percentages of more than 15 percent.

We also observed considerable variation among countries in the proportion of students who reported participating in a voluntary group doing something to help the community. Here, the percentages ranged from 15 percent to 67 percent. Four countries (Chinese Taipei, Denmark, Finland, Sweden) had percentages of 26 percent or less; four (Bulgaria, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Peru) recorded percentages of 50 percent or higher.

The results also showed the variation across countries with respect to the national percentages of students who said they had participated in a group of young people campaigning for an issue. These national percentages ranged from two percent to 54 percent. Four countries (Chinese Taipei, Croatia, Finland, Netherlands) had national percentages of less than 10 percent, while three more (Dominican Republic, Peru, Russian Federation) recorded national percentages of 40 percent and above.

When comparing these ICCS 2016 results with those from ICCS 2009, we identified four countries that had experienced mostly small but significant increases in the percentages of students who said they had participated in a youth organization affiliated with a political party or union, and two countries in which there were significant, but again small, decreases. A larger number of countries recorded significant increases across time in the percentages of students participating in a voluntary group doing something to help the community. Only one country (Denmark) recorded a significant increase in the percentage of students who said they had participated in a group of young people campaigning on an issue. Of the students in the countries that participated in both ICCS cycles, the 2016 students were significantly less likely than the 2009 students to have participated in youth campaigns. The differences were all small, however.

In summary, it appears that cross-nationally over the seven years from 2009 to 2016, the percentage of students participating in voluntary groups doing something to help the community increased somewhat. Participation in a youth organization affiliated with a political party or union increased in only a few countries, while the percentage of students participating in groups of young people campaigning for an issue generally declined.

Evidence suggests that young people who intend to participate in political activities are more likely to actually participate at a later point in time (Eckstein, Noack, & Gniewosz, 2013). ICCS 2016 investigated students' intentions to engage in civic activities outside their school or expectations of doing so. With regard to political participation among adult citizens, scholars (see, for example, Kaase, 1990) tend to distinguish between "conventional" (such as voting or running for office) from "unconventional" (social movement) activities (grassroots campaigns, protest activities). Mindful of the rapid expansion of new types of political activities in recent years, van Deth (2014) proposed a classification of political participation that includes, in addition to conventional and unconventional types of engagement, problem-oriented or community-oriented forms of participation and individualized and creative modes of participation. ICCS measured students' expectations of future civic participation through both legal and illegal activities as well as their intended future civic participation in terms of electoral participation and political participation (Table 4.14).

Table 4.13: Students' participation in organizations and groups in the community

Country	Percentages of students who reported having participated in the following activities:														
	A youth organization affiliated with a political party or union					A voluntary group doing something to help the community					A group of young people campaigning for an issue				
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference			
Belgium (Flemish)	6 (0.5) ▽	5 (0.5)	1 (0.7)	30 (1.2) ▽	23 (0.9)	8 (1.5)	17 (0.8) ▽	17 (0.8)	8 (1.5)	17 (0.8) ▽	17 (0.8)	0 (1.2)			
Bulgaria	10 (0.9)	9 (0.7)	1 (1.2)	50 (1.3) ▲	37 (1.3)	13 (1.8)	39 (1.2) ▲	37 (1.3)	13 (1.8)	39 (1.2) ▲	37 (1.3)	2 (1.8)			
Chile	11 (0.6)	9 (0.7)	2 (0.9)	40 (0.9) △	40 (1.1)	0 (1.5)	38 (1.0) ▲	42 (0.9)	0 (1.5)	38 (1.0) ▲	42 (0.9)	-4 (1.3)			
Chinese Taipei	2 (0.2) ▽	4 (0.3)	-2 (0.4)	26 (1.0) ▼	20 (0.7)	6 (1.2)	2 (0.2) ▼	6 (0.4)	6 (1.2)	2 (0.2) ▼	6 (0.4)	-4 (0.4)			
Colombia	12 (0.6) △	14 (0.6)	-2 (0.9)	54 (1.1) ▲	57 (0.8)	-2 (1.3)	34 (0.9) △	45 (0.9)	-2 (1.3)	34 (0.9) △	45 (0.9)	-11 (1.2)			
Croatia	4 (0.4) ▽	-	-	30 (1.6) ▽	-	-	3 (0.3) ▼	-	-	3 (0.3) ▼	-	-			
Denmark†	5 (0.4) ▽	4 (0.5)	0 (0.6)	25 (0.8) ▼	12 (0.7)	13 (1.1)	18 (0.8) ▽	13 (0.7)	13 (1.1)	18 (0.8) ▽	13 (0.7)	5 (1.1)			
Dominican Republic	23 (0.9) ▲	25 (0.9)	-2 (1.3)	67 (1.1) ▲	70 (0.9)	-3 (1.4)	48 (1.1) ▲	58 (1.1)	-3 (1.4)	48 (1.1) ▲	58 (1.1)	-11 (1.6)			
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	10 (0.7)	9 (0.8)	1 (1.0)	43 (1.3) △	44 (1.3)	-1 (1.9)	25 (0.8)	30 (1.0)	-1 (1.9)	25 (0.8)	30 (1.0)	-5 (1.3)			
Finland	3 (0.3) ▽	3 (0.3)	1 (0.5)	15 (0.7) ▼	14 (0.6)	0 (0.9)	8 (0.6) ▼	10 (0.6)	0 (0.9)	8 (0.6) ▼	10 (0.6)	-2 (0.8)			
Italy	6 (0.5) ▽	5 (0.4)	1 (0.6)	32 (1.0) ▽	23 (1.0)	9 (1.4)	22 (1.0) ▽	23 (1.0)	9 (1.4)	22 (1.0) ▽	23 (1.0)	-1 (1.4)			
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	15 (0.9) △	9 (0.8)	6 (1.2)	42 (1.4) △	38 (1.2)	4 (1.9)	28 (1.1) △	38 (1.5)	4 (1.9)	28 (1.1) △	38 (1.5)	-10 (1.9)			
Lithuania	19 (1.1) △	11 (0.6)	8 (1.3)	42 (1.3) △	23 (0.9)	18 (1.6)	21 (1.2) ▽	25 (0.9)	18 (1.6)	21 (1.2) ▽	25 (0.9)	-4 (1.5)			
Malta	17 (0.7) △	14 (0.9)	2 (1.1)	46 (0.9) △	36 (1.3)	10 (1.6)	19 (0.7) ▽	17 (1.0)	10 (1.6)	19 (0.7) ▽	17 (1.0)	2 (1.3)			
Mexico	15 (0.6) △	15 (0.7)	0 (0.9)	49 (1.0) ▲	46 (1.0)	3 (1.4)	33 (1.0) △	39 (0.9)	3 (1.4)	33 (1.0) △	39 (0.9)	-6 (1.4)			
Netherlands†	4 (0.4) ▽	-	-	30 (1.3) ▽	-	-	7 (0.6) ▼	-	-	7 (0.6) ▼	-	-			
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	10 (0.5)	9 (0.6)	1 (0.8)	32 (0.9) ▽	20 (0.9)	13 (1.2)	14 (0.6) ▽	24 (1.0)	13 (1.2)	14 (0.6) ▽	24 (1.0)	-9 (1.2)			
Peru	19 (0.8) △	-	-	52 (0.9) ▲	-	-	40 (0.8) ▲	-	-	40 (0.8) ▲	-	-			
Russian Federation	13 (1.2) △	11 (0.8)	2 (1.5)	35 (1.4) ▽	30 (1.5)	5 (2.1)	54 (1.1) ▲	62 (1.3)	5 (2.1)	54 (1.1) ▲	62 (1.3)	-8 (1.7)			
Slovenia	5 (0.6) ▽	6 (0.5)	-1 (0.8)	31 (1.1) ▽	24 (1.0)	7 (1.5)	27 (1.0) △	35 (1.0)	7 (1.5)	27 (1.0) △	35 (1.0)	-8 (1.4)			
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	5 (0.5) ▽	7 (0.5)	-1 (0.7)	16 (0.9) ▼	14 (0.7)	2 (1.1)	14 (0.7) ▼	14 (0.6)	2 (1.1)	14 (0.7) ▼	14 (0.6)	0 (1.0)			
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	10 (0.1)	9 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	38 (0.2)	32 (0.2)	6 (0.4)	26 (0.2)	30 (0.2)	6 (0.4)	26 (0.2)	30 (0.2)	-4 (0.3)			
<b>Common countries average</b>	10 (0.2)	9 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	38 (0.3)	32 (0.2)	6 (0.4)	26 (0.2)	30 (0.2)	6 (0.4)	26 (0.2)	30 (0.2)	-4 (0.3)			
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>															
Hong Kong SAR	6 (0.7)	-	-	19 (0.9)	-	-	7 (0.7)	-	-	7 (0.7)	-	-			
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	6 (0.5)	-	-	37 (1.1)	-	-	21 (0.9)	-	-	21 (0.9)	-	-			
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>															
North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	4 (0.5)	-	-	32 (1.9)	-	-	20 (1.2)	-	-	20 (1.2)	-	-			

**National percentage:**

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average

**Notes:**

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Meet guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- No comparable data available.

Table 4.14: Students' expectations to participate in legal and illegal activities to express their opinions

Country	National average scale scores for students' expectations to participate in legal activities		National average scale scores for students' expectations to participate in illegal activities	
	Average scale scores		Average scale scores	
Belgium (Flemish)	46 (0.3) ▼		47 (0.3) ▼	
Bulgaria	52 (0.2) △		54 (0.3) ▲	
Chile	51 (0.2) △		54 (0.2) ▲	
Chinese Taipei	52 (0.2) △		47 (0.2) ▼	
Colombia	55 (0.2) ▲		53 (0.3) ▲	
Croatia	50 (0.2)		48 (0.2) ▼	
Denmark†	47 (0.2) ▼		46 (0.2) ▼	
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.3) ▲		59 (0.3) ▲	
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.2) ▼		48 (0.2) ▼	
Finland	46 (0.2) ▼		47 (0.2) ▼	
Italy	49 (0.2) ▼		48 (0.2) ▼	
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.2) ▼		48 (0.2) ▼	
Lithuania	52 (0.2) △		51 (0.3) △	
Malta	49 (0.2) ▼		50 (0.2)	
Mexico	54 (0.2) ▲		54 (0.2) ▲	
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	44 (0.2) ▼		48 (0.2) ▼	
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	46 (0.2) ▼		48 (0.1) ▼	
Peru	56 (0.1) ▲		54 (0.2) ▲	
Russian Federation	51 (0.2) △		49 (0.3) ▼	
Slovenia	48 (0.2) ▼		50 (0.2)	
Sweden	47 (0.2) ▼		47 (0.2) ▼	
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>50 (0.0)</b>		<b>50 (0.1)</b>	
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>				
Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.3)		47 (0.3)	
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)		51 (0.2)	
<b>Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements</b>				
North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	45 (0.3)		46 (0.3)	

**National average:**  
 ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average  
 △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average  
 ▼ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average  
 ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

**Notes:**  
 (1) Standard errors appear in parentheses.  
 (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.  
 † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.  
 1 National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.  
 2 Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.  
 An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

**Average score for expected legal activities +/- Confidence interval**  
**Average score for expected illegal activities +/- Confidence interval**

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:  
 Certain or probable non-participation  
 Certain or probable participation

The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire contained several items that asked students about their likelihood (the response categories were “certainly,” “probably,” “probably not,” and “certainly not”) of participating at some future date in activities that would allow them to express their opinions about a social or political issue. ICCS 2009 asked a similar question. However, because of some modifications in 2016 to the question’s stem statement and items, we were unable to compare the results for the two cycles.

The activities denoting social and political participation included some that were legal and some that were illegal. Legal activities included (a) “talking to others about one’s views on political or social issues” (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expected to do this definitely or probably: 65%); (b) “contacting an elected representative” (40%); (c) “taking part in a peaceful march or rally” (51%); (d) “collecting signatures for a petition” (50%); (e) “contributing to an online discussion forum about social or political issues” (45%); (f) “organizing an online group to take a stance on a controversial political or social issue” (37%); and (g) “participating in an online campaign” (46%). Illegal activities included (a) “spray-painting protest slogans on walls” (22%); (b) “staging a protest by blocking traffic” (19%); and (c) “occupying public buildings as a sign of protest” (18%).

We derived two scales from the two item sets—one reflecting students’ expected participation in legal activities to express opinions, and the other reflecting students’ expected participation in illegal protest activities. Both scales had satisfactory reliabilities, with a Cronbach’s alpha across participating countries of 0.85 and 0.87 respectively (see the item maps in [Figures 4.6](#) and [4.7](#), Appendix D).

The national average scores on the scale reflecting expected participation in legal activities to express opinions ranged from 44 to 60 score points across the ICCS 2016 countries ([Table 4.14](#)). This considerable spread of scores possibly reflected differences in national characteristics or current events as well as diversity in civic culture. Four countries (Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru) had relatively high average scores (54 or above). Five—Belgium (Flemish), Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden—had relatively low average scores (47 or below).

The range of national average scale scores (from 46 to 59) for anticipated participation in illegal protest activities was only a little less broad than the range for the legal activities. Six countries (Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru) had relatively high average scores (54 or above). Three countries had relatively low average scores (47 or below). They were Chinese Taipei, Denmark, and Finland.

Although a comparison of the national average scale scores for anticipated participation in legal activities with the scores for illegal protest activities showed a high correlation between the two indices ( $r = 0.86$ ), a few countries departed from the association. In Chinese Taipei, for example, students’ propensity to participate in illegal protest activities was rather lower than might be expected given these students’ stated propensity to participate in legal activities. In contrast, the propensity of students in Chile and the Netherlands to participate in illegal protest activities was a little higher than would be expected given their propensity to participate in legal activities.

We detected very little difference between male students’ and female students’ anticipated participation in legal activities ([Table 4.15](#)). Small significant differences in favor of female students were recorded in Chile, Denmark, Italy, Norway, and Sweden, whereas in Chinese Taipei and the Russian Federation male students scored significantly higher than females, but the differences were still slight.

We also found few significant differences between the participation scale scores (both legal and illegal) of students with higher levels of civic knowledge (scores at or above Level B) and the corresponding scores of students with lower levels (below Level B). However, students who were quite or very interested in political and social issues had significantly higher scores on the

Table 4.15: National average scale scores indicating students' expectations to participate in legal activities by gender, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group			Scale score average by students' interest			Scale score average by level of civic knowledge		
	Male students	Female students		Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues		Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge or above Level B (479 and above)	
Belgium (Flemish)	45 (0.3)	46 (0.4)		44 (0.2)	49 (0.6)		46 (0.6)	45 (0.3)	
Bulgaria	51 (0.3)	52 (0.3)		50 (0.2)	55 (0.4)		52 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	
Chile	51 (0.3)	52 (0.3)		50 (0.2)	57 (0.4)		51 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	
Chinese Taipei	53 (0.2)	51 (0.2)		51 (0.2)	55 (0.3)		53 (0.6)	52 (0.2)	
Colombia	54 (0.3)	55 (0.3)		53 (0.2)	58 (0.3)		55 (0.3)	55 (0.2)	
Croatia	50 (0.3)	50 (0.3)		49 (0.3)	52 (0.3)		50 (0.6)	50 (0.2)	
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	47 (0.2)	48 (0.2)		46 (0.2)	50 (0.2)		47 (0.5)	47 (0.2)	
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.3)	60 (0.4)		58 (0.3)	62 (0.4)		60 (0.3)	57 (0.7)	
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	48 (0.2)		46 (0.2)	50 (0.2)		47 (0.5)	48 (0.2)	
Finland	46 (0.3)	46 (0.2)		44 (0.2)	49 (0.3)		46 (0.5)	46 (0.2)	
Italy	49 (0.3)	49 (0.2)		48 (0.2)	52 (0.3)		49 (0.5)	49 (0.2)	
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	49 (0.3)		48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)		48 (0.4)	49 (0.3)	
Lithuania	52 (0.3)	52 (0.2)		51 (0.2)	54 (0.3)		52 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	
Malta	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)		48 (0.2)	53 (0.3)		50 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	
Mexico	54 (0.2)	55 (0.2)		53 (0.2)	58 (0.3)		55 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	44 (0.3)	44 (0.3)		44 (0.2)	48 (0.5)		44 (0.5)	45 (0.3)	
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	45 (0.3)	47 (0.2)		44 (0.2)	50 (0.2)		46 (0.6)	46 (0.2)	
Peru	56 (0.2)	56 (0.2)		54 (0.2)	58 (0.2)		56 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	
Russian Federation	52 (0.3)	51 (0.2)		49 (0.3)	54 (0.3)		51 (0.5)	51 (0.2)	
Slovenia	48 (0.3)	48 (0.2)		47 (0.2)	51 (0.4)		47 (0.4)	48 (0.2)	
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	46 (0.4)	48 (0.2)		44 (0.3)	50 (0.3)		46 (0.7)	47 (0.3)	
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)		49 (0.0)	53 (0.1)		50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>									
Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.4)	47 (0.3)		44 (0.4)	50 (0.4)		46 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)	51 (0.4)		49 (0.4)	53 (0.3)		50 (0.7)	51 (0.3)	

 Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .  
 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

**Notes:**

- ( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

expectation to participate in legal activities scale in all participating countries: on average across the ICCS 2016 countries, we recorded a difference of four scale points (equivalent to more than one third of an international standard deviation).

When reviewing the associations between students' expectations of participating in illegal activities and gender, interest, and civic knowledge, we found few significant differences between students who were quite or very interested in political and social issues and those who had no or little interest (see [Table 4.16](#)). However, we did find significant differences in the average scores for expected participation in illegal protest activities between female students and male students in all but one country (Chile), indicating that the male students were more likely than the female students to expect participation in illegal protest activities. On average across countries, we found a difference of two scale points (equivalent to a fifth of an international standard deviation).

The results also showed significant differences in expected participation in illegal protest activities between students with higher and lower levels of civic knowledge. In every country, students with civic knowledge scores below Level B were more likely than students with the higher civic knowledge scores to say they expected to participate in illegal protest activities. On average, the difference between the two groups was six scale points, indicative of a relatively strong association (equivalent to almost two thirds of an international standard deviation).

To obtain data on ("conventional") expected electoral and active political participation, ICCS 2009 used a set of nine items, two of which were optional for countries and three of which were designed to gauge expected electoral participation. The remaining four items were designed to measure expected participation in political activities. While majorities of students across participating countries expected to participate in elections, relatively few students in ICCS 2009 expressed an intention to engage in more active forms of political participation (Schulz et al., 2010, pp. 143–146). The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included the set of ICCS 2009 items, augmented by a number of discrete items measuring more informal ways that citizens participate in society.

When answering each of the ICCS 2016 items reflecting expected electoral participation, students were asked to use the following response categories: "I would certainly do this," "I would probably do this," "I would probably not do this," and "I would certainly not do this". The activities listed were (a) "vote in local elections" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expecting to probably or certainly do this: 85%); (b) "vote in national elections" (85%); and (c) "get information about candidates before voting in an election" (80%). The students' responses to these items formed a highly reliable scale (an average Cronbach's alpha across countries of 0.83) reflecting intended electoral participation, and one that we were able to equate to the scale established in ICCS 2009 (see the item map in [Figure 4.8](#), [Appendix D](#)). We recorded variations across countries in scale scores from the most recent survey as well as changes between 2009 and 2016 ([Table 4.17](#)).

In 2016, national average scores on the expected electoral participation scale ranged from 47 (Netherlands) to 55 (Peru). The difference of eight scale points (equivalent to four fifths of an international standard deviation) represents a considerably large difference. When comparing national average scale scores for expected electoral participation in 2009 and 2016, we found statistically significant increases in expected electoral participation in nine out of 18 countries with comparable data. Overall, we recorded a relatively small increase in expected electoral participation of just one scale point (equivalent to one tenth of an international standard deviation). The countries with the largest increases (more than three scale points) were Denmark and Sweden.

Table 4.16: National average scale scores indicating students' expectations to participate in illegal activities by gender, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	48 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	47 (0.2)	47 (0.5)	51 (0.5)	46 (0.2)
Bulgaria	55 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	55 (0.5)	56 (0.4)	52 (0.3)
Chile	54 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	54 (0.4)	57 (0.3)	52 (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	48 (0.3)	45 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	55 (0.6)	45 (0.2)
Colombia	54 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	54 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	56 (0.3)	51 (0.4)
Croatia	50 (0.4)	46 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	52 (0.6)	47 (0.2)
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.2)	45 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	45 (0.2)	52 (0.4)	46 (0.2)
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	58 (0.3)	60 (0.4)	60 (0.3)	52 (0.6)
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	47 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	47 (0.3)
Finland	49 (0.3)	45 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	46 (0.3)	53 (0.6)	46 (0.2)
Italy	49 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	52 (0.5)	47 (0.2)
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	50 (0.4)	46 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	46 (0.3)
Lithuania	53 (0.3)	49 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	55 (0.4)	49 (0.3)
Malta	52 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	48 (0.2)
Mexico	56 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	55 (0.5)	57 (0.3)	51 (0.3)
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	47 (0.5)	51 (0.4)	47 (0.2)
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	48 (0.1)	47 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	47 (0.1)
Peru	56 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	57 (0.2)	49 (0.3)
Russian Federation	50 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	49 (0.4)	49 (0.3)	53 (0.5)	48 (0.3)
Slovenia	52 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	53 (0.4)	49 (0.3)
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	52 (0.6)	47 (0.2)
ICCS 2016 average	51 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	54 (0.1)	48 (0.1)
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>						
Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.4)	45 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	47 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	45 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	55 (0.5)	50 (0.2)

Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .  
 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

**Notes:**

- ( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Across all ICCS 2016 countries, females had slightly (albeit significantly) higher scale scores than males (Table 4.18). On average, the difference was one scale point (equivalent to one tenth of an international standard deviation). In addition, students who were quite or very interested in political and social issues had significantly higher scale scores than the less interested students. In this instance, the average difference across countries amounted to four scale points, equivalent to more than a third of an international standard deviation, and thus indicating a moderate association.

Table 4.17: National average scale scores indicating students' expected electoral participation

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016-2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Belgium (Flemish)	49 (0.3) ▽	46 (0.2)	<b>3.0</b> (0.4)		■	■		
Bulgaria	50 (0.3) ▽	48 (0.3)	<b>1.9</b> (0.4)		■	■		
Chile	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	0.3 (0.4)			■		
Chinese Taipei	53 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	<b>2.1</b> (0.3)			■	■	
Colombia	53 (0.2) △	54 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)				■	■
Croatia	51 (0.2)	-	-				■	
Denmark†	52 (0.2) △	49 (0.2)	<b>3.3</b> (0.3)			■	■	
Dominican Republic (r)	53 (0.2) △	52 (0.3)	<b>0.9</b> (0.3)				■	■
Estonia	48 (0.2) ▼	47 (0.3)	<b>1.4</b> (0.4)		■	■		
Finland	51 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	<b>1.5</b> (0.3)			■	■	
Italy	54 (0.2) △	54 (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)					■
Latvia	49 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	-0.7 (0.4)			■	■	
Lithuania	52 (0.2) △	52 (0.2)	0.4 (0.3)				■	■
Malta	50 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.4)	0.7 (0.4)			■	■	
Mexico	52 (0.2) △	53 (0.2)	<b>-0.7</b> (0.3)				■	■
Netherlands†	47 (0.3) ▼	-	-		■			
Norway (9)	54 (0.1) ▲	52 (0.3)	<b>2.1</b> (0.4)				■	■
Peru	55 (0.2) ▲	-	-					■
Russian Federation	51 (0.3) ▽	51 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.4)			■	■	
Slovenia	50 (0.3) ▽	50 (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)			■	■	
Sweden	53 (0.2) △	49 (0.3)	<b>4.2</b> (0.4)			■	■	
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	51 (0.0)							
<b>Common countries average</b>	51 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	<b>1.1</b> (0.1)					

Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.3)	-	-			■		
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)	-	-				■	

Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements

North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	47 (0.4)	-	-			■		
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■ 2016 average score +/- Confidence interval  
 ■ 2009 average score +/- Confidence interval

National average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

	Certain or probable non-participation
	Certain or probable participation

Notes:

- Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- () Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- No comparable data available.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Another significant association across all ICCS 2016 countries was that between expected electoral participation and civic knowledge. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge (at Level B or above) had significantly higher scores than the less knowledgeable students on the scale indicating expected electoral participation. On average, we found a difference of five scale points (equivalent to half an international standard deviation)—a difference that suggests a moderately strong association between civic knowledge and expected electoral participation.

To measure expected active political participation, the ICCS 2016 student questionnaire asked students to respond to a number of items that asked them how likely they would be to participate at some future date in the following activities: (a) “help a candidate or party during an election campaign” (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expecting to probably or certainly do this: 44%); (b) “join a political party” (26%); (c) “join a trade union” (32%); (d) “stand as a candidate” (24%); and (e) “join an organization committed to a political or social cause” (34%). We used the students’ responses to form a scale that reflected students’ intended active political participation. The scale proved to be highly reliable, with an average Cronbach’s alpha across countries of 0.85 (see the item map in [Figure 4.9](#), Appendix D). Because four of these items were used to measure this construct in ICCS 2009, we were able to equate the 2016 scale scores to the scale scores in the previous cycle. The national average scale scores for 2009 and 2016 thus allowed an exploration of variations among the participating countries and changes between 2009 and 2016 ([Table 4.19](#)).

In 2016, national average scores indicating expected active political participation scale ranged from 46 (Belgium/Flemish) to 60 (Dominican Republic). The difference of 12 scale points represents a relatively large difference. Among the countries with comparable data from ICCS 2009, we found statistically significant increases in expected active political participation in nine countries (refer to [Table 4.19](#)). Two countries recorded 2016 scores that were significantly lower than the 2009 scores; seven countries recorded no statistically significant differences. Overall, the increase in expected active political participation across the two cycles was very minor (less than one scale point). The Dominican Republic recorded the largest increase (of nearly three score points); the Russian Federation recorded the largest decrease (1.5 score points).

Male students were more likely than female students to anticipate active political participation ([Table 4.20](#)). The difference, statistically significant in 16 of the countries, was small, however—only about one scale point (equivalent to one tenth of an international standard deviation). Students who said they were quite or very interested in political and social issues had higher scale scores than students with no or little interest in these issues. We observed statistically significant differences in all countries. On average, the difference across countries was three scale points (equivalent to almost a third of an international standard deviation).

Expected active political participation tended to be negatively related to students’ civic knowledge: scale scores indicating expected active political participation tended to be higher among students with civic knowledge scores below Level B than among students with higher levels of civic knowledge. This difference was statistically significant in 12 countries. We observed differences of two scale points (equivalent to one fifth of an international standard deviation), on average. This pattern of results is similar to the pattern reported in ICCS 2009. One possible explanation for this finding is that more knowledgeable students tend to have better grounds for carefully considering their personal active political commitments and the constraints associated with such an engagement. However, this rather counter-intuitive result certainly deserves further investigation in future studies.

Table 4.18: National average scale scores indicating students' expected electoral participation by parental education, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score by parental university degree			Scale score average by students' interest			Scale score average by level of civic knowledge		
	No parent with a university degree	At least one parent with a university degree		Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above level B (479 and above)		
Belgium (Flemish)	47 (0.3)	50 (0.3)		47 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	45 (0.4)	50 (0.3)		
Bulgaria	49 (0.3)	51 (0.4)		48 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	51 (0.3)		
Chile	49 (0.2)	53 (0.4)		49 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	53 (0.2)		
Chinese Taipei	52 (0.2)	54 (0.3)		52 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	48 (0.4)	54 (0.2)		
Colombia	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)		52 (0.2)	56 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	55 (0.3)		
Croatia	51 (0.2)	53 (0.3)		50 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	47 (0.5)	53 (0.2)		
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	52 (0.2)	55 (0.3)		50 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	46 (0.5)	53 (0.2)		
Dominican Republic	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)		52 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	53 (0.2)	55 (0.5)		
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	47 (0.3)	49 (0.3)		46 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	44 (0.5)	49 (0.2)		
Finland	50 (0.2)	52 (0.2)		49 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	44 (0.5)	52 (0.2)		
Italy	54 (0.2)	56 (0.4)		53 (0.2)	57 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	56 (0.2)		
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)		48 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	46 (0.4)	52 (0.3)		
Lithuania	52 (0.2)	53 (0.3)		51 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	49 (0.3)	54 (0.2)		
Malta	50 (0.2)	51 (0.3)		48 (0.2)	54 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	52 (0.2)		
Mexico	52 (0.2)	53 (0.3)		51 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	54 (0.2)		
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	45 (0.3)	50 (0.3)		46 (0.3)	52 (0.5)	42 (0.4)	49 (0.3)		
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	53 (0.2)	56 (0.2)		53 (0.2)	58 (0.2)	47 (0.4)	56 (0.1)		
Peru	54 (0.2)	56 (0.2)		53 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	57 (0.2)		
Russian Federation	50 (0.4)	51 (0.3)		49 (0.3)	53 (0.2)	49 (0.5)	51 (0.3)		
Slovenia	49 (0.3)	52 (0.4)		49 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	45 (0.5)	51 (0.3)		
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	52 (0.2)	54 (0.3)		51 (0.3)	57 (0.2)	48 (0.5)	54 (0.2)		
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	51 (0.1)	53 (0.1)		50 (0.1)	54 (0.1)	48 (0.1)	53 (0.1)		
<b>Countries not meeting sample participation requirements</b>									
Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.3)	50 (0.5)		44 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	43 (0.4)	49 (0.3)		
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	49 (0.3)	52 (0.3)		49 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	46 (0.5)	52 (0.3)		

Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .  
 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

**Notes:**

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Table 4.19: National average scale scores indicating students' expected active political participation

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	35	40	45	50	55	60	65
Belgium (Flemish)	46 (0.3) ▼	45 (0.2)	<b>1.3</b> (0.5)							
Bulgaria	50 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.3)	<b>1.2</b> (0.5)							
Chile	50 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	<b>1.1</b> (0.5)							
Chinese Taipei	50 (0.2) ▽	47 (0.1)	<b>2.6</b> (0.4)							
Colombia	53 (0.3) △	53 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.5)							
Croatia	50 (0.2)	-	-							
Denmark†	51 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	<b>0.6</b> (0.4)							
Dominican Republic (r)	60 (0.3) ▲	57 (0.4)	<b>2.8</b> (0.6)							
Estonia	48 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	0.1 (0.5)							
Finland	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.1)	<b>1.3</b> (0.4)							
Italy	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	<b>1.4</b> (0.4)							
Latvia	50 (0.2) ▽	51 (0.2)	<b>-1.2</b> (0.5)							
Lithuania	52 (0.2) △	49 (0.2)	<b>2.7</b> (0.5)							
Malta	50 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.4)	<b>1.6</b> (0.5)							
Mexico	55 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.2)	<b>0.8</b> (0.5)							
Netherlands†	48 (0.2) ▼	-	-							
Norway (9)	49 (0.1) ▽	49 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.4)							
Peru	56 (0.2) ▲	-	-							
Russian Federation	50 (0.3) ▽	52 (0.2)	<b>-1.5</b> (0.5)							
Slovenia	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	0.7 (0.5)							
Sweden	50 (0.3) ▽	50 (0.2)	0.4 (0.5)							
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	51 (0.0)									
<b>Common countries average</b>	51 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	<b>0.9</b> (0.1)							

Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	48 (0.2)	-	-							
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	50 (0.3)	-	-							

Benchmarking participant not meeting sample participation requirements

North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.3)	-	-							
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■ 2016 average score +/- Confidence interval  
■ 2009 average score +/- Confidence interval

National average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

	Certain or probable non-participation
	Certain or probable participation

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses.
  - Statistically significant changes ( $p < 0.05$ ) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
  - (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
  - † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
  - <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
  - <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
  - No comparable data available.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

Table 4.20: National average scale scores indicating students' expected active political participation by gender, students' interest, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score by gender group		Scale score average by students' interest		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not interested in civic issues	Quite or very interested in civic issues	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Belgium (Flemish)	47 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	45 (0.3)	49 (0.6)	48 (0.7)	46 (0.3)
Bulgaria	50 (0.4)	49 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	47 (0.3)
Chile	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	53 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	53 (0.5)	49 (0.2)
Colombia	54 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	56 (0.3)	51 (0.3)
Croatia	51 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	51 (0.6)	50 (0.3)
Denmark†	51 (0.2)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	50 (0.5)	51 (0.1)
Dominican Republic (r)	61 (0.3)	60 (0.4)	59 (0.3)	63 (0.4)	61 (0.3)	56 (0.7)
Estonia <sup>1</sup>	49 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.6)	48 (0.2)
Finland	49 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.5)	49 (0.2)
Italy	51 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	51 (0.2)
Latvia <sup>1</sup>	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	49 (0.3)
Lithuania	52 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	51 (0.2)
Malta	51 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	49 (0.3)
Mexico	56 (0.3)	55 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	58 (0.4)	57 (0.3)	53 (0.3)
Netherlands†	48 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	51 (0.4)	48 (0.5)	48 (0.2)
Norway (9) <sup>1</sup>	48 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	47 (0.1)	51 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	48 (0.1)
Peru	57 (0.2)	56 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	58 (0.2)	58 (0.2)	54 (0.3)
Russian Federation	51 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	52 (0.5)	50 (0.3)
Slovenia	50 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	52 (0.4)	50 (0.4)	49 (0.2)
Sweden <sup>1</sup>	50 (0.4)	50 (0.2)	48 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.6)	50 (0.2)
<b>ICCS 2016 average</b>	<b>51 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>	<b>53 (0.1)</b>	<b>52 (0.1)</b>	<b>50 (0.1)</b>

Countries not meeting sample participation requirements

Hong Kong SAR	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.5)	48 (0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>2</sup>	51 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	52 (0.6)	49 (0.3)

Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .  
 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

Notes:

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ( $p < 0.05$ ) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- (9) Country deviated from International Defined Population and surveyed adjacent upper grade.
- † Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
- <sup>1</sup> National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population.
- <sup>2</sup> Country surveyed target grade in the first half of the school year.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

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