

Ideology and Education:

A three-article dissertation exploring implications for democracy

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by

Ryan Knowles

Committee Members

Dr. Antonio Castro, Advisor

Dr. Linda Bennett

Dr. Lenny Sanchez

Dr. Sarah Diem

Dr. Mary Shenk

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation titled

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presented by Ryan Knowles, a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy, and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Dr. Antonio Castro

Dr. Linda Bennett

Dr. Lenny Sanchez

Dr. Sarah Diem

Dr. Mary Shenk

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Lists of Tables and Figures	iv
Abstract	vi
Chapter One	1
Introduction	
References	22
Chapter Two	28
Connecting an Open Classroom Climate to Social Movement Citizenship: A study of 8 th Graders in Western Europe using IEA ICCS Data	
References.....	60
Chapter Three	73
Asian Values and Democratic Citizenship: Exploring attitudes among South Korean 8 th graders using data from the ICCS Asian Regional Module	
References.....	106
Chapter Four	118
Justifying the Status-quo: The Implications of Ideology on Teachers' Emphasized Civic Behavior in the Classroom	
References.....	157
Chapter Five	168
Moving Forward	
References.....	176
Vita	178

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter Two:

Table 1. Multi-Level Regression Analysis Exploring Relationships among Open Classroom Climate, Political Efficacy, and Civic Knowledge.....	47
Figure 1. The Relationship of an Open Classroom Climate on Civic Knowledge and Political Efficacy.....	48
Table 2. Multi-level Regression Analysis Exploring the Relationships Between Political Efficacy, Civic Knowledge, and Social Movement Citizenship.....	50
Figure 2. Mediation Path Analysis Models.....	51
Table 3. Mediation Model Path Analysis by Country.....	53
Appendix: Descriptive Statistics of Major Constructs by Country.....	70
Appendix: Demographic Characteristics of ICCS Participants by Country.....	71
Appendix: Descriptive Statistics of Individual Items of Major Constructs.....	72

Chapter Three:

Table 1. Mean level of attachment to Asian values.....	94
Table 2. Dimensions of Asian Values.....	95
Table 3. Attachment to democratic citizenship.....	96
Table 4. Multi-level analysis predicting	

the components of democratic citizenship with Asian values	98
Figure 1. Structural regression model predicting democratic citizenship with Asian values	100
Appendix: Survey Items Measuring Confucian Values.....	117

Chapter Four:

Figure 1. Theoretical model of the relationships between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized political behavior	129
Table 1. Dimensions of teachers' civic education ideology.....	143
Table 2. Item descriptives of civic education ideology.....	145
Table 3. Regression predicting civic education ideology.....	147
Table 4. Factor analysis of civic behavior emphasized in Schools	148
Table 5. Regression predicting civic behavior emphasized in schools	150
Figure 2. Path analysis testing relationships between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized political behavior	151
Figure 3. Revision of Castro's (2013) intersections of critical and multicultural citizenship.....	154
Appendix: Teacher Demographics.....	167

Chapter Five:

Figure 1: Theoretical model connecting teachers' personal ideology to decisions made in the classroom.....	175
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Abstract

The proposed dissertation follows a three article format. The articles represent the distinct but interrelated strands of research; the first article focuses on developing a scale measuring teachers' orientation to social studies as citizenship education, among teachers in Missouri. The second and third explore larger theoretical questions relating to citizenship and democracy from an international context through secondary analysis. All three pieces address issues of democracy, citizenship, and education.

Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

Democracy garners near universal acceptance as the preferred form of government across the globe (Dahl, 1999). However, true democracy remains a dream not yet realized (Pzeworski, 2010). Therefore, scholars must consider why societies fall short of the ideal. More specifically, how can education work to foster democratic societies? The dissertation presented here includes three studies that address this central question in different ways. This introductory chapter will begin the discussion by explaining the reasoning behind the dissertation format and provide context for the rest of the work.

An enduring part of doctoral programs, the traditional five-chapter dissertation exists as a corner stone in the training of scholars. However, many have voiced limitations to the standard model. For example, Duke and Beck (1999) argued that the dissertation as a genre has a limited audience, hinders dissemination, and lacks generalizability. As a result, they assert that the field of education should consider alternative dissertation formats that appeal to a wider audience and help prepare candidates for the type of writing they expect to do throughout their career.

As a future faculty member, the majority of scholarship produced will include 20-30 page manuscripts of both empirical and theoretical works. With this in mind, the dissertation presented here follows a three-article format intended to develop my ability to produce publishable scholarship. The structure was adapted based on a *Three Article Dissertation* guide written for the Department of Social Work at the University of Texas at Austin (Three Article Dissertation, 2011). Following this example, the present chapter

presents an overview of the format, theoretical overview that connects the studies, description of my research agenda, and a brief summary of each article.

Conflicts of Democracy and Citizenship Education

Democracy represents one of the most researched topics in social science scholarship. However, a definition remains complex and contentious (Pzeworski, 2010). Disagreements often cause people in separate research paradigms to assume different assumptions that underlie varying definitions. An outline of different definitions takes place below, along with examples of the implications on social studies education

Conflicting Definitions of Democracy

The word democracy has two common denotations that are often used interchangeably with little consideration (Dahl, 1999; Dahl 1972). The first notion views democracy as a social good and, like Dewey (1916/2007), equates it with the ways in which people live in relation to each other and criticize unequal access to civic life. This *ideal democracy* functions on the principle that political decisions are made with the consideration of every individual's interests equally (Dahl, 1999). Dahl (1999) argues that societies support ideal democracy by providing opportunities for five criteria, which include (1) effective participation, (2) equality in voting, (3) gaining enlightened understanding, (4) citizens exercising final control over the agenda, and (5) inclusion of all adults within decision-making processes. Inequity in public life, due to structural injustice, limits the fulfillment of this principle. For example, political scientists argue that the success of democratic institutions stems largely from the degree the government's authority mirrors societal norms (Dalton & Shin, 2006; Almond & Verba, 1963). In other words, societal norms may create conflicts between different groups,

which prevent the equal consideration of each individual's interests. Thus, functioning democratic political arrangements are difficult, if not impossible, without a democratic society. This conception of democracy refers to particular attitudes and relationships between people that are necessary for any type of democratic government to succeed.

The second definition of democracy depicts the implementation of ideals into living political institutions. Thus, Dahl (1972) argued for the adoption of the term *polyarchy* to distinguish modern electoral government institutions from ideal democracy. Polyarchy begins to resemble the democratic ideal described above through the election of officials in free, fair and frequent elections, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information, associational autonomy, and inclusive citizenship (Dahl, 1999). Avery, Levy, Simmons, and Scarlett (2012) found that 77% of students surveyed from the United States defined democracy similar to these criteria. While we as citizens often strive for democracy as a social value, our political systems and society often fall short of ideal democracy. For example, Verba, Schlzman, and Brady (1995) surveyed 15,000 and interviewed more than 2,500 individuals and found disparities between knowledge, social capital, and resources led to unequal political participation among citizens. In addition, a recent study by Gilens and Page (2014) found that the interests of economic elites and organized business groups, not the preferences of the average citizen, heavily influence government policy. Perhaps, these shortcomings are a result of the failure of United States' society to fulfill the criteria of ideal democracy, therefore limiting the democratic nature of political institutions. In sum, while we often idealize democracy in our society and schools, social and economic structures create limitations to effective political participation and access to civic life.

Providing context to the divisions described above, Castro (2013) discussed *civic spheres* as individuals belonging to interconnected groups across socio-political divisions within society. Ultimately, political and civic decisions are made within and across these civic spheres, which differ based on lived experiences and are thus somewhat exclusive in their membership. Various civic spheres advocate for their interests within society and likely have different concerns depending on context. For example, discussions in a predominantly African American inner city church are likely different from debates in a wealthy white suburban country club. However, some civic spheres certainly have more capital than others (social, cultural, and economic) leading to unequal representation within political institutions. Thus, citizens in more powerful civic spheres have the means to maintain the current social, economic, and political structures. As Delpit (1988) noted, those with power in society are least likely to acknowledge its existence. Unequal access to privileged civic spheres that possess power over governing institutions creates limitations to effective political participation among individuals. These conflicts manifest into ideological fissures that prevent changes to the status-quo by limiting participation among those who are more aware of the existence of power, but lack it, within society (Miller-Lane, Howard, & Halagao, 2007; Knight Abowitz, & Harnish, 2006; Castro, 2013).

While the term polyarchy never reached popularity in use, civic educators and researchers must consider the distance between ideal democracy and political institutions within their teaching and scholarship. In particular, we must consider which civic spheres hold power within society and which lack it, and how this organization is maintained. Indeed, an individual's position regarding this discrepancy certainly influences the

research questions ask and the recommendations made based on findings intended to empower students.

Conflicting Discourses of Civic Education

As will be depicted below, scholars of civic education often construct their studies differently based on *the* assumption of ideal democracy. Supported by the current paradigm of achievement, many proponents of democratic education encourage educational practices that increase students' civic knowledge, democratic attitudes, and civic skills (Parker, 2008; Levine, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008). While the goal is noble, Cary (2001) warns that if left uninterrogated this can lead to reductionist and prescriptive notions of citizenship that support the continuation of inequity of modern life. Indeed, as depicted below, many recommendations for citizenship education assume ideal democracy and therefore fail to consider the limitations to participation across civic spheres that limit effective polyarchy.

In order to improve the functioning of democratic political institutions, common research studies explore educational practices that promote civic capabilities such as political efficacy, civic knowledge, political participation, and democratic values (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, & Barber, 2008; Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Richardson, 2007; Kennedy, Hahn, & Lee, 2007). Levinson (2010) draws attention to a civic empowerment gap among low-income, minority students. As a result, scholars work to uncover the conditions that stifle civic engagement, and make recommendations for educational strategies that compensate for those disadvantages. This approach calls for a social studies that should move students away from what Parker (2002) refers to as idiocy, or apathetic passive civic engagement,

to more active enlightened democratic engagement. Thus, this research paradigm views the purpose of education to give students the skills and dispositions necessary to advocate for their interests in existing social structures and political institutions.

Research and scholarship on building civic capabilities in students sometimes assumes that political institutions are responsive to citizens who engage in the process. Meaning that governments bend in the favor to citizens organize, vote, petition, and protest. Alternatively, those who disengage from the political system will fail to reap the benefits. For example, when considering why low income people vote less often, Levine (2007) quipped, that “Perhaps in part because welfare recipients do not vote, the federal government cut welfare payments per family by 57 percent (after inflation) between the peak year of 1969 and 2003” (pg. 22). Thus, to Levine the problem is that the poor people do not participate to their own detriment. Thus, researchers often assume a deficit view that some students lack something, such as knowledge, efficacy, or particular values. With this in mind, recommended educational practices seek to shrink this deficit. For example, in their study of the impact of civic learning opportunities on over 4,000 high school students in 52 classrooms, Kahne and Sporte (2008) posited that “because the students in this sample are primarily low-income students of color, this study highlights activities that may help offset some of the striking inequalities in political voice that currently characterize our democracy” (pg. 754). Within this perspective, democratic political institutions provide citizens with potential to improve their plight through active participation in political processes. Thus, they assume fulfillment of the ideal definition of democracy and relatively equal access to the civic spheres that hold influence over polyarchy. Research on civic capabilities often parallel the assumption of realized ideal

democracy, leading to instruction that fails to acknowledge limitations of access to civic spheres.

In contrast to the literature on building civic capabilities described above, other studies explore how marginalized communities adapt to the lack of ideal democracy within society (Schutz, 2008; Rubin, 2006; 2007). For example, Delpit (1988) discussed five aspects of the *culture of power* among society that influence education. These include: issues of power are enacted in the classroom, there are codes or rules for participating in the culture of power, the culture of power is a reflection of those in power, being aware of the rules of the culture of power makes acquiring power easier, and those with power are the least likely to acknowledge its existence. In other words, certain opinions and views are not valued equally in the larger society, which extend into schools and classrooms. In contrast to the literature on civic capabilities, other studies explore how marginalized people adapt to the unequal distribution of power in society. For example, Rubin (2006; 2007) explores disparities between privileged notions of civic education and the lived realities of many students, which promotes a rational basis of non-political participation among low-income minority students. Schutz (2008) contrasted a middle class bias in citizenship research with the notion of democratic solidarity for low-income communities, which describes how communities respond to oppression by finding support from others in the same communal group and combining limited resources.

In relation to these studies, I echo Apple's (2008) questioning of whether the typical recommendations of building civic capabilities in democratic education are enough? He asserted that social realities based on the power structure of society privilege

certain ideas and values within the classroom space. Indeed, open and free discussions are often grounded in unacknowledged gendered (Frasier, 1997) and racial relations (Mills, 1997). If left un-interrogated education will mirror the culture that surrounds it and limit the efficacy of schools to challenge the distribution of power between civic spheres necessary to promote ideal democracy.

This review explored several concepts including the difference between ideal democracy and democratic governance (or polyarchy). Indeed, the concept of civic spheres demonstrates the social conditions that produce this division. For example, when a less privileged civic sphere challenges the power dynamic within society, often more powerful civic spheres react and use their political and cultural influence to prevent changes to the status-quo. These conflicts manifest within the political system as deeply entrenched camps fight for control over the educational system (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Blanchette, 2010; Placier, Walker, & Foster, 2002). For example, the ethnic studies program in Tuscon Arizona worked to instill culturally relevant, empowered, and critical education to their students. However, a strong nationalist reaction led to the state to ban the program amidst protest from the school and students. This example shows the limits of polyarchy in a society with an unequal power distribution across civic spheres. However, some scholars of civic education are becoming more cognizant that the traditional civic capabilities research often fails to promote ideal democracy by not challenging the social structures that limit effective participation of some civic spheres. Going forward researchers must consider the ideological differences that reinforce access and influence over civic life.

Research Stance and Agenda Statement of Research

Foundations of my work stem from the landmark study by Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba (1963), *The Civic Culture*, which assessed connections between culture and democracy. Many years later, questions surrounding this relationship remain important. My perspectives of research rest on two essential assumptions. The first is that democracy is a dream not yet realized. As was discussed above, our government and society often fall short of idealized notions of democracy. Secondly, I assume that ideologies have developed and persisted that limit ideal democracy from taking form. Thus, if democracy is a goal, a researcher must interrogate aspects of ideology that seek to maintain a status-quo that is not democratic. Ultimately, as an educational researcher I am particularly interested in understanding the role of schools, classrooms, and teachers in supporting or hindering to political ideologies related to democracy. More specifically, what role does education play in reinforcing particular ideologies?

Critical pragmatism provides a useful approach to exploring the assumptions, conceptions, explanations influence how we see our world (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). Such an approach allows for the critical study of democracy within society. William James (1876; cited in Gunn, 1992, p. 36) viewed pragmatism as a way of thinking that sees alternatives, imagines others states of mind, refuses to take the usual for granted, and makes “conventionalities fluid again.” Cornbleth and Waugh (1995) described five overlapping facets of critical pragmatism, which include (1) contingency which rejects universal interpretations or applications, (2) critical analysis which entails questioning appearances and everyday practices, (3) fallibility which emphasizes self-questioning and subjecting your values and presuppositions to scrutiny, (4) anti-fundamentalism and

community which involve the rejection of absolute or certain knowledge and instead focuses on the social setting in which knowledge is constructed, and (5) pluralism which considers a plurality of traditions, perspectives, and philosophic orientations. Through critical pragmatism, a study of democracy constantly interrogates cultural traditions, political institutions, civic life, and educational systems for features that undermine democracy. In addition, after the identification of such features, educators must work to challenge their role in society. With this stance in mind, three strands that define my research agenda include quantitative analysis of social studies curriculum and instruction, political ideology in schools, and international and comparative political culture

The first strand of my research emphasizes the role of quantitative research in understanding social studies practices across a variety of contexts. Recently, I helped form the organization, *Supporting Quantitative Understanding, Analysis, and Research in the Social Studies* (SQUARSS). Working with connections made through this organization, I co-wrote a chapter for an edited volume with two researchers from the University of North Carolina-Charlotte. The work addressed the potential of quantitative analysis of secondary data sets to inform social studies teaching and learning (Heafner, Fitchett, & Knowles, Accepted, In press). In addition, I have also used quantitative research methods to publish works that contribute to the knowledge of social studies across contexts. For example, one article found that teachers in survey social studies courses, such as American history, world history, or government, used passive teacher-centered instruction with greater frequency in comparison to teachers in advanced placement courses (Knowles & Theobald, 2013). Moreover, another study, employing a mixed method framework, found that 87% of U.S. history standards containing Native

American history depicted people and events prior to 1900 (Shear, Knowles, Soden, & Castro, 2015).

The second strand strives to understand political ideology in schools.

Understanding the ideological notions present in schools, and their implications on student learning, is essential for the future of civic education. My research in this area explores how schools incorporate ideologies that support the status-quo and whether teachers' personal political ideologies influence teaching practices. For example, the third study of this dissertation, *Justifying the Status-quo: The Implications of Ideology on Teachers' Emphasized Civic Behavior in the Classroom*, investigates teachers' political ideologies in relation to citizenship education and test the impact on how and what they teach. This study addresses this need by developing a scale measuring teachers' ideological views of citizenship education based on the framework of Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) and other important literature, based on a typology of conservatism, liberal citizenship, and critical citizenship. In addition, I am co-writing a chapter on Democratic Citizenship Education that will appear in the *Handbook of Social Studies Research* (Castro & Knowles, In Progress). This research synthesis challenges common discourses of democratic citizenship education by calling for more nuanced conceptions that move away from idealized notions of democracy towards a view of democratic education that incorporates the real limitations of democratic citizenship in practice. Put more simply, the chapter argues that democratic citizenship education scholarship should reflect, analyze, and criticize the existence of power structures that influence the functioning of democratic institutions.

Finally, the third strand explores international and comparative political culture. My scholarship in this area explores issues related to democratic education across a variety of different cultural contexts, while employing detailed analysis using descriptive statistics, multi-level regression, and structural equation modeling. Comparing issues of culture and democracy through the analysis of secondary data sets, such as the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS), will form a cornerstone of my future research agenda. I began exploring comparative political culture during my master's program through the analysis of data sets such as the Asian Barometer and the World Values Survey. Upon starting doctoral work, I researched students and schools using data from ICCS. For example, the first article in this study focuses on 8th graders in Western Europe, found that the relationship between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship largely depends on the presence of an open classroom. In addition, the second study of this work explores 8th graders in South Korea, one article found that different dimensions of Asian values, inherent to Confucian tradition, were negatively and positively associated with attachment to democratic citizenship.

Summary of the Three Research Studies

Overall, each study address issues related to culture, education, and democracy from a different context. The first focuses on the role of education giving citizens the orientations necessary to advocate their interest. The second and third studies explore variations in political culture and their relation to democratic citizenship. However, before presenting the studies, a brief discussion of research and theory related to democracy and citizenship education provide needed context.

While in graduate school, my thinking of democracy and education has developed from a more localized perspective of teaching students individualized behaviors in schools, to a more global view of how culture interacts, supports, and prevents democracy from taking root in society. Each of the studies presented in this volume represent this evolution. The first focuses on the development of political efficacy necessary to give students the ability to act to challenge society through active citizenship. Thus, the study explores classroom climates that provide future citizens with the ability to advocate for their interests. The second study, considers how traditional cultural values of students in South Korea relate to understandings of democratic citizenship. The final study connects teachers' comfort with the status-quo to their views of citizenship and civic behavior emphasized in the classroom. This study evaluates how variations in political culture influence how teachers view citizenship education.

Research Study One:

Connecting an Open Classroom Climate to Social Movement Citizenship: A study using the International Civic and Citizenship Study among 8th Graders in Western Europe

Inspiration for this study came during the first semester of my doctoral program. During a course on research in teaching history, the students engaged in a lively discussion as to why teachers insist on traditional teaching methods, such as lecture and textbook oriented learning, despite a clear consensus among teacher educators otherwise. A major reason given was the need to cover the most material necessary for students to score well on a standardized test. We referred to this as 'The Tyranny of the Test'. We lamented that while lecturing may (although there is insufficient research to make this claim) provide sufficient superficial knowledge to do well on tests, they certainly fail to

encourage deeper understanding necessary to make sense of the complexities of modern and past societies. Indeed, theoretical and qualitative literature in social studies consistently makes this claim (Ross, 2000; Barton & Levstrik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008; Grant, 2003). However, at the time I noticed a lack of large-scale research studies exploring the virtues of more student-centered instruction. Given my interest in large-scale quantitative research studies, I set out looking for scales and data suitable for secondary analysis. I hoped that if an empirical connection between student-centered constructivist instruction and some desirable outcomes could be found, such a study could be used to advocate for such instruction in the future.

First, I found a study by William Russell (2010) that surveyed teachers on their instructional practices. I thought I could revise his instrument and give it to students to evaluate their teachers practices and also provide some pre-existing scales measuring historical thinking (Maggioni, VanSledrights, Alexander, 2009), political efficacy (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito (2010), and democratic values (Schulz et. al., 2009). The key research questions would address connections between students' perception of the instructional practices of their teachers and their level of these desirable attributes. However, after discussing this with my advisor we decided that obtaining approval for such a large sample of students would be too difficult and expensive for a study so early in my program.

To avoid this limitation, I decided to develop a survey for teachers similar to what is described above. I included the revised item group measuring instructional practices, and had teachers evaluate their students' level of historical thinking, political efficacy, tolerance, and democratic values among other measures. I launched the survey during my

second semester of my doctoral program as a pilot study. I then used regression to determine if teachers with more student-centered instruction perceived their students as having higher levels of democratic orientations listed above. While, the results of the analysis did find evidence of this relationship, there were problems with the unit of analysis (teachers evaluating students) that was highly problematic. However, the results of this study greatly informed the development of the study *The Implications of Ideology* within this volume.

Finally, during the second semester of my doctoral program the raw data, international report, and codebook for the *IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study* (ICCS) was released (Schulz et. al., 2009). This study asked students a variety of questions. One question grouping measured students' perception of an *open classroom climate*. While this measure is not synonymous with student-centered instruction, there is certainly a theoretical connection between the two. I viewed an open classroom climate, where students feel free to express, analyze, and contradict each other's viewpoints, as a pre-requisite of effective student-centered education. The study also had a scale measuring *social movement citizenship*, which assesses an active orientation towards citizenship. However, there was not a clear theoretical connection between an open classroom climate and active citizenship. More plausibly, an open classroom climate fosters skills such as voicing opinions, understanding others, and a sense of security of students' own capabilities to understand complex issues in society, referred to as political self-efficacy. The ICCS included measures of political self-efficacy that assessed students' sense of their own capabilities to participate in politics. Thus, I hypothesized that an open classroom climate contributes to students' sense of political efficacy, which

in turn supports social movement citizenship. Civic knowledge was also added to the model. As the study presented demonstrates, an open classroom climate, indeed strengthens the relationship between knowledge and efficacy towards social movement citizenship.

Research Study Two:

Asian Values and Democratic Citizenship: Exploring attitudes among South Korean 8th graders using data from the ICCS Asian Regional Module

The second study developed out of research conducted while pursuing a Masters Degree in Political Science. During this time, I took a course on Democratization in East Asia, in which I became interested in the relationship between culture and democracy. In particular, can culture limit the success of democracy? Perhaps, culture could play a role in maintaining the structure of power across civic spheres. This led me to write a thesis on the relationship of Confucianism and support for democracy in East Asia using data from the Asia Barometer. While pursuing my doctoral degree, I maintained this interest and continued reading similar scholarship from an education and citizenship perspective. Most notably, the works of Kerry Kennedy (See Kennedy & Lee, 2008) and Wing-On Lee (2004) contributed to my thinking about the relationship between culture and education in an East Asian context. While I had this interest, when I started my doctoral program there was no data published that was similar to the Asia Barometer focusing on schools or students. During my fourth semester of my doctoral program, data from the Asian Regional Module of the ICCS study was released.

The study presented here represents the final version of this analysis. To assess attachment to traditional Asian values related to Confucianism, a group of items was

included based on the conceptualization Park and Shin (2006). I was interested in whether attachment to these items was related to students' orientations toward democratic citizenship. I chose a model of democratic citizenship that included having civic knowledge, political efficacy, democratic values, and rejection of authoritarian views of citizenship. The study finds two different notions of Asian values. The first, obedience to authority, relates negatively with democratic citizenship while Asian civic values demonstrate a positive relationship.

Research Study Three:

Justifying the Status-quo: The Implications of Ideology on Teachers' Emphasized Civic Behavior in the Classroom

Following a national conference presentation of the first study presented in this volume, the discussant, a much respected scholar, criticized the work as not directly challenging those that oppose social movement citizenship. She stated the paper "preaches to the choir", and elaborated that building students' capability to take part in social movements was a noble goal; but, what about those who actively advocate against such practices? Afterwards I considered her comments deeply. At the time, I naively viewed those advocating social studies education as having more or less similar goals, which entail giving students' knowledge and critical thinking skills necessary to solve problems in a democratic society. However, her comments made me consider the various perspectives of social studies and the conflicts that manifest as a result. Indeed, outside of academia I noticed fervent partisan-ideological divisions that seemed at the core of every debate, which are rarely considered within the dominant social studies research paradigm (see Parker, 2012). Instead, as Apple (2006) states,

The movement, say, in social studies toward “process oriented” curriculum is a case in point. We teach social inquiry” as a set of “skills,” as a series of methods that will enable students “to learn how to inquire themselves.” While this is certainly better than more rote models of teaching which prevailed in previous decades, at the same time it can actually depoliticize the study of social life. We ask our students to see knowledge as a social construction, in the more disciplinary programs to see how sociologist, historians, anthropologists and others construct their theories and concepts. Yet, in doing so we do not enable them to inquire as to why a particular form of social exists, how it is maintained and who benefits from it. (Pg. 6.)

While reading and attending conference presentations I noticed a similar phenomenon. For example, studies constantly depict traditional history and passive citizenship as the status-quo in social studies; however, the field recommends more inquiry based history with active citizenship. Researchers consistently find that teachers that employ the former are viewed as problematic while few teachers engage in the latter (Ross, 2000; Levstik, 2008; Barton & Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008; Grant, 2003). What the field often fails to consider, as the discussant voiced, is what ideological forces are encouraging this passive view of citizenship and what are the implications for democracy? Or, how are these practices maintained and who benefits from them? By avoiding this issue, as a leading scholar told me in a discussion on this issue, “social studies is in the mud but is afraid of getting dirty.” From this perspective, I began to think of social studies as

inherently contentious and mired in conflict from those with differing perspectives of the common good.

While I was exploring these ideas, I began to look for research focusing on ideology within social studies and citizenship literature. As I describe in the study, I found that many studies conflated ideology with instructional practices and civic and political behavior. However, most mainstream studies do not acknowledge the deeply entrenched perspectives that underlie different ideological positions. For example, Hess and McAvoy (2014) and Hess (2009), discuss the importance of crosscutting political talk necessary to move people from ideologically extreme positions toward moderate views necessary for consensus. While such deliberation is certainly valuable, this perspective treats ideology as a flexible position on a continuum. In addition, Fallace (In Press) describes ideological divisions within social studies as “paper thin”. In contrast, political science research views ideology as a rigid phenomenon that develops and transcends over generations, and serves the process of perpetuating the status-quo (Jost, Kay, Thorisdottir, 2011). Thus, political ideologies are not as fluid and passive as is often portrayed within social studies research. More accurately, ideological differences are fissures in political cultures that manifest because of differing worldviews (likely across civic spheres), which lead to competing notions of the common good. Indeed, political conflicts regarding education take place among deeply entrenched opposing sides with starkly different perspectives (Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; Blanchette, 2010; Placier, Walker, & Foster, 2002). To address these conflicts, the third study in this volume seeks to understand how various political ideologies relate to civic education and guide teachers choices.

To address the issue of teachers' ideology I developed a psychometric scale measuring civic education ideology. This was based largely on the work of Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006), which I consider the most comprehensive work on ideological divisions across citizenship education to date. Items were developed based on the trichotomy of conservative, liberal, and critical civic education ideologies. With such a scale, future scholars and myself can determine if there is a relationship between civic education ideology and classroom instruction and curriculum decisions. Ultimately, we as educators must consider whether a particular ideology provides more support for ideal democracy. If this is the case, we must consider the efficacy, and possibility, of being politically neutral.

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Chapter Two

Connecting an Open Classroom Climate to Social Movement Citizenship: A study of 8th Graders in Western Europe using IEA ICCS Data

Abstract

Using data from the International Civic and Citizenship Study, this quantitative study explores the potential for open classroom climates to foster political efficacy and civic knowledge among 8th grade students in fourteen Western European countries. Findings show that an open classroom climate is associated with increased civic knowledge and political efficacy. In addition, civic knowledge and political efficacy are positively correlated with social movement citizenship. However, the relationships between both political efficacy and civic knowledge on social movement citizenship are strengthened with presence of an open classroom climate. This study demonstrates the importance of an open classroom climate to develop students' knowledge and efficacy related to active citizenship.

Connecting an Open Classroom Climate to Social Movement Citizenship: A study of 8th Graders in Western Europe using IEA ICCS data

In the 21st century, citizens must grapple with the growing complexity of political and global issues (Dahl, 1999). The rise of digital communication, economic globalization, and migration makes citizens more interconnected with others across boundaries. Hence, citizenship requires many more skills than in prior generations, forcing a shift away from passive towards more active and critical forms of citizenship (Dalton, 2008). However in Western Europe, commentators assert the faltering status of democratic institutions by citing popular dislike of politics (Hay, 2007), political parties losing loyal voters (Franklin, Mackie, & Valen, 1992; Dalton & Wattenberg, 2002), falling electoral turnout (Franklin, 2004) and rising public disaffection with government (Dogan, 2005; Torcal & Montero, 2006). To prepare students for modern challenges, the Council of Europe issued a *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education* that has been adopted by 47 member states (Council of Europe, 2010). The project aims to promote education for democracy and human rights, with an emphasis on social cohesion, social inclusion, and respect (Starkey & Osler, 2009). To accomplish these goals the charter calls for new research on the relationship between education and democratic citizenship to provide stakeholders with information to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of educational practices. This article answers this call by exploring the role of open classroom climate in promoting active notions of citizenship.

Although political and educational leaders consistently call for education that supports civic development, Harber and Mncube (2012) note that schools in Europe often

do not promote active and critically conscious notions of citizenship. Indeed, commonly implemented traditional instruction emphasizing lectures, textbooks, and worksheets fail to provide students with adequate preparation for democratic participation (Ross, 2000; Evans, 2008). Instead, teachers and school leaders must seek models of teaching that will allow students to engage with difficult ideas and issues that mirror new global realities to prepare them as future citizens. Thus, we must build students' sense of their own capabilities to influence political change, referred to as political efficacy. Before reforming civic education, scholars must identify which classroom practices foster more empowered citizens.

Although, Hahn (1998) asserts, 'there is no one form of democracy and there is no one way of teaching democracy' (p. 236), research literature cites practices that involve students practicing democracy within the classroom through discussion and deliberation (Hahn, 1998; Hess & Parker, 2001; Gimpel, Lay, & Schuknecht, 2003; Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005; Parker, 2006; Rubin, 2006; Parker, 2008; Hess & Avery, 2008). Parker (2010) asserts the importance of listening and speaking to "strangers" about powerful ideas and problems in democratic education. By outlining two empirical cases, Parker (2010) found that ambitious classroom discussion can develop more complex understandings of issues by allowing students to build on experiences of their peers. For example, Oliver and Shaver (1966) and Hess (2002,2009), in their research of high school students, linked discussion of controversial issues with promoting democratic values, such as tolerance, equality, and diversity. Furthermore, among students in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, Davies (2002) explored the development of *student voice* through activities such as decision-making through student

councils, working in committees that advised on curriculum and instruction, and evaluating teachers. Thus, the research literature demonstrates the importance of practicing democracy in promoting student capability for civic participation.

While these studies suggest the importance of democratic discussions, their models require the teacher to facilitate a culture of learning and institute norms of respect among the students. Being able to create a democratic classroom space provides an atmosphere necessary to successfully implement such practices. Hess and Avery (2008) characterize an open classroom climate as having a “democratic ethos” where students feel comfortable engaging in deliberation. Teachers create this space when they encourage students to bring up relevant issues in the class, express their opinions, and explore diverse perspectives (Torney-Purta, Wilkenfield, & Barber, 2008). The studies that investigate the role of such a climate for civic education report a positive association between an open classroom climate and more support for human rights, increased civic knowledge, and greater political participation (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 137; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2005; Torney-Purta et al., 2008; Campbell, 2008; Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012). For example, Hahn’s (1998) study of students in the United States, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, and England found that students are more likely to develop attitudes that foster civic participation when they frequently discuss controversial issues, perceive several sides of issues, and feel comfortable expressing their views. Moreover, Campbell (2008) found that, particularly among low socio-economic students, an open classroom climate has a strong relationship with students’ appreciation of political conflict and likelihood of voting. The study presented here adds to the literature

on open classroom climate by seeking to trace the connection between classroom climate, civic knowledge, political efficacy, and active citizenship.

The secondary analysis conducted in this study examines the relationship between an open classroom climate experienced by 8th grade students in fourteen European countries and levels of efficacy, knowledge, and civic orientation. Similarities in wealth, level of democracy, and development were considered when choosing countries. In addition, we explored the relationships of civic knowledge and political efficacy on students' views of social movement citizenship. Social movement citizenship supports active notions of civic engagement such as peaceful protests, community involvement, human rights, and environmental consciousness (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Findings from this study will help to demonstrate the importance of open classroom climates towards the development of active citizenship. The data from this study comes from the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS). The study gathered data from more than 140,000 eighth graders in 5,300 schools from 38 countries and provides a rich source of information regarding citizenship and democracy from a comparative and international context.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Some researchers declare that civic knowledge comprises the primary component of citizenship education (Butts, 1988; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996; Milner, 2002; Patrick, 2004). However, Avery (2003) asserts that understanding the principles of democracy goes beyond civic knowledge by suggesting that a person can know facts but have little or no understanding of their relationship or significance. In addition, students must learn how to use the knowledge they learn. Thus, moving closer to Parker's (2003,

2008) notion of *Enlightened Democratic Citizenship*, which requires knowledge and values related to democracy but also an active civic orientation to implement these attitudes. As a result, teachers and researchers must focus on how students construct and make use of learned knowledge. This study draws on the work of social cognitive theory to understand how open classroom climates can encourage efficacy towards social movement citizenship.

Social Cognitive Theory and Political Efficacy

Early theories on social learning theory concentrated on environmental influences on behavior while discounting cognition (Miller & Dollard, 1941; Wilkenfield, Lauckhardt, & Torney-Purta, 2010). Recent research explores a constructivist approach portraying youth as active, rather than passive, recipients of meaning (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amedeo, 1999; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). Social cognitive theory emphasizes the construction of knowledge through personal characteristics and cognitive factors based on concepts of agency, observational learning, and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977; 1986). In the context of this study, it is important to elaborate on social cognitive theory both from an individual and collective perspective.

Social cognitive theory argues that human thought is not simply a sum of experiences. Instead, people are active agents that interact with their environment by using cognitive processes to give direction and meaning to their experiences (Bandura, 1997). As Bandura (2001) states, “It is not just exposure to stimulation, but agentic action in exploring, manipulating, and influencing the environment that counts.” Bandura (2001) distinguishes four core features of human agency which include (1) acts being done intentionally, (2) forethought to set goals, anticipate consequences, and selecting

courses of action to produce desired outcomes, (3) having self-reactiveness in order to motivate and self-regulate behavior, (4) and finally self-reflectiveness allows people to examine the adequacy of thoughts and actions. Thus, social cognitive theory promotes an active model of learning in which students practice desired behaviors. This suggests that teachers need to model active civic behaviors to promote democratic engagement.

One of the most influential factors of behavior is self-efficacy, or having the confidence in a person's ability to exercise actions required to deal with various situations and produce desired outcomes (Bandura, 1995, 1997; Wilkenfield et al., 2010). Political efficacy applies this theory to civic engagement by focusing on individuals' capability to contribute to social and/or political change through deliberate judgments and actions (Beaumont, 2010). Political science researchers have consistently found that a sense of political efficacy strongly predicts political participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; Campbel, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Guyton, 1988; Paulsen, 1991; Cohen, Vigoda, & Samorly, 2001; Becker, 2004). In addition, Inglehart and Welzel developed a body of research demonstrating a causal relationship between human empowerment and improved performance of democratic governance (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Welzel, 2007; Welzel & Inglehart; 2008). To better understand the complexities of political efficacy, the ICCS measured two concepts. The first, internal political efficacy focuses on students' belief in their ability to become politically involved. The second concept, citizenship self-efficacy, addresses a more general belief held by students regarding their capability to take part in civic life (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

In addition to individual political efficacy, individuals can have collective efficacy, or the belief in a group's capability to act and accomplish goals (Bandura,

1997). Working with others to promote change regarding important issues, students can develop collective efficacy (Pasek, Feldman, Romer, & Gamiseon, 2008). Perceptions of collective efficacy contribute to social movements necessary for positive social change (McAdam, 1982, 1988; Beaumont, 2010). While this study seeks to understand political efficacy at the individual level, collective and individual political efficacy are mutually supportive of each other (Beaumont, 2010; Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Andolina, 2010). Thus, supporting individual efficacy will likely contribute to conditions necessary for the mobilization of collective efficacy.

Having a strong sense of political efficacy gives individuals and groups orientations for active political involvement, measured in this study as social movement citizenship. In addition, promoting skills to mobilize collective political efficacy may foster political movements necessary to support democratic governance. Thus, understanding school influences of political efficacy connects education to civic engagement in order support democracy.

Schools and Political Efficacy

Considering the importance of political efficacy on civic engagement in youth, schools must consider how to promote students' sense of their own capabilities to promote change in civic and political life. Bandura (1997) suggested that schools promote students' political efficacy when they offer experiences similar to democratic participation. Indeed, scholars cite the democratic experience itself as a main influence of democratic behavior such as political efficacy and active notions of citizenship (Dressner, 1990; Stroup & Sabato, 2004; Levy, 2011). For example, Levy (2013) found that discussing political issues and small-scale democratic experiences promote political

efficacy, which in turn supports future political participation. Thus, if promoting democratic citizenship is a goal of schools, educators should strive to create authentic democratic experiences for students on a routine basis.

How can schools promote political efficacy? Beaumont (2010) describes four pathways that lead to the development of political efficacy among youth. First, experience in challenging but achievable political experiences can build political efficacy by allowing students to practice civic engagement (Bandura, 1997). A classroom example could include researching a community issue, coming up with a solution as a class, and then presenting the solution to the city council. An activity such as this would allow students to develop an understanding of how they might be able to be agents of change in their community. Second, students need models of political efficacy and involvement with which they can identify. Schunk and Pajares (2004) found that students develop self-efficacy when observing teachers, peers, parents, and other community members become politically involved. Research shows that powerful models involve people who show the ability to adapt when facing challenges or mistakes (Kitsantas, Zimmerman, & Cleary, 2000). Third, classrooms should support social encouragement from supportive relationships and networks. Through working with peers and community members, students develop networks of civically engaged people. These networks can move beyond vague rhetoric of civic duty by providing examples of real people doing specific tasks to accomplish goals (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004). Finally, classrooms should encourage empowering and resilient political outlooks. Critical analysis of political issues can potentially create a sense of helplessness and cynicism among students. Therefore, teachers should promote the idea that incremental successes are necessary to accomplish

large goals. Indeed, an open classroom climate fosters small-scale democratic decision-making experiences, which encourages political efficacy (Levy, 2013).

Within the classroom context, Levy's (2011) mixed method study of a high school class provides a clear example of promoting political efficacy through an open classroom climate. In a course focused on civic advocacy, the teacher facilitated building a foundation of skills by encouraging knowledge of issues, communication, evaluating sources, vision-building, and active reflection. In addition, one-on-one guidance, group feedback, and a great deal of student autonomy were important parts of project facilitation. As a result, the qualitative component uncovered themes of increased student interest and civic skill development. The subsequent quantitative analysis found statistically higher political efficacy and persistence among students in the civic advocacy course compared to students in a regular government course. Levy's study shows that teachers can create a climate to promote political efficacy when they act as key facilitators in the learning process through skill development and in turn give students ample autonomy for exploration of relevant issues. While Levy's study took place in the context of the United States, it provides a useful model for considering what an open classroom climate looks like within an actual classroom. Indeed, educators should apply the idea of an open classroom climate and make adjustments based on the cultural contexts of their classrooms and schools.

Focusing on the acquisition of political efficacy and civic knowledge clarifies the relationship between an open classroom climate and active citizenship. As social cognitive theory suggests (Bandura, 1995; 1997), an open classroom climate allows students to construct meaning, leading to greater efficacy necessary for active citizenship.

Political efficacy, civic understanding, and social movement citizenship are experiential. They require active, rather than passive behaviors, which an open classroom climate can promote. Such instruction shapes, rather than replicates political landscapes, and above all empowers future citizens. If schools wish to prepare students for participation in democratic society, they must create a space for practice in grappling with the difficult topics of their society. Instead of teaching students to be simply knowledgeable about issues and the political system, schools should promote students' capability to assert their rights, think critically about the positions of others, and act to promote justice within their community and society.

Methods

This study investigates the connection between an open classroom climate, civic knowledge, political efficacy, and social movement citizenship. In doing so, we ask three key research questions:

- 1) Is an open classroom climate associated with increased levels of political efficacy and/or civic knowledge?
- 2) Are civic knowledge and/or political efficacy associated with positive views of social movement citizenship?
- 3) Is the relationship between an open classroom climate and social movement citizenship mediated by political efficacy and/or civic knowledge?

In order to address these questions, we utilize data from the *IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study* (ICCS). The ICCS is the third major international survey exploring issues of citizenship. The first two were conducted in 1971 (Torney, Oppenheim, Russell, & Farren, 1975) and 1999 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Shultz, 2001). This study provides a rich source of information to answer a variety of questions regarding citizenship and democracy from a comparative and international context. The ICCS

utilized a stratified two-stage probability sampling technique (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2009). First, schools were sampled with probability proportional to size. Secondly, one intact class of the target grade was selected. Survey data such as the *ICCS* provides a useful method of exploring relationships pertaining to individual political efficacy (Torney-Purta et al., 2010). In addition, the *ICCS* contributes to education reform by promoting an understanding of countries' educational goals, assisting policy specialists and journalists, and to improving the processes of teaching and learning (Torney-Purta & Amadeo 2013).

To analyze the data, descriptive statistics, multi-level regression, and path analysis were used. STATA 12, HLM 7, and Mplus 7 were utilized to conduct this analysis. The analysis was conducted using samples from fourteen countries including, Austria, Flemish Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, England, Spain, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, and Sweden. The smallest sample size was Liechtenstein with 357 students; however, all of the other countries contained more than 2,000 students. The breakdown of the number of participants across the fourteen countries is available in the appendix. In all results presented, the appropriate sampling weights and variance estimation procedures¹ were implemented in accordance to the recommendations in *The ICCS 2009 Users Guide* (Brese, Jung, Mirazchiyski, Schulz, & Zuehlke, 2011). In order to compare effects of relevant measures of an open classroom climate, civic-self efficacy, political efficacy, social movement citizenship, civic

¹ For the path analysis models, survey weights were used to ensure the sample data better matches the population parameters, the observations are weighted using the Total Student Weight variable (TOTWGTS), while the variance estimators were adjusted using the Jackknife zone (JKZONES) specified as the strata and the Jackknife replicate (JKREPS) specified as the cluster. These adjustments were utilized through the survey function in STATA.

knowledge, socio-economic status, and expected education are standardized with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10. Standardizing these variables allows for comparison of coefficients to determine which have the strongest relationships while controlling for other relevant factors. This adjustment provides for much easier interpretation of the findings.

To answer the first question regarding classroom climate and civic capabilities, the mean levels of civic-self efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge were calculated for 8-quantiles of open classroom instruction (see Figure 1). Secondly, due to the nested nature of the data a multi-level model was utilized accounting for variation within three levels within the data: students, schools, and country (see Table 1)². Results of the multi-level analysis will be presented through three models: 1) a null model with no explanatory variables, 2) a second model using demographic measures as predictors, and 3) a third model adding variables of interest. Using the three models allows for the calculation of the intra-class correlation coefficient, which is the proportion of variance that exists at the stated level of data (e.g. school or country), and the proportion of variance explained. To address the second research question, Table 2 presents the results of multi-level regression analysis testing for relationships between civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge on social movement citizenship.

Finally, the third research question tests the conceptual model that political efficacy and civic knowledge mediate the relationship between an open classroom

² Survey weights were implemented for both student and school level data based on the suggestions based on the ICCS users guide (Brese, Jung, Mirazchiyski, Schulz, Zuehlke, 2011, p. 31). In order to account for differences between countries, a weighting variable was constructed and set to equal 1.

climate and social movement citizenship. In other words, the effects of an open classroom climate are transferred through knowledge and efficacy to promote social movement citizenship. Structural equation modeling provides a robust method of testing for mediation (James, Mulaik, & Brett, 2006). Traditionally, a mediation analysis is performed using a *causal steps approach* in which a baseline model depicts the direct relationship between x and y. Subsequently, a separate model includes intervening effects of a mediator to determine a change in the aforementioned relationship, therefore indicating mediation. However, the use of such a model remains controversial and not suitable for tests of mediation using structural equation modeling (James et al., 2006; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Following the example of Preacher, Zhang, and Zyphur (2011; see also Preacher, Zyphur, & Zhang, 2010), a multi-level structural equation model with multiple mediators was constructed using Mplus 7. The model uses two levels (Students within schools) and applied senate weights so each country would count equally within the model³. From this analysis, we can calculate indirect effects between an open classroom climate and social movement citizenship that are transferred via civic knowledge and efficacy. Path analysis can calculate indirect effects while simultaneously exploring relationships of multiple endogenous variables. In other words, using a path diagram allows for simultaneous comparisons of multiple dependent variables and more complex relationships than is possible with regression.

Quantitative research methodologists debate the use of parsimonious direct mediation models versus more complex partial mediation models (Baron & Kenny, 1986;

³ While recent work has explored mediation models with 3-level data (See Preacher, 2011), difficulties with the calculation of indirect effects remain. Thus, model in Figure 2 only uses 2-level data (Students within Schools).

James et al., 2006). As a result, we implement both methods to investigate these relationships. The results of the first model, in Figure 2, shows direct effects between an open classroom climate and the two measures of efficacy and civic knowledge, subsequently the relationship between knowledge and efficacy on social movement citizenship. The second model adds a direct path between open classroom climate and social movement citizenship. Thus, the second controls for the direct relationship when calculating the indirect effects that may pass through the measures of civic knowledge and efficacy. In both instances, significant beta coefficients related to the indirect effects indicates evidence of mediation (James, Mulaik, & Brett, 2006). This method will allow for insights into the importance of an open classroom climate in relation to knowledge and efficacy promoting social movement citizenship. Subsequently, Table 3 presents country level results of the same path analysis carried out in Figure 2. Unfortunately, multi-level structural equation modeling does not provide standardized path coefficients. However, the variables presented in Figure 2 are standardized to the same metric to provide for comparisons.

Measures

Below the components of the key variables are discussed. Complete lists of the items used for each construct along with descriptive statistics are located in the appendix. The appendix also contains descriptive statistics for each of the variables across the various countries. To analyze the data we operationalize two measures of political efficacy: civic self-efficacy and internal political efficacy, as well as open classroom climate, social movement citizenship, and civic knowledge. The *ICCS* created the variables measuring the major constructs by combining a series of variables with Item Response Theory (IRT)

(Schulz et al., 2010)⁴. The ICCS developed the variables discussed below based on rigorous research and theory. This provides researchers with an excellent opportunity to conduct secondary analysis to explore important factors of civic and democratic education from an international and comparative context.

Open Classroom Climate

As discussed above the variable for *open classroom climate* has been widely used in comparative research (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 137; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2005; Campbell, 2008; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfield, & Barber, 2008; Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012). To create the variable for open classroom climate, six items were combined asking students to state how often classes focused on students making up their own minds, freely expressing their opinions, using current political events for discussion, expressing opinions that are different from their classmates, encouraging discussion among those with different opinions, and discussing several sides of an issue.

Civic Self-Efficacy

Civic Self-Efficacy measures students' confidence in their ability to accomplish certain tasks related to civic engagement. Seven survey items were combined to create a measure of civic-self efficacy. These items ask how well students believe they can discuss newspaper articles, argue a point of view, organize a group of students, follow a television debate, write a letter to a newspaper, and speak in front of a class.

Internal Political Efficacy

Alternatively, internal political efficacy measures students' perceived ability to understand and take part in politics. Six survey items combined to create a measure of

⁴ For more information regarding the construction of the IRT scales, see the technical report chapter of the *ICCS International Report* (Schulz et al., 2010).

internal political efficacy. These ask students to assess their knowledge of politics, whether they are willing to speak about political issues, if they understand issues, whether they have political opinions, their willingness to take part in politics as an adult, and their basic understanding of politics.

Social Movement Citizenship

Social movement citizenship emphasizes active orientations towards political and civic life. The measure of social movement citizenship was created by combining four questions asking students how important it was for a good citizen to participate in peaceful protests against unjust laws, participate in community activities that benefit people, take part in activities protecting human rights, and take part in activities to protect the environment.

Civic Knowledge

Being the major focus of the ICCS, civic knowledge addresses the application of civic and citizenship processes to civic content (Schulz et al., 2010). This assessment builds on the 1971 Civic Education Study (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975) and the IEA CIVED survey conducted in 1999 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Of the 79 items used, 73 were multiple choice and six were constructed-response. Six domains were tested, which included four content domains addressing civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities; while two cognitive domains were knowing, and reasoning and analyzing. These items were combined using IRT scaling into a series of plausible values, which were included in the ICCS dataset and used in this study⁵. For a more complete review of the development of the measure of

⁵ The first, of five, variables measuring plausible values of civic knowledge were used in this study (pv1civ).

civic knowledge, refer to the *ICCS Assessment Framework* (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Keer, 2008).

Control Variables

In order to control for various differences between students, certain controls were utilized including age, gender, the ICCS created measure of socio-economic status (SES)⁶, expected education, and whether the language of the test is the language used at home.

Limitations

Some time ago, Apple and Weis (1983) discussed research paradigms and quipped, “It is almost as if the “soft” folks never read the “number crunchers” and vice versa.” pg. 9. Indeed, research on democratic citizenship can often speak with different voices with divisions existing across research methods and epistemologies. This divisiveness creates limitations to the usefulness of the scholarship produced by both sides. For example, large-scale data analysis, as conducted in this study, can provide evidence of the power of an open classroom climate to produce desirable outcomes. Such information can be useful to persuade educators, administrators, and policy makers to make reforms. However, this type of research does little to provide teachers and teacher educators with actionable ideas, and limitations, of how to implement such a climate in their classrooms. This issue can lead to what Lee, Napier, and Manzon (2014) call ‘decontextualized impositions’, which fail to consider local environments and are of little use cross-culturally. For example, an open classroom climate likely looks different across varying contexts. Therefore, qualitative researchers and small-scale quantitative studies

⁶ Socio-economic status is calculated based on parental occupational status, parental education, and the number of books in the home.

should investigate more nuanced questions regarding classroom climate and citizenship development. Certainly, scholars of democratic education with differing approaches have much to learn from each other. Indeed, increased discussion, contradiction, and deliberation across epistemologies can only work to improve our understanding of democracy and citizenship education.

Findings

A variety of different methods were utilized to answer the research questions outlined above. Each of the research questions are analyzed separately below to allow for cohesive analysis. Subsequently, the discussion section will provide insight to tie the findings together.

Research Question One: Is an open classroom climate associated with increased levels of political efficacy and/or civic knowledge?

To answer the first research question, Table 1 presents the relationship between civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge and open classroom climate using a multi-level regression controlling for socio-economic status, expected education, language at home, and gender. An open classroom climate demonstrated a positive and statistically significant relationship with civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge. Expected education and socio-economic status were statistically significant in all three models. Gender comparisons across the three variables were different. Compared to females, male students scored lower on civic knowledge, but higher on internal political efficacy. However, the analysis demonstrated no significant gender differences in relation to self-efficacy. The differences between the coefficients

related to socio-economic status shows that SES has a much weaker relationship with civic self-efficacy and internal political efficacy than with civic knowledge. The findings support the notion that an open classroom climate is associated with increased levels of political efficacy and knowledge among students, controlling for relevant factors.

The Intra-class correlation coefficient's (ICC), at both the school and country level provide information regarding how much variance exist at the given level. The model presented in Table 1 demonstrates substantial variation of civic knowledge across schools and countries. However, the amount of variation across civic self-efficacy and internal political efficacy was minimal⁷ by comparison. Put differently, there is greater difference in civic knowledge across schools and country than political efficacy. This

Table 1. Multi-level Regression Analysis Exploring Relationships among Open Classroom Climate, Political Efficacy, and Civic Knowledge

	Civic Knowledge			Civic Self-Efficacy			Internal Political Efficacy		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
<i>Fixed Effects</i>									
Intercept	49.69*	54.28*	55.3*	49.93*	43.14*	44.89*	49.92*	43.76*	44.9*
	(0.78)	(3.77)	(2.93)	(0.4)	(3)	(3.37)	(0.52)	(1.78)	(2.13)
Age		-0.51	-0.58		0.54	0.44		0.6*	0.54*
		(0.19)	(0.19)		(0.21)*	(0.24)		(0.11)	(0.13)
Gender		1.17*	0.87*		0.51	0.02		-2.34*	-2.77*
		(0.18)	(0.18)		(0.24)	(0.22)		(0.24)	(0.24)
Language at Home		2.96*	2.92*		-1.21	-1.19		-1	-0.98
		(0.33)	(0.33)		(0.42)	(0.4)		(0.5)	(0.47)
Expected Education		0.21*	0.2*		.15*	.13*		0.69*	0.15*
		(0.23)	(0.02)		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.02)	(0.01)
SES		0.19*	0.19*		0.11*	0.09*		0.15*	0.14*
		(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.02)	(0.01)		(0.02)	(0.02)
Open Classroom Climate			0.11*			0.2*			0.17*
			(0.01)			(0.01)			(0.01)
<i>ICC (School Level)</i>	0.254			0.034			0.037		
<i>ICC (Country Level)</i>	0.110			0.022			0.038		
<i>Proportion of Variance Explained</i>		0.220	0.253		0.066	0.131		0.093	0.140

Students=39,876, Schools = 1,729

* $p < .01$, Coefficients listed with robust standard errors in parentheses

⁷ While this variation was minimal, it was statistically significant warranting the use of multi-level modeling.

finding, combined with the strong relationship between SES and civic knowledge, calls for further explorations between the connections between knowledge and social class across schools within the European context.

A visual representation of the relationships between an open classroom climate on civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge are presented in Figure 1. The figure shows that as students receive higher levels of an open classroom climate they are more likely to hold higher levels of civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge. The findings presented in Figure 1 support the results of the regression analysis. The implication is that schools who promote a democratic ethos through an open classroom climate are more likely to promote higher levels of both knowledge and efficacy related to citizenship.

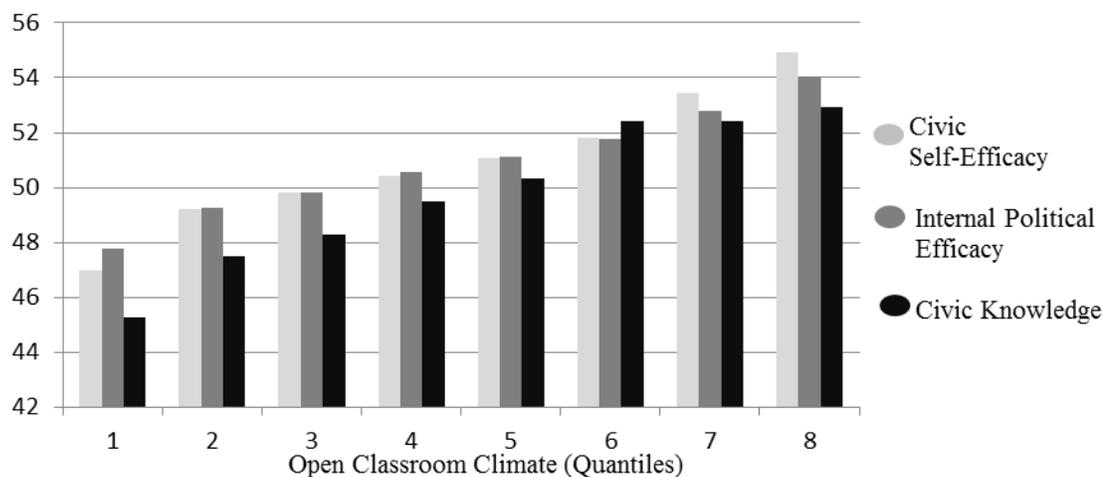


Figure 1. The Relationship of an Open Classroom Climate on Civic Knowledge and Political Efficacy

Research Question Two: Are civic knowledge and/or political efficacy positively associated with positive views of social movement citizenship?

The second research question focuses on the relationships of civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge on social movement citizenship. The

models on Table 2 explore these connections. The findings show civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge to have a positive and statistically significant relationship with social movement citizenship. This provides evidence that students' perceptions of their own capabilities to participate in civic life and being knowledgeable is of vital importance to students' orientation to social movement citizenship. However, the substantive relationship of civic knowledge is weaker than the measures of political efficacy (particularly civic self-efficacy). In other words, civic knowledge has a much weaker relationship with social movement citizenship than the measures of efficacy. The implications of these findings indicate that focusing on only civic knowledge is less supportive of notions of social movement citizenship. Instead, educators must also give students experiences necessary to build their sense of political efficacy.

Table 2 also demonstrates the control variables measuring gender show a statistically significant relationship with social movement citizenship. The positive coefficients for gender indicate that female students were associated with higher levels of social movement citizenship. Additionally, the ICC demonstrate minimal variation across schools and country.

Research Question Three: Is the relationship between an open classroom climate and social movement citizenship mediated by political efficacy and/or civic knowledge

The results of two multi-level path analysis models are displayed in Figure 2. The first model depicts a full mediation model and shows the direct path coefficients between an open classroom climate on civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge. In turn, the latter three measures predicted the observed measure of social movement citizenship. In addition, the indirect effects displayed between open classroom climate and social movement citizenship can provide evidence of mediation (James, Mulaik, & Brett, 2006). In general, the results echo the findings described through the first two research questions and provide additional insights.

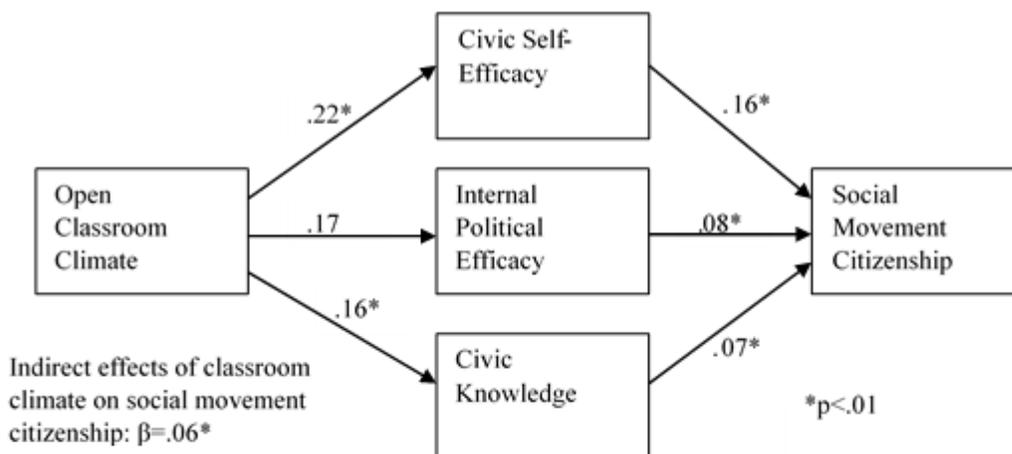
An open classroom climate significantly predicted both measures of political efficacy and civic knowledge. In addition, the measures of political efficacy and civic knowledge were significant predictors of social movement citizenship. As was found with the regression analysis described above, civic knowledge had a weaker substantive relationship than the

Table 2. Multi-level Regression Analysis Exploring the Relationships Between Political Efficacy, Civic Knowledge, and Social Movement Citizenship

	Social Movement Citizenship		
	M1	M2	M3
<i>Fixed Effects</i>			
Intercept	50.08* (0.68)	45.99* (2.82)	46.95* (2.77)
Age		0.28 (0.17)	0.22 (0.17)
Gender		1.34* (0.26)	1.35* (0.26)
Language at Home		-0.78 (0.37)	-0.68 (0.25)
Expected Education		0.06* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
SES		0.06* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Civic Knowledge			0.07* (0.02)
Civic Self-Efficacy			0.15* (0.02)
Internal Political Efficacy			0.09* (0.01)
ICC (School Level)	0.031		
ICC (Country Level)	0.066		
Proportion of Variance Explained		0.026	0.133
Students=39,876, Schools = 1,729			
*p<.01, Coefficients listed with robust standards errors in parentheses			

measures of political efficacy. The significant indirect effects between open classroom climate provide evidence of mediation. This finding suggests that the influence of an open classroom climate is transferred to social movement citizenship via political efficacy and civic knowledge.

Model 1: Full Mediation Model Predicting Social Movement Citizenship



Model 2: Partial Mediation Model Predicting Social Movement Citizenship

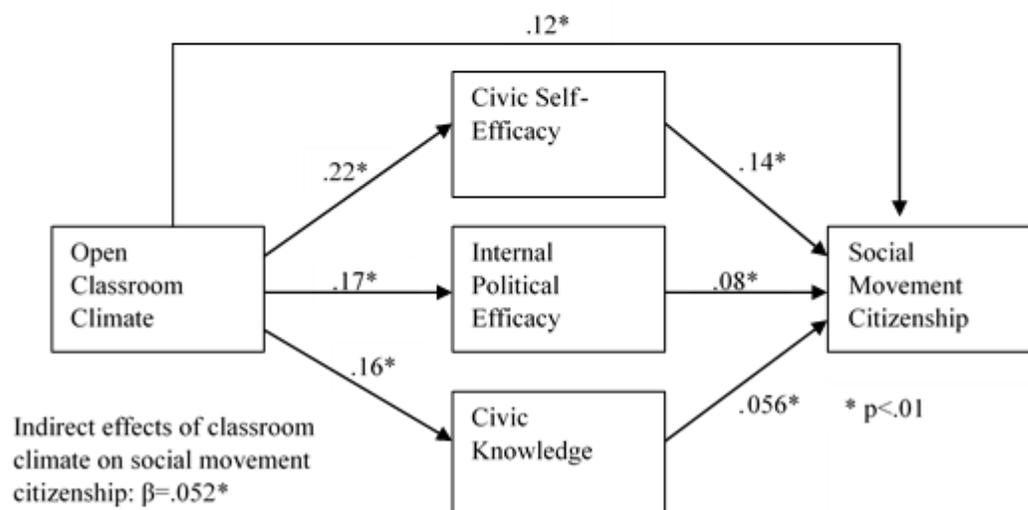


Figure 2. Mediation Path Analysis Models

The second model in Figure 2 presents a partial mediation model testing the relationship between the two measures of political efficacy and civic knowledge on social

movement citizenship mediated by an open classroom climate. Adding the direct path provides direct effect estimates between an open classroom climate and social movement citizenship controlling for measures of efficacy and knowledge, while also testing for indirect effects of an open classroom climate. Civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge all demonstrated a reduced effect on social movement citizenship in model 2 compared to model 1, likely because of controlling for the direct effects between open classroom climate and social movement citizenship. This provides evidence that relationships between civic knowledge, measures of political efficacy and social movement citizenship are strengthened by the indirect effects of an open classroom climate. Importantly, the indirect effects remained significant in model 2 providing further evidence of mediation even when controlling for the direct relationship between open classroom climate and social movement citizenship.

Using the same models presented in Figure 2, we conducted path analysis for each individual country.⁸ Table 3 displays these results. In Table 3, most of the path coefficients presented are statistically significant, therefore, only the non-significant paths are highlighted. The path coefficients related to open classroom climate (first three columns) will be unchanged between the two models. A significant indirect effect between an open classroom climate and social movement citizenship would indicate evidence of a mediation in both models.

The direct effects between an open classroom climate on measures of efficacy and civic knowledge were all statistically significant, except for the case of Belgium ($p=.01$). Indicating that an open classroom climate is a significant predictor of civic knowledge

⁸ Liechtenstein was excluded from the country comparisons due to its lack of sample size necessary to effectively conduct the path analysis.

Table 3. Mediation Model1Path Analysis by Country

Note: Following the same format as Figure 2, two models are tested per country. Model 1 is listed first followed by Model 2.

Country	Open Classroom >		Open Classroom >		Open Classroom >		Civic Kn.>		Civic Efficacy >		Int. Efficacy >		Civic Kn.>		Social Movement		Social Movement		Social Movement		Social Movement		Open classroom >		Open classroom >			
	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Civic Kn.	Civic Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	Int. Efficacy	
Austria	0.172	0.145	0.145	0.11	0.228	0.208	0.056	0.13	0.062	0.135																		
	0.172	0.145	0.145	0.11	0.208	0.049	0.113	0.055	0.135																			
Denmark	0.268	0.227	0.227	0.227	0.1	0.066	-0.025	0.036	0.029	0.082																		
	0.268	0.227	0.227	0.227	0.087	0.062	-0.036	0.029	0.082																			
Finland	0.211	0.144	0.144	0.103	0.132	0.116	0.09	0.117	0.053	0.11																		
	0.211	0.144	0.144	0.103	0.116	0.089	0.089	0.111	0.049	0.11																		
Ireland	0.239	0.143	0.143	0.177	0.126	0.097	0.108	0.106	0.064	0.146																		
	0.239	0.143	0.143	0.177	0.126	0.097	0.108	0.106	0.064	0.146																		
Italy	0.249	0.161	0.161	0.245	0.154	0.132	0.088	0.099	0.077	0.128																		
	0.249	0.161	0.161	0.245	0.132	0.085	0.085	0.071	0.064	0.128																		
Luxembourg	0.195	0.155	0.155	0.122	0.198	0.178	0.091	0.103	0.065	0.123																		
	0.195	0.155	0.155	0.122	0.178	0.086	0.086	0.086	0.059	0.123																		
Malta	0.2	0.165	0.165	0.107	0.146	0.138	0.124	0.236	0.075	0.103																		
	0.2	0.165	0.165	0.107	0.138	0.117	0.117	0.223	0.071	0.103																		
Norway	0.202	0.192	0.192	0.23	0.12	0.105	0.085	0.077	0.058	0.148																		
	0.202	0.192	0.192	0.23	0.105	0.073	0.073	0.045	0.046	0.148																		
Spain	0.207	0.159	0.159	0.115	0.225	0.21	0.065	0.222	0.082	0.115																		
	0.207	0.159	0.159	0.115	0.21	0.057	0.057	0.206	0.076	0.115																		
Sweden	0.247	0.178	0.178	0.222	0.201	0.181	0.069	0.014	0.065	0.149																		
	0.247	0.178	0.178	0.222	0.181	0.066	0.066	-0.011	0.054	0.149																		
Switzerland	0.205	0.172	0.172	0.06	0.12	0.108	0.047	-0.005	0.032	0.079																		
	0.205	0.172	0.172	0.06	0.108	0.041	0.041	-0.008	0.029	0.079																		
England	0.235	0.19	0.19	0.205	0.138	0.119	0.151	0.046	0.070	0.149																		
	0.235	0.19	0.19	0.205	0.119	0.137	0.137	0.015	0.057	0.149																		
Belgium/ Flemish	0.175	0.122	0.122	0.037	0.16	0.147	0.106	-0.01	0.041	0.085																		
	0.175	0.122	0.122	0.037	0.147	0.103	0.103	-0.014	0.038	0.085																		

*Indirect Effects

Note: Path coefficients presented. Highlighted coefficients were not significant ($\alpha=.01$). All other coefficients are statistically significant.

political efficacy, and civic knowledge were significant predictors of social movement citizenship in most countries. In particular, civic efficacy demonstrated a positive relationship in both models across all countries tested. In turn, internal political efficacy did not contribute significantly to social movement citizenship in Austria, Spain, and Switzerland.

The relationship between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship provides interesting analysis. Five countries, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, England, and Belgium, failed to demonstrate significant direct relationships between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship in either model. In addition, Norway shows that the significant relationship between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship is dependent on an open classroom climate (indicated in non-significant path coefficients in Model 2). The other seven countries demonstrated significant relationships across both models. However, in every country, the second model demonstrated reduced path coefficients predicting social movement citizenship with civic knowledge. While, such comparisons can be misleading, this suggests that controlling for political efficacy, the relationship between civic knowledge is largely dependent on an open classroom climate, although this varies by country.

The overall quantitative findings suggest that, in a global context an open classroom climate is associated with increased levels of civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge. Additionally, civic self-efficacy, internal political efficacy, and civic knowledge all have a positive and statistically significant relationship with social movement citizenship. However, civic knowledge demonstrated a weaker substantive relationship with social movement citizenship when compared with the

relationship between political efficacy and social movement citizenship. The findings from the path analysis show the significant relationships between civic knowledge, measures of political efficacy and social movement citizenship are strengthened by the presence of an open classroom climate controlling for measures of political efficacy. In other words, knowledge is associated with active notions of citizenship, but that relationship is supported by an open classroom climate. Moreover, individual findings demonstrate the considerable complexity exist across countries. We hope that the data presented can promote more focused within country analysis.

Discussion

The findings outlined above should be of interest to stakeholders working to implement the goals stated in the Council of Europe's *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education*. In addition, other researchers must consider the role of an open classroom climate in regards to citizenship education. In general, this study shows that an open classroom climate promotes higher levels of civic knowledge and political efficacy. In turn, knowledge and efficacy are associated with increased attachment to social movement citizenship. However, evidence suggests that the influence of an open classroom climate on social movement citizenship is transferred via civic knowledge and political efficacy. In other words, the relationship between both efficacy and knowledge on social movement citizenship is supported by the presence of an open classroom climate. Thus, an open classroom climate encourages a democratic atmosphere that contributes to student learning and development, which in turn promotes active notions of citizenship. Based on the findings of the data, we outline three key assertions.

First, this study supports previous research demonstrating the importance of an open classroom climate in supporting orientations of civic engagement (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 137; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2005; Campbell, 2008; Torney-Purta, Wilkenfield, & Barber, 2008; Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012). Such a climate allows children to be active agents in the construction of knowledge and skills. Thus, as Bandura (1997) suggested, schools providing experiences similar to democratic participation can contribute to both knowledge and efficacy related to active citizenship. An open classroom climate provides opportunities to learn, experience, and develop diverse opinions. Such interaction with peers promotes usable knowledge and efficacy necessary for future civic engagement. However, the lack of an open classroom climate, that is often associated with traditional methods of instruction, such as rote memorization and teacher-centered classrooms, fails to give students the knowledge and skills necessary for effective democratic engagement (Ross, 2000; Evans, 2008). Thus, curricular reform should seek to encourage open classroom climates.

Second, the results challenge the use of curriculum focusing primarily on the acquisition of civic knowledge. While some scholars have advocated the building of knowledge as the cornerstone of civic education (Butts, 1988; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996; Milner, 2002; Patrick, 2004), results in this study find an inconsistent relationship between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship. For example, civic knowledge failed to predict social movement citizenship in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, England, and Belgium (Flemish). Moreover, the relationship between civic knowledge and social movement citizenship is somewhat dependent on an open classroom climate, which was the case in Norway. Finally, civic knowledge was a weaker

predictor of social movement citizenship than the measures of political efficacy. Thus, education focusing primarily on civic knowledge is likely less effective in supporting notions of social movement citizenship in comparison to focusing on students' perceived capabilities for action through political efficacy. This suggests that if schools wish to provide their students with the skills necessary for an active orientation towards civic life, the focus should be on teaching students to implement their knowledge through activities such as participating in debates, analyzing both their opinions and others, ultimately acting in behalf of their own interest, and protecting the rights of others.

Finally, the unanticipated, but important, findings regarding student's socioeconomic status warrant further discussion. Socioeconomic status demonstrated a stronger relationship with civic knowledge than with measures of political efficacy. Indeed, the results published in the ICCS International Report (Schulz et. al. 2010, p. 203) found that civic knowledge and socioeconomic status are highly correlated. The finding suggests that a knowledge-only curriculum may advantage more economically privileged students, while curriculum-developing students' sense of political efficacy may promote civic engagement with less regards to class. A group who lacks this sense of efficacy and knowledge will be in danger of political disenfranchisement. In short, having a population that is confident in their skills of organizing, voicing opinions, and following political issues is of great importance to ensuring that all groups are represented within a democracy. In addition to stressing experiences that promote efficacy, educators must explore innovative teaching strategies that promote knowledge and understanding among lower SES students. Related to this need, Campbell (2008) found that an open classroom climate had a stronger influence on lower SES students

compared to their more affluent peers in regards to the development of views towards political conflict and future voting. Thus, an open classroom climate has the potential to promote civic development among low SES students.

If democracy is a goal, then schools, administrators, teachers, and communities have the responsibility to ensure that all students are provided with the capabilities to take an active part in the political system and civic life. Educational practitioners should look at knowledge-based education as a necessary, but not sufficient, component of democratic education. In addition to knowledge-based civic education, we must also seek to empower students to understand complex issues, stand up for their positions, and work to understand differing opinions.

Implications

Maintaining an open classroom climate for developing a sense of political efficacy is fundamentally important for students developing their conceptions of citizenship. Teachers must find and create dynamic learning opportunities to practice and understand democratic behaviors in the classroom. Closing gaps in political efficacy requires educational rigor and reform. A better understanding of how to build political efficacy in schools is required if schools hope to fulfill their civic mission. This work shows that creating a democratic atmosphere through an open classroom climate promotes efficacy and knowledge, which are associated with students protesting unjust laws, participating in community activities, protecting human rights, and protecting the environment. The conclusion of this paper is that if promoting democracy is a goal of a school, the focus should move beyond only knowledge-based curriculum and towards

developing skills necessary for civic and political participation through an open classroom climate.

Based on the findings of this paper, future research should highlight three areas. First, instead of focusing simply on educational outcomes, research should focus on the implications of *how* students gain knowledge and skills. For example, perhaps knowledge and skills learned in a more open atmosphere promote greater likelihood of political and civic engagement as adults compared to the same knowledge and skills learned in a passive environment. Second, research should focus on variations of the role of open classroom climates across different populations and contexts. Research should also explore differences across countries between the relationship of an open classroom climate and both political efficacy and civic knowledge. In addition, more research is needed to understand whether an open classroom climate influences various groups in different ways. For example, do girls experience it differently than boys? How about low SES versus high SES? Native versus immigrant? Ethnic minority versus ethnic majority? Finally, the International Civic and Citizenship Study tests a host of other concepts that can provide valuable insights relevant to social studies research. Variables included in this study include constructs measuring political interest, expected political participation, conventional citizenship, the value of student participation at school, civic engagement in and outside of school, attitudes towards immigrant rights, democratic values, attitudes towards gender equality and many more. This vast array of different concepts across such a large expanse of countries and regions provides a tremendous resource for furthering knowledge of civic and democratic education from global and comparative perspectives.

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Appendix

Descriptive Statistics of Major Constructs by Country

Abr.	Country	Open Classroom		Civic Self-Efficacy		Internal Political		Civic Knowledge		Social Movement		N
		Climate				Efficacy				Citizenship		
		Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	
AUT	Austria	47.32	0.32	51.23	0.21	51.9	0.19	47.67	0.4	49.45	0.2	3,385
BFL	Belgium/Flemish	48.73	0.28	48.24	0.23	46.87	0.24	48.84	0.48	48.57	0.22	2,968
CHE	Switzerland	47.64	0.32	48.79	0.18	49.79	0.21	50.65	0.4	47.41	0.26	2,924
DNK	Denmark	54.42	0.35	50.85	0.18	51.3	0.24	55.3	0.37	46.26	0.23	4,508
ENG	England	52.84	0.32	51.31	0.25	51.1	0.24	49.3	0.45	49.67	0.27	2,916
ESP	Spain	47.59	0.24	50.53	0.22	50.35	0.2	47.9	0.43	54.39	0.23	3,309
FIN	Finland	49.1	0.22	47.06	0.21	46.84	0.21	55.25	0.24	47.91	0.21	3,307
IRL	Ireland	51.9	0.29	50.14	0.25	52.08	0.2	50.85	0.46	52.47	0.21	3,355
ITA	Italy	53.98	0.26	52.37	0.25	52.98	0.19	50.55	0.32	54.14	0.23	3,366
LIE	Liechtenstein	47.84	0.51	49.53	0.45	49	0.49	50.7	0.33	47.25	0.47	357
LUX	Luxembourg	47.61	0.16	49.36	0.15	48.13	0.16	44.67	0.23	49.06	0.15	4,852
MLT	Malta	45.42	0.22	47.78	0.3	52.23	0.26	46.4	0.45	51.36	0.33	2,143
NOR	Norway	51.9	0.33	51.38	0.23	49.41	0.29	48.92	0.34	53.47	0.23	3,013
SWE	Sweden	50.65	0.3	50.27	0.3	49.02	0.28	51.15	0.32	49.75	0.22	3,464

All constructs are standardized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10

Demographic Characteristics of ICCS Participants by Country

Country	Socio-Economic Status*				Gender		Average Age	Language at Home		Total
	Lowest	Middle Low	Middle High	Highest	Male	Female		Different	Same	
Austria	23.1%	30.7%	21.4%	24.7%	46.5%	49.0%	14.35	15.9%	84.5%	3,340
Belgium	24.9%	26.9%	25.4%	22.8%	50.4%	49.7%	13.94	11.1%	88.0%	2,948
Denmark	25.6%	26.1%	24.2%	24.1%	48.0%	52.2%	14.89	5.7%	93.7%	4,354
England	24.3%	26.9%	24.6%	24.2%	49.0%	52.8%	14.03	7.6%	93.6%	2,834
Finland	27.6%	23.8%	23.5%	25.0%	48.9%	51.6%	14.73	3.6%	96.5%	3,279
Ireland	23.7%	25.2%	27.2%	23.8%	51.9%	49.0%	14.28	9.5%	90.9%	3,315
Italy	26.1%	23.9%	26.9%	23.1%	51.8%	48.0%	13.81	5.7%	93.6%	3,359
Liechtenstein	26.0%	28.2%	22.6%	23.2%	51.1%	48.6%	14.82	14.4%	84.2%	354
Luxembourg	22.4%	21.7%	28.3%	27.6%	48.5%	51.8%	14.49	90.8%	7.6%	4,784
Malta	26.5%	22.5%	24.2%	26.7%	53.0%	47.6%	13.91	17.6%	82.6%	2,125
Netherlands	20.2%	24.6%	30.6%	24.6%	47.3%	54.1%	14.29	9.3%	90.3%	1,905
Norway	25.7%	21.4%	24.9%	28.0%	49.2%	50.7%	13.73	8.9%	90.7%	2,962
Spain	28.6%	22.7%	21.6%	27.2%	49.3%	50.6%	14.08	19.3%	80.7%	3,284
Sweden	26.4%	24.0%	25.7%	23.9%	50.3%	50.6%	14.75	14.8%	84.1%	3,393
Switzerland	24.2%	30.2%	21.7%	23.9%	50.0%	50.1%	14.59	19.8%	78.8%	2,902

* Socio-Economic status percentages were created by calculating quartiles across each of the listed countries and then calculated by country.

Descriptive Statistics of Individual Items of Major Constructs

<u>Open Classroom Climate</u>	Mean	SE
Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds	1.78	0.010
Teachers encourage students to express their opinions	1.59	0.010
Students bring up current political events for discussion in class	2.67	0.012
Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from those of most of the other students	1.97	0.010
Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people who have different opinions	2.27	0.012
Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class	2.04	0.009

Responses: "never," "rarely," "sometimes," "often." Higher means indicate more frequency.

Cronbach's Alpha: 0.78

<u>Civic Self-Efficacy</u>	Mean	SE
Discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries	2.71	0.008
Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue	2.72	0.008
Stand as a candidate in a school election	2.54	0.009
Organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school	2.73	0.008
Follow a television debate about a controversial issue	2.58	0.008
Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue	2.69	0.009
Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue	2.49	0.010

Responses: "not well at all," "not very well," "fairly well," "very well." Higher scores indicate more efficacy.

Cronbach's Alpha: .83

<u>Internal Political Efficacy</u>	Mean	SE
I know more about politics than most people my age	2.07	0.008
When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say	2.42	0.008
I am able to understand most political issues easily	2.53	0.007
I have political opinions worth listening to	2.36	0.007
As an adult I will be able to take part in politics	2.39	0.009
I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country	2.54	0.007

Responses: "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree." Higher scores indicate more agreement

Chronbach's Alpha: .86

<u>Social Movement Citizenship</u>	Mean	SE
Participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust	2.78	0.009
Participating in activities to benefit people in the local community	3.05	0.008
Taking part in activities promoting human rights	3.17	0.008
Taking part in activities to protect the environment	3.21	0.008

Responses: "not at all important," "not very important," "quite important," "very important." Higher scores indicate more attached importance.

Cronbach's Alpha: .76

Chapter Three

Asian Values and Democratic Citizenship: Exploring attitudes among South Korean 8th graders using data from the ICCS Asian Regional Module

Abstract

Utilizing data from the 2009 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study Asian Regional Module, this secondary analysis explores the relationship between traditional Asian Values and democratic citizenship. Findings identify two dimensions of Asian values: Asian civic values and obedience to authority. Among South Korean students, Asian civic values have a positive association with democratic citizenship, while obedience to authority displays an inverse relationship. However, attachment to obedience to authority is much weaker. The overall findings suggest the possibility of reconciliation between traditional Asian values and democratic citizenship.

Asian Values and Democratic Citizenship: Exploring attitudes among South Korean 8th graders using data from the ICCS Asian Regional Module

East Asian notions of citizenship tend to graft themselves to traditional values such as moral behavior in public life and welfare of the community over individual rights (Kennedy & Hui, 2013; Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004). These values, inherent to Confucian tradition, may potentially negate harmful effects of rampant individualism common in western democracy (Kennedy & Lee, 2008). However, scholars debate the theoretical compatibility of traditional Asian values and democracy (Fukuyama, 1995; Shin, 2012; Pye, 2001; Hahm, 2004; Hu, 1997; He, 2010; Thompson, 2001; Spina, Shin, & Cha, 2011). For example, Samuel P. Huntington (1991) argued that Confucianism hinders democratization due to its emphasis on hierarchy, strong man leadership, and the importance it places on harmony and cooperation over competition. Indeed, discrepancies between Confucianism and democracy led the former president of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, in an interview with Fareed Zakaria, to assert the incompatibility of Western-style liberal democracy and societies in Confucian East Asia (Zakaria, 1994).

Conversely, East Asian traditions of civic morality and civic education may have positive influences on citizenship development (Tu, 1996; Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2008). The controversial debate launched a large body of empirical research exploring the relationship between Confucianism and democracy (Dalton & Ong 2006; Park & Shin, 2006; Fetzer & Soper, 2007; Fukuyama, 1995; Shin, 2012; Pye 2001; Welzel, 2011). This study expands on previous research in two key ways. First, the

analysis below explores relationships between traditional Asian values among four orientations that support democratic citizenship, which include civic knowledge, citizenship self-efficacy, democratic values, and rejection of authoritarian governance. Previous studies test relationships among Asian values and broad support for democracy as a political system (Park & Shin, 2006; Fetzer & Soper, 2007) or comparisons of mass political culture (Shin, 2012). Focusing on these four orientations of democratic citizenship provides relevant analysis for educational leaders interested in reforming civic education. Finally, research on Asian values and democracy largely focuses on adults and must be broadened to include the civic understandings of youth, in order to frame future reforms for civic education.

Lee, Napier, and Manzon (2014) warned that failing to consider local cultural contexts may lead to comparative education research that promotes ‘decontextualized impositions,’ which are of little use cross-culturally. Indeed, theoretical underpinnings of democratic citizenship education tend to be rooted in a western ideological paradigm, which Kennedy (2004) referred to as the ‘western imagination’. However, as Kennedy also asserted, researchers and policy makers must explore the role of western democratic values in non-western states. In other words, are local values compatible, contradictory, or neutral to western values introduced through globalization? In South Korea, democratization has led to education reform that blends traditional values with democratic orientations (Roh, 2004, 266; South Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, 2001). Recently, scholars assert the need for South Korean civic education to adapt to a more global world by adopting concepts of multiculturalism (Choi, 2010) and cosmopolitanism (So, Lee, Park & Kang, 2014). In an

effort to inform discussions of reform on civic education in South Korea and abroad, this article answers the call for more research exploring students' civic-political concepts across different cultures (Hahn, 2010).

To gain an understanding of attitudes towards traditional Asian values and democratic citizenship the analysis utilizes data from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship 2009 (ICCS) Asia Regional Module (ARM) (Frailon, Schulz, & Ainley, 2012). Kennedy, Kuang, & Chow's (2013) demonstrated the suitability of ARM data for questions related to Asian citizenship by exploring construct validity through comparative statistical analysis across the five Asian societies surveyed. This study addresses two major research questions. First, what are the different dimensions of traditional Asian values among 8th grade students in South Korea? Secondly, what is the relationship between these different dimensions of traditional Asian values and democratic citizenship?

Confucianism and Democracy

While some researchers cite Confucian values as hindering democratization, South Korea completed a transition to democracy in 1987. This shift resulted from several influences, one of which included the mobilization of civil society, which put the ruling elite under pressure from mass protests (Kim, 2000). The growth of civil society and democracy in South Korea suggests that possible hindering effects of traditional values may be overstated or diminishing. However, South Korea remains one of the most Confucian countries in the world (Koh, 1996) and orientations towards filial piety, respect for elders, and cultural orientations of interdependence and interconnectedness remain (Jeong, 2005; Jung, 2010; Shweder et al., 1998). As such, Confucian traditions

are strong in South Korea and likely have tremendous influence on students' civic and political attitudes.

In the Confucian tradition, the government should be controlled by a ruling class of morally superior individuals responsible for insuring economic welfare for the masses as a parent would a child, while the masses in turn are expected to be supportive of the ruling class as a child would a parent (Shin, 2012; 137). Through putting the most educated people in charge of government affairs, Confucianism emphasized the rule of virtuous people over the rule of law. Confucius said, "If good men were put in charge of governing for a hundred years, they would be able to overcome violence and dispense with killing altogether" (Ames & Rosemont, 1998). Thus, through a meritocratic system, political inequality is assumed and the most benevolent and virtuous people should be empowered to lead. This notion of governance leaves little room for the masses outside of government to develop an active civic life necessary to connect people to the polity (Hahm, 2004, 98). Pye (1999) stressed the lack of involvement of the masses in civic life as an important component of Confucianism. Moreover, Confucian norms of loyalty and propriety make ordinary people less likely to voice dissent against government policy (Li, 1997, 185-6). Supporting this claim, Chow and Kennedy (2013) found that students in Confucian influenced Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea were substantially less likely to indicate intentions of active political participation compared to students in Indonesia and Thailand. The implication is that the cultural tradition inherent to East Asian societies can limit the potential to develop civil society necessary for government accountability.

The Confucian notion of governance divides the rulers from the masses, and thereby conflicts with basic values that support democracy including rule of law, political

rights, and political equality (He, 2010, 20; Shin, 2012, 55). Political scientist Fukuyama (1995) posited that individuals in East Asian countries are more likely to support authoritarian rule leading governments to practice 'soft authoritarianism' (Fukuyama, 1995; Shin, 2012, 211). In addition, Shin (2012, 137) refers to the Confucian model of government not as democratic, but instead as a paternalistic meritocracy.

In contrast, based largely on this concept of reciprocal responsibilities between the elite and the masses, Hu (1997) asserted five key features of Confucianism may be complimentary to democracy, including; opposing extreme despotism, promoting individual rights, advocating active political participation of virtuous people, encouraging civic virtue such as tolerance and compromise, and emphasizing socioeconomic equality. Hu's argument is based on the idea that these attributes are supported by a cultural paradigm encouraging those in power to provide for the masses, and in return, the masses provide support or consent. Put another way, Confucianism contradicts the western notion of citizenship, which emphasizes an autonomous individual pursuing their understanding of the good life (Gutmann, 1987, 26). Such an emphasis on the individual may be problematic for society. This western conception deemphasizes the roles and responsibilities of the individual to the community, which is at the heart of Confucianism (Yao, 1999, 34; Shin, 2012, 8). In contrast, the Confucian orientation toward the collective good over individual benefit may promote an increased sense of civic responsibility and therefore support democracy. Hence, Confucianism is a complex multidimensional concept that may simultaneously aid and hinder the process of democratization.

In order to reconcile traditional Asian values and contemporary notions of citizenship, Reed (2004) presents a theoretical model arguing the compatibility between Confucianism and multidimensional citizenship. Drawing on the work of Confucian humanism, Reed describes the ability of Confucian societies to adapt to modernization while maintaining their cultural identity. A leading scholar in this field, Tu Wei-Ming (1996), describes the process,

The Confucian faith in the betterment of human condition through individual effort; commitment to family as the basic unit of society and to family ethics as the foundations of social stability; trust in the intrinsic value of moral education; belief in self-reliance, the work ethic, and mutual aid; and a sense of an organic unity with an ever-extending network of relationships all provide rich cultural resources for East Asian democracies to develop their own distinctive features. (p. 345)

Reed asserts that the notion of multidimensional citizenship can be adapted to norms of Confucian humanism. Kubow, Grossman, and Ninomiya (1998) argued that education for multidimensional citizenship is essential for meeting future challenges presented by globalization. This conception of citizenship involves four dimensions including personal, social, spatial, and temporal (Kubow, Grossman, & Ninomiya, 1998). The main strength of this conception of citizenship involves the emphasis on global interdependence while acknowledging regional uniqueness and diversity. Combining Confucian humanism with multidimensional citizenship presents a possible model for democratic citizenship education within East Asian societies. Thus, the theoretical

connection presented by Reed shows promise towards the reconciliation of Confucianism and Democracy.

Much like the theoretical debate, empirical research connecting Confucian values to democratization are mixed. Analyzing data from the World Values Survey, Fetzer and Soper (2007) found that Confucian values did not consistently undermine support for democracy in Taiwan. Likewise, Dalton and Ong (2006) discovered only minor differences between authoritarian associations of government between western democracies and East Asian states. However, Park and Shin (2006), focusing on South Korea with data from the Asian Barometer, found evidence that attachment to Confucian political values has a negative association with democratic support and rejection of authoritarianism. More recently, Shin (2012, 310), supported evidence of the previous finding that Confucian political values hinder democratic support, however, experience with democracy was shown to diminish this relationship, which suggests that as South Korea continues to experience democratic governance, potential negative influences of Confucianism on democratic support may weaken.

While there remains considerable attachment to traditional values in East Asia (Chang & Chu, 2007), evidence suggests attachment to some values may erode due to globalization (Hyun, 2001) and economic development (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Park and Shin (2006) found that adherence to Confucian political values, which were negatively associated with democratic support, was weaker among younger cohorts. Using the same data as this study's, Kennedy, Kuang, and Chow (2013) demonstrated that South Korean 8th grade students held lower acceptance of authoritarian rule compared to students from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region,

Indonesia, and Thailand. Moreover, Hyun (2001) found negative associations between South Koreans exposure to western ideas and endorsement of traditional Korean values. These studies suggest diminishing attachment to certain traditional East Asian values among youth.

The possibility exists that education reforms may play a role in the erosion of some traditional East Asian values. Research on classroom practices suggests a mix of beliefs regarding traditional values within the classroom. Moon and Koo (2009) conducted a longitudinal analysis of social studies and ethics textbooks in Korea and identified a decrease in traditional content and an increase in emphasis on global citizenship, human rights, and student centric content. So, Lee, Park, and Kang (2014) found a growth of curriculum emphasizing cosmopolitanism through encouraging human rights, freedom, equality, and interaction and communication without limits of national or regional borders. Through survey analysis, Lee (2004) found that educational leaders in Korea tend to view the home and family, not school, as the most effective venue for traditional religious and moral education. However, in the same study, qualitative interviews describe a belief in strengthening traditional education to combat excessive individualism, marriage breakdown, and over-emphasis on rights. Moreover, Misco (2012) found that traditional values hindered the discussion of controversial issues within South Korean schools. Overall, the literature indicates a transition in South Korean education towards global and multicultural views of citizenship education, with traditional values still playing a strong role.

In sum, education reform has worked to incorporate goals of producing citizens capable of maintaining a more democratic government and society. However, certain

cultural values within Confucianism have the potential to influence the development of civic orientations necessary for democracy. Therefore, this study works to provide evidence of which traditional Asian values are strong among South Korean youth and how these values relate to orientations toward democratic citizenship.

Conceptualizing Asian Values

This study draws on five themes of Confucianism identified by Park and Shin (2006) to relate traditional Asian values to democratic values. Those themes include family-state, moral-state, moral citizenship, social harmony, and obedience to authority. In addition, the themes utilized in this study reflect the conceptualization put forth by others. For example, the ICCS constructs a scale measuring obedience to authority, using the same measures employed within this study. The other items fit within Park and Shin's (2006) framework which speak well of the construct validity of ARM measures. Lee's (2004) conceptualization of Asian citizenship criticizes the common dichotomy of individualistic vs. collectivist orientations when making east-west comparisons. Instead, Lee (focusing on Chinese) refers to Confucian tradition as 'relationalist' and states "relations govern the interactions between the individual and the collectivity" (Lee, 2004, 28). Thus, any analysis of Confucian tradition, in regards to citizenship or democracy, should emphasize the nature of interactions between individuals and others, as well as, individuals and the political elite. As such, many of the survey items address this need by focusing on participants' views regarding the nature of the political elite, responsibilities for citizenship, interactions with others, and orientations towards those with authority.

Family-State

According to Confucian tradition, an ideal society and political system should be organized like a family (Park & Shin, 2006). The family-state dimension of Confucianism underlines the importance of this feature. Hu (1997) stated this as a major difference between Confucianism and Western notions of governance. This cultural value may encourage responsiveness of political elite towards the masses. To measure a respondent's orientation to the idea of the family-state the following item was utilized; "The government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children."

Moral-State

The conception of the moral state focuses on the government led by benevolent leaders as opposed to rule of law. This notion places importance on leaders ruling with wisdom. In Confucian tradition, the state serves as an institution for the ruler to teach the people how to behave (Park & Shin, 2006). Hu (1997) phrased this by saying "Confucianism prefers ethics to law to such an extent that it obviates the need of law in society." Attachment to this value may undermine the rule of law of political leaders, ultimately undermining democracy more generally (Spina, Shin, & Cha, 2011). To measure a respondents assumption that a leader should be morally upright the following item was used; "Political leaders should be role models of morality."

Moral Citizenship

In Confucian tradition, the quality of government depends solely on the quality of people in the government (Schwartz, 1985, 97). As such, the emphasis of morality in

public life remains very strong in East Asia (Fredrickson, 2002). The ability of individuals to act benevolently in the interests of fellow citizens could potentially serve to strengthen democracy in East Asia. This behavior potentially could prevent self-interested individuals from engaging in corruption. Scholars cite the emphasis on morality, spirituality, and individual moral development as important components to citizenship development in East Asia (Ahmad, 2008; Lee, 2004; Tan, 2008). To measure attachment to the concept of moral citizenship in East Asia two survey items measuring the degree in which a good citizenship depends on morality. These survey items were “A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen,” “One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person.”

Social Harmony

Social harmony in the Confucian tradition holds that individuals avoid voicing their own ideas on a subject, which could hinder collective harmony and welfare. Instead, individuals should place the goals of the community over their own aspirations in a pursuit of a peaceful and harmonious society (Park & Shin, 2006). Democracy depends on people being free and willing to voice their demands to influence government action. Hu (1997) argues that this tension between ideas and opinions is necessary to make progress within a society. The rejection of individual self-assertion suggests that social harmony in Confucianism is not compatible with democracy. To measure social harmony one survey item was used, “Classmates or colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony”

Obedience to Authority

In Confucian society, human interactions are largely hierarchical. A lower person in the hierarchy is expected to follow the instruction of the person that is higher regardless of whether the demand is unreasonable, like a child who follows his or her parent's demands without question (Park & Shin, 2006). This value stands in contrast to the high value of political equality in western democracies (Hu, 1997).

To measure obedience to authority the ICCS created and grouped together four items (Fraillon et al, 2012, 56). One question addresses power relationships between the respondent and a member of their family, "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents." Three more questions address a social hierarchy across different levels of society, "Even if you have a different opinion, you should follow the advice of the people with the highest-status position when making important decisions," "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers." "Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions." These survey items seek to measure the respondent's orientation to authority within society.

Conceptualizing Democratic Citizenship

Democratic political theory asserts that large-scale democracy requires freedom of expression and press, associational autonomy, inclusive citizenship, and the election of officials through free, fair, and frequent elections (Dahl, 1999, 85). To maintain these necessities of democracy, education must create citizens, who are knowledgeable, possess both cognitive and participatory civic skills, and an attitudinal orientation

towards tolerance, cooperation, and human rights (Avery, 2003; Parker, 2008). To operationalize democratic citizenship, this study uses four composite measures created through the ICCS. The themes of democratic citizenship include civic knowledge, democratic values, civic self-efficacy, and orientations to undemocratic governance. These four themes work on the framework that democratic citizens must be knowledgeable, embrace values of free speech and political equality, have a belief in their capability to take part in civic life, and reject non-democratic governance therefore supporting democracy as the preferable method of government.

Civic Knowledge

Being the major focus of the ICCS, civic knowledge addresses the application of civic and citizenship processes to civic content (Schulz et al, 2010). This assessment builds on the 1971 Civic Education Study (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975) and the IEA CIVED survey conducted in 1999 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Of the 79 items used, 73 were multiple choice and six were constructed-response. Six domains tested included four content domains addressing civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and, civic identities. These items were combined using IRT scaling into a series of plausible values, which were included in the ICCS dataset and used in this study⁹. Two cognitive domains included knowing, and reasoning and analyzing. For a more complete review of civic knowledge measure development, refer to the *ICCS Assessment Framework* (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008).

⁹ The first, of five, variables measuring plausible values of civic knowledge were used in this study (pv1civ).

Democratic Values

The measure for democratic values emphasizes minimal elements of democracy, which consists of guaranteed rights, free elections, and rule of law (Fuchs, 1999). Eight items measured democratic values, which include: “Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely,” “Political leaders should not be allowed to give government jobs to their family members,” “No company or government should be allowed to own all newspapers in a country,” “All people should have their social and political rights respected,” “People should always be free to criticize the government publicly,” “All citizens should have the right to elect their leaders freely,” “People should be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair,” “Political protest should never be violent.”

Civic Self-Efficacy

Civic Self-Efficacy speaks to a student’s belief in her/his own capability to both utilize civic knowledge and enforce democratic values. Bandura (1997) argues that development of students’ belief in their own capabilities will largely influence their willingness to act later in life. The IEA ICCS applies this theory to the political realm by creating measures of Civic self-efficacy and internal political efficacy. Political science research has consistently found that political efficacy is a strong predictor of political participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; Becker, 2004; Campbel, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Cohen, Vigoda, & Samorly, 2001; Guyton, 1988; Paulsen, 1991). Seven items are used to measure civic self-efficacy. The items ask students how well they can; “Discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries,” “Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue,” “Stand as a candidate in a school election,”

“Organize a group of students in order to achieve changes at school,” “Follow a television debate about a controversial issue,” “Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue,” “Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue.”

Rejection of Authoritarian Governance

Preferences and orientations towards democracy are meaningless without the rejection of other forms of governance. Thus, scholars do not consider a democracy consolidated unless democracy is supported as the only suitable political system (Bratton & Mattes, 2001; Klingemann, 1999; Mishler & Rose, 2001; Shin & Wells, 2005). To test preference for authoritarian rule, the ICCS combined five items. A higher score represents more attachment to authoritarian norms of citizenship, and a lower score represents rejection of authoritarianism. The five items testing authoritarian rule include; “As long as everyone can enjoy prosperity, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not,” “As long as the government represents citizens’ ideas, it does not matter whether the government is democratic or not,” “It is acceptable for the government to act undemocratically in order to do its job more efficiently,” “The more power the government has the more likely it is to solve its people’s problems,” “It is acceptable for the government to break the law when it considers it necessary.”

Methodology

This study analyzed data from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS). The ICCS utilized a stratified two-stage probability sampling technique (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2009). First, schools were sampled with probability proportional to size. Secondly, one intact class of the target grade was selected. The South Korean

sample included 5,254 South Korean 8th graders in 150 schools. The major focus of this article is to compare attachments to democratic citizenship and traditional Confucian Asian values. The ICCS included data from the Asian Regional Module (ARM) of the ICCS, which sought to understand distinct, regional, student views on values and attitudes related to citizenship issues from a regional perspective. For information regarding the development process for ARM see Schulz et al. (2010) and Fraillon et al. (2011).

This study utilizes secondary analysis, which refers to research conducted from pre-existing datasets. Examples of beneficial large-scale studies with data suitable for such analysis include *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS), the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA), and data sets typically used within political science¹⁰ research. Indeed, secondary analysis can be useful to study education systems across cultures (von Davier, Gonzalez, Kirsch, Yamamoto, 2013). Secondary analysis allows researchers to ask more sophisticated questions than typically covered within reports produced through the study. For example, Torney-Purta, Andolina, and Amadeo (2010) provided a framework for designing studies to explore relationships between individual demographics, community contexts, and process-related learning opportunities in the school and community in relation to certain outcomes. However, valuable studies, such as the ICCS, remain under-utilized in the study of civic engagement in youth (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013).

¹⁰ For Example: The World Values Survey, Asian Barometer, EuroBarometer, AfroBarometer, Latin Barometer

The major constructs of this study were constructed using a variety of methods. Each of the variables measuring democratic citizenship were combined through the ICCS dataset using a Rasch model, which transforms the individual measures into the major latent constructs (Rasch, 1960). All of the major variables were standardized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. Data analysis was conducted in several steps worked to gain an understanding of the relationship between traditional Asian values and democratic citizenship.

To get an understanding of general relationships, mean levels of attachment to the various measures of Asian values were calculated. Table 1 displays this information and shows differences across gender and SES. To demonstrate significant differences that occur across SES and gender, an ANOVA and a t-test were conducted. A significant difference ($\alpha=.01$) indicates at least one inequality between different levels of SES in regards to attachment to the Asian value. When exploring gender, a significant t-test indicates that either male or female students had greater attachment to the corresponding value.

Subsequently, factor analysis explored the various latent dimensions of Asian values. Factor analysis determines how many latent variables underlie a set of items (DeVellis, 2012). Table 2 displays the results of the factor analysis. To extract the factors the eigenvalues and a scree plot were used to determine a relevant break point, referred to as the elbow (Cattell, 1966). The analysis used orthogonal rotation to maximize the variation between the extracted constructs. Factor analysis is useful in this study because it condenses the number of variables based on the latent structure of the data. The latent factors of Asian values were then extracted, broken into quartiles, and compared directly

with measures related to democratic citizenship. Table 3 displays this data. This analysis allows for comparisons between different levels of attachment to Asian values and orientations of democratic citizenship. The table also displays averages of orientations of democratic citizenship across gender and SES.

The final two steps test the relationship for traditional Asian values and democratic citizenship more directly. Due to the nested structure of the data, which consist of individual students and their schools, a multilevel model is used (Goldstein, 2011). Survey weights were implemented based on the recommendations in the ICCS Users guide (Brese, Jung, Mirazchiyski, Schulz, Zuehlke, 2011, 31). The dependent variable for each model used each of the four components of democratic citizenship. The scale measures for each of the components of democratic citizenship were combined through the ICCS dataset using IRT Rasch modeling. Similar to Kennedy, Kuang, and Chow's (2013) article, this study will present three models: a null model with no explanatory variables, a second model using demographic measures as predictors, and a third using the measures of Asian values extracted through factor analysis. Using the three models allows for the calculation of the intra-class correlation coefficient and the proportion of variance explained. Comparing the proportion of variance explained between the second and third models can provide evidence of the strength of the Asian value predictors after controlling for demographics. Table 4 displays the results of the multi-level model.

While a multi-level model allows for complex testing of nested data, such models cannot simultaneously test the multivariate relationship between Asian values and the individual measures of democratic citizenship. A structural regression model allows for

multivariate analysis and is displayed in Figure 1. Before building the structural regression model, each of the latent measures were tested using confirmatory factor analysis and revealed suitable fit for further analysis (results available upon request). After the overall model was set up, multiple covariate relationships between errors of the same latent construct were added based on modification indices to improve the overall goodness of fit. Kline's (2011, 256-257) one-step model provided the basis for the model in this study. The goodness of fit statistics were satisfactory making further respecification unnecessary. The final model includes the appropriate survey weights suggested by the aforementioned ICCS users guide. Goodness of fit measures in structural equation modeling typically fall into categories of absolute fit indices, relative fit indices, parsimonious fit indices, and noncentrality-based indices (Tanaka, 1993; Maruyama, 1998). However, STATA 13 limits the goodness of fit statistics provided when implementing survey weights. When using weights, STATA 13 does provide fit indexes statistics measuring the standardized root mean square residuals (Standardized RMR) and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Both are adequate fit indices, however, each has advantages. Standardized RMR benefits from not being largely influenced by sample size and is derived from the fit of the obtained and implied covariance matrices and the maximum likelihood minimization function. Whereas RMSEA works on alternative assumptions referred to as *non-centrality parameter* tests, which uses a variation of hypothesis testing. While there are differences between how the two indices are calculated, model fit can be assessed using similar scales, for Standardized RMR below .08 is a good fit, and less than .06 is good for RMSEA (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Limitations

This study utilizes the ICCS measure of democratic values as a core component of democratic citizenship. However, when addressing models of democracy it is necessary to consider that individuals in different societies may conceptualize democracy differently. To address this issue, The IEA CIVED study of 1999 sought to explore patterns of commonly held beliefs of what is “good” and “bad” for democracy across states. While the study revealed no clear pattern, students consistently rated highly the “rule of law” conception of democracy across countries (Torney-Purta et al. 2001). In addition, Welzel (2011) tested for different conceptions of liberal democracy between East Asian countries and Western democracies and found no categorical differences. Moreover, the ICCS found little variation between countries among measures of democratic values (Schulz et al, 2010, pg. 88). While the author concedes that cultural and historical differences likely lead people to view and practice democracy differently, political theory stresses the importance of support for of freedom of speech, rule of law, and free and fair elections, for the functioning of liberal democracy (Dahl, 1999, 85). As a result, this study uses the conception of democratic values created through the IEA ICCS study, which closely approximates this model.

This study makes use of one conceptualization of citizenship. Indeed, other models exist, including cosmopolitanism, multidimensional citizenship, global citizenship, and multicultural citizenship. Space limitations do not allow for the consideration of each notion in a single article. As such, future research could expand to connect traditional values to different models of citizenship and civic education.

Findings

To gain a basic understanding of attachment to Asian values, the mean level of attachment to each of the Asian values described above is displayed Table 1. The items are scaled from 1-4 with a higher score indicates greater attachment. The figure shows strong attachment to the values of family-state, moral-state, and moral citizenship, each with a mean above 3. Indeed, students responded “strongly agree” or “agree” 80% of the time to each of these measures. Social harmony demonstrated slightly less with a mean of 2.88 (76% agreement). In contrast, students demonstrated weaker attachment to the four measures of orientations of obedience to authority with the highest attachment of 2.28. The strongest of these four indicated that students only agreed with following their elders 36% of the time. Moreover, students only agreed 19% of the time with the question regarding following those with position. The results above indicate variation exist between attachment to Asian values and suggests a dichotomy exist between the highest five and the lowest four items. In regards to demographics, female students demonstrated

Table 1. Mean level of attachment to Asian values.

	Family State	Moral State	Moral Cit.1 ¹	Moral Cit. 2 ²	Social Harmony	Follow Elders	Follow Position	Obey Teachers	Obey Parents
Overall Attachment	3.19	3.17	3.10	3.08	2.88	2.28	2.16	2.00	2.22
<i>SES</i>									
Highest	3.16	3.28*	3.18*	3.05	2.84	2.19*	2.04*	1.93*	2.16*
Upper Middle	3.16	3.18*	3.11*	3.09	2.85	2.22*	2.13*	1.94*	2.21*
Middle	3.20	3.18*	3.07*	3.07	2.90	2.28*	2.18*	2.01*	2.22*
Lower Middle	3.24	3.15*	3.08*	3.07	2.88	2.31*	2.18*	2.01*	2.24*
Lowest	3.20	3.07*	3.08*	3.10	2.92	2.38*	2.24*	2.08*	2.29*
<i>Gender</i>									
Female	3.16	3.22*	3.11	3.05	2.83*	2.23*	2.07*	1.93*	2.13*
Male	3.18	3.13*	3.10	3.09	2.92*	2.31*	2.23*	2.05*	2.3*

Note: *p < .01, Items range from 1-4 with 4 indicating greater attachment.

1. A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen

2. One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person

significantly higher attachment to measures of moral-state, whereas male students scored higher on social harmony, following elders, following position, obeying teachers, and obeying parents. Similarly, variation among SES also exist. Higher SES students indicated greater attachment to moral-state, and less attachment to following elders, following those in position, obeying teachers, and obeying parents.

In order to gain a perspective on how the different components of Asian values discussed above relate to each other, results from the exploratory factor analysis are displayed in Table 2. Factor analysis identified and extracted two substantial factors.

Table 2. Dimensions of Asian Values

Survey Items	Dimensions	
	Asian Civic Values	Obedience to Authority
<i>Family State:</i> The government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children	0.327	
<i>Moral State:</i> Political leaders should be role models of morality	0.443	
<i>Moral Citizenship 1:</i> A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen	0.502	
<i>Moral Citizenship 2:</i> One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person	0.492	
<i>Social Harmony:</i> Classmates of Colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony	0.313	0.306
<i>Follow Elders:</i> Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions		0.670
<i>Follow Position:</i> Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of the people with the highest status position when making important decisions		0.701
<i>Obey Teachers:</i> Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers		0.788
<i>Obey Parents:</i> Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents		0.738
<i>Explained Variance</i>	25.84%	61.30%

Principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation. Loadings smaller than .30 not displayed. Listwise deletion employed (N=95)

These factors were named “obedience to authority” and “Asian civic values.”¹¹ The factor measuring obedience to authority included the same variables used to create the similar measure through the ICCS, with the addition of social harmony. Asian civic values included measures of family-state, moral-state, both measures of moral citizenship, and social harmony. Significantly, social harmony loaded nearly equally across both factors implying that it contributes to both dimensions. While eliminating cross loading variables is common, social harmony was retained due to the strong theoretical relationship with Confucian ideology and its use in other relevant studies (Park & Shin, 2006). These two factors will provide the basis for the ensuing analysis of descriptive data, multi-level analysis, and structural regression model.

Table 3. Attachment to democratic citizenship

	Democratic Citizenship			
	Civic Knowledge	Democratic values	Civic Self-Efficacy	Support for Udem. Gov.
<i>Asian Civic Values</i>				
Highest	51.4	54.7	53.6	42.0
Upper Middle	51.1	51.7	50.7	43.8
Lower Middle	49.6	47.6	48.8	46.6
Lowest	48.1	46.1	46.9	46.4
<i>Obedience to Authority</i>				
Highest	44.7	47.3	48.9	48.7
Upper Middle	49.6	49.1	49.7	45.5
Lower Middle	52.4	49.7	50.3	44.7
Lowest	53.4	53.9	51.1	40.0
<i>SES</i>				
Highest	55.0	52.3	52.6	43.4
Upper Middle	51.6	50.9	50.5	44.2
Middle	49.5	49.8	49.8	44.3
Lower Middle	48.2	48.9	48.7	45.4
Lowest	46.0	48.1	48.4	46.2
<i>Gender</i>				
Female	51.5	50.5	50.8	43.7
Male	48.9	49.6	49.4	45.5

Note: Measures of democratic citizenship are standardized with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10.

¹¹ The eigenvalues for the unobserved constructs were 2.29 for obedience to authority, and .96 for Asian civic values. The third unobserved construct had an eigenvalue of .18 and was not extracted.

Comparing bivariate relationships among Asian values variables with measures of democratic citizenship revealed divergent relationships. Table 3 presents the average scores on measures of democratic citizenship across different quartiles of Asian civic values and obedience to authority. Measures of democratic citizenship were standardized with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10. Higher attachment to Asian civic values correlated with higher scores on civic knowledge, civic self-efficacy, democratic values, and lower attachment to support for authoritarian governance. Alternatively, obedience to authority demonstrated negative relationships with student's civic knowledge, civic self-efficacy, democratic values, and greater attachment to authoritarian governance. These findings support the argument that obedience to authority may hinder democratic citizenship, but suggest that certain Asian civic values may contribute positively.

To explore the relationship between Asian values and democratic values, controlling for relevant factors, multi-level regression was utilized. The results are displayed in Table 4. In each of the null models (M1) the variance at the intercept was statistically significant, indicating significant amount of variation of democratic citizenship exist between schools. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) provides the amount of variation that exists at the second level (schools in this study) of a two level model (Raudenbush, 2002). The amount of variation at the school level of civic knowledge (6.9%) is much higher than the other three measures of democratic citizenship (1.2% - 2.2%). This finding may have useful implications for researchers interested in exploring schools in relation to students' orientations toward democratic citizenship.

The results of the multi-level regression consistently show that Asian civic values are positively associated with civic knowledge, democratic values, civic self-efficacy and

negatively related to support for undemocratic governance. This suggests that these elements inherent to Confucianism are providing support for key aspects of democratic citizenship. Alternatively, the measure for obedience to authority was negative and significantly related to civic knowledge, democratic values, and civic self-efficacy, while being positively related to support for undemocratic governance. This finding supports arguments that obedience to authority is negatively associated with democratization (Park & Shin, 2006; Pye, 1985; Pye, 1999), but alternatively provides evidence that Asian civic values consistently support components of democratic citizenship.

Analysis of demographic variables suggests important avenues for future research. In Table 1, female students were consistently less likely to support the individual items related to obedience to authority. In addition, lower SES students were more likely to such items. The multi-level regression models in Table 4 show that female students were constantly more likely to demonstrate civic knowledge, civic self-efficacy

Table 4. Multi-level Analysis Predicting Components of Democratic Citizenship with Asian Values

	Civic Knowledge			Civic Self-Efficacy			Democratic Values			Undemocratic Governance		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
<i>Fixed Effects</i>												
Intercept	48.9** (.42)	48.6** (.28)	49.1** (.27)	49.9** (.27)	49.7** (.49)	49.8** (.4)	49.4** (.31)	49.5** (.26)	49.8** (.28)	50.6** (.29)	51.01** (.27)	50.6** (.22)
SES		3.2** (.18)	2.76** (.15)		1.58** (.19)	1.28** (.24)		1.86** (.25)	1.43** (.22)		-1.21** (.22)	-.72** (.23)
Gender		2.50** (.43)	1.72** (.37)		.91 (.55)	.96* (.4)		.67 (.4)	0.09 (.4)		-1.59** (.54)	-.81* (.39)
Age		1.4* (.57)	1.45 (.59)*		.37 (.46)	.27 (.41)		-0.5 (.49)	-.54 (.66)		.14 (.59)	.04 (.5)
Asian Civic Values			.17** (.02)			.28** (.03)			.34** (.03)			-.17** (.02)
Obedience to Authority			-.33** (.01)			-.06** (.03)			-.23** (.02)			.36** (.02)
ICC	0.069			0.016			0.012			0.022		
Proportion of Variance Explained		0.111	0.350		0.018	0.160		0.039	0.294		0.024	0.278

Level One N=5,153, Level Two N=150

*p<.05, **p<.01; Coefficients listed with robust standard errors in parentheses

(M3), and reject authoritarian governance. Moreover, higher socioeconomic students were more likely to support all components of democratic citizenship. These findings suggest inconsistent patterns of attachment to Asian values and democratic citizenship in Korean society.

The data analysis displayed thus far fails to assess the multivariate relationship between both dimensions of traditional values and orientations towards democratic citizenship. A structural regression model allows for this comparison. The squares in Figure 1 represent the observed values of the variables used elsewhere in the study. The large ovals represent latent structures. After two confirmatory factor analysis components were constructed, the unobserved constructs of obedience to authority and Asian civic values were used to predict the unobserved value of democratic citizenship. The model resulted in strong goodness of fit statistics indicated by a standardized RMR below .05 and a RMSEA close to .058. The variables measuring civic knowledge, democratic values, civic self-efficacy were all positively associated with the latent construct of democratic citizenship, while support for undemocratic governance indicated a negative relationship. The latent constructs of Asian civic values demonstrated a significant path coefficient of .51 with democratic citizenship, whereas obedience to authority revealed an inverse relationship with a negative and significant path coefficient of -.39. The structural regression model supports the findings of the multi-level analysis by showing that Asian civic values had a positive relationship with democratic citizenship, while obedience to Authority displayed a negative relationship.

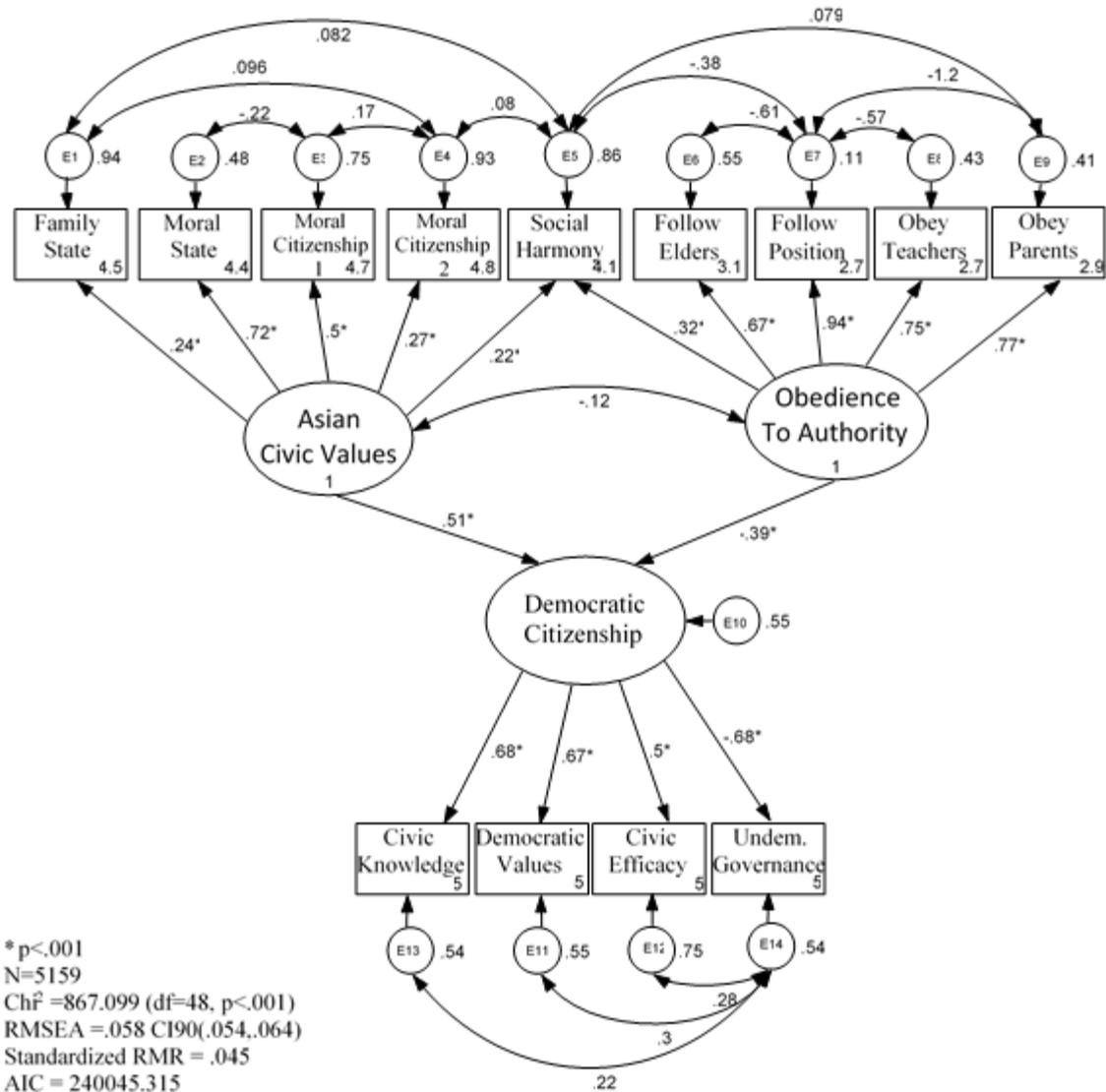


Figure 1. Structural regression model predicting democratic citizenship with Asian values

Discussion

Previous empirical research reviewed above indicates inconsistent findings regarding the relationship between traditional Asian values and democracy (Shin & Park, 2006; Shin, 2012; Fetzer & Soper, 2006; Welzel, 2011; Dalton & Ong, 2006). The results of this study broaden the discussion by demonstrating that Confucianism and democracy

are not a dichotomy. Indeed, both are multidimensional concepts with complex underlying relationships. Findings uncovered two different dimensions of traditional Asian values among 8th grade students in South Korea. First, Asian civic values encompass notions of family-state, moral-state, civic morality, and social harmony. These values all relate to how youth view the reciprocal relationship between those in power and the masses. The second dimension, obedience to authority, relates to the relation of the masses with those with political power. Those with strong obedience to authority are likely tend to see citizens as submissive to the government. Overall, the data supports three major conclusions discussed below.

Aligned with the debate among scholars relating the theoretical compatibility between traditional Asian values and democracy (Fukuyama; 1995; Shin, 2012; Pye 2001; Hahm, 2004; Hu, 1997; He, 2010; Thompson, 2001; Spina, Shin, & Cha, 2011), findings from this study support the conclusion that Asian values related obedience to authority appear to hinder the attachment to democratic citizenship among students. However, only a small portion of students scored high on obedience to authority. For example, only 21% of students indicated that they should obey the teacher even if they have differing opinions. Likewise, Park and Shin (2006) found that attachment to Confucian values that harm democratic support are weaker among younger cohorts. Indeed, Kennedy, Kuang, and Chow (2013) demonstrated weaker attachment to traditional values among South Korean youth compared to students in other countries. These findings indicate the diminishing attachment to cultural factors that could potentially harm democratization in South Korea. Research shows that economic modernization (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), exposure to western ideas (Hyun, 2001), and

experience with democracy (Shin, 2012), may reduce attachment to certain traditional values. Perhaps continued experience with these processes may diminish cultural traditions negatively related to components of democratic citizenship.

The second conclusion supported by the data indicates that attachment to Asian civic values emphasizing family-state, moral-state, civic morality, and social harmony, are positively related to orientations of democratic citizenship. Moreover, students demonstrated strong attachment to these values. The central tenants of Asian civic values emphasize morality in public life and collective responsibilities. The Confucian notion of morality focuses on inherent connections and responsibility between individuals and the group (Park & Shin, 2006; Marsella, De Vos, & Hsu, 1985). Indeed, Lee (2004) conceptualized human interactions as ‘relationalist’ within Confucian tradition. Such notions emphasize the sense of social duty and collective welfare over individual needs and rights. Hu (1997) suggested that this reciprocal relationship, central to Confucian philosophy, has the potential to support democracy by reducing corruption and holding the government responsible. The findings in this study support this notion by demonstrating that attachment to Asian civic values correlates positively with measures of civic knowledge, civic self-efficacy, democratic values, and rejection of authoritarian governance.

The final conclusion supported by the data, demonstrates that female students in South Korea scored higher on measures of civic knowledge, civic self-efficacy, and were less likely to support undemocratic governance than male students. Moreover, female students were more likely than their male counterparts to support the Asian civic value related to moral-state and less likely to support obedience to authority. Thus, this study

identified a gender gap between the attachment to traditional values and components of democratic citizenship among Korean youth. This unexpected finding necessitated a further review of the literature regarding gender in South Korean society. Yu (1987) posited that the practice of “male superiority” pervades Korean society and limits women’s opportunities. Hyun (2001) concluded that these historically determined experiences of being disadvantaged has led to less traditional value orientations among Korean women. Hyun supported this conclusion by finding that Korean women have less attachment to traditional values than Korean men. Given these findings, it is plausible that 8th grade girls are beginning to question the paternal hierarchal social system of traditional Confucian influence Korean society. This unanticipated finding calls for a great deal more research within South Korea and other East Asian societies.

This study demonstrates the complexity of traditional values within modern Korean society. The findings uncovered two dimensions of traditional Asian values, each of which has a divergent relationship with democratic citizenship. The implication is that traditional values can simultaneously can support or hinder attachment to components of democratic citizenship. Encouragingly, Asian civic values that seem to support democratic citizenship appear to be much stronger with Korean 8th graders than the negatively associated obedience to authority.

Implications

As discussed above, research cites curriculum shifts away from traditional moral values towards orientations of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism in South Korea (Moon & Koo, 2009; So, Lee, Park & Kang, 2014). Perhaps reforms in curriculum along with shifts in Korean society are strengthening democratic orientations, while

diminishing obedience to authority. This change in curriculum towards more student-centric, human rights based content, may have influenced attachment to traditional values. In addition, influences of globalization within and outside of schools are likely strengthening this process. While this study makes no assertion regarding specific educational or societal reforms, findings suggest that democratic educators may consider ways to support Asian civic values, such family-state, moral-state, moral citizenship, and social harmony within schools and other aspects of community life.

Future research in South Korean civic education should focus on three additional areas. First, future research should address the role of school curriculum, pedagogy, and climate in influencing traditional values and civic orientations. For example, research could explore whether student centric classrooms reduce attachment to obedience authority. In contrast, civic education reforms may support traditional values that support democracy. Secondly, researchers should also look at influences in society that contribute to attachment to Asian traditional values among youth. For example, future explorations could explore the relationships between the influx of western ideas and traditional values. Lastly, research should explore attachment to traditional values and democratic orientations across demographics. In addition to gender and socio-economic status highlighted in this study, other researchers should focus on civic orientations across various groups including non-ethnic Koreans, immigrants, and sexual orientation. Such research can promote civic education reforms necessary to strengthen students' capacity to for democratic citizenship in 21st century South Korea.

By demonstrating the complex nature of traditional values among South Korean youth, this study supports the call by Lee, Napier, and Manzon (2014) for comparative

education research that addresses cultural contexts, instead of imposing standards on localities. Indeed, ignoring local cultural contexts undermines the very nature of democratic education. As such, future studies should not consider Confucianism and democracy as a dichotomy. Alternatively, emphasis should be placed on nuanced comparisons of cultural values, within and across specific contexts, and their relationships to various aspects of democracy.

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Appendix

Survey Items Measuring Confucian Values

Survey Items

Family State: The government should take care of its people the way parents take care of their children

Moral State: Political leaders should be role models of morality

Moral Citizenship 1: A person who obeys the law but does not behave morally is not a good citizen

Moral Citizenship 2: One can only be a good citizen if one is a good moral person

Social Harmony: Classmates of Colleagues should not argue with each other, to maintain social harmony

Follow Elders: Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of elders when making important decisions

Follow Status: Even if you have a different opinion, you should always follow the advice of the people with the highest status position when making important decisions

Obey Teachers: Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your teachers

Obey Parents: Even if you have a different opinion, you should always obey your parents

Chapter Four

Justifying the Status-quo: The Implications of Ideology on Teachers' Emphasized Civic Behavior in the Classroom

Abstract

What ideological views towards citizenship education do teachers possess? Does their comfort with the status-quo relate to the perspectives they bring into the classroom? Is a teacher's civic education ideology associated with the types of political behavior they emphasize in the classroom? This study addresses these questions by implementing a psychometric scale capable of measuring teachers' civic education ideology. After this scale is established, these views are compared with teachers level of system justification and emphasized civic behavior in the classroom. Findings indicate that stronger conservative civic education ideology is related to greater levels of system-justification and more passive emphasized civic behaviors. However, liberal and critical civic education is weakly associated with system-justification and is associated with more active notions of civic behavior within the classroom.

Justifying the Status-quo: The Implications of Ideology on Missouri Teachers' Emphasized Civic Behavior in the Classroom

The United States has a long history of large gaps between different groups in regards to wealth, power, and political participation (Corak, 2013; Saez & Zueeman, 2014; Lemieux, 2007; McCall & Percheski, 2010; Verba, Brady & Schlozman, 1995; Levinson, 2010). Given this, why have societies and individuals been so resistant to changes in the status-quo? To the contrary, observers notice that a vast majority of people across social classes are reluctant to express dissatisfaction or outrage at the considerable differences in wealth, status, and power (Hochschild, 1981; Jackman, 1994; Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady, 2003; Kluegel & Smith, 2008). While the quandary is multi-faceted, certainly educational institutions play a role in maintaining and reproducing dominant social structures and ideologies (Apple & Weis, 1983; Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The present study addresses this issue by exploring how teachers' comfort with present society contributes to their perspectives of citizenship education that support or justify the status-quo.

Researchers have long considered the role of education in producing citizens that support or challenge the status-quo (Apple, 2004; Ross, 2000; Kennedy, 2008; Evans, 2008; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Myers, 2009; Chappell, 2010; DeLeon, 2008; Apple & Weis, 1983; Camicia, 2009; Banks, 2008). Often scholars conflate ideology with civic behaviors, instructional practices, and curriculum choices. For example, Ross (2000) makes a compelling theoretical case that traditional teacher-centered instruction

indoctrinates students with anti-democratic orientations. Moreover, Evans (2008) builds a framework of transmission, transactional, and transformation citizenship, which connects passive instruction and traditional curriculum with conservative views, more active and diversity oriented instruction with liberal concepts, and inquiry based practices that challenge the status-quo with critical notions. Finally, the oft-cited article by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) focuses on three types of citizens. The first two, personally-responsible and participatory, emphasized moving from individualistic to more social-activist civic behavior. The third type, justice-oriented citizens, combined behaviors inherent to changing society with ideological notions related to critical citizenship.

While the distinctions described above are useful, there is a lack of empirical evidence connecting a teacher ideology and classroom practices. Indeed, Michael Apple (2004) described one of the most neglected areas of educational scholarship as “the critical study of the relationship between ideologies and educational thought and practice, the study of the range of seemingly commonsense assumptions that guide our overly technically minded field” (p. 12). Therefore, this study addresses this deficiency by disentangling connections between ideology and teachers’ emphasized civic behavior.

What types of ideological views towards citizenship education do teachers possess? Does their comfort with the status-quo influence the perspectives they bring into the classroom? Does a teacher’s ideology related to citizenship education relate to the types of political behavior they emphasize in the classroom? This study addresses these questions by developing a psychometric scale capable of measuring teachers’ civic education ideology. After this scale is established, researchers can compare these views to teachers’ attitudes towards society more generally and practices inside of school.

While the present study provides some interesting findings, the scale developed can be adapted and applied in future studies to uncover important connections. Following a theoretical overview, analysis of this scale will unfold in two steps. First, factor analysis will uncover the underlying constructs of teachers' ideological views towards citizenship education. Subsequently, construct validity (DeVellis, 2012) of the scale will be evaluated based on comparisons with measures of civic behavior emphasized in the classroom and teachers comfort with the status-quo, referred to as system-justification.

Political Ideology and Education

The term *ideology* originated by Antonie Destut de Tracy during revolutionary France in an effort to understand and reconstruct human ideas to promote a rational and just society (Festenstein & Kenny, 2005). Marx and Engels (1932/1976) criticized Tracy, and similar idealists, as being a 'bourgeois doctrinaire', arguing they ignored the *real* driving forces in human history, which consist of processes of class struggle over the ownership of resources. To Marx and Engels, ideology produces an inaccurate view of society that exists to maintain the reality of the current order. As Festenstein and Kenney (2005) summarized, "Ideology papers over the real conflicts in society, making what is artificial and coerced appear natural and free." In contrast, Geertz (1973) viewed ideology, more favorably, as a product of culture that helps render otherwise incomprehensible social structures meaningful, and therefore is an indispensable component of modern life. Thus, ideologies have the capacity to maintain existing social structures, although citizens must consider whether these structures are inherently oppressive.

Given the implications of ideology, researchers must work to understand their manifestations within United States society and educational contexts. In particular, which ideologies maintain or challenge aspects of the status-quo? This issue is addressed using *system-justification theory* (See Jost, Kay, & Thorisdottir, 2009).

System-Justification and Democracy

System-justification theory comes from the field of political psychology, and strives to understand how individuals use ideology to understand, predict, and rationalize the current state of society (Jost, Kay, Thorisdottir, 2009). Scholars of system-justification theory posit that fundamental constraints in human nature do not allow ideology to “advance” or change easily (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). People adopt an ideology, in part, based on psychological needs necessary to make sense of their world (Jost, Kay, & Thorisdottir, 2009). Current social structures benefit from what researchers call *automaticity*, meaning that if not forced to change society will continue on its current trajectory (Ferguson, Carter, Hassin, 2009). Indeed, Eidelman and Crandall (2009) summarize several psychological advantages for the status-quo. These stem from the initial availability of the present system, which often secures its mental dominance and limits people from having knowledge of alternatives. When people do learn of different views, they use the status-quo as a starting point for comparisons. In addition, certain evaluative advantages exist that lead people to view current realities with more worth, value, and goodness merely due to their existence. Moreover, other perspectives associated with system justification include, belief in a just world (Hafer & Choma, 2009), uncertainty management (Bos, 2009; Anson, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2009), exaggerated morality of past generations (Eibach & Libby, 2009), and

attachment to ideals related to the protestant work ethic (Kay & Jost, 2003). As this list indicates, many of the advantages of the status-quo are implicit within the culturally constructed realities of individuals.

Research studies on system-justification theory demonstrates that individuals will defend and justify flaws of the status-quo (Haines & Jost, 2000; Henry & Saul, 2006; Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady, 2003; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002; Wakslak, Jost, Tyler & Chen, 2007). For example, people use both implicit and explicit preferences to evaluate members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups, which support group-based hierarchies (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Lane, Mitchell, & Banaji, 2005; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). More specifically, Kay and Jost (2003) identified status-quo supporting effects of stereotypes, such as “poor but happy” and “rich but miserable”. In addition, Jost and Hunyady (2002) found that system-justification serves a *palliative* function that reduces anxiety, guilt, dissonance, discomfort, and uncertainty. Finally, Liviatan and Jost (2014) demonstrated that system-justification is not solely the product of elite coercion or passive adoption of dominant ideologies. Instead, system-justification is a goal-directed mechanism, meaning that the need to perceive the status-quo as stable and fair is a general goal that individuals strive to attain. In other words, individuals are motivated to perceive society as just, fair, stable, and defensible; and have the tendency to invoke mental processes that lead to this perception.

Educational institutions serve an important role in transmitting cultural values to the next generation of citizens, which likely has implications for system-justification.

However, more research is needed to understand how education contributes to implicit and explicit justification of the status-quo.

Ideology in Social Studies Education

The classic work by Apple and Weis (1983) identified three functions of schools; (1) accumulation associated with sorting and recreating social stratification necessary for the present economy, (2) the production of knowledgeable and skilled workers, and finally (3) legitimation which has particular relevance for the present study. Legitimation in schools refers to complex processes in which social and cultural ideologies are built, recreated, and maintained. More recently, Apple (2004) considered implications of the kinds of knowledge distributed and not distributed in schools towards the preservation of political and economic power in society. This brings up an important point regarding the role of education, and social studies in particular, in supporting or challenging societal norms.

In an effort to define the role of social studies, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) identified three civic outcomes related to social studies. First, education for *social transmission* emphasizes fixed core knowledge and skills for students to learn and believe. Secondly, social studies as *social science* seeks to give students skills necessary to understand human behavior using social scientific methods inherent to anthropology, political science, sociology, historiography, and/or geography. Finally, education for *reflective inquiry* is based on student's self-selections of problems and working towards resolution. Criticisms of the three forms of education described above focus on perceived failures to address issues of group membership and identity, such as structural inequality, sexism, and LGBTQ issues (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Papastephanou (2008)

strongly argued that traditional notions of citizenship education, similar to the descriptions of Barr and colleagues, do not provide views of society distinct from what already exist. Such views serve to promote the perpetuation of current political and social realities, or system-justification. Thus, Papastephanou called for an enlarged view of citizenship that goes beyond narrow considerations and allows for conceptions that are radically different from current society.

Given the expressed limitations of traditional social studies education, newer frameworks incorporate *critical* notions emphasizing issues of group membership and structural oppression (Bickmore, 2008; Tyson & Park, 2008; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; King, 2012; Evans, 2008). Knight Abowitz & Harnish (2006) analyzed common discourses in citizenship education and discussed critical citizenship as a challenge to traditional views of citizenship by calling attention to the dominant discourses that shape typical citizenship education. For example, Miller-Lane, Howard, and Halagao (2007) and Castro (2013), discuss differences in citizenship orientations through tensions of diversity vs. unity and critical vs. non-critical attitudes. Finally, Evans (2008) framework, discussed in the introduction, incorporated transformation citizenship focusing on personal and social connectivity, political and social change and improvement, and students as active participants in political, cultural, historical, and social aspects of society.

Perhaps the decisions made by schools and teachers to emphasize a particular *kind* of social studies have implications to their views of society and support for the status-quo (Apple, 1995, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Kincheloe, 2004; Lewison, Leland, & Harste, 2008; McLaren, 2006). Research in social studies commonly points to curriculum as supporting

traditional views of society. For example, social studies instruction remains heavily influenced by textbooks (Wade, 1993; Levstik, 2008), regardless of criticisms that they provide an inaccurate representation of history (Beck & McKeown, 1994; Beck, McKeown, & Sinatra, 1991); tell history through the dominant group in society (Anyon, 1979); marginalize non-whites, women, the poor and working class (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Loewen, 1995); and serve the processes of political indoctrination (Loewen, 1995). Also, Chappell (2010) analyzed activities presented in social studies texts across three grade levels, and finds that these activities emphasize consumerism, avoiding controversy, and American exceptionalism. DeLeon (2008) found that social studies simulations reinforced dominant ideologies. Shear, Knowles, Soden, & Castro (2013), reviewed U.S. History standards across all states and discovered a dearth of modern content addressing Native American issues in the 20th century, thus negating contemporary concerns of this community. Finally, Camicia (2009) demonstrated that democratic education commonly emphasizes *soft democratic education* by promoting dominant cultural representations, ideologies, and metanarratives of American exceptionalism. In sum, social studies education research finds a strong emphasis on education for *social transmission* citizenship as described by Barr et. al. (1977).

While substantial research exists on emphasized curriculum in social studies education, research on ideological implications of teachers is wanting. Anderson, Avery, Pederson, Smith & Sullivan (1997) echoed this concern and sought to determine principle conceptions of citizenship among two groups of teachers using Q-methodology. One group emphasized perspectives of cultural pluralism, communitarianism, and legalism. The second group held four perspectives, which included critical thinking, legalism,

cultural pluralism, and assimilationism. The four groups they found fit closely with the civic republican and liberal citizenship discourses described by Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006). More recently, Patterson, Doppen, and Misco (2012) employed a mixed method study to group teachers using the typology of Westheimer and Kahne (2004). Their study indicated that roughly 65% of teachers felt a ‘good citizen’ was synonymous with personally-responsible citizenship, compared to 25% for participatory citizenship, and just 4% for justice oriented citizenship. Finally, Castro (2013) explored pre-service teachers’ understandings of citizenship skills and found attachment to conservative-values-based definitions of citizenship and awareness-based definitions of citizenship. Generally, these studies indicate very little teacher attachment to critical notions of education. Knight Abowitz & Harnish support these findings by indicating that civic republicanism and liberal citizenship are currently the dominant forms of citizenship education.

While the studies above explore teacher and preservice attachment to various notions of citizenship, they do little to understand how these manifest in the classroom. The research that addresses this important topic shows that teacher beliefs present a barrier to incorporating ideas and concepts into classroom practices. For example, Onosko (1991) identified pre-service teachers’ attachment to views of social studies as knowledge transmission hinders higher order thinking. In addition, Goodman and Adler (1985) uncovered that pre-existing belief systems influence a preservice teacher’s orientation to social studies teaching. Finally, Bennett and Spaulding (1992) found that prospective social studies teachers filter out ideas they cannot reconcile with their pre-

existing schema. Thus, when social studies teachers enter their teacher education programs, they bring with them beliefs that will influence their teaching.

The scholarship described above indicates that education plays a role in transmitting cultural values to students that promote support for the status-quo. Indeed, commonly implemented social studies curricula largely works to this end. However, insufficient research exists exploring how teachers' ideologies manifest within the classroom context.

Theoretical Framework

The major goal of this work is to create a scale measuring teachers' civic education ideology and compare this scale to other theoretically relevant measures. Figure 1 contains a visual model of the major hypotheses tested. The framework builds on the work of Castro (2013), who depicted a non-critical/critical and unity/diversity grid to compare ideological differences among pre-service teachers.

The measures for emphasized political behavior and civic education ideology focus are *within education* measures, meaning that they ask teachers to respond to items asking what citizenship education should do generally. Alternatively, the level of system-justification measures teachers' *personal* support for the status-quo. Measures for three

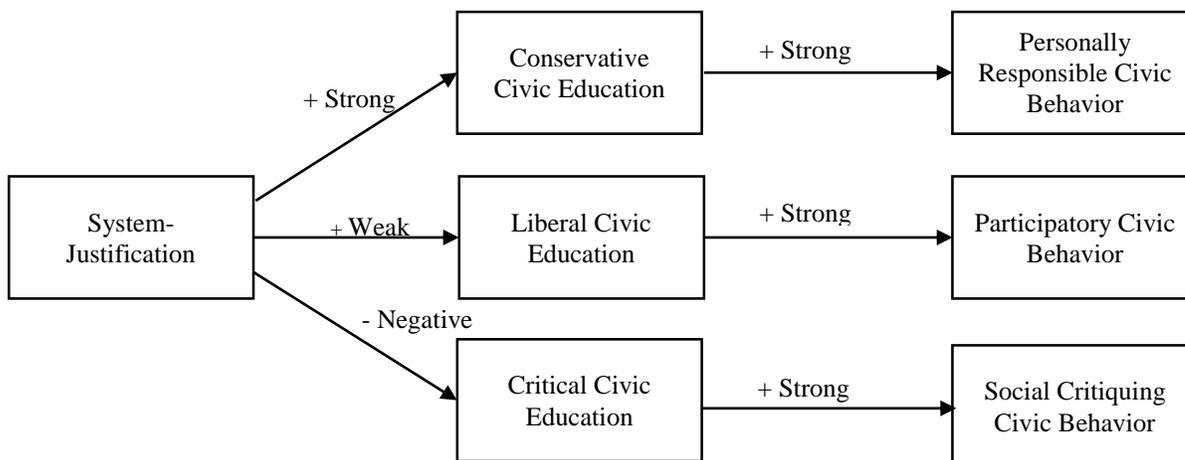


Figure 1 Theoretical Model of the relationships between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized political behavior

different civic education ideologies were created for attachment to conservative, liberal, and critical notions. The theoretical model posits that conservatives are the most satisfied with the current status-quo, and therefore will be less likely to emphasize participatory or social critiquing civic behavior in their classrooms. Alternatively, liberal civic educators still generally support the status-quo (but less so than supporters of conservative civic education), but are willing to support more participatory political behaviors in the classroom. Finally, supporters of critical civic education ideology demonstrate minimal support for the current social and political systems and therefore are more likely to emphasize political behaviors necessary to encourage change. In order to provide context to these relationships, descriptions of each will take place below.

Civic Education Ideology

Classroom time and resources are finite. As a result, teachers must make decisions on what to present in classrooms. Ideology likely plays a role in these decisions. To help understand these divisions, three notions of civic education ideology are operationalized, these include conservative, liberal, and critical. The basic framework for these notions is

pulled from the work of Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006); however, other scholarship also contributed to the distinctions. Detailed descriptions of these conceptualizations take place below. After the summaries, items used to measure the constructs are listed.

Teachers were asked to respond to the prompt, “How strongly do you agree or disagree that good citizenship education primarily teaches....”

Conservative Civic Education Ideology

Conservatism represents a mixture of historical wisdom, customary knowledge, and political pragmatism (Festenstein & Kenny, 2005). This tradition stresses connections between the present and aspects of the past that once flourished (Scruton, 1981). Over one hundred years ago, Sumner (1908) argued that societies evolve and are connected through habitual ‘folkways’ that fulfill basic needs of society, which creates a latent dynamic towards positive development. Critiquing progressive rationalism, Oakeshott (1962) quipped that such complex folkways are often subjected to a *tribunal of philosophical logic* in which the value of tradition is invariably down played. His argument states that rationalists pick a particular aspect of society to challenge, but fail to fully understand how different folkways interact. As a result, attempts to change society through political processes are often ineffective and even destructive (Kristol, 1996). To conservatives, liberals and progressives want to supplant living, evolving traditions with abstractly formulated ideologies. This leads conservatives to be critical of liberal attempts to use democratic institutions to promote social welfare, and vehemently opposed to perceived redistributionist notions related to social-justice (von Hayek, 1960).

Conservative civic education emphasizes the reproduction of existing societal patterns and promotes a sense of nationalism and advocacy for free-market economics

(Patrick, 2003; Evans, 2008; Barr, Barth, & Shermis 1977; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Historically, civic education in the United States has served the purpose of inducting each generation into a democratic culture based on political and civic order (Patrick, 2003). To maintain this sense of social order and national identity, education encouraged national pride and American exceptionalism (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) and Evans (2008), refer to this as education for citizenship *transmission*, which emphasizes fixed core knowledge and skills for students to learn and believe. Finally, Parker (1996) described *traditional civic education* as emphasizing basic functions of government, traditional content knowledge, and commitments to core democratic values such as freedom of speech and liberty.

To measure conservative civic education ideology 12 survey items were used. These include: Patriotism, loyalty, and civic duty, How values held by the founding fathers provided a strong foundation for this country, The importance of continuing long held traditions, Fixed core knowledge of United States history and government, The cultural and economic achievements of the United States, That a strong foreign policy should protect the United States position as a global power, The importance of honoring the history and heritage of the United States, That the United States is exceptional, That all people can be successful in society through hard work, That the free market can solve most social problems, Limiting the role of government enhances the freedom of the people, and Government assistance discourages people from improving their lives.

Liberal Civic Education Ideology

Inherent to liberalism, the primary responsibility of political arrangements is to serve, protect, and promote the interests of individuals in society (Festenstein & Kenney,

2005). Back in 1888, Green (1888) posited that freedom requires the capability to act, which the state can promote through rules that remove obstacles to free action that arise from abuse of social, economic, or political power. In addition, Dewey (1987) argued for the replacement of laissez-fair economics with *intelligent social action* in order to remove hindrances to liberty. More recently, Rawls (1972; 1999) extends the argument and claimed that certain liberal values and individual rights are universally applicable and should provide a common standard for judging all societies. When such values are in place, all members in society (who are reasonable) can converge in a multicultural community. Thus, liberals work to promote the *capability* of social and economically marginalized peoples through encouraging tolerance, improving education, enhancing voter enfranchisement, and expanding social-welfare.

Liberal civic education encourages a broader perception of membership to the political community (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). This view of citizenship embraces the United States as a multicultural community and recognizes the legitimacy of differing notions of the good life, insofar as they do not restrict others from the pursuit of their own notion. Therefore, essential norms of tolerance and open-mindedness allow for members of different cultural communities to pursue their interests. Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) conceptualize *liberal citizenship* as the right of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life. Parker (1996) refers to this as *progressive education* and incorporates a more pluralistic notion of democracy. In sum, liberal notions of citizenship emphasize individual development of capabilities to meet the needs of a diverse contemporary life (Evans, 2008; Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Stanley, 2005).

In addition to developing skills and capabilities for active political participation, education for liberal citizenship generally avoids the *explicit* teaching of controversial content. This resembles Stanley's (2005) description of Dewey's notion of democratic education, which avoided teaching politically biased perspectives and instead advocated for the role of education to promote a general intellectualization of society by enhancing individual competence for reflective thought to analyze social problems. With such a strong emphasis on individualism, any imposition of political bias may unknowingly restrict a student's freedom to exercise their conceptualization of the common good. In addition, Apple (2005) describes the move in social studies towards more "process oriented" curriculum as an improvement, however, the avoidance of critical questions regarding existing power structures emphasizes a depoliticized study of social life. Thus, the inherent emphasis on individual liberty contributes to an *apolitical* classroom climate where students are not taught *what* to think, but *how* to think.

To measure liberal civic education ideology ten survey items were used. These include: Political tolerance and open-mindedness, An understanding that the United States is a multicultural nation, Skills such as cooperation and deliberation with others, The importance of participating in a diverse society, Teaching students *how* to think, instead of *what* to think, The importance of coming up with your own personal opinion before voting, That people can improve their lives by being involved in the democratic process, That the political process can improve people's lives, That government policies can reduce poverty, and That the government should work to ensure that all people have a roughly equal chance to succeed in society.

Critical Civic Education Ideology

Critical notions of citizenship education remain rare in public schooling and public discourses more generally (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Observers state that the first two notions, conservatism and liberalism, lack a framework for addressing issues of group membership and identity, such as structural inequality based on gender, race, class, nationality, and sexual orientation (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Within the context of the United States, conservatism fails by promoting white euro-centric view of an ‘American’ that often ostracizes people who do not fit within that group (Urrieta, 2004; Banks & Nguyen, 2008). Conversely, while liberalism stresses diversity, the strong importance placed on individuality excludes discourses that focus on group oppression based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexual orientation, or social class (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

In response to the argument above regarding traditional notions of citizenship, critical discourses call for greater emphasis on social critique and structural change (Shor, 1992; Freire, 1990). Many divisions exist within the umbrella term *critical*, which include, but are not limited to, race theories, multiculturalism, feminism, reconstructionist notions, and queer discourses (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). In general, critical notions of citizenship education focus on and challenge social structures that limit human freedom by emphasizing the systematic oppression of various groups within society. For example, critical multicultural citizenship stresses the relationships between people and groups and criticizes the social structures that perpetuate unequal access and contribution to civic life (Dilworth, 2008; Castro, 2013). Such analysis can lead to stronger calls for systemic change, for instance McLaren (1997) wrote, “My commentary unhesitatingly

assumes the position that critical citizenship must be directed toward the creation of self-consciously ethical subjects of history and should be redistributive of society's material wealth and resources" (p. 238). Thus, critical citizenship not only exposes injustice, it also actively works to restructure society. More generally, education for critical citizenship deconstructs traditional civic knowledge through discussion, analysis, and exploration through multiple diverse perspectives (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Evans, 2008; Stanley, 2005). Ultimately, the goal is to build a new social order focusing on a fundamental redistribution of economic and political power in the name of democratic social justice.

To measure teachers' attachment to critical civic education ideology 10 survey items were used. These items include: The existence of discrimination in everyday life based on identity (such as gender, class, nationality, race, or sexual orientation), The presence of institutionalized racism in modern society, Historical causes for modern inequalities, That not questioning society supports the status-quo, Teaching about the experiences and goals of marginalized people in society, The nature of class privilege across generations, Teaching about practices of racism, sexism, and class exploitation in everyday life, Root causes of inequality in society, Social problems from both local and global perspectives, Causes of social inequalities within their community, nation, and world,

Emphasized Political Behavior

To measure the type of political behavior emphasized in the classroom a scale was adapted based on the work by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Kahne and Sporte (2008). These studies focus on three types of citizens; personally responsible,

participatory, and justice oriented. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argue that while personally responsible citizenship is important, only education for participatory and justice oriented citizenship can support students' capacities for critical analysis and social change necessary for democracy. The third type, justice oriented citizens, combines behaviors inherent to changing society with ideological notions related to critical citizenship. However, conservatives also may be interested in changing society based on an alternative notions of the common good. Therefore, questions were adapted separating behavior from ideological notions. As such, *justice oriented citizenship* was retitled *social critiquing behavior*. In addition to this change, the items were originally designed for students, and therefore had to be adapted to assess teachers' emphasize in the classroom.

To measure *personally responsible behavior* seven items were used which include: Assisting those who are most in need of help, Following the rules and laws, Helping when people are in need, Helping others without being paid, Taking responsibility for keeping the community clean and safe, Being kind to other people, and Telling the truth. *Participatory civic behavior* was measured with four items which include: Being concerned with national, state, and local issues, Working with community organizations and local government on issues that affect the community, Getting involved in improving my community, Being actively involved in state and local issues. Finally, *social critiquing behavior* was measured with six items, which include: When necessary, it is important to challenge society, Thinking critically about laws and government, Protesting when something in society needs changing, Buying products from businesses that share

your worldview, Actively working to fix problems in society, Focusing on underlying causes when thinking about problems in society.

System-Justification

As already stated, the theory of system-justification seeks to understand how ideology influences people's response to the status-quo. This idea has been measured using related scales of both general system-justification (Kay & Jost, 2003) and economic system-justification (Jost, & Hunyady, 2002). For the present study, the more general scale was more appropriate since the focus is on how system-justification relates to civic education, which includes broader concepts than just economics.

To measure system-justification teachers were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with eight statements. These statements include, In general, you find society to be fair, In general, the American political system operates as it should, American society needs to be radically restructured (reverse coded), The United States is the best country in the world to live in, Most policies serve the greater good, Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness, Our society is getting worse every year (reverse coded), Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.

Methods

Currently, no comprehensive scale exists capable of measuring latent constructs inherent to social studies teachers' views of citizenship education from an ideological perspective. Patterson, Doppen, and Misco (2012) used two survey items to measure teachers' emphasis on types of citizenry depicted through the work of Westheimer and Kahne (2004). The first asks teachers to rank order eight purposes through the prompt

“rank order this list of reasons for teaching social studies:” The second item asks teachers to describe qualities of a good citizen in an open response format. While, Patterson, Doppen, and Misco’s analysis provides important findings, their statistical measures do not allow for exploration of latent variables for sophisticated statistical tests. Another study, Anderson et. al (1997) had teachers organize groups of statements to build a model suitable for Q-method. In addition, they employed a likert style scale using these statements. While their study uncovered many important findings, the survey items were based on statements from the literature and were therefore very long and many contained multiple concepts within a single item, thus making them unsuitable for replicable psychometric analysis. The lack of suitable measures necessitates new scales to address teacher ideology concerning citizenship education.

Survey Development

The process of scale development in the present study contained several steps derived mostly from DeVellis’s book *Scale Development: Theory and Application* (2012). DeVellis (2012) argues the scale development process should include six steps: (1) clarify the measure, (2) generate an item pool, (3) determine the format of the measure, (4) expert review and administer items to a development sample, (5) inclusion of validation items, (6) evaluate the items. Below I will elaborate on how I incorporated each of the six steps.

The first two steps involve clarifying the measure and generating items. Thus, based on the theoretical and empirical literature, an initial pool of items was developed that included ten items for each notion of civic education ideology. For the format of the item, the scale used five point likert-style items. After the initial items were developed,

they were reviewed by five different social studies teachers in a one-on-one manner. The teachers were given a summary of each construct and then asked to rate each item on a three point scale¹² while verbally explaining their thoughts. Next the items were administered to reviewers who have advanced knowledge of citizenship education and quantitative analysis. With a specially designed survey through qualtrics, the reviewers were ask to drag and drop the items into on of three boxes measuring each notion of civic education ideology. The items were correctly grouped 82% of the time and the splits were 88% for critical, 92% for conservative, and 67% for liberal. Following further revisions, I emailed the survey to a subsample of 50 pre-service teachers to explore issues of reliability using Cronbach's alpha and visual issues regarding distribution. Finally, a sample of 2,773 middle and high school teachers was procured from the Missouri Department of Education. The survey was administered to these teachers and 735 took the survey resulting in a response rate of 26.5%.

Research Questions and Data Analysis

Analysis of the data was conducted in two steps. Initially, the various constructs of teachers attachment to civic education ideology were explored. Secondly, these constructs were compared to various notions of system-justification and types of civic behavior emphasized in the classroom. This process addresses three research questions.

- 1) What types of civic education ideologies do teachers possess?

¹² Score: 1 = Problematic, 2 = Adequate, 3 = Superior

- 2) Does teachers' level of system-justification relate to their civic education ideology?
- 3) Does teachers' civic education ideology influence the types of political behavior emphasized in the classroom?

Various methods of data analysis provided insight into these questions. The first step involved data screening (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013), which includes visual explorations of distributions, with particular focus on issues of normality. In addition, statistics used to explore distributions included means, standard deviations, histograms, and measures of skewness and kurtosis. Within the initial 32 items measuring teachers' civic education ideologies 55 respondents failed to answer at least one item. However, no systematic patterns were found between the missing items and any available demographic characteristics. Multivariate outliers were considered using Mahalanobis' distance, and 95 respondents were identified as outliers and removed. Finally, correlations of the variables helped identify initial bivariate relationships.

After initial issues were considered, the first analysis that directly addresses the questions was exploratory factor analysis with orthogonal rotation. Factor analysis determines how many latent variables underlie a set of items (DeVellis, 2012). Factor analysis is useful in this study because it condenses the number of variables based on the latent structure of the data. All 32 variables measuring civic education ideology were entered into the statistical model and Table 1 displays the results of the factor analysis. Items that did not load on the three major latent factors were removed. The factor analysis was then re-run with the remaining items. Factors that account for the largest share of the variance were determined based on eigenvalues and a scree plot (Cattell,

1966). After the latent dimensions were identified each of the initial items was grouped accordingly and displayed with descriptive statistics for each item, and Cronbach's Alpha for the raw scores of the items. These results are displayed in Table 2. The results presented in these two tables demonstrate the different dimensions and levels of attachment to civic education ideologies.

After the dimensions of teachers' civic education ideology were determined, comparisons of these ideologies and system justification took place. First, similar the above, factor analysis was carried out for system-justification and emphasized political behavior. New variables were calculated and used for the subsequent analysis. Table 3 presents ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to determine the relationship between each ideology and level of system-justification, controlling for demographic variables. Secondly, Table 4 also uses OLS to evaluate the relationships between civic education ideology and political behavior emphasized in the classroom, controlling for demographic variables. Finally, a path analysis model, calculated with Stata 13, calculated path coefficients between system justification and civic education ideology, while also calculating the relationship between civic education ideology and emphasized political behavior. Path analysis is beneficial because it allows for complex data modeling of multiple dependent variables simultaneously (Kline, 2011). More importantly, the path analysis directly tests the relationships put forth in Figure 1.

Limitations

The framework for this study has two important limitations. First, the survey items cannot fully account for the diversity of views represented within the terms conservative, liberal, and critical. Certainly, each of these constructs themselves are

multi-dimensional and necessitate future study separately. However, the scales used do represent some important divisions that are relevant for social studies teachers and educators. With this in mind, future scholarship should seek to understand the complexities under each construct. The second limitation focuses on the scales measuring civic behavior emphasized in the classroom. As was noted above, the scales were adapted from scales intended for use by students (Kahn & Spote, 2008). However, more work is needed to separate the behaviors related to participatory and social critiquing civic behavior.

Findings

To explore the relationship between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized civic behavior in the classroom the findings regarding each research question will be displayed in turn. Subsequently, more detailed analysis of the importance of these findings will be addressed in the discussion section.

Research Question One: What types of civic education ideologies do teachers possess?

Exploratory factor analysis uncovered three latent variables that fit with the proposed model of conservative, liberal, and critical notions of civic education ideology. Only one item loaded on a different factor than was expected. The item “That government programs can reduce poverty” was intended for liberal civic education ideology but loaded on the factor connected with critical. Aside from this exception all of the items with significant factor loadings matched the expected latent dimension. This demonstrates that social studies teachers answered in a pattern similar to the typical discourses of citizenship education (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

Table 1. Diminutions of Teachers' Civic Education Ideology

	Dimensions		
	Conservative	Liberal	Critical
How strongly do you agree or disagree that good citizenship education primarily teaches ...			
That a strong foreign policy should protect the United States' position as a global power	0.646		
Government assistance discourages people from improving their lives	0.619		
That the free market can solve most social problems	0.608		
That the United States is exceptional	0.595		
The importance of honoring the history and heritage of the United States	0.587		
How the values of the founding fathers provided a strong foundation for this country	0.585		
The importance of continuing long held traditions	0.566		
Patriotism, loyalty, and civic duty	0.549		
Limiting the role of government enhances the freedom of the people	0.547		
<u>That all people can be successful in society through hard work</u>	0.522		
The importance of coming up with your own personal opinion before voting		0.600	
Students <u>how</u> to think, instead of <u>what</u> to think		0.587	
Skills such as cooperation and deliberation with others		0.570	
Political tolerance and open-mindedness		0.557	
The importance of participating in a diverse society		0.551	
An understanding that the United States is a multicultural nation		0.530	
<u>That people can improve their lives by being involved in the democratic process</u>		0.498	
About practices of racism, sexism, and class exploitation in everyday life			0.785
The presence of institutional racism in modern society			0.740
Root causes of inequality in society			0.710
About the experiences and goals of marginalized people in society			0.684
The existence of discrimination in everyday life based on identity (such as gender, class, nationality, race, or sexual orientation)			0.683
The nature of class privilege across generations			0.671
Causes of social inequalities within communities, nations, and the world			0.651
Historical causes for modern inequalities			0.579
Social problems from both local and global perspectives			0.544
<u>That government programs can reduce poverty</u>			0.468
Explained Variance	30.10%	12.20%	57.70%

Principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation. Loadings smaller than .45 not displayed. N=639

Based on these results conservative civic education ideology emphasizes strong national government, free market principles, and United States exceptionalism. Secondly, liberal civic education ideology encourages forming individual opinions, tolerance, and being involved in the democratic process. Finally, critical civic education ideology addresses institutional oppression, explorations of privilege, and everyday examples of discrimination.

To determine teachers' level of agreement with the items, the mean and standard deviation were calculated and presented in Table 2. The items were grouped based on the results of factor analysis and sorted so higher means indicate greater attachment. Cronbach's Alpha statistics determined strong reliability across each of the scales. The composite means provide information about how strongly teachers endorse each civic education ideology more generally. For example, social studies teachers agreed mostly with liberal education with a composite mean of 4.33. Conservative civic education was second with a mean of 3.67, however attachment to critical civic education ideology was very similar with a mean of 3.64. Analysis of the individual items provides interesting results. For example, the item mentioned above "That government programs can reduce poverty" demonstrated the weakest attachment of all questions, while a somewhat similar question, "people can improve their lives by being involved in the democratic process" had very strong agreement. The discrepancy between these two items demonstrates a belief in democracy in theory but hesitation towards the efficacy of government to end poverty. Finally, the raw score correlations show that liberal and critical civic education

ideologies are highly correlated in a positive direction. Liberal and conservative civic education are weakly, but statistically significantly ($p < .05$), positively correlated. Finally, critical and conservative education were not significantly correlated. This indicates that a

Table 2. Item Descriptives of Civic Education Ideology

	Mean	SD
Conservative Civic Education Ideology		
Patriotism, loyalty, and civic duty	4.29	0.73
The importance of honoring the history and heritage of the United States	4.26	0.72
How the values of the founding fathers provided a strong foundation for this country	4.20	0.74
That all people can be successful in society through hard work	3.95	0.91
That the United States is exceptional	3.63	1.01
That a strong foreign policy should protect the United States' position as a global power	3.57	0.88
The importance of continuing long held traditions	3.45	0.90
Limiting the role of government enhances the freedom of the people	3.45	0.99
That the free market can solve most social problems	3.01	0.92
Government assistance discourages people from improving their lives	2.94	1.14
Composite Mean = 3.67, Cronbach's Alpha = 0.833		
Liberal Civic Education Ideology		
	Mean	SD
The importance of coming up with your own personal opinion before voting	4.53	0.61
Students <u>how</u> to think, instead of <u>what</u> to think	4.47	0.79
That people can improve their lives by being involved in the democratic process	4.31	0.68
An understanding that the United States is a multicultural nation	4.31	0.69
Skills such as cooperation and deliberation with others	4.29	0.66
The importance of participating in a diverse society	4.28	0.66
Political tolerance and open-mindedness	4.16	0.78
Composite Mean = 4.33, Cronbach's Alpha = 0.819		
Critical Civic Education Ideology		
	Mean	SD
Social problems from both local and global perspectives	4.05	0.79
Historical causes for modern inequalities	4.00	0.77
Causes of social inequalities within communities, nations, and the world	3.84	0.83
Root causes of inequality in society	3.79	0.89
The existence of discrimination in everyday life based on identity (such as gender, class, nationality, race, or sexual orientation)	3.75	0.89
About practices of racism, sexism, and class exploitation in everyday life	3.63	0.94
About the experiences and goals of marginalized people in society	3.61	0.83
The nature of class privilege across generations	3.44	0.93
The presence of institutional racism in modern society	3.39	0.98
That government programs can reduce poverty	2.92	0.97
Composite Mean = 3.64, Cronbach's Alpha = 0.892		

	Raw Score Correlations		
	Conservative	Liberal	Critical
Conservative	1	0.174	0.099
Liberal	0.174	1	0.569
Critical	0.099	0.569	1

teacher may endorse conservative civic education with liberal, or liberal with critical, however, critical and conservative are unlikely to be emphasized jointly.

Research Question Two: Does teachers' level of system-justification relate to their civic education ideology?

To address the second research question exploring the connection between a teacher's system-justification and their civic education ideology, exploratory factor analysis was used to extract a single measure of system-justification¹³. Each measure of civic education ideology was predicted using two models, first (M1) with demographic measures, subsequently the measure of teacher's comfort with the status-quo, or system-justification was added to the model (M2). The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 3. The change in the Adjusted R² demonstrates the effect size of system-justification in addition to the demographic variables. In the conservative and liberal models there was a substantial change in the Adjusted R², indicating a strong relationship with system-justification. However, system-justification was a much weaker contribution in the model predicting critical civic education ideology. The level of system-justification was found to have a positive and statistically significant relationship with both conservative and liberal civic education ideology. However, the standardized coefficient for conservative (.44) was over four times larger than liberal (.11), meaning that a teachers level of system-justification was a much stronger predictor of conservative civic education ideology than liberal. Conversely, system-justification demonstrated a negative, however not statistically significant, relationship with critical civic education ideology. In general, there is some evidence for the theoretical model in Figure 1 that posited positive relationships between system-justification for conservative and liberal.

¹³ Only a single dimension was found and extracted. Statistics from this analysis is in the appendix.

However, based on the findings in Table 2, the connection between system-justification and critical civic education ideology remains uncertain.

The demographic variables also provided significant findings from Table 3.

Regarding city type, teachers were asked to respond to either Rural, Urban, or Suburban.

Table 3. Regression predicting civic education ideology

	Conservative		Liberal		Critical	
	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2
System-Justification		.44** (.04)		.11* (.04)		-.06 (.05)
Rural	3.28** (1.2)	2.57* (1.08)	-2.14 (1.2)	-2.23 (1.21)	-1.3 (1.22)	-1.4 (1.22)
Urban	-2.34 (1.78)	-.22 (1.61)	-4.2* (1.8)	-3.96* (1.8)	2.45 (1.8)	2.24 (1.82)
Racial Makeup of School	.003 (.56)	.08 (.51)	-.24 (.57)	-.06 (.57)	.96 (.57)	.86 (.58)
Gender	-2.26** (.87)	-1.85* (0.79)	.29 (.88)	.49 (.88)	-.89 (.88)	-.92 (.88)
Years Teaching	.2** (.05)	.16** (.05)	-.05 (.05)	-.06 (.05)	-.08 (.05)	-.06 (.05)
Grade Level	-.66** (.23)	-.76** (.21)	.15 (.24)	-.21 (.24)	.23 (.24)	.22 (.24)
% Free/Reduced Lunch	6.28* (3.1)	5.08 (2.8)	.13 (3.13)	-.71 (3.12)	-2 (3.14)	-1.9 (3.14)
Intercept	47.52** (2.18)	27.18** (2.7)	53.3** (2.2)	48.33** (3)	50.14** (2.21)	52.86** (3)
Adjusted R ²	0.091	0.269	0.009	0.021	0.032	0.030
N	516	513	516	513	516	513

**p<.01, *p<.05, Coefficients listed with standard errors in parentheses

These were entered into the regression model as dummy variables, meaning the coefficients should be seen in reference to the missing variable (suburban in this case).

The significant coefficient for Rural, in the conservative civic education ideology models, demonstrates that rural teachers were more likely to endorse conservative civic education than their suburban and urban counterparts. Also, male teachers, more experienced teachers, and teachers in the lower grades were more likely to indicate agreement with conservative civic education. Finally, urban teachers were less likely to endorse liberal

education than suburban and even rural teachers. This indicates strong attachment to liberal civic education ideology among suburban teachers.

Research Question Three: Does teachers' civic education ideology influence the types of political behavior emphasized in the classroom?

In order to determine the relationship between civic education ideology and emphasized political behavior in the classroom exploratory factor analysis was carried out on the items measuring behavior. The results from this analysis are located in Table 4. The analysis found three factors that were extracted. These factors fit closely with the model put forth by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) described above. Personally responsible behavior emphasized being nice, following rules and laws, and helping others in need. Participatory behavior emphasized concern with political issues, actively working to fix problems, and working within the community. Finally, social critiquing behavior emphasizes protesting when society needs changing, challenging society, and

Table 4. Factor Analysis of Civic Behavior Emphasized in Schools

How strongly should schools place emphasis on students learning the following behaviors?	Dimensions		
	Personally Responsible	Participatory	Social Critiquing
Being kind to other people	0.747		
Helping when people are in need	0.741		
Helping others without being paid	0.666		
Assisting those who are most in need of help	0.656		
Telling the truth	0.629		
Taking responsibility for keeping the community clean and safe	0.566		
Following the rules and laws	0.527		
Being concerned with national, state, and local issues		0.770	
Being actively involved in state and local issues		0.624	
Thinking critically about laws and government		0.608	
Actively working to fix problems in society		0.576	
Working with community organizations and local government on issues that affect the community.		0.509	
Focusing on underlying causes when considering problems in society		0.468	
When necessary, it is important to challenge society			0.695
Protesting when something in society needs changing			0.655
Buying products from businesses that share their worldview			0.451
Explained Variance	79.2%	13.3%	7.5%

Principle axis analysis with promax rotation. Loadings smaller than .45 not displayed. N=583

shopping at places that share your worldview. The constructs from this analysis were extracted and used in the subsequent statistical models.

To test the relationship between civic education ideology and emphasized political behavior in the classroom regression analysis was carried out first with only demographics, then with the civic education ideologies included in the model. The results of this analysis are located in Table 5. The changes in Adjusted R^2 across the different models demonstrate that civic education ideology is a strong predictor of emphasized political behavior. All three of the civic education ideologies demonstrated a positive and statistically significant relationship with personally responsible civic behavior. Notably, the size of the coefficients were relatively equal across all three models meaning that each predict personally responsible behavior similarly. In regards to participatory civic behavior, again each of the three civic education ideologies are positive and statistically significant predictors. However, liberal civic education ideology has a very strong relationship with participatory behavior by comparison. Finally, only critical civic education ideology significantly predicts social critiquing behavior. These findings provide context to the conceptual model in Figure 1. All three notions of civic education ideology have a positive relationship with personally responsible behavior and participatory behavior. However, only critical civic education ideology demonstrates a (very strong) relationship with social critiquing.

The demographic variables in Table 5 provide some useful analysis. The results found that female teachers were more likely to endorse participatory and social critiquing behavior. More experienced teachers were more likely to emphasize personally

Table 5. Regression predicting civic behavior emphasized in schools

	Personally					
	Responsible		Participatory		Social Critiquing	
	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2
Critical		.2** (.04)		.1* (.04)		.39** (.04)
Liberal		.15** (.04)		.37** (.04)		0.01 (.04)
Conservative		.19** (.04)		.14** (.04)		-.01 (.04)
Rural	1.46 (1.23)	1.44 (1.18)	.12 (1.26)	.54 (1.17)	-.59 (1.21)	.02 (1.14)
Urban	-2.37 (1.82)	-1.42 (1.74)	-1.82 (1.86)	-.1 (1.72)	1.17 (1.8)	.29 (1.67)
Racial Makeup of School	.18 (.58)	.02 (.55)	-.004 (.59)	-.06 (.55)	0.82 (.56)	.47 (.53)
Gender	.37 (.89)	.87 (.85)	1.73 (.91)	1.95* (.83)	2.09* (.88)	2.35** (.81)
Years Teaching	.14** (.05)	.12* (.05)	.03 (.05)	.03 (.05)	-.05 (.05)	-.02 (.05)
Grade Level	-.8** (.24)	-.71** (.22)	.57* (.24)	.69** (.23)	.43 (.24)	.33 (.21)
% Free/Reduced Lunch	3.27 (3.19)	2.39 (3.04)	2.66 (3.26)	1.98 (3)	2.65 (3.15)	3.3 (2.92)
Intercept	49.42** (2.23)	22.71** (4.09)	44.7** (2.28)	14.01** (4.04)	44.9** (2.2)	25.08** (3.93)
Adjusted R ²	0.035	0.132	0.006	0.165	0.026	0.172
N	510	510	510	510	510	510

**p<.01, *p<.05, Coefficients listed with standard errors in parentheses

responsible behavior. Finally, teachers of lower grades were more likely to endorse personally responsible behavior.

Path Analysis of Full Model

The analysis up to this point has explored connections between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized political behavior in the classroom. This was done through a series of steps that have built evidence that system-justification strongly predicts liberal and conservative civic education ideology, and in turn civic education ideology predicts emphasized civic behavior. However, each of these regressions can only use a series of independent variables to predict a single dependent

variable. Therefore, you cannot account for all of these relationships simultaneously in a single model using regression. Path analysis allows for such complex modeling, thus creating a more accurate view of the relationships of interest. Figure 2 presents results of a path analysis model similar to the conceptual model in Figure 1. For clarity, only the statistically significant paths were presented. The path analysis model demonstrates that system-justification predicts all three notions of civic education ideology. However, conservative and liberal had positive relationships, with the stronger being the former, while critical civic education had a negative relationship (although weak). In turn, conservative and liberal civic education ideology have a positive relationship with both personally responsible and participatory civic behavior, while conservative strongly predicts personally responsible and liberal strongly predicts participatory. Finally, critical civic education ideology successfully predicts social critiquing, and personally responsible civic behavior. Critical civic education ideology demonstrated a very strong relationship with social critiquing behavior, and was also the only ideological notion to demonstrate a significant relationship with this behavior.

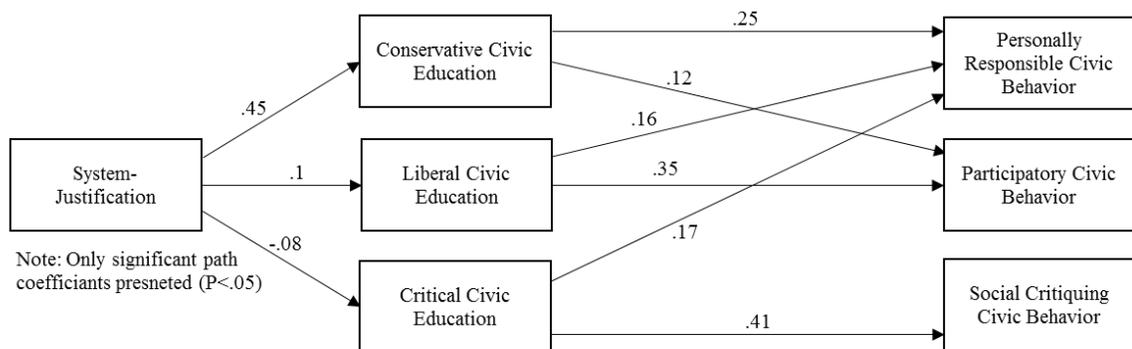


Figure 2. Path Analysis testing relationships between system-justification, civic education ideology, and emphasized political behavior

Discussion

Scholars have long considered the role of education in transmitting, reproducing, or challenging dominant ideologies that maintain social structures within society (Apple, 2005; Ross, 2000; Kennedy, 2008; Evans, 2008; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Myers, 2009; Chappell, 2010; DeLeon, 2008; Apple & Weis, 1983; Camicia, 2009; Banks, 2008). This study addresses this issue by exploring how a teacher's support or rejection of the status-quo relates to their ideological dispositions to civic education they bring with them to the classroom, and in turn how that ideology influences the political behavior they encourage. Through this exploration three conclusions were made that will be discussed below.

The first major finding demonstrates that a teacher's view of society, measured as level of system-justification in the present study, strongly predicts the civic education ideology they support. This echoes research that demonstrated that teachers' previously held views play a role in what and how they teach (Onosko, 1991; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Bennett & Spaulding, 1992). More directly, a teacher that is comfortable with the current state of society is far more likely to endorse conservative civic education. However, liberal civic education ideology was also positively related to a teacher's support for the status-quo. In other words, teachers who are comfortable with the current state of society are more likely to implement conservative or liberal civic education ideologies.

Secondly, a teacher's endorsement of a particular civic education ideology strongly predicts the type of civic behavior they emphasize in their classroom. Civic educators have long encouraged increasing political efficacy and active citizenship

necessary for marginalized peoples to advocate for their own interests within the political system (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Levy, 2013; Beaumont 2010). However, this study demonstrates that teachers' supporting conservative and liberal civic education ideology are likely to support personally responsible and participatory civic behavior, but not social critiquing civic behavior. This indicates that conservative and liberal civic educators are both likely to not challenge, and encourage participation within the current socio-political structures of society. This finding echoes the argument by Papastephanou (2008) that liberal civic education does not provide views of society distinct from what already exist. Such views serve to promote the perpetuation of current political and social realities.

The final conclusion ask a question. Based on the findings, which ideological perspective encourages social change within social studies education? The findings indicate that critical civic education ideology is the only one to encourage social critiquing behavior. Thus, combining the positive relationships between both conservative and liberal civic education ideologies with system justification and more passive and non-critical civic behaviors, indicates that these ideologies work within current social and political structures. However, those endorsing critical civic education ideology are less likely to support the status-quo and strongly encourage social critiquing behavior. As discussed above, Castro (2013) put similar notions of citizenship on an X-Y axis with critical vs. non-critical and diversity vs. unity on the intersections. With this framework, Castro put critical and awareness based (similar to liberal) citizenship within same quadrant, while conservative was separate. Perhaps based the findings from the present study, we should view liberal and conservative as more similar and therefore

separate from critical citizenship¹⁴. Figure 3 represents this change. Put more directly, the evidence suggests that both liberal and conservative civic education ideologies are driven by support for the status-quo and emphasize passive and non-critical civic behavior in the classroom. In stark contrast, critical civic education presents a challenge to the status-quo and encourages civic behavior that questions existing power structures.

In sum, this study demonstrates the importance of teachers' previously held beliefs in promoting their ideological perspectives towards civic education. Indeed, their ideology was a strong predictor of

what behaviors emphasized in the classroom. However, evidence suggests that liberal and conservative civic education both work to promote current political and social realities, while critical challenges them. Thus, perhaps

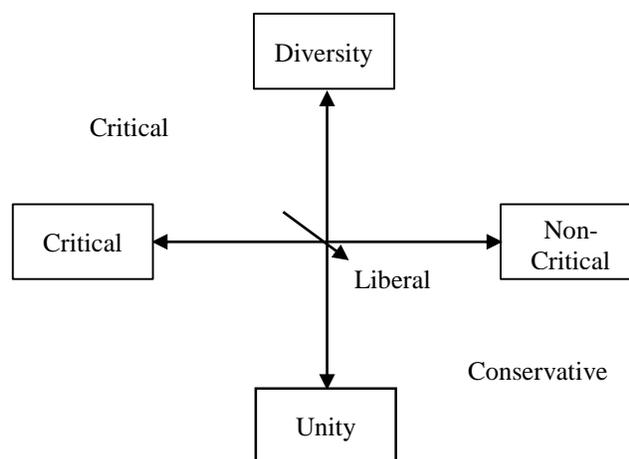


Figure 3. Revision of Castro's (2013) intersections of critical and multicultural citizenship

liberal and conservative civic education should be considered *system-justifying ideologies*, while critical citizenship is a *system-challenging ideology*.

Implications

Moving forward, educators must consider the implications of their own ideological perspectives in reproducing or challenging social and political realities. Indeed, this study demonstrates that a teacher's comfort with the current state of society

¹⁴ When I left you I was but a learner. Now, I am the Master

contributes to their views of civic education and ultimately the behaviors they emphasize within the classroom. Thus, practicing teachers, or teacher educators, interested in promoting social change have a duty to disrupt their students comfort with the current state of society. Such disruptions may challenge their level of system-justification and promote more critical civic education ideologies and social critiquing civic behavior.

Future research on ideology and social studies education should proceed in three areas. First, future studies should explore whether teachers' ideology influences the instructional practices or curricular emphasis within the classroom. For example, Knowles and Theobald (2013) found disparities between student-centered and teacher-centered instruction across course types and advanced placement classes. Perhaps civic education ideology is a contributing factor to these discrepancies. Secondly, researchers must consider the interplay between teachers' political partisanship and ideology within classroom decisions. The increased partisan polarization within United States' society has brought forth questions regarding the role of education to promote partisan development (Hess & McAvoy, 2015). This interest necessitates an understanding of how different civic education ideologies interact within shared spaces. For example, how does a teacher embracing critical citizenship navigate a conservative community and how does the community react to the conflicting ideology? Finally, the interest in partisan-ideological development within the classroom necessitates research exploring the influence of teachers' personal partisanship or ideology in relation to the development of student's civic identity. For example, when an issue of diversity or oppression arises how does the teacher respond? What does their response teach the students (either marginalized or non-marginalized) about the fairness of society? Apple (2006) argues that teacher neutrality

within the classroom is impossible. In other words, these ideological divisions are very real and the relation of education to them has differing implications towards the perpetuation of the status-quo. If this is true, research must consider the implications of the seemingly common sense, yet ideologically driven, actions carried out by teachers on a daily basis.

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Appendix

Teacher Demographics	
Years Teaching	No. of Teachers
Under 5 Years	84
6-10 Years	115
11-15 Years	144
16-20 Years	113
Over 20 Years	278
Community Type	
Urban	55
Rural	262
Suburban	269
Racial Makeup of School	
Almost all white	202
Mostly white with some minorities	273
About 50% white and 50% minority	52
Mostly minority with some white	31
Almost all minority	29
Gender	
Male	306
Female	280
Other	2
Grade Level	
High School	491
Middle School	243
Teacher Race	
African American	10
Native American or Alaska Native	2
Asian	2
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	4
Mixed Race	4
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0
White	558
Other	9
Percent Free or Reduced Lunch	
Under 25%	132
26% to 50%	235
51% to 75%	317
76% to 100%	50

Chapter Five

Moving Forward



Moving Forward

This dissertation explores questions on how ideology maintains the status-quo of society. If democracy is a goal and it remains unrealized, as I assume, we must consider the role of education in promoting particular ideologies. In particular, do schools, classrooms, and teachers promote ideologies that support or diminish democracy? True democratic education explores issues of hierarchy within a society and works to undermine features that prevent equal access to the civic spheres that have power. Put more directly, democratic education interrogates the seemingly common sense assumptions that educators make on a daily basis, invites students into the power structure of the school, and works for equitable social change.

Each of the studies here addresses discrepancies in power within societies from different perspectives. For example, the first study shows that an open classroom climate supports social movement citizenship, which is necessary for citizens to challenge the anti-democratic aspects in society. The chapter on Asian values and democratic citizenship demonstrates that cultural influences contribute to attachment to democracy. Moreover, this study provides evidence that some groups in society may have less attachment to such values, which suggest that some groups may actively be working to influence the power distribution across civic spheres. For example, female students in South Korea were less likely to endorse obedience to authority and more likely to support aspects of democratic citizenship. These orientations run counter to traditional Confucian values. The third study, demonstrates divisions in political culture across the United States and how these manifest within the classroom. Indeed, conservative and liberal

political cultures were positively related to comfort with the status-quo and emphasized more passive civic behaviors. This indicates that the two most dominant notions of citizenship education work to maintain, or change minimally, current power distribution across civic spheres. However, critical citizenship advocates for behaviors that run counter to support for the status-quo.

While the three studies utilize dramatically different samples, taken together their findings depict a process demonstrating the importance of democratic education through three steps. First, the article on Confucian values demonstrated that traditional values could hinder or support democratic citizenship. Non-Confucian societies certainly have traditions and ideologies that have a similar effect, although in different ways. For example, within the United States the legacy of racial oppression inherent within its traditions likely prevents ideal democracy. Secondly, the study on teachers' ideological dispositions demonstrated that such orientations directly influence their teaching. If you take these two studies together, you can see that if undemocratic ideologies exist within society, teachers and schools may support them through how and what they teach. Finally, the study emphasizing an open classroom climate demonstrates a possible model for democratic education that can encourage dispositions to challenge undemocratic norms through social movement citizenship. Taken together, these three studies depict a society that is not necessarily democratic, which may be reflected by the attitudes of educators, and therefore schools must be deliberate in advocating for democratic education through open classroom climates.

Future Research

Supported by the findings of this study, my future research will continue in three related directions. These include, exploring group orientations across contexts, considering the role of an open classroom climate in relation to Confucian values, and the influence of political ideology in the social studies classroom. Each of these will be described in more detail below.

Exploring group orientations across contexts

Within research on civic engagement in youth, growing interest exists regarding how person variables moderate the relationship between process measures and desirable outcomes (Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Andolina, 2010). More directly, do classroom practices (process) contribute to learning (desirable outcomes) differently across groups such as gender, immigrant status, socio-economic status, race, or sexual orientation? This seemingly small change, represents a significant shift away from a deficit model of civic capabilities research that attempts to ‘bring up’ the low achieving students or empower those who do not participate in the political process. Instead, more sophisticated moderation questions can consider the aspects of school which work for or against students in different groups and why. These questions allow for the consideration of non-neutrality of schools in maintaining the status-quo (Apple, 2004). Indeed, as Delpit (1988) posits, issues of power within society are carried out in schools, meaning that schools may work to reproduce the power distribution of civic spheres within society. Therefore, a civic capability model is insufficient without considering these conflicts. As a result of this change, future research on international datasets should empirically explore differences in learning and perceptions within the classroom, while theoretically considering issues of power distribution to explain those differences.

To consider the outlined discussed above, a future study could use national level measures to uncover differences across groups. For example, does the level of female representation within the political system contribute to gender differences across desirable outcomes in school? There is substantial research demonstrating the power of national context in relation to political orientations. For example, Inglehart and Norris (2000) found that national context mediates the political ideology and type of political participation that female students engage in. More specifically, in less developed countries females support conservative candidates and engage in less activist oriented political participation than their peers in more developed countries. Rettinger (1993) found a mismatch between traditional politics and females' personal beliefs on how problem solving should occur. Finally, Barber and Torney-Purta demonstrate significant differences between male and female students in internal political efficacy and support (and perception of) gender equality.

A potential study could consider differences in open classroom climate across gender. In other words, do male and female students in the same classroom perceive the climate in the same room differently? In particular, how does national context contribute to the differences in perceptions of open classroom climate and what are the implications for orientations regarding traditionally marginalized communities (measures as support for gender rights, ethnic rights, and immigrant rights in ICCS data)? Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) created a model of women's representation that included formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation across 31 democracies using data from the World Values Survey. They found that when women were more represented within society both women *and* men indicate more trust of the legislature and feel the

political system is more representative of the population. Thus, potentially if women are better represented within the society, perhaps female students would perceive increased classroom climate and perhaps male students would be more supportive of marginalized groups?

Open Classroom Climate and Confucian Values

The study comparing Asian values related to the Confucian tradition found that attachment to obedience to authority was negatively associated with democratic citizenship, while other values were positively related. This gives rise to the question as to whether classroom practices could contribute or hinder attachment to such values. Indeed, research has demonstrated that cultural values in Confucian societies present a barrier to controversial issues (Misco, 2012; Ho, Avilar-Martin, & Leviste, 2014). Moreover, results from the International Civic and Citizenship study identified that of the 38 countries tested, South Korea had the lowest average perception of open classroom climate (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). While open classroom and discussions of controversial issues are not equivalent, certainly the former is a prerequisite of the latter. However, when considering the Asia civic values and obedience to authority constructs depicted in the second study, there is certainly a connection between an open classroom climate. For example, an open classroom climate may diminish attachment to obedience to authority by incorporating voices from across traditional hierarchies. Contrary, an open classroom may provide spaces for discussions that may support other Asian civic values.

A potential study could use data from the International Civic and Citizenship Study to explore connections between an open classroom climate and attachment to both

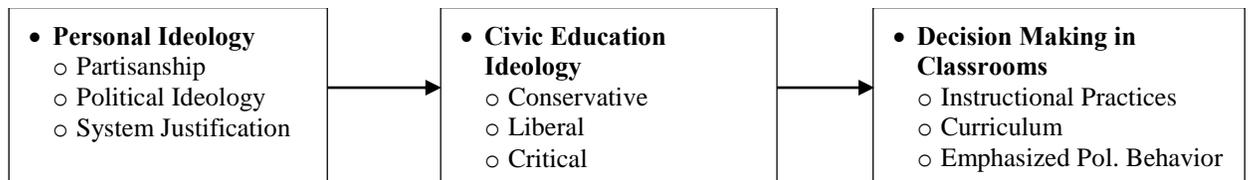
obedience to authority and Asian civic values among South Korean students. Findings would be interesting to South Korean educators as they consider initiatives that incorporate cosmopolitan, multicultural, and active notions of citizenship into their curriculum. Along with this study, the ICCS also includes samples for Hong Kong and Taiwan. The studies described above could also be extended into a comparative work that explores connections to open classroom climate, traditional Asian values related to Confucianism, and democratic citizenship.

Ideology in Social Studies Curriculum

Ideological divisions underlie nearly every aspect of modern society in the United States (Hess, 2009; Abramowitz, 2010; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Indeed, the political scientist Alan Abramowitz (2010) provided strong evidence of increasing consistency both across and between issue positions and party identification, which he refers to as *partisan-ideological polarization*. This process has contributed to the physical migration of peoples based on ideological cleavages that observers call “The Big Sort” or “The Great Sorting Out” (Brownstein, 2008; Bishop, 2008). In other words, political parties are becoming more ideologically consistent and citizens are more likely to share similar ideologies with their neighbors than in the past. This trend becomes troubling when considering a study conducted by Schkade, Sunstein, & Hastie (2006), which found that when groups with similar views on an issue deliberate, their positions become more extreme and consistent. Thus, increased geographic and partisan ideological divisions will likely manifest into greater polarization. This dilemma demands that civic educators take seriously their role in promoting or challenging these divisions.

The final avenue of future research focuses on the connections between ideology and decision making of social studies teachers. The theoretical model presents the general flow of this research. The study presented here focuses on system justification's relationship with civic education ideology, which in turn relates to teachers emphasized political behavior. Additional studies could focus on partisanship and political ideology as contributing factors. Future research questions could be whether those holding conservative ideologies and partisanship stress more passive instructional practices and avoid including curriculum related to race and class. Thus, teachers' ideology would influence their willingness to present materials and instructional practices that may give rise to challenges to the status-quo.

Figure 1. Theoretical Model Connecting Teachers' Personal Ideology to Decisions made In the Classroom



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Vita

Ryan T. Knowles
University of Missouri
Department of Learning, Teaching, and Curriculum

Ryan T. Knowles Has been a doctoral student tat the University of Missouri for the past four years. Before that He was received his Masters in Political Science. He has experience working with large-scale data including The Study on the Status of the Social Studies, the International Civic and Citizenship Study, and the Asian Barometer. Ryan's research focuses on relationships between culture, democracy, and education. Ryan is excited to begin a position at Utah State University in the fall as an assistant professor.