Conceptions of the Good Citizen and Political Attitudes of Children

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ABSTRACT

Interest in the way in which schools prepare citizens has been warranted by growing concerns over the decline in civic and political participation rates among young people. In addition to this, the influence of early attitudes on later political attitudes and behaviors have led many researchers to scrutinize the educational curricula of various educational systems in order to identify the specific curricular goals associated with citizenship education and their effects on children's political attitudes. Previous studies that analyzed the effects of educational programs aiming to advance democracy through different models of citizenship found significant differences in their impact on students' civic outcomes. However, if the political attitudes of children in established democracies have been analyzed by a wide array of studies, far less research has been carried out in other political contexts and on age groups younger than high-school students. This thesis therefore endeavors to make a contribution to the literature on childhood political socialization, by analyzing the effects of a specially designed curriculum on children's political efficacy and conceptions of citizenship in a novel context, Romania, and on a less researched age group, i.e., middle school students (5th and 7th grade). Making use of Westheimer and Kahne's distinction between personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizenship, an experimental design using pre and post surveys was employed in order to examine the impact on students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy of a civic curriculum designed in accordance with two different ideals of the good citizens: participatory and justice-oriented. Data analysis found no significant effects of the individual treatments on either of the two dependent variables. However, the combined effect of the two treatments was significant on the ratings of participatory and justice-oriented citizenship for the case of students in the 7th grade. Further research is need, however, in order to corroborate the results of this study. Moreover, this path of inquiry is becoming even more important, especially in the current context of increased interest in adult civic and political engagement.

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INTRODUCTION

Concerns over the long-term decline in young people's civic engagement and political participation have lately led to a renewed attention to the formative years of person's life. As childhood and adolescence are essential periods for the development of many social attitudes, the way in which young people develop their opinions and views on the political system is informative of their later behaviour. Children's understanding of their role as citizens and the belief in their ability to grasp and influence politics, or their internal political efficacy, have an important influence on their future political participation, making these important curricular goals for all educational programs that seek to prepare citizens and advance democracy. If studies on high-school or elder students understanding of citizenship and political efficacy abound, studies on younger children are scarcer. Moreover, a great part of these studies analyze Western democracies and less often post-communist countries. In this thesis I will analyze the effects of two different school curricula designed in accordance with Westheimer and Kahne's analytical distinction between personally responsible, participatory and justice–oriented citizenship on the internal political efficacy and conceptions of citizenship of middle-school students in Romania.

The making of citizens has been a long-standing interest to political scientists, as well as to philosophers and educators concerned with democracy. Nevertheless, there is still little consensus over the meaning of "good citizenship." The contending perspectives reflect the history of political science as a discipline, the various strands of research in the sub-domain of political socialization as well as disagreement at a higher level of abstraction over the ideals of a good society and the best ways of advancing democracy. The literature on civic education is rife with citizenship models and frameworks, each emphasizing different configurations of qualities for the "good" citizen, which get

translated into the educational curricula. Parker,[1] for instance, makes a distinction between *traditional*, *progressive* and *advanced* citizen education, the first type placing more emphasis on the understanding of government proceedings, the second on various forms of civic participation, and the last on a careful consideration of the tensions between pluralism and assimilation.

In this thesis, I will use the analytical model of Westheimer and Kahne[2] which distinguishes between a *personally responsible*, the *participatory* and the *justice-oriented* type of citizen. Briefly, a citizen in the first category is one who is honest and law-abiding and acts responsibly in their community by obeying laws, giving blood, etc. A participatory citizen is one who takes an active part in the social life of the community by finding strategies for responding to community concerns by organizing, for instance, a food drive and the justice-oriented citizen is one who seeks ways to improve the society by critically analyzing and addressing social issues and injustices.

Conceptions of citizenship that emphasize personal responsibility through character education and volunteerism have recently been given much attention in the field of education for democratic citizenship. However, critics have challenged this conception by arguing that an exclusive focus on individual behaviour dilutes the need for collective initiatives and turns public attention away from root causes of social problems. A stronger version of this position argues that personal kindness and volunteerism can in fact become a means of avoiding politics or, as Westheimer would phrased it, "a nice thing to do instead of politics,"[3] a kind of "noblesse oblige" that can serve to reinforce the *status quo*.[4] Even though the acts of civic decency and responsibility that lie at the core of this conception are of utmost importance, some argue that such a restricted view of citizenship

[1] Walter C. Parker, "Advanced Ideas about Democracy: Toward a Pluralist Conception of Citizen Education," *Teachers College Record* 98 (1996): 104–125.
[2] Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne, "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy," *American Educational Research Journal* 2 (2004): 1–26.
[3] Idem, "Service Learning Required. But What Exactly Do Students Learn?," *Education Week* 20 (2000): 1–4, at 2.
[4] Ibid.; cf. also Benjamin R. Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); see also Harry C. Boyte, "Community Service and Civic Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 72 (1991): 765–67.

leads students "to embrace an impoverished conception of their civic potential."[5] Moreover, while the citizenship qualities promoted by this agenda are desirable for people living in any community, they are not specific to *democratic* citizenship. Indeed, these qualities (i.e., honesty, obeying laws, treating people with respect, helping others) can serve equally in support of non-democratic regimes and can be at odds with the civic skills essential to a democracy, such as critical thinking. Therefore, in order for students to perceive citizenship as something more than obedience to laws and acts of kindness, school curriculum should place more emphasis on the connection between citizenship, politics and government legislation, so that volunteering is seen not as an alternative, but a complement to governmental action.

As public schools have made the shaping of citizens one of their principal aims, civic education curricula has been scrutinized by a wide array of studies with respect to the ideals of good citizenship and the democratic values it aims to instill. Interest in the way in which schools prepare democratic citizens has been furthered even more by rising concerns over the long-term decline in young peoples' civic engagement and political participation. In the case of the Unites States – and not only – the last decades have in fact marked a significant decline in young people's voting rates, interest in politics or engagement in their communities.[6] However, studies have repeatedly reported that the skills, knowledge, and dispositions that support a democratic society can be promoted through certain educational practices[7] and that therefore schools have the potential to increase the levels of civic engagement among young people.[8]

Many of the previous studies that have inquired into young people's conceptions of citizenship and their civic and political participation, such as the one of Westheimer and Kahne, have

[5] Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne, "Service Learning Required…," 3.
[6] See William A. Galston, "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 217–234.
[7] For a review, see Cynthia Gibson and Peter Levine, *The Civic Mission of Schools* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning, 2001).
[8] Joseph Kahne, Bernadette Chi, Ellen Middaugh, "Building Social Capital for Civic and Political Engagement: the Potential of High School Civics Courses," *Canadian Journal of Education* 29 (2006): 387–409.

analyzed high-school or older students. However, studies on younger children are less often encountered, given that civic and political participation have for a long time been considered outside the real of children's interests. However, especially in the context of the debates on the democratic systems being "in flux,"[9] the trend in lower degrees of partisanship, increased voter volatility, lower turnout figures and lower institutional trust,[10] knowledge about the way in which children develop their political orientations and the factors that influence it is becoming ever more valuable.

Political learning has been approached from different theoretical perspectives such as political socialization, lifespan developmental, Piagetian, contextualist, social representations approaches, yet the two major traditions in the field are political socialization and cognitive development. Mostly focusing on the macro level, socialization research has been concerned with the way in which society prepares its citizens for their civic duties and passes on the normative sets of behaviours and attitudes needed for sustaining the political system through generations. Therefore, a considerable amount of attention in this line of inquiry has been directed towards the agents of socialization: family, schooling and media. If, due to its functionalist focus, socialization research was criticized for its propensity to see children as passive recipients of political information, the other major research tradition, the cognitive developmental model, is concerned with the patterns and processes by which individuals actively engage in political learning and construct meaning about the political world. My study will draw from both research traditions, by employing methods specific to political socialization research and by making use of the findings in the cognitive approach tradition when analyzing the results.

Research on children and politics opens up a wealth of relevant research questions: How do children relate to the political system around them? What are their beliefs about their own

[9] Cf. for instance, Robert Putnam, ed., *Democracies in Flux: the Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[10] Marc Hooghe, "Political Socialization and the Future of Politics," *Acta Politica* 39 (2004): 331–341, at 339.

competence to understand politics and get involved in their own communities as well as on their place in the political system as citizens? How do they think of citizenship? What experiences or factors influence these beliefs? Is education one of these factors? Moreover, are these beliefs developed in age-related stages?

Previous studies on the effects of civic education curricula on the political attitudes of children have arrived at mixed results. While early studies, such as the one of Langton and Jennings, found the regular school curriculum to have a limited or no effect, others discovered a positive relationship between the number of civic courses and political efficacy.[11] In terms of student's conceptions of good citizenship, research has shown that 14 years olds distinguish between "conventional" (taking part in elections) and "social-movement-related" (active participation in civic activities) citizenship.[12] Dejaeghere and Hooghe have also found that citizenship concepts are clearly multi-dimensional among 16-year-olds in Belgium.[13] Hess and Torney found out that schooling is the most important political socialization agent in terms of attitudes about good citizenship. Moreover, a series of factors connected to civic education were found to influence the extent to which students define good citizenship in participatory terms, such as the quality of civic education, the use of interactive and participatory teaching methods,[14] special curriculum that emphasizes critical thinking and dialogue[15] or frequent political discussions in class.[16]

[11] L. H. Ehman, "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies Curriculum," in *Political Youth, Traditional Schools: National and International Perspectives*, ed. B. G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).
[12] J. Amadeo, J. Torney-Purta, R. Lehmann, V. Husfeldt, R. Nikolova, *Civic Knowledge and Engagement. An IEA Study of Upper Secondary Students in Sixteen Countries* (Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 2002).
[13] Yves Dejaeghere, Marc Hooghe, "Brief Report: Citizenship Concepts among Adolescents. Evidence from a Survey among Belgian 16-Year Olds," *Journal of Adolescence* 32 (2009): 723–732.
[14] Steven E. Finkel, Howard R. Ernst, "Civic Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Alternative Paths to the Development of Political Knowledge and Democratic Values," *Political Psychology* 26 (2005): 333–364, at 358.
[15] Felissa Tibbitts, "Prospects for Civics Education in Transitional Democracies: Results of an Impact Study in Romanian Classrooms," Paper presented at Comparative International Education Society Conference, 14–18 April, 1999, Toronto, Canada, cf. http://www.hrea.org/index.php?doc_id=770, last accessed May 25, 2013.
[16] G. Levenson, "The School's Contribution to the Learning of Participatory Responsibility," in *Political Youth, Traditional Schools: National and International Perspectives*, ed. B. G. Massialas, 90–102 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

The present thesis will analyze the effects of a special curriculum on the conceptions of citizenship and the sense of internal political efficacy of students in the context of a post-communist country, namely Romania and for a younger age-group, middle-school students aged 11 to 14. The thesis uses an experimental design involving students in their fifth (11-12 year-olds) and seventh (13-14 year-olds) year of studies from two secondary schools in Romania. Informed by Westheimer and Kahne's analytical distinction between personally responsible, participatory and justice–oriented citizenship, two exercises were designed in line with the last two views, in order to analyze their effects on student's internal efficacy and views of citizenship.

The thesis has a fourthfold structure: chapter 1 offers an overview of the two main research traditions that have set the stage for later studies on children and that inform the present one; chapter 2 discuses citizenship models and frameworks, presents previous studies on children's political efficacy and views of citizenship and offers a brief analysis of the civic education curriculum in Romania for middle-school (grades 5th to 8th); chapter 3 includes details on the design of the experiment, the description the two treatments and the measures used in the surveys; finally, the fourth chapter presents the data analysis and the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 1. POLITICAL LEARNING RESEARCH: THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL TRADITIONS

This chapter focuses on the main studies that have set the stage and shaped the course of research on the political attitudes of children. It offers an overview of the two research traditions that my study is grounded in: political socialization and cognitive development.

1.1 Children as Subjects in Political Science

Given that the modern Western conception has discursively constructed childhood as innocent and frail, children have been confined to the worlds of school, family and play, and implicitly away from work and politics.[17] If in everyday life children were "excused from the table"[18] of politics, scholars in political science as well did not consider the first 10 or 15 years of a person's life an appealing research topic for a long time. Two of the most common reasons why children were held in the "closet of political science"[19] are the belief in their lack of competence in understanding the political world due to their insufficient cognitive functioning and the irrelevance of politics in their lives.[20]

> Referring to the consequences of this conception, Elshtain noted that:
>
> When children are considered to lack the requisite reason, wisdom, competence and autonomy to make decisions about their affairs, or when they are viewed merely as potential adults or incomplete persons, their status as autonomous citizens capable of exercising their political will and participating in political and social life is severely undermined.[21]

As a consequence of their alleged lack of competence, children have therefore been excluded from political participation, left without political or civil rights, and not empowered to engage in political

[17] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *The Family in Political Thought* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 258.
[18] Virginia Sapiro, "Not Your Parents' Political Socialization: Introduction for a New Generation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 1–23, at 16.
[19] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *The Family in Political Thought*, 258.
[20] Virginia Sapiro, "Not Your Parents' Political Socialization…," 13.
[21] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *The Family in Political Thought*, 258.

action in any meaningful way.[22] This exclusion from the political world has been argued to reinforce the idea of childhood as a condition of powerlessness. In this respect, Franklin pointed out that: "Children's powerlessness reflects their limited access to economic resources, their exclusion from political participation and the corresponding cultural image of childhood as a state of weakness, dependence and incompetence."[23]

In turn, children's active exclusion from the domain of politics and their lack of power in influencing political affairs can explain their apathy and lack of interest in all things political, this being as some have argued, a rational response to their own powerlessness.[24] Thus, this view holds that children are more disenfranchised than apathetic and uninterested, and that by offering them opportunities to feel enfranchised, their interest and political involvement can be boosted. In fact, spearheaded by the United Nations' attention to children's rights, the idea that children should be invested with agency in their own right, with integrity and decision-making capacities has been gaining ground in the last two decades. Active citizenship was included among the principles of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child[25] and article 12 of the Convention specified children's right to express their opinion in matters affecting them, and to have their opinions taken into consideration. Moreover, following these first steps on the road of pulling children out of their status of "pre-citizens," silent, invisible, passive objects of parental and/or state control,[26] the United

[22] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *The Family in Political Thought*, 17.
[23] Bob Franklin, "The Case for Children's Rights: a Progress Report," in *The Handbook of Children's Rights: Comparative Policy and Practice*, ed. Bob Franklin, 9 (London: Routledge, 1995).
[24] *Cf.* Kum-Kum Bhavnani, *Talking Politics: A Psychological Framing for Views from Youth in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[25] Article 12: "1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. 2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law." Cf. http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/CHILD_E.PDF (last accessed, May 25, 2013).
[26] Daiva Stasiulis, "The Active Child Citizen: Lessons from Canadian Policy and the Children's Movement," *Citizenship Studies* 6 (2002): 507–537, at 509.

Nations organized in 2002 the first Children's Forum, in which a 13-year old girl addressed for the first time the General Assembly.[27]

1.2 Political Socialization: The Early Macro Level Studies

Early studies in this tradition have appeared in the 1960s and the great boom in interest in studying children throughout the 1970s made Greenstein state that political socialization is a "growth stock."[28] By the 1980s however, the bull market in political socialization studies turned bearish,[29] and the previous boom began to subside. As researchers started taking more interest in the individual and less in the systemic view of how countries prepared their citizens, civic education was increasingly relegated to a peripheral position in the discipline. By the early 1990s, political socialization research was seen as having "lost its children, lost its identity, lost its theoretical rationale and lost its following in the profession."[30] Moreover, this bust in research appears to have affected to even a larger extent the literature concerning subjects younger than high school students.

During the 50s and 60s, the interest in the formation of political ideas and attitudes during childhood and adolescence became more relevant and spiked for a number of reasons. The main psychological theories of the time (i.e., behavioristic and psychoanalitic) emphasized the lasting effects of early experience. Moreover, as post-colonial nations were facing the challenge of building democratic systems, political scientists took interest in how they would manage to do so,[31] reaching

[27] Cf. http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/docs_new/documents/childrensforumreport-en.pdf (last accessed May 25, 2013).

[28] Fred I. Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization:" Definitions, Criticisms and Strategies of Inquiry," *Journal of Politics* 32 (1970): 969–978, at 969.

[29] Timothy E. Cook, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories," *The American Political Science Review* 79 (1985): 1079–1093, at 1080.

[30] Pamela Johnston Conover, Donald D. Searing, "Democracy, Citizenship and the Study of Political Socialization," in *Developing Democracy. Comparative Research in Honour of J F P Blondel*, eds. Ian Budge, David McKay, 24–55 (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

[31] David O. Sears, "Whither Political Socialization Research? The Question of Persistence," in *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy*, ed. Orit Ichilov, 69–97, at 70 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1989).

the conclusion that the fate of any political system is considerably "dependent upon (its) success in producing children most of whom acquire positive feelings about it."[32]

Research on political socialization can be construed as providing "a report card on the status of civic education at particular points in time."[33] An extension in political science of a central concept for the American school of sociology, political socialization was first defined by Herbert H. Hyman in his 1959 collection of precursory studies. The landmark studies on the subject appeared in the 1960s, the most widely cited ones being David Easton and Jack Dennis' "Children in the Political System,"[34] Fred Greenstein's "Children and Politics"[35] and Robert Hess and Judit Torney's "The Development of Political Attitudes in Children."[36]

Due to the prolixity of studies in the field, political socialization elicited a wealth of definitions. In his early studies, Hyman referred to the socialization of the individual as "his learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society."[37] Almond viewed it as "the process of induction into the political culture," whose finality were "a set of attitudes - cognitions, value standards, feelings - towards the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents,"[38] and Eckstein described it as a "process through which values, cognitions, and symbols are learned: children's *political orientations* (pre-adult orientations to the adult political process); the *acquisition of prevailing norms* (the way the prevailing norms of a political system become the norms of the new members of that system or the acquisition of norm-consistent behavior); *any political learning whatsoever* (conformity, deviance, at any stage in the life cycle) and the

[32] David Easton, Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 5.
[33] Diana Owen, "Citizenship Identity and Civic Education in the United States," 1, Paper presented at the Conference on Civic Education and Politics in Democracies: Comparing International Approaches to Educating New Citizens, sponsored by the Center for Civic Education and the Bundeszentrale fur Politische Bildung, San Diego, CA, September 26–October 1, 2004; cf. http://www.civiced.org/pdfs/OwenDiana.pdf (last accessed May 20, 2013).
[34] David Easton, Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System*.
[35] Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).
[36] R. D. Hess, J. V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).
[37] Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization* (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1959), 25.
[38] Gabriel Almond, "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in *The Politics of Developing Areas*, eds. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, 27–28 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

actual observations of socialization processes (taking into account both the socialized and the agents of socialization).[39]

Political socialization literature focused mostly on explaining the stability of a political system, inquiring into the sources of political stability in the Parsonian tradition and into how political systems inculcate appropriate norms and practices in citizens, residents or members.[40] Due to its systemic focus, this literature was mostly considered functionalist.[41] Along these lines, Sigel remarks that "a well-functioning citizen is one who internalizes society's political norms and who will then transmit them to future generations. For without a body politic so in harmony with the ongoing political values, the political system would have trouble functioning and perpetuating itself safely."[42] The acquisition of norms was therefore at the core of early studies, which did not see the individual as an agent, but as "what-is-being-socialized."[43]

One of the pillars of early socialization research was the so-called "primacy principle," summarized by Jack Dennis as follows:

> (…) the earlier the person adopts a given set of political orientations, the less likely it is that these orientations will be eroded later in his life … thus it might be that the typical member in a given society has "completed" the major portion of his significant political learning by middle adolescence.[44]

On the basis of this, Searing, Wright and Rabinowitz have pointed out that the principle includes three main assumptions: political orientations are learned during childhood; their subsequent modifications are shaped by the childhood learning, and these subsequent modifications are of small

[39] Cf. Fred Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization:" Definitions, Criticisms and Strategies of Inquiry," *Journal of Politics* 32 (1970): 971–972.
[40] Virginia Sapiro, "Not Your Parents' Political Socialization…," 2.
[41] Raewyn W. Connell, "Why the "Political Socialization" Paradigm Failed and What Should Replace It," *International Political Science Review* 8 (1987): 215–223, at 217.
[42] R. S. Sigel, ed., *Learning about Politics* (New York: Random House, 1970), xii.
[43] Raewyn W. Connell, "Why the "Political Socialization" Paradigm Failed…," 217. For instance, inquiring into children's images of the political world, Hess and Easton, as well as Greenstein, found out that they tended to "personalize" political objects and idealize political authorities.
[44] Jack Dennis, "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 12 (1968): 85–114, at 99.

scale.[45] However, a series of events in the 60s and 70s have spurred the criticism of studies that took this principle literally. Critics pointed out that the student protests and anti-war activism of the late 1960s are evidence of the fact that idealized attitudes of political authorities do not necessarily persist into adulthood.[46]

Some of the early political socialization studies have been criticized for having a conservative bias, and being appropriate for better illuminating the processes of pattern–maintenance, than those of change,[47] which made later studies shift the focus from attitude continuity towards attitude change during adolescence and childhood. Another critique was on the fact that all early learning was assumed uncritically to have a significant influence on later life and no differentiation was made between various issues. Early learning about partisanship was criticized for being put on a par with learning about race and nationality. Furthermore, later replications revealed that the original findings in the US have been over-generalized, and that children in other countries do not exhibit the same patterns as American children, which brought to the fore the importance of the context and the constraints of each culture.

In terms of methodology, in the period of the early studies researchers were also criticized for doing too little exploratory work and quantifying "at a stage when they still knew very little about the phenomena they were quantifying."[48] The main empirical base of early literature consisted mainly of cross-sectional surveys of schoolchildren, using paper-and-pencil questionnaires to measure political attitudes and information, which raised concerns that children could interpret the situation

[45] Donald Searing, Gerald Wright, George Rabinowitz, "The Primacy Principle: Attitude Change and Political Socialization," *British Journal of Political Science* 6 (1976): 83–113, at 83.
[46] Cf. Fred Greenstein, "Personality and Politics," in *The Handbook of Political Science: Micropolitical Theory*, vol. 2, eds. Fred Greenstein, Nelson W. Polsby, 1–92 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975).
[47] Fred Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization…," 973.
[48] Raewyn W. Connell, "Why the "Political Socialization" Paradigm Failed…," 218.

as a kind of test and therefore give socially desirable answers and that they did not possess a realistic basis for answering many of the questions raised.[49]

Later studies responded to this criticism by either diversifying their range of research methods, using for instance semi-structured interviews, semi-projective tests, ethnological observation or hypothetical dilemmas[50] or by reconsidering the way in which surveys were developed and administered. In order to be able to gather reliable information on children's perspectives and attitudes directly from them, special surveys were designed in accordance with their level of cognitive development. Moreover, special attention was given to tackling the problems that are specific to children when answering questionnaires, such as question comprehension problems due to literacy level or ambiguity, lack of motivation and boredom, context effects that would make the survey be perceived as a test or influence from the part of parents, teachers and peers.[51]

1.3 Micro-Level Studies: The Cognitive Approach

Micro-level studies in political socialization have analyzed the sources of political participation and have focused on the patterns and processes by which individuals engage in political learning.[52] If the early studies were criticized for focusing too much on attitudes and sidestepping cognition and the theories of childhood development,[53] this later thread of inquiry has analyzed not only the acquisition of affiliations and attitudes, but also the formation of political ideas and concepts, turning to the literature on child psychology for assistance.

[49] Ibid., 219.
[50] Timothy E. Cook, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization…," 1080.
[51] Edith D. de Leeuw, "Improving Data Quality when Surveying Children and Adolescents: Cognitive and Social Development and its Role in Questionnaire Construction and Pretesting," Report prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Finland: Research Programs Public Health Challenges and Health and Welfare of Children and Young People, May 10-12, Naantali, Finland, 2011, 17; available at http://www.aka.fi/Tiedostot/Tiedostot/LAPSET/Presentations%20of%20the%20annual%20seminar%2010-12%20May%202011/Surveying%20Children%20and%20adolescents_de%20Leeuw.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.
[52] Virginia Sapiro, "Not Your Parents' Political Socialization…," 3.
[53] Fred Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization…," 975.

In this literature, the work of the Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget holds a preeminent place. In his theory, cognitive development was seen an internally motivated process. Thus, the essential impetus to development was considered to arise from the "push" that the individual himself provides. As Furth points out, "for progress to occur, Piaget postulates an inherent desire in the child to be part of the social world and to communicate effectively with other people."[54] Piaget shed light on the importance of the child as an active participant in the learning process and his cognitive-developmental model took a step further from the earlier view of the child as a *tabula rasa* upon which knowledge is enforced.[55] Drawing on Piaget's work, Jennings and Niemi have pointed that the child has "an independent and mediating influence in the socialization process."[56]

Piaget argued for three stages or periods of cognitive development: *sensori-motor* (pre-language, until 2 years of age), *representative intelligence* (with two sub-periods: preoperational thought from 2 to 7 years old and concrete operations from 7 to about 12 or 13 years old), and *formal operational thought* (over 12). He stressed that the stages always succeed each other in this sequence, "each [stage] results from the preceding one, integrating it as a subordinate structure, and prepares for the subsequent one, into which it is sooner or later itself integrated,"[57] "each of these [periods] extends the preceding period, reconstructs it on a new level, and later surpasses it to an ever greater degree."[58] However, if the order of the stages remains the same, the age intervals of each stage may fluctuate depending on the socio–economic characteristics and intelligence of the individual, producing accelerations or retardations.

Each stage is characterized by some fundamental gains in the development of the child. In the first stage the child acquires the cognitive substructures serving as point of departure for the later

[54] Hans G. Furth, *The World of Grown-Ups: Children's Conceptions of Society* (New York: Elsevier-North Holland, 1980), 64.
[55] Cf. Timothy E. Cook, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization…," 1083.
[56] M. K. Jennings, R. G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 331.
[57] Jean Piaget, Bärbel Inhelder, *The Psychology of the Child* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 153.
[58] Ibid., 152.

intellectual development. This stage is called *sensori-motor* due to the fact that the infant does not have yet the symbolic function and thus cannot evoke a person or an object in its absence.[59] Reality is therefore organized not by using representation or thought, but through perceptions and movements. In the following sub-period, *preoperational thought*, language and mental imagery is formed. Around the age of 7, the child enters the period of *concrete operations* and begins to manipulate objects in the mind. The operations are called "concrete," because they are not yet related to verbally stated hypotheses, but to concrete objects: "the operations function only with reference to observations or representations regarded as true, and not on the basis of mere hypotheses."[60] In the stage of *formal operational thought*, the child succeeds to free himself from the concrete and to think in hypothetical and deductive terms, which allows "the handling of hypotheses and reasoning with regard to propositions removed from concrete and present observation."[61] The novelty of this stage resides thus in the fact that the child becomes able to reason correctly and draw conclusions about "propositions he does not believe, or at least not yet; that is, propositions that he considers pure hypotheses."[62]

Building on the general findings in psychology and especially on the work of Piaget, several studies have analyzed the particular development of children's understanding of the political world. By conducting in-depth interviews with 119 Australian children ranging in age from 5 to 16, Connell has discovered four distinct phases of political understanding.[63] In the first stage, *intuitive thinking*, which lasts until the age of 7, awareness of politics as a separate domain from the personal one is scant and elements of fantasy supplant the lack of social or political knowledge. In the second stage, which Connell called *primitive realism* (after the age of 7 or 8), the elements of fantasy disappear and children begin to exhibit an understanding of a political world as distinct from the personal one.

[59] Ibid., 3.
[60] Ibid., 132.
[61] Ibid., 131.
[62] Ibid., 132.
[63] Raewyn Connell, *The Child's Construction of Politics* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971).

Although political thinking is still naïve, non-problematic and sometimes internally inconsistent, children are aware of the existence of a head of state, symbols of statehood and the concept of political power, as vested in the head of state, prime minister and police. Around the age of 10 or 11, in the stage of *construction of political order*, politics is increasingly seen as complex, involving competing players with different roles and perspectives. Moreover, children begin taking personal stances on various issues. These stances gain in consistence and are connected with values and ideologies on an abstract level as children reach the final stage (*ideological thinking)*, in which societies are seen as entities in themselves.

Although many studies have built on it, Piaget's developmental theory has also been criticized as inappropriate for studying the development of political understanding due to its emphasis on the inevitable growth of logical operations and the individual as the prime motivating force in political learning. Cook points out that, if one is to follow Piaget's developmental stages, most adult citizens should reach the level of formal operational thought in all domains, including the political one. However, this stage does not appear to be universally attained, as evidenced by the fact that the political understanding of many people remains intuitive and resembles the stage of concrete operations.[64] In light of Piaget's focus on the importance of the individual's own efforts in advancing through the stages of development, this fact can only be explained by one's own lack of interest in understanding politics. However, as Cook argues, this explanation undermines the importance of the social environment: "Piaget's focus upon the push supplied by the individual in moving development along underestimates the pull supplied by the social environment."[65]

The effects of the social environment have been more closely analyzed by the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. With its essentially sociological interest, Vygotsky's work[66] has been

[64] Cf. Timothy E. Cook, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization…," 1083.
[65] Ibid., 1084.
[66] Lev S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1978).

considered an improvement on the shortcomings of Piaget's theory.[67] Unlike the later, who suggested that earlier stages of development are totally replaced by later stages, Vygotsky argued that earlier stages persist as well and that the nature of a problem determines the level of thought at which it is tackled. Even if one has reached the level of abstract thought, some problems are still tackled at the concrete stage, as more abstract modes of thought are more time-consuming and cumbersome. Thus, it is easier to think of politics in an intuitive way. However, the socio-cultural environment can reinforce the use of more complex modes of understanding, by providing challenges to current modes of thinking.[68] This links to Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development, which he defines as "the distance between the *actual* development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of *potential* development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers."[69] Teaching should therefore step in and help the child achieve his level of potential development by providing challenges that are just over his level of actual development and that help pull development along.

Although some political socialization studies responded to earlier criticism and did incorporate findings from developmental psychology, the excitement caused by this new approach was quickly tempered by some scholars. Greenstein wrote that "it does not follow that grounding political socialization research in developmental psychology will automatically enhance our understanding of politics."[70] For this, he pointed to the differences in theoretical focus between psychologists, who have an intrinsic concern with the developmental process, and political scientists, who are interested in development only insofar as this forms the basis of an individual's later behavior. Thus, Greenstein stressed that a political scientist cannot "blindly" study political aspects of human development at the individual level or "merely conceive of his work as an appendage to

[67] Timothy E. Cook, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization…," 1084.
[68] Ibid., 1086.
[69] Lev S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society*, 86.
[70] Fred Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization…," 975.

the "basic" study of human development."[71] Although there is no impediment to employing developmental psychology, a political scientist's concern should lay not with the process per se, but with the ends of political socialization.

Nevertheless, there have been studies in this line of research which touched upon relevant political topics, such as the understanding of social rules, authority and its limits, personal and civil rights etc. Children of 10-11 years were found to make the difference between central and local authorities (mayor and premier) in terms of degree of power and different territory and to place them in a hierarchy of authority. However, their knowledge of administrative roles was found to be still very weak. Different survey studies on adolescents' understanding of political institutions yielded various results. In the UK, knowledge about the proceedings of the Parliament was found to be low.[72] In the US, more than half of the students asked to make a short essay about the responsibilities of the president gave inadequate descriptions.[73] At the age of 11-12, children could place political parties in connection with elections and describe them as being in conflict with each other. Yet an understanding of why political parties are in conflict was found to develop only after the age of 13, when children see parties as proposing different views and policies.[74]

[71] Ibid., 977–8.
[72] Cf. A. Furnham, B. Gunter, "Young People's Political Knowledge," *Educational Studies* 13 (1987): 91–104; R. Stradling, *The Political Awareness of the School Leaver* (London: Hansard Society, 1977).
[73] Cf. R. G. Niemi, J. Junn, *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[74] Cf. R. W. Connell, *The Child's Construction of Politics*.

Chapter 2. CIVIC EDUCATION RESEARCH

This chapter begins with an overview of citizenship models and frameworks that have been advanced over the years, and that have made their way into educational curricula. Next, it presents and discusses previous studies on the effects of civic education curriculum on children' internal efficacy and views of citizenship. The last subsection analyzes the civic education curriculum for the middle-schools in Romania, making use of Westheimer and Kahne's distinction between a personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizenship.

2.1 Conceptions of Citizenship in Civic Education

The subfield of political socialization as well as political science itself has been intimately tied to citizenship education. Even a cursory look at the history of political science reveals how important were different conceptions of citizenship in shaping the discipline's development. However, citizenship also has a polemical thrust not surprising given the diverse layers of meanings it has accumulated in its long usage.[75] Preuss argues that what makes citizenship such a multifaceted concept is the fact that every new construction of the polity calls for a new definition of it.[76] Therefore, as different polities imposed different requirements for their members, the concept grew to include a wide number of meanings, from the Aristotelian tradition of the public-minded, responsible and virtuous citizen to Bodin's obedient subject and from an exclusive status which indicated a claim to excellence in Ancient Rome to status equality, the hallmark of democratic citizenship.[77] Following a historical analysis, Preuss identified six dimensions of citizenship,[78] among which the political dimension embodies "the right (the duty, the virtue) of active participation in the

[75] For a comprehensive account of citizenship from its Greek origins until French Revolution, see Peter Riesenberg, *Citizenship in the Western Tradition. Plato to Rousseau* (Chapel Hill, NY: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
[76] Ulrich K. Preuss, "The Ambiguous Meaning of Citizenship," Paper presented at the University of Chicago Law School to the Center for Comparative Constitutionalism, December 1, 2003, 8, available at http://ccc.uchicago.edu/docs/preuss.pdf, last accessed May 25, 2013.
[77] Ibid., 12.
[78] Dimensions of subjecthood, legal dimension, political, identity dimension, social integration, and cultural distinction.

political process, or the capacity to rule, being polemically directed against any kind of dependency, i.e., of being subject to the will power of another ruler."[79]

The contentious nature of citizenship has led to a proliferation of classifications of the various citizenship qualities. Some distinguish between the citizen as *loyal subject and patriot*, the citizen as *voter* and the citizen as *enlightened community participant*.[80] For others, citizenship is defined in terms of loyalty and faithfulness, awareness of rights and duties and knowledge of the facts of municipal and local government, the workings of parliamentary government, and their relationship to voluntarism.[81] Yet another view holds that the essence of citizenship lays in the patriotic love of country.

A more encompassing difference is the one made by Uslaner between the so-called "thick" and "thin" conceptions of the roles and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy.[82] The first category would include Almond and Verba's citizens in the "civic culture," since they were expected to do more than simply participate in political life and obey the laws of the state. Beyond this conservative view, they were expected to be bound with other citizens in a spirit of trust and camaraderie, a so-called "cooperative" spirit, and to become well-informed, being guided by reason and willing to work with others to achieve common goals.[83] This "communitarian" outlook on the rights and responsibilities of citizens to each other goes very much along the lines of Putnam's work,[84] yet it is different from the kind of social solidarity emphasized in the communist society. As Uslaner argues, the latter was only emphasized in the service of the state. Therefore, a "good citizen" would be obedient and compliant and not participatory in the sense of active citizenship. The long-

[79] Ulrich K. Preuss, **"**The Ambiguous Meaning of Citizenship," 14.
[80] Diana Owen, "Citizenship Identity and Civic Education in the United States," 6.
[81] Michael Freeden, "Civil Society and the Good Citizen: Competing Conceptions of Citizenship in Twentieth-century Britain," in Jose Harris, ed., *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions*, 275–292, at 277 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[82] Eric M. Uslaner, "What Is a Good Citizen? How and Why Romanians Think of Citizenship Obligations," Paper prepared for the Conference on "Contemporary Citizenship: The Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion: Is There a Chance for a Post-National Citizenship?," Ljubljana, Slovenia, December 5–6, 2003; available at http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/uslaner/uslanergoodcitizen.pdf, last accessed May 25, 2013.
[83] Cf. Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989).
[84] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

term effects of this view could be seen after the fall of communism in the weak civil societies of post-communist countries, which witnessed low levels in measures of "cooperative spirit," such as civic involvement, trust or tolerance. The "thin" view of citizenship is therefore citizenship as a "contract with the state," in which people only oblige themselves to "thin" responsibilities such as obeying the law and paying taxes.[85]

These conceptual frameworks on citizenship have been translated accordingly in educational curricula. For instance, the proponents of the view of citizenship as patriotic love of country argued for historical teachings of "national examples of heroism and devotion, and of the moving struggles and victories of war and peace that are a country's heritage."[86] A broad strokes description which illustrates the changes in civic education that accompanied shifting citizenship ideals throughout time is given by Dubnik for the case of the United States.

Dubnik identifies four main "narratives" of civic education in the United States: *classical, mythic, progressive* and *modern*. The concept of citizenship in the *classical* narrative that was prominent at the outset of the US history was rooted in ideas of community harmony and civic virtues and was greatly influenced by the Puritan legacy calling for a moral life based on self-control and discipline.[87] In the first decades of the 19th century, with the shift toward the *mythic* narrative, stories about American heroes such as Washington, Jefferson or the Founding Fathers started to gain more ground in classroom reading materials. This was driven by the idea that good citizens need not only lessons on the principles of moral life, but also strong role models. Practical information about citizenship, however, was not spelled out and civic education sought primarily to instill sentiments of

[85] Eric M. Uslaner, "What Is a Good Citizen? How and Why Romanians Think of Citizenship Obligations," 3.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Melvin J. Dubnick, "Educating Nomads: Narratives And The Future Of Civic Education," 15, Paper prepared for delivery at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place and Sheraton Boston Hotel and Towers, September 3–6, 1998. Copyright by the American Political Science Association, available at http://www.academia.edu/2748849/Educating_Nomads_Narratives_and_the_future_of_civic_education, last accessed, May 25, 2013, last accessed, May 25, 2013.

patriotism. To this end the history taught in schools was mostly aimed at inspiring feelings of awe and did not necessarily reflect the historical truth.

In the early 1900s, civics textbooks were developed in addition to previous historic textbooks, and gradually separate "civics" courses were established. Aimed primarily at new immigrants, and intended to foster acculturation, the *progressive* narrative shifted emphasis towards developing a citizenry that was more engaged in the affairs of the community.[88] The ideal of the heart of the more recent *modern* narrative was a knowledgeable, tolerant and skeptical citizen. Unlike previous approaches, the idea of a citizen that is capable of making its own choices based on critically assessing alternatives gained a strong foothold.[89] Being born around the same time, political science as a profession embraced the ideal of improving America's civic life through research, training of government professionals and civic education activities.[90]

> A particularly salient role in this respect was played by Charles E. Merriam, who asked:
>
> (…) what are the specific qualities of citizenship to be taught? Is there a standard upon which there is general agreement? What are the requisite qualities of effective citizens? Do these qualities relate to information, to power of analysis and investigation, to judgment formation, to selfish or social types of reactions? (…) What are the job specifications for an efficient citizen?[91]

In an effort to provide an answer to these questions, Merriam examines civic education in eight nations[92] and identified the specific qualities of citizenship that were being taught, such as patriotism, loyalty and obedience to the law.[93] However, Merriam also drew attention towards the shortcoming of a conservative view of citizenship education:

> (…) much of the secondary education of the world is not adapted to develop political science or intelligence, but to intensify nationalistic or class traditions, in such a manner as to breed war and conflict. Secondary political education is employing the

[88] Ibid., 26.
[89] Ibid., 26–27.
[90] For a more detailed account, see James Farr, John S. Dryzek, Steven T. Leonard, eds., *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[91] Charles E. Merriam, *New Aspects of Politics*, 3rd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 288–289.
[92] Austria, Hungary, England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States.
[93] Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966).

> agencies of history and government to make sober and impartial judgment impossible on the part of the generation that is coming on.[94]

More recently, Westheimer and Kahne analyzed eight educational programs in the United States that aimed to strengthen democracy through civic education and proposed a classification of citizenship based on the three broad curricular goals that the programs sought to attain. The two define a *personally responsible* citizen as one who acts responsibly in their community by, for instance, obeying laws, recycling, giving blood, volunteering in a soup kitchen or senior centre. Thus, the qualities emphasized by programs that seek to train such citizens are integrity, honesty, self-discipline and hard-work,[95] which are achieved though moral and character education. Volunteer service is a particularly important part of the curriculum for these programs, as they are founded on the idea that "an individual counts."

On the other hand, a *participatory* citizen is one who actively engages in collective, community-based efforts at the local, state and national levels. Such involvement at the community level follows in the tradition of De Tocqueville and was argued for by Dewey through his vision of "Democracy as a Way of Life."[96] Educational programs that are designed in accordance with this ideal seek to offer training in how government and community based organizations work. In addition to this, they stress the importance of initiating and taking part in collective initiatives. For instance, the students analyzed by the two researchers who went through this type of program, called Madison County Youth in Public Service, got directly involved in public service projects in their county's administrative offices, which involved identifying jobs for prisoners incarcerated for less than 90 days or developing a five-year plan for the fire and rescue department.

Finally, the *justice-oriented* citizen is one who seeks to improve society by paying attention to matters of social justice. To this end, one critically reflects on the problems in society and analyzes

[94] Idem, *New Aspects of Politics*…, 286–287.
[95] Cf. for instance, Thomas Lickona, "The Return of Character Education," *Educational Leadership* 51 (1993): 6–11.
[96] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (Nu Vision Publications, LLC, 2009).

the interplay of social, economic and political forces. Thus, unlike the previous two types of citizens, the justice-oriented one engages in informed analysis and discussion of the social, political and economic structures.[97] Although programs focused on this type of conception also emphasize the need for voluntarism and charity, they do not see these as ends in themselves, and rather focus on means towards effecting deeper social change that challenges injustices and addresses the root causes of problems.[98] In the program analyzed by Westheimer and Kahne (Bayside Students for Justice), students were trained to become community activists and examined for instance child labour practices worldwide, or studied whether SAT exams are biased, afterwards creating a pamphlet with the weaknesses they identified and distributing it around the school and the community.

2.2 The Effects of Civic Education on Children's Views of Citizenship

Studies on students' conceptions of good citizenship have mainly analyzed high-school or undergraduate students.[99] For the case of younger children, some have argued that they are unable to distinguish between different conceptions and models of citizenship. Dejaeghere and Hooghe, however, have found that citizenship concepts are clearly multi-dimensional among 16-year-olds in Belgium, some preferring more conventional and electoral forms of citizenship while others value more civic engagement.[100] Thus, the theoretical distinction made by Zukin et *al.*[101] between political participation and civic engagement is in line with the citizenship concepts upheld by this age group.

Hess and Torney found out that schooling is the most important political socialization agent in terms of attitudes about good citizenship, as well as other attitudes such as compliance with rules

[97] Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne, "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy," 4.
[98] Ibid., 6.
[99] Donna Chovanec, Tania Kajner, Ayesha Mian, Misty Underwood, "Exploring Shifts in Conceptions of 'Good' Citizenship: Community Service-Learning in Activist Placements," *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry* 4 (2012): 43–56.
[100] Yves Dejaeghere, Marc Hooghe, "Brief Report: Citizenship Concepts among Adolescents. Evidence from a Survey among Belgian 16-Year Olds," 723–732.
[101] Cf. Cliff Zukin, S. Keeter, M. Andolina, K. Jenkins, M. X. Delli Carpini, *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life and the Changing American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

and authorities and attachment to symbols and institutions.[102] Levenson found that additional civics courses and classrooms where teachers reported frequent political discussions in class are positively related to the extent to which students define good citizenship in participatory terms.[103] Moreover, the quality of civic education instruction was found to yield positive results on measures of students' civic attitudes and knowledge. Finkel and Ernst surveyed 600 South African high school students in 1998 and found that first, civic instruction had substantial effects on students' basic political knowledge. Secondly, although the effects they discovered on democratic attitudes, values, and orientations towards political participation were more modest, certain conditions related to the classroom and instructional environment can increase this impact.

> When students perceived their teachers to be highly knowledgeable, competent, likeable, and inspiring, they appeared to internalize attitudes and values supportive of democracy, such as an increased sense of the responsibilities of citizens in a democratic system and trust in political and social institutions, to a greater extent than students who received training from "poor" instructors or not at all.[104]

Moreover, students developed important civic skills and supportive participatory attitudes to a greater extent when being trained using interactive and participatory teaching methods, such as mock elections, trials, or role-playing activities, than when using more traditional pedagogical approaches.

Although scarcer, works examining the civic education curricula have been carried out in Eastern Europe as well. A similar experiment linking instructional methodology with the development of participatory attitudes in students was carried out in Romania by Felisa Tibbits in the 1994-5 and 1995-6 school years. A cohort of Romanian students were taught using an experimental civic textbook in the seventh and then the eighth grades, which emphasized critical thinking, dialogue and participatory methods of instruction, whereas control groups studying in the same schools received civics instruction using the official Ministry textbook. The students in the treatment

[102] Taken from Lee H. Ehman, "The American School in the Political Socialization Process," *Review of Educational Research* 50 (1980): 99–119, at 101–102.
[103] G. Levenson, "The School's Contribution to the Learning of Participatory Responsibility."
[104] Steven E. Finkel, Howard. R. Ernst, "Civic Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Alternative Paths to the Development of Political Knowledge and Democratic Values," *Political Psychology* 26 (2005): 333–364, at 358.

class showed statistically significant gains in the rating of participatory citizenship characteristics such as: voting in most elections and trying to influence government decisions and policies and gains in the former category being significantly higher for females.[105] Moreover, Tibbits found that students expanded their notions of citizenship beyond that of civility and good manners and become more aware of the role and rule of law. In their 1998 study on Polish youth (14–15-year-olds), Slomczynski and Shabad[106] found no increase in pro-democratic orientations among those exposed to a new "Education for Democratic Citizenship" program. The effects they found instead were less extreme responses, i.e., less antidemocratic, but also less democratic in comparison to control groups.

2.3 Children's Sense of Political Efficacy

As previously mentioned, numerous researchers took an interest in the political attitudes and beliefs of children, due to the link established between early attitudes and later adult attitudes and behaviour, gathered under the umbrella of the primacy principle. Citizens' belief in their own ability to understand and influence politics is an important prerequisite for active participation in the political process as well as for the stability of democracy. Moreover, the development of political efficacy during childhood is considered essential for increasing the chances of political participation and involvement of the future adults. Due to this, political efficacy is an important curricular goal for all educational programs that seek to train citizens and advance democracy.

In their study, *The Voter Decides*, Campbell *et al.* defined the sense of political efficacy as the "feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."[107] Other definitions referred to political efficacy as the "feeling that one

[105] Felissa Tibbitts, "Prospects for Civics Education in Transitional Democracies: Results of an Impact Study in Romanian Classrooms," Paper presented at Comparative International Education Society Conference, 14–18 April, 1999, Toronto, Canada, available at http://www.hrea.org/index.php?doc_id=770, last accessed May 25, 2013.
[106] M. Kazimierz, Slomczynski, Goldie Shabad, "Can Support for Democracy and the Market Be Learned in School? A Natural Experiment in Post-Communist Poland," *Political Psychology* 19 (1998): 749–779.
[107] Angus Campbell, G. Gurin, W. E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), 187.

is capable of influencing the decision-making process."[108] Later studies have suggested the existence of two dimensions of political efficacy, internal and external. Converse pointed out that the "move rather nicely in tandem," making it "reasonable to think in terms of some generic sense of political efficacy which these items tap."[109]

To Balch, the two dimensions were distinguishable in that internal efficacy refers to "the individual's belief that means of influence are available to him" whereas external efficacy is "the belief that the authorities or regime are responsive to influence attempts."[110] Thus, the latter is largely understood as the belief in the responsiveness of the political system towards its citizens' needs and demands,[111] and internal efficacy entails beliefs about one's own competence to understand politics and take part in the political process. In other words, people that have a high degree of internal political efficacy believe they are able to grasp the meaning of and get involved in civic affairs.[112]

This distinction between internal and external political efficacy is mirrored in Bandura's notions of personal and collective efficacy. Bandura defined the general notion of self-efficacy as the individuals' "judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances."[113] In the field of politics, self-efficacy was described as the "belief that one can produce effects through political action."[114] In connection with the latter, he also pointed out that students' sense of personal efficacy in the political realm can be influenced by involving children in activities that aim to influence school matters.

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[108] M. L. Goel, "Conventional Political Participation," in *Participation in Social and Political Activities: A Comprehensive Analysis of Political Involvement*, eds. D. H. Smith, J. Macauley, 108–132, at 127 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980).
[109] P. E. Converse, "Change in the American Electorate," in *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, eds. A. Campbell and P. E. Converse, 263–337, at 329 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972).
[110] G. I. Balch, "Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept 'Sense of Political Efficacy,'" *Political Methodology* 1.2. (1974): 1–43, at 24.
[111] Josh Pasek, Lauren Feldman, Daniel Romer, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, "Schools as Incubators of Democratic Participation; Building Long-Term Political Efficacy with Civic Education," *Applied Developmental Science* 12 (2008): 26–37, at 28.
[112] Cf. P. E. Converse, "Change in the American Electorate."
[113] Albert Bandura, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 391.
[114] Idem, *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1997), 483.

The link between political efficacy and political participation has been solidly established in political science.[115] In their study, *The Civic Culture,* Almond and Verba wrote that: "The self-confident citizen appears to be the democratic citizen. Not only does he think he can participate, he thinks others ought to participate as well. Furthermore, he does not merely think he can take part in politics, he is likely to be more active."[116] The belief in one's own ability to influence politics has thus been considered an important condition for active participation. Due to this connection, the development of political efficacy during childhood and adolescence has often been considered crucial for the future participation of the child as an active citizen in a democracy and feelings of efficacy have been found to be an important predictor of future engagement.[117]

2.4 The Effects of Civic Education on Internal Political Efficacy

Research on the political efficacy of students in the US found that their level of political efficacy and interest increased during the years of secondary school.[118] However, research outside of the US arrived at different results. Stradling found that in the UK, secondary school students' levels of political efficacy were quite low,[119] with only 29 percent of students agreeing that politics was not too complicated to understand. More recent studies found that while students from the US and Denmark reported high levels of political efficacy, students in Germany had lower levels.[120]

[115] Richard G. Niemi, Stephen C. Craug, Franco Mattei, "Measuring Internal Political Efficacy in the 1988 National Election Study," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991): 1407–1413; cf. Sidney Verba, Kay L. Schlozman, Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[116] Gabriel A. Almond, Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 257.
[117] Lake Snell Perry and al., "Short Term Impact, Long Term Opportunities: The Political and Civic Engagement of Young Adults in America," Analysis and Report for the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning & Engagement (CIRCLE), 2002, available at http://www.gwu.edu/~ccps/Natlsurvey.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.
[118] Carole Hahn, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 21.
[119] Cf. R. Stradling, *The Political Awareness of the School Leaver* (London: Hansard Society, 1977).
[120] Carole Hahn, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education*, 36.

Early studies of the effects of the civics curriculum on the political attitudes of students have generally shown that the regular school curriculum has a limited or no effect.[121] A well-known study is the one of Langton and Jennings, which analyzed 12 graders and found no case in which the civics curriculum was significantly associated with students' political orientations[122] and only found effects in the case of their black sub-sample. The experimental civics curriculum materials used by Patrick[123] in his study did also little in terms of changing students' political interest, trust, efficacy, tolerance and egalitarianism. Marsh[124] further reported an increase in political interest and no effects on political efficacy, trust or tolerance after an experimental high-school course involving extensive participation in community affairs. Ehman[125] however, discovered a positive relationship between the number of civic courses and political efficacy. Several studies have noted that the effects of education are more important for lower socio-economic status groups than for higher ones.[126]

2.5 Civic Education in Romania

The resurgence of interest in education for democracy that has been under way in recent years has drawn the attention to the rich variety of approaches to preparing children for becoming citizens. However, studies on the civic education in former communist countries are still relatively scarce. In what follows, I will offer a brief description of the civic education curricula for the secondary-school children in Romania and will analyze it using the theoretical framework on citizenship put forward by Westheimer and Kahne.

[121] H. R Rodgers Jr., "The Civics Curriculum and Southern School Children: The Impact of Segregated and Integrated School Environments," *Journal of Politics* 35 (1973): 1.002–1.007.
[122] Kenneth Langton, M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum," *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968): 852–867 at 863.
[123] J. J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course, "American Political Behavior," on the Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," *Social Education* 36 (1972): 168– 179.
[124] Cf. D. D. Marsh, *Education for Political Involvement: A pilot Study of Twelfth Graders* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973).
[125] L. H. Ehman, "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies Curriculum."
[126] Cf. R. D. Hess, J. V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*.

In Romania**,** civics classes "Cultura civică" have been introduced in the national curricula in 1991/2. Prior to this, schools were offering "The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania." Presently,[127] civics is taught as a separate and mandatory subject (Civic Education) in primary education only for grades III and IV and in secondary school (V-VIII) it is mandatory for grades VII and VIII (Civic Culture). This amounts to a total of 4 years of mandatory education with additional 2 years in which it can be chosen as an optional subject (see Annex 1). In Europe, similar arrangements can be found in Estonia, Greece, Spain, France and Portugal and optional stand-alone subjects can also be found across primary and/or secondary education in Slovenia and Norway. In high-school, (beginning from grade IX at the age of 14), civics is integrated into other subjects, mostly social sciences, history, languages, and ethics/religious education. With respect to assessment, marks are not systematically taken into account for determining whether pupils have completed successfully primary and lower secondary (gymnasium) education, like in Greece, France, Portugal, Finland, the United Kingdom and Norway. Also, civics is not part of the final standardized leaving examination for lower secondary education.[128]

Educational systems throughout Europe have made the promotion of active citizenship one of their priorities.[129] This can also be seen in the EU Youth Strategy 2010–2018 which lists fostering active citizenship, social inclusion and solidarity among all young people among its principle aims.[130]

[127] As of May 2013.

[128] Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, *Citizenship Education in Europe*, EACEA P9 Eurydice and Policy Support (2012): 71, available at http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/139EN.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.

[129] Cf. See Council of the EU: The Concrete Future Objectives of Education and Training Systems. Report from the Education Council to the European Council. 5980/01 (Brussels, 14 February 2001), available at http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/rep_fut_obj_en.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013; and Council's conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020'), *Official Journal of the European Union* C 119/2, 28.5.2009, available at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2009:119:0002:0010:en:PDF, last accessed, May 25, 2013.

[130] Cf. Council Resolution of 27 November 2009 on a Renewed Framework for European Cooperation in the Youth Field (2010-2018), *Official Journal of the European Union* C311, 19.12.2009, available at http://ec.europa.eu/youth/pdf/doc1648_en.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.

At the European level, active citizenship is defined in accordance to Hoskins et *al.*'s understanding of the concept:

> Active citizenship is understood in the very broadest sense of the word "participation" and is not restricted to the political dimension. It ranges from cultural and political to environmental activities, on local, regional, national, European and international levels. It includes new and less conventional forms of active citizenship, such as one-off issue politics and responsible consumption, as well as the more traditional forms of voting and membership in parties and NGOs.[131]

To the end of promoting active citizenship, many educational systems supplement formal and explicit teaching in the classroom with other activities. For instance, two of the most common ways of getting students to learn about citizenship is first, by creating the chance of taking part in activities involving the wider community, and second, by getting students involved in school decision-making. In connection to the first point, some European countries have adopted nationwide initiatives and programs for non-formal education that encourage the participation of pupils and students in projects outside the school with the aim of improving their citizenship education. On school decision-making, roughly half of the countries of the European Union have established norms and official recommendations for including students in school decision–making by creating councils at class level where class representatives participate in the running of educational and other activities.[132]

Efforts in these two directions have been also undertaken in Romania. Class councils comprising student representatives as well as parents can be found in all grades, although school culture is not specifically mentioned in the national curricula related to citizenship education, similar to ten other European countries.[133] Moreover, during the 2011/12 school year, the first national program for non-formal education was launched, called "Școala Altfel" (Another Kind of School). This entailed one week of solely extra-curricular activities to be decided at the school-level, aimed at

[131] Bryony Hoskins, et *al.*, "Measuring Active Citizenship in Europe" CRELL Research Paper 4 (2006): 11, available at http://www.partizipation.at/fileadmin/media_data/Downloads/Publikationen/measuring-active-cs-europe.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.
[132] Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, *Citizenship Education in Europe*, 42.
[133] Spain, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Ireland, Austria, Finland, the United Kingdom, Iceland, and Norway.

stimulating student's talents and abilities in areas and activities less represented in the national curriculum and that could involve partnerships with the local community. Among the activities recommended in the official description of the program there were also democratic citizenship activities that would promote humanitarian values such as volunteering, charity, social responsibility, etc. However, these activities were not the highlight of the program, as this appeared to be focused more on generally popularizing non-formal education rather than on developing student's skills in the area of citizenship education. Moreover, even a cursory look at the schedules of activities devised by most schools for this week reveals that they were mostly focused on subjects that indeed are represented in the school curricula, such as arts, music, mathematics and reading. The project was continued in the 2012-2013 school year under the new name of "Să știi mai multe, să fii mai bun"[134] (To Know More, To Be Better).

Romanian middle-school students have relatively few opportunities to develop their citizenship skills outside of the formal civics curriculum taught in class, which adds to the importance of the latter as a source of information. As can be seen in Annex 2, the civics curriculum covers different topics for each grade. For the age group that is of interest for this study, the curriculum places a very strong emphasis in the 5th grade on moral education and the importance of moral values, norms, obligations as well as on attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, this makes it be very much in line with a personally responsible view of citizenship. The 6th grade curriculum fits the same conception by including topics solely related to children's rights. These seek to raise awareness of the promotion and upholding of children's rights at the international and European level. By the 7th grade however, active citizenship and democratic practices are formally included in the curriculum, as well as other topics on the political system of Romania, the relationship between the citizen and the state and the influence of public opinion, which at least at the formal level indicates a

[134] Cf. http://scoalaaltfel.edu.ro/2013/legislatie.php, last accessed, February 4, 2013.

shift towards a more participatory view of citizenship. This underlying trend is further consolidated by the topics covered in the 8th grade, which touch on authority and hierarchy, relationships between citizens and state authorities and citizenship involvement and responsibility. Moreover, it can be argued that some of these elements are indicative of a justice-oriented view of citizenship.

Chapter 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Questions

The present thesis seeks to find out whether students' conceptions of citizenship and their sense of internal political efficacy are influenced by a special curriculum that emphasizes a participatory and a justice-oriented view of citizenship. The main research question is therefore whether education can produce changes in the way students view citizenship and feel about their own competence to understand politics and get involved in their own communities. An additional question is whether changes in students' view of citizenship are dependent on their level of schooling (grade). Finally, the last research question concerns the relationship between students' understanding of good citizenship and their sense of self-assertive efficacy, social self-efficacy and academic self-perception.

3.2 Ethical Considerations in Research Involving Children

In all studies involving children, a series of ethical considerations need to be taken into account. For the child's participation in the research study, professional research associations such as the Society for Research in Child Development[135] require that explicit permission needs to be obtained, preferably in writing, from the part of a parent, guardian, or other person the parent has conferred responsibility to.[136] In addition to this, informed consent or assent has to be obtained from the part of the child, after s/he has been explained in clear language and in appropriate terms for their understanding what the participation in the research study will entail.[137] Moreover, the child needs to be given the option of discontinuing their participation at any time without incurring any penalty.

Previous to the actual data collection, this research has been reviewed by the Ethical Research Committee of the Central European University. Furthermore, both the students involved

[135] http://www.srcd.org/, last accessed, May 25, 2013.
[136] Principle 3, Ethical Standards in Research, Society for Research in Child Development, http://www.srcd.org/about-us/ethical-standards-research, last accessed May 25, 2013.
[137] Principle 1, Ethical Standards in Research, Society for Research in Child Development, http://www.srcd.org/about-us/ethical-standards-research, last accessed May 25, 2013.

and their parents were asked for consent. Parents received a cover letter (see Annex 3) explaining the purposes of the research and the way it would unfold, as well as a parental consent form (see Annex 4) to be signed and returned in case parents agreed with the participation of their child in the research study. The children were explained how the research would unfold and those who wanted to take part signed a student consent form (see Annex 5). The letter of intent, as well as the parent and student consent forms were designed following the template of the San Francisco State University, Graduate College of Education.[138]

3.3 Sample

In order to answer the research questions, an experimental design involving treatment and control groups was employed. Samples of convenience of middle-school students in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th grade were selected from two small towns in the central part of Romania, counties of Alba (Abrud) and Sibiu (Ocna-Sibiului). Both towns have less than 10 000 inhabitants (roughly 4000 in Ocna Sibiului and 5 000 in Abrud, according to the last census). Ocna Sibiului is situated 10 kilometers away from county capital of Sibiu and is mostly known as a health spa resort due to its salty lakes. Abrud is a town in the Apuseni Mountains, in which the main sectors of employment are mining and agriculture. As the study is limited to samples of students from these two small towns, findings cannot be generalized to rural or big cities schools. Nevertheless, I hope that even by analyzing the samples that I could get access to, I will be able to shed more light on middle school students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal political efficacy.

From each town, one class of students in the 5th grade and another in the 7th grade took part in the experiment. In total, there were 40 students in the 5th grade (18 in Abrud and 22 in Ocna Sibiului) and 47 in the 7th grade (13 in Abrud and 33 in Ocna Sibiului) who participated in the

[138] http://coe.sfsu.edu/grad/sample-forms, last accessed May 25, 2013.

experiment. Students in the 6th and 8th grade from Abrud were the control groups, in total 17 students in the 6th and 24 students 8th grade.

3.4 The Design of the Experiment

Each of the four treatment classes received two treatments: a participatory group exercise and a justice-oriented group exercise. In order to check for potential order effects, the sequence of the treatments was alternated. One of the challenges of this study was designing the two treatments in such a way that they would on the one hand reflect the two conceptions of citizenship, and on the other that they would involve a manageable task for the children this age. Therefore I decided to base the two treatments on topics related to the level of the local community, which I considered to the best known for children this in these age-groups. In what follows, I will provide an overview of the two treatments and of the way they unfolded.

3.4.1 The Justice-Oriented Treatment – "Voices in the Public Sphere"

The task in this group exercise focused on identifying issues at the level of the local community and proposing projects that would address them. The participants received a call for proposals, allegedly launched by the mayor in their town, for projects that would benefit their local community. Participants therefore had to work in groups and present their idea in front of their colleagues. For helping them with the completion of their task, the teams were given specific guidelines on the main points to consider when thinking about their projects.

The exercise unfolded as follows: depending on the size of the class, students formed teams of 4-5 children. Each team received an envelope including the details of the call for proposals from the part of their mayor and an example of a project that could be proposed in response to the mayor's call (see Annex 6 for the group task the students received). The teams then had 15-20 minutes at their disposal in order to plan their presentation, making use of the guidelines specified in the envelope.

The exercise involved role-playing, as one of the teams was randomly designated to serve as a jury that represented the town hall. This group had the task of assessing the proposals and selecting the winning project, who would receive the public funding for their project. In this case, the reward of the exercise was a bag of candies for the winning team (see Annex 7 for the individual assessment chart for the members of the jury, and Annex 8 for the collective assessment chart which detailed the steps they had to follow in coming out with a decision on the final winning team).

The teams then presented their projects in short (5 minutes) presentations and received questions from the part of the jury and the other teams. As the jury had the task of selecting one single project, the spirit of this exercise was very competitive. The teams received questions on whether there was a real need for the project they proposed, which challenged them to defend and argue for their proposals. Moreover, the jury had to decide not only whether the teams identified a real issue in their community, but also which of the needs of the community was more important and more urgent.

The goals of this exercise were first of all to engage students into thinking critically about their community and identify problems that surround them. In addition to this, it aimed to challenge students to come up with solutions and argue about the ways they considered the issues identified could be tackled. Moreover, by including a requirement to specify a target group when designing their projects, the exercise sought to make children attentive to the needs of the people around them and take these into account when designing their projects. Therefore, based on these requirements, I consider that, for the age group it was designed, this exercise is in line with the ideals of the justice-oriented view of citizenship.

3.4.2 The Participatory Treatment – "A Helping Hand for Our Community"

The task of this exercise lay on identifying ways in which students could help their local community by getting involved in tackling local issues. However, if in the justice-oriented treatment the students

had to decide about how to make use of public funds in order to improve their community, in this group exercise they were required to think about means within their own reach for attaining a similar goal. The group task was structured similarly to the one in the justice-oriented exercise. The teams received an envelope with the details of the exercise and were given 15-20 minutes to prepare their projects (see Annex 9 for the for the group task the students received). Each team was then allotted 5 minutes for presenting their ideas.

Unlike the other exercise, the randomly selected team which acted as the jury were given different indications. In this case, they represented the board of their school and had at their disposal a sum of money (in this case, candies) for funding the projects presented by the teams, based on their quality (see Annex 10 for the individual assessment chart for the members of the jury and Annex 11 for the collective assessment chart which details the steps the members of the jury had to follow for arriving at a decision on how to distribute the reward of the exercise).

Similar to the justice-oriented one, this exercise also aimed to engage students into discovering problems in the community around them. However, when designing solutions for the problems they identified, students had to think about actions they could achieve themselves by working together with other students or members of the community. Thus, based on the fact that students were engaged into thinking about means within their own reach for contributing to their local community, I believe this group exercise was in line with the participatory conception of citizenship.

3.5 Description of the Group Exercises

3.5.1 The Justice-Oriented Treatment – "Voices in the Public Sphere"

In Ocna Sibiului, the 5th graders proposed that the town hall would build a swimming pool, a bank, a dorm for the needy people and especially children and a spa center. As the exercise unfolded, I came to notice that the distinction between a private and a public enterprise was not fully clear for some of

them. This could be inferred from some of answers which consisted in building a pizzeria for people to go out or building a bank, so that people would no longer need to travel to the nearby city of Sibiu in order to get these services. Moreover, one team initially wanted for the dogs in Ocna Sibiului to be less scary and aggressive. In addition to this, some of the students in Ocna Sibiului found it difficult to agree as a team on a single project and wanted to present more than one, e.g., building a spa, extending the agricultural land and renovating the schools.

Unlike the students in Ocna Sibiului, the 5th graders in Abrud did not appear to encounter difficulties in understanding the task and identifying projects that would benefit the entire community. The teams proposed a wider array of projects, most of which do not exist in the town. These were: an animal shelter, a tourist center, a center for recycling trash and a cinema. The last team also went into details as to the kind of movies that they would like be screened there, namely educational movies about important issues and named global warming as one of them.

The 7th graders in Ocna Sibiului proposed building a hospital, so that people would not have to go to Sibiu for treatment, a retirement home for the elderly, a football club for the children that want to pursue a sports career, a hospital with a recovery section and a bigger football stadium in order to help the local football team to go in the first division, whereas those in Abrud, proposed building a shelter for the homeless, a swimming pool and a soup kitchen.

The students got very engaged in debating which of the projects were the most useful for their town and which community problem needed to be tackled first. For instance, in Ocna Sibiului, teams both in the 5th and the 7th grade proposed building a sports hall or a swimming pool that would allow inhabitants of the town to improve their health and spend their free time in a healthful manner. However, the members of the other teams were quick to point out that the school already had a new and well-equipped sports hall which could also be used by other people in their town. Other teams proposed building a soup kitchen for the needy or a block of flats for the people who

cannot afford buying a new house. Members of the competing teams however pointed out that there were not enough needy people in Ocna Sibiului to require financing these projects.

3.5.2 The Participatory Treatment – "A Helping Hand for Our Community"

In Abrud, the 5th graders proposed cleaning the local river, organizing a food and clothes drive for the needy children in order to help them go to school and planting trees along the garbage dump outside the town for reducing the pollution in that area. Interestingly, the team that proposed organizing the food and clothes drive justified it using a justice-oriented perspective. They advocated for their project by stating that needy children that cannot afford clothes are often seen as "different" by the other children. Therefore, the clothes drive that they wanted to organize was intended to help those children fit in better with the others at their school and allow them to focus more on their school performance. In Ocna Sibiului, the 5th graders proposed cleaning the salty lakes, making a donations drive to gather food for the needy people, making a dog pound for the stray dogs in their town and organizing a sports club at the school sports hall for the children in town.

The 7th graders in Abrud planned to make a food drive and organizing hot meals for the poor at the school canteen where they would volunteer; teaching singing and dancing lesson at a community center and planting trees in the parks in their town. In Ocna Sibiului, the 7th graders proposed making an art club, cleaning the town streets, initiating a campaign for paving the street that are in need of repair, cleaning the salty lakes in Ocna Sibiului and making a club with various educational activities (art, music) for the children in the town.

3.6 Method

The need for collecting data on children's perspectives, actions and attitudes directly from them has led researchers design special surveys for this age group. Acknowledging children as respondents,

official government statistical agencies, for instance, have developed special surveys for them.[139] However, in designing surveys for children, an important factor to take into account is their level of cognitive development, which greatly influences their responses. The lack of sufficient cognitive skills below the age of 7 for instance does not allow the effective questioning of children. From that age onwards, structured questionnaires or complete self-reports can be employed, depending on their level of development.[140] In the case of children between 11 and 15-16, who are in the stage of formal thought, the cognitive functioning is developed enough to allow for standard data collection, although questions need to be simple and phrased in a way that is easy to understand.

Therefore, as children experience specific problems when responding some caveats have to be kept in mind. Thus, data quality and answers can be negatively influenced by their low literacy level, question comprehension problems, ambiguity, the influence of context, lack of motivation and boredom. In order to avoid some of these pitfalls, questions need to be simple and concrete and to not resemble test items or school questions. Moreover, emphasis needs to be put on the fact that a survey is not a test and has no correct or wrong answers.[141] Answers can also be influenced by the proximity of peers, parents of teachers. As peer pressure and group norms are perceived as important starting with the age of 12, better answers can be obtained by using self-completed questionnaires which ensure a higher degree of privacy.[142]

A questionnaire was constructed with scales measuring students' conceptions of citizenship and internal efficacy, as well as socio-economic variables, which was translated into Romanian. Data

[139] Natacha Borgers, Edith de Leeuw, Joop Hox, "Children as Respondents in Survey Research: Cognitive Development and Response Quality 1," *Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique* 66 (2000): 60–75, at 61.
[140] Edith D. de Leeuw, "Improving Data Quality when Surveying Children and Adolescents: Cognitive and Social Development and its Role in Questionnaire Construction and Pretesting," Report prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Finland: Research Programs Public Health Challenges and Health and Welfare of Children and Young People, May 10-12, Naantali, Finland, 2011, 6, available at http://www.aka.fi/Tiedostot/Tiedostot/LAPSET/Presentations%20of%20the%20annual%20seminar%2010-12%20May%202011/Surveying%20Children%20and%20adolescents_de%20Leeuw.pdf, last accessed, May 25, 2013.
[141] Ibid., 17.
[142] Ibid., 8.

were collected in a class-room setting, using self-administered paper questionnaires. The students in both towns that took part in the two treatments received three surveys: before both treatments, after the participatory and after the justice-oriented treatment. For the two groups in Abrud, a fourth survey was administered online one month after the participation in the two treatments. The two control groups received a full survey (see Annex 12). For a breakdown of participants per survey, grade and town, please see Annex 13.

3.7 Survey Items

Variables used in this study can be divided into five groups: demographic variables, self-assertive and social self-efficacy, academic self-perception, conceptions of citizenship and internal political efficacy. Demographic variables include gender (coded 0 for girls, 1 for boys), mother's education (some high school or less - coded 1, high school diploma - coded 2, post-secondary education - coded 3, bachelor's degree - coded 4, master's degree or equivalent - coded 5) and number of books in the household (none - coded 0, 1-10 - coded 1, 11-50 - coded 2, 51-100 - coded 3, 101-200 - coded 4, more than 200 – coded 5). As a proxy variable for cognitive development age and grade (coded 5, 6, 7, 8) were used. The mother highest educational level and the number of books in the home were used as proxies for socioeconomic status.

Three psychological constructs are incorporated in the survey in order to examine their impact on the conceptions of citizenship: *self-assertive efficacy* (through items on perceived capability of making and keeping friends, carrying on conversations with others and working well in a group), *social self-efficacy* (perceived capability of expressing opinion when others disagree, standing up for oneself when being treated unfairly and standing firm when someone asks one to do something unreasonable or inconvenient),[143] and *academic self-perception*, as a proxy of academic achievement.

[143] Albert Bandura, "Guide for Constructing Self-Efficacy Scales," in *Self-Efficacy Beliefs of Adolescents*, eds. F. Pajares and T. Urdan, vol. 5, 307–337 (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2006).

The last construct includes two separate, but related concepts: *academic self-concept,* defined by Bandura as feelings of personal worth and success presumably formed through direct experience and evaluations adopted from significant others[144] and *academic self-efficacy*, or judgments of personal capability in the academic domain. The academic self-perception construct was measured with a scale derived from the School Attitudes Assessment Survey,[145] designed to measure the extent to which children have a positive self-perception about their academic abilities, scale which is suitable for children aged 12-18. Students were asked to assess their perceived capability in the academic domain by expressing how much they agree or disagree with the following sentences on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree): I do well in school, I am confident in my scholastic abilities, I learn new concepts quickly, I am successful, I am confident in my ability to succeed in school.

In the survey, the three conceptions citizenship and the sense of internal political efficacy were tapped by asking the respondents to express their agreement with several items on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Each conception of citizenship and internal political efficacy were measured through eight items.[146] Out of those, two were common for all the three surveys and six were randomly distributed in combinations of two for each survey. Thus, each survey included two common and two additional questions for each conception of citizenship, the combination of the latter being different for each respondent in a classroom (see Annex 14). Internal efficacy was measured in a similar way, with two common and two different questions for each survey (see Annex 15).[147] All three surveys were different for each student in a certain grade. The control groups, which included 18 students in the 6th and 24 in the 8th grade received a full survey.

144 Idem, *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control*, passim.
145 D. Betsy McCoach, "A validation Study of the School Attitude Assessment Survey," *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development* 35 (2002): 66–77.
146 Questions on conceptions of citizenship are taken from Joel Westheimer, Joseph Kahne, "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy."
147 Questions for internal efficacy are taken from Wolfram Schultz, Heiko Sibberns, *IEA Civic Education Study Technical Report*, (The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2004) 258, available at http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/CIVED_Technical_Report.pdf, last accessed 25 May, 2013.

See Annex 16 for the distributions of participants by age, gender, mother's education and number of books.

Chapter 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the statistical analyses and discusses the findings based on the previous literature in the field. The chapter has two main sections: the first analyses the effects of the experimental treatments on students' conception of citizenship, and the second investigates these effects on students' sense of internal efficacy.

4.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The first research question concerns the effects of the demographic variables and of children's sense of social self-efficacy and academic self-perception on their understanding of good citizenship. The first hypothesis is that students' sense of social self-efficacy and academic self-perception will have a positive effect on their perception of citizenship in participatory and justice-oriented terms and on their internal political efficacy.

The second research question of this thesis is whether special civic education classes (represented by the two treatments included in the experiment) have an effect on children's conceptions of citizenship and on their sense of internal political efficacy. On the first dependent variable, the first hypothesis is that each treatment will produce a significant positive effect on its corresponding view of citizenship (i.e., the participatory treatment will lead to increases in student's ratings on the items measuring participatory citizenship). A second hypothesis is that the combined effect of the two treatments is larger than the effect of each single treatment. Concerning internal efficacy, a third hypothesis is that students who take part in the justice-oriented exercise will have greater increases in their sense of internal political efficacy than students who take part in the participatory exercise.

Related to the previous one, an additional research question is whether the changes in students' view of citizenship and internal efficacy differ based on their grade. I do not have well-

defined expectations concerning the differences and the direction of the effects. Although the effect of the two treatments could be higher for the 7th graders, due of the fact that they add to the orientation of the curriculum students are already studying, the views of the 7th graders could be more difficult to influence than those of the 5th graders.

4.2 Effects of the Experimental Treatments on Students Conceptions of Citizenship

For finding out the effects of the two experimental treatments on the dependent variables (students' views of citizenship and their internal political efficacy), multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. When comparing group differences across multiple dependent variables simultaneously, MANOVA is preferable to the use of univariate ANOVA, due to the fact that when using the latter method, the odds of committing a Type 1 error increase with the number of tests run. MANOVA however reduces these risks.[148]

An initial MANOVA for all the grades that received the two treatments examined the three conceptions of citizenship as dependent variables. For all the tests in the following section, the average of all the 8 items that tapped into each conception of citizenship was used. Some analyses included the average of the items common for each survey (for the means and standard deviations of these averages for the 5th grade, see Appendix 17 and for the means and standard deviations for the 7th grade, see Appendix 18) The independent variables included town, grade and survey type. The covariates were gender, mother's education, number of books in the house, and the three psychological constructs (academic, social and self-assertive efficacy).

Before running the analysis, multicollinearity was checked by correlation results between the dependent variables (see Table 4.1 in Appendix 19). Although the variables are moderately correlated, as the correlations are below .80, I will use all three of them in the analysis. The difference in cell sizes (see Table 4.2) is within acceptable limits for running the MANOVA. However, Box's

[148] Joseph F. Hair, William C. Black, Barry J. Babin, Rolph E. Anderson, *Multivariate Data Analysis*, 5th edition (Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River, 1998).

test of equality of covariances matrices is significant at p<.001. For that reason, Pillai's criterion will be used instead of Wilks' lambda when reporting results. The Levene test for the equality of error variances (see Table 3) is statistically significant at p< .01 for the personally responsible citizenship view, therefore the scores for this variable will be interpreted with caution.

For the independent variables, the multivariate result was significant for grade, Pillai's Trace =.060, F (3, 238) = 5.06, p<.05 and survey type, Pillai's Trace =.14, F(9,720)=4.00,p<.05, indicating a statistically significant difference in the means for the three conceptions of citizenship between the two grades and the four survey types. Among the covariates, the analysis showed a significant multivariate effect for gender, Pillai's Trace =.96, F(3,238) = 3.05, df< .05, mother's education Pillai's Trace = .03, F(3, 238) = 3.22, p< .05 and academic confidence, Pillai's Trace =.09, F(3,238) = 8.62, p<.05. The interaction effect was not significant for any of the variables included in the analysis (see below).

Table 4.4. Multivariate results for conceptions of citizenship for all the groups in the experiment

Variables	**Pillai's Trace**	**F**	***df***	**Error *df***
Survey type	.143	4.005***	9	720
Gender	.037	3.057**	3	238
Town	.020	1.602	3	238
Grade	.060	5.061**	3	238
Mothers' education	.039	3.228*	3	238
Number of books	.024	1.926	3	238
Academic confidence	.098	8.621***	3	238
Social self-efficacy	.050	4.177**	3	238
Self-assertive efficacy	.016	1.288	3	238
*Survey type * Town*	.024	.978	6	478
*Survey type * Grade*	.019	.521	9	720
*Town * Grade*	.020	1.588	3	238
*Survey type * Town * Grade*	.019	.759	6	478
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

4.2.1 Effects of the Individual Treatments

As survey type was found to have a significant effect on children's ratings of the three views of citizenship, in the next step, the effect of each separate treatment was analyzed on all the three dependent variables for the fifth and the seventh grade combined.

My hypothesis was that the participatory treatment would lead to an increase in students' rating of the items associated with the participatory view of citizenship and that conversely, the justice-oriented treatment would influence the scores of the justice-oriented items. As the experimental design involved a different sequence of treatments for each town (participatory and justice-oriented in Ocna Sibiului and justice-oriented and participatory in Abrud), the dataset was split by town. The multivariate results for survey type was only significant for the groups that received first the justice-oriented then the participatory treatment (Abrud), Pillai's Trace=.153, $F(9,265) = 2.02$, $p<.05$. (For the cell numbers, see Table 4)

Table 4.5 Significant multivariate effects for conceptions of citizenship for all the groups in the experiment

Dataset	**Sequence of treatments**	**Pillai's Trace**	**F**	***df***	**Error *df***
Abrud	Justice oriented - Participatory	.153	1.995*	9	333
Ocna-Sibiului	Participatory – Justice oriented	.034	.880	6	302
*****p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1**					

Because the MANOVA was significant, I will further examine the univariate ANOVA results. As the *Survey type* variable has 4 levels, post-hoc multiple comparisons were analyze in order to discover which pairs of means are different. Follow-up univariate ANOVA (shown in Table 6) indicated that the responses on the participatory view of citizenship items were significantly different between the four surveys. The test of between subjects effects for the sample in Abrud showed

significant difference between the four surveys only for the participatory view of citizenship, however, the F statistics (1.888) is lower than the value needed F(3,30)=8.616, at p <.05. Therefore, the difference in means is not significant.

Table 4.6 Tests of Between-Subjects Effects for all the treatment groups in Abrud

Dataset	Sequence of treatments	Dependent variables	*df*	Mean square	F
Abrud	Justice oriented - participatory	Personally responsible	3	1.494	1.570
		Participatory	3	1.888	2.463*
		Justice-oriented	3	.650	1.025
R Squared=.041 (Adjusted R Squared=.015); R Squared=.062 (Adjusted R Squared=.037); R Squared=.027 (Adjusted R Squared=.001) ***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1					

In order to separate the effects of each treatment, paired comparisons were made between surveys given pre and post in order to examine which pairs of means differed for the dependent variables. The effect of each treatment was investigated depending on the order, thus both as the first and as the second treatment. For the 5th and the 7th grades combined, multiple comparisons however reveal no significant difference in students' rating of any of the three views of citizenship following each treatment (p > 0.05) (see Tables 4.7 and 4.8).

4.2.2 Combined Effects for Both Treatments

After checking for the effect of each individual treatment and finding no significant results, the next research question is whether there are significant changes in children's view of citizenship following both treatments. Therefore, in the next step of the analysis, I investigated the effect of both treatments for the 5th and 7th grades combined.

In order to answer this research question, I compared the initial survey (before both treatments) and the survey after the second treatment (at time 1 and time 3). Paired comparisons

reveal significant differences in means in the expected direction. Changes in students' evaluation of the participatory and justice-oriented citizenship are significant ($p < .05$) and reveal that students have rated both of these views higher. The effect of the treatments increases in magnitude for both variables if the averages for the two common items used in the surveys are compared instead of the average for all eight items (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9. Pairwise comparisons of the combined effect of the PC and JOC treatments on both towns for the 5th and 7th grade (comparing the initial survey with the post-survey after both treatments)

Dependent variables	For the average of **all** items		For the average of **common** items	
	Mean difference	Standard error	Mean difference	Standard error
Personally responsible	-.071	.177	-.1161	.176
Participatory	-.319 *	.168	-.399*	.192
Justice-oriented	-.391*	166	-.507**	.189
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

What I find puzzling is that the scores for the personally responsible view of citizenship do not show any significant difference between any of the three surveys. This can indicate that an increase in students' ratings of one citizenship model does not lead to a decrease in their rating of another. Thus, even if students express an increased support for the ideals of one citizenship model, they do not necessarily renounce their views on another ideal. This finding suggests that the way in which students view citizenship is not a zero-sum game between a conservative and a radical conception, but that instead of replacing their previously held views, they are more likely to diversify them. Nevertheless, due to the lack of statistical significance showed by the F-statistic, further research would be needed in order to clarify this relationship.

4.2.3 Analysis of the Follow-Up Survey

However, even if on the short term students did appear to have a significant change in their views of citizenship, what is more interesting to find out is whether these changes last beyond the short-time of the experiment. This question is especially relevant for this study, given that the students received only one hour-long treatments. Moreover, persistence of effects are always an important issue to tackle when undertaking a study on attitude change. In order to check for the persistence of effects after both treatments, one month after the experiment, students in Abrud were given an online follow-up survey. This was similar in content and structure with the previous three surveys and included question randomization as well.

Next, I compared the results of the fourth (follow-up) survey with the results from the initial (at time 1) and the post-survey after both treatments (at time 2) for the case of the sample in Abrud. When comparing the third and the fourth (follow-up) survey, a significant difference is found in the scores for the personally responsible view of citizenship ($p < .05$). Thus, participants have rated lower the items on this view of citizenship, while no significant difference is found in their rating of the other two conceptions. However, this situation changes when comparing the first and the last survey. It appears that of the two effects that were found after both treatments the one on the participatory citizenship is still significant even after one month.

Table 4.10. Pairwise comparisons of the initial and last survey with the follow-up survey for the sample in Abrud

Surveys compared	Dependent variables	Mean difference	Standard error
Post-survey after both treatments (at T1) with follow-up survey (at T4)	*Personally responsible*	.538 *	.259
	Participatory	.196	.228
	Justice-oriented	.009	.210
Initial survey (at T1) with follow-up survey (at T4)	*Personally responsible*	.382	.253
	Participatory	-.406 .	.222
	Justice-oriented	-.306	.204
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1			

4.2.4 Treatment Effects Depending on the Grade of Participants

As already mentioned, alternating the sequence of the two treatments did not produce any effects on children's views of citizenship. When combined though, the treatments did produce effects, although the statistical power of the model is low. The question to be asked next is whether the combined effect differ depending on the grade of the students. For this research question, I do not have a clearly defined hypothesis.

One the one hand, it can be expected that the 5th graders are more likely to express approval with the ideals of the participatory and justice-oriented citizenship, due to the fact that the type of activities that were part of the experiment are not as familiar and are therefore possibly more appealing than what their current civic curricula offers. On the other hand however, it may be the case that at this age their views on citizenship are not yet fully formed, as from a developmental point of view they might not have reached the final stage of cognitive development. Moreover, it may be difficult for them to make a distinction between the often competing views of citizenship. In what concerns the students in the 7th grade, the effect of the two treatments can be expected to be higher, as it adds to what the civic education curriculum is already teaching them, although by this age, their views of citizenship may be more crystallized and more difficult to change. Based on these arguments, I do not have any expectation on the strength of the effect for the two age groups.

The difference in cell sizes (see Table 4.11) is within acceptable limits for running the MANOVA. The Levene test for the equality of error variances (see Table 12) is statistically significant at $p < .01$ for the personally responsible citizenship view for the 5th graders. Survey type has a significant effect, Pillai's Trace=.114, $F(9,414)=1.18$, $p < .05$. However, the F-statistic is inconclusive (See Table 13). Pairwise comparisons reveal which pairs of means are different for the combined effect of both treatments. As the F statistic indicates, for the 5th grade there is no significant difference between various time points for any of the three dependent variables. For the

7th grade however, there are significant differences at p<.05 on the participatory and the justice-oriented view of citizenship when measured both on the average of all items and on the average of common items. Moreover, the changes are in the expected direction, as participants gave higher scores to the items on both these views of citizenship.

Table 14. Pairwise comparisons of the combined effect of the PC and JOC treatments split by grade

Grades	**Dependent variables**	On the average of **all** items		On the average of **common** items	
		Mean difference	Standard error	Mean difference	Standard error
5th	*Personally responsible*	-.053	.219	-.193	.213
	Participatory	-.113	.220	-.190	.293
	Justice-oriented	-.181	.236	-.315	.294
7th	*Personally responsible*	-.08	.267	-.05	.273
	Participatory	-.492**	.251	-.58**	.255
	Justice-oriented	-.575***	.234	-.674***	.247
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1					

These findings can be interpreted in connection to the civic curriculum that students in the 7th grade are receiving. As the civics curriculum already introduces elements of participatory citizenship, the two treatments in this experiment could have activated dispositions already existent and prepared by the school. The findings on the 5th grade however, are more difficult to explain. The lack of effect can be attributed to a series of factors that can range from the small quantity of the treatment, as there were only two hours involved, to developmental factors that have to do with the level of development of children in this age group. Investigating further into these cause is beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.3 Effect of the Treatments on Internal Political Efficacy

In this subchapter, I will analyze the effects of the two treatments on students' sense of internal efficacy. For all the tests in the following section, the average of all the 8 items that tapped into the concept of internal efficacy was used, similar to the previous analyses on students' conceptions of citizenship.

In order to first of all fond out which of the factors included in the study have a significant effect on internal political efficacy, a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was used. The MANCOVA included students' ratings of internal efficacy as dependent variables. The independent variables included town, grade and survey type. The covariates were gender, mother's education, number of books in the house, and the three psychological constructs (academic, social and self-assertive efficacy). The results show a significant effect for *Survey type* F (3, 2.24)=3.93, p< .01 and *Academic confidence* F(1, 5.06)=8.10, p< .01. However, the F statistic indicates that the difference is not significant. Neither *Grade* not *Town* have a significant effect, indicating that there were no differences between children in the 5th and in the 7th grade.

Table 4.15. Univariate results for conceptions of citizenship for all the groups in the experiment

Variables	**Sum of squares**	***df***	**Mean square**	**F**
Gender	.001	1	.001	.002
Survey type	7.373	3	2.248	3.932 ***
Town	.103	1	.103	.165
Grade	.222	1	.222	.355
Mothers' education	.012	1	.012	.019
Academic confidence	5.067	1	5.067	8.108 ***
Social self-efficacy	.060	.1	.060	.097
Self-assertive efficacy	.240	1	.240	.385

*Survey type * Town*	.178	2	.089	.142
*Survey type * Grade*	1.336	3	.445	.713
*Town * Grade*	.042	1	.042	.068
*Survey type * Town * Grade*	1.274	2	.625	1.019
Error	152.488	244		
R squared: .077 (Adjusted R square=.008) Alpha=.05 ***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

4.3.1 Effects of the Individual Treatments on Internal Efficacy

The effects of *Survey type* were further explored by running a one-way ANOVA having as dependent variable internal efficacy and as independent variable survey type (see Table 17). Pairwise comparisons however reveal no significant effect following either of the two treatments.

Table 4.18. Pairwise comparisons of the effects of each treatment on internal efficacy.

Surveys compared	**Mean difference**	**Standard error**
Participatory treatment		
Survey 1 (before both treatments)- Survey 2 (after treatment 1)	.-214	.132
Survey 2 (after treatment 1)- Survey 3 (after both treatments)	.109	.252
Justice-oriented treatment		
Survey 1 (before both treatments)- Survey 2 (after treatment 1)	-.375	.246
Survey 2 (after treatment 1)- Survey 3 (after both treatments)	-.048	.135
*****p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1**		

Moreover, by comparing the first and the last survey, as well as the first and the follow-up survey, no significant changes appear. Therefore, it can be inferred that children's sense of internal political efficacy has not been modified following the two experimental treatments. Therefore, further

research would need to be undertaken in order to uncover the effects of special school curricula over students' sense of internal political efficacy.

CONCLUSION

Concerns over the decline in civic and political participation rates among the ranks of young people have led many researchers to focus on the way in which schools prepare students to become citizens. Several studies have therefore scrutinized the educational curricula in various educational systems in order to identify the specific curricular goals associated with citizenship education. Westheimer and Kahne have drawn the distinction between a personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented view of citizenship that is embedded in the educational curricula.

Whereas the political attitudes of children in established democracies have been analyzed by a wide array of studies, far less research has been carried out in other political contexts. Moreover, the largest part of research has focused on high-school or older age groups, while studies on younger children are less often to be found. A look throughout time at the early studies on students younger than high-school reveals the practical, as well as the conceptual difficulties and debates, associated with this type of research. Nevertheless, the importance of early attitudes on later political attitudes and behavior has been advanced on numerous occasions. Political efficacy and the way children view citizenship have particularly been found to have an impact on students' chances of political involvements as adults.

The present thesis has endeavored to make a contribution to the literature on childhood political socialization, by analyzing the effects of a specially designed curriculum on children's political efficacy and conceptions of citizenship in a novel context, Romania, and on a less researched age group, i.e., middle school students. I employed an experimental design using pre-post surveys in order to examine the impact of civics classes designed in accordance with different ideals of the good citizens on students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy. Treatment groups were selected among the 5th and 7th graders in two small towns in Romania, i.e., Abrud and Ocna Sibiului.

The choice of these two age groups has been determined first of all by a desire to inquire into age-related differences in the effect of the treatments. Secondly, the two groups differ significantly in terms of the kind of educational curriculum that they are exposed to. A look at the civic educational curriculum reveals that

fact that students in the 5th grade receive an exclusively personally responsible type of curriculum, in which mostly aspects concerning moral education are being emphasized.

This conservative view of citizenship has recently received a considerable amount of attention in the field of education for citizenship. However, due to its exclusive focus on individual behaviour, it has been also criticized for failing to reach the core of *democractic* citizenship. As Westheimer has argued, personal kindness and voluntarism can turn public attention away from deeper inquiries into the political system and can become a means of avoiding politics altogether or, as he phrases it, "a nice thing to do instead of politics."[149] In addition to this, the kind of citizenship qualities advanced by this conception, such as honesty, responsibility, hard-work and law obedience, are not what defines democratic citizenship. In fact, non-democratic regimes are eager to develop similar kinds of traits in their citizens, with the aim of supporting the persistence of the existing political system. Therefore, Westheimer and Kahne argue that educational systems should train citizens in a different paradigm of citizenship and introduce the distinction between a participatory and a justice-oriented view, both of which are defined by the active involvement of citizens in their community and in their polity. A school curriculum designed in the spirit of these two conceptions would therefore emphasize the link between citizenship, politics and government legislation.

In order to uncover the effects of these two types of citizenship and to analyze whether school curriculum can influence middle school's children conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy, I designed two exercises which were administered as treatments to the two age groups in my study. The challenge associated with this endeavor lay in constructing the treatment curricula in such a way that it would both reflect the two conceptions of citizenship, but also take into account the developmental level of the participants. This challenge was overcome by designing both experimental treatments on topics connected with the level which is best known to students at this age, their local community.

Thus, the participatory treatment challenged students to think about ways in which they could get involved their community by using resources already available to them and by engaging others in their communal efforts. In this exercise, examples of activities proposed by the students are: cleaning the

[149] "Service Learning Required. But What Exactly Do Students Learn?, 2.

environment, organizing donations drives or making different kinds of recreational clubs. The justice-oriented treatment faced participants with the task of designing a project that would answer an alleged call for proposals from the part of their mayor for tackling some of the needs of the community. Participants proposed building a dog-shelter, a tourist information center or new sports facilities. The excitement and engagement of the students that took part in these two exercises revealed the fact that, when challenged to think about ways of contributing to their community, they become very creative and engaged. Therefore, the type of curriculum I designed can be easily introduced in the existing school curricula of civic education.

However, beyond finding out whether children do get engaged and take an interest in the types of exercises I designed, my main interest in this study was to find out whether these experimental treatments also have an effect on their views of citizenship and their internal political efficacy. Therefore, these two attitudes were measured through four surveys, at repeated times: before both treatments, after the participatory treatment, after the justice oriented treatment and one month after the experiment (in the latter case an online survey was administered only to the students in one town).

My hypotheses have been that each treatment will lead to an increase in its corresponding view of citizenship and that the justice-oriented treatment will produce an increase in internal efficacy. Moreover, I was expecting a difference in effect based on grade and no differences in due to the order to the treatments. The data analysis found no significant effects of the individual treatments either on students' conceptions of citizenship or internal efficacy. However, grade did have a significant effect. Significant effects were found in the case of students in the 7th grade on their ratings of participatory and justice-oriented citizenship in the expected direction. Nevertheless, further analysis of the data and further studies would be needed in order to corroborate the results of this study.

Within the constraints of this thesis, I have only managed to touch the surface of a topic that is of fundamental importance in the study of political science, namely the way in which schools prepare citizens for a democratic society. Attention to this topic and a closer analysis of the type of civic education that students are receiving in their formative years is warranted especially in the current context of increased interest in adult civic and political engagement.

ANNEXES

Annex 1. Compulsory and elective approaches for citizenship education according to national curricula, 2010/11[150]

Romania

Primary and secondary

- **Approach**: Separate subject
- **Terminology**: ISCED 1: civic education + optional subject: European education
  ISCED 2: Civic culture + optional subject: Intercultural Education
  ISCED 3: Social studies + optional subjects: citizenship education, media, competence, human rights, intercultural education, education for democracy, EU Institutions, international humanitarian law
- **Time allocation**: ISCED 1: 15 h/notional year
  ISCED 2: 10 h/notional year

Upper secondary

- **Approach**: Integrated
- **Terminology**: Sociology, philosophy, history.

[150] Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, *Citizenship Education in Europe*, 120.

Annex 2: The Romanian Civics Core Curricula

3rd grade:[151]

- The person (my/his/her person, what it means to be persons, my body, special needs persons, moral features of persons)
- Our relationship with things and beings (our relationship with things, our relationship with animals and plants)
- Our relationship with other people (groups we are part of, group rules)

4th grade:[152]

- Our relationship with other people (relationships between people within a group, the manifestation of relationships in various circumstances, children's' rights)
- The community (the local community, the people, the nation, the international community)
- State and society (the state organization of society, democratic institutions of the Romanian state, Romanian state symbols)

5th grade:[153]

- The human being - a moral being (the importance of moral values and norms for the personal life and for society, the role of the family and community in the development of morality, how are moral values and norms imposed?)
- Moral values, norms and obligations (moral values, moral norms, moral obligations)
- Moral attitudes and behaviors (attitudes, behaviors)

6th grade:[154]

- The child and the universe of childhood
- United Nations Convention on the Child's Rights
- Fundamental child rights
- The promotion and upholding of the child rights
- Europe and the child rights

7th grade:[155]

- Life in society (the person: the unicity and dignity of man, the man-a social being)
- The political system of Romania (modern states and constitutions, the constitution of Romania, democratic institutions and practices)

[151] Educatie Civică, Programe Şcolare pentru Clasa a III-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educaţiei şi Cercetării, nr 5198/01.11.2004, Consiliul Naţional pentru Curriculum, Bucureşti, 2004.

[152] Educaţie Civică, Programe Şcolare pentru Clasa a IV-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educaţiei şi Cercetării, nr 3919/20.04.2005, Consiliul Naţional pentru Curriculum, Bucureşti, 2005.

[153] Programa Şcolară pentru disciplina Educaţie Civică, Clasa a V-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educaţiei şi Cercetării şi Tineretului, nr 4921/22.09.2003, Consiliul Naţional pentru Curriculum, Bucureşti, 2003.

[154] Programa Şcolară pentru disciplina Educaţie Civică, Clasa a VI-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educaţiei şi Cercetării şi Tineretului, nr 4921/22.09.2003, Consiliul Naţional pentru Curriculum, Bucureşti, 2003.

[155] Programa Şcolară pentru disciplina Educaţie Civică, Clasa a VII-a şi a VIII-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educaţiei şi Cercetării şi Tineretului, Consiliul Naţional pentru Curriculum, Bucureşti, 2009.

- The relationship citizen–state: the power of public opinion and the strength of the individual (active citizenship and democratic practices, mass–media and public opinion).

8th grade:[156]

- Authority (authority and hierarchy, authority in the public and private space, relationships between citizens and state authorities, consequences of the lack of excess of authority)
- Liberty and responsibility (personal, political and economic liberty, liberty and law: boundaries of liberty, citizenship involvement and responsibility)
- Property (the right of property, the quality of proprietor, breaches of the right to property; public property, private property and the market economy; market economy and democracy in Romania)
- Patriotism (the complexity of personal identity nowadays: multiple identities; what is patriotism and how it is put forth, patriotism and European integration, alterations of patriotism: xenophobia, chauvinism, demagogy.)

[156] Programa Școlară pentru disciplina Educație Civică, Clasa a VII-a și a VIII-a, Anexă la Ordinul Ministrului Educației și Cercetării și Tineretului, Consiliul Național pentru Curriculum, București, 2009.

Annex 3. Cover Letter for Parental Consent

COVER LETTER FOR PARENTAL CONSENT

Title: Conceptions of the Good Citizen and Political Attitudes
MA Supervisor: Dr. Levente Littvay
Department of Political Science
Central European University
Nador u.9, 1051
Budapest, Hungary

Researcher's name: Elena Cristina Balea Phone number: _____
Child's Name: _____ Date: _____

Dear Parents:

I am a graduate student at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, conducting a study about your child's conceptions of citizenship. The aim of this study is to investigate whether different educational messages have an influence over students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy.

In this study, the students will participate in two group exercises in which they will work together with other colleagues in order to propose solutions for a local community issue. Each exercise will take one hour and each group will have to deliver a 5 minutes presentation of their proposed project. The child will be asked to fill out three surveys with questions concerning their perceptions over the qualities of a good citizen and their internal political efficacy.

Participation in this study will take a total of 2 hours over a period of 1 week in April 2013. There will be no penalty due to refusal to participate at any time. All information collected from students will be identified by number only. The results of this study will in no way have any effect on the student's grade in any classes.

If you have any questions about the questionnaire or your child's rights, please feel free to contact me at the phone number _____or Dr. Littvay, at CEU, Department of Political Science, Nador u. 9, Budapest, H-1051, Hungary.

If your child receives your consent to participate in this research project, please fill out the attached consent form and return it as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Elena Cristina Balea
MA 2/2 Student
Department of Political Science
Central European University
Nador u.9, 1051
Budapest, Hungary

Annex 4. Parental Consent Form for Child to Participate in Research Study

Department of Political Science
Central European University
Budapest, Hungary
Nador u.9, 1051
Budapest, Hungary

Title of Research: Conceptions of the Good Citizen and Political Attitudes
Name of Researcher: Elena Cristina Balea
Phone Number of Researcher: _____
Name of supervisor: Dr Levente Littvay, Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

A. Purpose and Background
Under the supervision of Dr. Littvay, Professor at Central European University, Budapest, **Elena Cristina Balea**, a graduate student in the Political Science Department at CEU is conducting research on students' conceptions of citizenship. The aim of this study is to investigate whether different educational messages have an influence over students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy.

B. Procedures
If I agree for my child to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

1. My child will be asked to participate in two group exercises in which she/he will work together with other colleagues in order to propose solutions for a community issue. Each exercise will take one hour and each group will have to deliver a 5 minutes presentation of their proposed project. The child will be asked to fill out three surveys with questions concerning their perceptions over the qualities of a good citizen and their internal political efficacy.
2. Participation in this study will take a total of 2 hours over a period of 1 week in April 2013.

Participation in this study will take a total of 2 hours over a period of 1 week in April 2013.

C. Risks
Participation in this study is not foreseen to bring about any risks for the participants.

D. Confidentiality: Any responses that are used for this study and any published analysis of this study will remain confidential. Your child will not be required to mention their name on any survey. The data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet in my, the researcher's home. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the data.

E. Direct Benefits
There are no guaranteed benefits to your child.

F. Alternatives
Your child is free to choose not to participate in this research study.

G. Costs
There will be no costs to your child or you as a result of your child taking part in this research study.

H. Questions
I have spoken with Elena Cristina Balea about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have any further questions about the study, I can contact Elena Cristina Balea by calling _____ or write to her at Republicii 12, bl. B1, sc. 1, ap. 1, 515100, Abrud, jud. Alba, Romania or contact Dr. Littvay, the MA Supervisor at CEU, Department of Political Science, Nador u. 9, Budapest, H-1051, Hungary.

I. Consent

I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH STUDY IS VOLUNTARY. My child is free to decline to participate in this research study, or I may withdraw their participation at any point without penalty.

My child _____ has my consent to participate in the research study.

Student is a minor _____
(age)

Parent/Guardian: _____
(signature)

Date: _____

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact the researcher or her supervisor.

If you have any questions regarding ethical conduct of the study, you may contact the Ethical Research Committee, Central European University, Nador u.9, 1051 Budapest, Hungary.

Annex 5. Child Consent Form for Participation in Research Study

Department of Political Science
Central European University
Budapest, Hungary
Nador u.9, 1051
Budapest, Hungary

Title of Research: Conceptions of the Good Citizen and Political Attitudes
Name of Primary Researcher: Elena Cristina Balea
Phone Number of Researcher: _____
Name of supervisor: Dr Levente Littvay, Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

A. Purpose and Background
Under the supervision of Dr. Littvay, Professor of at Central European University, Budapest, **Elena Cristina Balea**, a graduate student in the Political Science Department at CEU is conducting research on students' conceptions of citizenship. The aim of this study is to investigate whether different educational messages have an influence over students' conceptions of citizenship and sense of internal efficacy.

B. Procedures

If my parents and I agree for me to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

3. I will be asked to participate in two group exercises in which I will work in a group with other colleagues in order to propose solutions for a community issue. Each exercise will be one-hour long and each group will have to make a 5 minutes presentation of their proposed project. I will be asked to fill out three surveys with questions concerning my perceptions of the qualities of a good citizen and concerning my internal political efficacy.
4. Participation in this study will take a total of 2 hours over a period of 1 week in April 2013.

C. Risks
Participation in this study is not foreseen to bring about any risks for the participants.

D. Confidentiality: Any responses that are used for this study and any published analysis of this study will remain confidential. I will not be required to mention my name on any survey. The data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet in my, the researcher's home. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the data.

E. Direct Benefits
There are no guaranteed benefits to me.

F. Alternatives
I am free to choose not to participate in this research study.

G. Costs
There will be no costs to me result of taking part in this research study.

H. Questions
I have spoken with Elena Cristina Balea about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have any further questions about the study, I can contact Elena Cristina Balea by calling _____ or write to her at Republicii 12, bl. B1, sc. 1, ap. 1, 515100, Abrud, jud. Alba, Romania or contact Dr. Littvay, the MA Supervisor at CEU, Department of Political Science, Nador u. 9, Budapest, H-1051, Hungary.

I. Consent

I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH STUDY IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this research study, or I may withdraw my participation at any point without penalty.

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Research Participant (minor)

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Researcher

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact the researcher or her supervisor.

If you have any questions regarding ethical conduct of the study, you may contact the Ethical Research Committee, Central European University, Nador u.9, 1051 Budapest, Hungary.

Annex 6. Teams Task in the Justice-Oriented Treatment

Voices in the Public Forum

Instructions:

In this group exercise, you will have to:

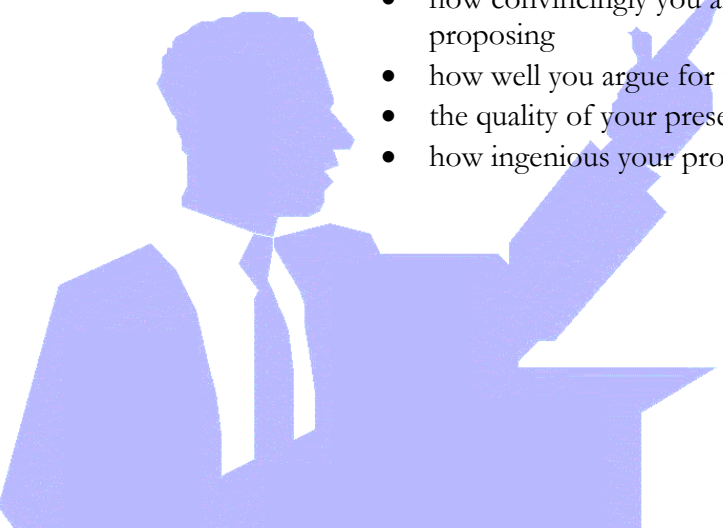
1. think about a project for you local community
2. present your project in front of the judges in a 5 minutes presentation;

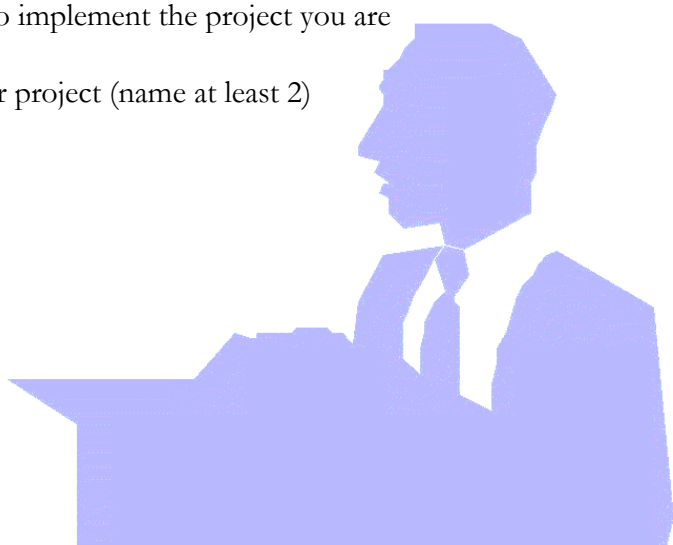
The judges will assess your projects and will decide the winner of this exercise.
Please see below a list of questions that will help you in the preparation of the project and the presentation.

Questions	**Example**
☺Topic	The town hall in your town has a plot of land on which it wants to build something. The mayor launches a call for proposals for projects. What would you propose?
☺ What is your project?	We would like for the town hall to build a new kindergarten.
☺ Why have you chosen this project?	The current kindergarten accommodates too many children. The teachers spend too little time with each child.
☺Who would benefit from your project (what is the target-group)?	The children and the parents in the town.
☺ What would the benefits of your project be? Please list at least 2 benefits.	Children could get better supervision from the part of the teachers. The children will perform better when they go to school.

Your project and the presentation will be assessed by the judges in terms of:

- how clearly specified your target group is
- how convincingly you argue for the need to implement the project you are proposing
- how well you argue for the benefits of your project (name at least 2)
- the quality of your presentation
- how ingenious your project is





Annex 7. Individual Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury in the Justice-Oriented Treatment

Individual Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury

Instructions:

Step 1:

- Your task is to assess each project presented based on the criteria detailed below.
- For each criterion, you must give a grade using **a scale from 1 to 5**.
- After giving the grades, you will have to compute the total score of each team.

Step 2:

- Together with the other members of the jury, you will have to compute the final score of each team by putting together your individual scores.
- Based on the final score, you will have to rank the teams according to the points they earned.
- In this exercise, only **ONE** team will win.

Name of the team	Team 1 _____	Team 2 _____	Team 3 _____	Team 4 _____	Team 5 _____	Team 6 _____
The Proposed Project						
… has a clearly specified target group						
The team has convincingly argued for the need to implement the proposed project						
The team has convincingly argued for the benefits of their project. (at least 2)						
The Quality of the Presentation						
Quality of delivery						
Ingeniozity						
Total score:						

Annex 8: Collective Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury in the Justice-Oriented Treatment

Collective Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury

Instructions:

- As members of the jury, you will have to compute the final score for each team.
- Each juror needs to fill in the table below with the final score they gave to each team.
- After computing the final score, you need to make a ranking of the teams and decide on the winning team.
- In this exercise, only ONE of the winning teams will win.

	Juror 1 _____	Juror 2 _____	Juror 3 _____	Juror 4 _____	Juror 5 _____	**Total score:**
Team 1 _____						
Team 2 _____						
Team 4 _____						
Team 5 _____						
Team 6 _____						

Final ranking of the teams:

Winner: _____
2nd place: _____
3rd place: _____
4th place: _____
5th place: _____
6th place: _____

Annex 9. The Group Task for the Participatory Treatment

A Helping Hand for Our Community

Instructions:
In this group exercise, you will have to:

1. Identify an issue at the level of your local community
2. Think about ways in which it can be tackled
3. Propose a project through which your team, together with your classmates or other students in the school can contribute to solving this issue
4. Present your project in a 5 minutes presentation in front of the judges

The jury will evaluate your projects and they will decide on the reward you will receive. .

To help you in thinking about the project and preparing your presentation, please take a look at the questions below.

Questions	**Example**
☺ What community problem do you wish to address?	The playground in our town is in a bad shape and needs new playing equipment. .
☺ Why is this a community problem? ☺ Who will gain from tackling it?	Many children in our town spend their time in that playground. They need better conditions to be able to play. They have to be able to play there safely.
☺ What would the benefits of tacking the community issue be? (name at least 2)	The children will be able to play in a safe environment. They will have more incentives to spend their time outdoors and exercise more. .
☺ What do YOU plan to do to help solve this issue?	We would like to contribute to buying new equipment for the playground. For this, we will make an exhibition where we will display our own paintings about how we think a beautiful playground should look like. . Our exhibition will take place in the playground, so that our project will be known to more people.

Your project and presentation will be assessed by the jury based on the following criteria:

- How clearly you have specified the problem you want to address
- How clearly you have defined the target group of your project
- How convincingly you have argued for the need of tacking the issue you have identified.
- How well you have argued for the benefits of your project (at least 2)
- The quality of the presentation
- How ingenious your project is

Annex 10. Individual Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury – Participatory Treatment

Individual Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury

Instructions:

Step 1:

- Your task is to assess each project presented based on the criteria detailed below.
- For each criterion, you must give a grade using **a scale from 1 to 5**.
- After giving the grades, you will have to compute the total score of each team.

Step 2:

- Together with the other members of the jury, you will have to compute the final score of each team by putting together your individual scores.
- Based on the final score, you will have to rank the teams according to the points they earned.
- In the end, you will have to decide how to allocate the funds you received. Please bear in mind that all the funds need to be allocated, but it is up to you to decide on the specific amount you will award each team.

Name of the team	Team 1 _____	Team 2 _____	Team 3 _____	Team 4 _____	Team 5 _____	Team 6 _____
The Identified Problem						
…is clearly stated.						
… affects a clearly defined group of people.						
The team has convincingly argued for the need to address the problem identified.						
The Proposed Project						
… is achievable						
… involves a group effort.						
The team has convincingly argued for the benefits of their project. (at least 2)						
Quality of the presentation						
Quality of delivery						
Ingeniozity						
Total score:						

Annex 11. Collective Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury – Participative Treatment

Collective Assessment Chart for the Members of the Jury

Instructions:

- As members of the jury, you will have to compute the final score for each team.
- Each juror needs to fill in the table below with the final score they gave to each team.
- After computing the final score, you need to make a ranking of the teams and decide on the winning team.
- In the end, you will have to decide how to allocate the funds you received. Please bear in mind that all the funds need to be allocated, but it is up to you to decide on the specific amount you will award each team.

	Juror 1 _____	Juror 2 _____	Juror 3 _____	Juror 4 _____	Juror 5 _____	**Total score:**
Team 1 _____						
Team 2 _____						
Team 4 _____						
Team 5 _____						
Team 6 _____						

Final ranking of the teams:

1st place: _____Sum_____
2nd place: _____ Sum_____
3rd place: _____ Sum_____
4th place: _____ Sum_____
5th place: _____ Sum_____
6th place: _____ Sum _____

Annex 12. Full Survey for the Control Groups

Survey on Students' Conceptions of Citizenship

I am a graduate student at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary and I am conducting a study on students' conceptions of citizenship. I would appreciate very much your taking the time to complete the following survey, which should take about 10 minutes to fill in. Your responses are voluntary and will be confidential. Responses will not be identified by individual. All responses will be compiled together and analyzed as a group. If you find anything unclear or have any questions about the content of this survey, please address them to me.

Thank you.

1. How old are you? _____

2. Are you a girl or a boy?
   Tick one box only.
   girl □ 1
   boy □ 2

3. Please indicate your mother's (or female guardian's) education level.
   Some high school or less □
   High school diploma □
   Post-high school education □
   Bachelor's degree □
   Master's degree or equivalent □
   Not sure/Not applicable □

4. About how many books are there in your home?
   Do not count newspapers, magazines or books for school; tick one box only.
   None □ 1
   1 - 10 □ 2
   11 - 50 □ 3
   51 - 100 □ 4
   101 - 200 □ 5
   More than 200 □ 6

5. On a scale from 1 (not at all) to 100 (very much), how confident are you that you can achieve the following:

Make and keep friends.	
Carry on conversations with others.	
Work well in a group.	
Express my opinions when other classmates disagree with me.	
Stand up for myself when I feel I am being treated unfairly.	
Get others to stop annoying me or hurting my feelings.	
Stand firm to someone who is asking me to do something unreasonable or inconvenient.	

6. Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. In answering each question, use a range from (1) to (7) where (1) stands for strongly disagree and (7) stands for strongly agree. Please circle only one response choice per question.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither agree nor D	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I do well in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am confident in my scholastic abilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I learn new concepts quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am confident in my ability to succeed in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Please circle the response that best represents how much you agree or disagree with the following statements using: strongly disagree, disagree, slightly disagree, neither agree nor disagree, slightly agree, agree, strongly agree.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor D	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I try to think about how the laws in our country are affecting the people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to be kind to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think it's important to work for positive change in our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens participate in activities that make a difference in their community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens act responsibly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens discuss	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

issues of injustice in the society, such as discrimination based on gender or ethnicity.							
I think it's important for people to follow the rules and laws.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Being concerned with national and local issues is an important responsibility for everybody.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to think about how the laws in our country are affecting the people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think people should assist those who are most in need of help.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens work together for their community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens learn the benefits of joining organizations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important citizens take initiative.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens have integrity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think it is important to discuss the utility of the projects undertaken by our local and national government.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens think critically about the social issues around them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens are honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens stay informed about the issues in their community and country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Being actively involved in national and local issues is my responsibility.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens collaborate with each other.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am willing to help others without being paid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important that citizens express their opinion on issues that affect the community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think it is important to get involved in improving my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to help when I see people in need.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to think about how the laws in our country are affecting the people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Please circle the response that best represents how much you agree or disagree with the following statements using: strongly disagree, disagree, slightly disagree, neither agree nor disagree, slightly agree, agree, strongly agree.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Sometimes debates concerning politics and government seen too complicated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel I have the power to make a difference in my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I know what I can do to help make my community a better place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I understand how political and social policies or issues affect the people around me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am able to understand most political issues or conversations easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am capable of participating in group discussions about political issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I often don't feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics and the way government works.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most children my age.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for taking the time to fill it in. For any further questions about this survey, please contact Elena Cristina Balea at _____

Annex 13. Breakdown of the number of participants by survey, grade and town

			Full survey	**Survey 1**	**Survey 2**	**Survey 3**	**Survey 4**
5th grade	Girls	Abrud	-	6	6	6	2
		Ocna Sibiului	-	10	10	10	-
	Boys	Abrud	-	12	11	11	12
		Ocna Sibiului	-	12	9	11	-
Total for 5th grade			**-**	**40**	**36**	**38**	**14**
6th grade	Girls	Abrud	9	-	-	-	-
	Boys		8	-	-	-	-
Total for 6th grade			**17**	-	-	-	
7th grade	Girls	Abrud	-	7	4	7	5
		Ocna Sibiului	-	14	12	12	-
	Boys	Abrud	-	6	6	4	6
		Ocna Sibiului	-	20	17	18	-
Total for 7th grade			**-**	**47**	**39**	**41**	**11**
8th grade	Girls	Abrud	14	-	-	-	-
	Boys		10	-	-	-	-
Total for 8th grade			**24**				
Total per survey			**41**	**87**	**75**	**79**	**25**

Annex 14. Conceptions of citizenship survey questions

Type of citizenship	Please circle the response that best represents how much you agree or disagree with the following statements using: strongly disagree, disagree, slightly disagree, neither agree nor disagree, slightly agree, agree, strongly agree.	
Personally responsible citizen (PRC)	Common questions	*I think it's important for people to follow the rules and laws.* *It is important that citizens are honest.*
	Additional questions	1. I am willing to help others without being paid. 2. It is important that citizens act responsibly. 3. I try to help when I see people in need. 4. It is important that citizens have integrity. 5. I think people should assist those who are most in need of help. 6. I try to be kind to other people.
Participatory citizen (PC)	Common questions	*It is important that citizens collaborate with each other.* *It is important citizens take initiative.*
	Additional questions	1. It is important that citizens work together for their community. 2. It is important that citizens stay informed about the issues in their community and country. 3. It is important that citizens learn the benefits of joining organizations. 4. Being actively involved in national and local issues is my responsibility. 5. I think it is important to get involved in improving my community. 6. Being concerned with national and local issues is an important responsibility for everybody.
Justice-oriented citizen (JOC)	Common questions	*It is important that citizens participate in activities that make a difference in their community.* *It is important that citizens think critically about the social issues around them.*
	Additional questions	1. It is important that citizens express their opinion on issues that affect the community. 2. I think it's important to work for positive change in our society. 3. It is important to think about the causes behind the problems in our community and society. 4. I try to think about how the laws in our country are affecting the people. 5. I think it is important to discuss the utility of the projects undertaken by our local and national government. 6. It is important that citizens discuss issues of injustice in the society, such as discrimination based on gender or ethnicity.

Annex 15. Internal efficacy survey questions

Internal efficacy	
Common questions	*Sometimes debates concerning politics and government seen too complicated for me.* *I feel I have the power to make a difference in my community.*
Additional questions	1. I know what I can do to help make my community a better place. 2. I understand how political and social policies or issues affect the people around me. 3. I am able to understand most political issues or conversations easily. 4. I am capable of participating in group discussions about political issues. 5. I often don't feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics and government. 6. I think that I am as well-informed about politics and government as most children my age.

Annex 16. Numbers of participants by gender, age, mothers' education and number of books

		5th grade		6th grade	7th grade		8th grade	Total
		Abrud	Ocna	Abrud	Abrud	Ocna	Abrud	
Gender	Girl	6	10	9	7	14	14	60
	Boy	12	12	8	6	20	10	68
	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	11	11	7	1	-	-	-	19
	12	7	13	9	1	1	-	31
	13	-	-	7	9	16	-	32
	14	-	1	-	3	16	14	34
	15	-	-	-	-	1	9	10
	16	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother's education	Not sure	5	5	1	1	6	2	20
	Some years of high-school or less	1	4	-	1	4	4	14
	Completed high-school	5	6	5	10	12	10	48
	Post-secondary school	2	2	6	1	8	2	15
	Bachelor degree	4	4	1	-	3	4	21
	Master's degree	1	1	-	-	-	1	4
	NA	-	-	4	-	1	1	6
Number of books	None	-	1	1	-	1	-	3
	1-10	3	5	2	1	11	1	23

	11-50	4	6	2	3	10	11	36
	51-100	5	6	6	4	5	6	32
	101-200	4	2	5	1	5	2	19
	More than 200	2	2	1	4	2	4	15
	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Annex 17. Means and standard deviations for the 5th grade

			Survey 1		Survey 2		Survey 3	
Abrud		Type of average	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
	Personally responsible	Common items	6.44	0.78	6.58	0.47	6.67	0.39
		All items	6.54	0.41	6.63	0.33	6.69	0.32
	Participatory	Common items	6.25	0.87	6.35	0.57	6.41	0.77
		All items	5.89	0.96	6.12	0.69	6.35	0.69
	Justice-oriented	Common items	5.41	1.32	5.38	0.97	5.64	1.32
		All items	5.54	1.17	5.75	0.64	5.97	0.65
	Internal efficacy	Common items	5.30	1.45	5.70	1.22	5.55	1.26
		All items	5.29	1.03	5.55	0.97	5.48	1.08
Ocna Sibiului	Personally responsible	Common items	6.06	1.14	6.23	1.29	6.21	1.06
		All items	6.14	0.97	6.30	1.00	6.22	0.99
	Participatory	Common items	6.11	1.37	5.92	1.16	5.98	1.15
		All items	6.00	1.21	6.00	1.08	5.85	1.05
	Justice-oriented	Common items	5.27	1.54	5.60	1.50	5.53	1.20
		All items	5.59	1.24	5.789	1.24	5.68	1.04

	Internal efficacy	Common items	5.20	1.31	5.86	0.68	5.28	1.23
		All items	4.94	1.35	5.90	0.63	5.17	1.15

Annex 18. Means and standard deviations for the 7th grade

			Survey 1		Survey 2		Survey 3	
Abrud		Type of average	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
	Personally responsible	Common items	6.15	1.23	6.05	1.09	6.59	0.58
		All items	6.32	0.82	6.10	1.15	6.47	0.46
	Participatory	Common items	6.00	1.27	6.15	0.74	6.59	0.53
		All items	5.57	1.091	5.90	0.91	6.38	0.50
	Justice-oriented	Common items	5.73	0.72	6.30	0.48	5.86	0.89
		All items	5.90	0.57	6.20	0.58	6.06	0.56
	Internal efficacy	Common items	5.34	1.31	5.38	0.99	5.09	1.02
		All items	5.07	1.27	5.13	1.10	5.00	1.06
Ocna Sibiului	Personally responsible	Common items	6.02	1.18	5.86	1.55	5.93	1.15
		All items	5.86	1.20	5.89	1.56	5.92	1.18
	Participatory	Common items	5.60	1.51	5.65	1.26	5.86	1.23
		All items	5.45	1.39	5.68	1.18	5.83	1.14
	Justice-oriented	Common items	4.98	1.41	5.40	1.32	5.86	0.97
		All items	5.17	1.30	5.41	1.26	5.91	1.03
	Internal efficacy	Common items	4.95	1.40	4.98	1.35	5.13	1.22
		All items	4.71	1.24	4.95	1.23	5.09	1.28

Annex 19. Tables for Chapter 4

Table 4.1. Correlations for the dependent variables on conceptions of citizenship (PRC, PC, JOC) for all the groups in the experiment

	Personally responsible	**Participatory**	**Justice oriented**
Personally responsible	-		
Participatory	.69***	-	
Justice oriented	.57***	.71***	-
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1			

Table 4.2. Descriptive statistics for town, grade and survey type for all the groups in the experiment

Survey type	*(1) Before both treatments*	85
	(2) After the first treatment	72
	(3) After both treatments	74
	(4) Follow-up survey	29
Town	0 - Abrud	115
	1 - Ocna Sibiului	145
Grade	5^{th}	127
	7^{th}	133

Table 4.3. Levene's test of equality of error variances for all the groups in the experiment

	F	***df*1**	***df*2**
Personally responsible	2.532**	13	246
Participatory	1.470	13	246
Justice oriented	1.327	13	246
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1			

Table 4.4. Descriptive statistics for survey type for all the groups in the experiment split by town

Town	**Survey number**	**Number of cases**
Abrud	*(1) Before both treatments*	31
	(2) After the first treatment	27
	(3) After both treatments	28
	(4) Follow-up survey	29
Ocna	*(1) Before both treatments*	56
	(2) After the first treatment	49
	(3) After both treatments	50

Table 4. 6. Levene's test of equality of error variances for all the groups in the experiment split by town

Dataset	**Citizenship view**	**F**	***df*1**	***df*2**
Abrud	*Personally responsible*	3.980 .	3	111
	Participatory	1.588	3	111
	Justice-oriented	1.066	3	111
Ocna-Sibiului	*Personally responsible*	.140	2	152
	Participatory	1.248	2	152
	Justice-oriented	.395	2	152
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.7. Pairwise comparisons for the effect of the participatory (PC) treatment for the 5th and the 7th grade combined

Order of the treatment	**Town**	**Dependent variables**	**On the average of all items**	
			Mean difference	**Standard error**
First	Ocna Sibiului	*Personally responsible*	-.07	.236
		Participatory	-.1381	.237
		Justice-oriented	-.221	.238
Second	Abrud	*Personally responsible*	-.172	.263
		Participatory	-.322	.236
		Justice-oriented	-.092	.214
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.8. Pairwise comparisons for the effect of the justice-oriented (PC) treatment for the 5th and the 7th grade combined

Order of treatment	**Town**	**Citizenship view**	**On the average of all items**	
			Mean difference	**Standard error**
First	Abrud	*Personally responsible*	.016	.256
		Participatory	-.279	.230
		Justice-oriented	-.223	.209
Second	Ocna Sibiului	*Personally responsible*	.05	.242
		Participatory	-.022	.243
		Justice-oriented	-.210	.245
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.11. Descriptive statistics for survey type by grade

	Survey type	**Number of cases**
5th grade	*(1) Before both treatments*	40
	(2) After the first treatment	36
	(3) After both treatments	37
	(1) Before both treatments	15
7th grade	*(1) Before both treatments*	47
	(2) After the first treatment	40
	(3) After both treatments	41
	(1) Before both treatments	14

Table 4.12. Levene's test of equality of error variances for the experimental groups split by grade

Dataset		**F**	***df*1**	***df*2**
5th grade	*Personally responsible*	2.642*	3	124
	Participatory	.863	3	124
	Justice-oriented	1.260	3	124
7th grade	*Personally responsible*	.463	3	138
	Participatory	.758	3	138
	Justice-oriented	.922	3	138
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.13. Multivariate results for survey type split by grade

Dataset	**Pillai's Trace**	**F**	***df***	**Error *df***
5th grade	.053	.742	9	372
7th grade	.114 .	1.181*	9	414
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.16. Descriptive statistics by survey for internal efficacy items

Survey type	**Number of cases**
(1) Before both treatments	87
(2) After the first treatment	75
(3) After both treatments	78
(4) Follow-up survey	29

Table 4.17. Univariate effects for survey on internal efficacy

Variables	**Sum of squares**	**df**	**Mean square**	**F**
Survey type	3.965	3	4240.2	6833.8***
Error	164.425	265	.620	
R squared: .024 (Adjusted R squared=.012) ***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1				

Table 4.19. Pairwise comparisons of the combined effect of the PC and JOC treatments on both towns for the 5th and 7th grade (comparing the initial survey with the post-survey after both treatments)

Surveys compared	**Mean difference**	**Standard error**
Survey 1 (before both treatments) - Survey 3 (after both treatments)	-.263	.122 *
Survey 3 (after both treatments) – Survey 4 (follow-up survey)	.079	.171
Survey 1 (before both treatments) - Survey 4 (follow-up survey)	-.184	.168
***p<.001. **p<0.01. *p<0.05 .p<0.1		

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