Expected participation in protest activities among lower secondary students in 38 countries

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Introduction

The IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) investigated the ways in which young people in lower secondary schools (specifically in their eighth year of school) are being prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a wide range of countries in Europe, Latin America, and the Asian-Pacific region. ICCS is the third IEA[1] study designed to study outcomes of civic and citizenship education (CCE) and is linked to the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt & Nikolova, 2002; Schulz & Sibberns, 2004; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). Results from this study have been published in a number of international (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010a & 2010b) and regional reports (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz & Burge, 2010; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman & Lietz, forthcoming; Fraillon, Ainley & Schulz, forthcoming).

A central focus of ICCS was students' preparedness to become citizens in a democracy is their disposition to be actively involved in society through different forms of civic participation. This paper provides an analysis of measures of students' intentions to participate in different protest activities. It describes the extent of these intentions and the factors that appear to influence students' intentions to become involved in legal or illegal protest activities.

Background

There has been considerable interest in levels of civic engagement and participation over the past two decades (Putman, 2000). This has been accompanied by concerns about a decline in formal political participation including voting in elections and specifically concerns expressed about declining civic and political participation levels among young people (Brooks, 2009). The remains some debate about whether there has been an actual decline in civic and political participation among young people (Lister and Pia, 2008) or whether the change is a shift from traditional and formal political participation to new forms of social and civic participation (Forbrig, 2005; Torney- Purta, & Amadeo, 2003). Alongside this debate about forms of participation consideration is being given to whether there has been an accompanying transition from narrow passive citizenship to more "active citizenship" (Kennedy, 2006) and how schools can support this (Pasek et al.,2008).

Research on active citizenship often focuses on participation in the sphere of politics. Verba et al. (1995) define political participation as any "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action—either directly by affecting the making of implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (p. 48). Citizen activities such as voting, volunteering for campaign work, becoming members of political parties or other politically active

[1] IEA is the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. It also conducts the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Studies (TIMSS) and the Progress in International reading Literacy Study (PIRLS).

organizations, running for office, and protest activities are all forms of political participation.

Due to the emergence of many new social movements during the 1970s and 1980s, protest as a form of participation became more prominent in many democratic countries (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). Scholars distinguish “conventional” (voting, running for office) from “unconventional” or “social-movement-related" activities (grass-root campaigns, protest activities). They also distinguish, among the latter, legal from illegal forms of behaviour (Kaase, 1990). Another form of citizen participation receiving increased attention in the literature, especially since the 1990s, relates to volunteering and social engagement (Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2000).Although there is an extensive body of literature about influences on formal civic participation there is rather less about influences on active citizenship in a broader context. It is not clear what influence civic knowledge has on broader forms of civic participation and whether factors such as parental interest in political and social issues influence active civic engagement. There is even less clarity about the role of school experiences on active civic participation, In a multilevel analysis of school effects on students’ reports of past political participation, Quintelier (2008) found only low between-school variance, none of which was associated with school characteristics. Quintelier did find, however, that formal education (topics discussed, political knowledge) as well as active learning strategies (membership of a school council, voluntary activities beneficial to society) had significant effects on participation. Solhaug (2006) used structural equation modelling to analyse Norwegian upper-secondary student data. He found that self-efficacy (self-confidence with regard to verbal persuasion, learning, writing petitions, and influencing local administration) was an even stronger predictor of political participation than civic knowledge.

Data and Methods

The paper will present results from analyses of the international survey data from ICCS, which was carried out in 38 participating countries between October 2008 and May 2009. In each country approximately 150 schools were sampled depending on characteristics of the education system using PPS (probability proportional to size as measured by the number of students enrolled) sampling procedures. In each school usually one intact class was randomly selected. Student samples per country ranged from 3000 to 5000 students in the target grade. The target grade corresponded to the eighth year of schooling provided that the minimum age of students was 13.5 years.

The participation rates required for each country were 85 percent of the selected schools as well as 85 percent of the selected students within the participating schools or a weighted overall participation rate of 75 percent[2]. These requirements are intended to minimise bias in the achieved samples that might arise from differential non-participation.

The following instruments were used in the ICCS data collection:

- The international student test with 80 items in seven different clusters administered in complete rotated design with seven randomly allocated booklets, each consisting of three 15-minutes clusters.

[2] Countries that met these response rates only after replacement schools were used were reported with annotations; countries that did not meet the response rates even after replacement were reported separately below the main section of each table.

- The international student questionnaire (40 minutes length) which was administered after the international test booklets.
- The international teacher questionnaire contained questions regarding school context, teaching and learning and took about 30 minutes to be completed.
- The international school questionnaire contained questions about school characteristics, school, and community context and took 20-30 minutes to be completed.

The analyses presented in this paper are based on data from the student test and questionnaire. In a first part the extent of students' experience with civic participation in the wider community and at school are described. Percentages and averages in the paper are accompanied by standard errors[3]. National averages and percentages that are significantly ($p<0.05$) above or below the ICCS average[4] are flagged. For questionnaire scales, differences in means that are more than three scale points (equivalent to almost a third of an international standard deviation) were marked with a different flag. A similar flag was used for national percentages that were more than ten percentage points above or below the ICCS average.

As a means of investigating students' expected participation as citizens, multiple regression analyses were carried out using five blocks of predictors.[5] Criterion variables for these analyses were *expected participation in legal protest* and *expected participation in illegal protest* (both IRT scales). Standard errors of regression coefficients and explained variances ($R^2 * 100$) were estimated using the jackknife replication method. Listwise exclusion of Missing values were excluded from the regression analyses. On average across countries, nine percent of students were excluded due to missing values; in two countries (Dominican Republic and Paraguay) considerably higher percentages above 20 percent were found.

Students' expectations to participate in protest activities

ICCS included one question with nine items designed to measure student expectations to take part in different forms of legal and illegal protest. The response categories were "I would certainly do this,", "I would probably do this,", "I would probably *not* do this," and "I would certainly *not* do this." Of the nine items, the following six focused on legal protest activities:

- Writing a letter to a newspaper;
- Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion;
- Contacting an elected representative;
- Taking part in a peaceful march or rally;
- Collecting signatures for a petition;
- Choosing not to buy certain products.

The scale had reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.79 at the international level. The item-by-score map (in Figure 1 shows that students with a scale score of 50

[3] Given the cluster sample design, these standard errors were estimated using the jackknife replication method

[4] The ICCS average was defined as the simple average statistics across countries that had met the sample participation requirements (36 for the student survey).

[5] The amount of estimated variance between schools only a small percentage of the total variance in the two criterion variables. Therefore, for the analyses presented in this paper it was viewed as appropriate to use single-level regression models.

(equivalent to the ICCS average) were those likely to report probable participation in most of these activities[6]. Between 51 and 57 percent of students expected to "probably" or "definitely" do all of these activities except contact an elected representative. Across the participating countries, only 38 percent of the students probably or definitely anticipated contacting an elected representative.

Table 1 shows the average scores on this scale for all participating countries. Whereas students in Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Mexico had the highest average scores, those from Belgium (Flemish), the Republic of Korea, and Poland had country average scores that were three or more scale points lower than the ICCS average.

Statistically significant gender differences were found in about half of the participating countries. In most of these countries, the scale scores of female students were higher than those of males. In a few cases, including Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, and Thailand, males were more likely than females to say they would participate in legal protest. In general, the magnitudes of gender differences for this scale were relatively small.

Table 1: National averages for students' interest in political or social issues overall and by gender (legal protest)

The remaining three items relating to students' expectation to participate in protest activities focused on illegal protest. The types listed in the questionnaire were:

- Spray-painting protest slogans on walls;
- Blocking traffic;
- Occupying public buildings.

The scale measuring this expectation had average scale reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.83 for the pooled international sample with equally weighted country data. The item-by-score map in Figure 2 illustrates that a student with a (ICCS average) scale score of 50 would be expected to report that they were unlikely to participate in any of these activities. Percentages of students expecting to probably or definitely do these activities in the future ranged from 19 percent (occupying public buildings) to 27 percent (spray-painting slogans).

The results for the ICCS scale on student expectations to take part in illegal protest activities in Table 2 show that, in all countries, the average student did not intend to get involved in any of these forms of protest. There was some variation across participating countries: students in Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Greece, and Indonesia had considerably higher country averages; in Chinese Taipei and Denmark, the national averages were three or more score points lower than the ICCS average.

Statistically significant gender differences were found in all but one of the participating countries. As in the CIVED survey of 1999, male students were much more likely than females to state they would probably participate in illegal forms of protest. Across countries, the male students had average scale scores that were three score points higher than the scores for females.

[6] Item-by-score maps describe the mapping of scale scores to item responses based on the item response model underlying the scaling procedures. Further details on this can be found in Schulz & Friedman (forthcoming).

Table 2 National averages for students' interest in political or social issues overall and by gender (illegal protest) about here

Explaining expected participation in protest activities

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory provided us with a conceptual framework for constructing the model described in this paper. This framework assists analysis of factors explaining not only civic knowledge but also the behavioural intentions of young people. According to this theory, the development of civic engagement among adolescents can be seen as influenced by multiple and interacting agents of socialization. For students, family orientations toward active forms of citizenship, personal involvement in civic activities, and school-based civic participation are factors that potentially shape young people's dispositions to take part as adults in civic and citizenship activities.

Putnam (1993) viewed social capital as an important collective resource and as a "key to making democracy work" (p. 185). According to his perspective, three components of social capital (social trust, social norms, and social networks) provide a context for successful cooperation among individuals and effective participation in society. This context, in turn, emphasizes the relevance of interpersonal relationships (both affective and behavioural) for individual engagement. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) identified the following three factors as important factors for political participation:

- Resources enabling individuals to participate (time, knowledge);
- Psychological engagement (interest, efficacy); and
- "Recruitment networks" (e.g., social movements, church groups, political parties) that help to bring individuals into politics.

The following blocks of variables were included in the multiple regression models: (a) Student background variables, (b) students' experience with civic participation, (c) students' self-beliefs regarding civic engagement, (d) students' attitudes towards civic institutions and (e) students' cognitive abilities in this domain.

Student background variables in the models were:

- Student gender (0 = male, 1= female)
- Students' socioeconomic family background: A composite index (standardized to having mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1 within countries) was developed using factor scores from a principal component analysis of highest parental occupation (SEI scores), highest parental education (ISCED levels in approximate years of education) and number of books at home.
- *Parental interest in political and social issues* (0 = both parents not or not very interested, 1 = at least one parent quite or very interested).

Predictors reflecting students' experience with civic participation were:

- *Past or current participation in civic activities in the community*. The variable is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of seven items (reliability of 0.70) where students reported whether they had participated in

seven different activities ("never", "more than a year ago" or "within the last 12 months").[7]

- *Past or current participation in civic activities at school*. The variable is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of seven items (reliability of 0.66) where students reported whether they had participated in seven different activities ("never", "more than a year ago" or "within the last 12 months").[8]

Predictors reflecting students' beliefs about their own interest and skills to engage as citizens:

- *Interest in political and social issues*. The measure is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of five items (reliability of 0.86) reflecting topics where students rated their interest as "very interested", "quite interested", "not very interested" or "not at all interested".[9]
- *Internal political efficacy*. The measure is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of six items (reliability of 0.83) where students rated their agreement with a number of statements relating to self-beliefs regarding the general capacity to deal with political issues.[10]
- *Citizenship self-efficacy*. The measure is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of seven items (reliability of 0.81) where students reported how well they thought they could do several tasks related to civic engagement.[11]

Predictors reflecting students' attitudes towards civic institutions were:

- *Trust in civic institutions*. The measure is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) based on a set of six items (reliability of 0.83) reflecting student ratings of their trust in different civic institutions as "completely", "a lot", "a little" or "not at all".[12]
- *Support for political parties*. The indicator is based on a question whether students liked a specific political party more than others and another questions

[7] The list included participation in a youth organization of political party or union, an environmental organization, a human rights organization, a voluntary group helping community, an organisation collecting money for social cause, a cultural organization based on ethnicity and a group of young people campaigning for an issue.

[8] The list included voluntary participation in school-based music or drama activities outside of regular lessons, active participation in a debate, voting for class representative or school parliament, taking part in decision-making about how the school is run, taking part in discussions at a student assembly, and becoming a candidate for class representative or school parliament.

[9] The issues included political issues in the local community, political issues in the country, social issues in the country, politics in other countries and international politics.

[10] The statements were: I know more about politics than most people my age, When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say, I am able to understand most political issues easily, I have political opinions worth listening to, As an adult I will be able to take part in politics, I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country.

[11] The tasks were: discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries, argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue, stand as a candidate in a school election, organise a group of students in order to achieve changes at school, follow a television debate about a controversial issue, Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue, Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue.

[12] The issues included political issues in the local community, political issues in the country, social issues in the country, politics in other countries and international politics.

for those who replied "yes" asking how much they favoured this party ("a little", "to some extent" or "a lot"). The resulting indicator has four ordinal categories.

The predictor reflecting students' cognitive abilities in the field of civics and citizenship was:

- *Students' civic knowledge*. The variable is an IRT scale (z-standardized for this analysis) derived from the ICCS cognitive test (reliability of 0.84).

Table 3: Multiple regression analysis for expected participation in legal protest

Table 3 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis for expected participation in legal protest activities. The partial (or net) effects of gender were small on average and varied among most countries. In ten countries there was a significant positive association with gender (females scored higher) and in seven countries there was a significant negative association. Socioeconomic background had positive effects in six countries and a significant negative association in one. Parental interest in political and social issues had significant positive coefficients in just two countries and a significant negative association in two others.

Participation in the community was a significant predictor in most (34) countries with an average net effect of just under one scale point for each standard deviation in the community participation index. Having been active in civic and citizenship activities at school, however, had significant positive effects on expected participation in legal protest in just 15 countries and was associated with an average shift of 0.3 of a scale point for each standard deviation difference in the predictor.

In most countries, students' interest, feelings of internal political efficacy and self-confidence in civic engagement (citizenship self-efficacy) had consistent positive regression coefficients for expected participation in legal protest. Confidence in civic engagement (citizenship self-efficacy) had the strongest net effect of all the predictors on expected participation in legal protest. One standard deviation on this scale was associated with three scale points on the outcome measure. On average, interest in political and social issues and internal political efficacy (had effects of just under one scale point (0.1 of a standard deviation) on the outcome variable.

Interestingly both trust in civic institutions and support for political parties were positively (although weakly with average effects of 0.5 scale points for each standard deviation) and consistently (in 25 and 23 countries respectively) associated with expected participation in legal protest.

Civic knowledge proved to be a positive predictor of students' expectation to participate in legal protest in all participating countries. On average, one standard deviation in civic knowledge was associated with 0.8 scale points on expected participation in legal protest.

In summary the strongest correlate of students' expectation to participate in legal protest was their confidence in civic engagement (citizenship self efficacy) followed by their experience of participation in the community, their interest in political and social issues, their sense of internal political efficacy and their civic knowledge.

Table 4: Explained variance in expected participation in legal protest

Table 4 shows the variance in expected electoral participation explained by background variables and the full model. It shows that, on average, across ICCS countries only about four per cent of the variance in expected electoral participation was explained by student background factors (gender, socioeconomic background and parental interest). After introducing the other predictor variables the variance explained increases to an average of 28 per cent across ICCS countries; ranging from 17 (in Estonia) to 38 percent (in England).

When using different blocks of predictors in a regression model, it is possible that the variance in the criterion variable is explained by more than one predictor block. It is possible to estimate how much of the explained variance is attributable uniquely to each of the sets of predictors and how much of this variance is explained by more than one predictor block in combination. In the model used here, this can be done by comparing the variance explanation of five additional regression models (each without one of the five predictor blocks) with the model that has all predictors in combination. The difference between each of the comparison models with the full model provides an estimate of the unique variance attributable to each block of predictors, the difference between the sum of unique variances and the explained variance by all predictors an estimate of the common variance attributable to more than one predictor block.

The graph in Table 4 illustrates that in most countries a little less than half of the explained variance (on average 12 per cent compared to the total explained of 28 per cent) in expected participation in legal protest is attributable to more than one set of predictors. Self-beliefs (interest, internal political efficacy and citizenship self-efficacy) uniquely explain the highest proportion (13 per cent) of variance. Attitudes towards civic institutions (trust and support for political parties), background variables and experience with civic engagement do not contribute much unique variance explanation to the model: each explains uniquely less than one per cent of the variance in expected participation in legal protest.

Table 5: Multiple regression analysis for expected participation in illegal protest

Table 5 shows the regression coefficients for expected participation in illegal protest. Being female had significant negative effects on student expectations of participation in illegal protest in most countries. On average, and other things equal, females had scores on the scale reflecting expected participation in illegal protest that were 2.6 scale points lower than those of males. This is equivalent to one quarter of a standard deviation. Parental interest in political and social issues had small but significant negative effects in 15 countries and significant positive effects in just one country. Family socioeconomic background had small but significant negative effects in 12 countries but significant positive coefficients in just two countries.

Students' experience with participation in the community proved to be a significant but weak positive predictor of expected participation in illegal protest in 20 countries. However, on average there was an increase of about just 0.3 score points for each unit on this scale. In 15 countries there were significantly negative coefficients for students' participation at school and two countries there were significant and positive coefficients.

Citizenship self-efficacy had positive effects on the outcome variable. One unit (equal to an international standard deviation) in students' self-confidence to manage civic

activities (citizenship self-efficacy) was associated with an average increase of 1.4 score points in expected participation in illegal protest activities.

Trust in civic institutions was negatively associated with this outcome variable in 34 countries. The average size of this effect was one scale point for each standard deviation in the predictor variable. Civic knowledge, however, had significant negative effects after controlling for all other variables. One standard deviation difference in civic knowledge was associated with just less than two points lower (one fifth of a standard deviation) scores on the scale reflecting intended participation in illegal protest activities.

Table 6: Explained variance in expected participation in illegal protest

Table 6 shows the variance in expected participation in illegal protest explained by background and other variables and the full model. It also shows the proportions of explained variance attributable to particular predictor blocks and to more than one set of variables.

On average, student background variables explained only four percent of the variance in expected participation in illegal protest. The explained variance increased to an average of 11 percent across ICCS countries after introducing the other predictors; ranging from 4 per cent in Korea to 27 percent in Thailand.

On average, 20 percent of the explained variance in expected participation in illegal protest was attributable to student characteristics (mainly gender), a further 20 cent was attributable to student's self-beliefs (mainly citizenship self-efficacy) and 22 per cent was attributable to (lower) civic knowledge. Fourteen per cent of the explained variance was attributable to attitudes to public institutions and 21 per cent of the explained variance was attributable to more than one set of predictors.

Discussion

Active citizenship is both one of the pillars of a democracy and a key intended outcome of civic and citizenship education. The effects of civic and citizenship education on active citizenship can only be truly assessed through longitudinal studies that follow individuals from school through to adult life. It is also important to keep in mind that ICCS students were asked about their expectations about intended behaviour in future adult life at an early stage of adolescence which may change prior to reaching adulthood. Participation in protest activity of various forms is a part of active citizenship that needs to be better understood.

It is possible to use cross-sectional survey data such as those from ICCS to assess influences on students' intentions to participate, or expectations of participating, in protest activities. The theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 2001), and a body of empirical research derived from that theory, supports the proposition that intentions act as powerful mediating influences on actions, and that attitudes, experiences and backgrounds operate on actions through their influences on intentions. Therefore, understanding influences on intended or expected participation in protest activities may go some way to helping understand in advance influences on actual participation.

The ICCS main survey measured important constructs relevant to this paper with satisfactory reliabilities across countries. Relationships between indicators of behavioural intentions and behaviours and the sets of related factors (student

background, attitudes, and civic knowledge) show a number of associations that are discussed in the paper.

Expected participation in legal protest activities was not associated with family background. Students' citizenship self-efficacy had a modest association with expected participation in legal protest activity. Political self-efficacy, interest in political and social issues, past community participation and higher civic knowledge had smaller influences on expected participation in legal protest activities. Our conclusion is that expected participation in legal protest is more strongly influenced by students' self-beliefs than by background characteristics and that civic knowledge has just a small effect on expected legal protest activity. Overall the variables in our model explain an average across countries of 28 per cent of the variance in expected participation in legal protest activities.

Expected participation in illegal protest activity was lower among females than males, those with higher levels of civic knowledge and those with more trust in civic institutions but a little higher among those with a stronger sense of citizenship self-efficacy. However, these variables together with others in the model explained an average of just 11 per cent of the variance in expected participation in illegal protest activities.

In general civic knowledge had just a small positive influence on expected participation in legal protest activities and a small negative influence on participation in illegal protest activities. However citizenship self-efficacy had a positive influence on expected participation in both forms of protest activity. This suggests that what happens in schools impacts in small ways on future broader participation in society as citizens and that affective outcomes such as citizenship self-efficacy are an important contributor to this.

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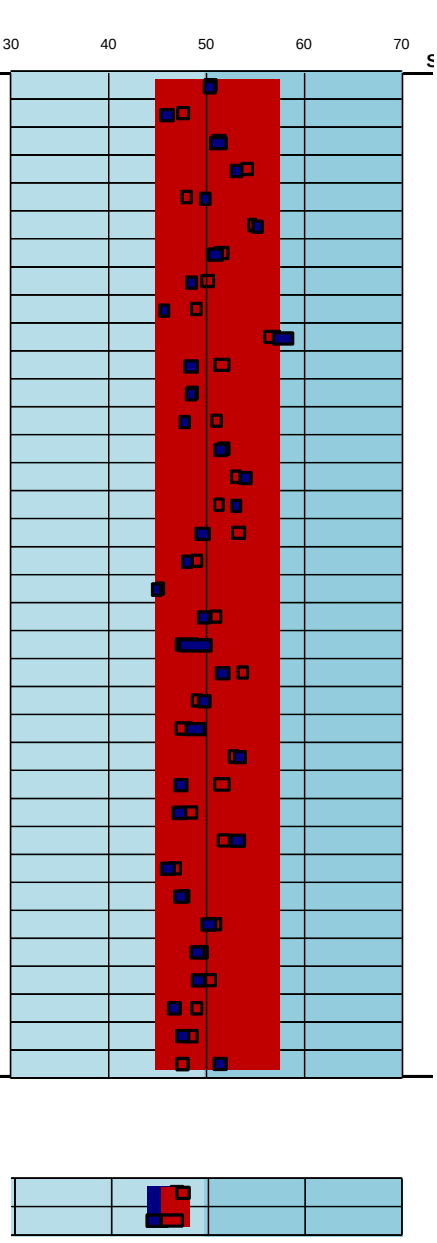
Table 1 National averages for expected participation in legal protest activities overall and by gender groups

Country	All students		Females	Males	Differences (males - females)*
					Gender differences for expected participation in legal protest
Austria	50 (0.2)		50 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	0 (0.4)
Belgium (Flemish) †	47 (0.2)	▼	48 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	**-2** (0.4)
Bulgaria	51 (0.3)	△	51 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	0 (0.5)
Chile	54 (0.2)	▲	54 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	**-1** (0.4)
Chinese Taipei	49 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.2)	50 (0.2)	**2** (0.3)
Colombia	55 (0.2)	▲	55 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	0 (0.3)
Cyprus	51 (0.2)	△	52 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	-1 (0.5)
Czech Republic †	49 (0.2)	▽	50 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	**-2** (0.4)
Denmark †	47 (0.2)	▽	49 (0.2)	46 (0.2)	**-3** (0.4)
Dominican Republic	57 (0.4)	▲	57 (0.4)	58 (0.5)	**1** (0.4)
England ‡	50 (0.3)		52 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	**-3** (0.5)
Estonia	49 (0.2)	▽	49 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	0 (0.3)
Finland	49 (0.2)	▽	51 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	**-3** (0.3)
Greece	52 (0.2)	△	52 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	0 (0.4)
Guatemala[1]	54 (0.2)	▲	53 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	**1** (0.3)
Indonesia	52 (0.2)	△	51 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	**2** (0.3)
Ireland	51 (0.2)	△	53 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	**-4** (0.4)
Italy	49 (0.2)	▽	49 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	**-1** (0.3)
Korea, Republic of[1]	45 (0.2)	▼	45 (0.2)	45 (0.2)	0 (0.3)
Latvia	50 (0.2)		51 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	**-1** (0.4)
Liechtenstein	48 (0.5)	▽	48 (0.6)	49 (0.8)	1 (1.0)
Lithuania	53 (0.2)	△	54 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	**-2** (0.4)
Luxembourg	49 (0.2)	▽	49 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	1 (0.4)
Malta	48 (0.3)	▽	48 (0.4)	49 (0.5)	1 (0.6)
Mexico	53 (0.2)	▲	53 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	1 (0.3)
New Zealand †	50 (0.3)		52 (0.4)	47 (0.3)	**-4** (0.5)
Norway †	48 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	**-1** (0.5)
Paraguay[1]	52 (0.2)	△	52 (0.3)	53 (0.4)	**1** (0.5)
Poland	46 (0.3)	▼	47 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	-1 (0.4)
Russian Federation	48 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.2)	47 (0.3)	-1 (0.4)
Slovak Republic[2]	51 (0.3)		51 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	-1 (0.5)
Slovenia	49 (0.2)	▽	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	0 (0.4)
Spain	50 (0.2)		50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	**-1** (0.4)
Sweden	48 (0.2)	▽	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	**-2** (0.3)
Switzerland †	48 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	-1 (0.4)
Thailand †	49 (0.3)	▽	48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	**4** (0.3)
ICCS average	50 (0.0)		50 (0.0)	50 (0.1)	**-1** (0.1)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements					
Hong Kong SAR	47 (0.2)		47 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	0 (0.4)
Netherlands	46 (0.5)		46 (0.6)	45 (0.5)	**-1** (0.5)



National average

more than 3 score points above ICCS average ▲

significantly above ICCS average △

significantly below ICCS average ▽

more than 3 score points below ICCS average ▼

* Statistically significant (p<.05) gender differences in **bold**.

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

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

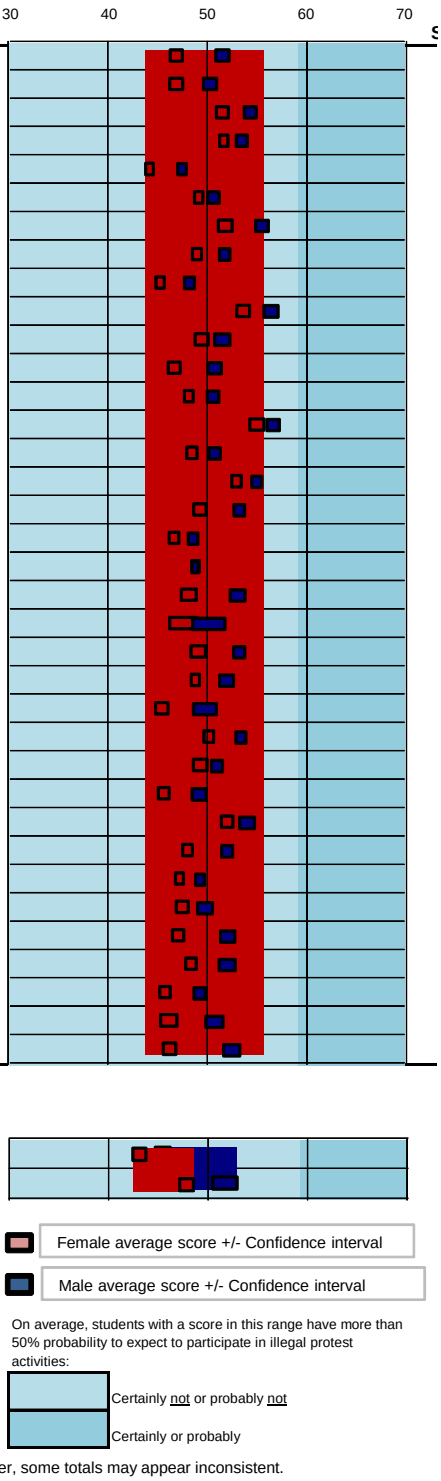
‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

[1] Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

[2] National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table 2 National averages for expected participation in illegal protest activities overall and by gender groups

Country	All students		Females	Males	Differences (males - females)*
					Gender differences for expected participation in illegal protest
Austria	49 (0.3)	▽	47 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	**5** (0.4)
Belgium (Flemish) †	49 (0.3)	▽	47 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	**3** (0.4)
Bulgaria	53 (0.2)	△	52 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	**3** (0.4)
Chile	53 (0.2)	△	52 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	**2** (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	46 (0.2)	▼	44 (0.2)	47 (0.2)	**3** (0.3)
Colombia	50 (0.2)		49 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	**2** (0.3)
Cyprus	54 (0.2)	▲	52 (0.4)	55 (0.3)	**4** (0.5)
Czech Republic †	50 (0.2)	△	49 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	**3** (0.4)
Denmark †	47 (0.2)	▼	45 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	**3** (0.3)
Dominican Republic	55 (0.2)	▲	54 (0.3)	56 (0.4)	**3** (0.5)
England ‡	50 (0.3)		49 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	**2** (0.5)
Estonia	49 (0.3)	▽	47 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	**4** (0.4)
Finland	49 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.2)	51 (0.3)	**2** (0.4)
Greece	56 (0.3)	▲	55 (0.4)	57 (0.3)	**2** (0.4)
Guatemala[1]	50 (0.2)	▽	48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	**2** (0.4)
Indonesia	54 (0.2)	▲	53 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	**2** (0.3)
Ireland	51 (0.2)	△	49 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	**4** (0.4)
Italy	48 (0.2)	▽	47 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	**2** (0.3)
Korea, Republic of[1]	49 (0.1)	▽	49 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	0 (0.3)
Latvia	51 (0.3)		48 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	**5** (0.4)
Liechtenstein	49 (0.5)	▽	48 (0.7)	50 (0.8)	**3** (1.2)
Lithuania	51 (0.3)	△	49 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	**4** (0.5)
Luxembourg	50 (0.2)		49 (0.2)	52 (0.4)	**3** (0.4)
Malta	48 (0.3)	▽	45 (0.3)	50 (0.6)	**4** (0.7)
Mexico	52 (0.2)	△	50 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	**3** (0.3)
New Zealand †	50 (0.3)		49 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	**2** (0.4)
Norway †	47 (0.3)	▽	46 (0.3)	49 (0.4)	**4** (0.3)
Paraguay[1]	53 (0.3)	△	52 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	**2** (0.4)
Poland	50 (0.2)		48 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	**4** (0.4)
Russian Federation	48 (0.2)	▽	47 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	**2** (0.3)
Slovak Republic[2]	49 (0.3)	▽	47 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	**2** (0.5)
Slovenia	50 (0.3)	▽	47 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	**5** (0.5)
Spain	50 (0.3)		48 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	**4** (0.4)
Sweden	47 (0.2)	▽	46 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	**4** (0.4)
Switzerland †	48 (0.4)	▽	46 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	**5** (0.4)
Thailand †	49 (0.3)	▽	46 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	**6** (0.4)
ICCS average	50 (0.0)		49 (0.1)	52 (0.1)	**3** (0.1)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements					
Hong Kong SAR	44 (0.3)		43 (0.3)	45 (0.4)	**2** (0.5)
Netherlands	50 (0.4)		48 (0.4)	52 (0.6)	**4** (0.7)



National percentage

more than 3 score points above ICCS average ▲

significantly above ICCS average △

significantly below ICCS average ▽

more than 3 score points below ICCS average ▼

* Statistically significant (p<.05) gender differences in **bold**.

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

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

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

[1] Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

[2] National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.

Table 3 **Multiple regression model results for expected participation in legal protest**

Unstandardized regression coefficients (standard errors in brackets)*

	Student characteristics and background			Students' past or current civic		Students' self-beliefs			Students' attitudes towards institutions		Cognitive abilities
Country	Gender (female)	Socio-economic family background	Parental interest	Participation in community	Participation at school	Interest in political and social issues	Internal political efficacy	Citizenship self-efficacy	Trust in civic institutions	Support for political parties	Civic knowledge
Austria	0.5 (0.3)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.2 (0.5)	**0.5** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.3)	**3.0** (0.3)	0.3 (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	**1.0** (0.2)
Belgium (Flemish) †	**1.2** (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	0.1 (0.4)	**1.4** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.3)	**1.2** (0.3)	**2.6** (0.3)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)
Bulgaria	-0.6 (0.4)	0.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.5)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.4 (0.3)	**0.8** (0.3)	**0.9** (0.3)	**3.0** (0.4)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
Chile	0.2 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)	**3.5** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	**-1.7** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.9** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**1.1** (0.2)
Colombia	**-0.5** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.2)	**3.2** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**0.3** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)
Cyprus	0.3 (0.4)	**0.5** (0.2)	0.7 (0.5)	**0.9** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)	**1.0** (0.3)	**4.5** (0.4)	**0.9** (0.3)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)
Czech Republic †	0.6 (0.4)	0.1 (0.1)	0.3 (0.3)	**0.9** (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)	**3.7** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.1)
Denmark †	**2.2** (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	0.6 (0.4)	**0.9** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.9** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.3)	**2.4** (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.2)
Dominican Republic	-0.4 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)	**0.9** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.3** (0.3)	**3.8** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.1)
England ‡	**2.5** (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	-0.6 (0.4)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.8** (0.3)	0.3 (0.3)	**3.7** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)
Estonia	**-1.0** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)	**0.6** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.8** (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.1)	**0.9** (0.2)
Finland	**2.4** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.3)	0.3 (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	0.2 (0.3)	**3.7** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.2)
Greece	0.2 (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	0.5 (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.2** (0.3)	**3.2** (0.3)	0.2 (0.2)	**0.3** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.2)
Guatemala[1]	**-1.1** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.5** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.2)
Indonesia	**-0.7** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.1)	-0.4 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.8** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)
Ireland	**2.4** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.5)	**1.1** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)	**3.6** (0.3)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**1.3** (0.2)
Italy	0.5 (0.3)	0.1 (0.1)	0.3 (0.4)	**1.0** (0.1)	0.3 (0.1)	**1.1** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**3.0** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.6** (0.2)
Korea, Republic of[1]	**0.6** (0.3)	**-0.3** (0.1)	0.6 (0.5)	**0.9** (0.1)	0.2 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.2** (0.2)	**1.8** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.2)
Latvia	0.1 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)	**0.4** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**3.5** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
Liechtenstein	-1.3 (1.0)	0.4 (0.4)	1.0 (1.3)	0.7 (0.5)	-0.3 (0.6)	**1.2** (0.6)	-0.7 (0.7)	**3.0** (0.7)	0.4 (0.6)	0.2 (0.4)	**1.3** (0.5)
Lithuania	0.3 (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.5)	**0.4** (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**2.6** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.1)
Luxembourg	-0.3 (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	0.1 (0.5)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.3)	**0.9** (0.3)	**3.3** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**1.1** (0.2)
Malta	-0.4 (0.5)	0.0 (0.2)	0.3 (0.7)	**1.0** (0.3)	0.2 (0.3)	**0.8** (0.4)	0.7 (0.4)	**4.2** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	0.5 (0.3)
Mexico	-0.4 (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**3.6** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**0.9** (0.1)
New Zealand †	**2.9** (0.5)	0.3 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.6)	**1.1** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)	**1.1** (0.2)	**3.8** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.3)	**0.6** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)
Norway †	**0.8** (0.4)	0.3 (0.2)	0.5 (0.5)	**1.1** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.3)	**1.7** (0.4)	**2.5** (0.4)	**0.6** (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)
Paraguay[1]	**-0.8** (0.4)	0.2 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.3)	**3.4** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)
Poland	-0.8 (0.4)	0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.5)	**1.3** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.3** (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**2.8** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.1)	**0.9** (0.2)
Russian Federation	0.2 (0.3)	0.0 (0.1)	0.6 (0.4)	**0.6** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**3.4** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.3** (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)
Slovak Republic[2]	0.1 (0.4)	**0.7** (0.2)	-0.5 (0.4)	**0.5** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	0.2 (0.3)	**4.2** (0.3)	0.1 (0.3)	**0.6** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Slovenia	0.3 (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.4)	**0.8** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.4)	**2.9** (0.3)	**0.6** (0.3)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)
Spain	**0.7** (0.4)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.4)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**3.6** (0.3)	**0.8** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	0.3 (0.2)
Sweden	**1.8** (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.4)	**0.8** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.3)	**3.0** (0.3)	**0.5** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
Switzerland †	**1.2** (0.5)	**0.7** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.4)	**0.9** (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.3)	**1.4** (0.3)	**2.2** (0.4)	**0.8** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)
Thailand †	**-2.5** (0.3)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.4)	**1.1** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	**1.2** (0.2)	**1.7** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.2)
ICCS average	**0.3** (0.1)	**0.1** (0.0)	0.1 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.0)	**0.3** (0.0)	**0.8** (0.0)	**0.8** (0.0)	**3.1** (0.0)	**0.5** (0.0)	**0.4** (0.0)	**0.8** (0.0)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements											
Hong Kong SAR	0.0 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.4)	**0.7** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.8** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**3.2** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)
Netherlands	**0.9** (0.4)	-0.1 (0.3)	0.6 (0.5)	**0.9** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)	**2.3** (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

* Statistically significant ($p<0.05$) coefficients in **bold**.

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

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

[1] Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

[2] National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population

Table 4 **Explained variance for expected participation in legal protest**

Country	Percentage of variance explained by student characteristics and background only	by full model
Austria	5 (1.0)	24 (2.3)
Belgium (Flemish) †	3 (0.7)	27 (2.1)
Bulgaria	2 (0.6)	22 (2.4)
Chile	2 (0.5)	29 (1.3)
Chinese Taipei	3 (0.4)	22 (1.6)
Colombia	2 (0.5)	32 (2.0)
Cyprus	5 (0.9)	36 (2.1)
Czech Republic †	4 (0.5)	27 (1.5)
Denmark †	8 (1.0)	28 (1.7)
Dominican Republic	2 (0.4)	35 (1.8)
England ‡	9 (1.1)	38 (1.7)
Estonia	2 (0.6)	17 (1.8)
Finland	6 (0.8)	31 (1.7)
Greece	3 (0.7)	27 (1.8)
Guatemala[1]	2 (0.5)	24 (1.5)
Indonesia	2 (0.4)	28 (1.5)
Ireland	8 (1.1)	38 (2.2)
Italy	4 (0.7)	32 (1.8)
Korea, Republic of[1]	1 (0.3)	18 (1.2)
Latvia	2 (0.5)	26 (2.1)
Liechtenstein	5 (2.6)	23 (5.2)
Lithuania	3 (0.7)	25 (2.0)
Luxembourg	4 (0.8)	27 (1.9)
Malta	4 (1.1)	36 (2.3)
Mexico	2 (0.4)	29 (1.3)
New Zealand †	8 (1.1)	36 (1.8)
Norway †	6 (1.0)	31 (2.1)
Paraguay[1]	2 (0.5)	29 (2.1)
Poland	3 (0.6)	25 (1.6)
Russian Federation	3 (0.8)	30 (1.9)
Slovak Republic[2]	3 (0.7)	30 (1.8)
Slovenia	3 (0.5)	21 (1.7)
Spain	3 (0.7)	34 (1.7)
Sweden	5 (1.0)	33 (1.9)
Switzerland †	5 (0.9)	26 (1.9)
Thailand †	4 (0.7)	20 (1.6)
ICCS average	**4** (0.1)	**28** (0.3)

Countries not meeting sampling requirements

Hong Kong SAR	3 (0.8)	32 (2.5)
Netherlands	5 (1.8)	26 (5.0)

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

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

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

[1] Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

[2] National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population

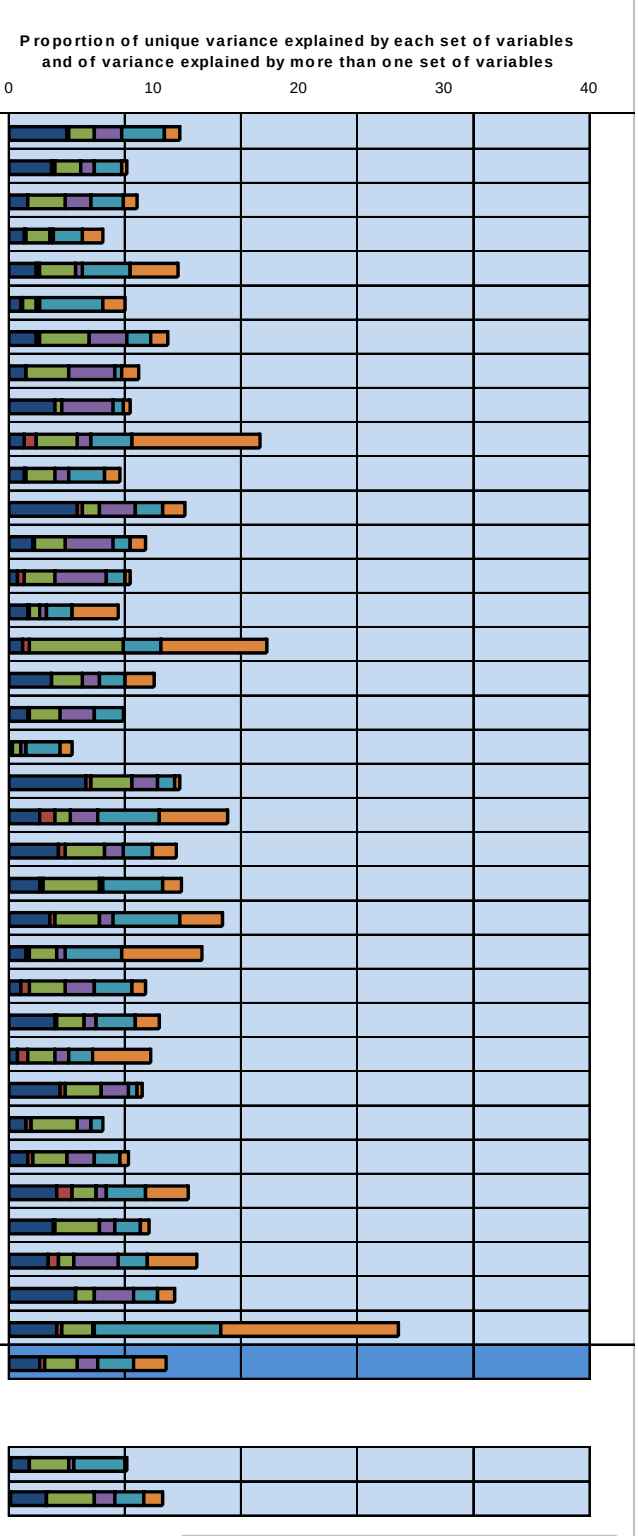
Table 5 **Multiple regression model results for expected participation in illegal protest**

*Unstandardized regression coefficients (standard errors in brackets)**

	Student characteristics and background			Students' past or current civic		Students' self-beliefs			Students' attitudes towards institutions		Cognitive abilities
Country	Gender (female)	Socio-economic family background	Parental interest	Participation in community	Participation at school	Interest in political and social issues	Internal political efficacy	Citizenship self-efficacy	Trust in civic institutions	Support for political parties	Civic knowledge
Austria	**-4.3** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.8** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.1)	**-2.0** (0.1)
Belgium (Flemish) †	**-3.3** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.1)	0.2 (0.3)	**0.2** (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.7** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.1)	**-1.0** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Bulgaria	**-2.2** (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	-0.5 (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)
Chile	**-1.8** (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	0.3 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.4** (0.1)	**1.3** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	**-1.6** (0.1)
Chinese Taipei	**-2.5** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.1)	**1.5** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)
Colombia	**-1.4** (0.3)	0.2 (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.1)	**-0.4** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**-2.4** (0.1)
Cyprus	**-3.0** (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.4)	**0.3** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**2.1** (0.2)	**-1.6** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.1)	**-1.6** (0.1)
Czech Republic †	**-2.3** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)	**-1.3** (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**1.8** (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)	**0.6** (0.1)	**-0.8** (0.1)
Denmark †	**-3.3** (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	0.2 (0.3)	0.1 (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**-1.8** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.2)
Dominican Republic	**-1.7** (0.5)	**-0.6** (0.1)	-0.3 (0.4)	**1.0** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.1)	**1.4** (0.1)	**1.1** (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)	**-1.9** (0.1)
England ‡	**-1.7** (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.7** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-1.8** (0.1)
Estonia	**-4.1** (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.4 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.1)	**-1.3** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Finland	**-2.4** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.3)	0.1 (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	**-1.1** (0.1)
Greece	**-1.3** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.3)	**0.4** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)	**-0.8** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.1)	**1.5** (0.2)	**-1.8** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	**-1.3** (0.1)
Guatemala[1]	**-2.2** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**0.6** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-1.5** (0.1)
Indonesia	**-0.9** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	**-1.2** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**2.2** (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.5** (0.1)
Ireland	**-3.4** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-1.1** (0.1)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-1.6** (0.1)
Italy	**-1.8** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.3)	0.0 (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.5** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Korea, Republic of[1]	**0.5** (0.1)	**-0.2** (0.1)	0.4 (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.2** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.5** (0.1)
Latvia	**-4.8** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.3)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	**2.0** (0.2)	**-1.4** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.2** (0.1)
Liechtenstein	**-2.5** (0.8)	-0.7 (0.4)	0.8 (1.5)	0.3 (0.4)	-0.6 (0.4)	0.8 (0.6)	**-1.0** (0.5)	0.2 (0.4)	**-1.3** (0.5)	**0.8** (0.3)	**-2.5** (0.4)
Lithuania	**-3.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.4)	**0.4** (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.1)	**-0.4** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**1.8** (0.1)	**-1.0** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-1.6** (0.1)
Luxembourg	**-2.8** (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.3)	**0.3** (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.1)	**2.0** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**-2.3** (0.2)
Malta	**-3.2** (0.5)	0.1 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.3)	**0.5** (0.2)	**-0.3** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-2.3** (0.1)
Mexico	**-2.3** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-0.6** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-2.3** (0.1)
New Zealand †	**-1.5** (0.2)	**-0.4** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.4)	**0.8** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	0.3 (0.3)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-1.5** (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)
Norway †	**-3.3** (0.2)	**-0.3** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.3)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-1.8** (0.1)
Paraguay[1]	**-1.3** (0.2)	**0.2** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Poland	**-3.9** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	0.1 (0.3)	**0.6** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.1)
Russian Federation	**-1.8** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.1)	-0.4 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**1.6** (0.2)	**-0.8** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**-0.8** (0.1)
Slovak Republic[2]	**-2.0** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.1)	-0.3 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.7** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Slovenia	**-3.9** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	0.4 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**-1.1** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	**-1.9** (0.1)
Spain	**-3.3** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.1)	**-0.8** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**1.7** (0.1)	**-1.2** (0.1)	0.1 (0.1)	**-1.5** (0.1)
Sweden	**-2.9** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.1)	**-0.4** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**0.6** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	**-1.8** (0.1)	**0.2** (0.1)	**-1.6** (0.1)
Switzerland †	**-4.3** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.1)	-0.4 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.1)	0.2 (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.1)	**0.2** (0.1)	**1.1** (0.1)	**-1.7** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-1.4** (0.1)
Thailand †	**-3.8** (0.2)	**-0.3** (0.1)	**-1.1** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.2** (0.1)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.2** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-3.4** (0.1)
ICCS average	**-2.6** (0.0)	**-0.1** (0.0)	**-0.4** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.0)	**-0.2** (0.0)	**-0.3** (0.0)	**0.3** (0.0)	**1.4** (0.0)	**-0.9** (0.0)	**0.2** (0.0)	**-1.7** (0.0)

Table 6 **Explained variance for expected participation in illegal protest**

Country	Percentage of variance explained by student characteristics and background only	Percentage of variance explained by full model
Austria	6 (1.0)	12 (1.3)
Belgium (Flemish) †	4 (0.9)	8 (1.1)
Bulgaria	2 (0.6)	9 (1.1)
Chile	2 (0.5)	6 (0.8)
Chinese Taipei	4 (0.5)	12 (1.0)
Colombia	1 (0.3)	8 (0.9)
Cyprus	3 (0.7)	11 (1.4)
Czech Republic †	2 (0.5)	9 (1.0)
Denmark †	3 (0.5)	8 (0.9)
Dominican Republic	4 (0.9)	17 (1.7)
England ‡	3 (0.7)	8 (1.1)
Estonia	6 (1.1)	12 (1.4)
Finland	2 (0.6)	9 (1.0)
Greece	1 (0.4)	8 (1.0)
Guatemala[1]	2 (0.6)	8 (1.1)
Indonesia	3 (0.6)	18 (1.3)
Ireland	5 (0.9)	10 (1.2)
Italy	2 (0.5)	7 (0.8)
Korea, Republic of[1]	0 (0.2)	4 (0.7)
Latvia	6 (1.1)	12 (1.4)
Liechtenstein	6 (2.2)	15 (3.5)
Lithuania	5 (1.1)	12 (1.1)
Luxembourg	4 (0.7)	12 (1.4)
Malta	6 (1.6)	15 (2.3)
Mexico	3 (0.5)	13 (1.0)
New Zealand †	2 (0.5)	9 (1.0)
Norway †	5 (0.7)	10 (1.4)
Paraguay[1]	1 (0.6)	10 (1.3)
Poland	5 (0.8)	9 (1.2)
Russian Federation	2 (0.4)	6 (1.0)
Slovak Republic[2]	2 (0.6)	8 (1.3)
Slovenia	6 (1.0)	12 (1.5)
Spain	4 (0.7)	10 (1.3)
Sweden	6 (0.9)	13 (1.5)
Switzerland †	6 (1.1)	11 (1.4)
Thailand †	11 (1.3)	27 (1.6)
ICCS average	4 (0.1)	11 (0.2)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements		
Hong Kong SAR	2 (0.8)	10 (1.6)
Netherlands	5 (2.0)	13 (1.7)



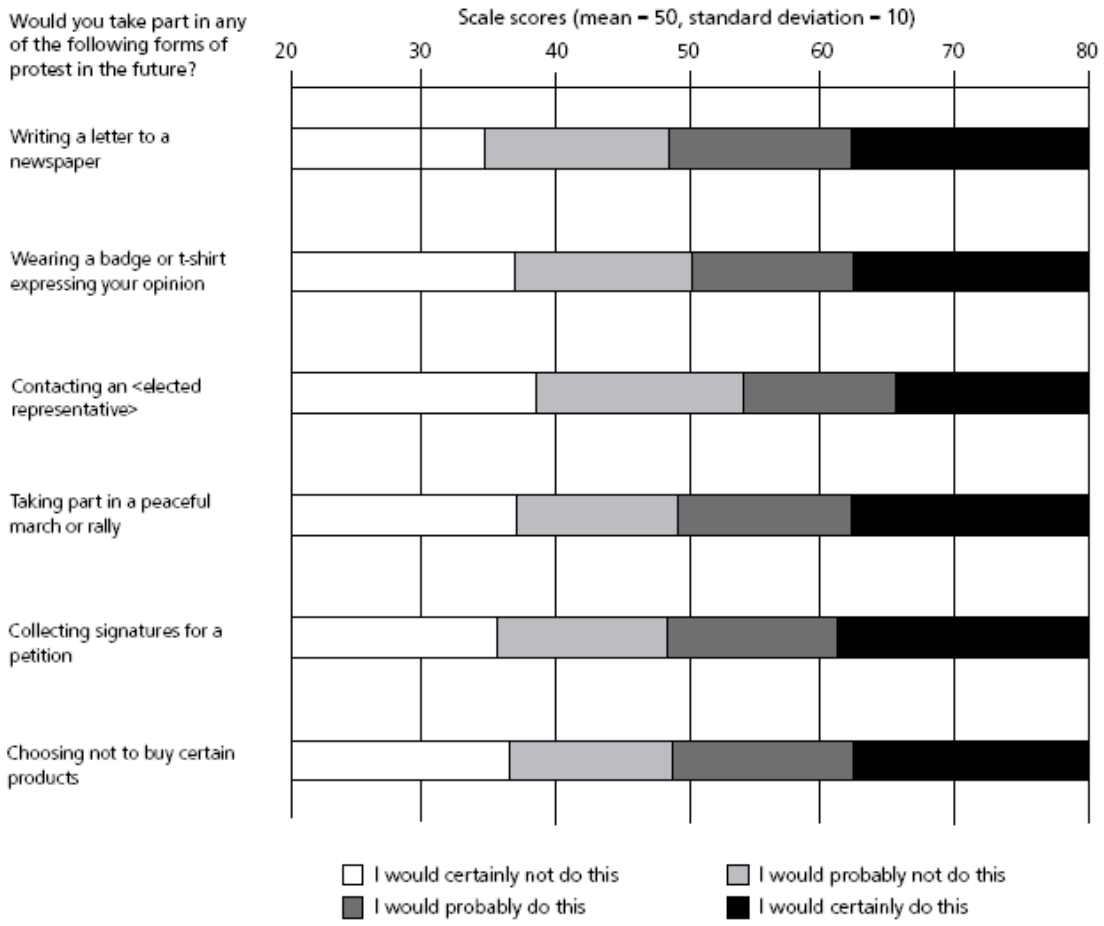
() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because some results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

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

‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.

[1] Country surveyed the same cohort of students but at the beginning of the next school year.

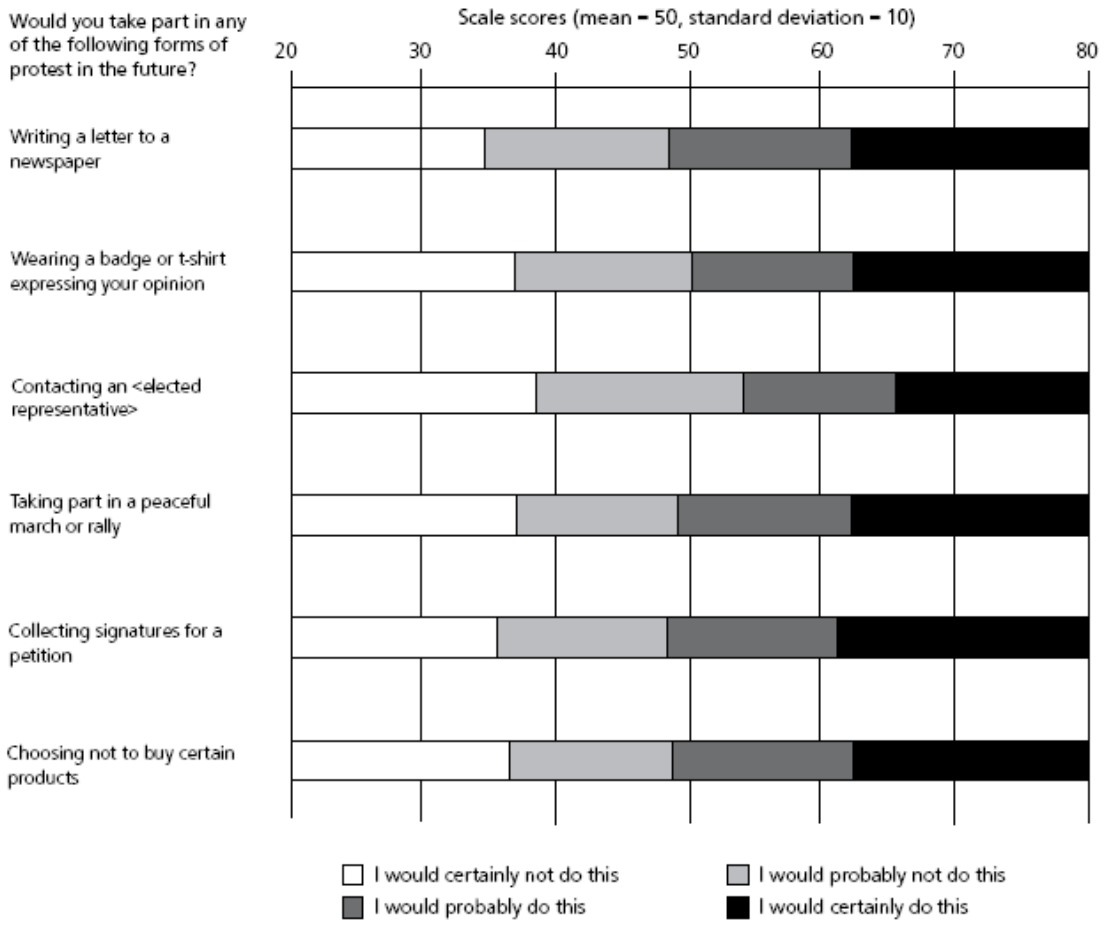
[2] National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population



International Item Frequencies (row percentages)

					Sum
Writing a letter to a newspaper	11	32	40	**17**	100
Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion	15	35	34	**16**	100
Contacting an <elected representative>	18	43	28	**11**	100
Taking part in a peaceful march or rally	15	32	36	**18**	100
Collecting signatures for a petition	12	30	37	**20**	100
Choosing not to buy certain products	13	31	38	**17**	100

Note:
Average percentages for 36 equally weighted participating countries that met sample participation requirements. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.



International Item Frequencies (row percentages)

					Sum
Writing a letter to a newspaper	11	32	40	**17**	100
Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion	15	35	34	**16**	100
Contacting an <elected representative>	18	43	28	**11**	100
Taking part in a peaceful march or rally	15	32	36	**18**	100
Collecting signatures for a petition	12	30	37	**20**	100
Choosing not to buy certain products	13	31	38	**17**	100

Note:
Average percentages for 36 equally weighted participating countries that met sample participation requirements. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.