Young people's trust in institutions and their dispositions toward civic engagement since 2009

Wolfram Schulz

Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER)

Paper prepared for the *CIES 2019 Conference*,

San Francisco 14 - 18 October 2019

Young people's trust in institutions and their dispositions toward civic engagement since 2009

Wolfram Schulz (ACER)

Abstract

This paper discusses ICCS results regarding students' dispositions toward civic engagement and changes in their perceptions of traditional vs. alternative forms of political participation since 2009 as well as factors explaining their variations. It focuses on the role of two important variables that potentially influence students' expectations: trust in civic institutions and political. ICCS 2016 results confirm earlier observations that trust and civic knowledge tend to be either more negatively or positively related depending on general perceptions of corruption, and multivariate also show how expectations to engage in politics in later life are associated in different with these two variables as well as other factors.

Background and research questions

Over the past decade there have been growing concerns regarding a worldwide "democratic recession" (Diamond, 2014), which have arisen due to a surge in authoritarian government practices as well as a considerable increase in populist movements that have started to erode established party systems and in some cases have challenged the stability of democratic systems (Boogards, 2017). Frequently, the success of populist movements and political leaders has been linked the increased alienation of citizens from civic institutions and in particular traditional political parties, and it is also regarded as a response to growing globalisation and migration (Hobolt, Anduiza, Carkoglu, Lutz & Sauger, 2016).

Growing political alienation of larger parts of the population in democratic societies (Schwartz, 2017; Stoker & Evans, 2014) is often regarded as an explanatory factor behind the surge in populism (Gidron & Hall, 2017). Economic and social developments have increasingly severed traditional bindings of people to society and its institutions, and increasingly individuals feel "left behind" and marginalised. In addition, increasing attention on scandals and corruption as well as personalisation of politics may provide further explanations for populist orientations (Fieschi & Heywood, 2004). Furthermore, negative emotions (such as feelings of anxiety and sadness) have been identified as drivers of populist voting choices (Rico, Guinjoan & Anduiza, 2017).

Over the past decades there have been growing concerns about low political participation among young people, as evidenced clearly by low voter turnout in many countries, which also goes along with a sense of being marginalised from the political process (see for example, Henn & Weinstein, 2006). There is also evidence of the existence of contradictory and often conflicting political viewpoints among young people that could be interpreted as expressions of views that draw on populist rhetoric (Pollock, Brock, & Ellison, 2015). In addition, research results have suggested generational shifts with young people increasingly putting politics of

choice before politics of loyalties (Norris, 2004), with preferences for engagement related to new forms of engagement such as social media (Grasso, 2017).

This paper will focus on the links between students' trust in civic institutions, civic knowledge and different types of current and expected civic engagement. It will compare patterns of changes in students' trust in civic institutions and indicators of engagement across the two first cycles of ICCS. Furthermore, it will use multivariate analyses to assess the association between measures of trust and expected forms of engagement (electoral, active political, legal and illegal expressions of opinion), with a particular focus on the role of civic knowledge.

Analyses from both ICCS cycles have shown that trust tends to be associated with different types students' expected engagement while civic knowledge is a positive predictor for expected electoral participation, but is negatively correlated with active political participation. Furthermore, students with higher levels of civic knowledge tend to be less inclined to trust civic institutions in those countries with higher indices of corruption, while in those countries with less perceived corruption the association between these two variables tends to be positive (see also Lauglo, 2013).

This paper uses data from the most recent cycle of ICCS, with data collected in 2015/2016, to explore the following research questions:

1. *To which extent do students expected to engage in civic activities across participating countries in ICCS 2016 and where there any changes since 2009 (in terms of electoral and active political participation)?* It is expected that there are similar patterns of expectations across different types of engagement across countries.
2. *How are civic knowledge and trust interrelated and what is their relationship with expected engagement?* It is expected that trust and civic knowledge are related to expected participation and that patterns of relationship are associated with perceptions of corruption and vary across country contexts.
3. *Which are the associations of factors related to the home context, dispositions toward engagement (such as acquired civic knowledge and self-efficacy) and perceptions of school climate and civic institutions with students' expectations of future participate at school?* It is expected that there are differences in associations depending on the type of expected engagement as well as variations across countries.

Data and methods

Data

In 2016, ICCS gathered data from more than 94,000 Grade 8 students in 3800 schools in 24 countries (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, Agrusti, & Friedman, 2018). These student data were augmented by data from more than 37,000 teachers in those schools. Our analyses focus on the 21 countries in ICCS 2016 that satisfied the participation requirements established by the IEA to reduce the risk of non-participation bias. Eighteen of these 21 countries had participated in ICCS in both 2016 and 2009 and these provide the bases for commenting on changes over time. ICCS employed two-stage cluster sampling procedures within countries.

During the first stage, schools were sampled from a sampling frame with a probability proportional to their size. During the second stage, students were randomly sampled within schools (see technical details in Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2018).

Measures

Measures

Responses to the student questionnaire were used to measure many of the constructs underpinning the scales and items in our paper. IRT (Item Response Theory) scaling was used to derive the scales. The four scales which are used were based on common items across cycles allowing comparisons between ICCS 2009 and 2016. These 2016 scales were equated to those used in ICCS 2009. For these scales, 50 reflects the mean and 10 the standard deviation of all equally weighted countries that participated in ICCS 2009.

Criterion variables

- *Expected electoral participation* was measured with a scale based on items concerned with voting at elections and seeking information about candidates. Students were asked to use the following response categories: "I would certainly do this," "I would probably do this," "I would probably not do this," and "I would certainly not do this"). The activities listed were (a) "vote in local elections" (85%); (b) "vote in national elections" (85%); and (c) "get information about candidates before voting in an election" (80%). The students' responses to these items formed a highly reliable scale ($\alpha = 0.83$) reflecting intended electoral participation that we were able to equate to the scale established in ICCS 2009.
- *Expected active political participation* was measured with a scale based on five items that asked them how likely students would be to participate at some future date in the following activities: (a) "help a candidate or party during an election campaign" (44%); (b) "join a political party" (26%); (c) "join a trade union" (32%); (d) "stand as a candidate" (24%); and (e) "join an organization committed to a political or social cause" (34%). The scale proved to be highly reliable ($\alpha = 0.85$) and we were able to equate the 2016 scale scores to the scale scores in ICCS 2009.
- *Expected participation in legal activities to express opinions* was measured by asking students about their likelihood (the response categories were "certainly," "probably," "probably not," and "certainly not)" of participating at some future date in certain activities that would allow them to express their opinions about a social or political issue, using the following items: (a) talking to others about one's views on political or social issues (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students expected to do this definitely or probably: 65%); (b) contacting an elected representative (40%); (c) taking part in a peaceful march or rally (51%); (d) collecting signatures for a petition (50%); (e) contributing to an online discussion forum about social or political issues (45%); (f) organizing an online group to take a stance on a controversial political or social issue (37%); and (g) participating in an online campaign (46%).

- *Expected participation in illegal activities to express opinions* was measured by asking students about their likelihood (the response categories were "certainly," "probably," "probably not," and "certainly not)" of participating at some future date in certain activities that would allow them to express their opinions about a social or political issue, using the following items: (a) spray-painting protest slogans on walls (22%); (b) staging a protest by blocking traffic (19%); and (c) occupying public buildings as a sign of protest (18%).

Independent Variables

We used the following predictor variables for multiple regression analyses explaining variance in the four criterion variables:

- Student background
  - Students' *gender* (female = 1, male = 0); this variable was only used for analysis of endorsement of gender equality and equal rights for ethnic/racial groups.
  - Socioeconomic background using a composite indictor from parental occupation, education and the number of books at home, where scale scores were nationally standardized to having averages of 0 and standard deviations of 1 in each country.
  - Parents' interest in political and social issues is included as dichotomous variables with a value of 0 indicating no or little parental interest, and a value of 1 that students reported that at least one of their parents was quite or very interested.
  - Students' interest in political and social issues is included as dichotomous variables with a value of 0 indicating no or little interest, and a value of 1 that students were quite or very interested.
- Dispositions toward engagement:
  - Students' sense of c*itizenship self-efficacy* (see description above).
  - Civic knowledge based on a test of 87 items, which included 42 items from ICCS 2009, as described in a companion paper in this symposium (Fraillon, Gebhardt & Schulz, 2018)). In the (preliminary) analyses underlying the results presented in this paper we used the first plausible value in a nationally standardised metric with national averages of 0 and national standard deviations of 1.
- Student perceptions of school climate and institutions:
  - *Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations* at school as reported by students and measured as a scale based on four items with satisfactory reliability across countries ($\alpha = 0.81$); scale scores were nationally standardised with national averages set to 0 and national standard deviations to 1.
  - ICCS 2016 used the same item set as in ICCS 2009 to measure student *trust in civic institutions*. As in ICCS 2009, we used six items (national government, local government, national parliament, police, courts of justice, political parties) to derive a scale reflecting students' trust in civic institutions. This IRT scale had

high reliability across countries (α = 0.85), and we equated it with the scale used in ICCS 2009. The response scale was: “completely,” “quite a lot,” “a little,” or “not at all.

Analyses

The paper includes comparisons of results for students' trust in civic institutions, civic knowledge and their expected participation in the future for 2016 and, where appropriate, also in comparison with data from 2009. In addition, it reviews relationships between expected participation, civic knowledge and trust in institutions both within and across countries, also using data from the corruption perceptions index (CPI). Furthermore, it contains an examination of the results of multivariate regression analyses to review factors associated with variation in students’ expectations of political participation. Significance tests were conducted for the calculation of population parameters (such as percentages, averages or regression coefficients) that were based on jack-knife repeated replication (JRR) to compute standard errors. For comparisons of scale scores between the two cycles in 2009 and 2016, an equating error term was added to the formula for the standard error of the difference between countries because the process of equating the tests across the cycles introduces additional error into the calculation of any test statistic.

Multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the associations between expected student participation at school and the range of predictor variables. Because we found relatively low proportions of between-school variation in the dependent variable, a single-level multiple regression approach was chosen when analysing the factors explaining variation. All estimates of the percentage of explained variance were obtained by multiplying R^2 by 100. The regression modelling was carried out in two steps, with first step focused on variables reflected student background, civic learning and school context variables, and the second models also including student beliefs regarding participation (sense of citizenship self-efficacy and valuing student participation at school).

Results

Extent and variation of student' expected political participation

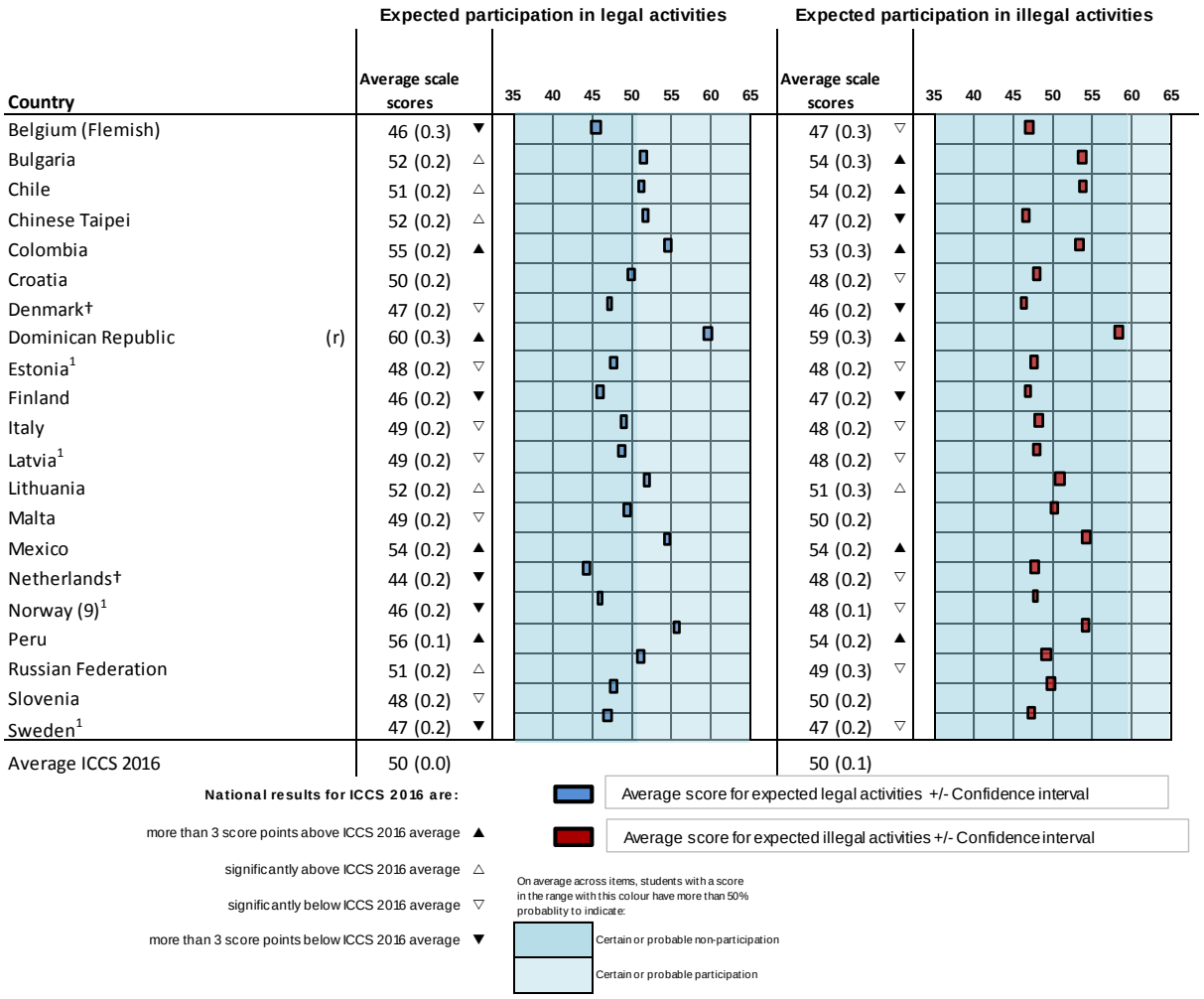
The national average scores on the scale reflecting expected participation in legal activities to express opinions ranged from 44 to 60 score points across the ICCS 2016 countries (Table 1). This considerable spread of scores possibly reflected differences in national characteristics or current events as well as diversity in civic culture. While four countries (Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru) had relatively high average scores (54 or above), another five—Belgium (Flemish), Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden—had relatively low average scores (47 or below).

The range of national average scale sores (from 47 to 59) for anticipated participation in illegal protest activities was almost as large as the range for the legal activities. While five countries (Bulgaria, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru) had relatively high average scores (54 or above), those five countries with relatively low average scores (47 or below)

were the same countries that had the low scores on the legal participation scale, that is, Belgium (Flemish), Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.

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

Table 1 Students' expectations to participate in legal and illegal activities to express their opinion



() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

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

Table 2 National average scales scores indicating students' expected electoral participation and active political participation in 2016 and 2009

	Expected electoral participation			Expected active political participation		
Country	**2016**	**2009**	**Differences (2016 - 2009)**	**2016**	**2009**	**Differences (2016 - 2009)**
Belgium (Flemish)	49 (0.3) ▽	46 (0.2)	**3.0** (0.4)	46 (0.3) ▼	46 (0.2)	0.6 (0.4)
Bulgaria	50 (0.3) ▽	48 (0.3)	**1.9** (0.4)	50 (0.3) ▽	48 (0.3)	**2.1** (0.4)
Chile	50 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	0.3 (0.4)	50 (0.2) ▽	52 (0.2)	**-2.2** (0.3)
Chinese Taipei	53 (0.2) △	51 (0.2)	**2.1** (0.3)	50 (0.2) ▽	47 (0.2)	**2.6** (0.3)
Colombia	53 (0.2) △	54 (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)	53 (0.3) △	53 (0.2)	0.2 (0.3)
Croatia	51 (0.2)	-	-	50 (0.2)	-	-
Denmark†	52 (0.2) △	49 (0.2)	**3.3** (0.3)	51 (0.1)	48 (0.3)	**2.3** (0.3)
Dominican Republic	53 (0.2) △	52 (0.3)	**0.9** (0.3)	60 (0.3) ▲	53 (0.3)	**7.2** (0.4)
Estonia[1]	48 (0.2) ▼	47 (0.3)	**1.4** (0.4)	48 (0.2) ▽	-	- (0.2)
Finland	51 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	**1.5** (0.3)	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.3)	0.5 (0.3)
Italy	54 (0.2) △	54 (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.3)
Latvia[1]	49 (0.2) ▽	50 (0.3)	-0.7 (0.4)	50 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.3)
Lithuania	52 (0.2) △	52 (0.2)	0.4 (0.3)	52 (0.2) △	49 (0.2)	**2.7** (0.3)
Malta	50 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.4)	0.7 (0.4)	50 (0.2) ▽	47 (0.3)	**3.4** (0.3)
Mexico	52 (0.2) △	53 (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.3)	55 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)
Netherlands†	47 (0.3) ▼	-	-	48 (0.2) ▼	-	-
Norway (9)[1]	54 (0.1) ▲	52 (0.3)	**2.1** (0.4)	49 (0.1) ▽	49 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.3)
Peru	55 (0.2) ▲	-	-	56 (0.2) ▲	-	-
Russian Federation	51 (0.3) ▽	51 (0.2)	-0.6 (0.4)	50 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.3)	**1.3** (0.4)
Slovenia	50 (0.3) ▽	50 (0.2)	0.1 (0.3)	49 (0.2) ▽	-	- (0.2)
Sweden[1]	53 (0.2) △	49 (0.3)	**4.2** (0.4)	50 (0.3) ▽	50 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)
Average ICCS 2016	51 (0.0)			51 (0.1)		
Average common countries	*51 (0.1)*	*50 (0.1)*	**1.1** (0.1)	*51 (0.1)*	*50 (0.1)*	**1.4** (0.1)

National ICCS 2016 results are:

more than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average ▲

significantly above ICCS 2016 average △

significantly below ICCS 2016 average ▽

more than 3 score points below ICCS 2016 average ▼

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

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

- No comparable data available.

The scales reflecting students' expected electoral and active political participation were equated so that results can be compared across the first two cycles of ICCS. Table 2 shows the national average scores for ICCS 2016 in comparison with ICCS 2009. For both scales there was variation across countries, with the highest scores for electoral participation found in Norway and Peru, while the (relatively) lowest scores were observed in Estonia and the Netherlands. For expected active political participation, the highest level of expectations was

reported in three Latin American countries (Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru) while the lowest scores were found in Belgium (Flemish) and the Netherlands.

In nine countries statistically significant increases in expected electoral participation since ICCS 2009 were recorded while in Mexico there was slight but significant decrease. Furthermore, in nine countries, expectations of active political participation significantly increased since ICCS 2009, while in two countries (Latvia and Russia) significant decreases were recorded. There were four countries (Bulgaria, Chinese Taipei, Denmark and the Dominican Republic) with significantly increases for both scales since 2009.

Civic knowledge, trust in institutions and their association with expected participation

Table 3 National average scales scores indicating students' trust in civic institutions and civic knowledge and correlations between the two variables in 2016 and 2009

	Trust in civic institutions			Civic knowledge			Correlations between trust and civic knowledge	
Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016 - 2009)	2016	2009	Differences (2016 - 2009)	2016	2009
Belgium (Flemish)	53 (0.2) r	49 (0.2)	**3.8** (0.4)	537 (4.1) r	514 (4.7)	**23** (6.2)	0.04	0.01
Bulgaria	50 (0.3) s	48 (0.3)	**1.4** (0.5)	485 (5.3) q	466 (5.0)	**19** (7.3)	-0.23	-0.29
Chile	47 (0.3) q	50 (0.3)	**-2.9** (0.5)	482 (3.1) q	483 (3.5)	-1 (4.7)	-0.11	-0.14
Chinese Taipei	51 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	**3.6** (0.4)	581 (3.0) p	559 (2.4)	**22** (3.9)	-0.07	-0.02
Colombia	48 (0.3) q	50 (0.3)	**-1.4** (0.5)	482 (3.4) q	462 (2.9)	**20** (4.5)	-0.21	-0.17
Croatia	48 (0.3) q	-	-	531 (2.5) r	-	-	-0.14	-
Denmark†	53 (0.2) r	52 (0.2)	0.7 (0.4)	586 (3.0) p	576 (3.6)	**10** (4.7)	0.15	0.25
Dominican Republic (r)	55 (0.3) p	54 (0.4)	**1.3** (0.6)	381 (3.0) q	380 (2.4)	1 (3.9)	-0.27	-0.23
Estonia[1]	51 (0.2) s	48 (0.2)	**2.6** (0.4)	546 (3.1) r	525 (4.5)	**21** (5.5)	0.07	0.06
Finland	54 (0.2) p	53 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.4)	577 (2.3) p	576 (2.4)	0 (3.3)	0.11	0.16
Italy	51 (0.2)	52 (0.2)	**-1.1** (0.4)	524 (2.4) r	531 (3.3)	-6 (4.1)	-0.04	-0.09
Latvia[1]	49 (0.2) s	45 (0.2)	**4.3** (0.4)	492 (3.1) s	482 (4.0)	**11** (5.1)	-0.01	-0.14
Lithuania	53 (0.2) r	48 (0.2)	**4.5** (0.4)	518 (3.0)	505 (2.8)	**13** (4.2)	-0.12	-0.21
Malta	52 (0.2) r	52 (0.3)	0.5 (0.5)	491 (2.7) s	490 (4.5)	2 (5.2)	-0.03	0.07
Mexico	50 (0.2) s	49 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.4)	467 (2.5) q	452 (2.8)	**15** (3.8)	-0.22	-0.22
Netherlands†	53 (0.3) r	-	-	523 (4.5)	-	-	0.09	-
Norway (9)[1]	55 (0.2) p	52 (0.2)	**2.9** (0.4)	564 (2.2) p	538 (4.0)	**25** (4.6)	0.14	0.14
Peru	48 (0.2) q	-	-	438 (3.5) q	-	-	-0.28	-
Russian Federation	53 (0.3) r	52 (0.2)	0.6 (0.4)	545 (4.3) r	506 (3.8)	**38** (5.7)	-0.06	-0.08
Slovenia	49 (0.3) s	48 (0.3)	1.0 (0.5)	532 (2.5) r	516 (2.7)	**16** (3.6)	0.10	0.08
Sweden[1]	54 (0.3) r	52 (0.3)	**1.6** (0.5)	579 (2.8) p	537 (3.1)	**42** (4.2)	0.12	0.15
Average ICCS 2016	51 (0.1)			517 (0.7)			-0.05	
Average common countries	*52 (0.1)*	*50 (0.1)*	**1.4** (0.1)	*521 (0.8)*	*505 (0.8)*	15 (1.1)	-0.04	-0.04

National ICCS 2016 results are:

more than 3 or 30 score points above average	p
significantly above average	r
significantly below average	s
more than 3 or 30 score points below average	q

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**. Correlation coefficients between -0.2 and 0.2 displayed in grey.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

- No comparable data available.

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

Civic knowledge, trust in institutions and their association with expected participation

Table 3 shows the national average test scores for civic knowledge as well as questionnaire scale reflecting students' trust across countries with their respective standard errors. Icons provide an indication whether national averages were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) and/or

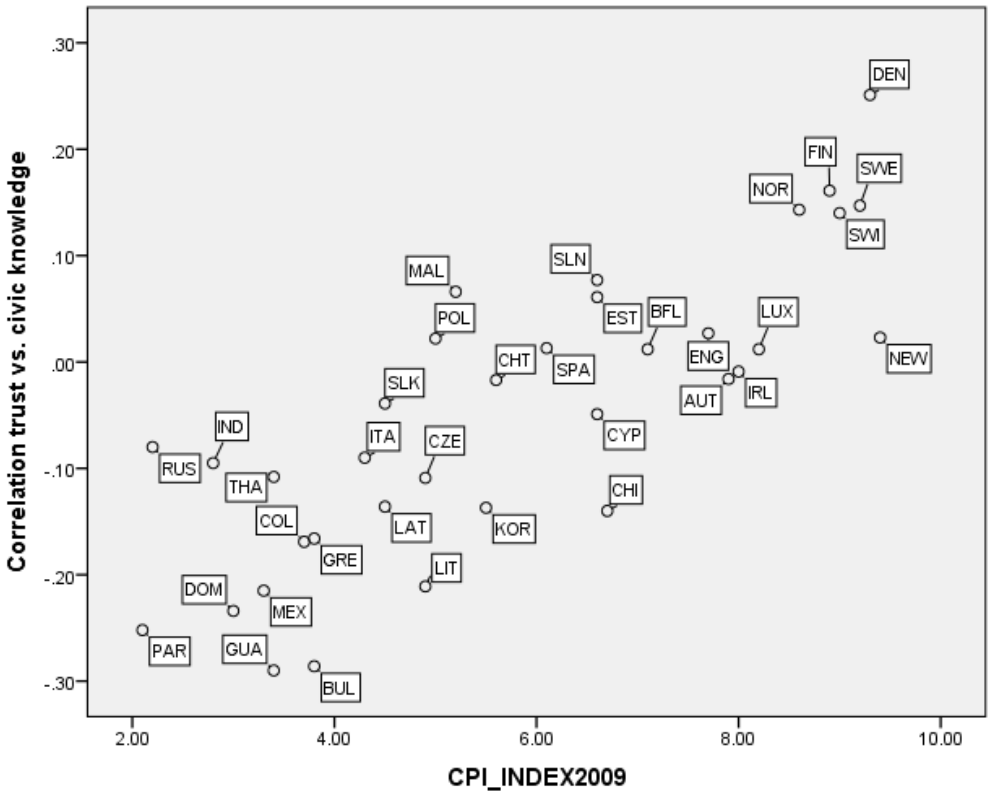
30 score points (for civic knowledge) or 3 score points (for trust in institutions) or more below or above the ICCS 2016 average. For countries that had comparable data in both cycles, the table also includes the results for ICCS 2009 as well as estimates of changes.

In 11 out of 18 countries, there were statistically significant increases in students' civic knowledge ranging from 13 score points in Lithuania to 42 in Sweden. In all other countries there were no significant differences in civic knowledge between the two cycles. In ICCS 2009, one country (Dominican Republic) had average scores corresponding to the lowest level D, two countries (Mexico and Peru) with average scores at level C, and five countries (Chinese Taipei, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) where the average student demonstrated civic knowledge at the highest level (A). In all other countries average students showed civic knowledge at level B. In Bulgaria and Colombia, ICCS 2009 students had demonstrated civic knowledge at Level C, while in 2016 their average performance was now at level B.

Across participating countries in ICCS 2016, students expressed the relatively highest levels of trust in civic institutions in Norway and Finland as well as the Dominican Republic while the lowest levels of trust were observed in Chile, Colombia, Croatia and Peru (Table 18). Even though survey data over past decades suggest a gradual decline in trust among adults (Torcal & Montero, 2006), we did not detect a general decline across countries among Grade 8 students when comparing results with the previous ICCS survey. In 11 of the 18 common countries there were increases in trust in civic institutions scores between 2009 and 2016 while trust declined significantly in another three countries (Chile, Colombia and Italy). Overall there was a very small (significant) increase of one scale point. In this context it is interesting to note that there is some evidence about particularly low levels of trust among adults following economic crises such as the Global Financial Crisis prior to the ICCS 2009 survey (Muro & Vidal, 2017).

The last two columns display the within-country correlations in ICCS 2016 and ICCS 2009 between the two variables (with less substantial one between -0.2 and 0.2 shown in dark grey). Overall, there were weak negative correlations between civic knowledge and trust in institutions, however, it can be observed that in both surveys there were variations and that in some countries (such as Denmark or Sweden) correlations tended to be positive.

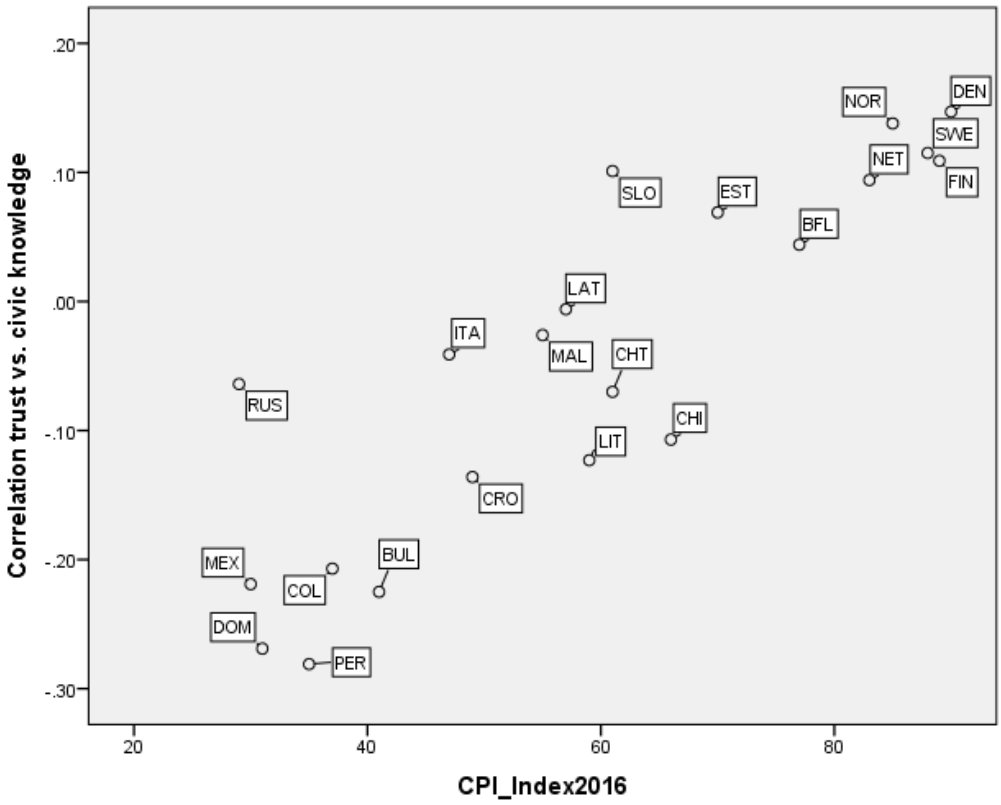
Figure 1 Scatterplot of CPI and correlations between trust in institutions and civic knowledge in 2009



Correlation 0.81

Figure 1 and Figure 2 show scatterplots of the country level correlations and the Corruptions Perceptions Index (Transparency International, 2018) from the corresponding years for ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016. In both cases, earlier observations can be confirmed that in countries with higher levels of perceived corruptions, correlations between civic knowledge tend to be negative, while in those with lower levels of perceived corruptions this associations tends to be more positive. This suggests that more knowledgeable students are less inclined to express trust in institutions in countries where these are perceived as more dysfunctional.

Figure 2 Scatterplot of CPI and correlations between trust in institutions and civic knowledge in 2016



Correlation	0.87

Table 4 shows the correlations of the four scales reflected expected participation with trust in institutions and civic knowledge respectively, based on data from ICCS 2016. While expected participation in legal activities, elections and active political activities tends to have positive correlations with students' trust in institutions, this is not generally not the case for expectations of participating in illegal activities. However, in three Latin American countries (Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru) we found moderate positive correlations indicating that the expectations of getting involved in illegal protest are higher among students with higher levels of trust. In some countries (like Denmark, Estonia, Finland and Slovenia) correlations tended to be rather negative, which is more in line with the expectation that students with more trust in civic institutions are less likely to consider illegal protest activities.

Table 4 Correlations of expected engagement with trust in institutions and civic knowledge in 2016

Country	Correlations of trust in institutions with expected engagement				Correlations of civic knowledge with expected participation in:			
	Legal activities	Illegal activities	Electoral participation	Active political participation	Legal activities	Illegal activities	Electoral participation	Active political participation
Belgium (Flemish)	0.18	-0.06	**0.24**	0.13	-0.01	**-0.32**	**0.35**	-0.12
Bulgaria	**0.22**	0.02	**0.23**	**0.32**	0.01	**-0.24**	**0.25**	**-0.30**
Chile	**0.26**	0.03	**0.31**	**0.36**	0.02	**-0.26**	**0.30**	-0.18
Chinese Taipei	0.17	0.01	0.20	**0.25**	-0.01	**-0.41**	**0.31**	-0.17
Colombia	**0.34**	0.13	**0.24**	**0.38**	0.01	**-0.30**	**0.23**	**-0.25**
Croatia	**0.26**	-0.09	0.17	**0.23**	0.02	**-0.25**	**0.34**	-0.06
Denmark†	0.15	-0.15	**0.30**	0.17	0.08	**-0.34**	**0.44**	0.05
Dominican Republic (r)	**0.39**	**0.30**	**0.24**	**0.41**	-0.12	**-0.35**	0.12	**-0.20**
Estonia[1]	0.14	-0.16	**0.29**	0.19	0.10	-0.20	**0.34**	-0.04
Finland	0.10	**-0.20**	**0.30**	0.15	0.13	**-0.32**	**0.42**	0.04
Italy	**0.21**	-0.11	**0.21**	**0.24**	0.08	**-0.26**	**0.37**	0.00
Latvia[1]	0.15	-0.05	**0.23**	**0.22**	0.05	**-0.29**	**0.33**	-0.12
Lithuania	**0.30**	0.02	**0.24**	**0.29**	0.02	**-0.34**	**0.30**	**-0.21**
Malta	**0.24**	0.04	**0.27**	**0.25**	-0.02	**-0.35**	**0.27**	-0.14
Mexico	**0.33**	**0.21**	**0.30**	**0.42**	-0.07	**-0.32**	**0.22**	**-0.26**
Netherlands†	0.18	-0.01	**0.26**	0.20	0.10	**-0.26**	**0.47**	0.05
Norway (9)[1]	0.17	-0.10	**0.31**	0.17	0.07	**-0.30**	**0.44**	-0.01
Peru	**0.32**	**0.23**	0.13	**0.38**	-0.03	**-0.41**	**0.35**	**-0.26**
Russian Federation	**0.30**	0.01	**0.37**	**0.31**	-0.02	**-0.26**	0.17	-0.12
Slovenia	0.19	-0.16	0.19	0.18	0.04	**-0.24**	**0.36**	-0.04
Sweden[1]	0.17	-0.10	**0.29**	0.18	0.18	**-0.31**	**0.40**	0.07
Average ICCS 2016	**0.23**	-0.01	**0.25**	**0.26**	0.03	**-0.30**	**0.32**	-0.11

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Correlations below -0.2 or above 0.2 are displayed in **bold**.

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

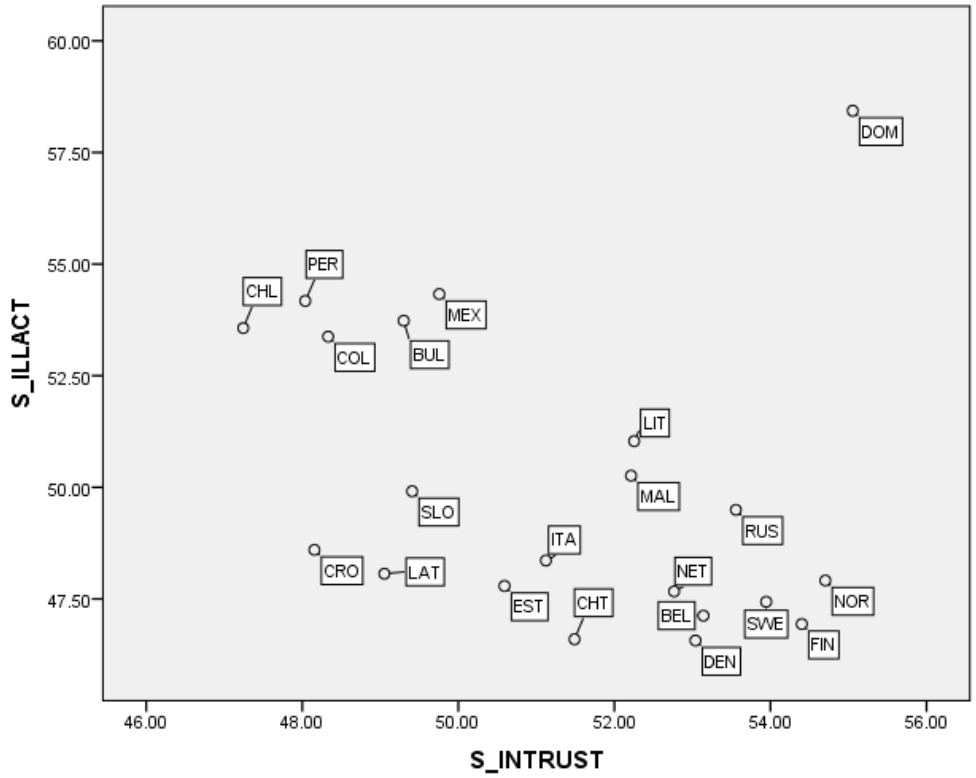
† Met guidelines for sampling paticipation rates only after replacement schools were included.

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

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

There were consistently negative correlations between expected participation in illegal protest activities and civic knowledge across countries, while for civic knowledge and expected electoral participation associations tended to be positive. While for expected participation in legal activities to express opinions there were mostly no association with civic knowledge, these tended to be negative for expected active political participation. However, more substantial negative correlations were found in only some of the countries, namely in Bulgaria, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Lithuania, Mexico and Peru. In Denmark, Finland and Sweden there were (albeit insubstantial) positive correlations between the two variables.

Figure 3 Scatterplot of expected participation in illegal activities and trust in institutions



Correlation (all countries)	-0.30
Correlation (without Dominican Republic)	-0.66

To review the extent to which in countries with higher overall levels of trust students are less inclined to consider participation in illegal protest, Figure 3 shows a scatterplot of country averages for these two variables. While only in the Dominican Republic students expressed both relatively high levels of trust in institutions as well as a disposition to engage in illegal protest activities, for all other countries a negative association was observed at the country level. While the correlations at the country level was only -0.30 when including the Dominican data, it was much stronger (-0.66) when only considering the data from other countries. These results suggest that there were lower levels of students' dispositions to consider illegal protest in countries where trust in institutions tended to be higher.

Multiple regression model results for expected political participation

Table 5 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation in legal activities

Country	Gender (female)	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Parental interest in political/social issues	Students' interest in political/social issues	Sense of self-efficacy	Civic knowledge	Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school	Level of trust in civic institutions
	Student background variables				Dispositions for engagement		Student perceptions of school climate and instutions	
Belgium (Flemish)	0.5 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.4)	**2.3** (0.6)	**3.6** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)
Bulgaria	-0.2 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.5)	**2.2** (0.4)	**4.3** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)
Chile	**1.1** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	**2.3** (0.4)	**2.7** (0.4)	**5.5** (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	**-1.2** (0.3)	**-0.3** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)	**2.0** (0.4)	**2.9** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
Colombia	0.4 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.7** (0.3)	**1.6** (0.3)	**4.3** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)	**1.6** (0.2)
Croatia	**-1.1** (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.4)	**1.1** (0.4)	**3.5** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Denmark†	**1.0** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**1.5** (0.3)	**1.6** (0.2)	**2.7** (0.2)	**-0.3** (0.1)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)
Dominican Republic (r)	0.4 (0.3)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.9** (0.4)	**1.5** (0.4)	**4.6** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**2.0** (0.2)
Estonia[1]	**-0.6** (0.3)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**1.3** (0.4)	**1.3** (0.3)	**3.5** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)
Finland	-0.5 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	0.5 (0.4)	**2.0** (0.4)	**3.9** (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)
Italy	0.1 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	**1.8** (0.5)	**1.5** (0.3)	**3.7** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)
Latvia[1]	**-0.7** (0.4)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.4)	**1.5** (0.4)	**3.7** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)
Lithuania	**-0.8** (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.4)	**1.2** (0.3)	**3.6** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Malta	**-0.9** (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.4)	**1.9** (0.3)	**5.4** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)
Mexico	0.1 (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**1.7** (0.3)	**1.0** (0.4)	**4.3** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**1.4** (0.2)
Netherlands†	0.0 (0.4)	0.2 (0.2)	**2.1** (0.5)	**1.1** (0.5)	**3.9** (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)
Norway (9)[1]	**1.3** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	**2.6** (0.3)	**2.1** (0.3)	**4.7** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)
Peru	0.0 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	0.4 (0.3)	**1.4** (0.2)	**3.9** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**0.5** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Russian Federation	**-0.9** (0.3)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**1.3** (0.4)	**1.8** (0.3)	**4.4** (0.2)	0.1 (0.1)	**0.6** (0.1)	**1.2** (0.3)
Slovenia	-0.2 (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.2)	0.7 (0.4)	**2.4** (0.4)	**3.8** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	**1.2** (0.2)
Sweden[1]	**0.9** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.9** (0.5)	**2.3** (0.4)	**3.8** (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)
ICCS 2016 average	-0.1 (0.1)	**-0.2** (0.0)	**1.3** (0.1)	**1.7** (0.1)	**4.0** (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	**0.1** (0.0)	**1.1** (0.0)

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

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

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

Table 5 shows the regression coefficients for students' expectations to participate in legal activities to express opinions. Both parental and students' interest in civic issues were consistently positive predictors across countries, while gender and socioeconomic background were not consistently related to the criterion variable. Students' sense of citizenship self-efficacy had substantial positive associations with students' expectations to participate in all countries, while civic knowledge had no consistent net effects. Students' trust in civic institutions was a statistically significant positive predictor in all but one country, while there were no consistent associations with students' perceptions of student-teacher relations at school.

Table 6 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected participation in illegal activities

Country	Gender (female)	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Parental interest in political/social issues	Students' interest in political/social issues	Sense of self-efficacy	Civic knowledge	Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school	Level of trust in civic institutions
	Student background variables				Dispositions for engagement		Student perceptions of school climate and instutions	
Belgium (Flemish)	**-2.2** (0.3)	-0.1 (0.2)	0.2 (0.4)	-0.4 (0.3)	**1.1** (0.2)	**-2.6** (0.2)	**-1.1** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)
Bulgaria	**-1.8** (0.4)	**-0.8** (0.2)	0.2 (0.4)	0.0 (0.5)	**2.8** (0.2)	**-2.3** (0.3)	**-1.3** (0.2)	**-0.8** (0.2)
Chile	-0.3 (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.3)	-0.6 (0.4)	**2.4** (0.2)	**-2.5** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	**-1.6** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.4 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.3)	**1.3** (0.2)	**-3.3** (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)
Colombia	**-1.1** (0.3)	-0.4 (0.3)	0.0 (0.4)	**-1.0** (0.3)	**1.9** (0.2)	**-2.7** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)
Croatia	**-3.4** (0.5)	0.0 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.5)	-0.6 (0.4)	**1.0** (0.2)	**-2.3** (0.3)	**-1.7** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.3)
Denmark†	**-1.7** (0.3)	0.0 (0.1)	-0.1 (0.4)	**-0.7** (0.3)	**1.1** (0.1)	**-2.5** (0.1)	**-0.9** (0.1)	**-0.7** (0.1)
Dominican Republic (s)	**-1.1** (0.4)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.5 (0.5)	0.4 (0.5)	**2.3** (0.2)	**-3.0** (0.2)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**1.2** (0.3)
Estonia[1]	**-2.1** (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.4)	**-0.7** (0.4)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-1.6** (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.2)
Finland	**-2.9** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.7 (0.4)	-0.6 (0.4)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-2.3** (0.2)	**-1.5** (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.2)
Italy	**-0.7** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.0 (0.5)	-0.4 (0.3)	**1.3** (0.2)	**-2.5** (0.2)	**-1.4** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.2)
Latvia[1]	**-2.9** (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.5)	-0.4 (0.4)	**1.3** (0.2)	**-2.4** (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.2)	-0.4 (0.2)
Lithuania	**-2.8** (0.4)	-0.4 (0.2)	0.3 (0.6)	**-1.0** (0.4)	**1.5** (0.2)	**-3.1** (0.2)	**-1.3** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)
Malta	**-1.4** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	**0.8** (0.4)	-0.3 (0.4)	**2.6** (0.2)	**-3.7** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)
Mexico	**-1.6** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	0.2 (0.3)	-0.5 (0.5)	**2.3** (0.2)	**-2.9** (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
Netherlands†	**-2.5** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.0** (0.4)	**-1.0** (0.4)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-2.0** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)
Norway (9)[1]	**-0.9** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.3)	**-1.0** (0.3)	**2.0** (0.1)	**-2.6** (0.1)	**-0.8** (0.1)	**-0.7** (0.1)
Peru	**-1.9** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	0.4 (0.4)	**-0.7** (0.3)	**1.7** (0.2)	**-4.2** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)
Russian Federation	**-1.6** (0.4)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.3)	**-0.9** (0.4)	**2.2** (0.3)	**-2.1** (0.2)	**-1.1** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.3)
Slovenia	**-2.7** (0.4)	**-0.5** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.5)	0.7 (0.5)	**1.3** (0.2)	**-1.8** (0.2)	**-1.7** (0.2)	**-0.8** (0.2)
Sweden[1]	**-2.1** (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	0.4 (0.5)	-0.4 (0.3)	**1.5** (0.2)	**-2.6** (0.2)	**-1.3** (0.2)	**-0.7** (0.2)
ICCS 2016 average	**-1.9** (0.1)	**-0.3** (0.0)	**0.3** (0.1)	**-0.5** (0.1)	**1.7** (0.0)	**-2.6** (0.0)	**-1.0** (0.0)	**-0.3** (0.0)

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

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

An "(s)" indicates that data are available for less than 70% of students.

When reviewing the regression model results for student's expected participation in illegal activities to express opinions (Table 6), female gender was a consistently negative predictor of this type of expected engagement. Net associations with socioeconomic background and parental interest were not consistent and largely negligible. Students' interest in political or social issues was weak negative predictor in many countries. While students' sense of self-efficacy was positively associated with expected involvement in illegal protest, civic knowledge was a consistently negative predictor across countries. Students with positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school tended to be less likely to expect participation in illegal activities. Trust in civic institution tended to be a (weak) negative predictor of this type of expected engagement, however, in the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru there were positive net effects.

Table 7 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected electoral participation

	Student background variables				Dispositions for engagement		Student perceptions of school climate and instutions	
Country	**Gender (female)**	**Indicator of socioeconomic background**	**Parental interest in political/social issues**	**Students' interest in political/social issues**	**Sense of self-efficacy**	**Civic knowledge**	**Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school**	**Level of trust in civic institutions**
Belgium (Flemish)	**-0.6** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.8** (0.4)	**2.8** (0.5)	**1.5** (0.2)	**2.7** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Bulgaria	0.1 (0.4)	-0.1 (0.3)	**2.9** (0.5)	**2.2** (0.4)	**1.8** (0.3)	**2.8** (0.3)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.0** (0.2)
Chile	**0.8** (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	**2.7** (0.4)	**1.6** (0.3)	**2.5** (0.2)	**3.1** (0.1)	**0.6** (0.2)	**2.7** (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	0.0 (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**1.2** (0.3)	**2.1** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)	**2.6** (0.1)	**0.5** (0.1)	**1.2** (0.1)
Colombia	0.1 (0.3)	-0.1 (0.1)	**1.7** (0.3)	**1.4** (0.3)	**1.8** (0.2)	**2.5** (0.2)	**0.8** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)
Croatia	**-0.6** (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	**2.8** (0.5)	**1.7** (0.3)	**1.4** (0.2)	**2.6** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.2** (0.2)
Denmark†	**1.3** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.1)	**2.6** (0.3)	**2.5** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.1)	**2.2** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**1.4** (0.1)
Dominican Republic (s)	0.3 (0.3)	0.1 (0.1)	**1.8** (0.4)	**0.8** (0.4)	**2.1** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)	**0.7** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)
Estonia[1]	0.1 (0.4)	0.3 (0.2)	**2.5** (0.4)	**1.9** (0.3)	**1.7** (0.2)	**1.9** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.9** (0.2)
Finland	0.1 (0.2)	**0.7** (0.1)	**3.1** (0.3)	**1.9** (0.3)	**1.6** (0.1)	**2.2** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**1.5** (0.2)
Italy	-0.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**3.6** (0.5)	**1.0** (0.3)	**1.3** (0.2)	**2.6** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**1.2** (0.1)
Latvia[1]	0.6 (0.4)	**0.9** (0.2)	**2.8** (0.6)	**2.2** (0.4)	**2.0** (0.2)	**2.3** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**1.8** (0.2)
Lithuania	**0.5** (0.3)	0.1 (0.2)	**2.8** (0.5)	**1.6** (0.3)	**1.5** (0.2)	**2.5** (0.2)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.8** (0.2)
Malta	0.3 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**2.3** (0.4)	**2.7** (0.3)	**2.3** (0.2)	**1.9** (0.2)	-0.1 (0.2)	**1.7** (0.2)
Mexico	0.4 (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	**1.8** (0.3)	**1.3** (0.3)	**1.8** (0.2)	**2.6** (0.1)	**0.9** (0.1)	**2.1** (0.2)
Netherlands†	**-0.8** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**3.1** (0.4)	**1.8** (0.4)	**1.8** (0.2)	**3.3** (0.1)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Norway (9)[1]	**0.6** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.1)	**2.4** (0.3)	**1.3** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.1)	**2.9** (0.1)	**0.3** (0.1)	**1.6** (0.1)
Peru	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.1)	**1.1** (0.3)	**1.1** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.1)	**2.9** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)	**1.0** (0.2)
Russian Federation	0.0 (0.3)	**0.4** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.4)	**1.9** (0.3)	**1.9** (0.2)	**1.5** (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)	**2.3** (0.2)
Slovenia	**-1.4** (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)	**2.1** (0.5)	**1.6** (0.4)	**1.8** (0.2)	**2.7** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.1** (0.2)
Sweden[1]	0.3 (0.3)	**0.4** (0.1)	**3.1** (0.4)	**2.7** (0.3)	**1.7** (0.2)	**2.1** (0.1)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.2)
ICCS 2016 average	0.1 (0.1)	**0.3** (0.0)	**2.4** (0.1)	**1.8** (0.1)	**1.7** (0.0)	**2.4** (0.0)	**0.5** (0.0)	**1.6** (0.0)

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

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

An "(s)" indicates that data are available for less than 70% of students.

Female gender and socioeconomic background tended to be inconsistent predictors of students' expected electoral participation (Table 7), while both parental and students' interest in political or social issues had positive net effects across countries. Civic knowledge, citizenship self-efficacy and trust in civic institutions were also positively associated with this criterion variable. Perceptions of positive student-teacher relations had weak but statistically significant positive net effects in a majority of participating countries.

Table 8 Multiple regression coefficients for students' expected active political participation

Country	Student background variables				Dispositions for engagement		Student perceptions of school climate and instutions	
	Gender (female)	Indicator of socioeconomic background	Parental interest in political/social issues	Students' interest in political/social issues	Sense of self-efficacy	Civic knowledge	Positive perceptions of student-teacher relations at school	Level of trust in civic institutions
Belgium (Flemish)	-0.5 (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.7** (0.5)	**2.3** (0.4)	**2.5** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.2)	-0.5 (0.3)	**0.7** (0.2)
Bulgaria	**-1.3** (0.4)	-0.5 (0.3)	**1.9** (0.5)	**1.6** (0.4)	**3.3** (0.3)	**-2.6** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	**1.9** (0.3)
Chile	-0.5 (0.3)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**2.0** (0.3)	**1.6** (0.4)	**3.7** (0.2)	**-1.7** (0.1)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**2.9** (0.2)
Chinese Taipei	**-1.2** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.1)	0.3 (0.3)	**1.9** (0.3)	**2.8** (0.1)	**-0.7** (0.1)	**-0.4** (0.1)	**1.5** (0.2)
Colombia	-0.5 (0.3)	**-0.4** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.4)	**1.3** (0.3)	**2.7** (0.2)	**-1.7** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**2.2** (0.2)
Croatia	**-1.7** (0.3)	-0.2 (0.2)	**2.3** (0.5)	**2.2** (0.4)	**2.6** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Denmark†	0.2 (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.9** (0.3)	**1.8** (0.2)	**2.0** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.1)	-0.1 (0.1)	**0.8** (0.1)
Dominican Republic (s)	-0.6 (0.4)	-0.3 (0.2)	**2.0** (0.3)	**1.3** (0.4)	**2.9** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.2)	0.4 (0.2)	**2.3** (0.2)
Estonia[1]	**-1.2** (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.5)	**0.8** (0.4)	**2.7** (0.2)	**-1.0** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.2)
Finland	**-0.9** (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**0.9** (0.4)	**1.4** (0.3)	**2.5** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.1)	-0.2 (0.1)	**0.7** (0.2)
Italy	**-1.3** (0.3)	0.2 (0.1)	**2.2** (0.5)	**1.4** (0.4)	**2.5** (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**1.6** (0.2)
Latvia[1]	**-1.1** (0.4)	-0.1 (0.2)	**1.5** (0.5)	**2.0** (0.4)	**3.1** (0.2)	**-1.5** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Lithuania	**-1.1** (0.4)	0.0 (0.2)	**2.2** (0.5)	**1.7** (0.3)	**2.7** (0.2)	**-1.9** (0.2)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Malta	**-1.8** (0.3)	0.3 (0.2)	**1.3** (0.4)	**3.0** (0.3)	**4.1** (0.2)	**-2.0** (0.2)	**-0.5** (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Mexico	-0.2 (0.2)	**-0.6** (0.1)	**1.0** (0.3)	**1.3** (0.3)	**3.3** (0.2)	**-1.6** (0.2)	0.1 (0.2)	**2.7** (0.2)
Netherlands†	-0.3 (0.3)	0.2 (0.2)	**2.1** (0.4)	**1.9** (0.5)	**2.6** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**1.2** (0.2)
Norway (9)[1]	0.3 (0.2)	0.2 (0.1)	**2.4** (0.3)	**1.7** (0.3)	**3.0** (0.2)	**-1.2** (0.2)	0.0 (0.1)	**0.7** (0.1)
Peru	-0.3 (0.3)	**-0.7** (0.2)	**0.9** (0.3)	**1.5** (0.3)	**2.7** (0.2)	**-2.0** (0.2)	0.3 (0.2)	**2.0** (0.2)
Russian Federation	**-1.6** (0.3)	**-0.6** (0.1)	**1.2** (0.5)	**1.4** (0.3)	**4.1** (0.4)	**-0.6** (0.2)	**0.6** (0.2)	**1.6** (0.2)
Slovenia	**-1.1** (0.3)	0.0 (0.2)	**1.2** (0.5)	**2.0** (0.4)	**2.3** (0.2)	**-0.9** (0.2)	-0.2 (0.2)	**1.4** (0.2)
Sweden[1]	-0.2 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.2)	**2.2** (0.4)	**2.2** (0.4)	**2.7** (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.2)	**0.9** (0.2)
ICCS 2016 average	**-0.8** (0.1)	**-0.2** (0.0)	**1.5** (0.1)	**1.7** (0.1)	**2.9** (0.0)	**-1.2** (0.0)	**-0.1** (0.0)	**1.6** (0.0)

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

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

An "(s)" indicates that data are available for less than 70% of students.

In about half of the countries, female gender had negative net effects on students' expected participation in political activities (Table 8Table 1), while minor negative associations were observed for socioeconomic background. Again, both parental and students' interest in political and social issues were consistently positive predictors of students' expectations to become involved in 'conventional' political activities. Students' citizenship self-efficacy was consistently positively associated, while civic knowledge had negative net effects in most ICCS 2016 countries. While trust in civic institutions was a positive predictor of expected active political participation, associations with perceived positive student-teacher relations at school tended to be inconsistent.

Table 9 Percentage of variance in students' attitudes explained by multiple regression models

Country	Students' expected participation in: Legal activities to express opinions	Illegal activities to express opinions	Electoral participation	Active political participation
Belgium (Flemish)	23 (2.3)	15 (1.6)	25 (1.3)	15 (1.7)
Bulgaria	30 (2.5)	15 (1.5)	24 (2.0)	25 (1.7)
Chile	32 (1.6)	12 (1.1)	30 (1.4)	27 (1.4)
Chinese Taipei	15 (1.5)	20 (1.3)	22 (1.2)	21 (1.5)
Colombia	35 (1.7)	13 (1.3)	22 (1.3)	26 (1.7)
Croatia	23 (2.1)	14 (1.7)	24 (1.5)	17 (1.3)
Denmark†	19 (1.3)	16 (1.2)	37 (1.6)	15 (1.2)
Dominican Republic (s)	37 (2.2)	21 (1.6)	19 (1.5)	29 (2.0)
Estonia[1]	23 (1.7)	11 (1.2)	27 (1.7)	16 (1.7)
Finland	27 (1.9)	22 (1.6)	35 (1.8)	18 (1.9)
Italy	27 (1.8)	12 (1.3)	25 (1.7)	18 (1.4)
Latvia[1]	22 (2.0)	13 (1.6)	25 (1.8)	21 (1.8)
Lithuania	27 (2.1)	16 (1.6)	25 (1.8)	23 (1.7)
Malta	34 (1.6)	20 (1.4)	27 (1.4)	28 (1.5)
Mexico	29 (1.5)	17 (1.2)	24 (1.3)	30 (1.3)
Netherlands†	25 (2.3)	14 (1.6)	37 (2.0)	18 (1.8)
Norway (9)[1]	30 (1.3)	15 (1.0)	33 (1.2)	19 (1.4)
Peru	32 (1.8)	22 (1.0)	25 (1.3)	27 (1.2)
Russian Federation	35 (1.8)	12 (1.4)	27 (1.6)	28 (2.7)
Slovenia	23 (1.9)	14 (1.6)	23 (1.5)	13 (1.4)
Sweden[1]	29 (2.0)	16 (1.5)	34 (1.9)	18 (1.7)
ICCS 2016 average	27 (0.4)	16 (0.3)	27 (0.3)	21 (0.4)

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

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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

[1] National Defined Population covers 90% to 95% of National Target Population

An "(s)" indicates that data are available for less than 70% of students.

Table 9 shows the percentages of explained variance for each model across participating countries. For expected participation in legal activities to express opinions, the model explained on average 27 percent (ranging from 15% in Chinese Taipei to 37% in the Dominican Republic). For expected illegal protest activities, the model explained 16 percent on average (ranging from 11% in Estonia to 22% in Finland and Peru). For expected electoral participation, the model explained on average 27 percent (ranging from 19% in the Dominican Republic to 37% in Denmark and the Netherlands). The variance explanation for expected active political participation was on average 21 percent (ranging from 13% in Slovenia to 30% in Mexico).

Conclusion

Based on data from ICCS 2016 and 2009, this paper illustrates the extent and variation of students' expectations of political participation, changes since 2009 and its associations with civic knowledge and students' trust in civic institutions. It provides background on how the latter two variables are related to general perceptions of institutions using the Corruptions Perceptions Index and how levels of trust relate to dispositions to participate in illegal protest. Furthermore, it used multiple regression models to explain different type of expected participation with student and home background factors, civic knowledge and student perceptions.

When reviewing the extent and variation of students' expected participation in legal and illegal participation, results show that while larger proportions of surveyed students showed a disposition to undertake legal activities, only minorities across countries expected to choose illegal forms of participation. However, there were substantial differences across countries with regard to both forms of activities. There are common patterns across countries with regard to the extent of expected participation; in countries where levels of expectations for legal activities are higher, they also tend to be higher for illegal activities.

While majorities of students across countries expected electoral participation as adults, only minorities among students found it likely to become more actively involved in conventional forms of participation such as joining a party or standing as a candidate. Again, in countries with higher expectations for one type of participation, there were also higher levels for the other. However, this pattern was less pronounced than for legal and illegal activities. When comparing results with those from 2009 there were small increases in a number of countries.

For this paper, both students' trust and civic knowledge were viewed as important variables to explain variation in expected political participation. Overall, for both variables we found both substantial variation across countries as well as increases between 2009 and 2016. Correlations between the two variables tended to be negative, however, this was not a consistent finding across countries.

As in the previous cycle in 2009, the country-level correlations between the two variables as measured with ICCS 2016 data were associated with the general perceptions of perceived corruption. In countries with high levels of perceived corruption, there was a negative correlation, while in those with low level of perceived corruption more knowledgeable students tended to express more trust in their civic institutions.

When reviewing correlations within countries between trust in institutions and expected political participation, trust tended to be positively with expected legal activity engagement, electoral and active political participation but there were inconsistent associations with expected illegal forms of participation. Civic knowledge had positive correlations with expected electoral participation but consistently negative correlations with expectations of illegal activity engagement. Correlations with expected active political participation tended to be negative but were inconsistent across countries.

At the country level, in countries with higher levels of trust there were also lower levels of expected participation in illegal activities. This was not the case in the Dominican Republic, however, where students had high level of trust as well as high level of expected participation in illegal activities.

Multiple regression models showed that parental and students' interest were consistently with expected legal forms of participation while socioeconomic background was not a consistent predictor in any of the four models. Female gender was negatively related with both expected illegal protest and active political participation. Civic knowledge was a positive net predictor of expected electoral participation but consistently negatively associated with expected illegal engagement. More knowledgeable students also tended to be less likely to expect active political participation, however, the extent of this effect varied considerably across countries. Trust in institutions was a positive predictor for all legal forms of participation, while perceptions of positive student-teacher relations was positively associated with expected electoral participation and had negative net effects on expected illegal participation.

The results confirm earlier findings that national contexts are important when looking at relationships between civic knowledge, trust in institutions and expected engagement. More knowledgeable students in countries with higher levels of perceived dysfunctionality of government and its institutions are less inclined to express trust and at the same time less willing to expected conventional forms of active participation.

References

Boogards, M. (2017). Lessons from Brexit and Trump: populism is what happens when political parties lose control. Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, 11:4, 513–518.

Diamond, L. (2015). Facing up to democratic recession. Journal of Democracy, 26(1), 141–155.

Fieschi, C., & Heywood, P. (2004). Trust, Cynicism and Populist Anti-Politics. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9:3, 289-309.

Gidron, N., & Hall, P. A. (2018). Populism as a Problem of Social Integration. Working paper. Retrieved at: https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hall/files/gidronhallmay2018.pdf.

Grasso, M. (2017). Young People's Political Participation in Europe in Times of Crisis. In: S. Pickard & J. Bessant (Eds.). Young people re-generating politics in times of crises (pp. 179-196). Basingstoke: Palmgrave Macmillan.

Henn, M., & Weinstein, M. (2006). Young People and Political (In)Activism: Why Don't Young People Vote? Policy & Politics, 34:3, 517-534.

Hobolt, S., Anduiza, E., Carkoglu, A., Lutz, G., & Sauger, N. (2016). Democracy Divided? People, Politicians and the Politics of Populism. CSES Planning Committee Final Report. Retrieved at http://www.cses.org/plancom/module5/CSES5_ContentSubcommittee_FinalReport.pdf.

Lauglo, J. (2013). Do more knowledgeable adolescents have more rationally based civic attitudes? Analysis of 38 countries. Educational Psychology, 33(3), 262–282.

Muro, D., & Vidal, G. (2017). Political mistrust in southern Europe since the Great Recession. Mediterranean Politics, 22(2), 197–217.

Norris, P. (2004). Young People & Political Activism: From the Politics of Loyalties to the Politics of Choice? Paper for the conference 'Civic engagement in the 21st Century: Toward a Scholarly and Practical Agenda' at the University of Southern California, Oct 1-2.

Pollock, G., Brock, T., & Ellison, M. (2015). Populism, ideology and contradiction: mapping young people's political views. The Sociological Review, 63:S2, 141–166.

Rico, G., Guinjoan, M., & Anduiza, E. (2017). The Emotional Underpinnings of Citizens' Populism: How Anger, Fear, and Sadness Affect Populist Attitudes and Vote Choice. Swiss Political Science Review, 23:4, 444-461.

Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Losito, B., Agrusti, G., & Friedman, T. (2018). Becoming citizens in a changing world: The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 international report. Amsterdam: IEA.

Schulz, W., Carstens, R., Losito, B., & Fraillon, J. (Eds.) (2018). ICCS 2016 Technical Report. Amsterdam: IEA.

Schwartz, D. C. (2017). Political alienation and political behaviour. New York: Routledge.

Stoker, S., & Evans, M. (2014). The "Democracy-Politics Paradox". The Dynamics of Political Alienation. Democratic Theory, 2:2, 26-36.

Torcal, M., & Montero, J. M. (2006). *Political disaffection in contemporary democracies: Social capital, institutions and politics*. London/New York: Routledge.

Transparency International (2018). Corruption Perception Index 2018. Retrieved at https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/corruption_perceptions_index_2018