Young people's support and perceptions of political parties in 38 countries: An international comparison based on ICCS 2009

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Abstract

Over the past decades it has been claimed that young people have become less engaged in political parties and that youth sections of political parties are declining. However, there is little comparative international evidence about the extent to which students in junior secondary school form preferences for political parties and intend to align with parties as adults. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) focused on the civic knowledge and attitudes to aspects of citizenship (attitudes, values, behaviours and intended behaviours) in 38 countries. It generated information from large representative samples of students in their eighth year of schooling. The ICCS survey gathered data from students about their attachment to a particular party and its strength to measure their support for political parties. In addition the survey measured students' views about the importance of joining a political party as an aspect of citizenship, their trust in political parties; and their expectation to join a political party in the future. This paper reports on the variation among countries in their support and perceptions of political parties as well as the extent to which students expect to join a political party. It reviews to what extent these results correspond to indicators at the national level and also investigates which background and affective-behavioural factors explain students' commitment to a political party.

Introduction

This paper sets out to investigate the support for, and perceptions of, political parties among lower-secondary students (aged 13-14 years) across 38 countries in Europe, Latin America and the Asian-Pacific region. It includes a comparative review, based on ICCS 2009 data, of the extent to which young people perceive and support political parties and the co-variation with country-level factors reflecting the democratic context as well as student-level factors within countries.

Political parties are an important institution in a democracy as they bring people together to express common interests or views and articulate policies based on these interests or views. In addition the extent to which young people form an allegiance to a political party can be considered to reflect one aspect of political socialization.

Consequently, it is of interest within the context of civic and citizenship education to investigate the extent to which young people develop perceptions of political parties and the extent to which they are willing to engage with them.

This paper reports on the variation among countries in the percentages of students who formed a preference for a political party, the trust of students in political parties and the importance of joining a political party to those students. In addition it examines the extent to which students expect to join a political party and engage in other forms of political participation. It reviews the extent to which these results correspond to indicators at the national level and also investigates the relationship between indicators of students' commitment to a political party and context factors (such as gender, SES, or parental interest). Associations between students' support for a political party and background or affective-behavioural variables were examined using multivariate analyses (logistic regression models).

Framework

In a democracy, political parties play a critical role as representatives of different interests in society (Dalton, 1999; Gunther & Diamond, 2001). Identification of citizens with political parties has been considered a result of increasing political socialisation and increasing with age. In recent times, there have been claims that young people have become less engaged in political parties than in the past (Dalton, 2002) and there is also evidence that youth sections of political parties are declining (Hooghe, Stolle, & Stouthuysen, 2004). Political science research provides only limited comparative international evidence about the extent to which students in junior secondary school form preferences for political parties, and intend to align with parties as adults. However, ICCS 2009 provides cross-sectional data on lower secondary students' perceptions of and support for parties (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito & Kerr, 2010).

The ICCS assessment framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Kerr & Losito, 2009) included students' perceptions of political parties as an aspect of civics and citizenship and provided a framework for its analysis in the context of variables related to the individual student, their homes, schools and the wider community. The contextual framework posits that individual students form civic-related perceptions and knowledge in a complex process influenced by antecedent- and process-related variables, emphasising the importance of school and home influences as well as those related to the wider community (including national, supranational and international

contexts).

For this paper, we were guided by the following research questions:

1. How do perceptions of lower secondary students of political parties (trust, importance of party membership, expectations to join parties, support for a particular political party) vary across participating countries in ICCS 2009?
2. To what extent are these perceptions related to voter turnout at recent elections and data obtained from adult surveys?
3. Which factors explain students' support for political parties and to what extent do their effects vary across countries?

Data and Methods

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) focused on the civic knowledge and attitudes to aspects of citizenship (attitudes, values, behaviours and intended behaviours) in 38 countries. It generated information from large representative samples of students in their eighth year of schooling using student tests and questionnaires administered to students, teachers and school principals (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010).

The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire gathered information about the following student perceptions: 1) their support for a particular political party; 2) the importance of joining a political party as an aspect of citizenship; 3) their trust in political parties; and 4) their expectation that they would as an adult join a political party. Other variables in the analysis for this paper were derived from voter turnout data, the World Values Survey 2010-2014[1], and ICCS 2009 students test and questionnaire.

The ICCS survey included two questions asking students if they liked a particular political party more than others, and, if they did, how much they favoured this party ("a little", "to some extent", or "a lot"). While both questions can be combined to derive an indicator of political party support, in this paper we will focus on the first question only, which provides a more comparable indicator of party support, indicating simply whether students have a preferred party, than using a measure based on a rating scale.

[1] Data were obtained from: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp.

The ICCS student survey included an item that required students to rate their trust ("completely" , "quite a lot" , "a little" , or "not at all") in a number of civic institutions, including political parties. Student responses indicating complete or quite a lot of trust in political parties was used as a measure in the analysis.

Furthermore, students were asked to rate the importance of joining a political party for being a good adult citizen ("very important", "quite important" , "not very important", or "not at all important"). Student ratings indicating that this was very or quite important were taken as an indicator variable.

Students also indicated whether they expected to join a political party as adults ("I will certainly do this," "I will probably do this," "I will probably *not* do this," or "I will certainly not do this"). Student's expectation of certainly or probably joining a political party was taken as an indicator of expected party membership.

Results

Covariation of attitudes to parties and participation in voting among countries

Table 1 shows the national percentages of students with trust in political parties, viewing party membership as important for good citizenship, expecting to join a party as adults, and liking one political party more than others. These results were compared with voter turnout at elections held between 2004 and 2009, taken from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).[2] The results for Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region of China) and the Netherlands are shown in a separate section and were not included in the ICCS 2009 average, as the surveys in these two education systems did not meet IEA sample participation requirements.

Table 1: National percentages of ICCS 2009 students trusting in political parties, regarding joining a political party as important for citizenship, expecting to join a political party, and liking one political party more than others in comparison with national voter turnout

The results show considerable variation across participating countries. On average, 41

[2] International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)- Parliamentary - Voter Turnout: http://www.idea.int/uid/fieldview.cfm?field=221 [09/06/10].

percent of students trusted political parties, but these percentages ranged from only 16 percent in the Republic of Korea to 66 percent in Indonesia. On average across participating countries, one third of students (33%) regarding party membership as important for good citizenship, but while only 13 percent shared this view in the Slovak Republic, a majority of 68 percent rated this as important among students in Thailand. Similarly, expectations to join a political party as an adult ranged considerably from nine percent in Belgium (Flemish) to 61 percent in Paraguay with an ICCS 2009 average percentage of 27 percent. About half of ICCS 2009 students (48 percent) indicated to like one political party more than others, with the lowest national percentage recorded for the Republic of Korea (13%) and the highest for the Dominican Republic (77%).

Voter turnout data were displayed as a country-level indicator of citizen engagement in elections. However, when interpreting these data one needs to take into account that in ten of these countries voting is compulsory (even if not always strictly enforced). The comparison show that in some countries with above average voter turnout students also tended to express more trust or support for a particular party, however, there are no clear patterns when comparing percentages.

Table 2: Country-level correlations between ICCS 2009 national percentages and voter turnout

To illustrate the associations between national results from ICCS 2009 and voter turnout, Table 2 shows the correlations (Pearson's correlation coefficients) between these national percentages at the country level. In countries, where students viewed party membership as important for citizenship, they also tended to have higher levels of expected party membership (r = 0.76), also percentages of expected membership and support for political parties correlated moderately highly (r = 0.56). The highest association between voter turnout and indices based on ICCS 2009 survey data was found for students' trust in political parties, here the correlation was 0.50.

Given that voter turnout is not the best indicator of citizen participation given other factors (like compulsory voting or specific events that may have increased electoral participation at particular elections), we also used adult survey data obtained from the World Values Survey (Wave 6: 2010-2014). However, WVS data were only available for 15 of the 38 ICCS 2009 countries.

Figure 1: Scatter plot of national percentages of ICCS 2009 students trusting political parties and the percentage of adults with confidence in political parties (World Value Survey 2010-2014)

Figure 1 shows a scatter plot of the national percentages of adults expressing ("a great deal" or "quite a lot" of) confidence in political parties in their respective countries, with those from ICCS 2009 students indicating (complete or quite a lot of) trust in political parties. The (country-level) correlation was 0.47. However, inspection of the plot suggests that both Estonia and Slovenia were "outliers". In Estonia there were relatively high percentages of confidence among adults but only very low levels of trust among students. In Slovenia there was little confidence among adults but relatively high levels of trust among students. After omitting these two country results from the analyses, the country-level correlation coefficient was 0.72.

Figure 2: Scatter plot of national percentages of ICCS 2009 students expecting to join a political party and the percentage of adults with active party membership (World Value Survey 2010-2014)

Figure 2 shows a plot of national percentages of adults indicating active party membership for these fifteen countries, and the percentages of students expecting to join a political party. The (country-level) correlation was 0.51 and the graph does not suggest a very strong relationship between student and adult survey results. However, it shows a group of countries where both student and adult surveys coincide while there are some countries (most notably Mexico) with relatively high percentages of adult active party membership and student expectations of joining a political party in adult life.

Factors associated with political party allegiance within countries

To investigate the factors that influenced students' support for a particular political party, we predicted students' expression of liking or not liking one party more than others based on the following predictor variables:

- Students gender (1 = female, 0 = male)
- Students' socioeconomic background using a composite index derived from student reports on parental occupation, parental educational attainment, and the number of books at home (see Schulz & Friedman, 2011)
- Students' expected university degree (1 = University, 0 = other)

- Parental interest in political and social issues (1 = at least one parent quite or very interest, 2 = others)
- Students' interest in national politics (1 = quite or very interested, 0 = not very or not interested at all)
- Students' frequency of discussions about political or social issues with parents and friends, using an IRT scale based on four items (average reliability across countries was Cronbach's alpha = 0.86); the variable was standardised to having means of 0 and standard deviations of 1 within countries
- Students' participation in a youth organisation affiliated with a political party or a union in the last 12 months
- Students' engagement in civic activities at school, using an IRT scale based on six items with an average reliability of 0.66 across participating countries; the variable was standardised to having means of 0 and standard deviations of 1 within countries
- Students' trust in political parties (1 = trusting quite a lot or completely, 0 = a little or not at all)
- Students' perceptions of the importance of party membership for good citizenship (1 = very or quite important, 0 = not very or not important at all)
- Students' civic knowledge based on the ICCS 2009 cognitive test with a median reliability across booklets and countries of 0.83 (see Schulz & Fraillon, 2011); the variable was standardised to having means of 0 and standard deviations of 1 within countries.

We used Logistic Regression (see Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000), which allows regressing a binary (or polytomous) variable on a set of predictors, to analyse the variables that predicted liking or not liking a political party[3].

Table 3: Logistic regression results for the model explaining students' support for political parties (odds ratios)

Table 3 shows the results from the logistic regression model for each country participating in ICCS 2009, as well as an average based on the 36 participating countries which had met IEA sample participation standards. The coefficients shown

[3] It would not be appropriate to use Ordinary Least Square regression to predict a dichotomous variable (i.e. students' either liking or not liking a political party more than others).

in this table are odds ratios, which have a more sensible interpretation than the (unstandardised) regression coefficients: Coefficients less than one indicate negative effects on the dependent variable while those greater than one indicate positive effects.[4] The logistic regression coefficients with their respective standard errors are displayed in the appendix to this paper (see Table 5).

In most countries female gender had a negative effect on support for political parties. On average females had only a 77 percent likelihood of expressing a liking for a political party compared to male students. In a third of the countries, statistically significant ($p<.05$) positive associations were found for socioeconomic background while in four countries (Bulgaria, Colombia, Malta and the Russian Federation) significant negative effects were recorded for the same variable. In seven countries students' expectations of attaining a university degree had statistically significant positive associations with support for a political party but in Paraguay a significant negative effect was recorded.

In most countries, students with at least one parented interested in political and social issues were significantly more likely to express a preference for a political party. The students' own interest in national politics was the most powerful predictor in the model, on average interested students were 65 percent more likely to express a party preference than those who were not interested, the effect was significant in all but three countries (Dominican Republic, Greece and Liechtenstein). Participation in discussions about political and social issues with friends and parents also had significant effects on political party support in most countries; however, its net effect was not as strong as for political interest.

In 13 countries, participation in a youth organisation affiliated with a political party or union had significant positive effects on party support, but in most countries this variable was not a significant predictor. The strongest effect was recorded in Cyprus, where students who reported participation in such an organisation during the last 12 months were 2.7 times as likely to express a preference for a political party. Civic

[4] An odds-ratio of 0.5 for gender, for example, means that a female would have only 50 percent likelihood to express a liking for a political party compared to males, whereas an odds-ratio of 2 for political interest means that a student quite or very interested in national politics is two times more likely to express a liking for a political party. Similar interpretations hold for continuous variables where the effect can be interpreted with respect to a change of the size of one standard deviation.

engagement at school was positively associated with preference for a political party in a majority of countries. One standard deviation of this IRT scale was associated with an increased likelihood of supporting a party of 13 percent.

Not unexpectedly, trust in political parties was a significant positive predictor in most countries. On average, students expressing trust in political parties were 33 percent more likely to express a preference for a political party, the strongest effect was recorded in Malta, where students who trusted political parties were twice as likely to also express a preference. Students who regarded joining a political party as important for good citizenship had on average 25 percent more likelihood to prefer a political party above others. In about half of the countries there were significant positive effects of this predictor variable on party support.

Civic knowledge was a rather inconsistent predictor of preference for a political party across participating countries. While in Austria, Belgium (Flemish), Finland, Ireland, Malta, New Zealand, Sweden and Switzerland there were significant positive effects with odds ratios above 1.25, significant negative effects were recorded for Colombia, Guatemala, Republic of Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, and Thailand. In Mexico, an increase of one standard deviation made it half as likely to express a party preference (an odds ratio of 0.5).

Table 4: Logistic regression results for the model explaining students' support for political parties (Pseudo-R2)

For logistic regression models there are no exact measure of explained variance similar to the R Square used in OLS regression (see Menard, 2000). Comparisons between the deviances for the 'empty' or null model and the model with predictors can be used to assess model it, so-called Pseudo R^2 are calculated from the deviances comparing the null model (without predictors) and the full model (including predictors), coefficients of this kind are *McFadden's Pseudo* R^2 (McFadden, 1979) or *Nagelkerke's Pseudo* R^2 (Nagelkerke, 1991). Furthermore, the predicted probabilities can be used to derive a measure which is similar in its logic to the R^2 in OLS regression models, the *McKelvey-Zavoina Pseudo* R^2 (McKelvey & Zavoina, 1975). Given the lack of consensus about the choice of the most appropriate Pseudo R^2 coefficients, Table 4 records the three measures mentioned above. Across countries, the three measures are very highly correlated.

Keeping mind that these are not exact measures of variance explanation, the results suggest that the model does not have a very strong explanatory power. The proportional reduction for the fitted model ranges from 0.02 to 0.13 with an average

of 0.07, when using McFadden's Pseudo R^2, from 0.04 to 0.23 with an average of 0.14, when using the McKelsey-Zavoina Pseudo R^2, and from 0.04 to 0.22 with an average of 0.12, when using Nagelkerke's Pseudo R^2. According to all three measures, the model had the strongest predictive power in Denmark, Malta and Mexico, while its explanatory strength was lowest in Dominican Republic, Indonesia and Thailand.

Discussion

In much literature there is concern about diminished 'civic attachment' of young adults and their confidence in collective actions taken through public institutions such as political parties (Galston, 2004). Some writers suggest that 'young people who recalled high-quality civic education experiences in school were more likely to vote and form political opinions' than other young people (CIRCLE, 2013). This suggests that civic and citizenship education is associated with generating bases for civic attachment and that it might play a role in pointing to the way in which institutions such as political parties can provide vehicles through which people may act. However, Manning and Edwards (2013) argued that there was "little evidence for civic education having a discernible or direct effect on voting or voter registration/enrolment" although there was support for the proposition that civic education increased "activities of political expression". The analyses that we have reported are able to indicate that there are variations among countries in the relationships of school and contextual factors with party allegiances and that emerging party allegiances are more strongly connected to the nurturing of interest than the development of civic knowledge.

Our analyses have shown considerable variation in the support for political parties across participating countries. While in some (European and East Asian) countries large majorities expressed no party preferences, there were other countries where over two thirds liked a particular party more than others. Political parties had low levels of trust across ICCS 2009 countries and only minorities of students expected to join political parties in the future.

While in some countries ICCS 2009 indicated relatively high levels of support for political parties, the results suggest, on average, that few young people express trust and commitment to political parties. This corresponds to findings from studies among adults and has implications for civic and citizenship education which aims at preparing students for citizenship in democratic societies for whose functioning political parties continue to play a key role.

Comparisons between ICCS 2009 data and results from the World Values Survey (WVS) show moderate correlations between percentages of trust in political parties among students and those among adults as well as between students' expectations to join a political party in the future and adults' active party membership.

Using logistic regression analysis, a range of factors was used to predict whether students express support for a political party. Students' preferences for a political party tended to be positively associated with parental interest in political and social issues, the students' interest in national politics, and their trust in political parties. In many countries, positive associations were also recorded with engagement in discussions of political and social issues, the perceived importance of party membership for citizenship and civic engagement at school. These results suggest that there is a cluster of dispositions that are linked. Not surprisingly, parental interest in political and social issues, interest in national politics and trust in political parties are connected to developing political allegiances. It seems to us that nurturing these interests among students is likely to generate political engagement as young people mature.

Only in a few countries did expected attainment of a university degree, socioeconomic background and recent engagement in a youth organisation have significant associations with support for political parties. Female students were significantly less likely than males to express a preference for a political party in most participating countries. Civic knowledge was a significant positive predictor in a small number of mostly developed countries, but in other countries significant negative associations were recorded, mainly countries with low levels of civic knowledge. Our conclusion is that, although building knowledge and understanding is important, it is the affective aspects of civic and citizenship education that are more strongly linked to political socialisation and subsequent engagement.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1 **National percentages of ICCS 2009 students trusting in political parties, regarding joining a political party as important for citizenship, expecting to join a political party, and liking one political party more than others in comparison with national voter turnout**

	Percentage of students who:					
Country	Trust political parties quite or completely	Regard joining a political party as important for good citizenship	Expect probably or definitely to join a political party	Like one political party more than others	Voter turnout at last election prior to study	Compulsory voting?
Austria	**49** (1.3)	28 (1.0)	25 (1.0)	**63** (1.2)	**82**	No
Belgium (Flemish) †	35 (1.1)	16 (1.3)	9 (0.7)	**49** (1.2)	**93**	Yes
Bulgaria	32 (1.2)	22 (1.1)	22 (1.2)	38 (1.1)	56	No
Chile	35 (1.0)	32 (0.8)	27 (0.7)	41 (0.9)	**88**	Yes
Chinese Taipei	26 (0.8)	17 (0.6)	14 (0.5)	31 (0.9)	59	No
Colombia	35 (1.1)	33 (1.0)	**40** (1.3)	**49** (1.2)	41	No
Cyprus	31 (0.8)	**47** (1.0)	**36** (0.8)	**51** (0.9)	**89**	Yes
Czech Republic †	28 (0.8)	15 (0.6)	10 (0.5)	34 (0.9)	65	No
Denmark †	**56** (1.2)	22 (0.8)	18 (0.8)	**50** (1.2)	**87**	No
Dominican Republic	**51** (1.2)	**59** (1.4)	**60** (1.6)	**77** (0.8)	57	Yes
England ‡	**43** (1.2)	32 (1.1)	19 (0.9)	33 (1.3)	61	No
Estonia	23 (1.3)	16 (0.9)	15 (0.9)	**53** (1.5)	62	No
Finland	**61** (1.0)	17 (0.8)	12 (0.7)	28 (0.9)	65	No
Greece	25 (1.1)	27 (1.0)	**30** (1.1)	48 (1.1)	**74**	Yes
Guatemala[1]	26 (1.0)	**43** (1.3)	**41** (1.3)	**56** (1.4)	61	No
Indonesia	**66** (1.1)	**57** (1.2)	**51** (1.0)	**75** (0.9)	**84**	No
Ireland	40 (1.1)	31 (1.1)	19 (0.9)	45 (1.1)	67	No
Italy	**52** (1.1)	**36** (1.0)	24 (0.8)	45 (1.1)	**81**	No
Korea, Republic of[1]	18 (0.7)	**61** (0.8)	15 (0.5)	13 (0.5)	46	No
Latvia	25 (1.0)	**39** (1.1)	26 (1.1)	34 (1.3)	61	No
Liechtenstein	**64** (2.4)	33 (2.5)	**33** (2.1)	**54** (2.5)	**85**	No
Lithuania	33 (1.1)	24 (0.8)	19 (0.7)	33 (1.0)	49	No
Luxembourg	**48** (0.7)	**34** (0.8)	24 (0.9)	40 (0.7)	**92**	Yes
Malta	**55** (1.7)	**36** (1.2)	**30** (1.5)	**72** (1.1)	**93**	Yes
Mexico	35 (1.0)	**42** (0.9)	**49** (0.9)	**76** (0.8)	59	Yes
New Zealand †	**42** (1.2)	26 (1.3)	20 (0.9)	**67** (1.1)	**80**	No
Norway †	**56** (1.0)	**40** (1.3)	19 (0.9)	**55** (1.2)	**77**	No
Paraguay[1]	32 (0.9)	**54** (1.2)	**61** (1.1)	47 (1.0)	66	Yes
Poland	23 (1.1)	27 (1.0)	12 (0.7)	40 (1.0)	54	No
Russian Federation	**51** (0.9)	**46** (1.2)	**38** (1.0)	**58** (1.1)	64	No
Slovak Republic[2]	31 (1.2)	13 (0.9)	16 (0.8)	32 (1.3)	55	No
Slovenia	**45** (1.3)	26 (1.2)	18 (1.0)	40 (1.0)	63	No
Spain	40 (0.9)	**36** (1.0)	**32** (0.9)	**51** (1.1)	**75**	No
Sweden	**60** (1.3)	22 (0.8)	17 (0.9)	**55** (1.2)	**82**	No
Switzerland †	**46** (1.0)	28 (1.2)	21 (1.0)	**52** (1.3)	48	No
Thailand †	**61** (1.0)	**68** (0.8)	**47** (1.1)	47 (0.9)	**79**	Yes
ICCS average	41	33	27	48	69	
Countries not meeting sampling requirements						
Hong Kong (SAR)	38 (1.0)	21 (1.1)	15 (0.9)	18 (1.2)	45	No
Netherlands	53 (1.7)	32 (1.3)	16 (1.4)	47 (2.1)	80	No

^ Number of students too small to report group average scores.

* Percentage above ICCS 2009 average in **bold**.

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

[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 **Country-level correlations between ICCS 2009 national percentages and voter turnout**

	% Trust in parties	% Importance of party membership	% Expected party membership	% Support for political party
ICCS 2009 results:				
% Importance of party membership	0.19			
% Expected party membership	0.21	0.76		
% Support for political party	0.45	0.29	0.59	
% Vote turnout at recent election	0.50	0.02	0.02	0.36

Figure 1 **Scatter plot of national percentages of ICCS 2009 students trusting political parties and the percentage of adults with confidence in political parties (World Value Survey 2010-2014)**

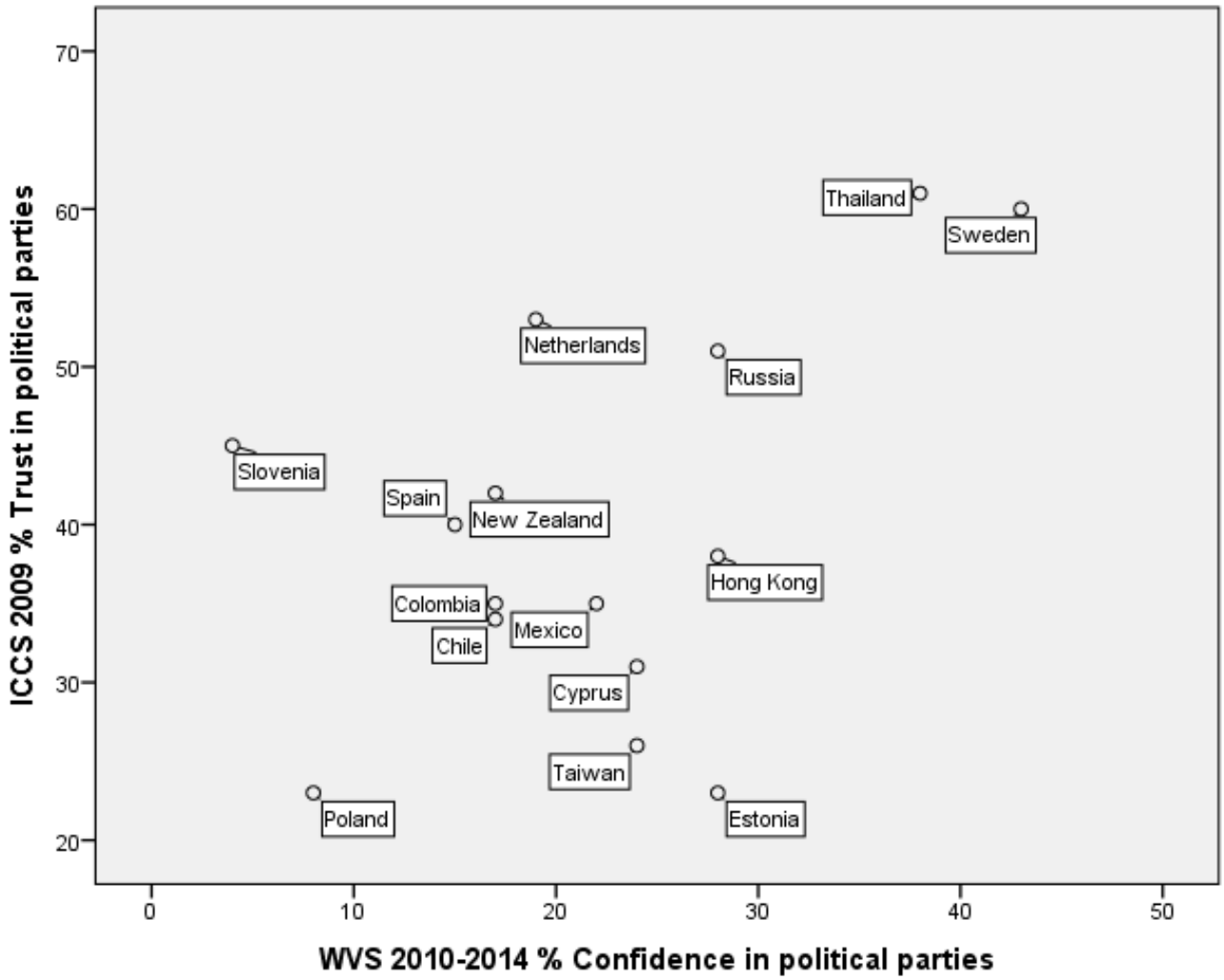

Figure 2 **Scatter plot of national percentages of ICCS 2009 students expecting to join a political party and the percentage of adults with active party membership (World Value Survey 2010-2014)**

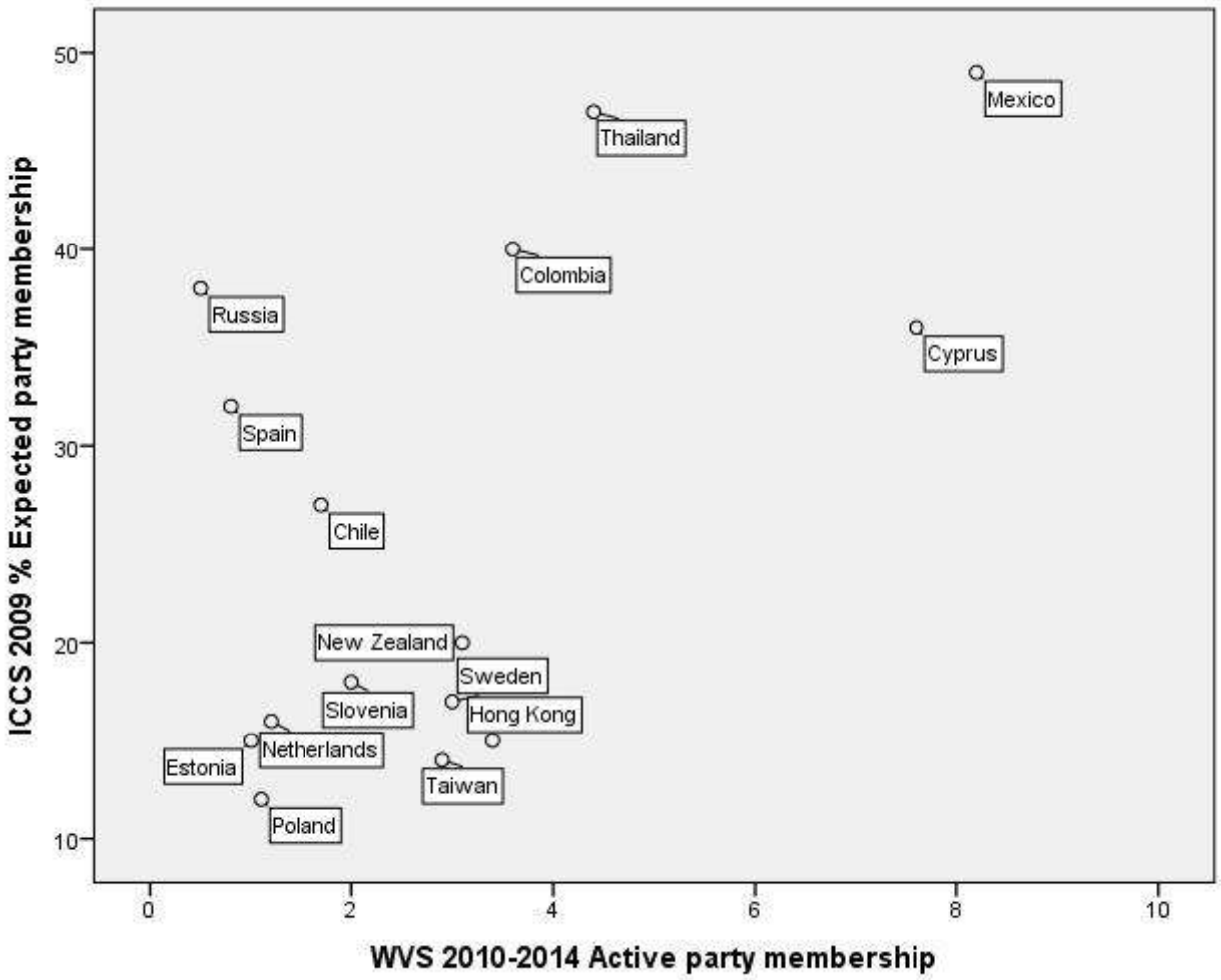

Table 3 **Logistic regression results for the model explaining students' support for political parties (odds ratios)**

Country	Gender (female)	SES index	Expected university degree	Parental interest	Students' political interest	Discussion of political or social issues	Participation in youth organisation	Civic engagement at school	Trust in political parties	Importance of party membership	Civic knowledge
Austria	**0.61**	**1.28**	0.97	**1.31**	**1.37**	1.11	**1.47**	**1.21**	1.20	1.01	**1.32**
Belgium (Flemish) †	**0.72**	1.02	**1.27**	1.21	**1.85**	**1.25**	1.32	**1.11**	1.02	0.90	**1.22**
Bulgaria	**0.58**	**0.88**	1.05	**1.39**	**1.56**	1.09	1.22	**1.24**	**1.45**	**1.34**	0.93
Chile	1.09	**1.14**	0.98	**1.47**	**1.99**	**1.20**	**1.69**	**1.13**	**1.46**	**1.21**	1.01
Chinese Taipei	1.09	**1.15**	**1.21**	**1.71**	**2.10**	**1.30**	1.05	0.96	**1.24**	1.11	**1.19**
Colombia	1.11	**0.91**	1.01	**1.26**	**1.56**	**1.16**	**1.42**	**1.17**	**1.34**	**1.44**	**0.85**
Cyprus	**0.54**	0.95	1.13	**1.76**	**1.54**	1.04	**2.76**	1.04	**1.82**	**1.30**	0.97
Czech Republic †	**0.61**	**1.18**	**1.22**	**1.40**	**1.83**	**1.28**	**1.51**	1.06	**1.17**	1.12	1.05
Denmark †	**0.75**	1.00	1.22	**1.56**	**2.57**	**1.34**	1.09	**1.24**	**1.39**	**1.22**	1.04
Dominican Republic	1.00	0.95	1.04	1.02	1.21	1.07	1.02	1.16	1.21	1.38	0.91
England ‡	**0.50**	1.13	**1.59**	**1.43**	**2.09**	**1.31**	1.18	**1.15**	**1.26**	1.16	**1.22**
Estonia	0.82	1.01	**1.31**	**1.29**	**1.66**	**1.23**	**1.58**	**1.17**	**1.39**	0.99	**1.17**
Finland	**0.56**	1.10	1.19	**1.42**	**1.93**	**1.28**	1.10	**1.19**	1.09	**1.58**	**1.31**
Greece	**0.75**	0.99	1.06	**1.25**	1.15	**1.14**	**1.55**	**1.13**	**1.55**	**1.55**	1.07
Guatemala[1]	0.96	1.02	1.08	**1.35**	**1.33**	**1.17**	1.06	**1.10**	**1.64**	**1.34**	**0.84**
Indonesia	**0.84**	1.02	1.07	**1.24**	**1.44**	**1.15**	1.04	**1.08**	**1.27**	1.11	**1.19**
Ireland	**0.66**	1.11	1.01	**1.37**	**1.79**	**1.14**	1.25	**1.12**	**1.21**	**1.36**	**1.25**
Italy	**0.67**	**1.11**	1.18	1.19	**1.81**	**1.32**	1.34	**1.16**	**1.48**	1.12	**1.17**
Korea, Republic of[1]	**0.58**	**1.16**	0.97	0.95	**1.71**	**1.45**	1.40	**1.10**	**1.41**	**1.25**	**0.92**
Latvia	0.88	0.94	**1.31**	1.02	**1.70**	**1.20**	1.36	1.10	**1.42**	**1.21**	**0.81**
Liechtenstein	0.89	1.03	0.61	0.97	1.14	1.25	0.82	1.04	**1.83**	**2.28**	1.36
Lithuania	0.99	1.08	0.90	1.08	**1.70**	**1.30**	1.31	**1.12**	**1.24**	1.18	**0.91**
Luxembourg	**0.80**	**1.44**	1.03	**1.40**	**2.10**	**1.28**	**1.31**	1.06	**1.31**	**1.19**	1.00
Malta	0.98	**0.87**	0.97	**2.04**	**1.66**	1.08	0.87	**1.16**	**2.03**	**1.85**	**1.53**
Mexico	**0.77**	0.93	0.92	1.14	**1.34**	**1.11**	**1.34**	1.08	**1.45**	**1.47**	**0.53**
New Zealand †	0.89	**1.13**	0.93	**1.47**	**1.61**	**1.26**	1.05	**1.22**	1.08	1.04	**1.42**
Norway †	**0.79**	1.09	**1.29**	**1.36**	**1.70**	**1.32**	1.17	**1.17**	1.14	1.05	**1.17**
Paraguay[1]	1.12	1.00	**0.82**	**1.49**	**1.50**	**1.24**	1.06	1.07	**1.26**	**1.34**	1.00
Poland	**0.63**	1.06	1.10	1.24	**1.74**	**1.22**	1.18	1.06	**1.32**	1.12	1.01
Russian Federation	0.83	**0.91**	1.08	**1.42**	**1.34**	**1.15**	**1.35**	**1.26**	**1.28**	**1.29**	0.97
Slovak Republic[2]	**0.67**	**1.17**	0.88	**1.34**	**1.58**	**1.29**	**1.62**	**1.12**	1.17	1.12	0.95
Slovenia	**0.50**	**1.11**	1.06	**1.57**	**1.97**	**1.33**	1.20	**1.27**	1.09	1.01	0.98
Spain	**0.73**	**1.12**	1.15	**1.43**	**1.76**	**1.25**	1.24	**1.11**	**1.32**	**1.21**	**1.12**
Sweden	**0.67**	1.04	1.18	**1.46**	**1.81**	**1.27**	1.34	**1.13**	1.18	1.12	**1.31**
Switzerland †	**0.55**	**1.23**	1.03	1.05	**1.30**	**1.26**	**1.75**	1.04	1.19	1.02	**1.58**
Thailand †	**0.79**	0.96	0.95	**1.26**	0.98	**1.16**	**1.36**	**1.12**	**1.15**	1.04	**0.85**
ICCS average	**0.77**	1.06	1.08	**1.34**	**1.65**	**1.22**	1.32	**1.13**	**1.33**	**1.25**	1.09
Countries not meeting sampling requirements											
Hong Kong (SAR)	**0.76**	1.08	0.82	1.16	**1.64**	**1.35**	1.06	1.06	**1.64**	**1.82**	**1.27**
Netherlands	0.96	1.12	1.05	1.04	**1.66**	**1.40**	1.16	1.03	0.99	1.21	**1.29**

^ Number of students too small to report group average scores.

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

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

‡ 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 **Logistic regression results for the model explaining students' support for political parties (Pseudo-R2)**

Country	McFadden's R^2	McKelvey-Zavoina R^2	Nagelkerke R^2
Austria	0.08	0.13	0.13
Belgium (Flemish) †	0.06	0.10	0.10
Bulgaria	0.06	0.10	0.10
Chile	0.08	0.14	0.14
Chinese Taipei	0.09	0.15	0.15
Colombia	0.06	0.11	0.11
Cyprus	0.10	0.18	0.18
Czech Republic †	0.08	0.14	0.13
Denmark †	0.13	0.21	0.21
Dominican Republic	0.02	0.04	0.04
England ‡	0.13	0.23	0.22
Estonia	0.06	0.11	0.11
Finland	0.11	0.19	0.18
Greece	0.04	0.06	0.07
Guatemala[1]	0.05	0.09	0.09
Indonesia	0.03	0.05	0.04
Ireland	0.06	0.11	0.11
Italy	0.08	0.14	0.14
Korea, Republic of[1]	0.06	0.13	0.09
Latvia	0.04	0.08	0.08
Liechtenstein	0.06	0.11	0.11
Lithuania	0.04	0.07	0.07
Luxembourg	0.10	0.16	0.17
Malta	0.12	0.21	0.20
Mexico	0.11	0.21	0.18
New Zealand †	0.08	0.15	0.14
Norway †	0.08	0.14	0.14
Paraguay[1]	0.05	0.08	0.09
Poland	0.05	0.09	0.09
Russian Federation	0.05	0.08	0.09
Slovak Republic[2]	0.06	0.10	0.10
Slovenia	0.10	0.16	0.16
Spain	0.08	0.13	0.13
Sweden	0.09	0.16	0.16
Switzerland †	0.09	0.16	0.16
Thailand †	0.03	0.05	0.05
ICCS average	0.07	0.13	0.12
Countries not meeting sampling requirements			
Hong Kong (SAR)	0.07	0.14	0.11
Netherlands	0.07	0.11	0.12

^ Number of students too small to report group average scores.

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

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

‡ 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.

Appendix

Table 5 **Logistic regression results for the model explaining students' support for political parties (regression coefficients and standard errors)**

Country	Gender (female)	SES index	Expected university degree	Parental interest	Students' political interest	Discussion of political or social issues	Participation in youth organisation	Civic engagement at school	Trust in political parties	Importance of party membership	Civic knowledge
Austria	**-0.49** (0.10)	**0.25** (0.05)	**-0.03** (0.10)	**0.27** (0.11)	**0.32** (0.10)	**0.10** (0.05)	**0.39** (0.15)	**0.19** (0.05)	0.18 (0.10)	0.01 (0.12)	**0.27** (0.06)
Belgium (Flemish) †	**-0.33** (0.11)	**0.02** (0.05)	**0.24** (0.10)	0.19 (0.10)	**0.61** (0.10)	**0.22** (0.04)	0.28 (0.19)	**0.10** (0.05)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.13)	**0.20** (0.05)
Bulgaria	**-0.54** (0.09)	**-0.13** (0.05)	**0.05** (0.11)	**0.33** (0.11)	**0.45** (0.09)	0.09 (0.05)	0.20 (0.17)	**0.22** (0.04)	**0.37** (0.10)	**0.29** (0.11)	-0.07 (0.06)
Chile	0.09 (0.08)	**0.13** (0.05)	**-0.02** (0.08)	**0.39** (0.06)	**0.69** (0.07)	**0.19** (0.04)	**0.52** (0.16)	**0.12** (0.04)	**0.38** (0.08)	**0.19** (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)
Chinese Taipei	0.08 (0.06)	**0.14** (0.04)	**0.19** (0.08)	**0.53** (0.06)	**0.74** (0.09)	**0.26** (0.03)	0.05 (0.20)	-0.04 (0.04)	**0.21** (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	**0.18** (0.05)
Colombia	0.10 (0.07)	**-0.09** (0.04)	**0.01** (0.11)	**0.23** (0.07)	**0.45** (0.08)	**0.15** (0.04)	**0.35** (0.10)	**0.16** (0.04)	**0.29** (0.07)	**0.36** (0.08)	**-0.17** (0.03)
Cyprus	**-0.62** (0.09)	-0.05 (0.05)	**0.12** (0.11)	**0.57** (0.11)	**0.43** (0.09)	0.04 (0.05)	**1.01** (0.13)	0.04 (0.06)	**0.60** (0.10)	**0.26** (0.09)	-0.03 (0.06)
Czech Republic †	**-0.50** (0.07)	**0.16** (0.04)	**0.20** (0.10)	**0.33** (0.08)	**0.61** (0.07)	**0.25** (0.04)	**0.41** (0.16)	0.06 (0.04)	**0.16** (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)	0.05 (0.05)
Denmark †	**-0.28** (0.07)	0.00 (0.04)	**0.20** (0.10)	**0.44** (0.09)	**0.94** (0.09)	**0.29** (0.05)	0.08 (0.16)	**0.21** (0.04)	**0.33** (0.09)	**0.20** (0.10)	0.04 (0.05)
Dominican Republic	0.00 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.12)	0.02 (0.13)	0.19 (0.12)	0.07 (0.05)	0.02 (0.14)	0.15 (0.09)	0.19 (0.10)	0.32 (0.17)	-0.10 (0.07)
England ‡	**-0.69** (0.12)	**0.12** (0.06)	**0.46** (0.11)	**0.36** (0.11)	**0.74** (0.11)	**0.27** (0.06)	0.17 (0.15)	**0.14** (0.07)	**0.23** (0.10)	0.15 (0.12)	**0.20** (0.06)
Estonia	-0.20 (0.11)	**0.01** (0.05)	**0.27** (0.10)	**0.26** (0.10)	**0.51** (0.08)	**0.21** (0.05)	**0.46** (0.21)	**0.16** (0.05)	**0.33** (0.10)	-0.01 (0.14)	**0.16** (0.06)
Finland	**-0.58** (0.09)	0.10 (0.05)	**0.18** (0.11)	**0.35** (0.13)	**0.66** (0.09)	**0.25** (0.05)	0.09 (0.26)	**0.17** (0.06)	0.09 (0.09)	**0.45** (0.11)	**0.27** (0.06)
Greece	**-0.29** (0.08)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.11)	**0.22** (0.10)	**0.14** (0.10)	**0.14** (0.04)	**0.44** (0.15)	**0.12** (0.04)	**0.44** (0.11)	**0.44** (0.09)	0.07 (0.05)
Guatemala[1]	-0.04 (0.09)	0.02 (0.04)	**0.08** (0.07)	**0.30** (0.08)	**0.28** (0.07)	**0.15** (0.04)	0.06 (0.11)	**0.09** (0.04)	**0.50** (0.11)	**0.29** (0.07)	**-0.18** (0.06)
Indonesia	**-0.18** (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)	**0.06** (0.07)	**0.21** (0.10)	**0.37** (0.09)	**0.14** (0.04)	0.04 (0.15)	**0.08** (0.04)	**0.24** (0.10)	0.11 (0.09)	**0.17** (0.05)
Ireland	**-0.41** (0.09)	0.10 (0.05)	**0.01** (0.10)	**0.32** (0.11)	**0.59** (0.09)	**0.13** (0.05)	0.22 (0.15)	**0.11** (0.05)	**0.19** (0.08)	**0.31** (0.08)	**0.22** (0.05)
Italy	**-0.41** (0.08)	**0.11** (0.04)	**0.16** (0.09)	0.17 (0.12)	**0.59** (0.10)	**0.28** (0.05)	0.29 (0.20)	**0.15** (0.05)	**0.40** (0.08)	0.11 (0.10)	**0.16** (0.05)
Korea, Republic of[1]	**-0.55** (0.09)	**0.15** (0.04)	**-0.03** (0.10)	-0.05 (0.19)	**0.54** (0.11)	**0.37** (0.06)	0.34 (0.20)	**0.10** (0.04)	**0.34** (0.11)	**0.22** (0.10)	**-0.09** (0.04)
Latvia	-0.13 (0.11)	**-0.06** (0.05)	**0.27** (0.11)	0.01 (0.15)	**0.53** (0.11)	**0.18** (0.05)	0.31 (0.18)	0.09 (0.05)	**0.35** (0.11)	**0.19** (0.09)	**-0.21** (0.05)
Liechtenstein	-0.12 (0.24)	0.03 (0.14)	-0.49 (0.28)	-0.03 (0.35)	**0.13** (0.25)	0.22 (0.14)	-0.20 (0.37)	0.04 (0.14)	**0.61** (0.26)	**0.82** (0.27)	0.31 (0.16)
Lithuania	-0.01 (0.08)	0.08 (0.04)	**-0.10** (0.10)	0.08 (0.13)	**0.53** (0.09)	**0.26** (0.05)	0.27 (0.16)	**0.12** (0.04)	**0.21** (0.07)	0.17 (0.10)	**-0.09** (0.05)
Luxembourg	**-0.22** (0.08)	**0.36** (0.04)	**0.03** (0.08)	**0.34** (0.10)	**0.74** (0.08)	**0.25** (0.04)	**0.27** (0.12)	0.06 (0.04)	**0.27** (0.09)	**0.17** (0.08)	0.00 (0.06)
Malta	-0.03 (0.13)	**-0.14** (0.06)	**-0.03** (0.11)	**0.71** (0.13)	**0.50** (0.12)	**0.08** (0.05)	-0.14 (0.16)	**0.15** (0.07)	**0.71** (0.10)	**0.61** (0.18)	**0.43** (0.09)
Mexico	**-0.26** (0.08)	-0.08 (0.04)	**-0.09** (0.08)	**0.13** (0.09)	**0.29** (0.09)	**0.11** (0.04)	**0.29** (0.13)	0.08 (0.04)	**0.37** (0.08)	**0.38** (0.09)	**-0.64** (0.05)
New Zealand †	-0.12 (0.12)	**0.12** (0.05)	**-0.07** (0.11)	**0.39** (0.11)	**0.48** (0.08)	**0.23** (0.05)	0.05 (0.15)	**0.20** (0.05)	0.08 (0.10)	0.04 (0.10)	**0.35** (0.07)
Norway †	**-0.24** (0.09)	**0.09** (0.05)	**0.25** (0.09)	**0.31** (0.11)	**0.53** (0.10)	**0.28** (0.06)	0.16 (0.17)	**0.16** (0.04)	0.13 (0.09)	0.05 (0.10)	**0.16** (0.06)
Paraguay[1]	0.11 (0.11)	**0.00** (0.05)	**-0.20** (0.09)	**0.40** (0.09)	**0.41** (0.09)	**0.21** (0.06)	0.05 (0.14)	0.07 (0.07)	**0.23** (0.09)	**0.29** (0.10)	0.00 (0.06)
Poland	**-0.47** (0.09)	0.06 (0.04)	**0.09** (0.09)	0.22 (0.12)	**0.56** (0.08)	**0.20** (0.05)	0.16 (0.19)	0.06 (0.05)	**0.28** (0.10)	0.11 (0.10)	0.01 (0.05)
Russian Federation	-0.19 (0.10)	**-0.09** (0.04)	**0.08** (0.10)	**0.35** (0.08)	**0.29** (0.08)	**0.14** (0.04)	**0.30** (0.11)	**0.23** (0.03)	**0.25** (0.09)	**0.25** (0.08)	-0.03 (0.05)
Slovak Republic[2]	**-0.40** (0.10)	**0.15** (0.04)	**-0.13** (0.10)	**0.29** (0.09)	**0.46** (0.10)	**0.25** (0.05)	**0.48** (0.17)	**0.11** (0.05)	0.16 (0.10)	0.11 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.06)
Slovenia	**-0.70** (0.09)	**0.11** (0.05)	**0.06** (0.08)	**0.45** (0.11)	**0.68** (0.09)	**0.28** (0.05)	0.18 (0.21)	**0.24** (0.05)	0.08 (0.09)	0.01 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.05)
Spain	**-0.31** (0.08)	**0.11** (0.04)	**0.14** (0.09)	**0.36** (0.09)	**0.57** (0.08)	**0.23** (0.04)	0.22 (0.16)	**0.11** (0.04)	**0.28** (0.07)	**0.19** (0.09)	**0.12** (0.05)
Sweden	**-0.40** (0.10)	0.03 (0.05)	**0.16** (0.09)	**0.38** (0.09)	**0.59** (0.11)	**0.24** (0.05)	0.29 (0.24)	**0.12** (0.05)	0.16 (0.09)	0.11 (0.10)	**0.27** (0.06)
Switzerland †	**-0.60** (0.12)	**0.21** (0.06)	**0.03** (0.13)	**0.05** (0.14)	**0.27** (0.13)	**0.23** (0.05)	**0.56** (0.21)	0.04 (0.06)	0.17 (0.09)	0.02 (0.11)	**0.46** (0.08)
Thailand †	**-0.24** (0.08)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.08)	**0.23** (0.11)	**-0.03** (0.08)	**0.15** (0.04)	**0.31** (0.08)	**0.11** (0.04)	**0.14** (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	**-0.16** (0.04)
ICCS average	**-0.28** (0.02)	0.05 (0.01)	**0.06** (0.02)	**0.28** (0.02)	**0.48** (0.02)	**0.20** (0.01)	0.25 (0.03)	**0.12** (0.01)	**0.28** (0.02)	**0.21** (0.02)	0.06 (0.01)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements											
Hong Kong (SAR)	**-0.28** (0.10)	0.08 (0.06)	**-0.20** (0.13)	0.15 (0.14)	**0.49** (0.12)	**0.30** (0.07)	0.05 (0.18)	0.06 (0.07)	**0.50** (0.10)	**0.60** (0.13)	**0.24** (0.07)
Netherlands	-0.04 (0.10)	0.11 (0.06)	**0.04** (0.22)	0.04 (0.16)	**0.51** (0.14)	**0.33** (0.08)	0.15 (0.29)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.11)	0.19 (0.14)	**0.26** (0.08)

^ Number of students too small to report group average scores.

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

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

‡ 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.