Citizenship education in England 2001-2010: young people's practices and prospects for the future: the eighth and final report from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)

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Finally, we are deeply indebted to all of the people who have taken the time to take part in CELS and provide invaluable data. Over the past nine years, we have collected data from 43,410 young people, 3,212 teachers, and 690 schools. It is this generosity which has enabled us to create a unique data-set and obtain an in-depth understanding of citizenship policy and practice in schools and among young people.

Without the assistance of all of the above, this evaluation would not have been possible. We therefore hope that the findings and key recommendations will be useful to schools, policy-makers, and the research community, and will assist in taking citizenship education policy and practice forward into the future.

Executive summary

Introduction

In 2001 the former Department for Education and Skills (DfES) commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to investigate the impact of citizenship education on the learning experiences and outcomes of pupils. The main aims of the study were to:

- Assess the short-term and long-term effects of citizenship education on young people in England;
- To explore whether different processes – in terms of school, teacher and individual-level variables – can have variable results and produce different outcomes; and
- To consider what changes could be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness.

The research questions answered by the study are as follows:

- Have young people's citizenship practices changed over the course of the study (2003-2009)?
- What factors (educational and other) shape young people's citizenship outcomes?
- What changes should be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness?

Key Findings

- Young people's citizenship practices have changed over time in relation to their attitudes, attachments and efficacy. The picture is mixed. On the one hand, there has been a marked and steady increase in young people's civic and political participation and indications that these young people will continue to participate as adult citizens. In contrast, there has been a hardening of attitudes toward equality and society, a weakening of attachment to communities and fluctuating levels of engagement, efficacy and trust in the political arena.

- The factors that shape young people's citizenship outcomes include age and life-stage, background factors, prior citizenship outcomes, as well as levels of 'received' citizenship education. Trend analysis has highlighted a 'Key Stage 4 dip' in the cohort's interest in politics, sense of efficacy and levels of participation in civic activities and also the considerable impact of the cohort's prior citizenship outcomes on their current citizenship outcomes. There are preliminary indications that citizenship education, where young people receive 'a lot' of citizenship education, can have an impact on their citizenship outcomes, over and above the impact of other factors.

- A number of changes could be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its effectiveness. They include looking at ensuring the delivery of discrete citizenship lessons, which are planned by CE teachers and linked to external examinations or certification. It is also suggested that consideration is given to providing citizenship education through to age 18 and providing support and training for the *'political literacy'* strand and for embedding citizenship learning in schools.

Background

The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) is an independent and longitudinal evaluation of the implementation and impact of statutory Citizenship learning on students and schools in England. This research brief outlines the findings of the study in relation to the research questions outlined above. These findings are based on an analysis of the longitudinal survey of a cohort of young people who were followed from age 11 to 18. This included trend analysis of basic frequencies, as well as factor analysis, multilevel ordinal logistic regression (MLM) and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM).

Research Methods

The research design of the CELS Study was based on four interrelated components, namely:

Quantitative

- A **longitudinal survey** based on a complete cohort of young people from a sample of schools in England. The cohort was surveyed following their entry to Year 7 (in 2002-3), and again when they were in Year 9 (in 2005), in Year 11 (in 2007), and in Year 13 or equivalent (in 2009). [1]
- **A biennial cross-sectional survey**, with questionnaires completed by approximately 2,500 pupils in each of Years 8, 10 and 12. Each time the survey was run, a new sample of 300 schools and colleges was drawn, and one tutor group (about 25 pupils) from each school took part in the survey.

Qualitative

- **Longitudinal studies of 12 case study schools**, in which the selected schools were visited every two years, and interviews were conducted with senior leaders, citizenship co-ordinator and teachers, and pupils. [2]

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[1] In terms of age of pupils and year groups the following classification applies in schools in England. Year 7 pupils age 11-12, Year 8 age 12-13, Year 9 age 13-14, Year 10 age 14-15, Year 11 age 15-16, Year 12 age 16-17, Year 13 age 17-18.

[2] CELS began with 20 longitudinal case study schools, a sample which has since been reduced to 12 for reasons of manageability. The schools are visited every two years throughout the Study and interviews are conducted with school leaders, citizenship coordinators, teachers and groups of Key Stage 3 and 4 pupils.

- **A review of relevant literature** from political science, sociology, and education and other disciplines.

Findings

Research Question 1: How have young people's citizenship practices changed over time?

Trend analysis of the CELS longitudinal data has revealed that a number of interesting changes have taken place in the cohort's citizenship practices, attitudes, attachments and efficacy since the first survey of the longitudinal cohort was undertaken in 2003. The main trends that have emerged are summarised below.

Political participation has increased with age: over the course of CELS (2001 – 2009), there has been a **marked and steady increase** in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in **political activities**. Signing petitions and electing student/ school council members were the most common forms of political participation among the cohort. Only a small proportion took part in more active forms of political activities.

Civic participation has increased with age: there has also been a **marked increase** in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in **civic activities**. Fund-raising for charities and good causes were the most commonly-reported activity, although, as they got older, there was also a notable increase in the proportions that have been helping out in their local community.

Participation in extra-curricular activities has decreased with age: by contrast, there has been a **clear and steady decline** in take-up of other **extra-curricular activities**, namely sports, arts, drama or hobbies. The decline in participation in sports activities was particularly marked.

Future participation has increased with age: as they got older, the CELS cohort were **more likely** to report that they intended to participate in **conventional citizenship activities** (such as voting in general elections, volunteering time to help other people, and collecting money for a good cause). **Intentions to vote** became **stronger** as the cohort got older: over 75 per cent indicated that they would probably or definitely vote in general elections in the future.

Attitudes towards participation are influenced by personal benefits: the CELS cohort have tended to associate **'good' citizenship** with being law-abiding and with taking an interest in or taking part in their communities. However, when asked why

they take part the cohort have tended to be motivated by the prospect of **personal benefits** than by a sense of duty.

Attitudes towards equality and society have hardened with age: over time, the cohort have become **less liberal and more conservative** particularly in their attitudes towards refugees and immigrants, but also in their attitudes towards jail sentences, benefit payments, and some environmental restriction policies. At the same time, the cohort have become markedly *more* **supportive** about human rights and women's rights.

Citizenship attachments have weakened with age: there has been a **gradual and steady weakening** of the cohort's attachment to their **communities** (be they local, national, or European), although attachment to their school communities remained relatively strong.

Trust in social, civil and political institutions has remained high with age: the cohort have had **high levels of trust** in social and civil institutions, but *dis***trust** in politicians has increased. In 2009, 33 per cent of the cohort reported that they do not trust politicians 'at all' (up from 20 per cent in Year 7 at age 11).

Citizenship engagement and efficacy have remained moderate with age: as the cohort got older, they have become increasingly aware of the **impact of politics** on their lives, but as they approached adulthood and 'full' citizenship, they were still only **moderately likely to feel** that they, as individuals, could influence the political and social institutions that shape their lives.

Question 2:   What factors have contributed to creating these citizenship outcomes?

Multi-Level and Structural Equation Modelling of the longitudinal data provided some preliminary evidence that

Citizenship education can shape young people's citizenship outcomes: in particular, the analysis has showed that the CELS cohort was more likely to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) if they had high levels of **'received citizenship'** (i.e. if they reported having received **'a lot'** of citizenship education).

Citizenship education can have a *positive* impact on the cohort's sense of personal efficacy: it can have a positive impact on the extent to which young people feel able, as individuals, to make a difference and influence the government, their school and their family (an important citizenship skill). Indeed, it was in the area of personal efficacy skills that the impact of CE tended to be strongest.

Citizenship education was not the only variable that was contributing to young people's citizenship outcomes: other important variables were young people's age and life-stage, individual-level background characteristics, and the individual's previous attitudes and intentions towards citizenship. The latter were particularly important; the analysis indicated that young people's attitudes stabilise as they get older, and hence the attitudes and intentions they formed when they were younger play a very important role in shaping their later outcomes.

The format, timing and duration of the citizenship learning experience are crucial variables: the CELS analysis has indicated that the cohort was more likely to have high(er) levels of 'received citizenship' (and by extension, better citizenship outcomes) if they have attended a school where citizenship education is:

- delivered in a discrete slot in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by the teachers who are delivering the citizenship curriculum rather than the school's PSHE coordinator
- formally examined (e.g. as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).
- delivered regularly and consistently throughout the cohort's educational experience.

Question 3:   What would make citizenship education more effective?

Drawing on findings in this Final report from CELS, as well as from previous reports, it is possible to set out a number of recommendations for the future development of CE policy and practice. In short, it is recommended that policymakers and practitioners:

1. **Ensure, where possible, that CE learning is delivered in discrete timetable slots and for more than 45 minutes per week:** this was one of the clearest findings from the modelling of the longitudinal data, where it was shown to have a positive effect on the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship' and by extension their chances of positive citizenship outcomes. Interestingly, previous CELS reports, most noticeably the 7th Annual Report, found that increasing numbers of schools have been moving towards discrete citizenship lessons (see Keating *et al*, 2009a), which suggests that many schools are already on their way to providing the optimum learning format for CE.

2. **Look to encourage external examination or certification of citizenship learning:** modelling of the longitudinal data revealed that it was the availability of the GCSE citizenship course that had the strongest effect on the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship'. This suggests that increased implementation of this delivery model feature would have the biggest improvement on young people's citizenship outcomes.

3. **Promote the practice that CE lessons should be developed by the teacher who is delivering the citizenship lessons and not conflated with Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE):** CELS reports have confirmed that, since 2002, a large proportion of schools are combining citizenship teaching with PSHE. However, the modelling of the longitudinal data in this report has suggested that this can have a negative effect on received citizenship and citizenship outcomes. CELS respondents who attended schools where the citizenship curriculum was developed by a PSHE coordinator were substantially *less* likely to state that they were taught citizenship than respondents in schools with other staffing policies.

4. **Look to provide citizenship education throughout schooling, including in Years 12 and 13 (i.e. age 16 to 18):** analysis of the CELS data shows that the impact of CE on the cohort's citizenship outcomes waned over time. This, in turns, suggests that CE needs to be provided throughout a young person's school/education career, including beyond age 16, if the potential benefits are to be sustained into the future.

5. **Consider providing further support and training for the *political literacy* strand of CE:** the *political literacy*[3] strand of Citizenship, what the Citizenship Advisory Group (CAG) defined as the new and distinctive element of citizenship education, has been a cause for concern throughout the CELS study. The continued problems in this area suggest that this strand requires further policy reinforcement and support, pedagogical innovation in the form of interactive materials and learning approaches, and teacher training (both in initial and through CPD) to ensure that young people are given sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to be able to engage effectively with the political system and political issues.

6. **Work to ensure that schools and teachers have sufficient support and training to embed citizenship learning:** The CELS longitudinal school case study data from 2008 reaffirmed that citizenship policy in schools needs support not just from individual teachers, but also from senior leaders in the school and local and national policy-makers and organisations. This support lends the subject a status, legitimacy, and momentum. The CELS longitudinal case-study schools have shown how without such support citizenship education can become marginalised in the school curriculum and school community and removed from young people's learning experiences in and beyond school (see Keating *et al.*, 2009).

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[3]   Political literacy was defined by the Citizenship Advisory Group as "Pupils learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge – this can be termed *political literacy*, seeking a term wider than political knowledge alone.

Final conclusions: what is the future of citizenship and citizenship education?

The study provides preliminary evidence that citizenship education can make a positive contribution to young people's citizenship outcomes. Citizenship education can help young people to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future). It can also have a positive impact on the young people's sense of personal efficacy – that is, the extent to which an individual feels able to make a difference and influence the government, their school and their family (an important citizenship skill). This finding comes with two key caveats and is tentative, as the analysis presented here is exploratory rather than final.

The first key caveat is that it was clear from the analysis throughout the conduct of CELS that the impact of citizenship education should not be viewed in isolation – it is but one of the contextual and input variables that contribute towards shaping young people's citizenship practices, attitudes, engagement and efficacy. These findings support those in previous CELS reports and confirm that, in order to secure the best citizenship outcomes for young people, there is a need to adopt a holistic approach that includes not just educational measures, but also some initiatives to tackle the broader social, political, and cultural challenges to citizenship.

The second key caveat is that the analysis of the longitudinal dataset also indicated that the format, timing and duration of CE in schools play a critical role in determining the efficacy of CE. This is in terms of factors such as the extent of discrete citizenship lessons, the planning of CE learning by specialist teachers, the availability of examinations and accreditation of citizenship learning and the number of years that young people have citizenship learning. The identification of such factors backs up the detailed trajectories of Citizenship from 2001 to 2009 in each of the CELS longitudinal case-study schools, as reported in the 7th Annual CELS Report (Keating *et al*., 2009).

1.   Introduction

Citizenship was introduced into the National Curriculum in England in September 2002, providing all pupils aged 11 to 16 in maintained schools with a statutory entitlement to citizenship education. In order to evaluate this initiative the former Department for Education and Skills (DfES) commissioned NFER to conduct a nine-year evaluation of the implementation and impact of citizenship education in schools and on pupils. What came to be known as the *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study* (hereafter CELS) has since then been tracking how citizenship and citizenship education have been received, perceived, and practiced in schools and by young people.

Over the past nine years, this evaluation has been guided by **three research aims**, namely:

Aim 1	• to assess the short-term and long-term effects of citizenship education on young people in England
Aim 2	• to explore whether different processes – in terms of school, teacher and individual-level variables – can have variable results and produce different oucomes
Aim 3	• to consider what changes could be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness

These aims have been pursued using quantitative and qualitative research methods, longitudinal and cross-sectional data, and analysis of citizenship education in different learning contexts (e.g. schools, families, and peers). Along the way, CELS has produced a series of annual reports and research briefs, each of which shed light on different dimensions and stages of the study (see Appendix 1 and www.nfer.ac.uk/citizenship). For example, the Seventh Annual Report focused on the implementation in, and impact on, schools, tracing how school practice has changed over time and become more embedded in some contexts and more marginalised in others (see Keating *et al*, 2009a).

In this the **Eighth** (and final) **Annual Report from CELS**, we have the advantage of having the full CELS dataset to analyse for the first time. We make use of this

advantage in two ways. First we focus on examining the impact of CE on *young people*, and on identifying the factors that shape these outcomes in young people (including both school-level and individual-level variables). Second, and based on these findings, we then draw together the findings from this (and previous) reports to suggests ways in which *CE policy and practice* could evolve in the future. The specific research questions that we consider in this report are set out in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Research Questions for the Eighth (and final) Annual Report from CELS

RQ 1	Have young people's citizenship practices changed over the course of the study (2003 - 2009)?	Chapters 3, 4, 5
RQ2	What factors (educational and other) shape young people's citizenship outcomes?	Chapter 5
RQ3	What changes should be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness?	Chapter 6
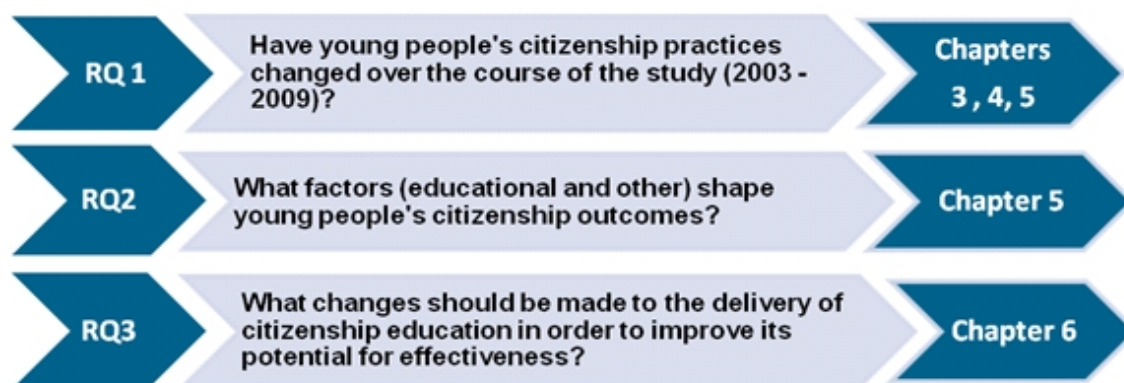
1.1 Setting the context for Citizenship Education policy - past and present

As noted above, Citizenship was introduced into the National Curriculum in England in September 2002, providing all pupils aged 11-16 in maintained schools with a statutory entitlement to citizenship education.[4] The introduction of this subject followed the report and recommendations from the Citizenship Advisory Group (CAG), which was chaired by Professor (Sir) Bernard Crick and had been established in 1997 with all party support.

The establishment of the CAG was prompted by growing concern about declining youth participation in civic and political life and, in particular, the decline in voting among younger age groups. Citizenship education was identified as one of the measures that could help tackle this issue, but at this juncture, provision in England was found to be best described as a series of '*uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method*' (QCA, 1998: 7). The final recommendations of the CAG and the national curriculum framework, therefore, sought to address these concerns in the aims, outcomes, and design of the new

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[4] At the same time, Citizenship also became part of a non-statutory framework (alongside Personal Social Health Education (PSHE)) in primary schools for pupils aged 5 to 11 (Key Stages 1 and 2).

Citizenship curriculum (summarised in brief in Figure 1.2). The new and distinctive element of citizenship, as identified by the CAG, was the *political literacy* strand.

Figure 1.2.   Original aims, learning contexts, and outcomes of citizenship

Aims	Learning contexts	Educational outcomes
Social and moral responsibility	Curriculum	Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens
Community involvement	Culture (in school and beyond)	Skills of enquiry and approach
Political literacy	Communities (including local)	Skills of participation and responsible action
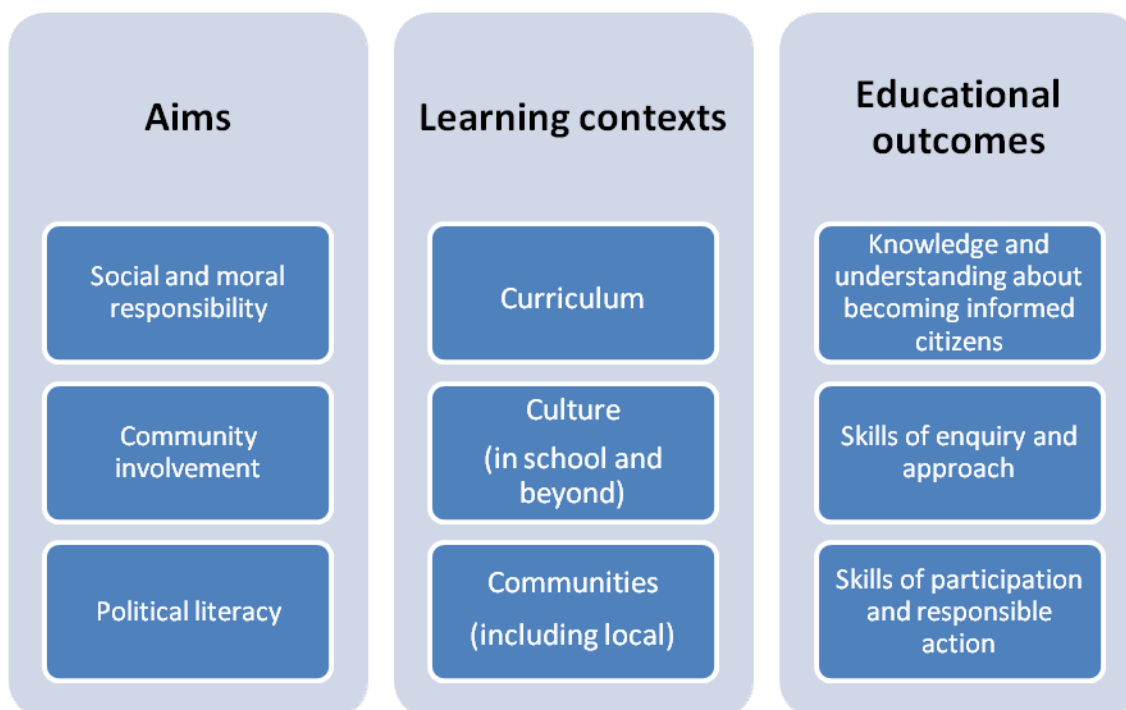
Since then, both the content of and context for, citizenship education (and indeed education more broadly) has evolved considerably. In particular, more emphasis has been placed (in CE and other education policies) on dealing with identity, diversity and community cohesion, and on encouraging children and young people to participate more in their schools and local communities. Increased interest in the former was reflected in the revised guidelines for Citizenship in the new National Curriculum in 2008 and the introduction of a duty for schools to promote community cohesion (see Ajegbo, 2007, QCA, 2007 and DCSF, 2007).

Meanwhile, to encourage young people's participation, the previous government introduced a wide range of educational and other initiatives (see HM Government, 2010). In education, for example, schools have been strongly encouraged to establish school/student councils (see Wisby and Whitty, 2006) and the Ofsted inspection framework was revised (in 2005) to ensure that schools and inspectors canvass pupil views' on the quality of teaching and learning. In addition, in 2008 the Ministry of Justice established a Youth Citizenship Commission (YCC) to examine ways of developing young peoples' understanding of citizenship and increase their

participation in politics (see YCC, 2009 and the then government's response, HM Government, 2010).

Where are we in 2010?

Despite these policy shifts and innovations, the level of young people's participation in political and civic life continues to cause concern. Concern about young people's electoral participation is borne out by recent evidence from the British Election Study, which estimates that approximately 49 per cent of young people aged 18 – 25 voted in the 2010 election (Whiteley *et al*., 2010). This turnout represents a notable increase on youth participation rates in 2005, when it is estimated only 37 per cent of young people in this age group voted (Electoral Commission, 2005). However, while much improved, the 2010 turnout is still perhaps lower than anticipated, after a campaign which seemed to galvanise increasing numbers of young people to register and to declare their intentions to vote (The Guardian, April 22 2010). Furthermore, turnout among this group still lags notably behind participation rates in other (and older) groups (see Figure 1.3), echoing the results from previous elections and lending weight to the argument that low turnout among younger generations is "*not just a 'phase' that young people pass through – it is a habit set to last*" (Keaney and Rogers, 2006: 11).

Figure 1.3. Turnout in the 2010 General Election by Age Groups
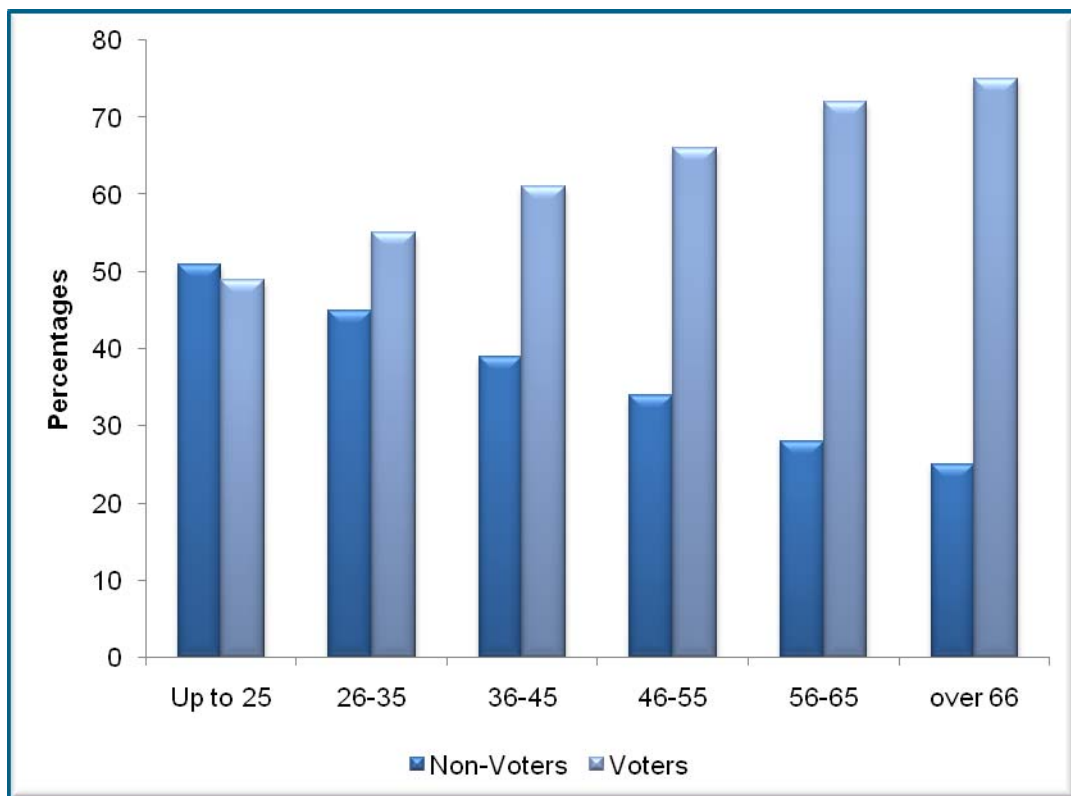
Source: British Election Study Campaign Surveys, 2010, post-election wave data (Whiteley et al, 2010)

Further evidence of a youth engagement gap can be also found in the Home Office Citizenship Survey, which in 2008-09 reported that 16 to 25 year-olds were less likely than most age groups to have taken part in civic engagement (Taylor and Low, 2010: 10) or in regular formal volunteering (although this age group were, by contrast, slightly more likely than other groups to take part in informal volunteering) (Drever, 2010: 13). It is evidence such as this which suggests that there is still much to be done to promote young people's participation in civic and political life.

Although still early days, the new Coalition government has already signalled its intentions to try to tackle the challenges that remain. In particular, plans are in place to introduce a National Citizenship Service for 16 year olds in order to:

> *…to give them a chance to develop the skills needed to be active and responsible citizens, mix with people from different backgrounds, and start getting involved in their communities* (Cabinet Office, 2010: 2).

This initiative is, in fact, part of a broader policy agenda which is being termed as building a 'Big Society.' Details about this agenda are still emerging, but, in short, the Coalition government plans to give more power to communities and to local

government; to encourage people to play a more active role in their communities; and to increase access to government data so that individuals and communities and organisations can see what needs to be done in their area (Cabinet Office, 2010). It is anticipated that policies in this vein will encourage participation by people of *all* ages, bring communities together, and, ultimately, 'build a stronger and bigger society in Britain' (Cameron, May 18 2010).

It is interesting to note that interest in these issues is not limited to Britain. Thirty eight countries (including England) signed up to participate in the IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Study in 2009 (ICCS), with a view to examining the 'attitudes, perceptions, and activities related to civics and citizenship' of pupils age 14 years old and to identifying and explaining the variable outcomes within and between the participating countries (Schulz *et al*, 2010a: 13). The results of this study at international and European level will be published in autumn 2010, around the same time as this report (Schulz *et al*., 2010b; Kerr *et al*., 2010).

ICCS 2009 includes a European regional module which focuses on the European dimension of civics and citizenship. This includes pupils' knowledge, understanding, and attitudes towards European citizenship issues such as European Union (EU) institutions and laws, European citizenship and identity and European policies. The European ICCS module builds on the momentum of the wide range of citizenship education initiatives that have been undertaken by the Council of Europe (CoE), the European Union (EU), and individual European states over the past fifteen years (see Keating *et al*., 2009b).

This report contributes to these debates at the national, regional, and international level and in two ways: first, by identifying the latest trends in young people's citizenship participation, attitudes, interest, and skills in England; and second, by indicating how citizenship education could contribute to tackling the remaining challenges, and illustrating what types of citizenship education are most effective in doing so.

In the next section, we describe in brief the methodology and data sources that have been used to achieve these aims.

1.2 Methodology and data sources – quantitative and qualitative

The research design of the CELS Study was based on four interrelated components, namely:

Quantitative

- A **longitudinal survey** based on a complete cohort of young people from a sample of schools in England. The cohort was surveyed following their entry to Year 7 (in 2002-3), and again when they were in Year 9 (in 2005), in Year 11 (in 2007), and in Year 13 or equivalent (in 2009). [5]

- A **biennial cross-sectional survey**, with questionnaires completed by approximately 2,500 pupils in each of Years 8, 10 and 12. Each time the survey was run, a new sample of 300 schools and colleges was drawn, and one tutor group (about 25 pupils) from each school took part in the survey.

Qualitative

- **Longitudinal studies of 12 case study schools**, in which the selected schools were visited every two years, and interviews were conducted with senior leaders, citizenship co-ordinator and teachers, and pupils. [6]

- **A review of relevant literature** from political science, sociology, and education and other disciplines.

In this report, we have focused on analysing the data from the longitudinal survey of pupils and young people, using trend analysis of basic frequencies, as well as factor analysis, multilevel ordinal logistic regression (MLM) and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). Further details about the survey methodology, sample information and data analysis techniques, are provided throughout this report and in Appendix 2.

1.3 Structure of the report

In this chapter, we have set out the aims of the evaluation, the research questions for this report, and the policy and research context in which this evaluation has been conducted. **Chapter 2** follows this up with a brief overview of the theoretical and analytical framework that underpins the study.

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[5] In terms of age of pupils and year groups the following classification applies in schools in England. Year 7 pupils age 11-12, Year 8 age 12-13, Year 9 age 13-14, Year 10 age 14-15, Year 11 age 15-16, Year 12 age 16-17, Year 13 age 17-18.

[6] CELS began with 20 longitudinal case study schools, a sample which has since been reduced to 12 for reasons of manageability.

Chapters 3 and 4 then present the findings from the trend analysis of the CELS longitudinal data, focusing, in particular, on the changes that have taken place over time and the latest outcomes for the young people who have taken part in this evaluation. **Chapter 3** focuses on trends in civic and political participation, while **Chapter 4** examines trends in trends in citizenship attitudes, attachments, interest and efficacy.

Chapter 5 presents the exploratory findings from the multi-level and structural equation modelling, and examines the role that citizenship education has played in shaping the citizenship outcomes of the CELS cohort. Along the way, we also identify other pertinent variables, as well as the *types* of citizenship education that seem to produce the best citizenship outcomes.

To conclude the report, **Chapter 6** summarises the key findings from the analysis, and draws on these findings to present the research team's final conclusions and recommendations concerning citizenship and citizenship education policy and practice.

2. Evaluating Citizenship and Citizenship Education – core concepts and key measures

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines in brief the key variables which have underpinned the study, and the (assumed) relationships between each of the variables. Citizenship is a complex concept that encompasses rights, responsibilities, knowledge, skills, behaviours, attitudes and feelings of belonging. The *education of citizens* is, as a result, a similarly complex process. In order to research and evaluate this process, we must take into account not just the formal curriculum that is imparted to pupils, but also a range of background and contextual variables that can contribute towards the formal and informal education of young citizens. It is only in this way that we can assess what outcomes can be achieved, and what factors contributed to achieving these outcomes.

As a result, at the outset of the evaluation the CELS research team reviewed the existing research between citizenship and citizenship education to identify which key theories and variables could be used to conceptualise and research this area, and to identify and evaluate the possible outcomes of this intervention. The latest research in education, sociology, and political science was consulted (see Kerr *et al*, 2003; Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; and Whiteley, 2005); this process highlighted the *inputs* (background variables), the *contexts* of citizenship learning, and the possible *outcomes* of citizenship education (for schools and young people).

To foreground the findings that are presented in this Report, this chapter presents a brief overview of the key variables and levels of analysis that were identified during this process.

2.2 Overarching analytical framework for CELS

At the start of this study, the key variables from the existing literature were mapped out and incorporated into an overarching analytical framework for CELS, which is summarised below in Figure 2.1. This model was particularly influenced by the 'Octagon model' used by educationalists in the IEA Citizenship Education Study (CIVED) (Schulz *et al*, 2008). The CELS model also incorporated the key theories which political scientists were using to explore patterns of civic engagement and participation, including theories of social capital, civic voluntarism and cognitive engagement (see Kerr and Cleaver, 2004; and Whiteley, 2005).

Figure 2.1. Overarching analytical framework for CELS

Inputs → **Contexts** → **Outcomes**

Background variables

Student-level factors:

a) which cannot be influenced by CE – e.g. age, sex, class, ethnicity

b) which **may** be influenced by CE – e.g. political interest, knowledge

School and teacher-level factors:

e.g. the demographics of the school population, such as porportion of pupils on of free school meals

Sites of Citizenship Learning

Family and home

Friends and peer group

Community links

Formal networks

Informal networks

School and teachers

Outcomes

For students:

e.g. behaviours and actions; attitudes and beliefs; knowledge and understanding; interest and engagement.

For schools and teachers:

e.g. new curriculum strategies, stonger community links

2.3 Inputs for CELS: Background variables at pupil and school level

The initial literature review indicated that there was a wide range of 'inputs' to take into account when evaluating citizenship and citizenship education. These inputs include background variables at pupil, school, and teacher-levels. The key variables are summarised below in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2. Inputs to CE: key background variables at pupil, school and teacher level

Student-level variables that **cannot** be changed by CE	Student-level variables that **may** be changed by CE	School / teacher-level variables
Education (or educational achievement) Age Social class Ethnicity Gender Free time Partisanship Political (dis)satisfaction Relative deprivation Home literacy resources	Citizenship interest Citizenship knowledge Sense of efficacy Attitudes Interest in politics Participation Mobilisation Trust Group membership Perceived costs / benefits of participation	Type/size Ethos/values Organisation and management Staff attitudes Staff expertise and training Teaching approaches Learning opportunities Student demographics

Over the course of the study, CELS has taken into account virtually all of the variables highlighted above, and assessed the relative salience of each of these factors for citizenship learning in England. In this report, for example, we report on the impact of pupils' fixed background characteristics (such as their gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status and home literacy) on citizenship outcomes (see Chapter 5).

One key variable which could not be examined, however, was educational achievement at the individual pupil level. Because of limited resources, the CELS team have to date been unable to link CELS data with individual-level data on participants' educational achievement. The project team hope that it will be possible

to take this into account in the near future (by linking to data held on the National Pupil Database) and to examine the relationship between citizenship education and achievement. This would build on an initial study undertaken at school level.[7]

2.4   The contexts of citizenship education for CELS: schools, families, friends and communities

Citizenship learning takes place for young people throughout the course of life, in a wide range of contexts, including not just schools, but also from family, friends and peers and via experiences in, and of, their local community. Also important are the formal and informal networks young people participate in, such as religious and voluntary groups or youth organisations, work places, and leisure/social places.
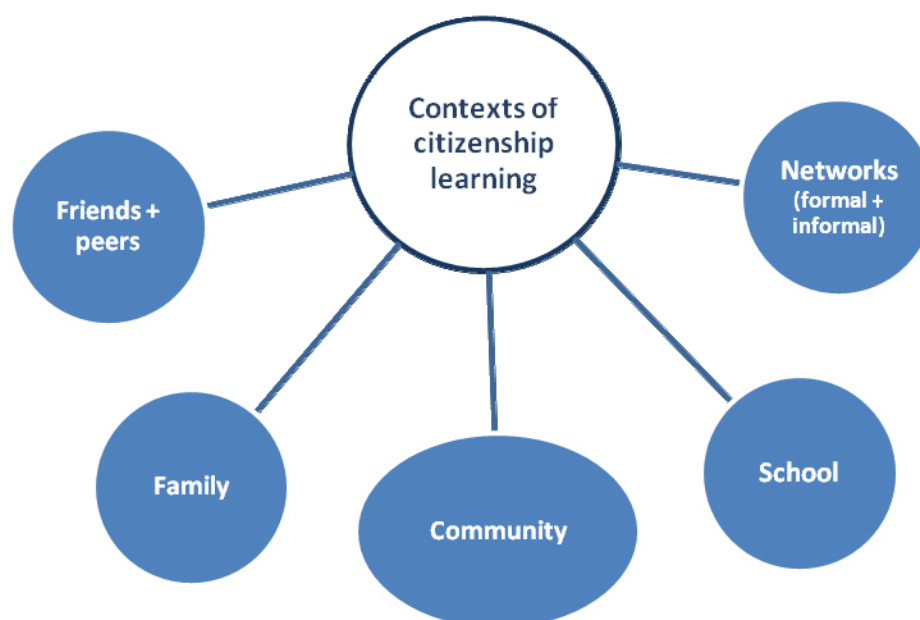
CELS includes measures of all of these arenas, but as this is an evaluation of an educational intervention, particular attention was paid to the *school* context, and to formal citizenship education. Even within this context, however, there are myriad ways in which schools and teachers can shape how citizenship education is delivered, taught, and received in schools; Figure 2.3 below summarises some of the key variables.

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[7]   NFER has undertaken an initial exploration of the link between pupil participation and pupil attainment at school level (Ireland, Kerr and Benton, 2006). The report found evidence of some links between pupil participation and pupil attainment as well as between pupils' attitudes towards participation and attainment. The report is accessible on the NFER website.

For example, the 7th annual report showed that the quality of CE delivery in schools can be undermined by a range of factors, including weak leadership, poor implementation and coordination, the low status of CE in the school, and pressures on curriculum time. These factors are, in turn, often inter-related and underline the fact that, in order to fully assess a school's approach to CE, we need to consider the salience of *all* of the variables listed in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3.   Dimensions of the school context which shape citizenship education
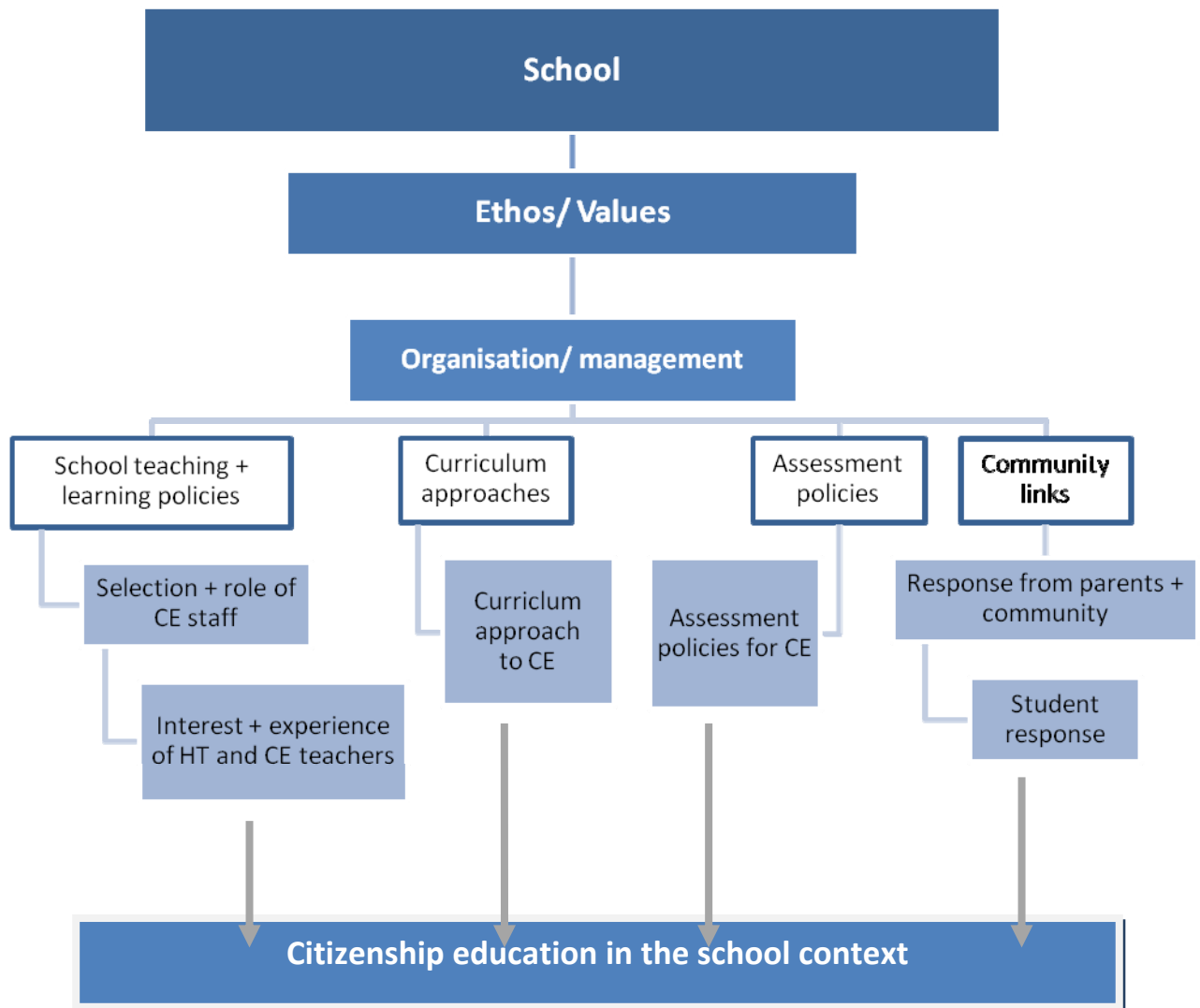
2.5   The outcomes of citizenship education for CELS

In sum, the various contexts of citizenship learning, combined with the inputs, shape the outcomes for citizenship education. CELS examined the outcomes of CE on two

levels – namely, for both young people *and* schools. At each level, there are a number of different possible types of outcomes; these are summarised below in Figure 2.4.

For example, one of the key outcomes for young people is their *citizenship behaviours and actions*. To evaluate the impact of CE on this outcome, CELS has examined factors such as respondents' interest, engagement, involvement, and participation (civic and political, and whether it is intended or actual). In terms of young peoples' *attitudes and beliefs*, CELS has looked at indicators of trust, identity, community attachment, and attitudes towards equality.

Figure 2.4   Outcomes areas for citizenship education
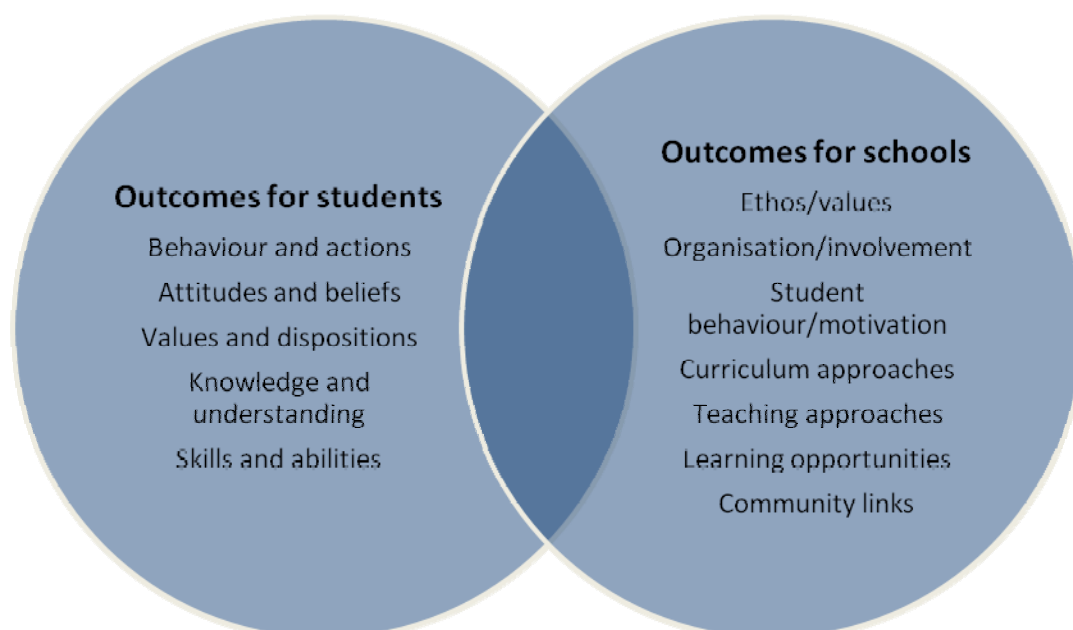
In terms of outcomes for schools, CELS has looked at the impact on school ethos, organisation, and community links, among other things. As the 7th Annual Report from CELS focused on outcomes for schools, this report, the final annual report from CELS, will focus on outcomes for young people. The next chapter begins this process by looking at the latest data from the survey of the longitudinal cohort, and trends over time in key measures of young peoples' citizenship outcomes.

2.6   Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the factors that can shape citizenship education, and the types of outcomes that may emerge as a result. This discussion highlighted that citizenship and citizenship education are complex processes –

involving a wide range of inputs and contexts. Some of these are beyond the scope of the study, or simply too broad to touch upon in this report. We have, therefore, also identified the factors that this report focuses on, and the rationale for this focus.

3. Citizenship, participation and young people – recent trends and future prospects

Key findings

Analysis of the CELS longitudinal dataset reveals over time (2001 – 2009) that:

Political participation: there has been a marked and steady increase in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in political activities. Signing petitions and electing pupil/ school council members were the most common forms of political participation among the cohort. Only a small proportion took part in more active forms of political activities.

Civic participation: there was also a marked increase in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in civic activities. Fund-raising for charities and good causes were the most commonly-reported activity, although, as they got older, there was also a notable increase in the proportions that have been helping out in their local community.

Extra-curricular activities: by contrast, there has been a clear and steady decline in take-up of other extra-curricular activities, namely sports, arts, drama or hobbies. The decline in participation in sports activities was particularly marked.

Future participation: as they got older, the CELS cohort was more likely to report that they intended to participate in conventional citizenship activities (such as voting in general elections, volunteering time to help other people, and collecting money for a good cause). Intentions to vote became stronger as the cohort got older: over 75 per cent indicated that they would probably or definitely vote in general elections in the future.

The importance of age and life-stage for citizenship outcomes: there was a notable dip in rates of civic participation as the cohort progressed through Key Stage 4 (i.e. age 14 to 16). This is part of a wider trend which suggests that age and life-stage play a key role in shaping young people's citizenship practices and behaviours.

3.1   Introduction

Participation is the cornerstone of citizenship, and encouraging greater participation in civic and political activities among young people was one of the fundamental goals of the new Citizenship curriculum in England (QCA, 1998). In light of this, CELS tracked young people's participation in political, civic and other extra-curricular activities over the course of the study. For example, in each year we asked respondents if they had been involved in *political* activities (such as writing to their MP or local council), *civic activities* (such as fundraising or helping out in their local community), and other *extra-curricular activities* (such as sports or cultural activities).

This chapter presents the results of this tracking, focusing in particular on trends over time (2001-2009) in the data from the longitudinal cohort. Young people from this cohort were surveyed up to four times over the course of the study (in 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2009, when the participants were in Years 7, 9, 11 and 13 (or equivalent)), with the result that we could track how individuals within this cohort changed over time. Based on this wealth of data, we then identified trends in the levels and type of participation among the cohort, using basic frequencies and composite scores (which allowed us to summarise sets of related items).

The key longitudinal trends in the CELS data are described below. These show that there has been a marked and steady increase in the CELS cohort's participation in civic and political activities over the course of the study, although participation in extra-curricular activities has declined.

Please note that, for ease of reference, the results from the 2009 survey are referred to in this chapter as 'Year 13 or equivalent' or, particularly in the Tables and Figures, simply as 'Year 13'. However, as the respondents in this cohort were 17-18 years old when the 2009 survey was administered, this 'Year 13' group also includes young people who have left the formal education system for work and training opportunities.

3.2   Young people and political participation

> *Political participation:* there has been a marked and steady increase in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in political activities. Signing petitions and electing pupil/ school council members were the most common forms of political participation among the cohort. Only a small proportion took part in more active forms of political activities.

The analysis of the CELS longitudinal data shows that there has been a marked and steady increase in the overall rates of political participation among young people during their free time (that is, *outside* of school, training institutions, or work places). As Figure 3.1 below illustrates, between Year 9 and Year 13 (i.e. age 14 to 18), there has been an increase of around 30 percentage points in the proportion of young people taking part in one or more political activities *outside* of school, training institutions, or work places.

The largest increase was in the number of respondents signing petitions. By Year 13 (or equivalent), almost 60 per cent of the longitudinal cohort had signed a petition, whereas in Year 9 (when this cohort was first asked this question[8]), only 21 per cent had done so.

Figure 3.1.   Overall trends in political participation among young people - *outside* school, training institutions, or the workplace
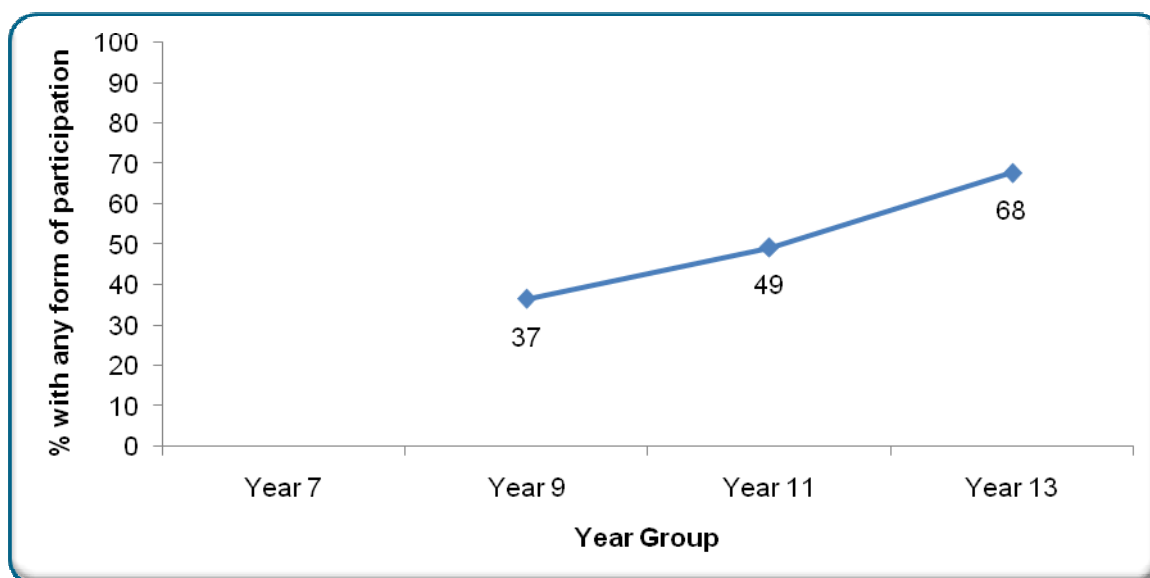
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER
No data is available for Year 7 due to these pupils completing a shorter version of the survey questionnaire.

However, it is important to note that while rates of participation in other political activities have also increased, these are still comparatively low in Year 13 (or equivalent). For example, although the proportion has increased over time, less than 20 per cent of the respondents in Year 13 (or equivalent) had attended a public

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[8]   This question was first introduced in the cross-sectional survey, and there is data for the Year 8 group (also around 20 per cent).

meeting, taken part in a demonstration or had contacted their MP or local council (see Figure 3.2 below).

Figure 3.2. Percentage of young people in Year 13 or equivalent who have participated in the following political activities

Base: All year 13 students surveyed. N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

Participation in political activities *in schools* also increased over the course of the study, primarily when the participants' progressed beyond Key Stage 4 and continued their studies to Year 13. For example, when compared with the Year 11 data, the latest CELS data from Year 13 pupils showed a 11 percentage point increase in the proportion of young people indicating that they had taken part in a school or student council in the twelve months leading up to the survey (see Figure 3.3).

The proportions of pupils who have voted rates in school/ student council elections was comparatively higher, but followed a similar pattern, as Figure 3.3 illustrates. At each survey point, over 40 per cent of pupils indicated that they had voted in student elections; however, while participation rates in Year 11 were comparatively lower than in Year 7 (41 per cent, as compared to 45 per cent), rates increased again after Year 11, and in the latest CELS survey (in 2009), 52 per cent of the respondents who were still in education indicated that they had voted in student elections.

Figure 3.3.   Percentage of young people participating in student councils and/ or electing council members – trends over time
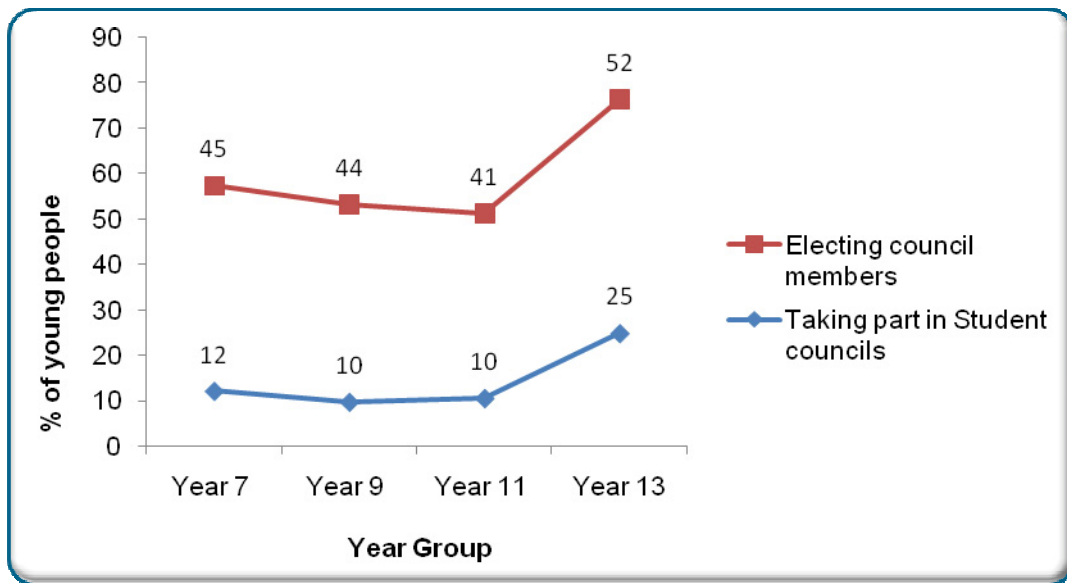
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
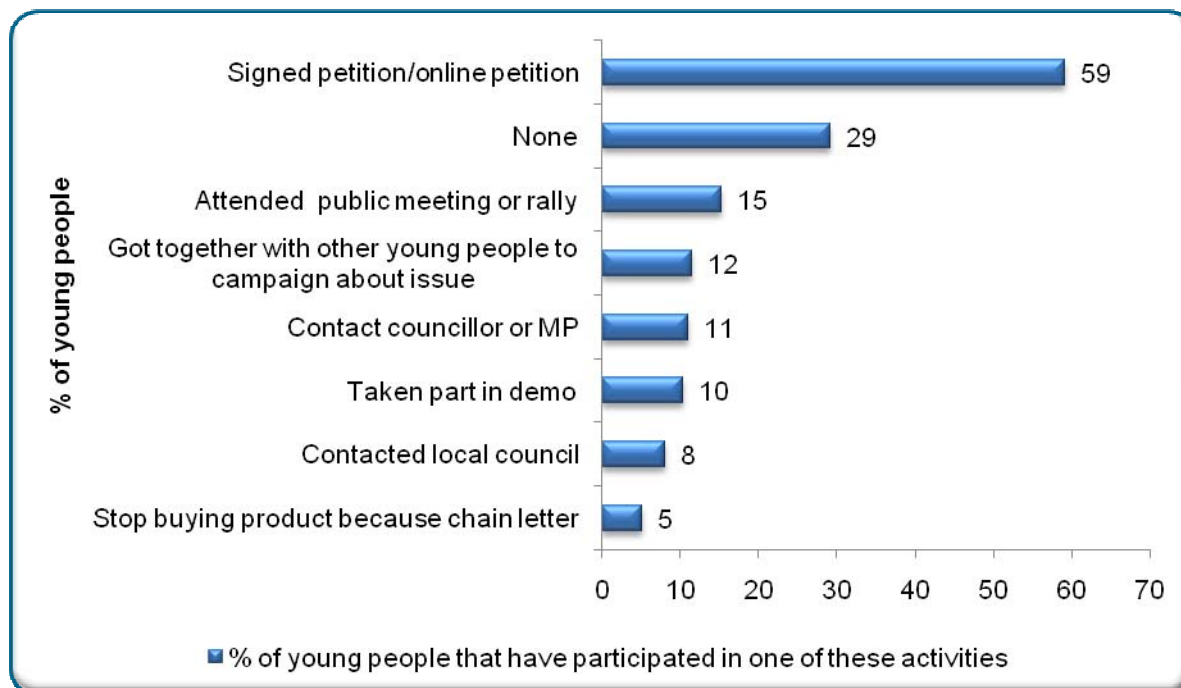*Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER*

3.3   Young people and civic participation

Civic participation: there was also a marked increase in the proportion of the CELS cohort reporting that they have participated in civic activities. Fund-raising for charities and good causes were the most commonly-reported activity, although, as they got older, there was also a notable increase in the proportions that have been helping out in their local community.

Similar patterns were evident from the analysis of the CELS longitudinal data on rates of participation in civic activities. Since the start of the study there has been an overall increase (of almost 15 percentage points) in the proportion of the cohort that has been taking part in civic activities.

Figure 3.4.   Young people's participation in one or more civic activities – trends over time

Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

Closer analysis suggested that *raising money for a good cause or charity* was the civic activity that the respondents were most commonly engaged in (see Figure 3.5 below). In the latest CELS survey (2009), 48 per cent of the respondents who were still in school indicated that they had taken part in fund-raising activities in school (by contrast, only 28 per cent of the 2009 respondents indicated that they had participated in this type of activity *outside* of school, work or training).

Figure 3.5 also shows that the largest increase in participation has taken place in the proportion of young people helping to organise an event (up from 18 per cent in Year 9, to 43 per cent in Year 13).

Figure 3.5. Percentage of young people taking part in individual civic activities – trends over time

Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
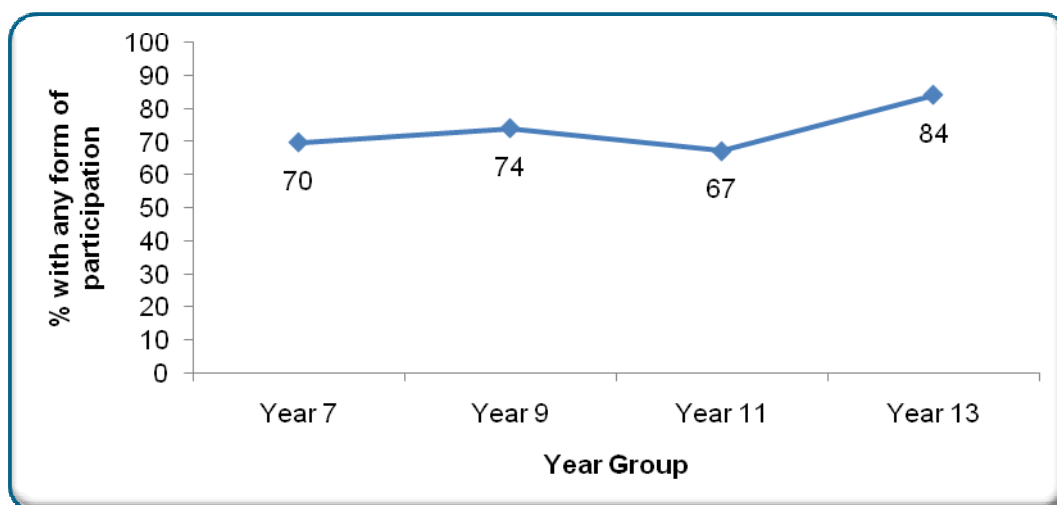*Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER*
No data is available for Year 7 due to these pupils completing a shorter version of the survey questionnaire.

There has also been a substantial increase in the proportion of young people helping in the local community, although the data also suggested that the cohort was more likely to do so out of school hours, as Figure 3.6 highlights below.

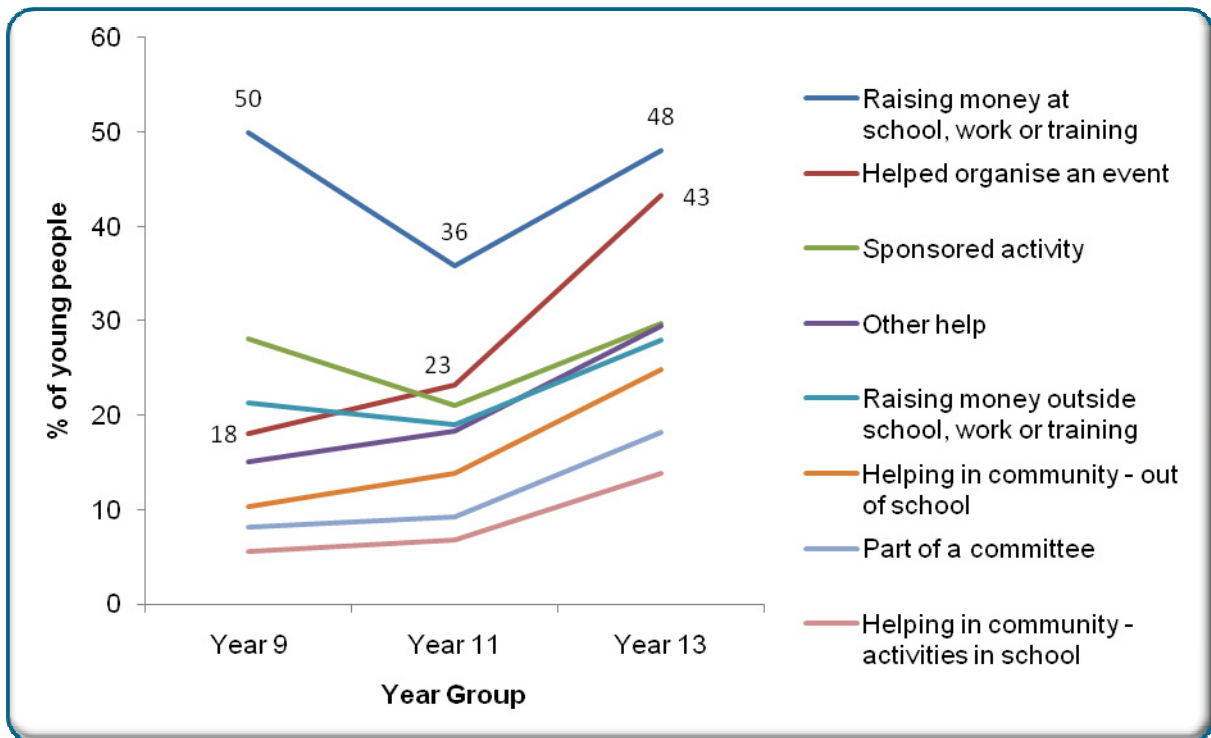**Figure 3.6.** Percentage of young people helping in the local community – trends over time
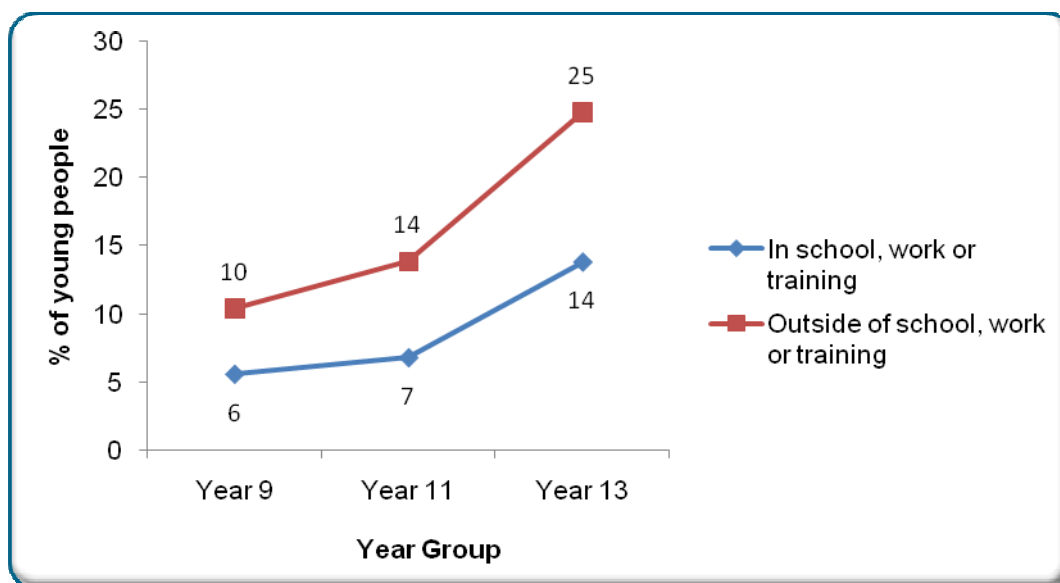
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER
No data is available for Year 7 due to these pupils completing a shorter version of the survey questionnaire.

What Figure 3.5 most clearly highlights, however, is that participation rates have tended to dip as the participating pupils progressed through Key Stage 4 (that is, Years 10 and 11, age 14 to 16). This dip was also evident in the overall trend analysis for civic participation (Figure 3.4 above) and indeed, in certain trends in citizenship attitudes (see Chapter 4).

3.4 Young people and participation in extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities: by contrast, there has been a clear and steady decline in take-up of other extra-curricular activities, namely sports, arts, drama or hobbies. The decline in participation in sports activities was particularly marked.

Analysis of the CELS longitudinal data reveals that while participation in political and civic activities has tended to increase, there has, by contrast, been a clear and steady decline (of almost 15 percentage points) in the proportions taking part in other extra-curricular activities, namely sports, arts, drama or hobbies (see Figure 3.7).

The decline in participation in sports activities was particularly marked. For example, the proportion of respondents who participated in sports activities in school/ college decreased from 50 per cent in Year 7 to 26 per cent in Year 13.

**Figure 3.7.** Percentage of young people participating in other extra-curricular activities - trends over time
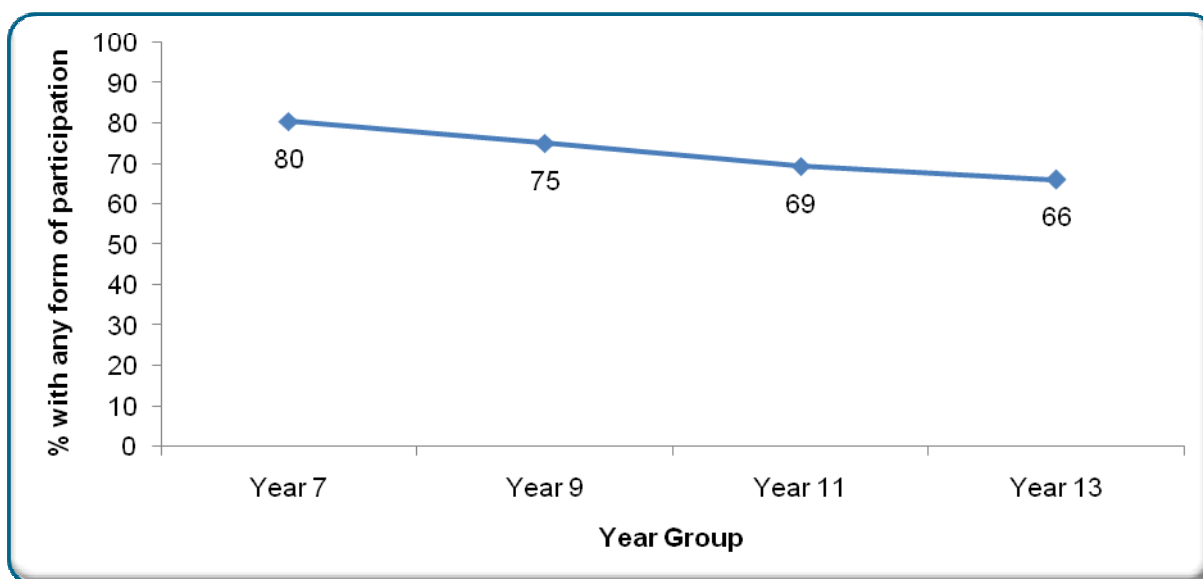
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

3.5 Young people's participation – prospects for the future?

> *Future participation:* as they got older, the CELS cohort was more likely to report that they intended to participate in conventional citizenship activities (such as voting in general elections, volunteering time to help other people, and collecting money for a good cause). Intentions to vote became stronger as the cohort got older: over 75 per cent indicated that they would probably or definitely vote in general elections in the future.

The analysis of the longitudinal data thus far suggests that, over the course of the study, there has been a marked increase in the CELS cohort's participation in civic and political activities. While positive, this trend also raises a further question: are these young people likely to continue to participate when they make the transition to full adult citizens at age 18?

Analysis of factor scores derived from the CELS data provided a relatively positive prognosis.[9] In this case, this technique suggested that the cohort was *moderately* likely to participate in the future in activities such as voting in general elections and local elections, volunteering time to help other people, and collecting money for a good cause (Figure 3.9). Indeed, as Figure 3.9 illustrates, there was a clear and steady

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[9] Factor analysis is a statistical technique which groups items measuring the same underlying construct together. Responses to the items that are grouped together are then summarised by composite variables (also referred to as factor scores within this report). Possible scores range from 0 to 100, and for the purposes of this evaluation, scores in the 35 to 65 range are described in the text as *moderate/fairly*, those below that range as *low*, and those above it as *high*.

increase in the mean scores for intentions to participate after Year 11; as a result, respondents from the Year 13 survey could be described as *highly* likely to participate in these types of citizenship activities in the future.

Figure 3.9. Factor scores for future participation in traditional citizenship activities – trends over time
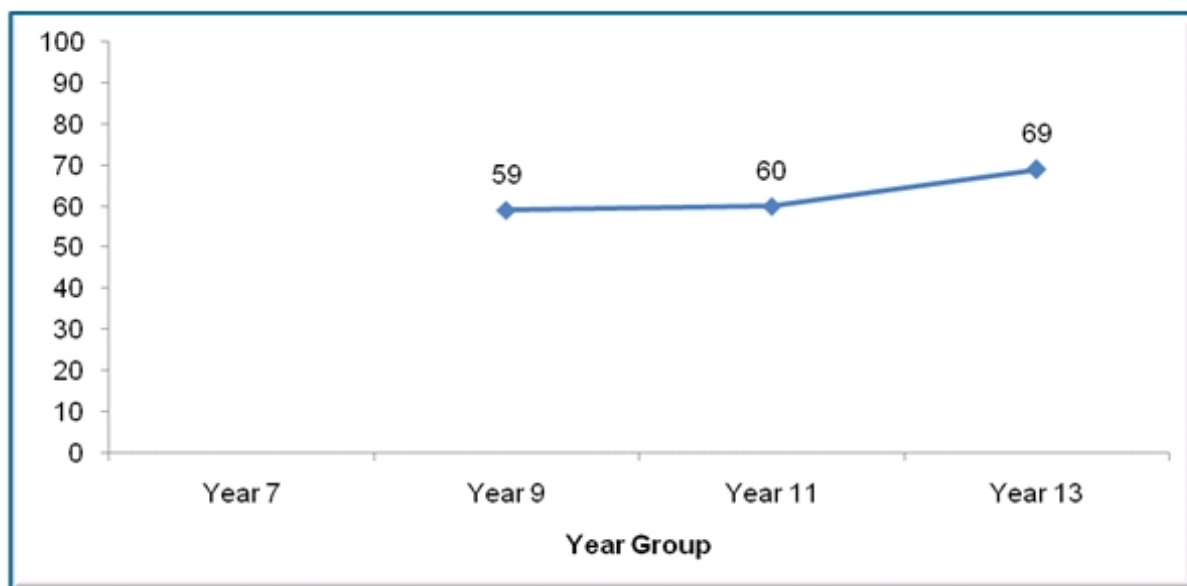
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER
No data is available for Year 7 due to these pupils completing a shorter version of the survey questionnaire.

This overall trend was confirmed by analysis of the individual items that were included in the composite factor. This showed that, in all of these individual categories, young people's willingness to participate in the future has increased notably since Year 11. For example, among the Year 13 longitudinal respondents, just over 75 per cent indicated that they would probably or definitely vote in general elections in the future, while almost 70 per cent indicated that they would probably definitely vote in *local* elections in the future. Similarly high proportions indicated their willingness to volunteer time and raise money in the future (around 65 per cent and 75 per cent respectively).

Despite this, the CELS data also show that there was little or no change in respondents' willingness to engage in more 'activist' types of citizenship participation. These types of activities include joining a political party, contacting a newspaper or MP, or taking part in a radio phone-in or protest rally. As Figure 3.10 below illustrates, throughout the study, young people have indicated that they are less likely to engage in these types of activities in the future.

Figure 3.10. Factor scores for future participation in more 'activist' types of citizenship participation – trends over time

Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
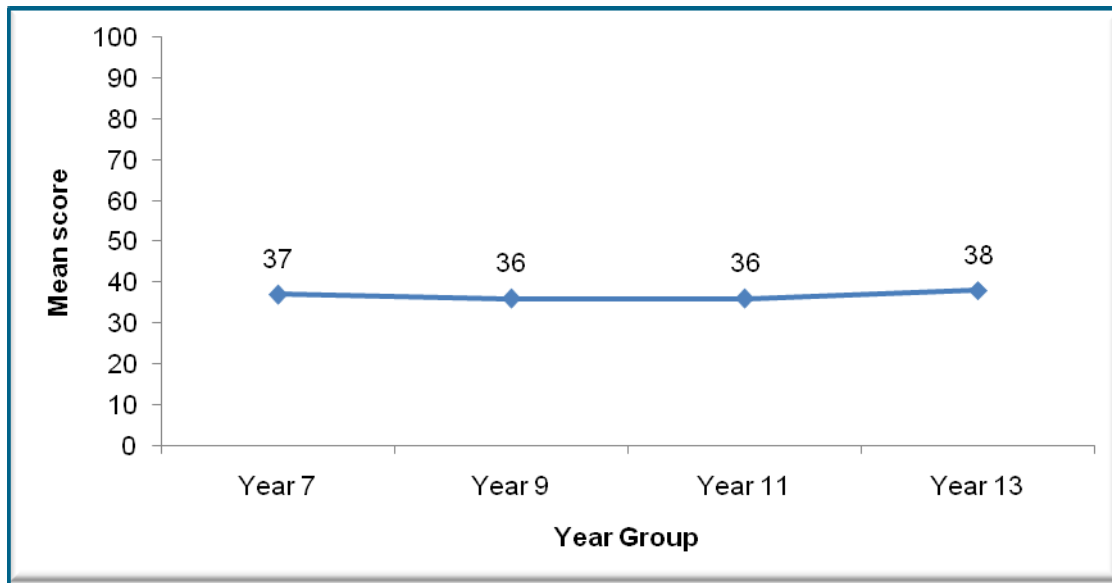*Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER*

3.6   Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated that analysis of the CELS longitudinal data shows that there has been an overall increase in the CELS cohort's political and civic participation over the course of the study. The prospects for future participation were also promising, at least for participation in more conventional citizenship activities, such as voting in elections, volunteering, and fund-raising. The cohort's commitment to future participation got notably stronger as they got older, perhaps because they were closer to being able to exercise their full citizenship rights and to vote in elections. However, it was interesting to note that there has been little increase in the cohort's interest in participating in some of the more 'activist' types of citizen action, such as joining a political party or contacting a newspaper or MP. Only a relatively small proportion of the respondents indicated that they participate in these sorts of activities, and only a small proportion intended to do so in the future. It is also interesting that there has been a simultaneous and steady decline in take-up of extra-curricular activities (such as sports) as the cohort progressed towards adulthood. It is beyond the scope of CELS to consider why this trend may have emerged, but it is a development that warrants further attention.

The trends in the CELS longitudinal data were echoed in the cross-sectional data, which suggests that the much of changes that have taken place over the course of this study can probably be accounted for by age - that is, the increase in participation can

be explained, in large part, by the fact that individuals tend to participate more as they older. The importance of age and life-stage in shaping citizenship outcomes was further underlined by the fact that there was a notable dip in civic participation as the cohort progressed through Key Stage 4 (age 14 to 16). At this juncture, the CELS cohort was undergoing the physical and emotional transition from teenage to adulthood, as well as preparing for GCSE examinations; and therefore the complication of life change and exam pressures may well be one of the key explanations for this dip. However, Chapter 4 highlights that there was also a dip in the cohort's citizenship attitudes at this point, which suggests that there may be other developmental or life-stage factors at play.

Regardless of the cause, the identification of this 'dip' is an important finding, and one that has implications for future policies and practices in and beyond schools; these implications will be discussed in Chapter 6. Nonetheless, in Chapter 5, we will show that age and life-stage were not the only other factors shaping the cohort's citizenship outcomes – background characteristics, prior citizenship outcomes, and citizenship education were also important.

4. Citizenship attitudes, attachments, engagement and efficacy among young people

Key findings

Analysis of the CELS longitudinal dataset reveals over time (2001 – 2009) that:

Attitudes towards participation: the CELS cohort tended to associate 'good' citizenship with being law-abiding and with taking an interest in or taking part in their communities. However, when asked why they take part, the cohort tended to be motivated by the prospect of personal benefits than by a sense of duty.

Attitudes towards equality and society: over time, there was a hardening of some of the cohort's citizenship attitudes on these issues, particularly their attitudes towards refugees and immigrants, but also in their attitudes towards jail sentences, benefit payments, and some environmental restriction policies. At the same time, the cohort became markedly *more* supportive of human rights and women's rights.

Citizenship attachments: there has been a gradual and steady weakening of the cohort's attachment to their communities (be they local, national, or European), although attachment to their school communities remained relatively strong.

Trust in social, civil and political institutions: the cohort had high levels of trust in social and civil institutions, but *dis*trust in politicians has increased. In 2009, 33 per cent of the cohort reported that they do not trust politicians 'at all' (up from 20 per cent in Year 7).

Citizenship engagement and personal efficacy: as the cohort got older, they became increasingly aware of the impact of politics on their lives, but as they approached adulthood and 'full' citizenship, they were still only moderately likely to feel that they, as individuals, could influence the political and social institutions that shape their lives.

The importance of age and life-stage for citizenship outcomes: During Key Stage 4 (i.e. age 14 to 16), there was a dip in the cohort's interest in politics, attachment to school, and motivations for taking part. This echoes the dip in civic participation that was highlighted in Chapter 3.

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, we describe the trends that have emerged over time from the analysis of the longitudinal data in the CELS cohort's citizenship attitudes, attachments, interest and sense of personal efficacy. These dimensions of citizenship provide the underpinnings of the participation patterns that were discussed in Chapter 3, and moreover, have also produced some of the most striking trends in this study. In particular, this chapter will illustrate that there has been a hardening in the cohort's citizenship attitudes towards equality and society over the course of the study, that distrust in politicians is remarkably high, and that young people do not necessarily feel that they have the ability (*personal efficacy*) to change the political system.

As in Chapter 3, the analysis and discussion focus on data from the longitudinal cohort that was collected in 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2009 when the participants were in Years 7, 9, 11 and 13 (or equivalent). Likewise, this chapter will also look at trends over time in basic frequencies and composite scores.[10] Finally, the results from the 2009 survey will also be referred to in this chapter as 'Year 13 or equivalent' or, particularly in the Tables and Figures, simply as 'Year 13.' As the respondents in this cohort were 17-18 years old when the 2009 survey was administered, this 'Year 13' group also includes young people who have left the formal education system for work and training opportunities.

4.2   Attitudes towards participation

> ***Attitudes towards participation:*** the CELS cohort tended to associate 'good' citizenship with being law-abiding and with taking an interest in or taking part in their communities. However, when asked why they take part, the cohort tended to be motivated by the prospect of personal benefits than by a sense of duty.

The CELS survey included a series of questions to examine what young people think are appropriate or 'good' behaviours for citizens. What can be classified as 'good' citizenship varies widely over time and between societies. Identifying what is considered 'good' at a particular time provides a measure of civic virtue and some insight into motivations for citizenship behaviours (Heater, 2004b: 198).

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10   Factor analysis is a statistical technique which summarises sets of related items into composite variables. Possible scores range from 0 to 100, and for the purposes of ths evaluation, scores in the 35 to 65 range are described in the text as *moderate/fairly*, those below that range as *low*, and those above it as *high*.

Based on the CELS longitudinal data, young people most commonly associate 'good' citizenship with being law-abiding and with participation in their communities (or at least taking an interest in their community) (see Figure 4.1). By contrast, the cohort was least likely to associate good citizenship with political activities, such as joining a political party or following political issues in the media.

Figure 4.1.   Perceptions of what it means to be a good citizen – trends over time
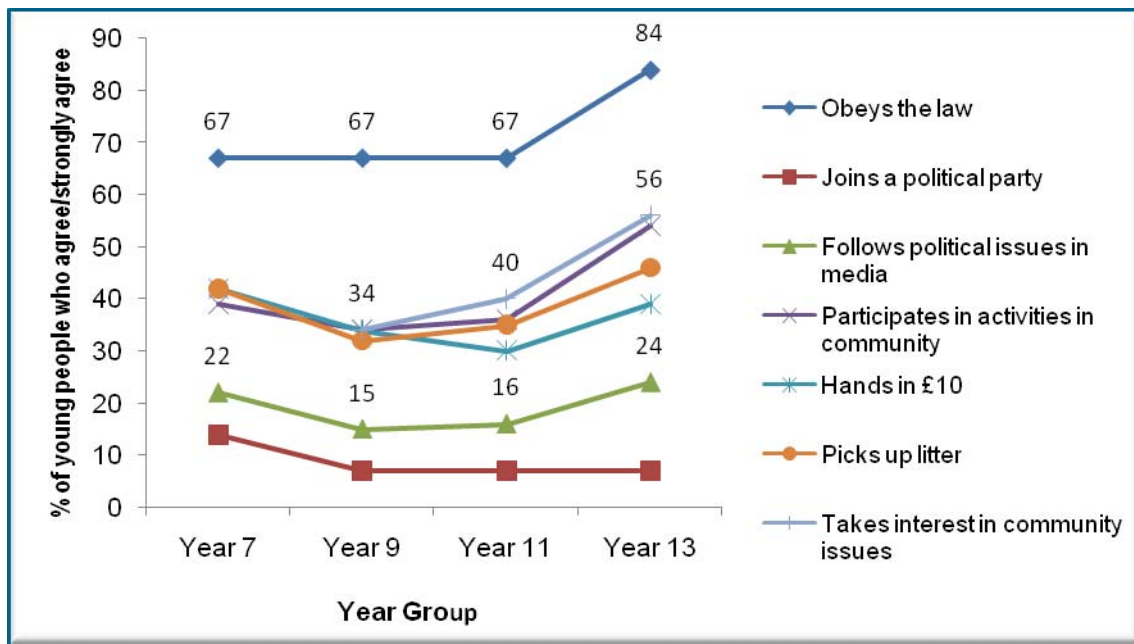
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

The longitudinal data also suggested that young people do not necessarily associate citizenship with the concept of duty. For example, the longitudinal cohort appeared to be ambivalent about whether adults are duty-bound to vote in elections: across all four waves of the study, almost one third disagreed or strongly disagreed with this sentiment, while an almost equal number neither agreed nor disagreed. The proportion that agreed or strongly agreed with this premise has increased over time, but remains relatively low (35 per cent agreed/ strongly agreed in Year 13, compared to 21 per cent in Year 7). Likewise, when asked about their own citizenship behaviours, only a small proportion of the respondents identified duty as an important motivator. Instead, when asked why they take part, the cohort was more like to cite personal benefits such as enjoyment or career or educational advancement (see Figure 4.2 below).

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 also highlight that that the cohort's responses to these statements have varied quite considerably over time. In terms of young people's motivations for participating, for instance, there was a marked dip in the cohort's responses between Year 7 and Year 11 (i.e. ages 14 to 16). For example, personal enjoyment decreased

by 22 percentage points during this period, while interest in the benefits for university entrance decreased by 11 percentage points (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2.   Young people's reasons for taking part – trends over time
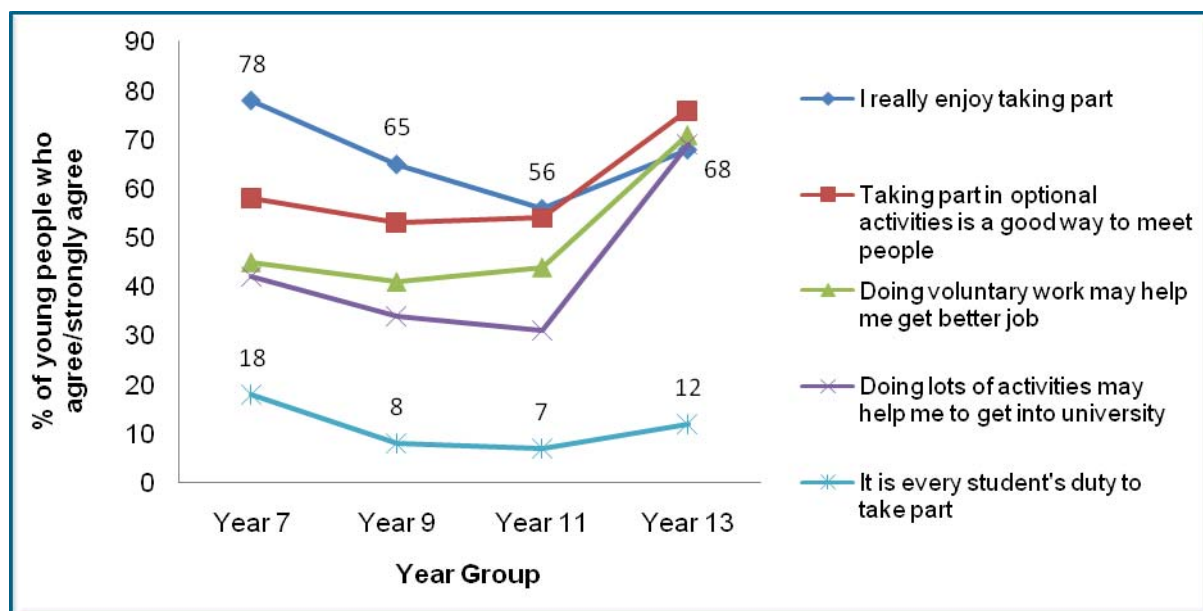
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

The longitudinal data also indicated, however, that young people's attitudes tend to rebound after Year 11 (i.e. age 16). This trend is echoed in Figure 4.1, where, for most items, agreement increased sharply after Year 11. For example, 84 per cent of the cohort associated good citizenship with being law-abiding in Year 13, up from 67 per cent in Year 11. Similarly, in Year 11 only 43 per cent of the cohort agreed or strongly agreed with the statement '*doing voluntary work may help me to get a better job in the future*'; by Year 13, 70 per cent agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (see Figure 4.2).

4.3   Attitudes towards equality and society

Attitudes towards equality and society: over time, there was a hardening of some of the cohort's citizenship attitudes on these issues, particularly their attitudes towards refugees and immigrants, but also in their attitudes towards jail sentences, benefit payments, and some environmental restriction policies. At the same time, the cohort became markedly *more* supportive of human rights and women's rights.

Analysis of the longitudinal data reveal that the CELS cohort's attitudes towards equality and society have followed a different and perhaps contradictory pattern. On the one hand, support for sexist attitudes has been relatively low among the cohort since the start of the study, and has declined over time.[11] The data also showed a dramatic increase in supportive attitudes towards human rights. When asked if '*people should obey a law, even if it violates human rights*', the proportion who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement increased from 22 per cent in Year 7 to almost 60 per cent in Year 13.

By contrast, there has been a steady increase in negative attitudes towards refugees and people who were not born in Britain. For example, between the Year 7 survey (in 2003) and the Year 13 survey (in 2009), there has been an increase of 20 percentage points in the proportion of the cohort who agreed or strongly agreed that '*Britain does not have room to accept any more refugees*'. Further analysis indicated that boys were more likely than girls to agree or strongly agree with this statement, while young people from ethnic minorities were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree than young people who categorised themselves as White British. [12]

Similarly, there has been a steady and even more dramatic increase in the proportion who agreed or strongly agreed that '*people who were not born in Britain, but who live here now, should be required to learn English.*' In Year 7 (age 11), almost 50 per cent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement; by Year 13 (age 18), the proportion had increased to almost 80 per cent. In this case, further analysis indicated that respondents from ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to agree or strongly agree with this sentiment, while those with very low home literacy resources were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree.[13]

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[11] Factor analysis suggests that in Year 7, the mean score was 28 (out of 100) and by year 13, the mean was 17.

[12] Crosstabs of this item by gender showed that 47 per cent of boys agreed/ strongly agreed with this statement, compared with 35 per cent of girls (p = 0.000). Likewise, crosstabs by ethnicity showed that young people from ethnic minorities were more likely to disagree/ strongly disagree with this statement, compared to young people who categorise themselves as White British. For example, 32 per cent of Black young people disagreed/ strongly disagreed, compared with 17 per cent of White British young people (p = 0.000).

[13] Crosstabs of citizenship attitudes by ethnicity showed that Asian and mixed race respondents were more likely to agree or strongly agree that '*People not born in Britain but who live here should be required to learn English*' compared with White British. For example, 52 per cent of Asian and 53 per cent of mixed race respondents young people agreed/ strongly agreed, compared with 61 per cent of white British young people (p = 0.000). Crosstabs also indicated that young people with no books in the home were more likely to disagree/ strongly disagree with this statement. For example, 22 per cent of those with no books in their home disagreed/ strongly disagreed, compared to 14 per cent of those with more than 200 books in their home. (p = 0.000)

There was also a decline among the CELS cohort over the course of the study in their support for equal rights for residents of Britain who were not born in the country, and a notable decline in support for this principle (see Figure 4.3).[14] This trend was echoed in the cross-sectional survey data, with the biggest shift in trends being evident between the cross-sectional surveys in 2006 and 2008. Combined, this data suggests that young people's attitudes (or at least those participating in the longitudinal CELS survey) to certain groups and issues in society have hardened over time.

Figure 4.3. Attitudes among young people towards the statement '*People who were not born in Britain, but who live here now, should have the same rights as everyone else*'
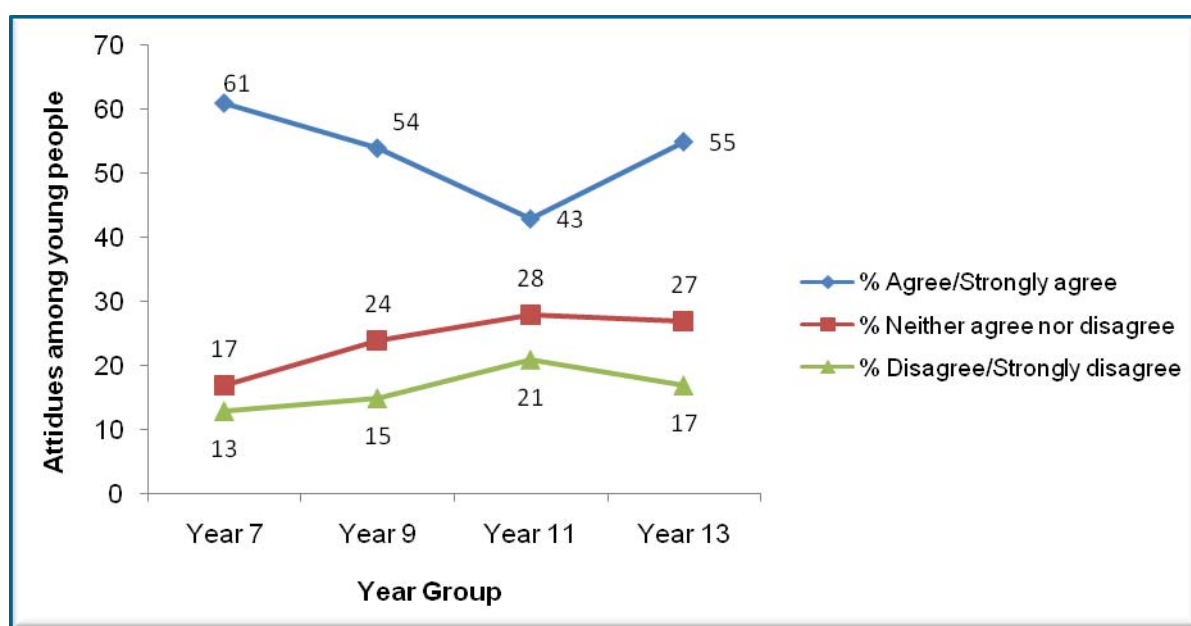
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

There are a number of possible reasons for this. For example, it could be argued that these increases merely reflect the fact that citizens tend to get more conservative as they get older. However, the fact that the increases have been steady, and are mirrored in the cross-sectional surveys, suggest that these increases cannot merely be accounted for by age. Instead, the data trends suggest that there may be other (cultural, social, and political) reasons for these changes. This is particularly true for the item about whether people who move to Britain should learn English, where, as

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14   Crosstabs of this item by gender, ethnicity and social class suggested that young people from minority ethnic groups (excluding Chinese) were less likely to disagree or strongly disagree with this statement. By contrast, young people with low home literacy were less likely to agree or strongly agree.

noted above, there has been a very dramatic increase in support for the idea. The reasons for these changes in attitude is an area that requires further investigation.

Attitudes towards social and environmental citizenship

The hardening of the cohort's attitudes over time toward particular groups in society was echoed in young people's attitudes towards jail sentences, unemployment benefit, and environmental regulation. For example, key measures showed that, after Year 11, there was a notable increase in the proportion of respondents that agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that '*jail sentences for young offenders should be increased*' (see Figure 4.4). Similarly, the CELS longitudinal data also showed that there has been a big increase in the proportion that agreed or strongly agreed that the government should '*cut benefits for the unemployed to encourage them to find work*'.

Figure 4.4.   Young people's attitudes towards jail sentences and unemployment benefits – trends over time
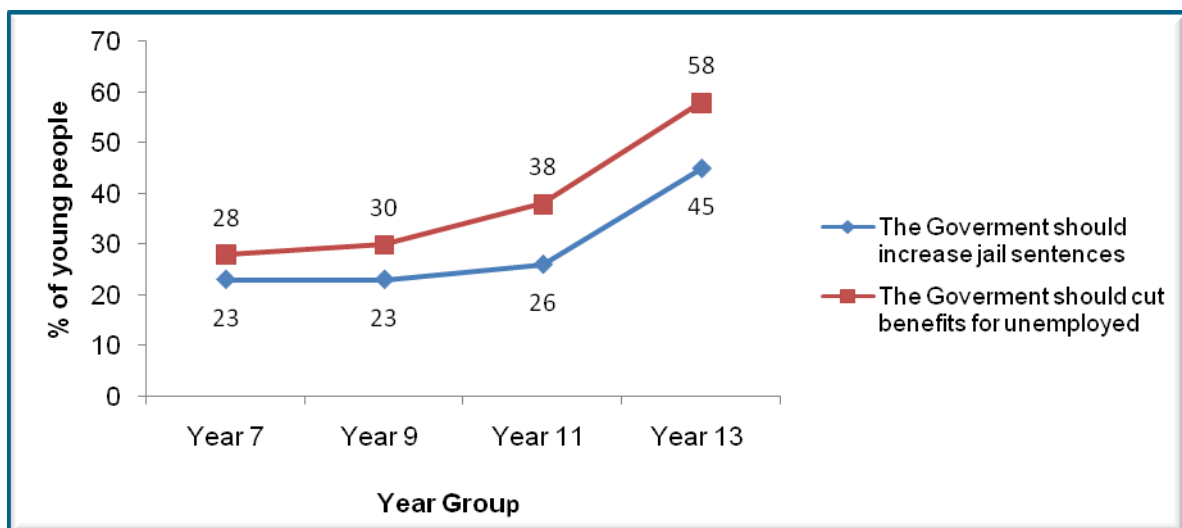
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

By contrast, support for environmental regulation appears to have declined: there was a notable increase in the proportions that disagreed or strongly disagreed that the government should '*restrict car driving to control pollution*' (rising from 25 per cent in Year 7 to 47 per cent in Year 13).

Combined, these trends indicate that there has been a hardening of some of the CELS cohort's citizenship attitudes since the first CELS survey was conducted in 2003.

4.4 Citizenship attachments and community relations

Citizenship attachments: there has been a gradual and steady weakening of the cohort's attachment to their communities (be they local, national, or European), although attachment to their school communities remained relatively strong.

A sense of 'belonging' or attachment to a community (or communities) is often considered to be another important dimension of citizenship (Heater, 2004b: 187). In short, the assumption is that these feelings are a bond between the individual and their surroundings, and increase the individual's motivation and incentive to be a 'good' citizen.

CELS longitudinal data indicated that the cohort's attachment to their schools and/or colleges was relatively strong, at least at the start and end of their educational careers. As Figure 4.5 highlights, there was a notable dip in young people's attachment to school in Year 11; for example, while 44 per cent of the cohort stated that they feel part of their school '*quite a lot*' in Year 9, the proportion of respondents who felt this way in Year 11 fell to 30 per cent. By Year 13, however, the proportion had risen again to 46 per cent.

Figure 4.5. Percentage of young people who feel part of their school/ college – trends over time
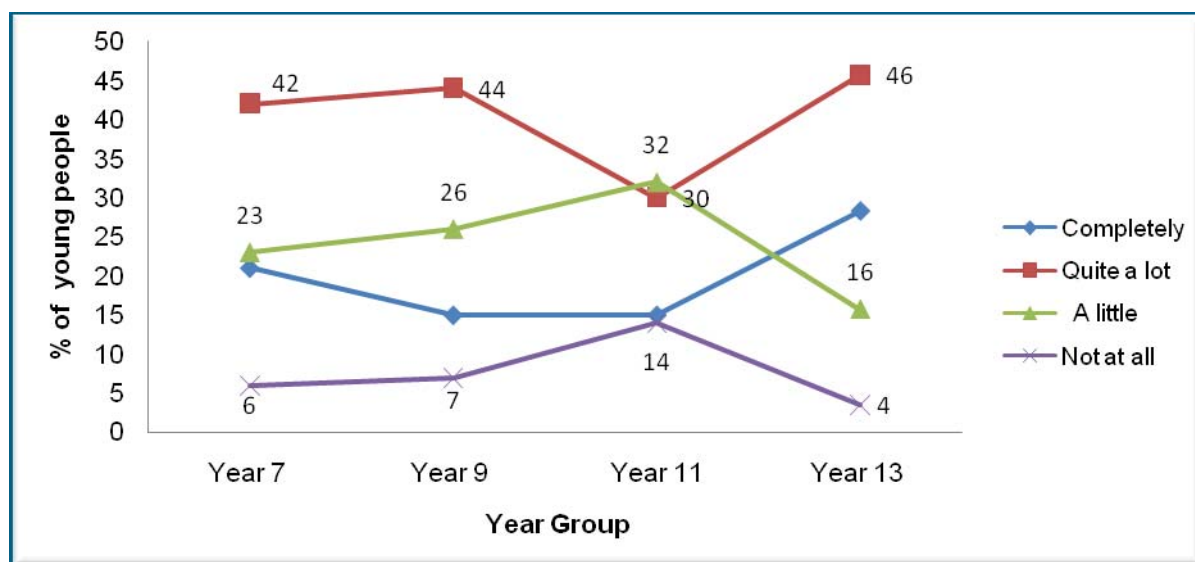
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

By contrast, there was a gradual and steady decline in the CELS cohort's attachment to other geographical or political communities (be they local, national, or European) (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6. Factor scores for community attachments among young people (neighbourhood/ local town/ country/ Europe) – trends over time
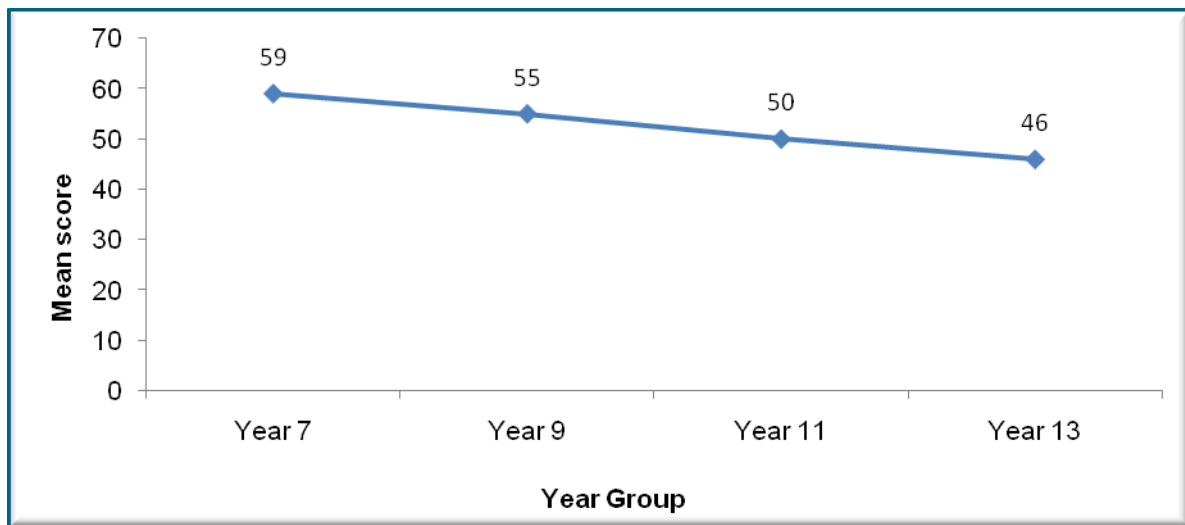
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

Within this thematic area, one of the most notable findings was that, as they got older, the respondents were far less likely to indicate that they were attached to their neighbourhood; in Year 7, 60 per cent of cohort indicated that they felt part of their neighbourhood *'completely'* or *'quite a lot'*, but by Year 13 the proportion had dropped to 35 per cent. This decline was also echoed in responses to other survey items about their ties to their neighbourhoods.

Trust in social, civil and political institutions

Trust is another concept which is frequently used to measure social capital, and in turn, the strength of community relationships and citizenship. In particular, high levels of trust have been linked to high political participation and strong social cohesion (Putnam, 1993 and Whiteley, 2005: 13-15).

Analysis of factor scores derived from the CELS longitudinal data suggested that the CELS cohort had high levels of trust in proximal social institutions (i.e. those that are closest such as their families, neighbours, and people in their own age group), and that these levels have changed little over time (the FA mean in Year 7 was 69 and in Year 13, 67). Likewise, trust in key civil institutions was relatively strong. For example, the vast majority of respondents trusted teachers at least '*a little*', and usually '*quite a lot*' or '*completely*' (although this relationship appears to be a little weaker in Key Stage 4) (see Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7. Percentage of young people who trust teachers – trust over time

Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

Trust in the police was similarly strong. Throughout the longitudinal study, between 85 and 90 per cent reported that they trusted the police at least *'a little'*, and over 50 per cent reported *'quite a lot'* of trust or complete trust in the police. Trust in the media was weaker (the FA mean was 40), but has changed little over time; that is, the cohort have remained consistent in their moderate levels of trust in media such as newspapers, radio, and television.

However, in keeping with trends among adults (Ipsos MORI, 2009), trust in politicians has declined, or rather *dis*trust has increased. In particular, the proportion of young people reporting that they do not trust politicians *'at all'* increased markedly - from 20 per cent in Year 7 (age 11) to 33 per cent in Year 13 (age 18) (see Figure 4.8 below).

Also interesting was the fact that the cohort reported less distrust of the European Union (EU). Whereas around one third of the longitudinal cohort reported in 2009 that they do not trust politicians *'at all'*, only 17 per cent of the group reported similar levels of distrust in the EU. Similarly, comparatively higher proportions reported in 2009 that they trust the EU *'quite a lot'* (21 per cent for the EU, and 13 per cent for politicians).

The cohort's level of trust in the EU is similar to the trust levels reported by UK adults in a separate survey: 25 per cent of UK adults reported that they trusted the EU

in the Eurobarometer survey conducted in autumn 2008.[15] However, this same survey indicated that UK adults' trust in national institutions was slightly higher than their trust in the EU and its various institutions (Eurobarometer, 2009: 9); this contrasts with the findings from the CELS data, which indicated that young people distrust national politicians more than they distrust EU. These contrasting results provide further evidence that young people's trust in UK politicians is low, and that further attention to this issue may be warranted.

Figure 4.8. Comparing trends in young people's trust in politicians and the EU over time
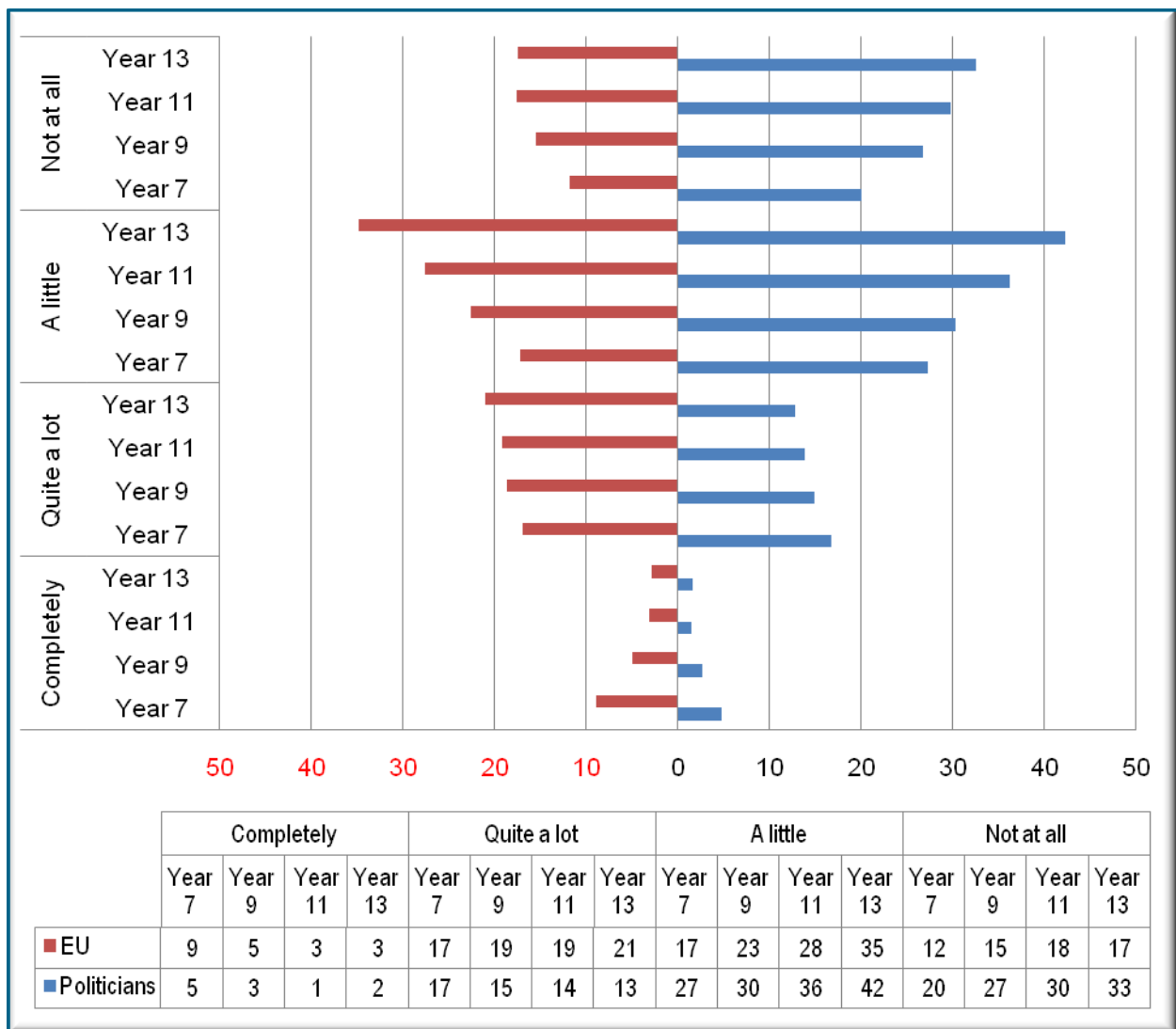
	Completely				Quite a lot				A little				Not at all			
	Year 7	Year 9	Year 11	Year 13	Year 7	Year 9	Year 11	Year 13	Year 7	Year 9	Year 11	Year 13	Year 7	Year 9	Year 11	Year 13
■ EU	9	5	3	3	17	19	19	21	17	23	28	35	12	15	18	17
■ Politicians	5	3	1	2	17	15	14	13	27	30	36	42	20	27	30	33

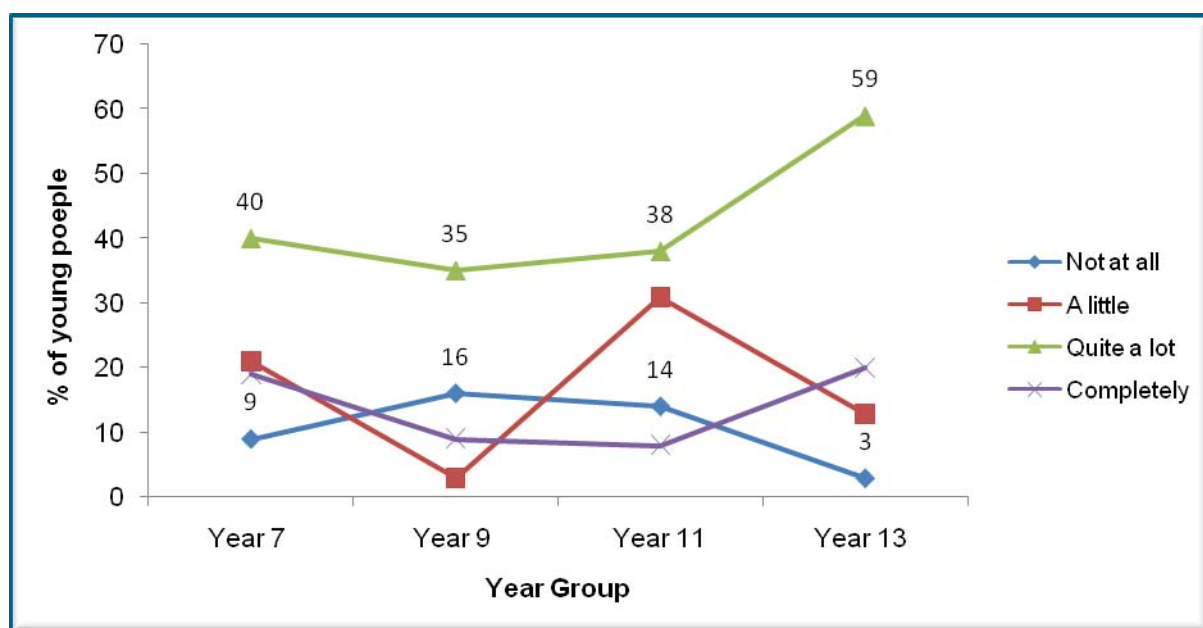*Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325*
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

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[15]   More recent data on UK attitudes is available, but this data from Eurobarometer 70 was used here as it was in the field in the UK from 7/10/08 to 2/11/08. This has the benefits that it means that is was conducted shortly before the CELS survey (Dec 2008 – March 2009).

4.5   Citizenship engagement and personal efficacy among young people

Citizenship engagement and personal efficacy: as the cohort got older, they became increasingly aware of the impact of politics on their lives, but as they approached adulthood and 'full' citizenship, they were still only moderately likely to feel that they, as individuals, could influence the political and social institutions that shape their lives.

The importance of age and life-stage for citizenship outcomes: During Key Stage 4 (i.e. age 14 to 16), there was a dip in the cohort's interest in politics, attachment to school, and motivations for taking part. This echoes the dip in civic participation that was highlighted in Chapter 3.

Are young people interested in politics? To what extent do they engage with, or are they aware of, political issues? Analysis over time of factor scores derived from the CELS survey items that measure high political engagement suggests that young people (or at least the CELS cohort) are moderately likely to have a high interest in this area and to have a high awareness of the impact on their lives (see Figure 4.9 below).

Figure 4.9 also illustrates that here has been an upward trend in the cohort's interest and awareness in political issues, particularly after Year 11 (i.e. age 16). Similarly, as they got older, more respondents reported reading national and local newspapers at least once a week. (The data also suggested that proportionally more were reading British news rather than international news.)

Figure 4.9.   Factor scores for high political interest and awareness among young people – trends over time
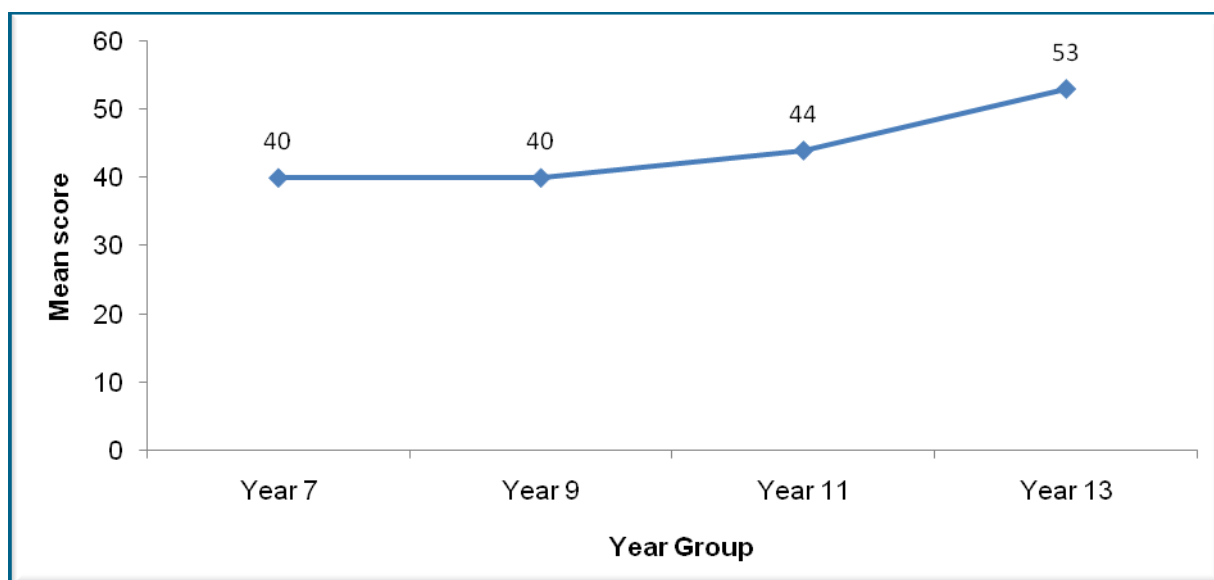
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

At the same time, the cohort appeared to be increasingly aware of the impact of politics on their lives. For example, when asked if *'politics has an impact on everything we do'*, the proportion that agreed or strongly agreed with this statement increased notably and steadily from 25 per cent in Year 7 to 58 per cent in 2009 (when respondents were in Year 13 or equivalent). Likewise, when asked if *'politics makes no difference to people* [their] *age'*, the proportion who disagreed or strongly disagreed increased from 21 per cent in Year 7 to 53 per cent in Year 13.

Despite this, the cohort was only moderately likely to have positive attitudes towards political engagement, be it informally (for example, by taking part in political discussions) or formally (for example, by joining a political party).[16] Only a minority reported engaging in political discussions with other people *'often'*, or viewed themselves as being *'very interested in politics'* (see Figure 4.10). Indeed, in the 2009 survey, 50 per cent of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement *'I am very interested in politics.'*

Figure 4.10. Percentage of young people who disagree/ strongly disagree with the statement "I am very interested in politics" – trends over time
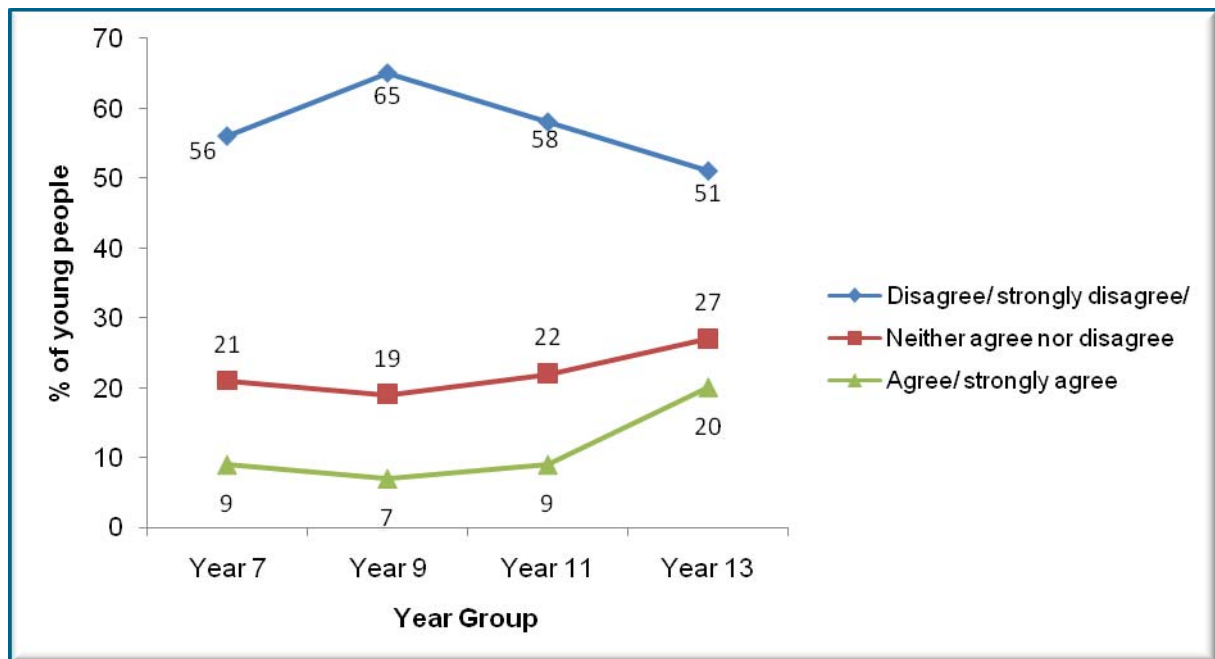
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

These trends also suggested that there was a 'Key Stage 4 dip' (i.e. when pupils were age 14 to 16) in interest among the cohort; as Figure 4.10 illustrates, the cohort was

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[16]   The FA mean score for attitudes to political participation have remained moderate and relatively stable over the course of the study; in Year 7, the FA mean was 40, in Year 9, it was 37, in Year 11, it was 39, and in Year 13, the mean was 44.

more likely to disagree or strongly disagree with this statement at this point. Further analysis of the 2009 survey data also suggested that girls were less likely to be very interested in politics than boys,[17] while young people with high home literacy resources were more likely to be very interested than those with average or low levels of home literacy resources.[18]

Finally, young people are only moderately likely to feel that their views or actions can make a difference, that is, that they have a sense of 'personal efficacy' (see Figure 4.11 below).

**Figure 4.11.** Factor scores for personal efficacy levels among young people – trends over time
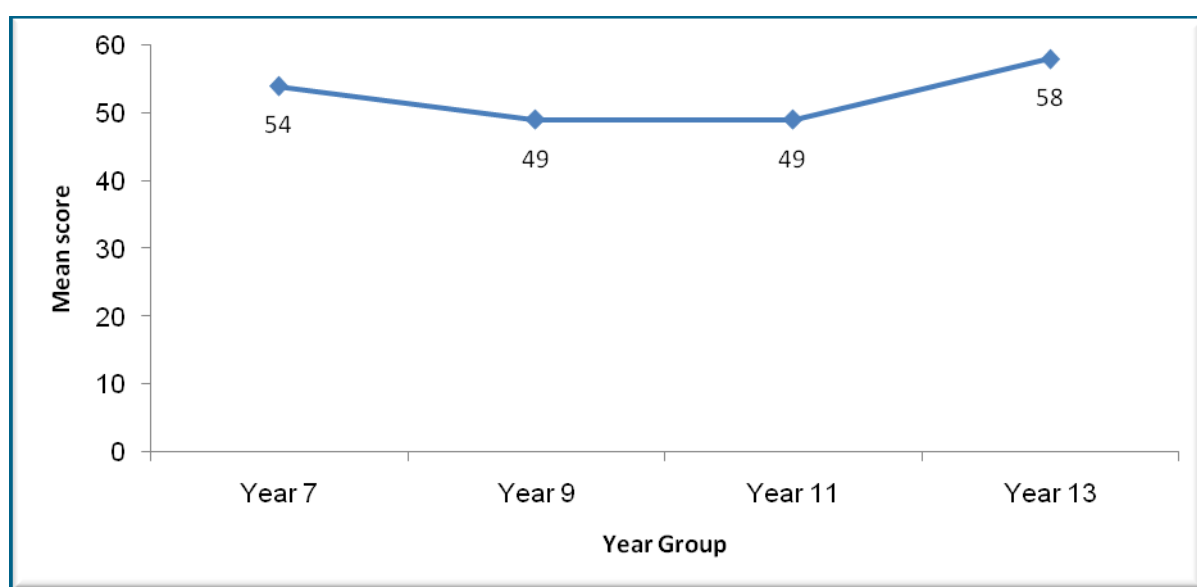
Base: All pupils surveyed. Year 7, N =18,583; Year 9, N = 13,643; Year 11, N = 11,103; Year 13, N=1,325
Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER

This factor comprised items about the cohort's view on whether they can influence government; whether there are views taken seriously at home; and if they feel that their school/ college is fair, and that they can change how their school/ college is run. If we look back over time, Figure 4.11 suggests that there has been little change overall; young people are still only moderately likely to feel that they, as individuals, can influence decisions in their families, schools, or at the government level. For

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[17] Crosstabs of the 2009 data on political interest by gender showed that girls were more likely than boys to disagree or strongly disagree they were very interested in politics (27 per cent of girls strongly disagreed, compared to 19.5 per cent boys, while 31 per cent of girls disagreed, compared to 26 per cent boys) (p = 0.000).

[18] Crosstabs of political interest by books in the home showed that young people who had more than 101 books were more likely to agree or strongly agree that they were very interested in politics. For example, 32 per cent of those with over 200 books agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, compared with 15 per cent of those with 51-100 books.

example, in 2009, as the cohort are on the cusp of becoming full citizens, only 29 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that '*people like me can have a real influence on government if they get involved.*' Nonetheless, young people appear to have more faith in the efficacy of local action; in 2009, 52 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that local campaigns can help solve local problems. The sense of efficacy at home was also relatively strong: 58 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that their views were taken seriously by their families.

4.6   Summary and Conclusions

This chapter described the trends that have emerged over time in the CELS cohort's citizenship attitudes, attachments, interest and sense of efficacy from an analysis of the longitudinal data. Trend analysis of these items produced some very interesting, and sometimes contradictory, findings. Two trends in particular stand out. The first is the fact that there has been a hardening in the cohort's citizenship attitudes toward equality and society during the course of the study, particularly in their attitudes towards refugees and immigrants but also in their attitudes towards some key aspects of social citizenship such as jail sentences and benefit payments. Yet these shifts contrast with the cohort's increasingly supportive attitudes towards human rights and gender equality since the start of the study. The second is that distrust in politicians has increased notably and was remarkably high – in 2009, 33 of respondents indicated that they do not trust politicians '*at all*'. At the same time, only 29 per cent of the cohort felt that they could influence government and make a difference to the political arena. These findings suggest that there is a large gulf between the political arena and the young citizens it seeks to represent.

It could be argued that age and life-stage play a key role in the trends that have been described here; it is commonly asserted, for example, that people tend to get more conservative as they get older. Certainly, age and life-stage play a role in the 'Key Stage 4 dip' that was evident in certain citizenship outcomes described in this chapter (such as political interest, or enjoyment in taking part), and which echoes the decline in civic participation that was described in Chapter 3. As noted in the previous chapter, the prospect of GCSE examinations may have had a bearing on the cohort's responses and citizenship engagement. Yet there is also evidence that age and life-stage were not the only variables. For example, we have indicated above that the cohort's changing attitudes towards immigrants were not necessarily related to age and may instead have been related to changes in the wider social, economic and

political environment. Furthermore, in the next chapter we demonstrate that (among other variables) citizenship education has also played an important role in shaping the citizenship outcomes that have been identified in this trend analysis.

5. Does citizenship education work? Evaluating the impact of citizenship education on young people's citizenship outcomes

Key findings

Learning is a complex process, and therefore the impact of citizenship education is best measured by looking at respondents' awareness of the level of citizenship education (CE) they have received, which we refer to here as their level of **'received citizenship'**.

By using this analytical approach we found that citizenship education can shape young people's citizenship outcomes. In particular, the analysis showed that the CELS cohort was more likely to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) if they had **high levels of 'received citizenship'**.

Further analysis also showed that the cohort was more likely to have high(er) levels of 'received citizenship' if they have attended a school where citizenship education is:

- **a discrete slot** in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by the **teachers who are delivering the citizenship curriculum** rather than the school's PSHE coordinator
- **formally examined** (e.g. as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).

However, the analysis also highlighted that:

- There was often little difference between the citizenship outcomes among respondents who reported receiving 'a little' citizenship education and those receiving none.
- The impact of citizenship education waned over time if the level of 'received citizenship' was not sustained over the course of the participant's school career.
- 'Received citizenship' was not the only variable that contributed towards shaping the citizenship outcomes of the CELS cohort. Background variables also played a notable role (especially home literacy resources), and more importantly, so too did the citizenship attitudes, intentions, and efficacy levels that the cohort had formed in *previous* years.
- Finally, it is important to note that the impact of citizenship was still relatively small and the analysis, exploratory.

These findings have implications for citizenship education policy and practice. The implications and recommendations are considered in Chapter 6.

5.1 Introduction

Trend analysis of the CELS longitudinal data has shown that, over time, there have been a number of notable changes in citizenship behaviours, attitudes, and attachments among the cohort. Various factors are likely to have contributed to effecting these changes. As Chapter 2 highlights, citizenship is a complex concept that can be influenced by a wide variety of factors – including peer groups, family and friends, community links, formal and informal networks, and schools and teachers. The trend analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 has already indicated that that age or life-stage can play a key role in shaping citizenship outcomes for young people. This chapter, however, will focus more explicitly on the role of citizenship education (CE); that is, we will address the question: does citizenship education have an impact on young people's citizenship outcomes? Or put more simply still: *does citizenship education work?*

In addressing this question, we will focus in particular on the outcomes in three key dimensions of citizenship, namely:

- **Current citizenship attitudes** towards civic and political participation
- **Citizenship intentions** to participate in civic and political activities in the future
- **Citizenship skills** – in this case, the extent to which young people feel able to influence the government, their school and their family (often referred to as 'personal efficacy').

To examine the impact on these different outcomes, we have conducted multi-level and structural equation modelling (SEM) of the data collected from the longitudinal cohort over four waves (that is, in Years 7, 9, 11 and 13). These techniques highlighted the types of variables that are associated with citizenship outcomes, and how they have varied over time. These techniques were also used in the 6th annual report from CELS (see Benton *et al*, 2008), and the findings presented here build on the initial exploratory data modelling that was undertaken at that point. However, the new models that were created for this final report also incorporated the latest survey data and an adapted modelling strategy.

Further details of this modelling strategy are outlined in the next section, but in short, this revised modelling strategy shows that the young people in the CELS cohort were more likely to have a positive attitude towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) if they reported having received *'a lot'* of citizenship

education. This chapter also shows that the cohort was more likely to report this if they had attended a school where citizenship education was:

- a discrete slot in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by specialist citizenship teachers rather than PSHE teachers
- formally examined (i.e. as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).

5.2 Modelling the impact of citizenship education on young people

> Learning is a complex process, and therefore the impact of citizenship education is best measured by looking at respondents' awareness of the level of citizenship education (CE) they have received, which we refer to here as their level of **'received citizenship'**

Statistical modelling allows us to examine relationships between different variables, and in this particular study, to examine **the relationships between school and individual-level factors (the antecedents) and the cohort's attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (the intended outcomes).** For this study, we have used multilevel ordinal logistic regression (MLM) and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). The latter was the main modelling technique used here and had a number of benefits. First, like other regression-type analyses, it allowed comparisons to be made on a like-with-like basis; that is, taking into account the differences in the circumstances of individual respondents. This was important because those respondents who were most enthusiastic about civic and political participation were likely to be those who were most enthusiastic when they enrolled. Failing to take account of this would present a distorted picture of the influence of other individual-level characteristics. Second, SEM also attempts to take into account the uncertainty (error) associated with any measurement of a young person's attitudes and intentions using a short questionnaire (Bollen, 1989), and it therefore provided accurate estimates of the relationship between variables. Third, it allowed us to take into account the hierarchical nature of the data; that is, the fact that pupils were grouped within schools (see Muthen and Muthen, 1998-2006). Finally, SEM also enabled us to examine how these relationships change over time, a particularly important benefit for longitudinal studies such as CELS.

In the 6th annual report from CELS, we conducted some initial exploratory modelling on the data from Year 11 pupils who were surveyed in 2007 (Benton *et al*, 2008). This initial analysis suggested that young people's attitudes and intentions towards

participation were associated with certain background variables and pupil characteristics. For example, the results suggested that positive dispositions towards civic participation were associated with being female, Asian, and from a home with relatively more educated parents and more literacy resources (proxy variables for socio-economic status). In terms of pupil characteristics, the level of personal efficacy felt by the individual respondent was found to be a very important variable which shaped their attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation.

By contrast, this initial modelling found little evidence of any school-level factors having an effect on young people's dispositions towards participation. That is, we found no direct link between the cohort's attitudes and intentions towards participation and the type of citizenship education or experience they experienced at school. Now that we have additional data (namely from the 2009 survey of young people in Year 13 or equivalent), we have revisited this question. However, in light of the findings from the 6th report, we have decided to approach the issue from a different perspective.

Revised modelling strategy

For the initial modelling efforts, the 6th Annual Report examined the relationship between CE provision and the citizenship outcomes for pupils. The 6th report model used data from the schools survey to assess the level (and delivery types) of CE being provided by schools, and assumed that this was a sufficient measure of the input that might have an impact on the intended outcomes. However, the relationship between teaching (input) and learning (outcome) is not necessarily linear, and there can be substantial gaps between the *intended* curriculum (that is set out in national policy), the *planned* curriculum (that is found in schemes of work and syllabi), the curriculum that is *delivered* by teachers in classrooms, and the curriculum or learning that is *received* by pupils (Middlewood, 2001: 109).

For the revised strategy, therefore, we looked at the impact not of what was intended by policy or delivered by teachers, but rather what the participating pupils thought that they had *received*.[19] The central assumption of this strategy was that pupil-level reports on what CE they have received could be a more reliable indicator of the type or level of CE provision in school, as it would demonstrate not only that CE was

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[19] Please note that it is not possible to treat this variable as if it were the actual amount of time for which pupils have been taught citizenship. Even pupils within the same class show a great degree of variation in their responses to this question, which should not be the case since they must all be experiencing roughly the same curriculum within the early years of secondary school.

delivered, but also that it was experienced and acknowledged by pupils as a deliberate educational experience.

To test this assumption, we created a two step model that allowed us to examine two inter-related questions and, ultimately, to evaluate the impact of CE on the cohort's citizenship outcomes. This model is summarised below in Figure 5.1, but in short, this modelling strategy addressed two questions:

1. Do different CE delivery models have a variable impact on levels of received citizenship in pupils?

2. What impact does received citizenship have on citizenship outcomes?

Figure 5.1. Overview of the CELS data modelling
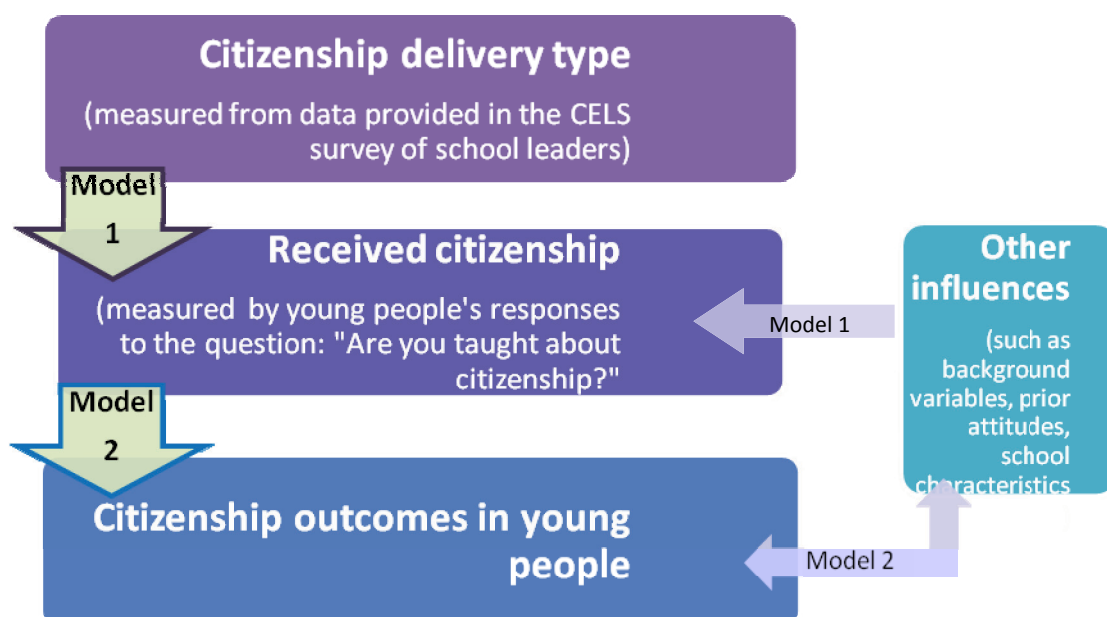
Model 1 first examined the relationship between different types of citizenship delivery model and the extent of citizenship received by pupils (referred to as '*received citizenship*' from here on in). This model, therefore, allowed us to assess what types of CE delivery are associated with higher levels of received citizenship. The latter was measured using responses to the question '*Are you taught about citizenship?*' The respondents were given four possible responses to this question ('*a*

little', *'a lot'*, *'not at all'* or *'don't know'*), each indicating different levels of citizenship and allowing us to compare the impact of these different levels.[20]

Using these findings, in **Model 2** we then examined the relationship between the level of *'received citizenship'* and various *citizenship outcomes*. Both of these models also took a range of other variables into account, in order to assess (and control) for their possible effects.

Finally, the results from both models were combined to estimate the overall effect of citizenship delivery on a range of citizenship outcomes for young people.[21] What these results were are described in the following sections.

5.3 Impact of citizenship education on young people's attitudes, intentions and skills

By using this analytical approach we found that citizenship education can shape young people's citizenship outcomes. In particular, the analysis showed that the CELS cohort was more likely to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) if they had **high levels of 'received citizenship'**

However, the analysis also highlighted that:
There was often little difference between the citizenship outcomes among respondents who reported receiving 'a little' citizenship education and those receiving none.

This two step model suggests that citizenship education can and does have an impact on citizenship outcomes among young people. Indeed, there was almost universally a significant link between the extent to which the CELS cohort felt that they were taught citizenship (i.e. their level of 'received citizenship') within a given year and their citizenship outcomes within the same year. The only exception to this was found

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[20] The responses for 'not at all' and 'don't know' were combined during the analysis, as only a small proportion of pupils selected these options. For example, in the 2007 longitudinal survey of Year 11 pupils, 5 per cent and 8 per cent respectively; in comparison, 24 per cent of pupils indicated that they had received 'a lot' of citizenship education, and 49 per cent indicated that they had received 'a little'.

[21] To validate this strategy, we undertook a series of tests to check that the relationship between received citizenship and outcomes is genuinely causal and not merely a correlation. These tests were undertaken to verify that the direction of the relationship is such that received citizenship affects citizenship outcomes, and not that pupils' interest in civic and political participation cause people to be more aware of citizenship education. The 'directionality' question was analysed using an instrumental variables method and, in short, the results of this analysis showed no strong evidence of outcomes having an effect on received citizenship. However, due to the relatively small number of schools used in this analysis, it should be noted that the results cannot be considered conclusive and our analysis should still be seen as exploratory.

in relation to personal efficacy[22] outcomes for participants in Year 13, where no significant relationship was found.

Further details on the size and strength of these relationships are given in Table 5.1 below. These calculations controlled for other variables, and each coefficient therefore shows the number of standard deviations by which outcomes for those who reported being taught *'a lot'* or *'a little'* citizenship were greater than for those who reported being taught citizenship *'not at all'* or don't know (above and beyond the impact of other variables). For example, respondents who reported being taught citizenship *'a lot'* in Year 7 tended to have attitudes to political participation that were 0.183 standard deviations better than similar respondents who reported that they were *not* taught citizenship.

Table 5.1.   Standardised coefficients for the impact of received citizenship on the CELS cohort's citizenship outcomes within the same year

Standardised Coefficients	Year 7		Year 9		Year 11		Year 13	
Citizenship Outcome	**A lot**	**A little**	**A lot**	**A little**	**A lot**	**A little**	**A lot**	**A little**
Attitudes towards political participation	0.183	*0.070*	0.235	*0.037*	0.164	*0.092*	0.408	0.179
Intentions towards political participation in the future	0.248	*0.103*	0.305	0.137	0.135	*0.038*	0.382	*0.098*
Attitudes towards civic participation	0.422	0.235	0.268	0.167	0.310	0.215	*0.226*	0.152
Intentions towards civic participation in the future	0.257	0.118	0.253	*0.086*	0.169	0.107	0.389	*0.082*
Personal efficacy	0.414	0.155	0.546	0.146	0.429	0.260	*0.178*	*-0.022*

Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER. Figures in italics are <u>not</u> statistically significant.

The results in Table 5.1 also show that respondents who reported being taught citizenship *'a lot'* often exhibited significantly better outcomes than similar respondents who reported being taught only *'a little'* citizenship. In particular, the effect of *'a lot'* of 'received citizenship' on personal efficacy tended to be stronger than its impact on the other citizenship outcomes we looked at (except in Year 13 where, as noted above, 'received citizenship' was no longer significantly related to personal efficacy).

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[22]   As noted above, personal efficacy is concept which encapsulates the extent to which young people personally feel able to influence the government, their school and their family.

By contrast, the impact of *'a little'* citizenship education tended to be notably weaker, and indeed, in some cases, negligible; in some instances, there were no significant differences in the outcomes for the respondents who received *'a little'* citizenship education and for those who received none at all.

What is the impact of 'received citizenship' over time?

These results suggested that the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship' can predict their citizenship attitudes, intentions and skills, at least in that same year (over and above the impact of other variables, which are discussed below). Furthermore, they also suggested that the higher the levels of 'received citizenship', the better the individual's citizenship outcomes.

However, further analysis indicated that the effects of CE were not necessarily sustained over time. To examine the impact of CE over time, we looked at the impact of 'received citizenship' in one survey wave on the citizenship outcomes that were recorded in subsequent survey waves (that is, two years later). This analysis showed that the effects of CE were notably diminished in later years, as Table 5.2 illustrates. For example, respondents who reported being taught citizenship *'a lot'* in Year 7 tended to have attitudes towards civic participation that were 0.422 standard deviations better than similar respondents who reported that they are *not* taught citizenship. Yet by Year 9, these same respondents' outcomes were only 0.086 standard deviations better than similar respondents who reported that they were *not* taught citizenship. If we compare the results in Table 5.1 and 5.2, we can see that this pattern was reflected across each of the outcomes.

Table 5.2.   Estimated standardised coefficients showing the impact of received citizenship two years previously on pupil' citizenship outcomes

	Year 9		Year 11		Year 13	
Outcome	**A lot**	**A little**	**A lot**	**A little**	**A lot**	**A little**
Attitudes towards political participation	0.120	-0.008	0.124	0.024	-0.058	-0.101
Intentions towards political participation	0.069	-0.003	0.198	0.074	0.087	0.062
Attitudes towards civic participation	0.086	0.039	0.148	0.066	0.008	-0.005
Intentions towards civic participation	0.006	-0.071	0.165	0.101	0.141	0.125
Personal efficacy	0.110	0.028	0.222	0.017	0.095	-0.199

Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER. Statistical significance not calculated for these combined figures.

Is 'received citizenship' the only variable?

'Received citizenship' was not the only variable that contributed towards shaping the citizenship outcomes of the CELS cohort. Background variables also played a notable role (especially home literacy resources), and more importantly, so too did the citizenship attitudes, intentions, and efficacy levels that the cohort had formed in *previous* years.

The SEM analysis took into account not just the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship', but also a wide range of individual, contextual, and other variables. This enabled us to assess the relative effect of 'received citizenship', and underlined that this was not the only variable that contributed towards the cohort's citizenship outcomes. The respondents' background characteristics and their previous outcome levels also played a key role.

The impact of background characteristics

There are a number of ways in which individual's background characteristics predict their citizenship attitudes, intentions and skills. For example, modelling of the Year 11 data showed that:

- Female pupils tended to have higher levels of citizenship attitudes and intentions than similar boys (although the difference was relatively small, and there were no differences in the area of personal efficacy)

- Across all of the outcomes in question, Asian pupils (and to a lesser extent, black pupils) tended to show higher outcome levels than similar white British pupils

- Respondents tended to have greater citizenship attitudes, intentions and skills if they have at least one parent with at least post-16 education

- In terms of home literacy (and by extension, socio-economic status), respondents with no books in the home were *less* likely to exhibit these outcomes, while respondents with high numbers of books in their home were *more* likely to (see Appendix 3 for further details about the effect sizes).

However, as with the impact of 'received citizenship', further data modelling showed that the relative effect of these characteristics tends to be reduced once pre-existing differences in the outcomes (as measured two years earlier) were taken into account in the analysis.[23] In other words, while the effect of background characteristics can be important, these effects tend to be smaller (and indeed occasionally are not statistically significant), once we take the respondents' previous citizenship outcomes into account.

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[23] See Appendix 4 for further details about the effect sizes of this antecedent.

Respondents' home literacy resources provided an exception to this rule. Home literacy resources (as measured by the number of books pupils have in their home) usually continued to have a significant impact on outcomes, even after controlling for their previous citizenship outcomes). The strongest of these effects was seen in relation to intentions towards political participation. In this case, respondents with lots of books in the home tended to have substantially higher levels of intentions to participate in political activities, even after adjusting for pre-existing differences in outcomes.

The impact of pupils' prior attitudes, intentions and skills

The SEM analysis also examined the relationship between the cohort's *prior* levels of citizenship and their *current* levels of citizenship. This was based on the assumption that young people who had more positive citizenship results in the past were more likely to continue to have positive results and to respond more positively towards questions about participation and efficacy. By including this variable, therefore, we were able to isolate the independent effects of 'received citizenship' and of pre-existing attitudes, intentions and skills.

This assumption was borne about by the analysis, which showed that, in each survey year (except for Year 7 data[24]), the cohort's **citizenship attitudes, intentions and skills were better accounted for by their previous attitudes, intentions and skills than by either their 'received citizenship' or their background characteristics**.[25] For each outcome, this was the variable that had the strongest and most consistent effect. Indeed, the strength of these relationships increased as the cohort got older. In other words, for each outcome, the strength of the relationship between Year 13 and Year 11 was stronger than the relationship between Year 11 and Year 9, which, in turn, was stronger than the relationship between Year 9 and Year 7. This implies that as young people get older, their attitudes stabilise and they are more likely to reflect their views two years earlier than any new citizenship influences.

However, the results also indicated that the cohort's attitudes towards civic participation were less fixed than their attitudes towards political participation and personal efficacy. This suggests that there may be more scope for changing this aspect of young people's citizenship outcomes. Some of the ways in which these changes

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[24] This antecedent cannot be used in the analysis of Year 7 outcomes as no data were collected by CELS prior to Year 7.

[25] See Appendix 4 for further details about the effect sizes of this antecedent.

might be achieved through citizenship education are discussed in the next section, when we describe the school delivery models that influenced 'received citizenship'.

5.4   What factors shape 'received citizenship'?

Further analysis also showed that the cohort was more likely to have high(er) levels of 'received citizenship' if they have attended a school where citizenship education is:

- **a discrete slot** in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by the **teachers who are delivering the citizenship curriculum** rather than the school's PSHE coordinator

formally examined (e.g. as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).

The SEM analysis showed that there was a relationship between 'received citizenship' and the cohort's citizenship outcomes, and that higher levels of 'received citizenship' were associated with higher outcomes (even if the effect is small). This result therefore begged the question: what types of CE delivery model are associated with 'received citizenship'? Or in other words, *what types of CE are most likely to produce higher levels of 'received citizenship', and by inference, better citizenship outcomes in young people?*

To address this question, multilevel ordinal logistic regression was used to identify which strategies that were reported by schools for teaching citizenship were most strongly related to an increased probability of the cohort saying that they were taught *'a little'* or *'a lot'* of citizenship. Appendix 5 lists the factors that were taken into account in the process, along with the full results. In short, the MLM suggested that the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship' were shaped by a number of school-level factors.[26] Each of these factors is considered in turn in Figure 5.3 below.

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[26]   The analysis also took a wide range of individual-level variables into account, as Appendix 5 makes clear. These variables were also shown to have an effect, but are not discussed here because aim of this evaluation is to identify what, if any, is the impact of citizenship education on young people's citizenship outcomes.

Figure 5.3 School-level factors that impact individual levels of 'received citizenship'

- **Having a dedicated time slot for citizenship learning**

CELS respondents in schools with a dedicated time slot for citizenship of over 45 minutes per week were substantially more likely to say they were taught citizenship. The odds of a pupil saying this were 54 per cent higher than they would be in a school without a dedicated time slot for citizenship. This effect was even greater amongst respondents who reported that they do *not* intend to go to university.

- **Existence of formal and external assessment of Citizenship**

Schools that offered a GCSE in Citizenship were associated with an increased probability of respondents' levels of received citizenship. Indeed, it was the variable that appears to have had the largest impact on participants' levels of received citizenship, as this strategy was associated with a 95 per cent increase in the odds of a respondent saying they were taught citizenship education.

- **Devolved responsibility for curriculum development and delivery to citizenship teachers, not PSHE coordinators**

CELS respondents who attended schools where the citizenship curriculum was developed by a PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) coordinator were substantially *less* likely to state that they were taught citizenship than respondents in schools with other staffing policies.[27] One reason for this may be that, in many schools, CE is taught in conjunction with PSHE (Keating *et al*, 2009a: 11).[28] In cases such as these, citizenship learning may be so integrated into PSHE learning that it is conflated with PHSE by the teacher and/ or the pupils, and the respondents were therefore not aware of the CE that they had received.

By contrast, the cohort was more likely to be aware that they were taught citizenship in schools where the curriculum was developed by the teachers who were delivering their citizenship learning. These teachers were not necessarily specialist citizenship teachers, but rather were teachers with a specific responsibility for developing and delivering the types of citizenship learning that they imparted to pupils. The effect was even more marked amongst the CELS respondents who were not sure if they intended to go to university; these respondents were considerably more likely to report receiving citizenship education if the curriculum was devised by their teacher rather than the PSHE coordinator.

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[27] The odds of a pupil saying this are 0.64 of what they would be in a similar school where the citizenship curriculum is not determined by the PSHE coordinator.

[28] The 2008 survey showed that 48 per cent of schools were using PHSE lessons as the main vehicle for delivering citizenship learning. In previous years, even higher levels of this option were reported (Keating *et al*, 2009a: 11).

- **Socio-economic composition of the school**

CELS respondents who attended schools with many pupils eligible for free school meals tended to report higher levels of citizenship teaching than similar respondents elsewhere. That is, the higher the proportion of pupils receiving free school meals per school, the more likely respondents were to report that they were receiving CE.

In order to illustrate these findings, consider the probability of a 'typical' pupil saying they were taught *'a lot'* of citizenship (and, by implication, have high levels of what we are calling 'received citizenship'). A 'typical' pupil might be defined as a white British pupil with average home literacy resources (101-200 books in the home) who is planning to stay in education until his early 20s and is currently studying in a school where 15 per cent of pupils are eligible for free school meals.

If this pupil is in a school where citizenship is embedded within PSHE and the curriculum is developed by the PSHE coordinator, the model results predict they would have just a 17 per cent chance of saying they were taught citizenship *'a lot'* and an 83 per cent chance of saying they were taught citizenship at least *'a little.'*

By contrast, a pupil of the same type would have a 63 per cent probability of stating that they are taught citizenship *'a lot'*, and a 98 percent probability for being taught at least *'a little'* if they attend a school:

- that has a weekly, dedicated timeslot for CE of over 45 minutes
- where the curriculum is developed by teachers responsible for delivering CE, and
- where pupils can take the GCSE in Citizenship.

5.5 Summary and conclusions

This chapter charts the results of an experimental strategy that sought to identify the indirect links between citizenship education practices in schools, and the outcomes for pupils. The findings should be treated with some caution, and further exploration is recommended.

Nonetheless, although still exploratory, this strategy generated some interesting and positive results. Most notably, this analysis provides some indication that citizenship education can have an impact on young people's citizenship outcomes. In particular,

the cohort's results suggest that young people are more likely to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) if they have high levels of 'received citizenship'. That said, the results should be treated cautiously as the effects of 'received citizenship' were still small, and 'received citizenship' was not the only contributing factor. In particular, it should be noted that the cohort's *current* citizenship levels were better predicted by their *prior* citizenship levels. Individual background characteristics also played an important (if lesser) role.

The second key finding is therefore of particular interest. Further analysis of the longitudinal data suggested that there was a relationship between 'received citizenship' and the cohort's citizenship outcomes, and indeed that some of the CE delivery models that were used by schools were associated with better citizenship outcomes for young people. That is, the CELS respondents were more likely to have high(er) levels of 'received citizenship' if they had attended a school where citizenship education was:

- a discrete slot in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by the teachers who are delivering the citizenship curriculum rather than the school's PSHE coordinator
- formally examined (i.e. as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).

This suggests that there are a number of ways that young people's levels of 'received citizenship' (and by extension, citizenship outcomes) could be raised.

These findings have a number of implications for citizenship and citizenship education. The implications are considered in Chapter 6, along with a series of recommendations for future citizenship education policies and practices.

6. Evaluating the impact of citizenship education on young people in England – final conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

It is well over a decade since the Crick Report on citizenship education, with its emphasis on promoting *political literacy* among young people, was first issued in 1998. Meanwhile it is just under a decade since Citizenship became a statutory subject for schools in England in September 2002. During this time, the policy context for schools and society has changed immensely and rapidly – not least in the past two years as the changing economic and political climate have altered not only who is governing (namely the new Coalition government), but also expectations about what is possible (given current economic constraints), and how these decisions are debated, communicated and acted upon (linked to the rise of digital citizenship and emphasis on public consultation and action).

The *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study* (CELS) provides key insights into citizenship and citizenship education over the past decade, and into how some of these changes have impacted upon schools and on young people who have made the transition to young adulthood in this context. These insights are particularly timely and relevant in the current political and educational context, in informing decisions concerning policy and practice for citizenship and citizenship education both in schools and beyond in local and wider communities.

Commissioned by the former Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 2001, CELS has examined the implementation and impact of the introduction of statutory Citizenship learning on young people and schools in England over the past nine years. In the process, CELS has compiled a wealth of different data, using qualitative and quantitative methods and a longitudinal and cross-sectional research design. As part of the longitudinal strand of the evaluation, CELS has tracked a cohort of young people from Year 7 (when the participants were aged 11-12) to Year 13 (when the participants were aged 17-18). The participants were surveyed four times during this period, providing a four-wave panel study of how citizenship behaviours, intentions, attitudes, attachments and skills have changed among the cohort over time.

Tracing and explaining these changes, with the benefit of having data from all four waves available for the first time, has been the focus of this Eighth (and final) Annual Report from CELS. Detailed findings were set out in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In this final chapter, we summarise the key findings from each of these chapters, and then use these findings to address a third question: *What changes should be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness*?

Figure 6.1. Research questions for the Eighth Annual Report from CELS

RQ1 — Have young people's citizenship practices changed over the course of the study (2003 - 2009)?

RQ2 — What factors (educational and other) shape young people's citizenship outcomes?

RQ3 — What changes should be made to the delivery of citizenship education in order to improve its potential for effectiveness?
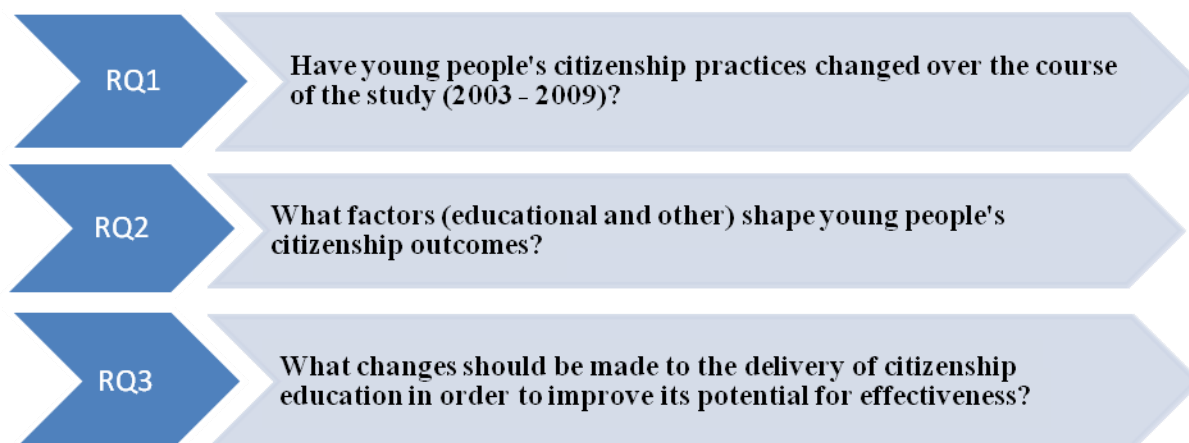
6.2 Have young people's citizenship practices changed over the course of the study (2003 - 2009)?

Analysis of the CELS longitudinal data revealed a number of interesting changes have taken place in the cohort's citizenship practices, attitudes, attachments and efficacy over time.

First, Chapter 3 highlighted that there has been a **marked and steady increase in civic and political participation** among the CELS cohort. In terms of *political participation*, signing petitions and electing pupil/ school council members were the most common forms of political activity being undertaken by the CELS cohort. In terms of *civic participation*, fund-raising for charities and good causes was the most frequently-reported activity, although as the cohort got older, there were notable increases in the proportions who reported helping in their local community and in helping to organise an event.

The longitudinal data also provided relatively positive indications that these young people will **continue to participate as adult citizens**. In 2009 (when the participants were in Year 13 or equivalent), summary measures derived from factor analysis

indicated that the cohort was highly likely to take part in 'conventional' citizenship activities in the future (such as voting in general elections, volunteering time to help other people, and collecting money for a good cause). This finding was re-affirmed by simple analysis of the related items. For example, in 2009 over 75 per cent of respondents indicated that they would probably or definitely vote in general elections in the future, while 70 per cent expressed similar sentiments about voting in local elections. The cohort's commitment to future participation got notably stronger as they got older, perhaps because they were closer to being able to exercise their full citizenship rights and to vote in elections.

Yet it was interesting to note that there has been little increase in the cohort's interest in participating in some of the more 'activist' types of citizen action, such as joining a political party, or contacting a newspaper or MP. Only a relatively small proportion of the respondents indicated that they have participated in these sorts of activities in the past, and only a small proportion intended to do so in the future.

Citizenship attitudes, attachments, engagement and efficacy

Chapter 4 focused on using the longitudinal data to analyse changes in the cohort's citizenship attitudes, attachments, engagement and efficacy, and revealed a number of interesting trends.

First, in terms of their **attitudes towards participation**, the CELS cohort tended to associate 'good' citizenship with being law-abiding and with taking an interest in or taking part in their communities. However, when asked why they took part, the cohort tended to be motivated by the prospect of personal benefits than by a sense of duty.

Second, over time there has been a hardening in many of the cohort's **attitudes towards equality and society**, particularly in their attitudes towards refugees and immigrants, but also in their attitudes towards jail sentences, benefit payments, and some environmental restriction policies. Yet the data also showed that the cohort became markedly more *supportive* about human rights and women's rights, which indicated that the trend towards a hardening of attitudes was not universal and that attitudinal analysis should be nuanced.

In tandem, there has also been a gradual and steady weakening of the cohort's **attachment to their communities** (be they local, national, or European), although their attachment to their school communities remained relatively strong.

In terms of trust, it was positive that the cohort continued to exhibit high levels of **trust in social and civil institutions.** This contrasted with the high levels of *dis*trust in politicians, and the considerable increase in distrust that took place over the course of the study. In 2009, 33 per cent of the cohort reported that they do not trust politicians *'at all'*, an increase of 20 percentage points since Year 7 (i.e. age 11).

Finally, in Chapter 4 we also looked at levels of **citizenship engagement and efficacy** among the cohort over time. Here, we found that as the cohort got older, they became increasingly aware of the impact of politics on their lives (and particularly after Year 11 i.e. age 16). Yet as they approached adulthood and 'full' citizenship, they were still only moderately likely to feel that they, as individuals, could influence the political and social institutions that shape their lives – what is termed 'personal efficacy'. Furthermore, the cohort was only moderately likely to have positive attitudes towards political engagement, be it informally (for example, by taking part in political discussions) or formally (for example, by joining a political party), and only a minority reported engaging in political discussions with other people *'often'*, or viewed themselves as being *'very interested in politics.'*

In short, then, the results from the CELS longitudinal data are mixed. On the one hand, we have found some positive increases in the rates of civic and political participation among the cohort, and that the cohort are likely to continue to participate in the future. On the other hand, analysis of the attitudinal data indicated there is still some work to be done on influencing young people's citizenship attitudes and their levels of engagement, efficacy and trust in the political arena.

Throughout the report we have outlined some of the factors over time (educational, social, political, and transitional) that may have contributed to producing these trends. In the next section we summarise the key factors and the contribution that they can make to shaping young people's citizenship outcomes. This discussion will highlight that citizenship education can play an important role in producing positive citizenship outcomes for young people, but that it is not the only variable and that there are certain formats of citizenship education that may be more effective than others.

6.3 What factors have contributed to creating these citizenship outcomes?

The trend analysis over time in Chapters 3 and 4 highlighted that **age and life-stage** played an important role in shaping some of the citizenship practices and attitudes of the CELS cohort. Between Year 7 and Year 11 (i.e. ages 11 to 18), for example, there was a notable decline in the cohort's interest in politics, sense of efficacy, levels of participation in civic activities, and enjoyment of taking part. This dip took place as the cohort made the transition into and through Key Stage 4 (that is, between ages 14 and 16), and responses generally rebounded between Year 11 and Year 13 (i.e. between ages 16 and 18). The data were weighted to reflect the impact of sample attrition on the possible responses; as a result, the dips that were identified cannot be attributed to changes in the sample. We have therefore described this tendency as a *'Key Stage 4 dip.'*

However, by conducting further statistical analysis of the longitudinal data (namely Multi-Level and Structural Equation Modelling), in Chapter 5 we were able to demonstrate that age or life-stage are not the only factors shaping young people's citizenship practices. For one, **background characteristics** also played a notable role. In particular, more positive citizenship outcomes were associated with being female, Asian, and from a home with relatively more educated parents and more literacy resources (proxy variables for socio-economic status). These results re-affirm the findings from 6th annual report from CELS (Benton *et al*, 2008).

More important still, however, was the impact of the cohort's **prior citizenship outcomes** – that is, the citizenship attitudes, intentions, and skills that they had formed in previous years. This proved to be the strongest predictor of the cohort's *current* citizenship outcomes; indeed, the relationship between prior and current citizenship outcomes became stronger as the cohort got older. This suggests that young people's attitudes and intentions stabilise as they get older, and that they are more likely to reflect their views from two years earlier than any new citizenship influences.

This is not to suggest, however, that citizenship attitudes and intentions cannot be changed by (citizenship) education or other factors. Indeed, our longitudinal analysis provided some preliminary indications that **citizenship education** can have an impact on young people's citizenship outcomes, and that the effects are independent of, and over and above, the impact of the other salient variables (that is, prior outcomes and

background characteristics). More specifically, the analysis showed that the CELS participants who reported having received *'a lot'* of citizenship education, what we have termed *'received citizenship',* were more likely to have positive attitudes and intentions towards civic and political participation (both in the present and in the future) than the participants who had received only a little citizenship education or none at all. This variable also tended to have a positive impact on the cohort's sense of personal efficacy – that is, the extent to which an individual feels able to make a difference and influence the government, their school and their family (an important citizenship skill). Indeed, it was in the area of personal efficacy skills that the impact of CE tended to be strongest.

These findings are positive, and suggest that citizenship education can produce positive outcomes for young people. However, these findings also must be seen within the context of a number of caveats which showed that the format, timing and duration of the citizenship learning experience are crucial.

➤ First, modelling of the longitudinal CELS data suggested that the impact of citizenship education wanes over time if the level of 'received citizenship' is not sustained throughout a young person's school career.

➤ Second, the cohort's citizenship attitudes and outcomes appeared to stabilise as they got older, and therefore citizenship learning that is received at the later stages of education is more likely to be retained over time.

➤ Third, young people tend to be more negative towards citizenship as they progress through Key Stage 4 (i.e. age 14 to 16), but the SEM suggested that CE is still equally effective at this stage in young people's lives.

➤ Fourth, we found that there was often little difference between the citizenship outcomes among young people who reported receiving *'a little'* citizenship education and those receiving none. In other words, providing only a little citizenship education will make little difference to young people's outcomes. This suggests, in turn, that sufficient time and curriculum space must be allocated to citizenship learning if any of the potential benefits are to be realised. This point was echoed in the findings on the differential effects of different formats for CE.

➤ Fifth, we found that the format of the citizenship learning experience (that is, the delivery model) can be very important. In particular, CELS respondents were more likely to report high levels of 'received citizenship' (and by extension, more positive citizenship outcomes) if they attend schools where citizenship education was:

- delivered in a discrete slot in the timetable of over 45 minutes per week
- developed by the teachers who are delivering the citizenship curriculum rather than the school's coordinator for Personal, Social, and Health Education (PSHE)
- formally and externally examined (as part of the GCSE in Citizenship).
  - ➢ Finally, it is also important to note that the impact of citizenship education is still relatively small and that the analysis that was conducted here was necessarily exploratory.

These caveats provide a more nuanced understanding of how citizenship education can make an important and positive contribution to young people's citizenship outcomes. The implications of these findings for CE policy and practice are discussed in next section.

6.4 What would make CE more effective? Final recommendations from CELS

A number of implications can be drawn from the findings from the analysis of the CELS longitudinal data that have been presented in this report. We have drawn on these implications to develop seven overriding recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners. While some of these recommendations have been included in other CELS annual reports, this is the first time, thanks to the ability to analyse the full longitudinal CELS data set, that it has been possible to bring them together in one comprehensive list. These recommendations are presented in turn, but in no particular order, below.

1. Ensure, where possible, that CE learning is delivered in discrete timetable slots and for more than 45 minutes per week

This was one of the clearest findings from the modelling of the longitudinal data, where it was shown to have a positive effect on the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship' and by extension their chances of positive citizenship outcomes.

Interestingly, previous CELS reports, most noticeably the 7th Annual Report, found that increasing numbers of schools have been moving towards discrete citizenship lessons (see Keating *et al*, 2009a), which suggests that many schools are already on their way to providing the optimum learning format for CE.

2. Look to encourage external examination or certification of citizenship learning

Modelling of the longitudinal data revealed that it was the availability of the GCSE citizenship course that had the strongest effect on the cohort's levels of 'received citizenship'.[29] This suggests that increased implementation of this delivery model feature would have the biggest improvement on young people's citizenship outcomes.

This finding echoes the experience of some of the teachers in the CELS longitudinal case study schools, who found that following the GCSE course helped to raise the status of the subject among staff and pupils and to motivate pupils to engage with the subject (see Keating *et al*, 2009a: 33). The 7th Annual Report also found that the GCSE course was increasingly popular with schools, and that, by 2008, almost one third of schools had introduced, or were planning to introduce, assessment by GCSE at Key Stage 4.

3. Promote the practice that CE lessons should be developed by the teacher who is delivering the citizenship lessons and not conflated with Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE)

CELS reports have confirmed that, since 2002, a large proportion of schools are combining citizenship teaching with PSHE.[30] However, the modelling of the longitudinal data in this report suggested that this can have a negative effect on received citizenship and citizenship outcomes. CELS respondents who attended schools where the citizenship curriculum was developed by a PSHE coordinator were substantially *less* likely to state that they were taught citizenship than respondents in schools with other staffing policies. By contrast, the cohort was more likely to be aware that they were taught citizenship in schools where the curriculum was developed by the teachers who were delivering their citizenship learning. These teachers were not necessarily specialist citizenship teachers, but rather were teachers with a specific responsibility for developing and delivering the types of citizenship learning that they imparted to pupils.

One reason for this may be that when CE is taught in conjunction with PSHE, citizenship learning may be so integrated into PSHE learning that it is conflated with PHSE by the teacher and/ or the pupils, and the respondents were therefore not aware of the CE that they had received. The danger of such conflation has been

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[29] At this juncture, only the GCSE short-course was available. However, since then, a full GCSE course has been developed, along with an A-level and AS level course.

[30] The 2008 survey showed that 48 per cent of schools were using PHSE lessons as the main vehicle for delivering citizenship learning. In previous years, even higher levels of this option were reported (Keating *et al*, 2009a: 11).

highlighted during the course of CELS in the reports of interviews with pupils in some of the longitudinal case-study schools. The findings in this report suggest that responsibility for developing citizenship lessons should not rest with the PSHE coordinator, but should be devolved to the teachers who are delivering the citizenship lessons in class.

4. Look to provide citizenship education throughout schooling, including in Years 12 and 13 (i.e. age 16 to 18)

As noted above, the impact of CE on the cohort's citizenship outcomes waned over time. This, in turns, suggests that CE needs to be provided throughout a young person's school/education career, including beyond age 16, if the potential benefits are to be sustained into the future.

It could be particularly beneficial to provide citizenship learning towards the end of secondary schooling (that is, Years 12 and 13 (i.e. age 16 to 18) when pupils are in schools, training institutions and also in the workplace); the analysis indicated that young people's attitudes stabilise over time, and therefore the chances of learning being retained into adulthood would be higher if further citizenship learning continued through to the end of secondary education (i.e. in post-16 education and training).

The analysis over time also indicated that the CELS cohort often experienced what we termed a 'Key Stage 4 dip' in participation, interest and enjoyment in citizenship issues around the ages of 14 to 16. However, SEM indicated that citizenship education continued to be effective at this stage, even if the recipients tended not to be positive. It should, therefore, not be inferred from these findings that citizenship education should be removed from the Key Stage 4 (or Key Stage 3) curricula, and only be taught at the post-16 stage. Although there are plans in place to raise the school leaving age to 18 from 2013 onwards, at this juncture significant numbers of young people still leave the education system at age 16. If CE was limited to post-16 education, these young people would not have access to the education that can help them to be full and active citizens. It is for this reason that we have recommended that citizenship education is provided throughout a young person's educational career, including in post-16 education and training.

These recommendations were drawn directly from the findings from the analysis of the longitudinal data that were presented in this report. While many of them build on

the findings from previous CELS reports, we can also suggest **two further recommendations from other CELS reports:**

5. Consider providing further support and training for the *political literacy* strand of CE

The *political literacy*[31] strand of Citizenship, what the Citizenship Advisory Group (CAG) defined as the new and distinctive element of citizenship education, has been a cause for concern throughout this study. For example, in the 2008 survey a sizeable proportion (around one fifth) of Citizenship teachers still reported that they were '*not at all*' confident with teaching about political literacy, political institutions, or the economy (Keating *et al*, 2009: 40). Teachers have also consistently reported that they find it difficult to engage pupils in learning about political institutions and systems. Meanwhile, pupils have continually reported that they find politics and political issue dull and boring and not related to their everyday concerns and experiences.

The continued problems in this area suggest that this strand requires further policy reinforcement and support, pedagogical innovation in the form of interactive materials and learning approaches, and teacher training (both in initial and through CPD) to ensure that young people are given sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to be able to engage effectively with the political system and political issues.

6. Work to ensure that schools and teachers have sufficient support and training to embed citizenship learning

Equally, the case study data from 2008 reaffirmed that citizenship policy in schools needs support not just from individual teachers, but also from senior leaders in the school and local and national policy-makers and organisations. This support lends the subject a status, legitimacy, and momentum. The CELS longitudinal case-study schools have shown how without such support citizenship education can become marginalised in the school curriculum and school community and removed from young people's learning experiences in and beyond school (see Keating *et al*, 2009).

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[31] Political literacy was defined by the Citizenship Advisory Group as "Pupils learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge – this can be termed *political literacy*, seeking a term wider than political knowledge alone.

6.5   Final conclusions – what is the future of citizenship and citizenship education?

Over the past nine years, CELS has tracked a cohort of young people from age 11 to 18 as they have been making the transition through adolescent and into full adult citizenship. While the picture emerging from the longitudinal data has been one of the uneven progress of Citizenship in schools during this process, we have also found in this and previous reports some preliminary evidence that citizenship education can make a positive contribution to young people's citizenship outcomes. This is a positive and promising finding, but it also still tentative, as the full analysis of the CELS longitudinal dataset that has taken place in this report has been necessarily exploratory. Furthermore, this finding is one that must be seen in the context of two key caveats.

First, it was clear from the analysis throughout the conduct of CELS that the impact of citizenship education should not be viewed in isolation – it is but one of the contextual and input variables that contribute towards shaping young people's citizenship practices, attitudes, engagement and efficacy. These findings support those in previous CELS reports and confirm that, in order to secure the best citizenship outcomes for young people, there is a need to adopt a holistic approach that includes not just educational measures, but also some initiatives to tackle broader challenges to citizenship.

Second, the analysis of the longitudinal dataset also indicated that the format, timing and duration of CE in schools play a critical role in determining the efficacy of CE. This backs up the detailed trajectories of Citizenship from 2001 to 2009 in each of the CELS longitudinal case-study schools, as reported in the 7th Annual CELS Report (Keating *et al*., 2009). It was on this basis that we have offered a series of recommendations on what changes could be made to the delivery of CE to increase the chances of creating effective outcomes for young people.

Finally, it could be argued that it is still too early to fully discern the impact of exposure to statutory Citizenship learning in schools on young people in England. This will only become clear as the cohort become adults and citizens with 'full' political rights. It is for this reason that CELS plans to extend the study and to track this cohort for one further survey wave i.e. from age 18 through to age 21. This extension project is called *Citizens in Transition - Civic Engagement and Political Participation among Young People 2001-2011* and will examine the cohort's

participation in the 2010 general election, and their behaviour and attitudes as young adult citizens. This project is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and early results will be available in late 2011. We hope that this further survey wave – the fifth panel wave – will provide further evidence about contemporary citizenship practices among young people in England, and additional information about the potential of citizenship education to contribute to these outcomes.

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Appendix 1 Previous reports and publications from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)

Over the course of the evaluation, eight annual reports from CELS have been published (including the current report).

The first report, Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: First Cross-sectional Survey (Kerr *et al*, 2003), focused on the findings from the first survey undertaken as part of the Study, which was carried out in the year before citizenship education (CE) became compulsory. It provided a baseline of evidence about school's knowledge about, and provision of, citizenship education *prior* to statutory implementation. In addition, it charted the citizenship-related attitudes and knowledge of pupils at this time.

The second annual report, Making Citizenship Education Real (Kerr *et al*, 2004), examined the findings from the first longitudinal survey, and the first round of case-study visits in 2002-2003. It established a baseline of evidence from the longitudinal cohort of pupils, teachers and school leaders, and identified their attitudes towards citizenship education (CE) in the first year following the introduction of statutory citizenship education. It also outlined the emerging approaches to CE in schools and began to identify and explore the factors which influenced the decision-making processes in schools concerning citizenship education.

The third annual report, Listening to Young People: Citizenship Education in England (Cleaver *et al*, 2005), set out the findings of the first cross-sectional survey (which was conducted in 2004). It focused specifically on pupils' experiences, understandings, and views of citizenship education and wider citizenship issues.

The fourth annual report, Active Citizenship and Young People: opportunities, experiences and challenges in and beyond school (Ireland *et al*, 2006), presented findings from the second longitudinal survey and the second round of case-study visits (conducted in 2004-2005). It explored the nature and extent of the opportunities and experiences that young people have had in relation to citizenship as an active practice in their schools, both within the curriculum/ classroom and the school organisation/culture, and in wider communities. It also identified the challenges involved in providing such opportunities and experiences and presented key messages

for national- and local-level policy makers, school practitioners, representatives of the wider community and young people.

The fifth annual report, Vision versus Pragmatism: Citizenship in the Secondary School Curriculum in England (Kerr *et al*, 2007), was based on the findings of the third cross–sectional survey, which was carried out during 2006. This report focused on the various models of delivery being used by schools, and sought to identify which model was proving the most effective in meeting the overarching aims and objectives of the subject. This report also explored 'embeddedness' of the subject, along with the current views of practitioners, and the level of training received or required.

The sixth annual report, Young People's Civic Participation in and Beyond School: attitudes, intentions and influences (Benton *et al,* 2008), focused on the quantitative component of the research design. It drew on data collected from the third sweep of the quantitative longitudinal survey (administered in 2007). The report investigated young people's civic participation in and beyond school and the so-called 'democratic deficit'. It also examined young people's attitudes and intentions towards *formal political participation* and *informal civic and civil participation,* and examined what variables may have influenced these outcomes.

The seventh annual report, Embedding Citizenship Education (CE) in Secondary Schools in England (2002-08) (Keating *et al*, 2009), examined the evolution of citizenship education policy and practice in schools over time, and investigated the extent to which citizenship education has taken root in secondary schools and become firmly established in school policies and practices since its introduction in September 2002. This report drew primarily on longitudinal qualitative case study from the CELS case study schools, but also reported the (quantitative) findings from the final cross-sectional survey of schools, teachers and young people (conducted in 2008).

In addition, the Study has published two literature reviews:

The first, Citizenship Education One Year on: What Does it Mean? (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004) focused on 'definitions, models, approaches and challenges to citizenship education in policy and practice' in the first year of national curriculum citizenship in England.

The second literature review, **Citizenship** *Education: the Political Science Perspective (Whiteley, 2005) drew* on research in political science that examines the

relationship between education and citizenship engagement. As well as discussing a series of alternative models, which can be used to explain why people engage in voluntary activities in politics, it uses data from the longitudinal survey to test some of these models.

Finally, a number of journal articles and book chapters discussing the results from the Study have also been published, including:

> Kerr, D. (2008). 'Research on citizenship education in Europe: a survey.' In: Georgi, V.B. (Ed) *The Making of Citizens in Europe: New Perspectives on Citizenship Education*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

> Kerr, D and Cleaver, E. (2009) 'Strengthening Education for Citizenship and Democracy in England: A Progress Report' in: J. Youniss and P Levine (Ends). *Engaging Young People in Civic Life.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

> Lopes, J., Benton, T., and Cleaver, E. (2009) Young people's intended civic and political participation: does education matter? *Journal of Youth Studies*, Volume 12(1), 1-20.

All outputs from the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) and more information about the Study can be found at the following link: www.nfer.ac.uk/cels

Bibliographical details for CELS Reports

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Appendix 2 Methodology and Sample

The *Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study* (CELS) is comprised of four interrelated components that include qualitative and quantitative data. These include:

Quantitative

- A **longitudinal survey** based on a complete cohort of young people from a sample of 112 schools that replied to the initial survey. The cohort was surveyed following their entry to Year 7 (in 2002-3), and again when they were in Year 9 (in 2005), in Year 11 (in 2007), and in Year 13 or equivalent (in 2009). [32]
- **A biennial cross-sectional survey**, with questionnaires completed by approximately 2,500 pupils in each of Years 8, 10 and 12. Each time the survey was run, a new sample of 300 schools and colleges was drawn and one tutor group (about 25 pupils) from each took part in the survey.

Qualitative

- **Longitudinal studies of 12 case study schools**, in which the selected schools were visited every two years, and interviews were conducted with senior leaders, citizenship teachers, and pupils.[33]
- **A review of the relevant literature** from political science, sociology, and education and other relevant disciplines.

This Eight and Final report has focused on the longitudinal survey strand, and in particular on analysing data from four sweeps of the longitudinal survey of pupils. As part of these four sweeps, the cohort was surveyed following their entry to Year 7 (that is, 2002-3), and again when they were in Year 9 (in 2004-2005), in Year 11 (in 2006-2007), and in Year 13 or equivalent (in 2008-2009). [34]

Details of the sample and the survey administration techniques for the first three sweeps have been discussed in previous reports (e.g. Benton *et al*., 2008). This section therefore provides a brief overview of the fourth survey of pupils and young people,

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[32] In terms of age of pupils and year groups the following classification applies in schools in England. Year 7 pupils age 11-12, Year 8 age 12-13, Year 9 age 13-14, Year 10 age 14-15, Year 11 age 15-16, Year 12 age 16-17, Year 13 age 17-18.

[33] CELS began with 20 longitudinal case-study schools, a sample which has since been reduced to 12 for reasons of manageability. The schools are visited every two years throughout the Study and interviews are conducted with school leaders, citizenship coordinators, teachers and groups of Key Stage 3 and 4 pupils.

[34] In terms of age of pupils and year groups the following classification applies in schools in England. Year 7 pupils age 11-12, Year 8 age 12-13, Year 9 age 13-14, Year 10 age 14-15, Year 11 age 15-16, Year 12 age 16-17, Year 13 age 17-18.

which was administered in 2009. We then provide a brief summary of the sample as a whole (including pupils, teachers, and schools).

2.1 Administration of the fourth longitudinal survey of students (2009)

The cohort for the longitudinal CELS survey was initially drawn from a nationally representative sample of Year 7 pupils of secondary schools in England. The pupils who participated in this survey were then asked to complete questionnaires when they were in Year 9 (in 2004-2005), in Year 11 (in 2006-2007), and in Year 13 or equivalent (in 2008-2009). [35]

Over time, there was considerable attrition from the original sample. As a result, the longitudinal sample was topped-up in 2008 with students from the CELS *cross-sectional* survey, who were then in Year 12, and who were of the same age group as those from the longitudinal CELS survey that started when the pupils were in Year 7. These young people were also approached in 2009 and asked to participate in the fourth sweep of the longitudinal survey.

In previous waves, the survey was administered through schools. In 2009, the participants were aged 17-18, and some of the cohort may have left their schools to attend 6th form colleges, training institutions, or to join the workforce.[36] The survey administration methodology therefore had to be adapted for the fourth survey sweep to take these changes into account.

In anticipation of this challenge, pupils who had participated in the Year 11 longitudinal survey (2007) and the Year 12 cross-sectional survey (2008) were asked to provide contact details for subsequent surveys, such as their home and email addresses. These details were then used to contact the respondents in 2009, and respondents were offered the opportunity to complete the survey online or on the paper copy that was provided. The respondents were also targeted via their schools (where they had 6th forms) and colleges, in order to maximise the response rate. In

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[35] In terms of age of pupils and year groups the following classification applies in schools in England. Year 7 pupils age 11-12, Year 8 age 12-13, Year 9 age 13-14, Year 10 age 14-15, Year 11 age 15-16, Year 12 age 16-17, Year 13 age 17-18.

[36] Compulsory education in England ends at age 16, and young people have the option to leave school to take up work or other training opportunities. In addition, many young people move on from their schools to 6th form colleges, where they complete their A-level qualifications.

addition, a prize draw of Red Letter days was offered as an incentive for the return of completed questionnaires.

Using these various methods, the research team was able to contact approximately 7,500 young people from the CELS cohort. These efforts yielded responses from 1,343 respondents - a response rate of 18 per cent. Around 80 per cent of the Year 13 survey respondents are from the original sample of Year 7 pupils (longitudinal survey); the remaining are respondents of the same age group who responded to the CELS cross-sectional survey in Year 12.

2.2 A brief overview of the CELS sample as a whole

Over the past nine years, CELS has collected data from a large number of participants. This section provides a brief overview of the numbers in each category (pupils, teachers, schools) and in each survey strand (longitudinal and cross-sectional).

For the purposes of this discussion, 'longitudinal' means a respondent returned at least one questionnaire in either 2003, 2005, 2007 or 2009, regardless of whether a follow-up questionnaire was completed by the same individual in another sweep. 'Cross-sectional' means that the respondent returned at least one questionnaire during the target survey period. There was at least one school which was in both samples and for the purposes of this summary, they were categorised as a 'longitudinal' respondent.

➢ **Pupils and young people**

In total, 43,410 pupils from 938 separate schools responded to a CELS questionnaire at some point; 24,353 of these pupils and 169 of the schools can be considered longitudinal respondents (by the definition given above). The remaining 19,057 pupils and 769 schools took part in the cross-sectional surveys only.

➢ **Teachers**

In total, we received 3,212 responses from teachers from 778 schools; 970 of these responses were collected as part of the longitudinal surveys. In some cases the same teacher may have responded on more than one occasion, but we have not matched individual teachers longitudinally so we have no way of knowing the extent to which the same teachers are double counted.

➢ **School questionnaires**

In total, 690 schools returned at least one questionnaire throughout the study; 105 of these schools were involved in the longitudinal data collections.

➢ **Total school involvement**

In total, 944 schools contributed something to the data collections for CELS; 169 of these schools returned at least one questionnaire to the longitudinal data collection exercises.

Further details about the samples from individual survey sweep can be obtained from the annual report for that year.

➢ **School questionnaires**

Appendix 3 Modelling the impact of background variables on citizenship outcomes in Year 11

Attitudes towards Political Participation				
Background variable	**Effect Size**	**SE**	**t-value**	**Significance**
No books in home	-0.427	0.114	-3.751	0.000
1 to 10 books in home	-0.179	0.042	-4.218	0.000
51 to 100 books in home	0.051	0.036	1.409	0.159
101 to 200 books in home	0.142	0.039	3.678	0.000
More than 200 books in home	0.279	0.054	5.183	0.000
Female pupil	0.069	0.030	2.316	0.021
Ethnicity - Asian	0.512	0.069	7.402	0.000
Ethnicity - Black	0.189	0.094	2.017	0.044
Ethnicity - Other non-white British (including unknown)	0.100	0.060	1.666	0.096
Highest known parental education level - College	0.130	0.035	3.732	0.000
Highest known parental education level - University	0.232	0.043	5.437	0.000
Highest known parental education level – Unknown	-0.008	0.035	-0.217	0.828

Intentions towards Political Participation in the Future				
Background variable	**Effect Size**	**SE**	**t-value**	**Significance**
No books in home	-0.365	0.092	-3.961	0.000
1 to 10 books in home	-0.290	0.047	-6.217	0.000
51 to 100 books in home	0.112	0.032	3.508	0.000
101 to 200 books in home	0.302	0.035	8.567	0.000
More than 200 books in home	0.474	0.041	11.648	0.000
Female pupil	-0.005	0.028	-0.181	0.856
Ethnicity - Asian	0.410	0.065	6.339	0.000
Ethnicity - Black	0.126	0.103	1.228	0.220
Ethnicity - Other non-white British (including unknown)	0.051	0.056	0.919	0.358
Highest known parental education level - College	0.166	0.036	4.653	0.000
Highest known parental education level - University	0.328	0.047	6.966	0.000
Highest known parental education level - Unknown	-0.050	0.035	-1.431	0.152

Attitudes towards civic participation

Background variable	Effect Size	SE	t-value	Significance
No books in home	-0.784	0.094	-8.328	0.000
1 to 10 books in home	-0.198	0.036	-5.450	0.000
51 to 100 books in home	0.060	0.030	2.002	0.045
101 to 200 books in home	0.107	0.036	2.964	0.003
More than 200 books in home	0.159	0.038	4.129	0.000
Female pupil	0.189	0.028	6.780	0.000
Ethnicity - Asian	0.331	0.066	5.015	0.000
Ethnicity - Black	0.125	0.095	1.318	0.187
Ethnicity - Other non-white British (including unknown)	0.015	0.046	0.340	0.734
Highest known parental education level - College	0.155	0.026	5.966	0.000
Highest known parental education level - University	0.164	0.034	4.905	0.000
Highest known parental education level - Unknown	-0.091	0.031	-2.980	0.003

Intentions towards civic participation in the future

Background variable	Effect Size	SE	t-value	Significance
No books in home	-0.473	0.084	-5.602	0.000
1 to 10 books in home	-0.182	0.034	-5.384	0.000
51 to 100 books in home	0.090	0.032	2.765	0.006
101 to 200 books in home	0.162	0.034	4.815	0.000
More than 200 books in home	0.236	0.036	6.475	0.000
Female pupil	0.535	0.032	16.973	0.000
Ethnicity - Asian	0.413	0.050	8.207	0.000
Ethnicity - Black	0.253	0.153	1.655	0.098
Ethnicity - Other non-white British (including unknown)	0.031	0.054	0.580	0.562
Highest known parental education level - College	0.125	0.033	3.722	0.000
Highest known parental education level - University	0.178	0.033	5.401	0.000
Highest known parental education level - Unknown	-0.091	0.034	-2.666	0.008

Citizenship Skills - Personal Efficacy				
Background variable	Effect Size	SE	t-value	Significance
No books in home	-0.908	0.120	-7.585	0.000
1 to 10 books in home	-0.202	0.041	-4.967	0.000
51 to 100 books in home	0.076	0.042	1.806	0.071
101 to 200 books in home	0.078	0.051	1.526	0.127
More than 200 books in home	0.131	0.056	2.355	0.019
Female pupil	0.062	0.038	1.606	0.108
Ethnicity - Asian	0.417	0.095	4.400	0.000
Ethnicity - Black	0.190	0.142	1.346	0.178
Ethnicity - Other non-white British (including unknown)	-0.082	0.060	-1.370	0.171
Highest known parental education level - College	0.157	0.035	4.506	0.000
Highest known parental education level - University	0.184	0.053	3.456	0.001
Highest known parental education level - Unknown	-0.134	0.042	-3.186	0.001

Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER.

Results are based on all pupils who responded to the relevant items of the 2007 year 11 questionnaire. As such it includes responses from 10,122 pupils from 80 schools.

Appendix 4 Additional results from the Structural Equation Modelling – key antecedents

Table 1. Estimated standardised coefficients showing the impact of key antecedents on the cohort's citizenship outcomes

Outcome	Antecedent	Year 7	Year 9	Year 11	Year 13
Attitudes towards political participation	Prior citizenship outcomes	NA	0.515	0.625	0.889
	Books in home	-0.057	0.162	0.073	*0.026*
	Other background characteristics	0.145	0.144	*-0.051*	NA
Intentions towards political participation	Prior citizenship outcomes	NA	0.535	0.622	0.738
	Books in home	0.142	0.200	0.125	0.143
	Other background characteristics	-0.190	*0.074*	*-0.072*	NA
Attitudes towards civic participation	Prior citizenship outcomes	NA	0.321	0.372	0.518
	Books in home	0.074	0.130	0.069	*0.002*
	Other background characteristics	-0.140	0.110	0.115	NA
Intentions towards civic participation	Prior citizenship outcomes	NA	0.367	0.521	0.599
	Books in home	0.090	0.104	0.092	*0.060*
	Other background characteristics	0.297	0.222	0.149	NA
Personal efficacy	Prior citizenship outcomes	NA	0.465	0.749	0.841
	Books in home	0.048	0.080	*0.040*	*0.066*
	Other background characteristics	-0.183	0.118	-0.073	NA

Source: Citizenship Education Longitudinal Survey, NFER. Coefficients that are not statistically significant are shown in italics.

Influence of "other background characteristics" are jointly summarised as sheaf coefficients. Due to the reduced size of the available data these variables were not included within the model for Year 13.
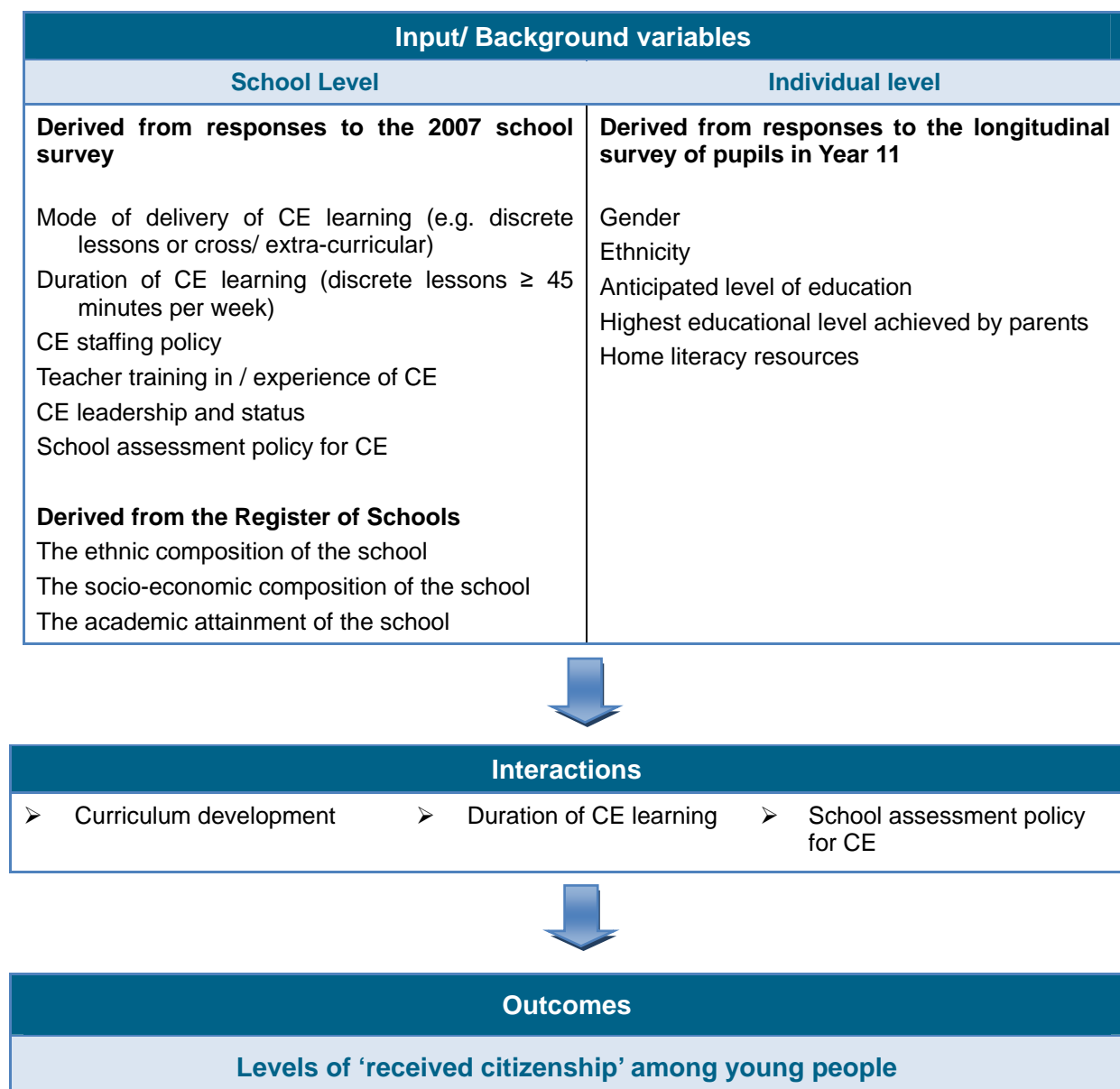
No measures of prior citizenship outcomes were available for pupils in Year 7.

Appendix 5 Multi-level modelling of 'received citizenship' – model design and methods

5.1 Constructing the model

As noted in Chapter 5, multilevel ordinal logistic regression was used during the data modelling to identify which school strategies for delivering Citizenship were most strongly related to an increased probability of pupils saying that they were taught *'a little'* or *'a lot'* of citizenship. Figure 5.1 below lists the variables that were taken into account in the modelling process. The results are then listed in Section 5.2 below.

Figure 5.1. Model 1 - Predictors of levels of 'received citizenship'

Input/ Background variables	
School Level	**Individual level**
Derived from responses to the 2007 school survey	**Derived from responses to the longitudinal survey of pupils in Year 11**
Mode of delivery of CE learning (e.g. discrete lessons or cross/ extra-curricular) Duration of CE learning (discrete lessons ≥ 45 minutes per week) CE staffing policy Teacher training in / experience of CE CE leadership and status School assessment policy for CE	Gender Ethnicity Anticipated level of education Highest educational level achieved by parents Home literacy resources
Derived from the Register of Schools The ethnic composition of the school The socio-economic composition of the school The academic attainment of the school	

Interactions		
➤ Curriculum development	➤ Duration of CE learning	➤ School assessment policy for CE

Outcomes
Levels of 'received citizenship' among young people

5.2   Results of the MLM

Table 5.1.   Results of Model 1 - multilevel modelling of 'received citizenship'

Fixed Effects	Odds Ratio	P-value
Intercept – A little	1.09	0.692
Intercept- A lot	0.05	0.000
Significant school level effects		
Who is responsible for dev curriculum? - PSHE Coordinator	0.64	0.005
Who is responsible for dev curriculum? - Teachers responsible for teaching CE	1.79	0.000
Dedicated time slot over 45 minutes per week	1.54	0.012
Use of GCSE short course	1.95	0.000
Percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals	1.03	0.000
*Significant pupil level effects**		
Ethnicity – Asian	1.39	0.001
Ethnicity - Prefer not to say	0.46	0.000
Books in home - 1-10	2.52	0.000
Books in home - 11-50	3.73	0.000
Books in home - 51-100	4.35	0.000
Books in home - 101-200	4.37	0.000
Books in home – More than 200	4.53	0.000
Planning to leave education - After year 11	0.54	0.000
Planning to leave education - After year 12	0.52	0.000
Planning to leave education - After year 13	0.71	0.000
Planning to leave education – Not sure	0.80	0.032
Significant interaction effects		
Not going to university and a dedicated CE time slot of over 45 minutes	1.22	0.027
Not sure if going to university and PSHE coordinator responsible for developing the CE curriculum	0.73	0.012

Odds ratios allow different pupils to be compared to those who are white British, have no books in home and plan to stay in education until their early 20s.