

Education, Democracy and Inequality Political Engagement and Citizenship Education in Europe (**Bryony Hoskins and Jan Germen Janmaat**)

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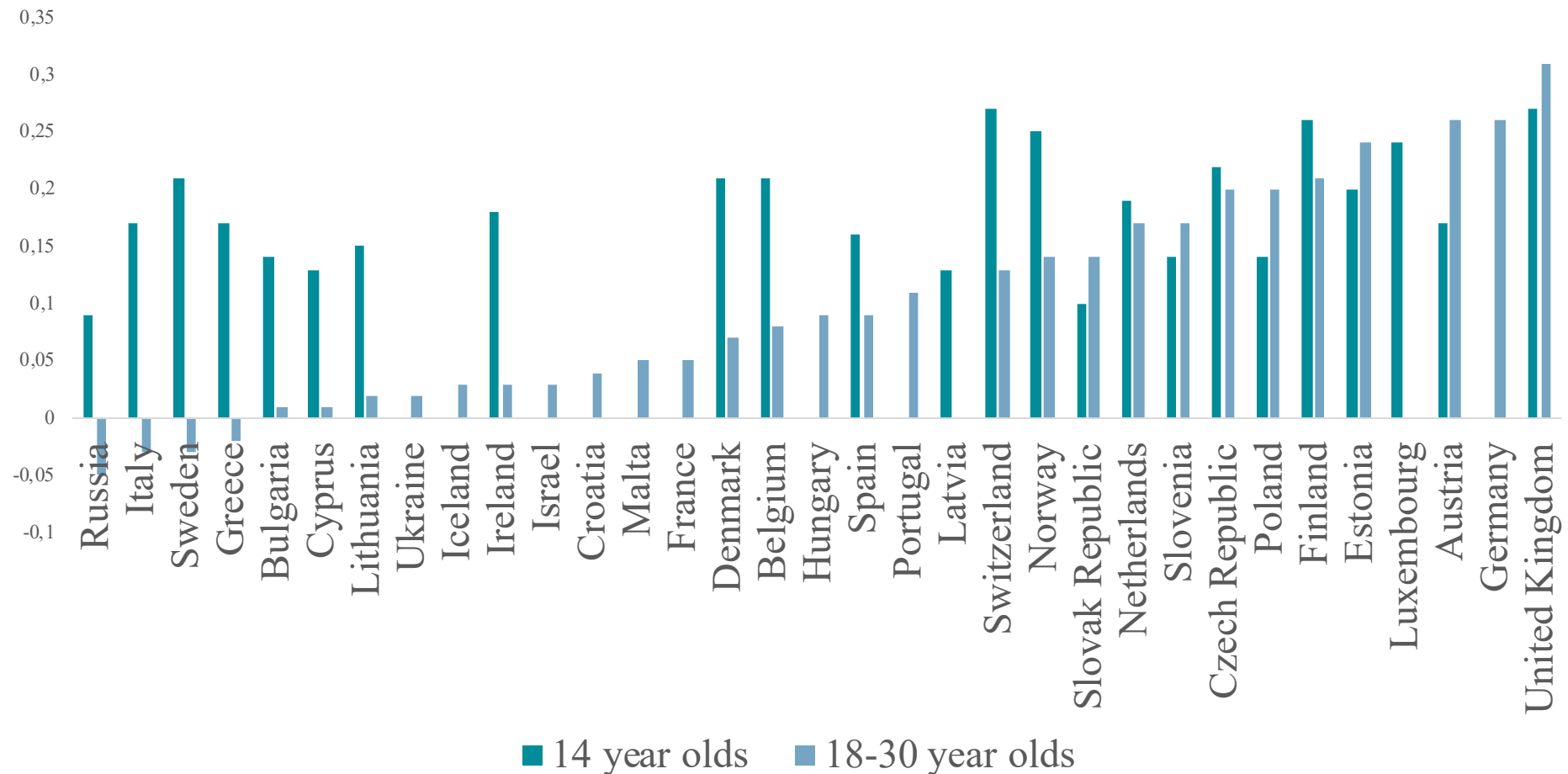
Central questions of the book

- What role does education play in mitigating or exacerbating social inequalities in political participation?
- Can England learn from other countries?

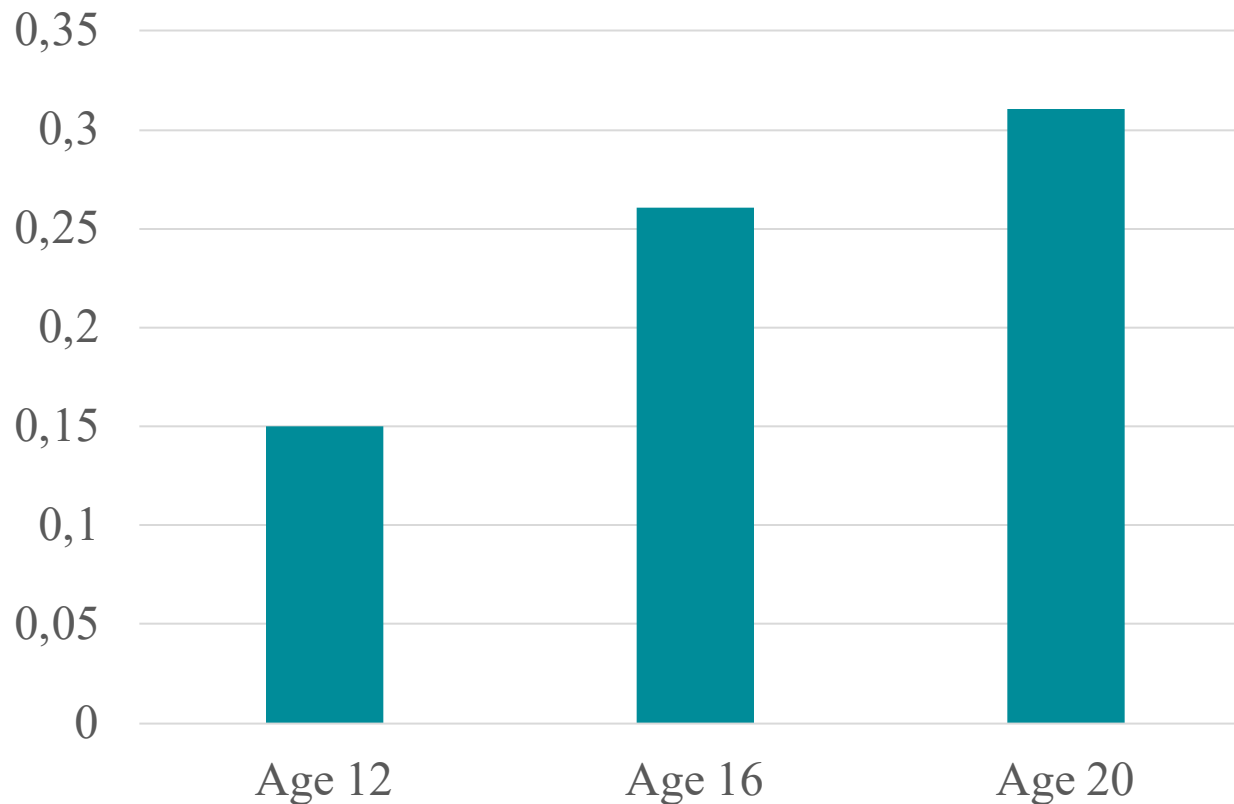
Rationale

- Social inequalities in political engagement are a persistent phenomenon affecting western democracies
- They vary across Europe and are particularly salient in the United Kingdom
- They are increasing during adolescence

The relation between social background and voting among two age groups



The relation between social background and intention to vote among English teenagers (correlations)



Source: the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS)

Our argument

- Education contributes to political engagement through:
 - The transmission of knowledge and skills
 - Participatory pedagogies (learning by doing)
- Social inequalities in engagement arise due to:
 - Unequal access to these learning opportunities
 - Differential effects of these learning opportunities on different social groups

Our approach

- England: lower secondary (LS)
- England compared to other European states: LS
- England: upper secondary and higher education (US&HE)
- England in a comparative light (US&HE)

Data sources used:

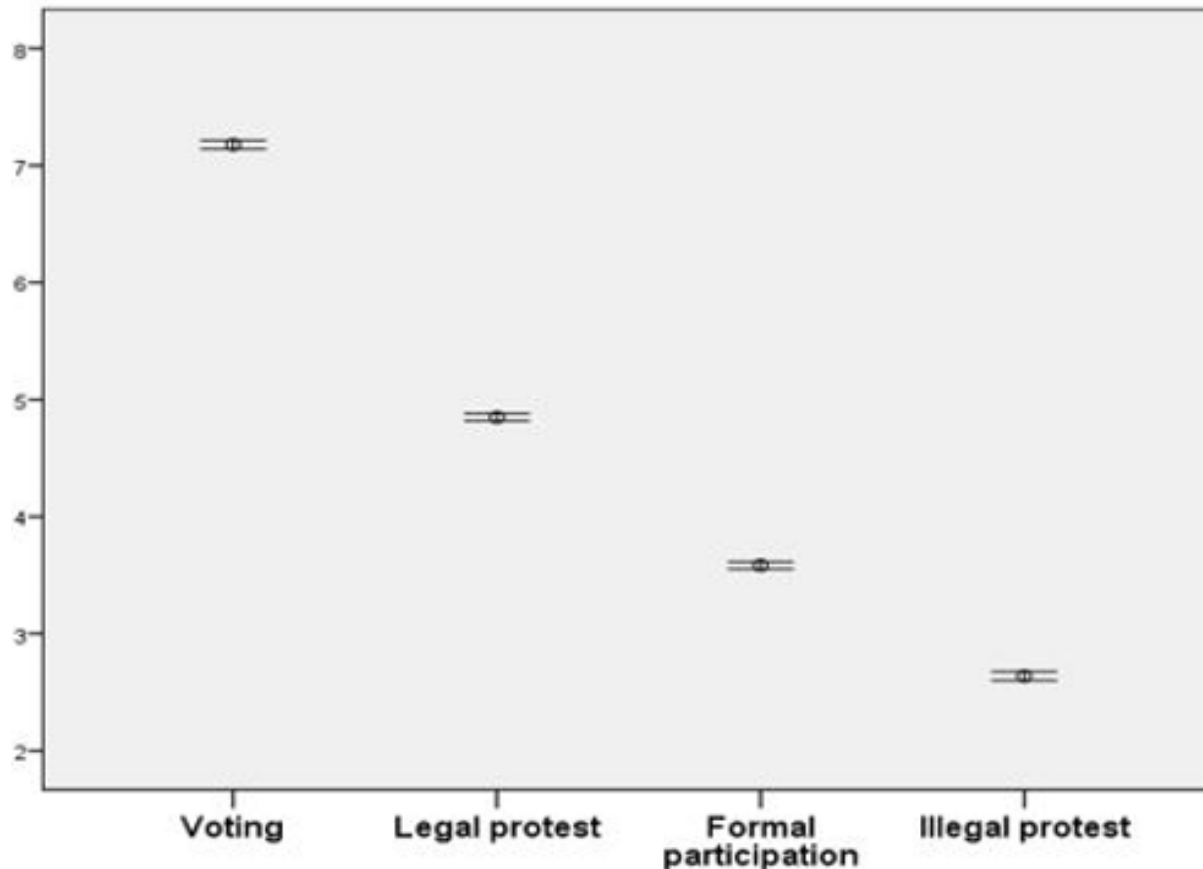
- Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) (England)
- 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Europe)
- European Social Survey (ESS) (Europe)

Our measures of political engagement

Intentions to:

- Vote
- Engage in peaceful protest
- Join a political party (formal participation)
- Engage in illegal protest

Voting is still the most popular form of participation among young people



Our measures of learning opportunities

Knowledge transmission:

- Volume of citizenship education (CE) (England only)
- CE as separate subject
- Person responsible for CE

Participatory forms of learning:

- Participation in school democratic practices (civic participation)
- Open climate of classroom discussion

The school system in England

- Formally comprehensive, but:
- A great variety of schools
- Early specialization
- Ability grouping in the core subjects
- Extreme specialization in upper secondary
- Status hierarchy in higher education

Consequence: sorting by social background

Our key findings

- Participatory forms of learning are the most effective in fostering political engagement;
- Different learning opportunities, by and large, do not have different effects for different social groups;
- Social gaps in political engagement mainly arise through differential access to these opportunities;
- Social gaps in both political engagement and access to learning opportunities are largest in England

Social gaps in political engagement (correlations) (lower secondary)

	SES x Voting	SES x Legal protest	SES x joining a political party	SES x Illegal protest
England	0.31***	0.21***	0.07***	-0.13***
Switzerland	0.30***	0.21***	0.10***	-0.02
Ireland	0.25***	0.18***	0.07***	-0.12***
Sweden	0.24***	0.17***	0.07***	-0.11***
Italy	0.23***	0.15***	0.10***	-0.04*
Poland	0.16***	0.12***	-0.00	0.01

* $P < .05$; ** $P < .01$; *** $P < .001$.

Social gaps in access to learning opportunities (correlations) (lower secondary)

	SES x civic participation	SES x Open climate
England	0.30***	0.17***
Switzerland	0.13***	-0.03
Ireland	0.17***	0.12***
Sweden	0.23***	0.12***
Italy	0.10***	0.09***
Poland	0.17***	0.04*

* $P < .05$; ** $P < .01$; *** $P < .001$

As differential *access* to learning opportunities drives social gaps in political engagement, what about the role played by *early selection*?

Social gaps in political engagement are larger in states with early selection systems at age 14

	Comprehensive systems	Early selection systems	Correlation difference
	Correlation with SES	Correlation with SES	Fisher Z
<i>Engagement Outcomes</i>			
Voting	.194***	.243***	6.43***
Legal protest	.120***	.149***	3.69***
Joining a political party	.027***	.031***	0.5

* P < .05; ** P < .01; *** P < .001; Based on 18 states with comprehensive systems and 5 with early selection systems

They are also larger among *young adults* in states with early selection systems

The link between institutional characteristics and **electoral participation**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
SES	0.15**	0.13**	0.15**	0.15***	0.14***	0.15**
<u>Comprehensivization</u>	0.06			0.06		
Vocational orientation		0.17			0.18	
HE participation			0.02			0.02
SES x <u>comprehensivization</u>				-0.09*		
SES x Vocational orientation					0.12**	
SES x HE participation						-0.00

* $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$; *** $P < 0.001$. $N = 31233$ at the individual level; $N = 31$ at the country level

And this also applies for taking part in legal protest

The link between institutional characteristics and **participation in legal protest**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
SES	0.19***	0.21***	0.19***	0.20***	0.21***	0.20***
<u>Comprehensivization</u>	0.09			0.08		
Vocational orientation		0.25*			0.25*	
HE participation			0.21*			0.21*
SES x <u>comprehensivization</u>				-0.04*		
SES x Vocational orientation					-0.03	
SES x HE participation						-0.01

* P < 0.05; ** P < 0.01; *** P < 0.001. N = 31233. | N = 31233 at the individual level; N = 31 at the country level

But social gaps in learning opportunities are *smaller* in such states!

	Comprehensive systems	Early selection systems	Correlation difference
	Correlation with SES	Correlation with SES	Fisher Z
Civic participation	.150***	.134***	-2.04*
Open climate	.091***	.028***	-7.92***

* $P < .05$; ** $P < .01$; *** $P < .001$

Possible reasons:

- Limited comparative horizon?
- Less competition from middle-class kids in class?

Implications for policy and practice

- Provide *more* learning opportunities for political engagement in schools with many low SES children;
- Ensure that such children partake equally in participatory forms of learning (implications for teacher training);
- Defer selection on the basis of ability;
- Defer specialization;
- Ensure a basic common curriculum across tracks in upper secondary;
- Curb parental choice of schools