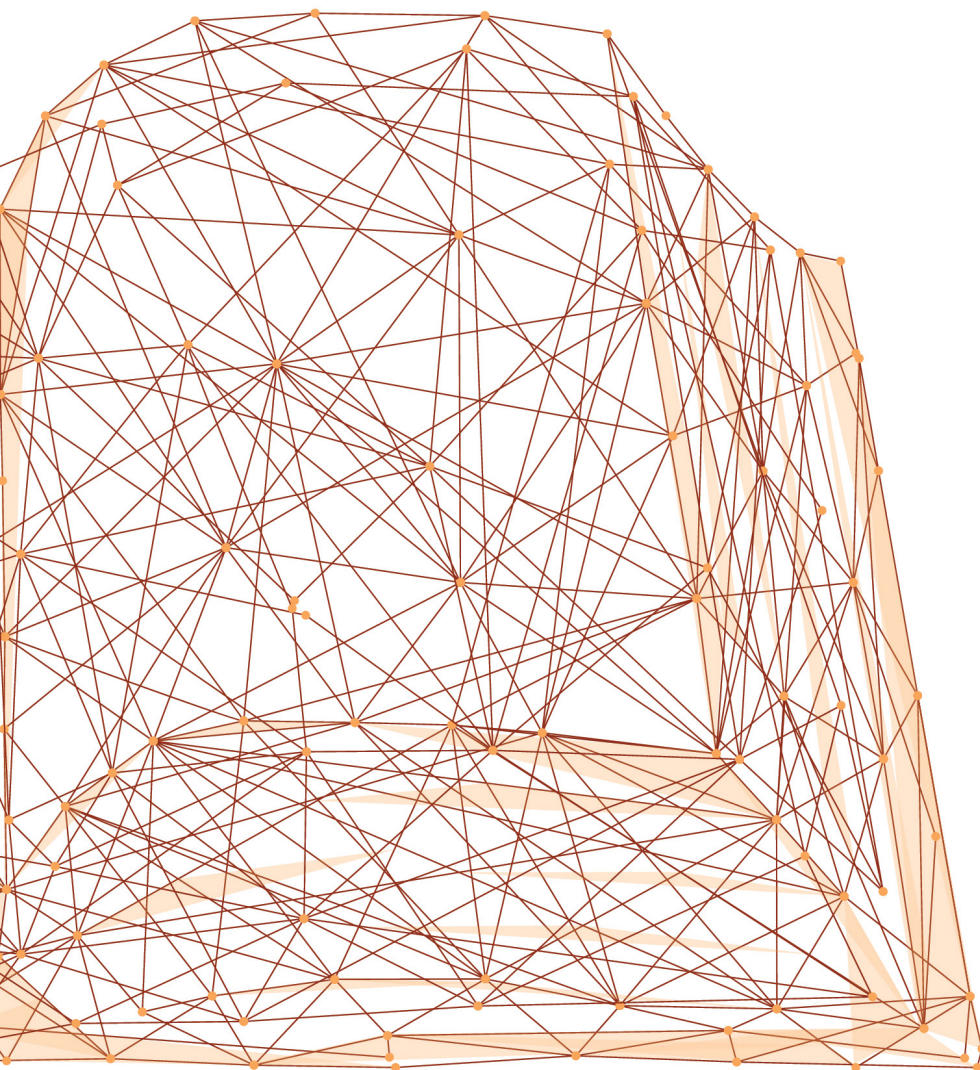




EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND TOLERANCE



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Foreword

Foreword

The values of global citizenship education, as envisioned and championed within the community of western nations in the 1990s, have gained greater attention and critical scrutiny in recent years, particularly in the context of the Arab Spring uprisings. As war, displacement, and mass migration have enflamed virulent right-wing nationalisms, governments struggled to justify and make relevant their policies, including their approaches to GCE. What had been put forward as a tool to support student competitiveness globally, was now opened to accusations from the right of pandering feel-goodism, or, from the left, proffering a euro-centric neo-colonial outlook, and even cover for failed economic policies.

What are the values of GCE? Can they be the same across all nations and cultures? Our colleagues from Durham University note the fraught context of the multiple discourses around Global Citizenship Education that have emerged, ranging from purely philosophical perspectives, to those embedded in socio-economic or corporatist neo-liberal outlooks and others. For the purposes of this WISE Report, the authors have adopted a limited working definition of GCE developed from discussions sponsored by United Nations initiatives and related working groups. Global citizenship, in this definition, includes critical thinking skills, values of human rights and justice, awareness of global issues, respect for diversity, and the interconnectedness of communities. The authors based their findings on an analysis of a substantial data set provided in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study of 2016, published by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

The authors acknowledge the difficulty of measuring the impact of global citizenship programs among young people in the (admittedly limited) set of high and middle-income countries examined. Response anomalies suggest a need for more critical framing of the design and development of GCE programs, to ensure their content responds to diverse contexts. Student responses offer some intriguing insights into perspectives on equality, gender, diversity, and tolerance. Yet responses also raise more questions on the role of schools, teachers, and communities in driving global awareness locally, on specifics of curricula, on pressing political issues, cultural values, and others.

Clearly global citizenship as a project for education everywhere has sparked great interest and debate, with profound implications for learning. This report takes a deep dive into complexity, and challenges us to explore how we, as education advocates, can shape this vital conversation, and perhaps nudge the needle toward greater awareness of the immeasurable value of our interconnectedness as individuals, communities, and nations.

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Abbreviations

CCE	Civic and Citizenship Education
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
GCED-WG	Global Citizenship Education Working Group
GCED	Global Citizenship Education (acronym used by UNESCO)
GEFI	Global Education First Initiative
GEM	Global Education Monitoring Report
HIC	High Income Country
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
LIC	Low Income Country
MIC	Middle Income Country
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

About the study

This research aims to address questions around the implementation, measurement, and success of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) as a response to the global challenges of the twenty-first century. GCE aims to foster peaceful, inclusive, tolerant, sustainable, and socially just societies; yet despite its centrality in international policy discourse and academic research, the impact of GCE on young people's attitudes towards inequalities in society or human rights remains relatively unexplored. The research takes an innovative, interdisciplinary approach through the fields of the sociology of education and economics. It brings together a broad discussion of policy and academic perspectives on GCE with a sophisticated econometric statistical analysis of the impact of civic and citizenship education (CCE) on young people's attitudes towards diversity, tolerance, and political participation.

The research examines education policies, curricula, and scholarly work on global citizenship education internationally to map the discourse worldwide. It attempts to measure the impact of Global Citizenship Education in a range of attitudes among young people –such as political participation, community involvement, identity, living in diversity– and the wider implications these attitudes may have for developing just, peaceful, tolerant, and inclusive societies.

In our analysis, we used data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). In particular, we used the 2016 dataset from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a large-scale international comparative study that investigates the ways in which young people, lower-secondary school students (mainly in Grade 8), are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens. ICCS reports on levels of students' civic knowledge, their understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their civic attitudes and engagement. The survey gathers information about the implementation of Civic and Citizenship Education implementation that is closely related to the aims of Global Citizenship Education. Using logit and multinomial logit type models, we analyzed CCE data across 23 countries, which included 2,500 observations for each country.

Global Citizenship Education: competencies and domains

For the purpose of this study, the criteria for Global Citizenship Education was broadly framed by the eight salient GCED competencies that were identified by the Measuring Global Citizenship Working Group (GCED-WG, 2017); UNESCO's three components model (2015) and the Guiding Principles and related Topics of the 1974 Recommendation (UNESCO, 2018).

Inspired by Nussbaum's (2002) notion of capacity and building on the competencies, domains of learning and principles, detailed above (GCED-WG, 2017; UNESCO, 2015; 2018) the study identified six key capacities related to the purpose and aims of GCED (Table 1).

Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

1.	Capacity for critical and independent thinking
2.	Respect for diversity and intercultural understanding
3.	Respect for the values of equality, tolerance, human rights, peace, inclusion and justice
4.	Awareness of global issues
5.	Recognition of interconnectedness between people and communities
6.	Capacity to get engaged and take action

Table 1. Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

Key findings

The research presented in this report offers an innovative interdisciplinary approach to the question of the impact of CCE/GCE on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity, and political participation. The sophisticated econometric statistical analysis of ICCS data, which allowed for the inclusion of a large number of variables, revealed insights about GCE that have been relatively unexamined in academic research. In particular, our study showed that many GCE dimensions can have a positive impact on student attitudes. These results, however, highlighted a level of ambiguity around the impact of certain dimensions of GCE in the curriculum, which, in some countries, had an opposite effect to the one expected. Results from our study stress the importance of local context, the relationship between education and society, and the need for policy makers, curriculum developers and teachers to engage with and reflect upon GCE at multiple levels, from curriculum design to implementation and practice. Key findings are summarized below.

GCE remains difficult to define and varies across countries

There is no universal model for GCE, nor is there a consistent implementation of GCE programs across countries. Perhaps more surprisingly, citizenship initiatives that appeared similar across countries (e.g. involvement in human rights projects, participation in multicultural or intercultural activities in the local community, emphasis on knowledge, critical thinking or anti-racist strategies) had a very different impact on student attitudes, and in some cases the opposite effect to what would be expected. This highlights the need to take specific contexts into account when considering the development of GCE worldwide.

There were mixed-effects of GCE dimensions on student attitudes

In many cases, GCE dimensions in the curriculum had a significant impact on student attitudes towards equality, tolerance and diversity, as well as engagement with society. However, there were mixed-effects and wide variations across countries and between attitudes measured. The impact of GCE dimensions in the curriculum was not consistent and overall the effect of these initiatives on student attitudes remained inconclusive. In some cases, GCE dimensions were correlated with unexpected opposite effects. This stresses the importance of looking closely at the nature and content of GCE programs, as well as associated pedagogical practices.

In some cases, GCE dimensions in the curriculum had surprising, unexpected effects

In some countries, GCE dimensions in the curriculum (such as involvement in multicultural activities in the local community, or the development of critical thinking) had an opposite effect on student attitudes, making them more likely to disagree with ideas of equal rights or respect of diversity. Some initiatives might have a positive impact on attitudes towards gender equality, but a reverse negative impact on tolerance towards diversity. In particular programs within the local community have highly variable effects, in some cases negative ones. This raises questions about the nature of GCE teaching, the notion of "engagement" as well as the relationship between schools and local community.

The influence of mainstreaming GCE was variable across countries, with some positive effects.

Having GCE dimensions as a separate or extra-curricular subject had variable effects across countries. In some cases, it was correlated positively with students' attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance, whilst in other cases it had a negative effect. This holds implications for thinking about the ways in which GCE can be successfully mainstreamed, taking student backgrounds and school contexts into account. It also raises questions about the knowing and the doing of GCE and the relation between knowledge and engagement in citizenship education.

The role of teachers remains central to GCE programs

Results showed that not having a specialized teacher for GCE dimensions in the curriculum tended to have a negative effect on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. This supports the idea that teacher education, training and support remain crucial for the successful implementation of GCE programs. The role of teachers also needs to be understood within wider systems and structures that might promote or hinder the successful development of GCE.

Gender and socio-economic background of students had a significant effect on student attitudes.

Students' gender, socio-economic background and cultural capital had a strong positive impact on student attitudes towards diversity, tolerance, and political participation across all countries. Institutional and local contexts also had a significant effect on student attitudes. This shows the importance of recognising the structural and contextual nature of GCE, in order to develop programs that acknowledge the relationship between education and society. Parental and family influences, social inequalities, access to and engagement with cultural resources, urban and demographic contexts all need to be taken into account.

Structure of the report

This report is organized in five chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the literature on Global Citizenship Education. It examines global policy drivers around GCE, as well as contentions around the definition of the term, its core aims and forms of implementation. It presents main academic debates and literature around GCE and a critical reflection on some of the assumptions it carries. Chapter 2 looks more closely at issues linked to the measurement, monitoring and evaluation of GCE and questions related to the measurement of its impact on students. Chapter 3 presents the methodology for our research, and introduces the empirical data for 12 of the 23 countries analyzed. Chapter 4 offers a cross-country overview of the effect of GCE variables on student attitudes, as well as a summary of the impact of the socio-economic variables. Chapter 5 summarises and concludes this report, offering reflections of policy and practice around GCE.

Introduction

Introduction

In the past five years, issues linked to conflict, human migration and state security have taken unprecedented forms across the globe. To name a few: the civil war in Syria since 2011 and the associated humanitarian and refugee crisis in the Middle East and Europe; increased religious extremism and terrorism; the Brexit vote in June 2016; the immigration ban in the US in 2017 and 2018. At the same time, scientists have warned us that the risks presented by climate change have never been so high and that action is urgently required. The question of how we can live together in an increasingly interconnected world has become intertwined with questions on how we can co-exist in times of economic crisis, global warming, increased fear, insecurity and conflict.

Global Citizenship Education has increasingly been put forward as a response to these humanitarian, social, and political challenges. It has gained prominence on the global policy agenda, identified as a key strategic area for UNESCO's 2014-2021 education sector and explicitly referenced in the 2015 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Target 4.7). This is inscribed within a wider shift towards a recognition of the central role of education in responding to the global challenges of the twenty-first century, in which Global Citizenship holds a prominent place. As stated in the aims of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI):

The world faces global challenges, which require global solutions. These interconnected global challenges call for far-reaching changes in how we think and act for the dignity of fellow human beings. It is not enough for education to produce individuals who can read, write and count. Education must be transformative and bring shared values to life. It must cultivate an active care for the world and for those with whom we share it. Education must also be relevant in answering the big questions of the day. Technological solutions, political regulation or financial instruments alone cannot achieve sustainable development. It requires transforming the way people think and act. Education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies. It must give people the understanding, skills and values they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st century. (UN GEFI, 2012)

This centrality of education was echoed in the words of UN Secretary General António Guterres: "Education is a human right and a transformational force for poverty eradication, sustainability and peace." (UNESCO, 2019).

Despite this increased focus on global citizenship and the transformative potential of education in creating better societies, there is little agreement around what global citizenship is and how it can be taught. As a concept, it remains contested, framed by competing agendas; at one end of the continuum it focuses on the training of competitive graduates for the global economy, whilst at the other end it emphasizes a commitment to sustainability and social justice.

Moreover, despite a range of initiatives at a local and global level, the question on how to effectively measure and monitor the impact of GCE programs in society at large remains unanswered (UNESCO, 2018; UNESCO, 2017b; Bromley, Lerch, and Jimeze, 2016). As such, questions surrounding the nature of GCE, its successful implementation, its impact on young people and how best to measure it remains unanswered.

The research examines the impact of GCE on student attitudes through two core aims:

1. To examine education policies, curricula, and scholarly work on global citizenship education internationally to map the discourse worldwide; and
2. To measure the impact of Global Citizenship Education on young people's attitudes (political participation, community involvement, identity, living in diversity) and their wider implications for developing just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies.

This report looks at Global Citizenship Education at multiple levels: global policy drivers and academic debates around the concept of Global Citizenship and its implementation (Chapter 1); issues linked to the measurement and evaluation of GCE (Chapter 2); an analysis of civic and citizenship data (CCE) across 12 countries (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) and conclusions and reflections for policy and practice (Chapter 5). Through these different perspectives and points of focus, this report aims to develop an insightful and holistic approach to GCE, supported by a sophisticated statistical analysis of the effects of dimensions of CCE, socio-economic variables and school contexts on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance, and political participation.

CHAPTER ONE

Global citizenship education
in global policy and academic
literature

Background, definitions and global policy developments

Global citizenship as a concept has existed for centuries in various forms, such as "world citizenship" or "cosmopolitanism." Their roots are most often attributed to thinkers of Ancient Greece, in particular Diogenes and Socrates who defined themselves as "*kosmopolitês*", citizens of the world (Shattle, 2010). Global citizenship itself has been present in discourse for over 60 years, but the concept started to gain momentum in the early 2000s, especially in education (Davies, 2006; Iva, Stephens and Nandini, 2012). Most commonly seen as a response to increased globalization, new forms of mobility and the erosion of national boundaries, Global Citizenship Education has benefited from both intensified academic attention and recent integration within national and international policy discourse and associated educational initiatives.

In recent years, global citizenship has become more prominent in international policy as a response to climate change, conflict and humanitarian crisis –with a continued emphasis on education. The Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), launched by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2012, marked a turn towards developing an international policy framework for the development of Global Citizenship Education. Global citizenship subsequently became one of the strategic areas of UNESCO's Education Sector program for 2014-2021 (<http://en.unesco.org/gced/approach>). This centrality of global citizenship on the international policy agenda was further established in the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, with explicit reference to GCE, under Target 4.7 of the Education 2030 agenda:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

This has led to a shift in the conceptualization of education in international policy, moving beyond a sole focus on access, numeracy and literacy, toward considering how educational programs can provide young people with the values, attitudes and skills necessary to live in increasingly diverse, complex and interconnected societies.

Despite this renewed enthusiasm for GCE, the concept remains somewhat contested, with a range of definitions, embracing a range of thematic areas (McEvoy, 2016). The ambiguity around the term reflects debates around understandings of the very concept of citizenship, its relationship to the nation state and to the global. There are equally varied interpretations of the ways in which global citizenship relates to traditional nationally-defined citizenship. For some, the two forms of citizenship are opposed to each other; for others they are mutually constitutive (UNESCO, 2015; Myers, 2016). Forms of GCE also vary widely across and within national contexts (Marshall, 2011; Oxley and Morris, 2013).

Although there is no single agreed definition, commonly referenced approaches to GCE derive from the ones provided by UNESCO and Oxfam. Below, we examine these definitions and their recommendations for the development of GCE in practice.

UNESCO, through its very purpose, has long been an advocate of the central role of education in promoting intercultural understanding, human rights, peace and tolerance across societies (UNESCO, 1974; 2006; 2014; 2015). The first two UNESCO publications on GCE, the 2014 report, “*Global Citizenship Education. Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st century*” and the 2015 report “*Global Citizenship Education. Topics and Learning Objectives*” indicated a marked shift in focus which reflects a change in priorities in the international community and the new centrality of GCE on the global policy agenda. These reports also provided a definition of global citizenship which has been influential in framing the concept internationally.

For UNESCO,

Global citizenship refers to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasises political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global. (UNESCO, 2015)

Under this definition,

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) aims to empower learners of all ages to assume active roles, both locally and globally, in building more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure societies. GCED is based on the three domains of learning - cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural. (UNESCO, <https://en.unesco.org/themes/gced/definition> retrieved May 2019).

Another key international player, influential for the promotion of global citizenship and GCE has been the NGO Oxfam, a UK-based aid and development charity, which has been one of the main advocates for Global Citizenship Education in the past few decades. Oxfam has been instrumental in developing a framework for GCE

through its Curriculum for Global Citizenship (Oxfam, 1997) and subsequent recommendations on programs of action for GCE (Oxfam, 2015).

For Oxfam,

A global citizen is someone who is aware of and understands the wider world - and their place in it. They take an active role in their community, and work with others to make our planet more equal, fair and sustainable.

For Oxfam, global citizenship is all about encouraging young people to develop the knowledge, skills and values they need to engage with the world. And it's about the belief that we can all make a difference. (Oxfam, <https://www.Oxfam.org.uk/education/who-we-are/what-is-global-citizenship>, retrieved May 2019).

Some common aims for GCE emerge from these definitions of global citizenship, one of which is to help young people understand their global interconnectedness in order to develop a sense of collective responsibility. For both organizations, such aims can be achieved by equipping youth with the skills necessary for becoming global citizens in contexts of diversity, through the knowledge and practice of core values such as social justice, tolerance, human rights, and a commitment to the sustainable growth of the planet.

For UNESCO, GCED aims to be:

- Holistic: addressing learning content and outcomes, pedagogy and the learning environment in formal, non-formal and informal learning settings
- Transformative: enabling learners to transform themselves and society
- Value based: promoting universally shared values such as non-discrimination, equality, respect and dialogue

- Part of a larger commitment to support the quality and relevance of education (UNESCO, 2015)

Similarly, for Oxfam, a global citizen is someone who:

- Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen
- Respects and values diversity
- Has an understanding of how the world works
- Is outraged by social injustice
- Participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global
- Is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place
- Takes responsibility for their actions (Oxfam, 2015)

In order to develop these competencies, Oxfam suggest that teachers follow the "Learn-Think-Act" process with their students.

Learn: Exploring the issue, considering it from different viewpoints and trying to understand causes and consequences.

Think: Considering critically what can be done about the issue, and relating this to values and worldviews and trying to understand the nature of power and action.

Act: Thinking about and taking action on the issue as an active global citizen, both individually and

collectively. (Oxfam, 2015)

Whilst this is not the only approach to Global Citizenship Education, it has been influential in framing approaches to GCE in the curriculum. Oxfam has been a strong advocate for a holistic approach to GCE, across the whole school and within the wider community. This approach is premised on the idea that GCE involves not only knowledge and skills but actual 'doing' through experiential learning and real life-learning experiences. As such, the element of active citizenship is strongly embedded within this concept of GCE.

The goals of GCE, according to Oxfam, are:

- Develop critical thinking and understanding of world issues
- Challenge stereotypes
- Develop awareness of inequalities
- Recognize the role of individuals and take responsibility
- Develop collective action
- Develop a belief in change through challenging inequalities

(Oxfam, 2015)

As with Oxfam, in UNESCO'S definition, GCE is understood in a wider sense. For UNESCO, the goals of GCE are to emphasize interconnectedness, social justice, but also engage with controversial issues. GCE needs to be integrated in all areas of learning, and is about values and moral standings as well as action. As part of its pedagogical guidance for UN member states, UNESCO identifies three main global citizenship domains, which frame GCE learning objectives (Table 2) (UNESCO, 2015).

	Cognitive Domain	Socio-Emotional Domain	Behavioral Domain
Topics	1. Local, national, and global systems and structures.	4. Different levels of identity.	7. Actions that can be taken individually and collectively.
	2. Issues affecting interaction and connectedness of communities at local, national, and global levels.	5. Different communities people belong to and how these are connected.	8. Ethically responsible behavior.
	3. Underlying assumptions and power dynamics	6. Difference and respect for diversity.	9. Getting engaged and taking action.

Table 2. Global citizenship domains and learning objectives from the UNESCO framework (adapted from GCED-WG, 2017, p. 5)

As part of its work on GCE, UNESCO has identified three specific areas of work:

- Global measurement of progress on GCED and ESD
- Global advocacy and policy dialogue
- Technical support and capacity building for country implementation

In addition, UNESCO has identified special themes

- Preventing violent extremism through education (PVE-E)
- Education about the Holocaust and other genocide
- Languages in education
- Promoting the rule of law through global citizenship education

Whilst widely used and integrated within national and international educational policy, these definitions have not been without criticism. Oxfam's definition of global citizenship,

launched in 1997, initially focused on the voluntary nature of individual participation. However, it has been criticized for being poorly theorized (Andreotti, 2006), too "lofty" and difficult to attain in practice (Schattle, 2008, p. 78). Critiques have pointed out that the Oxfam definition of GCE overlooks national and local aspects. It also only provides limited suggestions for a GCE curriculum in which individuals can develop specific skills (Ibrahim, 2005). In particular, political literacy, which could help young people develop active engagement at a local, national and global level, appears to be lacking in the Oxfam definition (Ibrahim, 2005). Similar criticisms have been applied to the current UNESCO definitions.

The UNESCO approach to GCE has been criticized for the gap it presents between the ideals promoted (social justice, acceptance of diversity, promotion of tolerance and respect) and a more utilitarian approach to education, that is shaped by a neoliberal rhetoric, driven by a market approach. This latter approach,

mainly driven by measurement and standards and the idea of a global "entrepreneurial citizen" is at odds with the ideals of GCE promoted by UNESCO (Pais and Costa, 2017). As such, the approach to GCE is caught in a tension between an individualistic, neoliberal focus, and wider aspirations of active citizenship and collective action (Camicia and Franklin, 2011). The values and narratives that underpin UNESCO's approach to GCE have also been criticized for uncritically promoting dominant Western values to the detriment of alternative approaches to global citizenship (Hatley, 2018; Koyama, 2016). These tensions and critiques are further examined in the section on academic debates.

In spite of these critiques, the above definitions help identify some central goals of GCE in global policy. These can be broadly defined as enabling young people to enjoy the opportunities and deal with the challenges of an increasingly diverse and interconnected world. This includes an understanding of global connections, skills as global citizens, promotion of human rights and social justice and co-existing in spaces of diversity (GCED-WG, 2017).

As such, GCE is presented as a response to the complex and interconnected world we live in and the global challenges that we face in the twenty-first century (GEFI, 2012). These challenges include climate change and global warming, which are predicted to impact on human migration as a result of scarcity of resources such as livestock, crops, and water. These migration flows will undoubtedly impact public systems such as education and health care. These new forms of mobility will also create new forms of diversity whether linguistic, cultural, religious or racial, with the possibility of increased misunderstanding and conflict (Burrows and Kinney, 2017; Cai et al, 2016).

Technological development is another key challenge. Whilst digital technology advancements have allowed further exchanges of people, ideas, and cultures, they have not been equally accessible to all. The mechanization of low-skilled work, the rise of artificial intelligence (AI), and extreme digital interconnectivity all raise key challenges and new questions about the role of education in preparing young people for the world of tomorrow. The rise of violent extremism and terrorism is also a key contemporary challenge that affects societies across the world. Young people who are isolated and disengaged are particularly vulnerable to recruitment. Whilst heightened security has been one of the main responses to the rise of violent extremism, there is also an urgent need for the "soft power of education" to create inclusive and equitable environments for young people (UNESCO, 2017d, p. 2). Global citizenship education has been identified as a driver towards reaching these goals, by fostering a positive sense of identity and belonging (UNESCO, 2017d, p.12).

In light of these challenges, GCE is put forward as a way to teach young people to navigate complex interconnections, access the opportunities they offer and be critical of their limitations. More recent definitions of GCE and its aims have been developed by the GCED (an alternate acronym for GCE used by UNESCO) working group (GCED-WG), which brought together UNESCO, the Centre for Universal Education (CUE) at the Brookings Institution and the Youth Advocacy Group of the UN Secretary General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI-YAG). For the GCED working group, GCE aims to help youth develop an understanding of global interconnectedness and foster a sense of collective responsibility, to equip youth with the skills to become global citizens and live in contexts of diversity, through knowledge and practice of core values, such as tolerance, social justice, human rights, and a commitment to sustainable growth for the planet (GCED-WG, 2017). Eight global citizenship competencies were identified by the GCED-WG (Table 3).

Global Citizenship Competencies identified by the GCED Working Group

1.	Empathy
2.	Critical thinking/problem solving
3.	Ability to communicate and collaborate with others
4.	Conflict resolution
5.	Sense and security of identity
6.	Shared universal values (human rights, peace, justice, etc.)
7.	Respect for diversity/intercultural understanding
8.	Recognition of global issues—interconnectedness (environmental, social, economic, etc.)

Table 3. Global Citizenship Competencies identified by the GCED-WG (adapted from GCED-WG, 2017, p.5)

This new focus on GCE in global policy marks a shift towards a broader engagement in international policy around education, and a shift from a narrow focus on enrolment and core subjects (numeracy and literacy) to a wider focus on the role of education in promoting peaceful, equitable and just societies. A range of global policy initiatives have emerged in recent years that complement GCE approaches. Two key areas have been "efforts to prevent violent extremism" (UNESCO, 2017d) and "promoting the rule of law" (UNESCO- UNDOC, 2018). These reflect some of the special thematic interests that UNESCO has developed under the GCE umbrella. UNESCO has not been the only supra-national agency driving a citizenship education agenda. The Council of Europe's *Charter for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights* maps out key competencies for democratic citizenship, which also include the rule of law, human rights and civil liberties.

This strong emphasis on democratic citizenship at the European level includes a three-volume document mapping out the necessary competences for democratic culture, echoing many of the key areas of GCE (Council of Europe, 2018). In this new international framework, education is seen to play a driving role in addressing global challenges and reaching the SDGs in all areas. Within this, GCE is seen as central in equipping young people with the beliefs, values, knowledge, and skills necessary to live in increasingly complex, diverse, and interconnected societies, and enable change. However, this global consensus around the role of GCE should not mask the complexity and contested nature of the very notion of global citizenship strongly present in academic debates. We now turn to this topic.

Academic definitions and debates

The multiple definitions of global citizenship are reflected in its various practices and actors. Internationally, the push towards global citizenship has emerged from a range of areas and organizations: the business or financial sectors, intergovernmental institutions such as the United Nations and its constituent programs, national governments, the voluntary sector (e.g. Oxfam) and the media (Marshall, 2011). These organizations and areas promote various global citizenship agenda which range from economic integration or developing skills and knowledge for the global economy to protecting the environment, promoting sustainable development and encouraging intercultural understanding for peace, social justice, and equality (Marshall, 2011, p.104). These agendas presuppose various types of "global citizens": global cosmopolitans, global activists, global reformers, global managers, global capitalists, and global educators (Shattle, 2010).

This wide variety of definitions of global citizenship leads to various perspectives on the best forms of education and the aims of GCE. As such, the terms global citizenship and GCE tend to be used ambiguously and hold different understandings according to context, local or national (Oxley and Morris, 2013). As argued by a range of scholars (Marshall 2011; Oxley and Morris, 2013; Andreotti, 2006; Appiah, 2017; Appiah & Bhabha, 2018) these diverse definitions and understandings are not solely a matter of semantics. They reflect not only different views of the role of GCE but also contrasting ideological views of what it means to be "global" and what the aims of GCE are within that, reflecting the different agenda and actors of GCE presented above. In some cases, GCE is viewed as a material and pragmatic response to global financial and economic trends (Shattle, 2010; Marshall, 2011), whilst

in others it is perceived as a necessary response to world crises such as global inequalities, conflict and climate change (Todd, 2008; Rizvi, 2009). This disparity of perspectives raises the question: Who is responsible for global citizenship? For some scholars, the moral and ethical dimensions of global citizenship should dominate. This perspective emphasizes the attitudes, behaviors, and choices of individuals (e.g. Nussbaum, 1998; 2002). For others, the institutional focus is central, with the proposition of global governing institutions and multiple citizenships (Held, 1995).

Some common trends can nevertheless be identified in scholarly literature. GCE is viewed as an ongoing process of lifelong learning (UNESCO, 2014, 2015; Marshall, 2014) which takes place at all levels of education from Primary to Higher Education. Central to GCE is the idea of "shared humanity" (Nussbaum, 1998, 2002) and global interconnectedness at all levels: local, national, and global (Osler, 2008). As such, global citizenship education is aspirational: it aims to create new political possibilities. It is linked to survival and necessity: "living together in a sustainable way" (Falk, 1993). Within this, global citizenship education aims to be embedded in all areas of teaching and learning, which requires reflection at a local level as well as engagement and action (Davies and Pikes, 2010; Osler, 2008).



Beyond these common trends however, the very idea of global citizenship education remains fragmented and faces many critiques and challenges. One common criticism is that global citizenship is merely ideational, and that as such, global citizenship education remains a fantasy, in a context in which national citizenship remains the prime site of citizen's rights, identities and forms of governance. This criticism has regained prominence with the recent re-emergence of nationalistic politics, such as the Brexit vote in the UK, the rise of far-right nationalist parties in Europe, the election in the United States of Donald Trump as president in 2016, or of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil in 2018, to name a few. This critique supports the view that global citizenship is too abstract and theoretical, and lacks any institutional or political reality, making GCE merely a "fiction" (Davies, 2006). The question of the frame for global citizenship education remains unanswered and its lack of legal framework is seen as a serious shortcoming. The link between GCE and the international human rights framework also remains tenuous (Osler, 2008; Gaudelli and Fernekes, 2004; Tibbits and Katz, 2017) and the relationship between global citizenship and culture is under-explored, overlooking the fact that any education that seeks to develop a global perspective for learners is fundamentally a "culture-bound exercise" (Schweisfurth, 2006, p. 42). These issues, and the lack of concrete institutional or public sphere for the development of global citizenship, makes the idea of GCE all the more diffuse, raising the question of whether global citizenship education is solely an "abstraction" or whether it is a "framework for action" (Davies, 2006, p. 5).

One central question around the role of education in promoting global citizenship is whether GCE programs encourage young people to critically reflect on inequalities and actively participate in tackling global challenges, or whether they promote the formation of global consumers (Osler, 2008; Roth, 2007;

Beck, 2004). Some scholars argue that GCE has been instrumentalized to support a neoliberal agenda which emphasizes performativity, target setting and raising standards in school (Marshall, 2011). These critiques argue that normative educational policy participates in processes of "technical instrumentalism" in which GCE becomes goal focused, driven by political, social or economic targets, which maintain the status quo of a capitalist economy (ibid, p. 110).

Another critique points to the assumptions of universality that underpin conceptions of GCE and their limitations (Marshall, 2011; Andreotti, 2006; Stein, Andreotti & Suša, 2016; Todd, 2008; Rizvi, 2009). These critiques emerge from a postcolonial perspective which questions the ways in which GCE is inscribed in hegemonic Western values which pass as global or universal, masking deep inequalities between the Global North and the Global South in terms of power, access to resources, mobility and constructions of knowledge (Stein & Andreotti, 2017). Andreotti's well-known distinction between "soft" and "critical" global citizenship is a point of reference for thinking about more reflective forms of GCE. This approach challenges a deficit model reminiscent of an "assistance-aid" development rhetoric and calls for a more critical engagement with global inequalities, power relations, and hierarchies inherited from violent colonial pasts (2006). For Andreotti, this requires a reflection on concepts and values that are taken for granted in many GCE programs in Western democracies: stability, which presupposes the avoidance of conflict and complexity; consensus, which leads to the elimination of difference and fixed identities, which presuppose stable categories and modes of belonging. To challenge these normative values, students need to be encouraged not only to learn, but also "learn to unlearn" (ibid, 2010; Rizvi, 2009). This can be achieved by becoming aware of the social and historical contexts in which cultures and identities emerged,

and how these participate in particular constructions of knowledge. This presupposes learning to engage with the complexity and uncertainty of today's world, and the sometimes-uncomfortable intercultural spaces in which "identities, power and ideas are negotiated" (ibid, 2010, p. 243).

These contrasting interpretations and critiques of global citizenship need to be acknowledged. They help understand the complexity surrounding GCE and its implementation. Global citizenship holds implications for policy, curricula, teaching, and learning (Banks, 2014), and as such, the ways in which it holds potential to challenge or disrupt local, national, or global inequalities are of paramount importance. Within this contested and hierarchical landscape, the ethical dimensions of GCE also need to be given full consideration (Tawil, 2013).

These critical, postcolonial and ethical considerations underpin our understanding of GCE as a non-unitary concept. This holds implications for the perspective we adopted for our research, which acknowledges the political and social nature of GCE and its purpose for education as a whole.

Implementation

The implementation of GCE remains unequal across different national and educational contexts. School systems in many countries have attempted to integrate elements of global citizenship in their programs and curricula. These come in different forms and with different focus. Whilst some programs insist on living together in a diverse world, others emphasize the need for sustainable development. The focus is highly variable across countries and implemented in various ways in educational systems, teacher training and practice (UNESCO, 2018; Global Schools, 2016). These variations can be noted across national contexts as well as within them (Marshall, 2011; Oxley and Morris, 2013). In some cases,

countries tend to adapt GCE to local or regional needs to the detriment of more global, supranational or cosmopolitan considerations and ethics (Goren and Yemini, 2017).

There is nevertheless a growing integration of elements of GCE in educational systems across the world. The UNESCO review of GCED in the education policy of member states, based on the Consultations on the 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (2008, 2012, 2016 consultations) showed that aspects of GCED were found in 89 percent of member states in 2012, and 98 percent in 2016. GCED was reported as being mandatory in the educational curriculum of 86 percent of member states in 2012, and 98 percent in 2016. Progress was found in all aspects including: "human rights and fundamental freedoms" (86 percent in 2012, 99 percent in 2016), "peace and non-violence" (72 percent in 2012, 100 percent) and "cultural diversity and tolerance" (68 percent in 2012, 96 percent in 2016). In addition, GCED was considered mandatory in teacher education in 61 percent of member states in 2012, and 75 percent in 2016 (McEvoy, 2016; UNESCO, 2018).

This consultation looks at the implementation of the Guiding Principles of the 1974 Recommendation (Table 4), which can be closely linked to the principles of GCED.

Guiding principles and related topics of the 1974 Recommendation	
GUIDING PRINCIPLES	TOPICS
Cultural diversity and tolerance	International understanding, solidarity and cooperation
	Intercultural and interreligious dialogue
	Global citizenship
Peace and non-violence	Friendly relations among nations
	Preventing violent extremism
	Preventing other forms of violence, including bullying and gender-based violence
Human rights and fundamental freedoms	Equality, inclusion and non-discrimination
	Justice and fairness
	Ethics, morals and values
Human survival and well-being	Climate change
	Environmental sustainability, caring for the planet
	Sustainable development, consumption and livelihood

Table 4. Guiding Principles and Related Topics of the 1974 Recommendation
(adapted from UNESCO, 2018, p. 2)

The most recent consultation (sixth Consultation, 2016), showed that the implementation of the guiding principles has improved globally since 2012, but with notable regional variations (UNESCO, 2018). The UNESCO report *“Progress on Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education”* (2018) shows that improvements above the global average were reported in Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, Latin America and the Caribbean. Countries from Africa and the Arab States were reported below the global average. Current status of improvements in implementation also showed regional variations. Whilst all responding countries in North America, Europe and the Arab States reported partial or full implementation, the highest proportion of non-implementation were reported in African, Latin American, and Caribbean countries. Ninety-eight percent of countries reported that the guiding principles were reflected to some extent in the country's constitution or domestic legislation (ibid, p. 5), with higher non-implementation rates in Latin America and the Caribbean. Equally, 98 percent of respondent countries reported full or partial implementation of the Guiding Principles in the education policies and frameworks of the countries, which is considered a “high level of government priority” (ibid, p. 5). Nearly all countries were shown to include, to some extent, the Guiding Principles in the countries' educational programs and curricula, with less attention given to cultural diversity and tolerance.

The suggestion put forward by this UNESCO report is that this lower attention given to cultural diversity and tolerance can be explained by the fact that global citizenship was given relatively low attention in many of the reporting countries, in particular in Arab states, Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean (ibid).

Most countries reported taking a cross-curricular approach rather than a separate-subject approach to teaching the guiding principles. This means that the guiding principles were taught across a range of subjects, mainly civics/citizenship, social studies and history. Some countries still reported a mainly separate-subject approach. Most countries reported that the number of teaching hours allocated to teaching the Guiding Principles were moderately sufficient, but a majority of countries reported that there was insufficient teacher training and support both in pre-service and in-service teaching programs. This limitation of teacher training stands in stark contrast with the high level of policy commitment reported earlier.

The most popular pedagogical approaches for teaching the Guiding Principles were reported as being “learner-centred”. Whole-school approaches were most popular in western countries, mainly Europe and North America. Whilst most countries had included the Guiding Principles in student assessment, it was notable that there was still insufficient attention paid to the assessment of values and attitudes as well as behaviours. Equally, Guiding Principles were included outside formal education, but it appeared that there was room for improvement in that respect. Finally, whilst new education and pedagogical initiatives and the high level of political priorities given to the Guiding Principles were reported as the most common enabling factors for their implementation, the highest barrier remained lack of resources.

The 2018 UNESCO report *“Progress on Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education”*, examined above, helps highlight major global trends related to the implementation of GCE principles and the enablers and barriers it faces. It shows some of the limitations around student assessment and measurement, as well as the issues of limited teacher training and allocation of resources. It also shows that there are wide regional variations in the implementation of GCE at various levels, from policy,

legislation to forms of practice and student assessment. The latter is a core focus of the study, which aims to examine the impact of GCE aspects on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity.

The implementation of GCE varies across countries and is dependent on wider socio-historical contexts, political actors, coordination between ministries, and NGOs (Global Schools, 2016). National curricula, the level of school autonomy in planning, content and activities, and levels of centralization of the state and the educational system would impact forms of implementation of GCE. Schools themselves would adopt various approaches toward GCE, and promote certain goals over others, i.e. some schools would focus on strategies to reduce racism; others might instruct students to develop knowledge of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. The question of who teaches GCE and how it is taught is also of prime importance. Whether the teacher specialises or not, the level of training and preparation they have received can also impact approaches to GCE. Another important variable is how GCE is implemented. Is it an extra-curricular class? Is it a separate subject? Is it considered the result of school experience as a whole? As we will see in our study, these questions matter in assessing the impact of GCE on students.

To date, there have been few systematic international studies which examine the implementation of GCE in schools. One notable study is the Global Schools project, started in 2015, which involved ten European countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Spain, Portugal, and the UK), with the aim to examine the implementation of GCE in primary schools. The report highlighted the crucial role that political actors (governmental and non-governmental)

played in implementing GCE in educational policies, and in building links between different key actors and schools, which might not have been enabled otherwise. Teachers were shown to be key actors in determining the success of GCE programs in primary school, alongside centralized political actors and NGOs. The report identified important variations among countries in conceptions of GCE inscribed in the countries' history and political discourse.

Despite these differences, the content and key principles of GCE appeared to be fairly similar across countries: diversity, human rights, environment, peace and "themes related to social and economic justice... poverty and equality" (Global School, 2016, p. 219). The study concluded that although GCE was still not fully included in the school curriculum for primary education, given its importance on the policy agenda schools and governments are progressively including GCE elements in primary education. In most countries, the development and implementation of GCE depended on the coordination of foreign ministries and ministries of education in each country, although these two ministries often lack coordination between them. The report showed that a better coordination was important for disseminating GCE ideas and practices. Similarly, adding NGOs had a positive impact because it helped provide a more "practical" perspective to students. The study emphasized the importance of national guidelines or curricula for GCE policies, instead of leaving schools to set the content on their own, which led to unequal levels of engagement. Forms of implementation of GCE are thus varied across countries, with different levels of mainstreaming and integration of GCE within the curriculum. Although there has been a strong call in global policy for the mainstreaming of GCE, it is not easy to achieve in practice.

Mainstreaming?

The large-scale studies presented in the section make clear that the place of GCE in schools remains debated; there is no consensus among countries on how it should be taught, where, and when. Whether it should be a separate subject or integrated across the curriculum remains unresolved, with very different practices across national contexts.

The consensus at an international policy level is around the mainstreaming of GCE as reflected in the global indicators used for measuring GCE and progress against Target 4.7 of the SDGs (Box 1). This is a reflection of prior advocacy for the mainstreaming of GCE in schools. This is the case, for example, in the framework offered by Oxfam, introduced earlier.

Global citizenship is not an additional subject, it is an ethos. It is best implemented through a whole-school approach, involving everyone from learners themselves to the wider community. It can also be promoted in class through teaching the existing curriculum in a way that highlights aspects such as social justice, the appreciation of diversity and the importance of sustainable development (Oxfam, 2015).

This view locates the role of schools within the wider community and insists on the principles of GCE being included in all areas of the curriculum. This school-wide ethos aims to help students become active and engaged global citizens. Resonances of Oxfam's holistic ethos of GCE can be found in UNESCO's recent approach to GCED (UNESCO, 2015). UNESCO views GCED as a lifelong learning process across all areas of education (formal and informal). As with Oxfam, in UNESCO'S definition, GCED is understood in a wider sense and should be part of all learning. It aims to be integrated in all areas of learning, and is about values and moral position as well as action.

Challenges to the mainstreaming and implementation of GCE

Some challenges with these mainstreaming approaches to GCE have been pointed out in the academic literature. Gaudelli (2016) showed how a shift from an emphasis on whole school reform had gradually shifted towards a more micro-focus and evidence-based learning, which made it more difficult for GCE to be embedded in all areas of the curriculum. There is an increased disconnection between "big picture work in schools" and the "core work of school" (ibid. 44) given the increasingly classroom-focused orientation of everyday school practice. A paradox has emerged between on the one hand increased global competition which had led schools to focus more closely on literacy and numeracy or STEM subjects, and on the other hand, an emphasis on educating global citizens to participate fully in the world today. This has led to an overcrowding of the curriculum which has shifted many GCE programs to extra-curricular and after school activities. This is the case for Oxfam which had to strategically move from school-based implementation to the development of after school programs for GCE. This runs counter to Oxfam's initial holistic ethos and emphasis on mainstreaming of GCE and raises questions about the quality of GCE programs and their sustainability, as it likely that in its after-school provision format, GCE will not be endorsed by all staff and relies on the good will of particular teachers (Gaudelli, 2016).

As we can see from the above, despite the strong enthusiasm around GCE, there are a number of barriers to the successful implementation of GCE at various levels: ideological, political, systemic and practical.

The Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) identifies five main barriers: the legacy of the current education system; outmoded curricula and learning materials; lack of teacher capacity; inadequate focus on values; lack of leadership on global citizenship (UN GEFI, 2012). One key challenge identified in academic work stems from the competing discourses within which GCE is caught (Oxley and Morris, 2013; Pais and Costa, 2017).

These discourses are framed variously, but we can broadly identify two main competing discourses that underpin contemporary approaches to and discussions around Global Citizenship Education. We identify a neoliberal, instrumental, "soft" approach to GCE (Andreotti, 2010; Marshall, 2011; Pais and Costa, 2017) which focuses mainly on students who are developing skills and competencies to be competitive on the global market. This approach tends to frame "active" citizenship as serving current socio-political needs and hierarchies (Biesta, 2011). It reinforces the global capitalist economy and forms of cultural or postcolonial domination by promoting models of "student consumers" or "student entrepreneurs", in which the incentive towards becoming global citizens is one of affluence and financial gain (Stein and Andreotti, 2017: 177). Secondly, we identify a "social justice" or "critical democratic" discourse that promotes values of tolerance, respect, diversity, democracy, and equality (Pais and Costa, 2017; Marshall, 2011). As discussed earlier, this view of GCE emerged from a postcolonial perspective (Andreotti, 2010; Todd, 2008; Rizvi, 2009; Abdi, A., Schultz, L., Pillay, T., 2015), and questions hegemonic, neoliberal Western approaches to GCE, falsely presented as "universal". This perspective highlights the fact that despite its appearance as a positive and inclusive concept, GCE remains fairly localized and unbalanced, present in mainly Western, English-language academic fields. It highlights that the implementation of GCE in educational systems is very unequal and remains the prerogative of a privileged elite, in a position of helping those who need to be helped (Pais and Costa, 2017).

Yet another point of tension is the relationship between global citizenship and citizenship education. This is a particularly important issue at a time of re-nationalization of citizenship curricula (Welply, 2019), and a move towards a thickening of citizenship in many countries and Western democracies (Fargues, 2017). Citizenship is being defined in more national-based terms, and citizenship education in school is following this trend, focusing more on national than global values. GCE and civic/citizenship education are not equivalent and might occupy different curricular spaces (Myers, 2016). The tendency to separate areas of citizenship into discrete units (civic knowledge, citizenship education, GCE) overlooks the multiple points of connection and overlap between these different areas and levels of citizenship. In some cases, "national" citizenship education is seen as competing with GCE. In others, GCE is seen as a response to the limitations of national citizenship agendas. The relationship might not be as simple as a binary opposition between national and global citizenship(s).

Myers suggest that rather than holding this fragmented and oppositional view, GCE needs to be seen as an extension of citizenship education (2016). In this view, global citizenship needs to not only help people acknowledge their global inter-connectedness but also allow young people to learn to get engaged constructively at multiple levels: local, national and global (Osler, 2008). GCE needs to help students develop a reflection on the local and the national, whilst focusing both on content and process. This includes promoting skills for public life, developing a deeper cultural understanding, and engaging with both cognitive and affective dimensions of GCE (Davies and Pike, 2010). This view helps overcome a national/global dichotomy by recognising that different "levels" of citizenship are intertwined and,

in some cases, mutually constitutive (Welply, 2019). The aim of GCE would thus be to allow young people to "act local, analyze national and think global" (Davies, 2006, p. 17), reflecting the interplay between different levels of citizenship, often treated separately in the curriculum and in practice. This is the view adopted in this report, which aims to look at the ways in which specific aspects of civic/citizenship education or GCE impact on some of the proposed goals of GCE: student attitudes towards gender equality, diversity, tolerance, and political participation.

The values of tolerance, empathy, understanding, respect, interconnectedness, and awareness of global issues are central to many GCE educational programs. However, critiques have pointed out that GCE is not just about tolerance and positive thinking but is also about teaching young people to engage with controversial issues and dialogue (Davies, 2006; Gillborn, 2006, 2008; Osler, 2008; Davies, 2014; Richardson and Bolloten, 2015). For Davies, global citizenship implies an active role around the key drivers of social justice, rights, and engagement with culture and with cultural conflict (2006). For her, "empathy is not enough: there must be 'outrage', so that motivations for change are high" (ibid, p. 6). In this view, GCE needs to be built around knowledge, skills, and participation. Legal knowledge and knowledge of civic rights and responsibilities is necessary for people to be able to "exert rights, responsibilities and actions". Knowledge, however, is not sufficient. Young people also need to become active citizens through experience; this includes participating in democratic school structures and getting involved in the local community service.

For global citizenship education to have a real impact, it would need to be set within a learning environment which not only taught knowledge and skills, which not only gave some experience of participating as a citizen of the school, but which enabled comfort with uncertainty and fluidity. (Davies, 2006, p. 18)

This echoes the call for allowing young people to engage with difficult and controversial issues (UNESCO, 2019). This has implications not only for GCE but for preventing violent extremism and promoting the rule of law (UNESCO, 2018; Davies, 2018). However, this requires sufficient levels of support, teacher training, resources and time (ibid; Global schools, 2016).

Activities that promote openness to multiple perspectives need to be embedded in teaching practices. Freedom to explore sensitive issues in an inclusive and non-discriminatory way is essential to developing critical thinking skills (UNESCO, 2019, p. 88).

This view presupposes that GCE engage more deeply with culture, and help students recognize the interconnections between societies, whether they are stable or in conflict. Reflecting on critical incidents involving cultural misconceptions, for example, have been shown to help students improve their intercultural understanding and their capacity to grasp multiple viewpoints (UNESCO, 2019, p. 88).

This deeper engagement with culture is twofold: on the one hand, an openness to other cultures; on the other, the possibility to reflect on one's own culture to build bridges between cultures, and understanding what philosopher Martha Nussbaum calls our "shared humanity" (2002). This view, initially developed as a reflection on cosmopolitanism and the role of universities in a global era, offers insights into the ways in which the mainstreaming of GCE can happen in a deep, critical and meaningful ways across the curriculum, and the key role humanities can play in the development of GCE.

The new emphasis on "diversity" in college and university curricula is above all, I would argue, a way of grappling with the altered requirements of citizenship in an era of global connection, an attempt to produce adults who can function as citizens not just of some local region or group but also, and more importantly, as citizens of a complex interlocking world – and function with a richness of human understanding and aspiration that cannot be supplied by economic connections alone. In this attempt, the humanities – often viewed as useless and equally often viewed with suspicion, as scenes of subversion – play a central role. (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 292).

Within a cosmopolitanism perspective, Nussbaum identifies three central capacities that global citizenship education should develop and support in students (2002):

Capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's tradition: critical thinking, capacity to construct and understand an argument and question what one reads. Philosophy is an essential part of this curriculum. "Students need to be made active" (ibid, p. 295) and develop new attitudes to political debate.

Capacity for shared humanity: citizens need to consider themselves not just as citizens at a local or national level, but as "human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern" (ibid, p. 297). This requires developing knowledge of different perspectives, and needs to be interdisciplinary in nature and in discussion.

Capacity for narrative imagination. Students cannot become cosmopolitan citizens based on facts alone. They need to be encouraged to develop "the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself" (ibid, p. 299).

These capacities pre-suppose critical thinking at various levels, knowledge of cultures (one's own and others) and the capacity to imagine what it is like to be another, near or far. The philosophical tradition they build on, inspired by the ideas of Socrates and Seneca, might seem rather remote from some of the more functional and goal driven ideas of citizenship developed in global policy, and framed as "skills" or "competences" rather than driving questioning of the world around us and developing the capacity to embrace uncertainty. However,

this inspiration is precisely located within ancient Greek thought, often considered the roots of the concept of global citizenship. Nussbaum's idea of cosmopolitanism becomes a reflection on the multiple aspects of culture, interconnectedness and forms of engagement with the "Other", and offers a strong reflection on the role of knowledge, skills, practice, and culture for GCE.

In terms of the practices and implementation of GCE across countries, the Global School program, presented above, identified ideological, systemic, and practical barriers to the implementation of GCE across countries (Global School, 2016). First, GCE was often located outside the official curriculum, was not binding, and was not integrated in other subject areas or developed in an interdisciplinary way. The emphasis on testing, and a neoliberal focus on efficiency and employable skills was a barrier to the integration of GCE in the curriculum. Attitudes to GCE were also identified as a barrier to implementation. Teachers in some cases had low motivation, felt they lacked knowledge and preparation to engage with global issues. System structures were another barrier. One aspect of this was the ideological and political aspect to GCE, present but often unrecognized. Social and geographical inequalities tended to lead to different approaches to GCE across countries (social divides and urban/rural divides in provision of GCE in primary schools). In terms of school structures and organization, the pressures on teaching core subjects, and the lack of time were most often reported as barriers to successful implementation. Lack of resources was also an important issue that was raised in most countries. Finally, teacher training was raised as a crucial issue. Teachers often felt unprepared and lacking methodologies to teach GCE. Pre-service preparation for GCE was often minimal or even non-existent, focusing only on one aspect of GCE. It was also often unpopular with teachers. The issues arising from the lack of sufficient teaching training, preparation and support echoes findings from the UNESCO

sixth consultation on the 1974 Recommendation (UNESCO, 2018) and the Global Education Monitoring Report on Displacement, Migration and Education (UNESCO, 2019). They show the importance of reflecting on GCE at multiple levels and examining the roles of policies, curricula, systems, structures, and actors in the implementation of GCE.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview and discussion of current debates around GCE. It has examined the global policy drivers around GCE, as well as contentions around the definition of the term, its core aims and forms of implementation. What emerges from this review is that there is no single, agreed-upon definition of GCE. This has influenced the way it is conceptualized, and the ways in which programs are designed and implemented. A recognition of the multiple discourses which frame GCE is important to acknowledge the implicit power relations, inequalities, and hierarchies that might exist beneath assumptions of universality. Our perspective acknowledges these complexities and differences in interpretations. However, for the purpose of this research, it was necessary to adopt a workable definition of GCE, which would make it operational for the analysis of the data sets. To this end, the criteria for Global Citizenship Education was broadly framed by the eight salient GCE competencies that were identified by the Measuring Global Citizenship Working Group (GCED-WG, 2017) presented in Table 3; UNESCO's three components model (2015) presented in Table 2 and the Guiding Principles and related Topics of the 1974 Recommendation presented in Table 4 (UNESCO, 2018).

Inspired by Nussbaum's (2002) notion of capacity, and building on the competencies, domains of learning and principles detailed in Chapter 1 (GCED-WG, 2017; UNESCO, 2015; 2018), our study identified six key capacities related to the purpose and aims of GCE (Table 5).

Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

1.	Capacity for critical and independent thinking
2.	Respect for diversity and intercultural understanding
3.	Respect for the values of equality, tolerance, human rights, peace, inclusion and justice
4.	Awareness of global issues
5.	Recognition of interconnectedness between people and communities
6.	Capacity to get engaged and take action

Table 5. Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

Whilst there is a plethora of definitions, principles or competencies for GCE, the question of how these can be evaluated or measured remains unresolved. The next chapter examines approaches to the evaluation, monitoring, and measurement of GCE.



CHAPTER TWO

Measuring GCE: policy and
challenges

How to measure and evaluate GCE remains unanswered in the debate, and raises questions about its successful implementation in educational policy and in the curriculum (Deardoff, 2010; GCED-WG, 2017; Skirbekk et al, 2013). Whilst a range of studies have focused on the measurement of similar areas such as intercultural competence, cross-cultural adaptation, global competences (Deardoff, 2010; Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003; Sperandio, et al., 2010; OECD, 2018), few engage fully with all aspects of global citizenship. Most academic studies tend to be restricted to higher education and study abroad (Morais and Ogden, 2011; Sklad et al., 2016).

Attempting to measure: comparative studies

A range of comparative studies have considered the implementation of GCE programs at primary or secondary school levels, focusing on policy and curriculum (e.g. GCED-WG, 2017; Global Schools, 2016). However, to date, there is limited research which appropriately assesses the impact of GCE programs and content on young people's attitudes toward respect for equality, tolerance, social justice, acceptance of diversity, and political participation (Morais and Ogden, 2011; Schulz et al, 2016, 2018; Losito et al, 2016; Sandoval-Hernandez and Miranda, 2018). GCE programs might also indirectly affect political outcomes and responses to humanitarian crises or situations of conflict, yet no systematic research has examined the wider societal impact of GCE programs.

UNESCO suggests a three-tiered approach to measuring GCED, which includes societal level (e.g. level of democracy, macro-level indicators of openness), supplier level (e.g. provision of education, availability of training relevant for global citizenship) and receiver level (e.g. young people's civic identity, values, skills and knowledge) (Skirbekk, Potančoková and Stonawski, 2013).

The Global Citizenship Working Group identified a collection of practice and tools that can help with the measurement of GCE (GCED-WG, 2017). Prompted by the breadth of the concept of GCE itself, the working group included measurement efforts that stretched beyond the sole label of GCE to include a range of educational areas, including, to name a few, civics and citizenship education, human rights education, global education, education for sustainable development, peace education, education to prevent violent extremism, and education for girls' empowerment. It provides 49 tools for the measurement of GCE, from four main sources: "stand alone", published tools; courses of study; certification efforts and archives. However, it excluded some large regional and international studies related to GCE, such as the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) and the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) which, since 2018, includes global competences.

In 2018, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) introduced a framework for Global Competence as part of their Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) (OECD, 2018). Global Competence is defined as "the capacity to examine local, global and intercultural issues, to understand and appreciate the perspectives and world views of others, to engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions with people from different cultures, and to act for collective well-being and sustainable development." (OECD, 2018).

Global Competence was assessed across two components:

1) A cognitive test exclusively focused on the construct of “global understanding”, defined as the combination of background knowledge and cognitive skills required to solve problems related to global and intercultural issues; 2) a set of questionnaire items collecting self-reported information on students’ awareness of global issues and cultures, skills (both cognitive and social) and attitudes, as well as information from schools and teachers on activities to promote global competence. (OECD, 2018)

Global policy, goals, and targets

The inclusion of Global Competence in PISA can be seen as symptomatic of a current trend towards measuring how well educational systems can prepare students to face current and future global challenges. The renewed focus on GCE in international policy (GEFI, 2012; UNESCO, 2014, 2015, 2018, 2019) and in particular the reference, for the first time, to GCE within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 4.7), has led to increased attention towards the question of implementation, mainstreaming, and evaluation and measurement of GCE (GCED-WG, 2017). The creation of measures for the successful implementation of SDG 4.7 remains a crucial challenge (UNESCO, 2017c; GCED-WG, 2017; Gray, 2018). Such impact analysis requires the development of indicators on the implementation of GCE in schools and other areas of society. Issues associated to measurement include variable or erratic reporting across world regions; diverse understandings of the nature of GCE as a concept across countries, all of which makes it difficult to collect reliable or comparable data (Mc Evoy, 2016).

Contemporary critics have pointed to the difficulty of “measuring the unmeasurable” and questioned the suitability of the chosen targets and indicators for assessing progress towards the SDGs (King, 2016; Unterhalter, 2017, 2019). In particular, many of the proxies offered as indicators appear to be only loosely related to the outcomes, and at times arbitrarily chosen (Unterhalter, 2019, p. 48).

The current global indicators for Target 4.7 of the SDGs are:

Global indicator 4.7.1: Extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development, including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed at all levels in: (a) national education policies; (b) curricula; (c) teacher education; and (d) student assessment (Approved by UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/71/313).

Box 1. Global indicator 4.7.1

Thematic indicators

4.7.2: Percentage of schools that provide life skills-based HIV and sexuality education

4.7.3: Extent to which the framework of the World Programme on Human Rights Education is implemented nationally (as per the UNGA Resolution 59/113)

4.7.4: Percentage of students by age group (or education level) showing adequate understanding of issues relating to global citizenship and sustainability

4.7.5: Percentage of 15-year-old students showing proficiency in knowledge of environmental science and geoscience

Box 2. Thematic indicators

Whilst helpful in providing an overview of the place of GCE across the world, these indicators remain limited in that "mainstreaming into policy documents or student assessment does not mean policy is carried out in practice or these issues taught." (Unterhalter, 2019, p. 47).

Despite these reservations and criticism, there has been a strong global effort to systematize data collection for the achievement of the SDGs. The main data to measure Target 4.7 through the global indicator 4.7.1 was collected through the *Sixth Consultation of the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. This consultation gives an idea of the growing commitment and mainstreaming of GCE in educational systems of UN member states. However, as the data provided is self-reported, it is not always systematic; and although there was an increase in response rates between the fifth and sixth consultations (2012 and 2016), this was not equally spread as African countries had a lowering in response rates. The questionnaires were revised for the sixth Consultation to respond to the global indicator of Target 4.7 of the SDGs, for which it is the official tool. The revised questionnaire aims to provide a basis to evaluate how the 1974 Recommendation was visible in member states' educational policies, curricula, teacher education and student assessment, all areas of focus of the global indicator 4.7.1 (Box 1).

The IEA's ICCS surveys (2009, 2016)

In addition to the *1974 Recommendation sixth Consultation* data, in 2017, UNESCO and the Institute for International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) established a collaboration around the development of measures for GCED and ESD. Their focus

has also been on finding ways to measure Target 4.7. The IEA runs the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which has been identified as one of the main sources of data collection for Target 4.7, although it was not initially designed for this purpose. Initial analysis showed that although some progress was made towards including GCED in student assessment, not all countries do so, and further efforts are required globally (UNESCO, 2017c). The ICCS assesses mainly Grade 8 students and is considered the "primary source of data for comparable citizenship-related learning outcomes" (UNESCO, 2019, p. 191). The 2016 survey collected data on "young people's knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship, as well as related attitudes, perceptions and activities" (ibid, Schultz et al, 2017). The ICCS offers particularly rich data on local and school contexts and structures, teacher attitudes and student backgrounds and attitudes. This data offers a large potential for analysis and is valuable in attempting to evaluate the impact of civic and citizenship education (CCE) (and related GCE dimensions) on student attitudes. The student-level data offers a complementary perspective to the report on the *sixth consultation* (UNESCO, 2019). The ICCS survey questions are in some ways similar to the new PISA assessment, but not identical.

Regional studies based on the ICCS data have offered some interesting insights into the possible impact of CCE. *The Informe Latinoamericano del ICCS 2016*, shows that if students have a higher knowledge of CCE, expect to complete university studies and live in urban areas, they will be less likely to support dictatorships in their countries (Schultz et al, 2018). The same factors play a role on condemning corruption and not being bothered by having a neighbor from a minority group. Results show that female respondents had more positive attitudes towards diversity and tolerance. They highlight the role of students' gender, which appears to have significant impact in many domains. Similar trends were found in our own analysis, which will be examined further in discussing the findings of our study. Additionally,

the report indicates that students with a better understanding of CCE show lower levels of trust in public institutions. The better students' knowledge of CCE, and the higher level of education they expect to complete, the more they will reject the use of violence as a punishment or not obeying the law. Female respondents tended to have a higher likelihood of disagreeing with the use of violence as a punishment. Results for the ICCS showed that some CCE variables such as critical thinking, knowledge of rights and responsibilities (among other variables) had a positive impact on students' attitudes. This is further supported by the ICCS's European study.

The ICCS 2016 *European Report: Young People's Perceptions of Europe in a Time of Change* shows that students have stronger feelings of belonging to the EU if they are male, from non-immigrants families, have a higher level of knowledge in CCE and more trust in public institutions (Losito et al., 2016). Students with a better understanding of CCE will be more prone to support European cooperation among countries. Moreover, this study points out that European students will support the view that immigrants should have the same rights and responsibilities as nationals if they have the characteristics stated above and are themselves from an immigrant family. The study concludes that CCE can help to increase the support for EU as well as increase political participation (voting). *The Becoming Citizens in a Changing World* report provides a description and a comparison of the results between 2009 and 2016 (i.e. percentage of schools that teach CCE, number of schools that have CCE specialized teachers, change in the number of students agreeing or disagree with a particular question, etc.) (Schultz et al, 2016). The study also includes some analysis of the data that allows us to state that students will support gender and ethnic equality if they have a better knowledge of CCE, are female and if they are interested in political issues. Similarly, students with more knowledge of CCE demonstrate higher interest in political and social

issues. Also, parental education helps to determine CCE engagement. Thus, the report concludes that CCE can be a useful tool to increase tolerance and political participation.

UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (2019)

The Global Education Monitoring Report on Migration and Displacement (2019) builds on descriptive statistics from the 2009 and 2016 ICCS survey to reflect on progress made around Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship and attitudes towards diversity and migration. Based on this data, the report commented that "attitudes towards equality and diversity are linked to school processes" (UNESCO, 2019, p. 192), mentioning the role of "classroom openness" and "participation in school activities" although these processes and the nature of their relationship to student attitudes were not examined in detail. Although there is an increased effort on the part of education systems to prevent violent extremism, the actual role of education in preventing violent extremism remains inconclusive, reflecting the complexity of the relationship between education and "other individual and structural drivers and their effects" (ibid, p. 193). Recommendations from the report to help prevent violent extremism echo to some extent recommendations made for fostering successful GCE programs (Global Schools, 2016, UNESCO, 2017d): adequate resources (in particular textbooks content); increased teacher preparation and support in developing adequate pedagogical approaches, recognising the role of non-formal education and the role of NGOs, advocacy, youth or mentoring groups and building media literacy for young people. Overall, the report recommends the promotion of "high quality, equitable education that increases respect for diversity" (ibid, p.188) and favors an open classroom climate in which critical viewpoints can be expressed.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear from this chapter that GCE has far-reaching implications, on policy, curricula, teaching and learning. However, within the contested landscape of global citizenship, in terms of definition, structure and measurement, it is very difficult to measure the impact of GCE in a systematic way. This difficulty is increased if one wishes to look at GCE comparatively, as the implementation of GCE programs is not consistent across countries, and the availability of data is highly variable, due to the lower response rate from certain world regions.

Despite these difficulties and limited availability of internationally comparable data, the question of the measurement of the impact of GCE on student attitudes is of prime importance to address contemporary global challenges. Many claims have been made about the role of GCE, but there is a need for further analysis of its actual impact on students' attitudes. The high profile of GCE in global and national policy calls for rigorous and systematic analysis of its impact on those who are defined as the recipients of these educational programs, namely, students.

The research presented in this report contributes to the field of research on the measurement of GCE by analyzing the impact of dimensions of GCE on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. This analysis was framed by the key competencies identified in Chapter 1 (Table 5) and guided by our second research aim:

To measure the impact of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) on young people's attitudes (political participation, community involvement, identity, living in diversity) and their wider implications for developing just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies.

This research adopted an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of the impact of GCE. By bringing together an interdisciplinary team from Sociology of Education and Economics, and by applying a sophisticated econometric analysis to data, it offers new insights into the question of the impact of GCE.

Nevertheless, as can be gathered from the earlier discussion in this chapter, such a task was not straightforward. There were many challenges in attempting to reconcile the complexity and variety of definitions of GCE, as well as the difficulties in "measuring the unmeasurable" (King, 2016; Unterhalter, 2019) with a study that would examine the impact of GCE on young people's attitudes across different countries. The first hurdle was the variation in the nature of GCE programs between countries. This was compounded by the lack of agreement around what constitutes GCE, as well as what its relationship to "national" citizenship and political literacy might be (Davies, 2018; IDEAS, 2017; Myers, 2016). As such, it was challenging to identify comparable international data on GCE per se. Another difficulty was the variable response rates between countries, with, as mentioned earlier, a lower participation of certain world regions, in particular from sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East (UNESCO, 2018). Finally, access to wider international data was limited for some countries. In the case of the USA, it was too costly to access relevant data. For other countries, it was difficult for researchers outside of international agencies to get access current data.

To address these limitations in terms of accessibility to internationally comparable data, after much consideration, we opted to analyze data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). In particular,

we used the 2016 dataset from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a large-scale international comparative study that investigates the ways in which young people, lower-secondary school students (mainly in Grade 8), are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens. We present further detail in the following chapter addressing research design.

There were unavoidable limitations in choosing ICCS data as the basis for examining the impact of GCE on young people's attitudes, and these were taken into account in our analysis of the data. A first issue is that the ICCS does not specifically collect data on GCE, but focuses on civic and citizenship education (CCE), which can be interpreted at different levels: local, national, global. This required a careful selection of items for our analysis, in order to identify variables that reflected the aims and values of GCE (see Table 6). This does not mean that we assumed at any point that CCE is identical to GCE and overlooked its global dimension. In this study, we recognise the tension and debates around different levels of citizenship, and the question of how and where global citizenship is developed. Within this perspective, a careful selection of items from the ICCS data allowed us to analyze impact (or lack thereof) of particular approaches to CCE (related to GCE dimensions), and reflect on the implication of this impact for thinking about GCE. A second issue was the fact that ICCS only includes data from 23 countries, mainly high income (HIC) and middle income (MIC) countries. This meant that the data privileged specific geographical areas, and does not include other world regions that would have offered very valuable insights into GCE and its impact. This limitation is one that goes beyond our own study and points to the difficulty in obtaining comparable data across world regions, in particular in lower income countries (LIC). This is an issue that requires further political attention and funding to allow more inclusive future research.

However, it is hoped that some of the key findings from our analysis on available data can offer lines of reflection that are also pertinent for other countries for which there is less available data.

In spite of these limitations, ICCS was selected because it offers valuable data for developing insights into GCE (Hoskins, 2016; UNESCO, 2019, p. 191). The collaboration between UNESCO and the IEA around developing indicators for GCED and ESD also means that 2016 ICCS data includes items that can be related to GCE. Extensive thought and consideration have been developed by the IEA and UNESCO to match items from the ICCS to core elements of GCED (Chavatzia, 2015). The nature of the questions asked of students could also be matched with the criteria for GCE identified for our study: attitudes towards equal rights, towards immigrants in society, and, in the case of European countries, supranational belonging and identity as well as political participation. Whilst there were no direct questions on global identity and interconnectedness, we did consider questions around immigration, rights, tolerance, diversity and political participation to be central dimensions of GCE. This is supported by previous research and policy (Hoskins, 2016; UNESCO, 2019). As such, the ICCS offered a rich set of data for evaluating the impact of elements of GCE on student attitudes.

Methodological issues related to this data set were carefully considered: in particular, data from the ICCS is dependent on self-reporting, which, as noted by Unterhalter, does not always mean that these actually happen in practice (2019). As such, data on school implementation is highly dependent on the trustworthiness of participants' responses. The choice and wording of the questions might also influence particular responses from students. These issues of measurement and assessment have been extensively addressed by the IEA,

through a range of studies of internal validity which include Cronbach alpha and Rasch analysis (IEA, 2016). The issue of developing indicators for measuring GCE has been raised earlier in the discussion. This issue was a challenge for our own study, which initially intended to develop indicators from the analysis of secondary data. However, the complexity of the data, the reliance of self-reporting data and the limitations on situating the data within specific local contexts because of the anonymity of reporting schools made it difficult to develop firm indicators. We thus chose to report the impact of a range of GCE-related variables that we deemed as most pertinent for evaluating the impact of GCE on student attitudes.

Finally, ICCS data only offers a snapshot of what happens in schools and how that impacts students' attitudes. Important questions around the nature of citizenship and civic education, its critical or political nature cannot be answered through this data set. These methodological considerations are of prime importance for developing a deeper reflection about what it means to attempt to measure the impact of citizenship programs, and to analyze them internationally. They raise key questions about attribution,

correlation and causation and the limitations of theories of change for monitoring and evaluating GCE programs (Davies, 2018; IDEAS, 2017). In particular, the use of proxies needs to be examined closely, questioning their suitability for the research and the assumptions of equivalence that underlie the choices of these proxies. These questions around what can be measured and the limitations of proxies need to be taken into account. They remind us of the need for multiple methodological and theoretical perspectives on GCE, and the need for continued research in this area. However, these limitations do not invalidate the attempt to measure impact of citizenship education programs through carefully chosen proxies and robust data analysis, and the importance of examining the ways in which they might shape student attitudes towards equality, tolerance and diversity. At a time of evidence-driven educational policy, large scale international comparisons and global league tables, with an overwhelming emphasis on "what works?", we believe that it is vital for critical researchers to remain engaged in this conversation and to attempt to contribute through their own analysis of large data-sets and surveys. Further details on the research design, methodology and methods of data analysis are presented in the next chapter.



CHAPTER THREE

Research design, methodology
and findings

Research design

This research aimed to measure the impact of GCE on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. It examined the interplay of the three-tiered approach to the measurement of GCE, suggested by UNESCO, which includes societal level, supplier level and receiver level (Skirbekk, Potančoková and Stonawski, 2013):

1. Societal level (e.g. level of democracy, macro-level indicators of openness).
2. Supplier level (e.g. provision of education, availability of training relevant for global citizenship).
3. Receiver level (e.g. young people's civic identity, values, skills and knowledge).

The focus of this research was on the impact of societal and supplier level on receiver level, understood here as student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.

As discussed in Chapter 1, for the purpose of this study, the criteria for Global Citizenship Education was broadly framed by the eight salient GCED competencies that were identified by the Measuring Global Citizenship Working Group (GCED-WG, 2017) (Table 3); UNESCO's three components model (2015) (Table 2) and the Guiding Principles and related Topics of the 1974 Recommendation (Table 4) (UNESCO, 2018). As presented in Chapter 1, we were inspired by Nussbaum's (2002) notion of capacity and, building on the competencies, domains of learning and principles detailed in Chapter 1 (GCED-WG, 2017; UNESCO, 2015; 2018), our study identified six key capacities related to the purpose and aims of GCE (Table 6).

Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

1.	Capacity for critical and independent thinking
2.	Respect for diversity and intercultural understanding
3.	Respect for the values of equality, tolerance, human rights, peace, inclusion, and justice
4.	Awareness of global issues
5.	Recognition of interconnectedness between people and communities
6.	Capacity to get engaged and take action

Table 6. Global Citizenship Competencies identified for our study

These six capacities provided a framework for the choice of independent and dependent variables that were analyzed, as discussed below.

Data

As noted, to analyze our research question quantitatively, we used data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). In particular, we used the 2016 dataset from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a large-scale international comparative study that investigates the ways in which young people, specifically lower-secondary school students (mainly in Grade 8), are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens. ICCS reports on levels of students' civic knowledge, their understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their civic attitudes and engagement. The survey gathers information about the implementation of Civic and Citizenship Education (CCE) as well as other relevant variables (Schultz, 2016; ICCS, 2016)¹ (see Chapter 2 for a critical discussion of this data and its relevance to our study). Although the focus of ICCS is on CCE rather than GCE, the 2009 and 2016 ICCS datasets have been identified as a "primary source of data for comparable citizenship-related learning outcomes" (UNESCO, 2019,

p.191) and a valuable source for measuring most dimensions of GCE (Hoskins, 2016; UNESCO, 2017b).

In total we considered 23 countries, but here we only report on the results for a subset of these countries. The countries included in this study are: Belgium (Flemish region), Bulgaria, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Croatia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Hong Kong, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Russia, Slovenia, South Korea, and Sweden. Although we analyzed data from all 23 countries, in the interest of brevity, we decided to include a narrower set of countries in our reporting. We selected twelve countries, with the aim of presenting a sample of the most significant results from different parts of the world included in the ICCS 2016 survey. The map in Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the countries we considered in our sample.



Figure 1. Map of countries represented in our empirical analysis

Source: ICCS 2016.²

¹ Source: ICCS 2016. Copyright © 2016 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Publisher: IEA, Amsterdam

² Map created with the help of: <https://mapchart.net/>

For each of the above countries, we have databases (from surveys) containing information about students, teachers, the school, and the nation as a whole. The surveys were completed by students and teachers themselves, while the schools questionnaire was completed by school principals, and the national context survey was completed by the national research coordinators; see more details in Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti (2016).

The samples in each country were designed as two-stage cluster samples. In the first stage, probability proportional to size procedures were used to select schools within each country. In the second stage, within each sampled school, an intact class from the target grade was selected at random, with all the students in this class participating in the study.

Therefore, for each participating country, the 2016 ICCS data have a multilevel structure [see Snijders & Bosker (2012)], with students nested within classes/schools. The surveyed students are representative samples of the population of Grade 8 students in each country. Each national sample satisfying the participation standards set by the IEA is equally weighted (Schulz, Carstens, Losito & Fraillon, 2018).

The students surveyed had access to many classes and activities that were related to global citizenship. For example, as shown in Figure 2 many of them had the opportunity to take part in multicultural and intercultural activities, and human rights projects. However, Figure 2 also shows that a significant percentage of these students did not participate in these activities because they did not want to do so or because the school did not offer them.

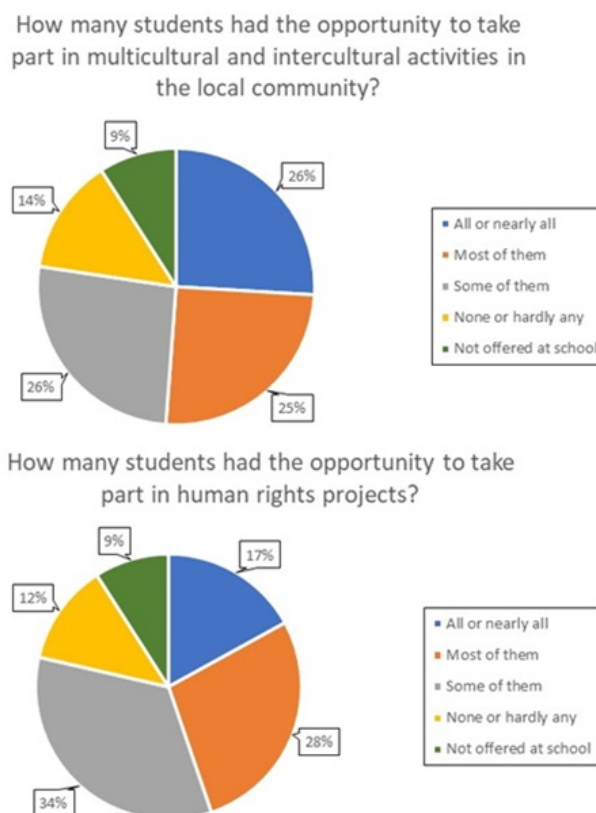


Figure 2. Percentage of students taking part in multicultural or intercultural activities in the local community and in human rights projects.

Source: ICCS 2016.

Using the school dataset, we obtained information about school's neighborhood [e.g. share of affluent students, social problems around the school, etc.], teacher's preparation to teach CCE subjects and how CCE was taught; i.e. whether it was an extra-curricular class, the experience of the school as a whole, an independent subject, etc. Figure 3 shows who taught CCE. From this we see that in general these subjects were taught by the head of department of human/social sciences, followed by non-specialized teachers, then by the teacher responsible for cross-curricular projects and the civic and citizenship education coordinator.

Framed by the six capacities that our study identified as central to Global Citizenship Education (Table 6), we used relevant survey information on CCE as a proxy for GCE at different schools. This meant that we identified variables that could be considered attributes of GCE (attitudes to diversity, tolerance, respect, political participation in supranational institutions). This approach has been adopted by UNESCO, who integrated ICCS data on CCE into their analysis of GCED (UNESCO, 2019). Thus, in this analysis section, we refer to CCE to stay close to the items of the ICCS survey, but in subsequent chapters we refer, to GCE in our discussion of results when appropriate. This decision is premised upon the notion that there are strong areas of convergence or overlap between CCE and GCE, and on the fact that the CCE variables chosen for this analysis were matched to the six capacities that our study identified for GCE (Table 6). However, we do not assume that CCE and GCE are one and the same. In particular, responses from the ICCS include limited information on global identity and interconnectedness. They do, however, include attitudes towards global issues, diversity, migration and tolerance, central to GCE (see Table 6). Furthermore, in each student's questionnaire, there are questions related to student's background [e.g. language spoken at home,

parents' studies, number of books at home, etc.] as well as their opinion on topics related to immigration, ethnic groups, nationalistic feeling, attitudes towards diversity, tolerance, equality and men and women rights. We use the responses to these questions and the above proxies of Global Citizenship Education from the school datasets to assess the impact of GCE on young people's attitudes, (community involvement, identity, living in diversity) and their wider implications for forms of conflict in society (ethnic, gender). Other information about school and teachers is used as control variables to assess the impact of Global Citizenship Education in different schools. We had to rely on the questions included in each questionnaire since schools could not be located due to their anonymity on the available datasets. For each country we have more than 2,500 observations, indicating that our results are robust.

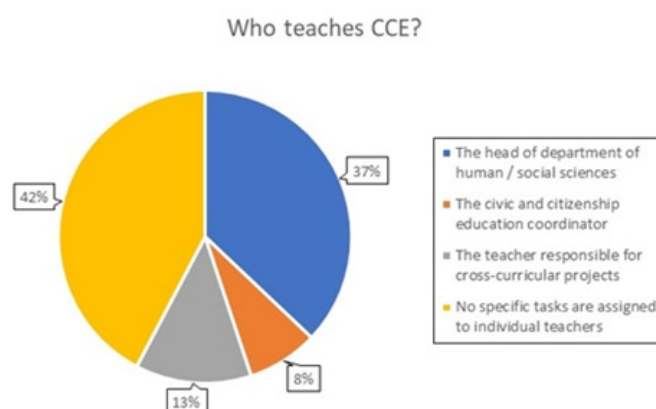


Figure 3. Who teaches Civic and Citizenship Education in the school?

. Source: ICCS 2016.

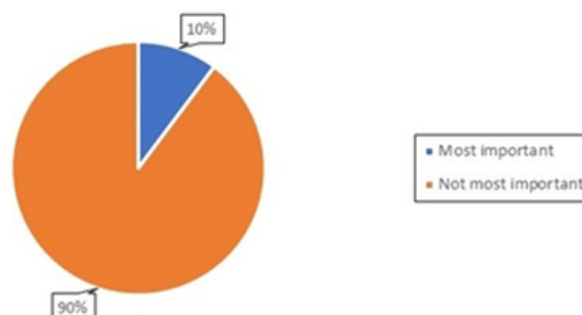
Finally, Figure 4 shows the percentage of schools in the countries under consideration which implemented strategies to reduce racism, to promote the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities, and promote student critical and independent thinking. Except for the strategies that aim to reduce racism, the majority of the schools in our sample worked to promote the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities and critical and independent thinking.

Modelling the impact of CCE/GCE

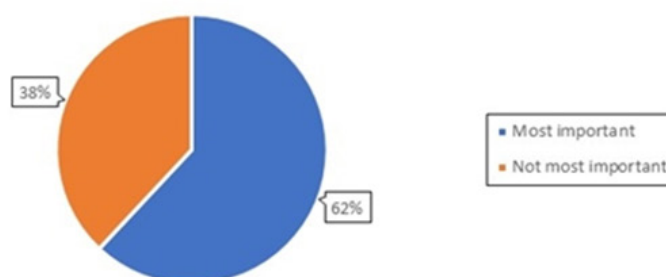
In this section we discuss the econometric methodology that we used to examine how -for different countries- Civic and Citizenship Education [i.e.; the way it is organized, its content, the way it was taught etc.] influences high school students' attitudes. In particular, we were interested in the impact of CCE on the attitudes of young people towards immigrants and ethnic minority groups, the equality of rights between men and women, and, for European countries, their feelings of belonging to the European Union.

In the following, we model the opinion of high school students who received aspects of Civic and Citizenship Education (identified as proxy of GCE). Here, the dependent variable measures the opinion of the students, which we obtained from the ICCS survey (see the details on data in the previous section). The independent variables consist of two groups: (i) the variable of interest that represent the proxies for Global Citizenship Education [hereafter Civic and Citizenship Education] and (ii) the control variables that are related to student's background and many other aspects.

Schools identifying 'implementing strategies to reduce racism' amongst the most important aims of CCE



Schools identifying 'promoting the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities' amongst the most important aims of CCE



Schools identifying 'promoting students' critical and independent thinking' amongst the most important aims of CCE

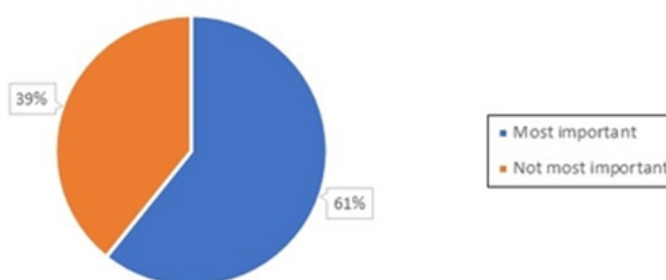


Figure 4. Most important aims of CCE, identified by schools.

This figure shows the percentage of schools which implemented certain strategies Source: ICCS 2016.

Regarding the econometric model and for most countries in our sample, we use a multinomial logit model when the dependent variables that represent the opinion of high school students have four possible choices; e.g.; strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree (see chapter 15 of Cameron and Trivedi, 2005). These are measured on a scale from one to four, respectively. We use strongly agree as a base outcome. Furthermore, there are three dependent variables with a binary outcome: yes (1) or no (0). For the latter variables, we use a logit model, which is a special case of the multinomial logistic model. Our independent variables are either continuous [e.g. age], categorical [e.g.; highest level of education completed by student's mother/father, highest level of education student is expected to complete, etc.] or binary [e.g.; do you have an internet connection at home?]. Both logit and multinomial logit models model the probabilities of the outcomes, like binary outcomes for logit model.

We then estimate logit and multinomial logit models using a Maximum Likelihood method. For the multinomial logit model, the interpretation of the results is straightforward and direct. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that we are talking about relative probabilities, with one value set as reference, in our case strongly agreeing which has value one. The logit model is estimated in a similar way, but instead of having four possible options for the dependent variable, we only have two; i.e. zero and one.

For each European country, we generally ran six regressions using multinomial logistic models since for each of these countries the six dependent variables we describe below take four possible values on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 is strongly agree and 4 strongly disagree.



The dependent variables are responses (from strongly agree to strongly disagree) to the following six statements/questions (one regression for each question): (i) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (ii) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (iii) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities; (iv) When you are an adult, will you vote in European elections?; (v) Do you feel part of the European Union?; (vi) Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles).

For the South American countries, we run a multinomial logistic model when the dependent variables are responses from strongly agree to strongly disagree to the questions in (i), (ii), and (iii) above, and we run a logit model when the dependent variables are the responses (yes or no) to the following three questions: (vii) Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Persons with a different skin color to you; (viii) Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Persons from a different country (ix); Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Person of indigenous origin. Finally, for the Asian countries, we only used a multinomial model given that the dependent variables included in the model correspond to the questions (i), (ii), and (iii) above.

Figure 5 reports some descriptive statistics about the number of students who strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with following statements related to questions (i), (ii) and (iii): (i) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (ii) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (iii) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities.

We see that the majority of these students either strongly agreed or just agreed with all above statements, but there is a significant number who also disagreed or strongly disagreed. Given that across all the countries under consideration, the majority of young people agree with the above statements, some may be quick to interpret this as an indication that the implementation of CCE might be a successful policy that helps change in a positive way the young people's attitudes and engagement in the society. However, this is a marginal (unconditional) analysis, and this conclusion cannot be reasonably be drawn. To achieve robust conclusions, we need to control for other factors that measure the social environment of students inside and outside the schools. These variables are discussed below.

In empirical studies like ours, (multiple) regressions are used for causal analysis (causal inference). Unlike correlation coefficients, multiple regressions allow to include many control variables in addition to the independent variable of interest (say the main causes of the dependent variable). This is important as it helps avoid omitting variables, which leads to an unbiased estimation of the causal effect. Using correlation only can lead to spurious causal effect and this invalidates conclusions.

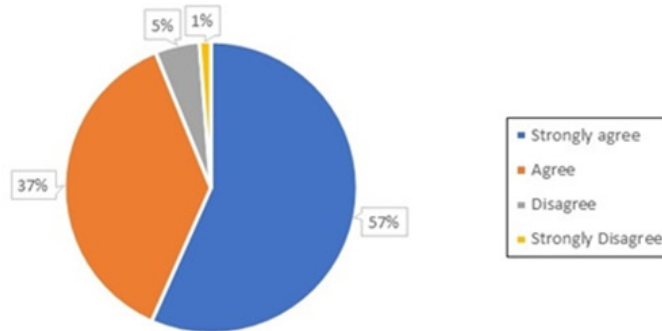
As we mentioned previously, we considered two groups of independent variables: the main variables of interest that assess the implementation of CCE; and the set of control variables. Regarding the key variables in this study, we consider: (1) number of students who had the opportunity to take part in human right projects, (2) number of students who had the opportunity to take part in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community, (3) if CCE is taught as a separate subject, (4) if CCE is an extra-curricular activity,

(5) who teaches CCE [i.e. if it is a "specific tasks for civic and citizenship" professors], (6) if promoting the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities is the most important aim of CCE, (7) if promoting students' critical and independent thinking is the most important goal of CCE, and (8) if promoting the development of strategies to reduce racism is the most important goal of CCE.

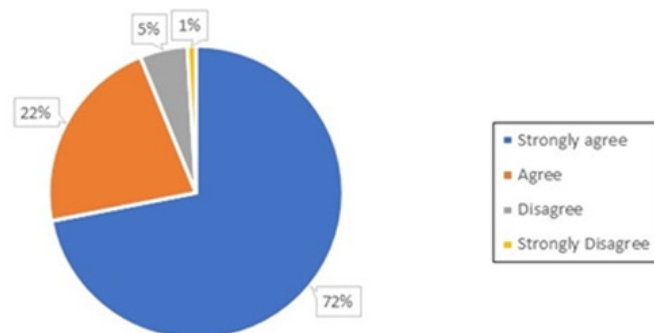
The control variables included (1) gender of the respondent, (2) whether the school considers the presence of immigrants to be a source of social tension, (3) whether the school considers unemployment to be a source of social tension, (4) whether the school considers ethnic conflicts to be a source of social tension, (5) the size of the immediate area where the school is located, (6) percentage of students from economically affluent homes, (7) the highest level of education the student is expected to complete, (8) the language spoken at home, (9) the highest level of education completed by the student's mother, (10) the highest level of education completed by the student's father, (11) the number of books at home, (12) whether the student has an internet connection at home, and (13) whether the student feels the flag of their country is important to them. For European countries, we also added the following control variables: (14) whether the student perceives that it is common in the country of test that women have lower salaries and fewer career opportunities, and (15) whether the student perceives that immigrants are more exposed to unfair treatment than other groups.

We selected these variables based on the six key capacities for GCE identified in our study (Table 6), based on the GCED-WG Competencies for GCE, the global citizenship domains and learning objectives from the UNESCO framework (2015) and the guiding principles for the sixth consultation on the 1974 Recommendation (UNESCO, 2018). They ensured that we covered central dimensions of GCE. Additionally, we have included the other set of control variables to make sure that we cover all the factors that may also influence student responses. Hence, by including them we get rid of any measurement error in education variables.

All ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in country of test



Men and women should have equal rights in every way



Members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities

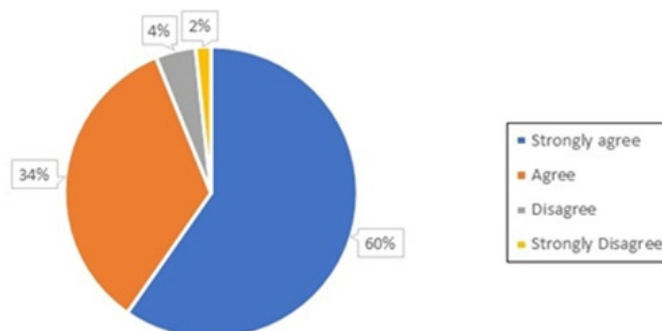


Figure 5. Student attitudes towards gender equality, equal opportunities and equal rights

Source: ICCS 2016.

Empirical results: country analysis

In this section, we highlight the empirical results obtained using the data and methodology we introduced previously. Our discussion of the results will be done for each country separately. This should allow us to examine the specificities of each country that can influence the outcome of the impact of CCE [as a proxy of GCE] on the attitudes and engagement of young people.³

The results reported here are based on the statistical modelling of student responses. For ease of reading, the use of the terms "impact" and "effect" refers to the statistical impact/effect of the independent/control variables on students' responses in the ICCS survey. For example, "positive effect" is used here to report the positive impact of the independent/control variables on the student's probability of agreeing or strongly agreeing with a given statement compared to the probability of disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the same statement. This should not be read as an overall assumption that correlation implies causation.

European countries

Belgium (Flemish Region)

Results for the Flemish Region of Belgium pointed towards a general positive impact of CCE dimensions on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. Student gender, socio-economic background and cultural capital also had some effect on attitudes. Perceptions of fairness in society, levels of perceived ethnic conflict and unemployment in the local area also had an impact in some cases.

A range of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation: critical thinking, multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community,

promoting strategies to reduce racism. Teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a positive impact on student attitudes. In addition, higher perceptions of ethnic conflicts had some negative impact on student attitudes. Gender had an impact on student attitudes. In particular, female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance. Finally, cultural capital, measured by having more books at home, positively impacted student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

³ Another aspect of our analysis involved estimating the logit and multinomial logit models after replacing the actual GCE variables by indicators that we constructed using Principal Component Analysis and data on all the variables related to the implementation of GCE. Unfortunately, the results were not satisfactory and were difficult to interpret. In particular, it was difficult to confirm if these indicators represented the level of implementation of GCE. In addition, we found contradictory results to those we obtained using the actual GCE variables. For all these reasons we have decided to not include this aspect of the analysis in our reporting of results.

Country Name:	Belgium (Flemish Region)
Location	Europe
Size	13,522 km ²
Population	6,552,967
GDP	\$312,679 billion
GDP per capita	\$35,100
GINI	24.8
HDI	
Country Classification	High Income Country/OECD

The detailed empirical results for the Flemish region of Belgium are reported in Tables 7 and 8 of the Appendix.

Flemish region of Belgium: data highlights

- A range of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation: critical thinking, multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community, promoting strategies to reduce racism.
- Teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a positive impact on student attitudes.
- Higher perceptions of ethnic conflicts had some negative impact on student attitudes.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home, positively impacted student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Estonia

Results for Estonia were somewhat atypical and, in some cases, surprising. There was a rather limited impact of CCE dimensions on student attitudes. Whilst there were some positive effects, in some cases CCE elements had a negative impact on student attitudes. This was the case particularly with being involved in human rights projects, which had positive effects on attitudes towards gender equality but negative effects on attitudes towards ethnic or racial minorities. The gender of students was mildly significant, whilst cultural capital and socio-economic background tended to have an impact on student attitudes.

Having a non-specialized CCE teacher had a positive impact on student attitudes. Surprisingly, having a higher number of students involved in human rights project had both positive effects (attitudes to equal gender rights) and negative effects (attitudes towards ethnic/racial groups). Furthermore, gender had a mild impact on student attitudes. For example, female respondents only demonstrated more positive attitudes towards gender equality. Finally, lower levels of unemployment in the local area had a positive effect on students' feeling of belonging to the EU and political participation.

Only a few CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation, multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community, knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities. In addition, teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Country Name:	Estonia
Location	Europe
Size	45,340 km ²
Population	1,320,884
GDP	\$30.285 billion
GDP per capita	\$29,916
GINI	32.7
HDI	0.75
Country classification	High Income Country/OECD

Tables 9 and 10 of the Appendix illustrate the empirical results for Estonia.

Estonia: data highlights

- A few CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation, multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community, knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities.
- Teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Having a non-specialized CCE teacher had a positive impact on student attitudes.
- Surprisingly, having a higher number of students involved in human rights project had both positive effects (attitudes to equal gender rights) and negative effects (attitudes towards ethnic/racial groups)
- Gender had a mild impact on student attitudes. Female respondents only demonstrated more positive attitudes towards gender equality.
- Lower levels of unemployment in the local area had a positive effect on students' feeling of belonging to the EU and political participation.

Results for Finland showed that CCE dimensions had very limited impact on student attitudes. The only significant variables were whether CCE was an extra-curricular activity (negative impact), taught by a specialized teacher (positive impact) or taught as a separate subject (negative impact). Gender had an impact on attitudes toward equality and political participation. Perceptions of fairness in the country had a significant effect on student attitudes, as did students' cultural capital and socio-economic background.

The only significant variables were the level of specialization of the teacher and the place of CCE in the curriculum. Teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity or a separate subject had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. In addition, perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a consistent positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality and political participation. Finally, cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Country Name:	Finland
Location	Europe
Size	338,450 km ²
Population	5,518,05
GDP	\$275.683 billion
GDP per capita	\$41,018
GINI	27.1
HDI	0.81
Country Classification	High Income Country/OECD

The results for Finland are reported in Tables 11 and 12 of the Appendix.

Finland: data highlights

- Very few CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. The only significant variables were the level of specialization of the teacher and the place of CCE in the curriculum.
- Teaching CCE as an extra-curricular activity or a separate subject had a negative impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a consistent positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality and political participation.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Italy

Our results for Italy, like in the case of Estonia, could be considered somewhat atypical and in some cases surprising. Whilst some CCE dimensions at times had a positive effect on student attitudes towards equality, tolerance, diversity and political participation (participation in human rights projects, promoting critical thinking), involving students in multicultural projects within the local community had a negative effect. The impact of the development of critical thinking had variable effects, positively impacting on attitudes towards immigrants but negatively impacting on political participation and belonging to the EU. Students' gender, socio-economic background and cultural capital had an effect on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity,

tolerance and political participation and cultural capital positively impacted student's attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. Perceptions of fairness in society also had a positive impact on some attitudes.

Country Name:	Italy
Location	Europe
Size	301,340 km ²
Population	60,431,283
GDP	\$2.074 trillion
GDP per capita	\$35,373
GINI	35.4
HDI	0.77
Country Classification	High Income Country/OECD

The results for Italy are reported in Tables 13 and 14 of the Appendix.

Italy: data highlights

- Some CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation: involving students in human rights projects and promoting students' critical thinking.
- Involving students in multicultural activities in the local community had, in some cases, a negative effect on student attitudes towards tolerance and diversity.
- Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Malta

Like for Belgium, results for Malta showed that there was generally a positive impact of some CCE dimensions (critical thinking, strategies to reduce racism, multicultural activities within the local community) on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance, but limited impact on political participation.

Gender, cultural capital and socio-economic background had an effect on student attitudes and political participation. Perceptions of fairness in society and levels of unemployment or perceived ethnic conflict also had an impact on student attitudes.

Country Name:	Malta
Location	Europe
Size	320 km ²
Population	483,530
GDP	\$14.542 billion
GDP per capita	\$36,989
GINI	29.4
HDI	0.7
Country Classification	High Income Country/Non-OECD

The results for Malta are reported in Tables 15 and 16 of the Appendix.

Malta: data highlights

- A range of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance: critical thinking, multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community, promoting strategies to reduce racism.
- No CCE dimensions had an impact on students' political participation.
- Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Higher levels of perceived ethnic conflict or unemployment had a negative impact on student attitudes.

The Netherlands

Our results for the Netherlands were similar to Belgium and Malta. There was generally a positive impact of some CCE dimensions (involvement in human rights projects, knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities, multicultural activities within the local community) on student attitudes towards equality,

diversity and tolerance, but limited impact on political participation. Gender, cultural capital and socio-economic background had an effect on student attitudes and political participation. Perceptions of fairness in society and levels of unemployment or perceived ethnic conflict also had an impact on student attitudes.

Country Name:	The Netherlands
Location	Europe
Size	41,540 km ²
Population	17,231,017
GDP	\$912.872 billion
GDP per capita	\$48,789
GINI	28.2
HDI	0.8
Country Classification	High Income Country/ OECD

The results for the Netherlands are reported in Tables 17 and 18 of the Appendix.

The Netherlands: data highlights

- A range of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance: involvement in human rights projects, knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities, multicultural activities within the local community.
- No CCE dimensions had an impact on students' political participation.
- Perceptions of equal treatment of men and women or immigrants in society had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Lower levels of perceived ethnic conflict or unemployment had a positive impact on student attitudes.

Norway

Results for Norway show that the only CCE dimension that has a positive effect on student attitudes is participation in human rights projects. Other CCE dimensions surprisingly had negative effects such as promoting the knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities and participating in multicultural projects in the local community. The place of CCE in the curriculum has some impact: having a non-specialised teacher for CCE had a negative impact whilst having CCE as a separate subject had a positive effect on student attitudes.

Gender, cultural capital and socio-economic background generally had an impact on student attitudes. The impact of gender can be noted. For example, female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. Cultural capital positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. Finally, lower levels of perceived ethnic conflict had a positive impact on student attitudes.

Country Name:	Norway
Location	Europe
Size	625,217 km ²
Population	5,314,33
GDP	\$434.751 billion
GDP per capita	\$64,965
GINI	27.5
HDI	0.77
Country Classification	High Income Countries/OECD

The results for Norway are reported in Table 19 of the Appendix.

Norway: data highlights

- Only one CCE dimension had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance: involvement in human rights projects.
- Surprisingly, knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities, multicultural activities within the local community had a negative impact on student attitudes.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Lower levels of perceived ethnic conflict had a positive impact on student attitudes.

Sweden

Results for Sweden show that a limited number of CCE dimensions had an effect on student attitudes. Promoting knowledge of citizen's rights had a positive impact on student attitudes towards gender equality, but a negative impact on attitudes towards immigrants and political participation. Getting involved in multicultural projects in the local community had a positive impact on student attitudes towards immigrants. Supporting strategies to reduce racism had a positive effect on feelings of belonging to the EU. The place of CCE in the curriculum had an impact:

having CCE as an extra-curricular subject and a negative impact on political participation, whilst having a specialised CCE teacher positively impacted on student attitudes towards gender equality. As with most countries analysed, gender, cultural capital and socio-economic background all had an impact on student attitudes.

Country Name:	Sweden
Location	Europe
Size	447,430 km ²
Population	10,183,17
GDP	\$551.032 billion
GDP per capita	\$46,681
GINI	29.2
HDI	0.8
Country Classification	High Income Country/ OECD

The results for Sweden are reported in Tables 20 and 21 of the Appendix.

Sweden: data highlights

- A few CCE dimension had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation: getting involved in multicultural projects in the local community and supporting strategies to reduce racism.
- Surprisingly promoting knowledge of citizen's rights had a positive effect on student attitudes to gender equality but a negative effect on student attitudes towards immigrants and political participation.
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

South America

Chile

Results for Chile showed that the only dimension of CCE that had a positive impact on student attitudes was participating in multicultural activities in the local community. Having a specialized teacher also had a positive effect on student attitudes whereas having CCE taught as an extra-curricular subject had a negative effect on student attitudes. Gender,

cultural capital and socio-economic backgrounds had a significant impact on student attitudes. Perceived ethnic conflicts also had a negative impact on student attitudes.

Country Name:	South America
Location	Latin America
Size	756,700 km ²
Population	18,729,160
GDP	\$298.231 billion
GDP per capita	\$22,297
GINI	46.6
HDI	0.67
Country Classification	High Income/OECD

The results for Chile are reported in Tables 22 and 23 of the Appendix.

Chile: data highlights

- The only CCE dimension had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance was getting involved in multicultural projects in the local community.
- Having a specialized teacher also had a positive impact on student attitudes whereas having CCE taught as an extra-curricular subject had a negative effect on student attitudes
- Gender had an impact on student attitudes. Female respondents generally demonstrated more positive attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Perceptions of ethnic conflict in the local neighborhood had a negative impact on student attitudes.

Dominican Republic

Results for the Dominican Republic showed that a number of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes (promoting multicultural activities within the local community and promoting the knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities, involving students in human rights projects). Surprisingly though, involving students in human rights projects had a negative effect on tolerance towards neighbours of different colour, country or indigenous group. The place of CCE in the curriculum had an impact on student attitudes. Unlike other countries, teaching CCE as a separate subject had a positive impact on student attitudes. Also, unlike other countries, gender did not have a significant impact on student attitudes.

Cultural capital and socio-economic background had mixed-effects on student attitudes. Interestingly, giving low importance to the country flag emerged as significant, with a negative impact on student attitudes towards tolerance and diversity.

Country Name:	Dominican Republic
Location	Latin America
Size	48,670 km ²
Population	10,627,165
GDP	\$81.299 billion
GDP per capita	\$14,953
GINI	45.7
HDI	0.49
Country Classification	Upper Middle Income Country

Results for the Dominican Republic are reported in Tables 24 and 25 of the Appendix.

Dominican Republic: data highlights

- A few CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, tolerance and diversity: promoting multicultural activities within the local community; promoting the knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities; involving students in human rights projects.
- Surprisingly, involving students in human rights projects had a negative influence on tolerance towards neighbors of different color, country or indigenous group.
- Unlike other countries, teaching CCE as a separate subject had a positive impact on student attitudes.
- Gender had a very limited impact on student attitudes.
- Cultural capital and socio-economic background had mixed-impacts on student attitudes.
- Interestingly, giving low importance to the country flag emerged as significant, with a negative impact on student attitudes towards tolerance and diversity.

Russia/ Asia

Russia

Results for Russia show that a limited number of GCE dimensions had an impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance (supporting strategies to reduce racism and involving students in human rights projects). Participating in multicultural projects in the local community had a negative effects of student attitudes.

Gender did not have a significant impact on student attitudes, but cultural capital and socio-economic background did have a positive and significant impact.

Country Name:	South America
Location	Asia (IEA classification)
Size	17,098,250 km ²
Population	144,478,050
GDP	\$1.658 trillion
GDP per capita	\$24,791
GINI	37.7
HDI	0.73
Country Classification	High Income/ non-OECD

Results for Russia are reported in Tables 26 of the Appendix

Russia: data highlights

- A limited number of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance: supporting strategies to reduce racism and involving students in human rights projects.
- Participating in multicultural projects in the local community had a negative effects of student attitudes
- Gender had very limited impact on student attitudes.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

South Korea

Results for South Korea showed that CCE had fairly limited effects on student attitudes. The only dimensions that had an impact were promoting critical thinking and involving students in human rights projects. Gender had no effect on student attitudes, but cultural capital did have an effect.

Interestingly, giving less importance to the country flag had a negative effect on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Country Name:	South Korea
Location	Asia
Size	100,339 km ²
Population	51,635,250
GDP	\$1.619 trillion
GDP per capita	\$35,938
GINI	31.6
HDI	0.89
Country Classification	High Income Country/OECD

The results for South Korea are reported in Table 27 of the Appendix.

South Korea: data highlights

- A limited number of CCE dimensions had a positive impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance: developing critical thinking and involving students in human rights projects.
- Gender had no impact on student attitudes.
- Cultural capital, measured by having more books at home and level of parent education, positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.
- Interestingly, giving less importance towards the country flag had a negative effect on student attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a detailed account of the results across each country analyzed, highlight some of the key variables (CCE and control variables) which impacted student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance, and political participation. The volume of data and the sophistication of the statistical analysis are helpful in providing an in-depth view of the complex ways in which specific dimensions of CCE impact on student attitudes. It has shown how local and institutional contexts; student gender and background fairly consistently have an impact on student attitudes. The picture that emerges from this chapter is one of variability, with some unexpected effects of CCE dimensions in particular countries. The next chapter re-visits these different influences on student attitudes from a cross-country perspective in an attempt to offer further explanations about these national variations and the unexpected negative results.

CHAPTER FOUR

Cross-country overview

Civic and citizenship education/GCE variables

In this chapter we look across countries to examine which independent variables (participation in relevant citizenship-linked activities; aspects of civic and citizenship education; curriculum organization around civic and citizenship education) had an effect on the dependent variables used to measure some social and political attitudes and attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity, and political participation.

For European Union-classified countries (Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Italy, Netherlands, Malta), the dependent variables include (1) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (2) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (3) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities; (4) When you are an adult, will you vote in European Elections? (5) Do you feel part of the European Union? (6) Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles.

For Norway, which is not part of the European Union (1) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (2) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (3) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities; (4) Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles.

For South American-classified countries (Chile and Dominican Republic), the dependent variables include (1) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (2) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (3) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities; Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Persons with a different skin color to you; Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Persons from a different country; Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups? Person of indigenous origin.

For Russia (1) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (2) All [ethnic/racial groups] should have equal chances to get a good job in [country of test]; (3) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities.

For South Korea (1) Men and women should have equal rights in every way; (3) Members of all [ethnic/racial groups] should have the same rights and responsibilities.

This section reports cross-country findings for each independent variable.

Some interesting cross-country results emerge from looking at the impact of the number of students who have the opportunity to take part in activities related to GCE, such as human rights projects and multicultural and intercultural activities within the community.

Number of students who have the opportunity to take part in human rights projects.

Question: During the current school year, how many [target grade] students in this school have had the opportunity to take part in any of these activities (human rights projects)?

Results presented in the previous chapter show that the number of students who have the opportunity to take part in human rights programs in the current school year does not always have an effect on student attitudes; whilst in the cases where it does have an effect, it is not always in the ways that would be expected. Positive influences ⁴ were noted in Estonia (positive effect on attitudes towards men and women having equal rights in every way and positive effect on thinking that immigrants have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles); in Italy (positive effect towards idea that men and women should have equal rights in every way, feeling of belonging to EU and the possibility of voting in EU elections in the future); in the Netherlands (positive effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country and on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities) in Norway,

(positive effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country and on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities); in Russia (positive effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country and on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities); in South Korea (positive effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities) and in the Dominican Republic (positive effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country). This seems to support the view that allowing a greater number of students to take part in human rights activities does have a positive effect on their attitudes towards gender equality, diversity and tolerance in many of the countries examined.



⁴ For ease of reading, "positive effects" here are reporting students probability of agreeing or strongly agreeing in comparison to disagreeing or strongly disagreeing.

⁵ For ease of reading, "moderate effect" refers to a shift of one degree on the Likert scale.

However, this was not always the case. There were no effects of the number of students taking part in human rights activities on student attitudes in Belgium, Malta, or Sweden. In some countries, the effect of having more students participate in human rights activities was in fact negative towards gender equality, tolerance or diversity. In Estonia, the more students participating in human right activities had a negative effect on attitudes towards all ethnic/racial groups having equal chances to get a good job in the country. In Finland, it had a similar yet more moderate negative effect on attitudes towards all ethnic/racial groups having equal chances to get a good job in the country. In the Dominican Republic it had a moderate to strong negative effect ⁵ on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities and a positive effect on the probability of agreeing with being bothered by having a neighbor with a different skin color, from a different country or from an indigenous group.

The variation in results across countries, and the unexpected negative results raise some interesting points. First, it shows that participation in human rights activities is not a sufficient predictor/determinant of the success of citizenship education or GCE in terms of student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity. Whilst positive effects are notable across countries, the lack of effect or the negative effect draw attention to the nature of the activities in which students participate, their design and implementation. This raises the question of the sufficiency of measuring the success of GCE by looking at implementation only. The type of activities, forms of learning, student engagement would all need to be examined to fully evaluate the benefits of such activities on students' attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity.

Number of students who have the opportunity to take part in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community.

Question: During the current school year, how many [target grade] students in this school have had the opportunity to take part in any of these activities? Multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community (e.g. promotion and celebration of cultural diversity/food street market).

Interestingly, the number of students who have the opportunity to take part in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community had some effect on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity in every country but one (South Korea). Positive effects on student attitudes were noted in Belgium (on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities and on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles); in Chile, (on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way; on attitudes towards all ethnic/racial groups having equal chances to get a good job in the country and a positive effect on the probability of disagreeing with being bothered by having a neighbor of a different skin color, from a different country or from an indigenous group). Similarly, in the Dominican Republic it had a positive effect on the probability of disagreeing with being bothered by having a neighbor of a different skin color or from a different country. In Finland and in Italy, it had a positive effect on the likelihood of voting in EU elections in the future. In Malta, it had a positive effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country and on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities.

Positive effects were also found in the Netherlands (on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way); in Sweden (on view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles).

The above again seems to support the view that allowing a greater number of students to take part in multicultural and intercultural activities with the local community does have a positive effect on their attitudes towards gender equality, diversity and tolerance in many of the countries examined.

However, similar to taking part in Human Rights activities, having a higher number of students taking part in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community did not always have a positive effect on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity. In some countries, it appeared to have a negative effect. This was the case in Estonia and the Dominican Republic, where it increased the likelihood of students disagreeing with the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way. In Italy, Norway, Russia and the Dominican Republic, having a higher number of students taking part in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community had a negative effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities. Finally, in Russia and the Dominican Republic, it had a negative effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country.

As with participation numbers in Human Rights activities, the variation in results across countries in relation to participation numbers in Multicultural and Intercultural activities, and the unexpected negative results raise some important points.

First, it shows, as above, that participation in multicultural and intercultural activities is not a sufficient predictor/determinant of the success of citizenship education or GCE in terms of student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity. Whilst positive effects are notable across countries, the lack of effect or the negative effect draw attention to the type of activities in which students participate, their design and implementation and how they are located within the local community. As with Human Rights activities, it raises the question of the validity of measuring the success of GCE by looking at implementation only. Here too, the type of activities, forms of learning, student engagement and forms of participation would all need to be examined to fully evaluate the benefits of such activities on students' attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity. Furthermore, it raises questions around forms of community engagement and active citizenship, often presented as key elements of GCE. Types of community engagement and active participation needs to be examined more critically to reflect on the forms it might take, and the impact they might have on student attitudes.

Civic and citizenship education taught as a separate subject

Question: How is civic and citizenship education taught at this school at [target grade]? It is taught as a separate subject by teachers of [subjects related to civic and citizenship education]?

There are again mixed effects of having civic and citizenship education taught as a separate subject in school. There was no full data on this variable for Belgium and there were no identifiable effects in Chile, Russia, South Korean and Sweden. Positive effects of having civic and citizenship education taught as a separate subject on students attitudes towards gender equality,

diversity and tolerance were noted in Italy and Dominican Republic (positive effect on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way); Norway (positive effect on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles) and the Dominican Republic (positive effect on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way; members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities; positive effect on the probability of disagreeing with being bothered by having a neighbor of a different skin color, from a different country or from an indigenous group).

However, having civic and citizenship education taught as a separate subject also had negative effects on student attitudes. This was the case in Estonia, where it increased the likelihood of not voting in EU elections in the future; in Finland, where it had a moderate negative effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities; in Malta, where it had a negative effect on the view the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles; and in the Netherlands, where it had a negative effect on the view that men and women should have equal rights.

These results once again show the wide country variation. The results presented are ambiguous to interpret, in the absence of further information about the nature of the type civic and citizenship education that is taught, its status in the curriculum, its focus on local, national or global issues and understanding as well as well as the types of citizenship (is the emphasis on knowledge, skills, participation?). These results do, however, raise questions about the mainstreaming of citizenship education and/or GCE. Whilst the overwhelming drive in international policy, advocacy groups and academic literature has been to encourage the mainstreaming of GCE in all areas of the curriculum,

the mixed results presented above call for a deeper critical examination of the type of citizenship education or GCE that is being mainstreamed. Once again, the implementation of citizenship education or GCE and its mainstreaming is not a sufficient predictor of the success of these programs, nor of the positive impact they might have on the attitudes of students towards gender equality, diversity and tolerance. The results suggest that the mainstreaming of citizenship education, and by extension GCE, might, at times, have the opposite effect to the one intended on student attitudes. A further examination of the types of GCE developed in schools, in terms of design, content and practice would thus be necessary to gauge its relative success.

Civic and citizenship education taught as an extra-curricular activity

Question: How is civic and citizenship education taught at this school at [target grade]? It is taught as an [extra-curricular] activity?

Results show that having civic and citizenship education taught as an extra-curricular subject has mixed-effects on students' attitudes towards gender equality, diversity and tolerance across countries. No effects were detected on student attitudes in the Netherlands, Norway and Russia. It has positive effects on student attitudes in Finland (on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way); Italy (on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles) and in South Korea (on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities).

In other countries, having civic and citizenship education taught as an extra-curricular subject had some negative effects towards students' attitudes towards diversity, tolerance or political participation. This was the case in Belgium, Malta and the Dominican Republic where, it had a negative effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities and in Chile, where it had a moderate negative effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities. In Estonia, it had a negative effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country, and in Sweden it had a negative effective on the likelihood of voting in EU elections in the future.

These results, and their variation across countries, once again highlight the fact that the types of programs and their status within school might vary and need to be examined closely. The way in which citizenship education is developed in extra-curricular activities is important to examine, along with the background and level of specialisation of teachers. The number of students taking part in such activities could also play a role. As discussed above, the nature of the activities could have an effect, such as whether citizenship education is focused mainly on knowledge, skills or participation. Although the variation across countries does not present conclusive results, it does raise further questions about the mainstreaming of citizenship education and by extension GCE, as well as the ways in which extra-curricular activities are designed and implemented. At a time of "curriculum crowding" (Gaudelli, 2006) and an emphasis on standards, testing and traditional subjects, supporters of GCE such as Oxfam have shifted their focus from classroom GCE to extra-curricular GCE. The results show that careful reflection on the way GCE can be successfully developed in spaces of informal and non-formal learning is needed.

Specialized teacher for civic or citizenship education

Question: In this school, are specific tasks for civic and citizenship education assigned to any of the following teachers?
 (1) *The [head] of human/social sciences (History, Geography, Law, Economics, etc.);* (2) *The civic and citizenship education coordinator;* (3) *The teacher responsible for cross-curricular projects;* (4) *No specific tasks are assigned to individual teachers.*

In our analysis, we considered this item to be a proxy for the level of specialisation of the teacher, i.e. whether civic and citizenship education was taught by a specialist or non-specialist teacher. 'Specialist teacher' would include teachers of history, social science, or others.

Based on this interpretation of the item, we found again mixed-effects across the data of the 12 countries analyzed. No effects were found in Belgium, Russia and South Korea. Interestingly, the only positive effects found from having a specialized teacher for civic and citizenship education was on student attitudes towards gender equality, with positive effects found in Chile and Sweden (on the view than men and women should have equal rights in every way). The only negative effect found from having a specialized teacher for civic and citizenship education were in Estonia, where having a specialized teacher had a negative effect on feelings of belonging to the EU and in the Dominican Republic, where it had a positive effect on the probability of agreeing with being bothered by having a neighbor of different skin color.

What was found more commonly across countries was that not having a specialized teacher for civic or citizenship education had a negative effect on student attitudes towards gender equality, diversity, tolerance and political participation. In Finland and the Netherlands, not having a specialized teacher had a negative effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country; whilst in Italy, it had a moderate negative effect on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country. In Malta, not having a specialized teacher had a negative effect on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities. In Norway, it had a negative effect on the view the view that men and women should men and women should have equal rights in every way. In Sweden, it had a negative effect on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles and on the likelihood of not voting in EU elections in the future.

Finally, in one country, Estonia, not having a specialized teacher had a positive impact on the view that men and women should men and women should have equal rights in every way and on the likelihood of voting in EU elections in the future.

Once again, we have mixed-results across countries in terms of the effect of having specialized or not having specialized teachers for civic and citizenship education, with some unexpected results such as having a specialized teacher having a negative impact on student attitudes towards gender equality, diversity, tolerance or political participation (Estonia and Dominican Republic) or not having a specialized teacher having a positive impact on attitudes towards gender equality and political participation (Estonia). It can be noted however that effects from not having a specialized teacher were more significant than having a specialized teacher. This might be the result of the nature of the question and the items themselves,

which perhaps did not provide an accurate reporting of the level of specialisation of the teacher and might signify that there was very little teaching at all (No specific tasks are assigned to individual teachers). Equally, it is not clear what might be the level of expertise of the teacher in charge of cross-curricular projects.

These results do, however, raise issues around the level of expertise and training of teachers of civic and citizenship education, or GCE. Teacher training has been identified as one of the key areas for promoting inclusion (GEM report, 2019) and Global Citizenship Education (Global Schools, 2016; Bourn, Hunt and Bumber, 20). Equally, the insufficient provision of teacher training and teacher support has been identified as a major barrier for promoting inclusion and GCE (ibid). Teacher training, intercultural competences and pedagogies have been highlighted as central to fostering inclusion (GEM report, 2019). Whilst the results presented here remain inconclusive as to the effect of having specialized teachers or not having specialized teachers, they do point to similar issues around training, resources and expertise that would need to be examined in more depth. In any case, they highlight the central role of teachers in the successful implementation of citizenship education and GCE programs, and their potential impact on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity and political participation. Teachers' expertise in pedagogical approaches to diversity, equality, dialogue, and the capacity to engage with difficult or controversial issues might also be key to developing successful and impactful GCE programs, and would thus need to be included in their measurement and evaluation. This further emphasises the complexity involved in looking at the implementation of GCE and the need to further examine training, pedagogy, resources, support and types of practice for teachers within specific local or national contexts.

Key aspects of citizenship education:

In our analysis, we considered the questions of what schools considered to be the most important aims of civic and citizenship education as a proxy for priorities in their civic and citizenship education curriculum. In this section we look at the three items and their effect on student attitudes across countries.

Promoting knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities

Question: What do you consider the most important aims of civic and citizenship education at school?

Results showed that schools' prioritizing of the promotion of knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities had mixed effects across the 12 countries. No effects were detected in Chile, Finland, Italy, Russia and South Korea. It had positive effects in Belgium and Sweden on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles; in Estonia and the Netherlands on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country. In addition, it had a positive effect in the Netherlands on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities; in Sweden on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way on the likelihood of voting in EU elections in the future. Interestingly, there were negative effects in three countries on student attitudes towards gender equality. This was the case in Malta, Norway and the Dominican Republic, where students were less likely to agree (Malta and Dominican Republic) or more likely to disagree (Norway) with the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way.

Promoting students' critical and independent thinking

Question: What do you consider the most important aims of civic and citizenship education at school ?

For this item, results showed that schools' prioritizing the promotion of students' critical and independent thinking had mainly no detectable effect or positive effects. It had no detectable effects in Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the Dominican Republic. It had positive effects on student attitudes to gender equality in Belgium; Malta and South Korea (on the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way); on tolerance and diversity in Chile (on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities) and in Italy (on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles) ; on political belonging and in Belgium again (feeling on belonging to the EU) and political participation in Italy (on the likelihood of voting in EU elections in the future). Effects were negative however in Italy on feelings of belonging to the EU and in Estonia where it was associated with the probability of not voting in EU elections.

Supporting the development of anti-racist strategies

Question: What do you consider the most important aims of civic and citizenship education at school?

For this item, results showed that schools' prioritizing the promotion of effective strategies to reduce racism has limited effects on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity. There were no effects for Chile, Estonia, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, South Korea, Sweden and the Dominican Republic.

In Russia, there were unexpected positive results on gender equality (the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way). There was also a positive effect in Belgium on feeling of belonging to the EU. The country that stands out is Malta, where prioritizing the development of effective strategies to reduce racism had a positive effect on student attitudes towards gender equality (the view that men and women should have equal rights in every way); tolerance and diversity in every area (on the view that members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities; on the view that all ethnic/racial groups should have equal chances to get a good job in the country; on the view that immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their customs and lifestyles) and on political participation (on the likelihood of voting for sure in EU elections in the future).

The above results raise a number of issues. First, the mixed effect across different countries reflect, once again, the variety of forms of implementation, design and impact that different core elements of citizenship education (and by extension GCE) have on student attitudes. Second, we need to be aware that the fact that the school identifies these aims as the most important for civic and citizenship education does not mean that (a) these are integrated within the curriculum and practice (b) that when they are integrated, they are done so in ways that promotes successful student engagement and learning. A large body of academic literature has been critical of the somewhat superficial or tokenistic approach to citizenship or GCE in schools, which often does not go beyond a statement of ethos and values. The lower status that citizenship or GCE might occupy in the curriculum in relation to subjects that are measured through high stakes testing (literacy, numeracy and science) has also been raised as an issue for the successful development of citizenship or GC education.

The fact that in some cases negative effects were reported also highlights the importance of developing GCE programs that give careful attention to the content and practice, student responses and engagement. It also shows that school is only one element within a range of experiences had by students which will impact on their beliefs and attitudes.

Looking more closely at the variation for each item between countries, also raises questions about the nature of citizenship or GC education within different national contexts. The way the knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities is taught in different schools and different countries is likely to vary greatly across contexts. The types of engagement with these contexts, and the nature of the "knowledge" that is being developed within schools is thus important for reflecting about the role of citizenship or GC education. The fact that it had a negative effect on attitudes towards gender equality in two countries raises the question of the ways in which rights and responsibilities might be framed within those contexts, and how they are related to understandings of gender within these particular countries, localities or schools.

When it comes to critical thinking and independent thought, it is interesting to note that the only negative effects were on political belonging and participation for two European countries, Estonia and Italy. In the unsettled context of the EU in the past few years, and the rise of discontent and opposition towards the EU, it is perhaps not surprising that developing critical thinking and independent thought might lead to less positive attitudes towards the EU in those two countries. The rise of far-right youth groups in both countries, and the nationalistic movements that accompany them might also be an explanation, beyond the impact of school. Another interesting point is that there was a positive effect on gender equality in three countries, and some positive effect on attitudes towards tolerance and diversity.

Critical thinking has occupied an important place in GCE programs, and advocates of global citizenship see it as a crucial element of its success. These results somewhat support this view for some countries, although they also show that the effects on student attitudes were not positive in every country. Again, the ways in which critical thinking is integrated within the curriculum, in pedagogical approaches, and the level of training or support teachers receive to develop it in their practice would need to be considered to draw further conclusions. It does however draw attention to the fact that a closer examination of types of critical thinking and independent thought in GCE is necessary for its successful implementation. Further examination of what lies beneath these broad citizenship concepts in terms of curriculum and pedagogical practice is key to gaining a deeper understanding of the impact of GCE on student attitudes.

Looking at strategies to reduce racism also raises some important issues. The first is the question of the limited effect it had on student attitudes in most countries. This is somewhat surprising as it could be expected that this would have the strongest effect on attitudes towards ethnic and racial minorities or immigrants. It might be that the nature of the strategies is very specific and does not help students make links between racism and the social inequalities that emerge as a result from racism. It might be also, as has been shown in a range of academic literature, that these initiatives remain limited in practice and do not allow students to engage deeply with issues of racism and the inequalities that are associated with discriminatory racial practices. It might call for more critical engagement with racism as systemically embedded within society, discourse and institutions (Gillborn, 2018). Here, the case of Malta is an interesting outlier, as in this country, prioritizing strategies to reduce racism was shown to have a positive effect across the whole range of student attitudes analyzed in this study (gender equality, tolerance and diversity).

This case strongly supports the view of closely examining the nature of the programs offered and the types of design, content, practices and pedagogies within citizenship or GC education. It could be assumed that the nature of the programs and civic and citizenship education offered in Malta was a successful example of GCE having an impact on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity.

Control variables: student background, local area and socio- economic factors

In this section we look across countries to examine which control variables (mainly socio-economic status variables) had an effect on the dependent variables used to measure students' social and political attitudes and attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity, and political participation.

The control variables included (1) the gender of the respondent, (2) whether the school considers the presence of immigrants to be a source of social tension, (3) whether the school considers unemployment to be a source of social tension, (4) whether the school considers ethnic conflicts to be a source of social tension, (5) the size of the immediate area where the school is located, (6) the percentage of students from economically affluent homes, (7) the highest level of education the student is expected to complete, (8) the language spoken at home, (9) the level of education completed by the student's mother, (10) the level of education completed by the student's father, (11) the number of books at home, (12) whether the student has an internet connection at home, and (13) whether the student feels the flag of their country is important to them.

Looking at the socio-economic status variables, we can see that in most cases, perceiving the area to have less unemployment, ethnic conflict or problems with immigrant was correlated with increased political participation in future European elections. This was the case in Europe for Finland, Malta, the Netherlands Norway and Sweden, in South America for Chile and the Dominican Republic in Asia for Russia and South Korea. However, these variables were correlated in the opposite direction in other countries. This was the case for Italy, Estonia, and Belgium. In Chile, having the school located in an area with a perception of low unemployment was correlated with positive student attitudes towards having a neighbor of a different color.

Another important socio-economic variable was the size of the immediate area in which the school was located. The larger the area, the more likely the students were to display positive attitudes towards equality, tolerance, and diversity. This was the case for Belgium, Finland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Russia. However, this was not the case for Estonia, where interestingly students in schools located in larger areas were more prone to disagree about men and women having the same rights, and feeling part of EU.



Having a higher proportion of affluent students in the school had a positive effect on students' attitudes towards equality, diversity and tolerance. This was the case for Belgium, Estonia, Italy, Norway, and Chile. The exception to this was Finland, where having a larger proportion of affluent students had a negative impact on students' attitudes towards the idea that immigrants should have the same right and responsibilities and that men and women should have the equal rights in every way. Another exception was the Netherlands, where having a higher proportion of affluent students was negatively correlated with feelings of belonging to the EU.

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1972), measured by students' expected level of education, their parents' highest level of education and the number of books at home, had a significant effect on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance across all countries. Expecting to complete a higher level of education had a positive impact on attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance, and (where relevant) political participation. This was the case for all countries analyzed. A similar positive impact on student attitudes was found in relation to parents' higher levels of education. Having a larger collection of books had a positive effect on students' attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance. This is the case for Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Chile, Russia, and South Korea.

An intriguing social variable was whether students felt the flag of the country they lived in was important to them. Giving a higher importance to the country's flag had a positive impact on attitudes towards gender equality and immigrants' rights. This was the case in almost all the countries analyzed, with the exception of Sweden and Finland.

Perceptions of fairness in society had an impact on student attitudes. Perceiving that women had equal salaries and career opportunities to men positively impacted on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance. For some European countries, perceptions of gender fairness and equality had a positive impact on planning to vote in European elections in the future. This was the case for Belgium, Finland, Italy, and Malta. The only European country in which this had an opposite effect was Netherlands where perceiving immigrants as treated fairly in the country of test had a negative effect on student attitudes towards gender equality, immigrant rights and respect for immigrants' lifestyle and customs. This raises questions about models of fairness in society and how these might shape student attitudes and values.

Conclusion

This cross-country overview and discussion of results in this chapter showed that the impact of CCE dimensions varied strongly among countries. Nonetheless, in most cases, some CCE dimensions did have an impact on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, tolerance, and political participation. The types of CCE activities and their impact did, however, vary across national contexts. Whilst this makes it difficult to identify key dimensions of CCE that could be applied universally, it does point to the strength and weaknesses of certain elements of GCE and its implementation in schools. Knowledge of citizen's rights and responsibilities and multicultural activities with the local community have very mixed effects, with call for caution and careful consideration in the design and implementation of such practices as part of GCE programs.

The place of CCE in the curriculum, as well as the level of training and support received by teachers are also areas that require attention. Results presented in this chapter highlight just how important it is to take national and local contexts into account in the development of citizenship or global citizenship programs. They also show that students' background, in terms of cultural capital and socio-economic status, consistently impacts students' attitudes. Gender also had an impact in many countries, but not all. This raises important questions about the relationship between education and society, and the role GCE can play within it. This holds implications for thinking about policy, curriculum development and pedagogical practices, which are examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and reflections
for policy and practice

This report has examined the impact of specific dimensions of civic and citizenship education on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity, and political participation. These dimensions of civic and citizenship education were closely related to dimensions of GCE. The student attitudes examined are central to the aims of GCE in promoting more peaceful, equitable, fair, inclusive, and socially just societies, and teaching young people to understand and value human interconnectedness, and to co-exist in diverse societies. Our analysis of the effect of CCE on student attitudes highlighted the following points of central importance for thinking about the development, implementation, and impact of GCE globally.

GCE might be global, but it is not universal

There was a wide variation across countries with regard to CCE and related GCE dimensions. The variation in the implementation of principles and activities related to GCE has been reported by a range of international studies and data sets (sixth consultation on 1974 Recommendation, UNESCO 2018; IEA reports on ICCS, Losito et al, 2017; Schultz et al, 2016; 2017). However what our analysis has shown is that the variation is not only in terms of implementation but also in terms of the effects of reportedly similar initiatives, whether involvement in human rights projects, participation in multicultural or intercultural activities in the local community, or emphasis on knowledge, critical thinking or anti-racist strategies. Our analysis showed that the impact of GCE related initiatives, activities, and pedagogical approaches was not always what might have been expected –and sometimes was the opposite of what was expected.

This highlights a point of tension between a large global push towards GCE or associated skills and competences (see for example, PISA and global competence), which aim to be measured equally across countries. The findings also highlight the importance of taking specific contextual aspects into account such as the national context, the type of educational system, the local environment, school structures and demographics, and finally, the nature of GCE teaching. The way in which teaching is integrated within the curriculum, the level of specialization of teachers, the nature of the teaching and pedagogical approaches need to be carefully considered to assess the role of GCE and to implement it successfully towards stated aims.

As such, whilst global in reach and in name, GCE should not be mistaken as universal. There might be a tendency to consider GCE as having a universal impact, with equal positive effects across the world. Whilst some of the principles promoted globally for GCE are inscribed within universal values (UNESCO, 2014; 2015; 2018), this does not mean that they are equally accessible for all, everywhere, with the same approaches. Scholars have cautioned policy makers and educators about the limitations of the universalization of "good" pedagogical methods, which have been criticized for carrying implicit assumptions of "best practice" (Schweisfurth, 2013; Schweisfurth and Elliott, 2019). Equally, assumptions of universalism in GCE have been critiqued for promoting dominant Western values and knowledge under the guise of neutrality (Marshall, 2011; Stein & Andreotti, 2016). Our analysis adds to this debate by showing that the impact of GCE teaching and activities are not universal either. There are strong variations across countries, but also across demographics: student gender,

their socio-economic background and cultural capital (as shown by the number of books at home, expected level of education and highest level of education of parents) had a more systematic effect on student attitudes than any of the CCE/GCE variables analyzed. This analysis thus points to the diversity of the effects of GCE across countries and within countries/societies, reflecting socio-economic divides and inequalities.

The emergence of a pattern of "gendered global citizenship" across countries is an interesting phenomenon. Overall, female respondents were more likely to present positive attitudes towards equality, tolerance and diversity, although there were variations across countries and between response items. Gender differences in student attitudes have been reported previously in IEA reports on the ICCS data (Losito et al, 2017; Schultz et al, 2016; 2017). However, to our knowledge, the gendered dimension of global citizenship has remained fairly unexplored, and would benefit from further examination and research.

The implementation of GCE programs thus needs to pay careful attention to the national, local, cultural, structural and systemic specificities of the contexts in which they are being developed, and move away from a perhaps naïve belief in the "good" of GCE. We recommend a model of GCE that takes diversity into account (national, local, cultural, social), and recognizes the structural inequalities at play in the ways in which GCE might impact student attitudes. This includes a recognition of the possible gendered nature of GCE, and the implications of this for thinking about global citizenship, which would demand further attention and deeper examination. This has strong implications for thinking about GCE, the relationship between different levels of implementation and the interplay between the local, national and global. Interconnectedness is multi-levelled and might thus mean different things in different contexts,

beyond an abstract ideal. This calls for a deeper reflection on the relationship between education and society, examined below.

Good intentions are not enough: thinking beyond implementation

The enthusiasm for GCE in the last decades, and its recent centrality in international policy might at times create the illusion that developing GCE programs is an end in itself. Our results show that the implementation of aspects of GCE is not always sufficient for a positive effect on student attitudes. If GCE aims to be transformative and a force for change (UNESCO, 2015; 2019), a closer examination of the nature and content of these programs, pedagogical practices and teacher training is required to ensure that GCE has a positive impact on young people's attitudes and help to foster the values of equality, respect, tolerance, inclusion, and peace that global citizenship intends to promote.

From the data analyzed, the implementation of particular activities (human rights, multicultural/intercultural activities in the community) had mixed impact, including negative ones. Similar effects were noted in relationship to various focuses on aspects of GCE such as knowledge (rights and responsibilities); skills (critical and independent thinking) and strategies (anti-racism), which remained fairly inconclusive in their effect on student attitudes, with, at times, unexpected opposite results. We suggest that further examination of the ways in which these aspects are developed in school is needed.

This raises questions about the knowing and the doing of global citizenship, in particular the relationship between knowledge, skills, and participation (Welply,

2019). This holds implications for thinking about the place of GCE in the curriculum, of particular importance for questions around mainstreaming. Lynn Davies advocated the need for both knowledge and engagement for students to be able to take part in active citizenship (Davies, 2006). Results from our analysis remain inconclusive on this matter, and show that assumptions regarding the influence of knowledge, skills, and participation on student attitudes need to be examined more critically and deeply. Our analysis holds implications for thinking about the role of GCE in promoting attitudes towards equality, tolerance, and diversity, as well as thinking about the nature of GCE programs: curriculum design, content, pedagogical approaches, and student engagement.

Querying the local: community engagement/ collaboration with schools has mixed impact

Our analysis showed that involving more students in multicultural/ intercultural educational initiatives in the local community did not always have positive effects, and in some cases had negative effects. This raises questions around the nature and design of these initiatives and the level of student participation. It also raises questions about students themselves, their thinking processes, perspectives, ideas and knowledge. The form of measurement can also be queried, as the measure of the number of students attending does not mean that learning is actually taking place. Our results show that beyond implementation, the nature of the pedagogical experience for students, and the learning that might or might not result from it, needs to be more closely examined.

Whilst our results cannot allow us to comment on the nature of the multicultural/intercultural initiatives within the local community, they do raise two important issues. First, participating in multicultural/ intercultural initiatives does not presuppose a positive impact on student attitudes towards diversity, equality, and tolerance. There are many reasons for this. It could be that programs do not fully engage the students or remain rather superficial. Although there has been a strong trend in global and national policy towards developing GCE and multicultural/ intercultural programs embedded in local communities as a way tackling discrimination and creating more inclusive and tolerant societies (UNESCO, 2019), the limitations and risk of superficiality in such programs have been strongly critiqued (Gillborn, 2006; Osler, 2008; Dervin and Tournebise, 2013). It could be that structural factors, such as students' gender, socio-economic background and cultural capital are more important determinants of student attitudes than the non-formal educational experiences in which they engage. Second, they raise questions about the relationship between the school and the local community, the types of collaborations and relationships among different educational or political actors and the ways in which these collaborations can help develop meaningful programs that engage students in a deeper reflection on issues linked to equality and diversity in society. Successful partnerships at the local level are not automatic and require careful consideration and planning to avoid being merely a token nod to cultural diversity, and more importantly, to avoid possible detrimental effects on student attitudes towards tolerance, equality, and diversity. The emphasis on developing the role of schools within the wider community as a way of promoting GCE (Oxfam, 2015; UNESCO, 2019) thus needs to be considered within this deeper reflection on what types of partnerships and collaborations foster relationships between schools and the wider community that are meaningful and impactful for students.

Finally, these mixed results call for further reflection around the notions of student participation, community engagement, and active citizenship. These terms are used widely in policy and academic literature on GCE, and have come to be accepted, in many areas, as obvious "good practice". This wide acceptance runs the risk of the concepts themselves becoming reified or devoid of meaning. What is meant by student participation, community engagement, and active citizenship, so widely promoted in policy and educational guidance on GCE? The notions of participation and engagement with the community might vary across national, cultural, social, or political contexts. GCE programs need to recognize these specificities and include them in their development. This highlights the need to pay further attention to the nature of political participation and the types of education that can encourage it. New forms of engagement and participation in campaigns for social change take many forms which require a range of skills (e.g. campaigning, lobbying, participation and activism in various social media platforms, developing alternative or counter-narratives). The ways GCE can help foster the knowledge of these forms of engagement and the skills to take part requires careful consideration.

Our recommendation is for GCE programs to engage critically with these notions, recognize their diversity across national, social and institutional spaces, and reflect on the ways in which they can be successfully implemented at policy, local, and school levels.

The values and aims of GCE are complex and non-unitary

A review of the literature showed the ways in which definitions of GCE are somewhat elusive and contested, with variations across policy, academic and practice. What has been less discussed is the complexity and fluidity of some of the core values promoted globally by and for GCE, such as tolerance, equality, appreciation of cultural diversity (SDG 4.7), sense of belonging to a broader community of common humanity (UNESCO, 2015), peace, tolerance, and inclusion (UNESCO, 2019).

Whilst the universality of these principles as fundamental to human rights and human dignity can be accepted, our results have shown that the ways in which student attitudes will reflect these values are not linear or systematic. The analysis of ICCS data showed that students might strongly agree with gender equality and the view that ethnic minorities should have equal opportunities whilst disagreeing with the view that ethnic minorities should have equal rights or immigrants be allowed to continue their lifestyle and customs. At the crux of these apparent contradictions is the complexity of what is understood as tolerance, respect, equality or appreciation for cultural diversity and what lies beneath these concepts for students. The impact of GCE will thus not be unitary or systematic.

Our results have shown that some initiatives or school initiatives might encourage the promotion of some of the values of GCE whilst hindering others. This was most apparent in the political participation in European countries, showing again that the notion of "active citizenship", understood as engagement with political structures and voting, needs to be re-examined within particular social and political landscapes. This was also apparent in other areas related to student attitudes, where some aspects of GCE might increase tolerance or respect for certain groups or certain types of opportunities and rights, but not all. Student attitudes, tolerance and respect for others and equal rights are thus not homogenous nor are they constant.

This more nuanced views of the complexity and non-unitary nature of GCE principles and values, as well as the mixed effect of GCE programs on student attitudes holds important implications for thinking about GCE, its implementation and pedagogical practices. Successful implementation of GCE will need to closely examine the various potential impacts of these programs and different elements of the curriculum, and their variation across contexts and social groups.

Mainstreaming might require various forms, at different educational levels and within different contexts

Mainstreaming of GCE programs has been high on the global policy agenda. From a measurement point of view, the notion of "mainstreaming" is the single global indicator for successful implementation of GCE and the fulfilment of Target 4.7 of the SDGs. Whilst the notion of mainstreaming refers here to the integration of GCE at different levels of education (from policy to practice), other debates around mainstreaming for GCE refer to the integration of GCE across the curriculum and in all areas of learning (formal, informal, non-formal),

supporting a holistic ethos of GCE and the idea that GCE cannot only be taught as a separate subject (Davies, 2006; Osler, 2008; UNESCO, 2015; Oxfam, 2015; Ibrahim, 2005).

Our results are inconclusive as to the effect of mainstreaming of GCE on student attitudes towards equality, tolerance, and diversity. However, our analysis did show that having CCE/ GCE taught as a separate subject or an extra-curricular subject did have positive effects on student attitudes in certain countries. The result was not systematic and, in some cases, had negative effects on student attitudes, increasing the likelihood of disagreement on views around equal gender or immigrant rights and/or opportunities. This again calls for a deeper and more critical examination on the implementation and design of GCE programs, in different national and local contexts. Results have shown that there is not a clear positive or negative effect of mainstreaming GCE or not, and thus the specific needs of different schools in different contexts would need to be taken into account. There might be situations in which teaching GCE as a separate or extra-curricular subject could help develop key knowledge, skills, or participation which would benefit students' understanding of social and political issues and help develop the values of equality, tolerance, and respect for diversity that GCE aims to promote. This holds implications for contemporary times, in which an emphasis on standards, testing and global comparisons leaves limited space in the curriculum for the teaching of GCE. This phenomenon of "curriculum crowding" (Gaudelli, 2016), with probable variations across countries and schools, might mean that full mainstreaming of GCE in a holistic way remains more of a fiction than a reality. Within this climate of neoliberalism in education, with its emphasis on employability skills rather than human values, one solution might be to reflect further on successful ways of designing successful GCE courses as separate or extra-curricular subjects. Whilst this might not be ideal, it is encouraging to see that such programs, although not mainstreamed,

can have positive effects on student attitudes, and thus take GCE a step closer to achieving its aims.

Teacher support, expertise and training is key to successful GCE programs

Teachers have been identified as central to the successful implementation of GCE programs and principles (UNESCO, 2018; Global Schools, 2016), to fostering inclusion and respect in diverse classrooms (UNESCO, 2019) and to tackling discrimination and prejudice (Davies, 2006). However, it is also recognised that the level of teacher training, support (pre-service and in-service), guidance and availability of resources and materials for GCE remain insufficient in most countries (UNESCO, 2018, 2019; Global Schools, 2016). This lack of sufficient provision has been identified as a major barrier to the successful promotion of inclusion and GCE programs (ibid).

Our results remained inconclusive as to the effect that having a specialized CCED/GCE teacher could have on student attitudes, with some positive effects found in some countries, and some negative effects in others. However, our results showed that effects of not having a specialized CCED/GCE teacher were more significant and tended to have negative effects on student attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance. These findings support the idea that further investment in teacher training, support and resources for GCE are acutely needed. It also shows that the evaluation of successful implementation of GCE programs needs to look beyond policy and the curriculum to look at structural barriers and enablers of good pedagogical practice in terms of structures, supports, and resources.

There has been a tendency in many countries in recent years to shift the blame towards teachers, often accused of not properly fulfilling the duties of their job. This neoliberal perspective on teachers and performance has led to an emphasis on the micro-world of the school or the classroom, driven by standards, testing and accountability, which often overlooks the fact that teachers are not isolated actors, but part of larger systemic mechanisms that will promote or hinder good practice. At a time of evidence-based education and an emphasis on what works, it is important to acknowledge the central role of teachers, but also re-situate it within wider systems and structures that might promote or hinder the successful development of GCE. Our results have shown that these mechanisms are multiple and complex. Recognizing this complexity can help reflect on the relationship between education and society, which our results have shown to be essential for understanding the effect of GCE on student attitudes.

Education cannot (fully) compensate for society

British scholar Basil Bernstein controversially declared in 1970 that "education cannot compensate for society" (1970). Whilst this might seem like a rather pessimistic statement, it is helpful in reflecting on the role of education, its place within society, and the fact that it does not function in isolation.

Our results showed that students' socio-economic backgrounds and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1972) had more significant effects on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance and diversity than any of the GCE variables examined. This points to the fact that GCE education might not be able to substitute for the impact of social and economic inequalities or the influence of home and parental views.

This does not mean that education plays no role, and our results showed that some GCE activities or emphasis did have some positive effect on student attitudes.

Our results thus do not invalidate the role of education, but rather raise questions about the relationship between education and society, and the situation, posture, and context of GCE programs in specific social, cultural, and economic contexts. This relationship of education to society would need to be re-positioned in global discussions around GCE, where it often appears to be overlooked. Social inequalities, access to and engagement with cultural resources, urban segregation and demographic contexts also need to be taken into account.

In European countries, our results showed that perceptions of gender inequalities or unfair treatment towards immigrants impacted student attitudes. This shows that the model that societies offer young people today is important in how they endorse or reject the core values promoted by GCE. Successful GCE programs thus cannot be limited to the educational sphere only: they need to be supported by wider commitments to social justice, tackling discrimination and structural inequalities at all levels, local, national, and global. This raises questions about the political and ideological nature of education (UNESCO, 2019, p. 85) which will undoubtedly impact student attitudes, and frames relationships between education and wider influences including home, the local community, national politics, media discourse, and (mis) information.

Finally, an intriguing result emerged from our analysis which would require further investigation: respecting the national flag had influenced student attitudes towards equality, tolerance, and diversity in all countries examined. Taken alone, it is not sufficient as a proxy for feelings of national identity and belonging, but it suggests some interesting questions about the relationship between national citizenship and GCE (Myers, 2016; Welply, 2019).

The measurement of the impact of GCE remains a challenge

Chapter 2 reviewed international attempts at measuring GCE and the various approaches used. One central message that emerged was the difficulty in measuring GCE beyond the implementation (supplier) level. Our research has attempted to look at the relationships between supplier and receiver, and the effect of elements of CCED/GCE on student attitudes. Not all results were conclusive, but our analysis did show some distinctive effects and patterns that would benefit from further examination.

Some of the challenges in measuring GCE internationally are linked to data collection and response rates. The sixth Consultation for the 1974 recommendation showed that there were disparities across regions in response rates from UN member states. The ICCS data, whilst providing a rich cross-national data set, mainly has data from high and middle income countries, but none from low income countries. This disparity is a strong limitation in that it prevents one from getting a proper international overview.

The nature of the tools for data collection also raise questions of cross-national adaptability, conceptual equivalence and how much can be gathered from items that remain fairly generic in nature. These issues have been addressed elsewhere (Schultz et al, 2016) but are worth remembering within the context of this study.

Recommendations for policy and practice

This report has focused on 12 countries, and has shown that there are wide variations across and within national contexts. The limited availability of comparable, complete data sets from countries in other regions, in particular Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, makes it difficult to draw conclusions that could be applicable within these various regional and national contexts. However, the results presented in this report, based on large-scale data, did open up new lines of reflection around the development of GCE programs which can be of relevance for different countries and societies across the globe. Thus, the following recommendations do not aim to be prescriptive or to claim a "one-size-fits-all" model of GCE. Rather, they offer suggestions and points of consideration that can help reflect on curriculum development and the implementation of GCE programs across the world.

Based on the findings and discussion, this report makes the following recommendations for GCE policy and practice.

1. The development and mainstreaming of GCE programs need to be given careful consideration by policy makers and curriculum developers.

- Further questioning by policy makers and curriculum developers of what is meant by mainstreaming and how mainstreaming is developed at different levels of education (political, local, institutional) and by different key actors.
- Reflection by school management and teachers on the relationship between GCE and other aspects of the curriculum. What hierarchies might exist? What relationships might be developed around GCE across subjects? How can cross-curricular GCE programs be successfully developed? This entails schools and teachers to be given close consideration on the local and institutional contexts, and ways in which GCE programs can be successfully developed within these.
- Reflection by policy makers, curriculum developers, school management and teachers on the type of knowledge, skills and engagement that are being promoted through the mainstreaming of GCE. How do they relate to the aims of GCE?
- Strategic thinking by policy makers, curriculum developers and school management on curriculum organization, teacher training and support to facilitate the mainstreaming of GCE.

Mainstreaming cannot be a "catch all". There might be instances where having GCE as a separate subject is beneficial for student learning, reflection, and engagement as citizens. This necessitates careful attention paid to local contexts in developing GCE programs. GCE programs will need to be embedded within local contexts and respond to both local and global needs. This is important for policy makers and departments of education that might be developing GCE curricula, as well as for school management and teachers who will be implementing this curriculum within specific contexts.

2. Further reflection is needed on the nature and content of GCE programs needs to be developed by policy makers at international and national levels, giving full attention to the diversity of contexts.

- Examination of the relative place of knowledge, skills, and participation in GCE and the relationship between them. What balance can be found between the knowing and the doing of GCE, and how does it constitute an authentic learning experience for students? The notions of community engagement require careful consideration by scholars, policy makers, and curriculum developers in relation to specific national, social, local, or institutional contexts.
- Further reflection by policy makers and teachers on core GCE values such as equality, tolerance, diversity and inclusion, beyond tokenistic definitions. The diversity interpretations of these concepts by students and across contexts need to be recognized.
- Further analysis, by policy makers and researchers, of the variable impact of particular programs on promoting GCE values by students in relation to specific contexts.
- Further attention by curriculum developers, school management, and teachers to the types of activities, pedagogical approaches and practices of GCE. This will help develop a further understanding what helps promote deeper student engagement with issues of equality, tolerance, and diversity.

The specificity of school, local, national contexts, and student interpretations and experiences need to be considered at various levels (policy making, curriculum development, pedagogical practice) when developing GCE programs. There is no "one-size-fits-all". The tension between allowing sufficient recognition of specific contexts whilst striving to promote universal GCE values is central to developing meaningful and impactful GCE programs and needs to be an integral part of educational approaches to GCE at all levels: policy, design, curriculum, school, pedagogical practice.

3. Recognition is needed that the global is mediated through the local, and what this means in practice for policy makers, curriculum developers, school management and teachers.

- Recognition, by policy makers and curriculum developers of the complex and multiple relationships between different levels: global, national, local and institutional. This is central to developing strongly embedded GCE programs that are at the centre of these different dimensions.
- Further training for practitioners (school management, teachers, educators on extra-curricular projects) around the ideas of "active citizenship", 'student participation' and "community engagement", as well as the practices and skills that are associated to these notions.

- Further examination at different levels by policy makers and school management of the relationship between GCE programs across different education spaces schools (formal, informal, non-formal). This would help develop more integrated approaches to GCE across different educational spaces.
- Further reflection and analysis by policy makers, scholars and school management and teachers on the relationship between school and the local community and the role of different institutional and political actors in supporting impactful GCE programs.

GCE programs are located at the nexus of global, national and local needs and structures. Stakeholders involved in the development of these programs thus need to pay particular attention to the complex interplay of these different levels of implementation, and the ways in which these might promote different or even competing values, beliefs and practices.

4. Teacher training, support, resources are central to the successful implementation of GCE programs, but this should not be considered in isolation.

- Further provision of training (pre- and in-service) for teachers in GCE or related areas. This would include a range of pedagogical approaches for GCE that are appropriate for the national/local/ social context of the schools.
- Further provision by governments and schools of adequate resources and support for the teachers of GCE.

- Recognition by policy makers (internationally and nationally) and curriculum developers of the wider systematic and structural constraints on teachers work, to identify the barriers and enablers to good practice and pedagogy.
- Recognition by policy makers and curriculum developers that teachers are located within complex networks, partnerships and relationships with various institutions and key stakeholders or actors that might enable or limit the successful development of GCE programs.

The role of teachers is central for the successful implementation of GCE programs and positive impact on student attitudes. However, their role should not be considered in isolation. The work of teachers is situated within wider systemic and structural constraints that need to be recognized by policy makers and curriculum developers.

5. GCE programs need to be framed by reflections on the relationship between education and society

- Gender, socio-economic factors, and cultural capital were found to have higher significant effects on student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, and diversity than any GCE variables examined.
- GCE needs to be re-situated by policy makers at the center of national, political, social, cultural, educational, and institutional contexts.
- The position of GCE in relation to society needs further reflection by policy makers to help develop meaningful and impactful programs.

- The relationship between GCE and other significant core curriculum areas (numeracy and literacy) needs further development and investigation by scholars, policy makers and curriculum developers. Core subjects need not be in competition with GCE (in overcrowded curriculum) but should work in mutually supportive ways.

Education across the world is associated with better poverty alleviation and better life outcomes (UNESCO, 2019). Increased numeracy and literacy levels have a positive impact on young people's life chances and future earnings. Socio-economic variables and cultural capital were identified as having the most significant effect on student attitudes. Thus, the successful impact of GCE programs goes hand in hand with a recognition of structural inequalities and hierarchies in society, and programs that address these divisions in a holistic way.

Education can perhaps not compensate for society, but it is a transformational force. Our recommendation is for policy makers and curriculum developers to consider a holistic model of GCE that recognizes the relationship between education and society, the posture and place of GCE in specific national, social and cultural contexts, and the impact of student 'social and cultural background on their attitudes. This requires careful consideration by key stakeholders in education of central concepts to GCE, its implementation at multiple levels and the content and nature of GCE programs. Central to this is the need for more training, support, and resources for teachers and a recognition of the diversity and specificity of contexts by policy makers and schools.

For this, based on the findings and discussion in this report, we suggest that GCE programs need to be critical, engaged, aspirational, transformative, and embedded. These six aspects form the pillars of our **CREATE** model for the development and implementation of GCE programs; they recognize the key knowledge, skills, and aims of GCE whilst acknowledging the need for GCE to be embedded in the wider society.

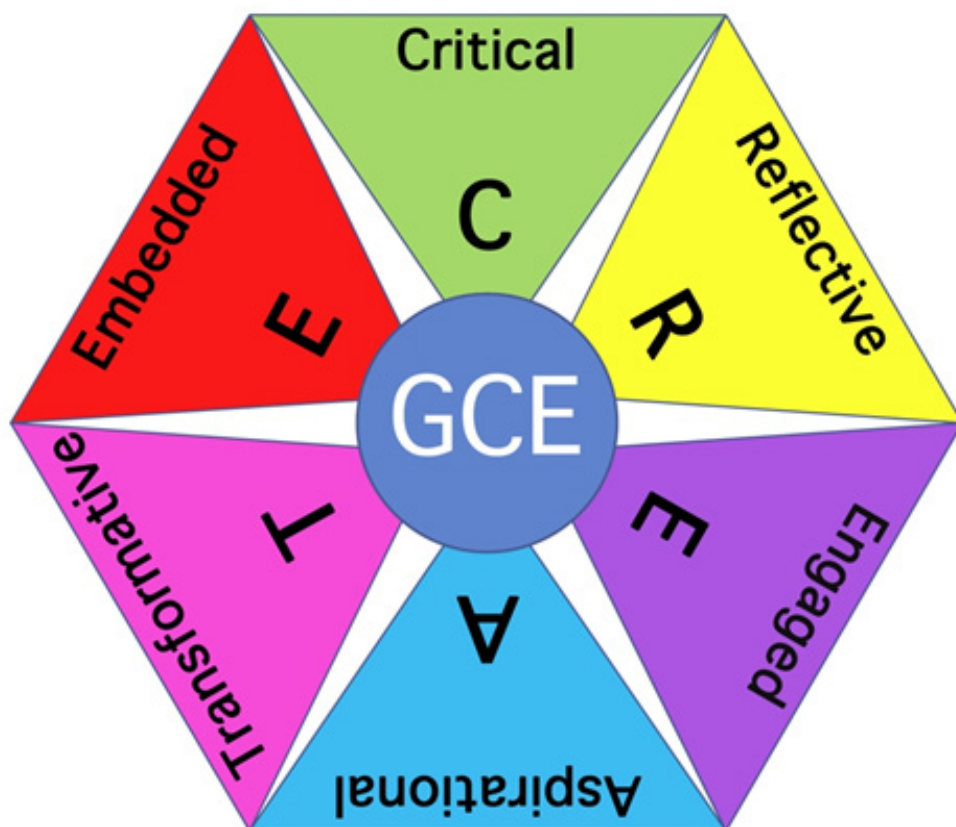


Figure 6. Our CREATE model for GCE

Critical. GCE programs need to develop not only the capacity for student critical and independent thinking, but also to adopt a critical approach to the ideas of GCE, the hierarchies and inequalities within which they might be inscribed, and the possible mixed-impacts of certain GCE programs on student attitudes. GCE programs do not result in universally positive impact on student attitudes. These programs need to be critically evaluated at all stages, from design, through implementation and outcomes.

Reflective. GCE programs need to help develop students' reflective skills to support their self-awareness and questioning of values, beliefs, and discriminatory practices. Our results indicate that socio-economic variables have a strong impact on student attitudes. Giving students and teachers the training, tools, support, and space for reflection and critical questioning are central aspects of successful GCE programs.

Engaged. GCE programs need to promote meaningful, impactful student engagement. Our study showed that forms of engagement with human rights, multicultural/intercultural activities within the local community had mixed influences on student attitudes and perspectives regarding citizenship values. GCE programs need further reflection on forms of engagement, relations to the community and notions of "active citizenship".

Aspirational. GCE programs need to be aspirational and inspiring for students to critically reflect and engage with diversity and global challenges. Fundamentally, GCE aims to inspire students to implement change towards a more just, sustainable, and tolerant world.

Transformative. GCE programs need to evolve ways to inspire transformative action. Changing student attitudes is a first step, but we have seen that some GCE activities can have positive effects on political participation, whilst others had negative effects. Evaluating types of activities and forms of participation that are transformative should thus be embedded in the development of GCE programs.

Embedded. GCE programs do not stand in isolation, but are situated within wider global, national, local, social, cultural, and institutional contexts. GCE programs need to be embedded within these various contexts to allow them to integrate a focus on wider networks, partnerships, and interactions between key actors. The fundamental relationship between education and society needs to be recognized and embedded within GCE programs through an acknowledgement of the role of socio-economic inequalities in shaping student attitudes towards equality, diversity, and tolerance.

Conclusion

This research has considered how CCE/GCE may influence student attitudes towards gender equality, tolerance, diversity, and political participation. The sophisticated econometric statistical analysis of ICCS data, which allowed a large number of variables, revealed insights about GCE that have been relatively unexamined in academic research. In particular, our study showed that many GCE dimensions can have a positive impact on student attitudes. The results, however, highlighted a level of surprising ambiguity around the impact of certain dimensions of GCE in a curriculum. Results from our study stress the importance of local context, the relationship between education and society, and the need for policy

makers, curriculum developers and teachers to engage with and reflect upon GCE at multiple levels, from curriculum design to implementation and practice.

This study was somewhat limited by a lack of comparable data on GCE worldwide. This highlighted the need for further efforts to collect further data in under-represented regions, such as sub-Saharan African and the Middle East. Future research would benefit from wider access to data, as well as the development of larger comparative research projects that could collect first-hand data in under-represented countries. Such projects could also include other forms of more qualitative data such as school/classroom observations, interviews with students, as well as further information about the nature of GCE activities and teaching in schools, and data on the local environment. Some of our more surprising results would also benefit from further research, such as looking closer at the gendered nature of GCE, or the relationship between indicators of national pride (attitudes towards the national flag) and GCE. The unexpected effects of some of the GCE dimensions of the curriculum, such as multicultural activities or in some cases, the development of critical skills, would also benefit from further research.

Whilst the study was limited to a sample of countries in specific world regions, the results hold implications beyond those countries. That the impact of some GCE dimensions in the curriculum could not always be anticipated, the strong impact of students' gender and socio-economic background, and the role played by students' perceptions of fairness in society all open lines of questioning and reflection for diverse communities. The proposed CREATE model offers a solid framework that can help education stakeholders (policy makers, curriculum developers,

school administrators, teachers) in diverse regions develop successful GCE programs at various levels of education. However, this does not presuppose that one model can be exported as best practice in any country. This model highlights the need to take into account the specificities of local and social contexts, and to reflect on the relationship between the global and local in developing successful GCE programs in schools.

The CREATE model neither presupposes a perfect model of GCE, nor a one-size-fits-all approach. Rather, it highlights the importance of a continued deep and critical reflection on the design, concepts, policies, and practices of GCE, which is embedded within a wider consideration of societal and structural inequalities. Re-situating GCE within the broad array of national contexts offers new critical insights on the barriers and the possibilities for successfully implementing GCE programs around the world. Current times call for creative, alternative forms of engagement with local and global challenges, transformative change, and action. It is our hope that recognizing the structural and systemic constraints that frame GCE can support the goal of equipping young people with the knowledge and skills they need to address complex global challenges, whilst helping unlock the promise it holds in promoting inclusive, tolerant, respectful, and peaceful societies.

Appendices

How to interpret the estimates of the multinomial Logit coefficients in Tables?

How to interpret the estimates of the multinomial Logit coefficients in Tables?

The values reported in the tables of this appendix correspond to the estimates and the values of the T-test statistics (between brackets) of the coefficients betas of the independent and control variables in the multinomial logit regressions. For further details about the latter regressions, the readers are referred to Chapter 3 in the main text. The multinomial logit has the following expression:

$$\Pr(Y = j|X_i) = P_{ij} = \frac{e^{X_i' \beta_j}}{\sum_{l=1}^m e^{X_i' \beta_l}}$$

where j is the number of possible choices. In our analysis the choices are: strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree, to which we associate a number ranging from one to four, respectively. Meanwhile, P_{ij} lies between zero and one given that

$$e^{X_i' \beta_j} > 0 \text{ and } \sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij} = 1.$$

To run a multinomial logit we have to set one of the choices as a base outcome [in our empirical analysis we set strongly agree, i.e. $Y=1$], which means that $\exp(X_i' \beta_1)=0$. Once we do that, we obtain the results (see tables below) in the form of relative probabilities. That is,

$$\frac{\Pr(Y_i=j)}{\Pr(Y_i=1)} = e^{X_i' \beta_j}.$$

However, given the form of the regression (logit model), the above betas do not have a direct interpretation. To understand how to interpret these betas (in terms of relative probabilities), we have to express them using an exponential term. Let us look at the following example. Let us consider the coefficient beta of the variable "CCE Promoting Rights" in column one of Table 7, with an estimated value of 0,184. If we apply the exponential term to this value, we obtain: $\exp(0,184)=1,2020$. This can now be interpreted as follows: if the school aims to promote human rights, students are at 20% more likely to agree rather than strongly agree with the statement on Men and Women Right⁶. Similarly, if we look at the variable "Student Gender" in column one of the same table, we have an estimate of -0,648, meaning that $\exp(-0,648)= 0,5231$, i.e. girls are 48% more likely than boys to strongly agree rather than just agree with statement on Men and Women Right⁷.

Note:

The secondary data analyzed in this report and presented in the Appendices was obtained from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016.

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⁶ Nevertheless, the coefficient is not significantly different from zero.

⁷ This value is significantly different than zero.

Table 7 The first five regressions for Belgium

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Rights of Men and Women	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrant Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.00146 (0.04)	-0.0286 (-0.92)	-0.0115 (-0.36)	0.0293 (0.74)	0.0329 (0.76)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0204 (-0.50)	0.0318 (1.01)	0.0750* (2.32)	0.0117 (0.30)	-0.0958* (-2.19)
CCE extra-curricular	-0.0976 (-0.77)	-0.0890 (-0.91)	-0.0779 (-0.78)	-0.0154 (-0.12)	0.190 (1.41)
CCE Professor	0.0945 (1.88)	0.0491 (1.24)	0.0462 (1.14)	0.0241 (0.48)	0.0524 (0.94)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.184 (1.43)	0.0722 (0.70)	0.133 (1.27)	-0.0480 (-0.37)	-0.273 (-1.95)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.244* (-2.05)	0.0145 (0.15)	-0.0864 (-0.89)	-0.102 (-0.83)	0.122 (0.94)
CCE Racism	0.113 (0.59)	0.260 (1.65)	0.166 (1.03)	-0.409* (-2.09)	0.363 (1.64)
Student Gender	-0.648*** (-5.85)	-0.201* (-2.43)	-0.164 (-1.93)	0.419*** (3.94)	-0.0428 (-0.37)
Immigration Problems	-0.0550 (-0.61)	-0.0814 (-1.18)	-0.0117 (-0.16)	-0.00891 (-0.10)	-0.146 (-1.53)
Unemployment Problems	-0.132 (-1.43)	-0.101 (-1.36)	-0.00755 (-0.10)	0.0233 (0.24)	0.0762 (0.76)
Ethnic Problems	-0.133 (-1.17)	0.131 (1.41)	-0.0609 (-0.64)	-0.164 (-1.36)	0.303* (2.49)
School location	0.0352 (0.56)	-0.0376 (-0.81)	-0.119* (-2.46)	0.00296 (0.05)	-0.0981 (-1.49)
Students Income	0.0130 (0.34)	0.0434 (1.41)	0.0733* (2.34)	0.0507 (1.27)	0.0806 (1.89)
Education Expected	0.152*** (3.57)	0.0613 (1.64)	0.0726 (1.87)	-0.0822 (-1.75)	-0.00786 (-0.16)
Language Spoken	-2.77e-09 (-0.96)	-8.60e-10 (-0.40)	1.19e-09 (0.53)	-5.33e-09* (-1.98)	-6.79e-09** (-2.78)
Mother's Education	0.0175 (0.50)	0.0108 (0.37)	0.0544 (1.83)	-0.0243 (-0.63)	-0.0909* (-2.40)
Father's Education	0.0643* (2.02)	0.0278 (1.06)	0.0348 (1.30)	0.0818* (2.24)	0.0395 (1.09)
Books	-0.144** (-3.17)	-0.0833* (-2.37)	-0.115** (-3.20)	-0.0260 (-0.59)	0.0604 (1.26)
Internet	0.0504 (0.29)	0.387 (1.40)	0.280 (1.28)	0.321 (0.78)	-0.0427 (-0.25)
Flag Respect	-0.0196 (-0.35)	0.0476 (1.08)	-0.000595 (-0.01)	0.262*** (4.14)	-0.0618 (-1.04)
Women Discrimination	-0.161* (-2.50)	-0.192*** (-3.90)	-0.209*** (-4.14)	-0.0124 (-0.20)	-0.0458 (-0.71)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0541 (-0.75)	0.207*** (3.78)	0.250*** (4.43)	0.0864 (1.23)	0.263** (3.24)
Constant	0.0664 (0.12)	-0.559 (-1.11)	-0.394 (-0.81)	0.104 (0.15)	-0.0606 (-0.10)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Rights of Men and Women	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrant Customs
Disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0340 (0.38)	0.0433 (0.57)	0.00748 (0.11)	-0.0205 (-0.43)	0.0782 (1.65)
Multicultural Projects	0.0641 (0.72)	0.0920 (1.16)	-0.0287 (-0.41)	-0.0447 (-0.95)	0.00749 (0.16)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.409 (1.49)	0.212 (0.90)	0.104 (0.48)	-0.0643 (-0.43)	0.151 (1.02)
CCE Professor	0.130 (1.14)	0.160 (1.70)	0.0276 (0.32)	0.0174 (0.29)	0.0387 (0.63)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.213 (0.77)	-0.0329 (-0.13)	-0.0567 (-0.25)	0.0658 (0.42)	-0.314* (-2.02)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.261 (-1.02)	-0.180 (-0.79)	-0.175 (-0.88)	-0.304* (-2.13)	0.204 (1.42)
CCE Racism	0.617 (1.67)	0.384 (1.01)	0.669* (2.21)	-0.0948 (-0.42)	0.333 (1.37)
Student gender	-0.745** (-3.00)	-0.804*** (-3.64)	-0.600** (-3.19)	0.386** (3.07)	-0.227 (-1.79)
Immigration Problems	-0.325 (-1.75)	-0.216 (-1.23)	-0.242 (-1.68)	-0.0118 (-0.11)	-0.0445 (-0.42)
Unemployment Problems	0.200 (1.02)	0.0968 (0.53)	0.151 (0.97)	-0.0298 (-0.27)	0.0527 (0.47)
Ethnic Problems	0.0511 (0.21)	0.0469 (0.21)	0.139 (0.70)	-0.123 (-0.87)	0.362** (2.63)
School Location	0.193 (1.42)	-0.0961 (-0.80)	-0.166 (-1.33)	0.0336 (0.47)	-0.0326 (-0.46)
Students Income	-0.122 (-1.29)	0.0952 (1.27)	-0.00816 (-0.11)	0.0302 (0.64)	0.0919* (1.96)
Education Expected	-0.0184 (-0.17)	0.0507 (0.54)	0.239*** (3.51)	-0.0351 (-0.65)	-0.0246 (-0.44)
Language Spoken	5.10e-09 (1.10)	-2.94e-09 (-0.48)	3.11e-09 (0.72)	-4.18e-09 (-1.33)	-1.01e-08** (-3.20)
Mother's Education	-0.000218 (-0.00)	0.0140 (0.19)	-0.0885 (-1.32)	0.0581 (1.33)	-0.0565 (-1.33)
Father's Education	0.0574 (0.85)	-0.0307 (-0.44)	0.0360 (0.64)	0.0500 (1.20)	0.00863 (0.21)
Books	-0.332** (-3.17)	-0.107 (-1.22)	-0.331*** (-4.13)	-0.0510 (-0.97)	0.0235 (0.44)
Internet	-0.904 (-1.11)	-0.226 (-0.22)	0.0600 (0.11)	0.468 (1.11)	-0.348 (-1.02)
Flag Respect	0.110 (0.98)	0.125 (1.24)	0.194* (2.36)	0.493*** (6.89)	-0.0493 (-0.75)
Women Discrimination	-0.228 (-1.73)	-0.219 (-1.79)	-0.305** (-2.85)	-0.00903 (-0.12)	-0.126 (-1.75)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.211 (1.68)	0.237 (1.84)	0.301** (2.75)	0.0983 (1.20)	0.430*** (4.91)
Constant	-2.281 (-1.62)	-2.671 (-1.84)	-1.563 (-1.44)	-1.233 (-1.61)	-1.407 (-1.96)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Rights of Men and Women	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrant Customs
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.238 (1.02)	-0.119 (-0.49)	0.157 (1.13)	-0.0348 (-0.39)	0.0258 (0.37)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0156 (-0.06)	0.0139 (0.06)	-0.0122 (-0.08)	-0.0676 (-0.75)	0.0458 (0.68)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0124 (-0.02)	1.067 (1.65)	0.862* (2.10)	-0.00335 (-0.01)	0.126 (0.60)
CCE Professor	-0.180 (-0.48)	0.0701 (0.26)	-0.127 (-0.68)	-0.0910 (-0.79)	0.0712 (0.81)
CCE Promoting Rights	1.043 (1.41)	-0.205 (-0.24)	-0.388 (-0.79)	-0.0288 (-0.10)	-0.334 (-1.49)
CCE Promoting Critical	-1.104 (-1.54)	0.688 (0.98)	-0.281 (-0.69)	-0.267 (-1.04)	0.0482 (0.24)
CCE Racism	-13.73 (-0.02)	0.961 (0.77)	0.136 (0.17)	0.344 (0.92)	0.374 (1.07)
Student gender	-0.800 (-1.09)	-1.676* (-2.12)	-1.123** (-2.65)	-0.195 (-0.81)	-0.786*** (-4.18)
Immigration Problems	0.00906 (0.01)	-0.637 (-1.30)	0.0466 (0.14)	0.00497 (0.03)	-0.200 (-1.33)
Unemployment Problems	-0.203 (-0.37)	0.250 (0.50)	0.0332 (0.10)	-0.0683 (-0.35)	0.0873 (0.54)
Ethnic Problems	-0.761 (-1.16)	0.869 (1.39)	0.225 (0.51)	-0.352 (-1.46)	0.653** (3.15)
School Location	-0.0761 (-0.20)	-0.527 (-0.93)	0.0607 (0.30)	-0.00184 (-0.01)	-0.245* (-2.09)
Students Income	0.176 (1.00)	-0.776** (-2.68)	-0.0217 (-0.15)	0.0165 (0.19)	0.0411 (0.57)
Education Expected	-0.177 (-0.50)	-0.158 (-0.54)	0.0646 (0.38)	0.141 (1.70)	-0.104 (-1.18)
Language Spoken	-0.000000132 (-0.01)	-0.000000128 (-0.02)	4.57e-09 (0.58)	6.88e-09 (1.69)	-1.05e-08 (-1.89)
Mother's Education	-0.136 (-0.56)	0.355* (2.46)	0.300** (3.03)	-0.00998 (-0.14)	-0.142* (-2.28)
Father's Education	0.117 (0.66)	-0.166 (-0.99)	-0.238 (-1.95)	0.103 (1.53)	0.126* (2.34)
Books	-0.114 (-0.41)	0.0368 (0.15)	-0.281 (-1.73)	-0.199* (-2.04)	-0.00600 (-0.08)
Internet	0.285 (0.20)	0.536 (0.58)	0.401 (0.62)	0.587 (1.32)	-0.525 (-0.73)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Rights of Men and Women	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrant Customs
Flag Respect	0.0503 (0.16)	-0.340 (-1.06)	-0.180 (-0.88)	0.592*** (5.50)	-0.0593 (-0.63)
Women Discrimination	-0.297 (-0.70)	-0.0493 (-0.18)	-0.203 (-1.04)	0.0749 (0.62)	-0.153 (-1.49)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.427 (-0.87)	0.503* (2.01)	0.463* (2.53)	0.133 (0.99)	0.545*** (4.90)
Constant	0.126 (0.03)	-4.618 (-1.38)	-4.681* (-2.37)	-2.117 (-1.76)	-2.245 (-1.89)
Observations	2580	2580	2580	2580	2580

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Belgium

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0504 (1.29)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0561 (-1.41)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.00198 (0.02)
CCE Professor	0.0293 (0.57)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.0305 (0.23)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0372 (0.31)
CCE Racism	-0.399* (-2.05)
Student gender	0.254* (2.42)
Immigration Problems	0.00318 (0.04)
Unemployment Problems	-0.161 (-1.67)
Ethnic Problems	0.194 (1.66)
School Location	0.0332 (0.61)
Students Income	-0.0139 (-0.37)
Education Expected	0.130* (2.38)
Language Spoken	-8.58e-11 (-0.03)
Mother's Education	-0.0244 (-0.62)
Father's Education	0.0914* (2.44)
Books	-0.0314 (-0.71)
Internet	0.301 (0.95)
Flag Respect	0.0488 (0.83)
Women Discrimination	0.0548 (0.89)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0259 (-0.38)
Constant	-0.717 (-1.16)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0199 (0.46)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0509 (-1.18)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0479 (0.36)
CCE Professor	0.0746 (1.35)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.145 (1.01)
CCE Critical	0.0232 (0.18)
CCE Racism	-0.394 (-1.85)
Student gender	0.369** (3.21)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Immigration Problems	0.0225 (0.23)
Unemployment Problems	-0.208* (-2.01)
Ethnic Problems	0.309* (2.40)
School Location	-0.0378 (-0.56)
Students Income	-0.104* (-2.37)
Education Expected	0.214*** (3.77)
Language Spoken	-5.11e-09 (-1.60)
Mother's Education	-0.0139 (-0.34)
Father's Education	0.173*** (4.49)
Books	-0.196*** (-4.02)
Internet	0.135 (0.39)
Flag Respect	0.156* (2.49)
Women Discrimination	0.0301 (0.45)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0483 (-0.65)
Constant	-0.893 (-1.30)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0256 (0.46)
multicultural Projects	0.00600 (0.11)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0861 (-0.49)
CCE Professor	0.117 (1.66)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.173 (-0.92)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.177 (-1.08)
CCE Racism	-0.264 (-0.96)
Student gender	0.142 (0.95)
Immigration Problems	-0.204 (-1.67)
/Unemployment Problems	-0.101 (-0.78)
Ethnic Problems	0.241 (1.51)
School Location	-0.161 (-1.66)
Students Income	-0.0123 (-0.22)
Education Expected	0.287*** (4.37)
Language Spoken	2.56e-10 (0.07)
Mother's Education	0.0511 (1.03)
Father's Education	0.105* (2.19)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Books	-0.291*** (-4.58)
Internet	-0.319 (-0.56)
Flag Respect	0.310*** (4.19)
Women Discrimination	
Immigration Discrimination	-0.0407 (-0.43)
Constant	-0.868 (-0.92)
Observations	2580

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 9. First five regressions for Estonia

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0283 (0.59)	0.0235 (0.55)	0.0270 (0.63)	-0.0184 (-0.41)	0.232** (2.71)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0717 (-1.31)	-0.0915 (-1.86)	-0.0834 (-1.69)	-0.0748 (-1.41)	-0.0271 (-0.33)
CCE Separate	0.0527 (0.55)	0.0293 (0.34)	-0.0177 (-0.20)	0.139 (1.43)	0.0737 (0.55)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0807 (-0.88)	-0.0710 (-0.86)	0.00546 (0.07)	-0.0934 (-1.02)	-0.0219 (-0.17)
CCE Professor	-0.0173 (-0.31)	-0.0353 (-0.71)	0.00290 (0.06)	-0.169** (-3.06)	-0.0410 (-0.52)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.188 (1.45)	0.0125 (0.11)	0.0657 (0.56)	0.122 (0.92)	0.328 (1.81)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.220 (-1.54)	-0.267* (-2.05)	-0.423** (-3.21)	0.0382 (0.25)	-0.0417 (-0.20)
CCE Racism	0.0877 (0.50)	0.174 (1.10)	0.263 (1.66)	0.122 (0.68)	-0.200 (-0.78)
Student gender	-0.361** (-3.12)	-0.0844 (-0.81)	-0.101 (-0.96)	0.431*** (3.63)	-0.298 (-1.84)
Immigration Problems	-0.0382 (-0.29)	0.202 (1.66)	0.180 (1.46)	0.275 (1.96)	-0.218 (-1.17)
Unemployment Problems	-0.118 (-1.42)	-0.0478 (-0.64)	-0.0956 (-1.27)	-0.271** (-3.10)	0.317** (2.77)
Ethnic Problems	0.0795 (0.68)	-0.0826 (-0.79)	-0.0380 (-0.36)	-0.155 (-1.31)	0.0687 (0.42)
School Location	0.0714 (1.23)	0.115 * (2.20)	0.127* (2.40)	0.0284 (0.47)	0.0186 (0.23)
Students Income	0.0710 (1.93)	0.0339 (0.99)	0.00880 (0.25)	-0.0114 (-0.29)	-0.0257 (-0.52)
Education Expected	0.132* (2.47)	0.145** (2.98)	0.154** (3.09)	0.0294 (0.52)	-0.00257 (-0.03)
Language Spoken	-2.84e-09 (-0.33)	-1.74e-09 (-0.22)	-1.80e-09 (-0.22)	-5.41e-09 (-0.62)	-6.28e-09 (-0.72)
Mother's Education	0.0674 (1.35)	-0.0681 (-1.47)	-0.0792 (-1.70)	-0.0690 (-1.28)	-0.0130 (-0.19)
Father's Education	0.0402 (1.12)	0.0661* (2.02)	0.0399 (1.20)	0.0442 (1.16)	0.0381 (0.74)
Books	-0.0473 (-0.94)	-0.189*** (-4.15)	-0.190*** (-4.12)	-0.0951 (-1.84)	-0.0871 (-1.23)
Internet	-0.503 (-0.90)	1.331* (2.00)	0.638 (1.11)	-0.0204 (-0.03)	0.473 (0.56)
Flag Respect	0.217*** (3.37)	0.199** (3.29)	0.170** (2.75)	0.734*** (8.36)	-0.179* (-2.08)
Women Discrimination	-0.177* (-2.54)	-0.0164 (-0.26)	-0.106 (-1.64)	0.0230 (0.32)	0.219* (2.17)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.165* (2.57)	0.189** (3.05)	0.312*** (4.74)	0.0947 (1.35)	0.259* (2.34)
Constant	-0.873 (-1.09)	-2.227** (-2.65)	-1.417 (-1.82)	-0.177 (-0.21)	-0.539 (-0.45)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.141* (1.97)	-0.0636 (-0.58)	-0.325* (-2.47)	-0.126 (-1.65)	0.281** (3.20)
Multicultural Projects	-0.178* (-2.00)	0.0486 (0.38)	0.279* (2.18)	-0.118 (-1.50)	-0.0879 (-1.05)
CCE Separate	-0.0657 (-0.44)	-0.152 (-0.70)	-0.435* (-2.17)	-0.0265 (-0.21)	0.101 (0.73)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0348 (-0.23)	0.229 (1.06)	0.461* (2.31)	0.00110 (0.01)	-0.0466 (-0.35)
CCE Professor	-0.193* (-2.19)	-0.0727 (-0.55)	-0.172 (-1.44)	0.149 (1.90)	-0.00434 (-0.05)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.280 (1.43)	0.0241 (0.08)	0.497 (1.69)	0.159 (0.89)	0.121 (0.65)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0862 (-0.39)	-0.152 (-0.45)	-0.446 (-1.46)	-0.273 (-1.38)	-0.0700 (-0.33)
CCE Racism	0.270 (1.03)	0.0254 (0.06)	-0.0375 (-0.10)	-0.0471 (-0.19)	0.0391 (0.15)
Student gender	-0.534** (-2.99)	0.00984 (0.04)	-0.294 (-1.17)	0.481** (3.02)	-0.0291 (-0.17)
Immigration Problems	0.223 (1.07)	0.0527 (0.18)	-0.274 (-1.01)	0.324 (1.77)	-0.308 (-1.60)
Unemployment Problems	-0.436 *** (-3.46)	0.0888 (0.45)	0.197 (1.04)	-0.186 (-1.66)	0.300* (2.53)
Ethnic Problems	-0.221 (-1.19)	-0.279 (-1.13)	-0.274 (-1.20)	-0.418** (-2.62)	0.215 (1.26)
School Location	0.328 *** (3.53)	0.192 (1.42)	0.162 (1.28)	0.317*** (3.98)	-0.113 (-1.35)
Students Income	-0.0347 (-0.57)	0.0747 (0.92)	0.0766 (0.97)	0.0536 (1.02)	-0.0168 (-0.32)
Education Expected	0.174* (2.20)	0.210 (1.70)	0.363** (3.23)	0.157* (2.15)	-0.0167 (-0.21)
Language Spoken	-0.000000157 (-0.01)	-0.000000210 (-0.00)	-0.000000121 (-0.02)	-2.53e-09 (-0.21)	-0.000000156 (-0.02)
Mother's Education	0.0863 (1.20)	-0.0220 (-0.18)	-0.199 (-1.71)	0.0828 (1.22)	-0.0850 (-1.14)
Father's Education	0.0430 (0.82)	-0.0977 (-0.96)	0.0226 (0.29)	-0.0275 (-0.53)	0.0315 (0.59)
Books	-0.127 (-1.67)	-0.245* (-2.09)	-0.340** (-3.13)	-0.110 (-1.60)	-0.142 (-1.93)
Internet	-0.431 (-0.52)	0.0714 (0.07)	0.221 (0.20)	0.336 (0.36)	0.0184 (0.02)
Flag Respect	0.363*** (4.34)	0.418*** (3.78)	0.478*** (4.67)	1.272*** (12.14)	-0.0814 (-0.94)
Women Discrimination	-0.148 (-1.37)	-0.0150 (-0.10)	-0.0396 (-0.29)	-0.137 (-1.42)	0.100 (0.96)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Immigrants Discrimination	0.102 (1.02)	0.273* (2.10)	0.350** (2.78)	0.114 (1.24)	0.444*** (3.92)
Constant	-1.233 (-0.88)	-3.247 (-0.22)	-1.906 (-1.11)	-3.024* (-2.43)	-0.241 (-0.20)
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.101 (0.38)	2.870 (0.84)	0.308 (1.05)	0.0277 (0.19)	0.342** (3.12)
Multicultural Projects	0.229 (0.80)	-42.41 (-0.96)	-0.632 (-1.67)	-0.0253 (-0.16)	-0.147 (-1.27)
CCE Separate	0.371 (0.70)	-59.97 (-0.96)	1.182* (1.99)	0.0196 (0.08)	0.0458 (0.23)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.227 (-0.44)	-37.55 (-0.95)	-0.976 (-1.71)	0.0447 (0.18)	-0.0721 (-0.38)
CCE Professor	-0.149 (-0.50)	21.42 (0.99)	-0.203 (-0.64)	-0.0136 (-0.09)	-0.131 (-1.17)
CCE Promoting Rights	1.746 (1.81)	-56.96 (-0.95)	-0.140 (-0.22)	0.539 (1.48)	-0.0913 (-0.36)
CCE Promoting Critical	1.322 (1.19)	14.89 (0.82)	-0.0755 (-0.10)	0.418 (1.00)	0.558 (1.72)
CCE Racism	-13.10 (-0.02)	137.4 (0.97)	1.267 (1.56)	-1.282 (-1.85)	-0.0189 (-0.05)
Student gender	-0.780 (-1.24)	0.0156 (0.02)	-1.197 (-1.75)	0.265 (0.85)	-0.560* (-2.35)
Immigration Problems	-0.326 (-0.45)	3.232 (0.50)	-0.289 (-0.51)	0.0602 (0.18)	-0.520* (-1.98)
Unemployment Problems	-0.111 (-0.25)	-15.93 (-0.99)	-0.718 (-1.56)	-0.0201 (-0.09)	0.494** (2.81)
Ethnic Problems	0.129 (0.16)	22.94 (0.92)	-0.133 (-0.20)	-0.383 (-1.24)	-0.0645 (-0.29)
School Location	0.204 (0.70)	3.599 (0.67)	0.00823 (0.03)	0.143 (0.93)	-0.0814 (-0.69)
Students Income	0.00280 (0.01)	11.38 (0.97)	-0.0122 (-0.08)	0.155 (1.67)	-0.0398 (-0.52)
Education Expected	0.408 (1.60)	0.915 (1.84)	0.607** (2.96)	0.237 (1.73)	0.105 (0.96)
Language Spoken	-0.000000141 (-0.00)	-0.000000124 (-0.00)	-0.000000107 (-0.01)	-0.000000121 (-0.01)	-0.000000155 (-0.01)
Mother's Education	-0.313 (-1.07)	0.313 (0.99)	0.104 (0.53)	0.300* (2.50)	-0.0384 (-0.36)
Father's Education	0.0628 (0.40)	-0.0509 (-0.17)	-0.0460 (-0.26)	-0.192 (-1.68)	-0.0464 (-0.57)
Books	-0.164 (-0.66)	1.359* (2.22)	0.0973 (0.41)	-0.0288 (-0.22)	-0.160 (-1.56)
Internet	-2.038 (-1.61)	-4.016 (-1.03)	-1.777 (-1.39)	-1.922* (-2.13)	-0.216 (-0.21)
Flag Respect	0.558* (2.53)	0.500 (1.65)	0.565** (2.91)	1.693*** (11.95)	0.0374 (0.34)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Women Discrimination	-0.603 (-1.63)	-0.670 (-1.31)	-0.660 (-1.94)	-0.463* (-2.47)	0.00790 (0.06)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.346 (1.33)	0.819** (2.95)	0.729*** (4.24)	0.444*** (3.35)	0.606*** (4.58)
Constant	-5.272 (-1.16)	-51.81 (-1.03)	-1.313 (-0.39)	-4.607* (-2.39)	-0.491 (-0.30)
Observations	1734	1734	1734	1734	1734

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 10. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Estonia

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.00798 (0.10)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0294 (-0.33)
CCE Separate	0.248 (1.57)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.156 (-1.01)
CCE Professor	-0.0866 (-0.88)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.284 (-1.29)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.449 (1.92)
CCE Racism	-0.0982 (-0.33)
Student gender	0.243 (1.25)
Immigration Problems	0.405 (1.88)
Unemployment Problems	0.124 (0.91)
Ethnic Problems	-0.613** (-2.92)
School Location	-0.0544 (-0.55)
Students Income	-0.129* (-2.30)
Education Expected	0.0102 (0.11)
Language Spoken	0.000000139 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.161 (1.73)
Father's Education	-0.0741 (-1.31)
Books	-0.0546 (-0.64)
Internet	3.035** (2.77)
Flag Respect	0.0996 (0.85)
Women Discrimination	0.00436 (0.04)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.367** (2.96) Constant -2.044 (-1.36)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	-0.000413 (-0.01)
Multicultural projects	0.0274 (0.32)
CCE Separate	0.464** (3.07)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.348* (-2.36)
CCE Professor	-0.0891 (-0.96)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.137 (-0.65)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.296 (1.34)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
CCE Racism	-0.0245 (-0.09)
Student gender	0.352 (1.88)
Unemployment Problems	0.335* (2.55)
Immigration Problems	0.175 (0.86)
Ethnic Problems	-0.498* (-2.47)
School Location	-0.262** (-2.77)
Students Income	-0.179** (-3.28)
Education Expected	0.126 (1.37)
Language Spoken	0.000000144 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.221* (2.47)
Father's Education	-0.0962 (-1.77)
Books	-0.124 (-1.52)
Internet	2.007** (2.96)
Flag Respect	0.148 (1.32)
Women Discrimination	0.0680 (0.61)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.187 (1.54)
Constant	-0.131 (-0.11)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Project	0.00345 (0.04)
Multicultural Project	0.0637 (0.69)
CCE Separate	0.256 (1.58)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.166 (-1.05)
CCE Professor	-0.0128 (-0.13)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.304 (-1.34)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.751** (3.04)
CCE Racism	-0.384 (-1.25)
Student gender	0.436* (2.17)
Immigration Problems	0.187 (0.85)
Unemployment Problems	0.415** (2.92)
Ethnic Problems	-0.516* (-2.40)
School Location	-0.287** (-2.83)
Students Income	-0.199** (-3.22)
Education Expected	0.265** (2.74)
Language Spoken	3.37e-09 (0.00)
Mother's Education	0.220* (2.31)
Father's Education	-0.0843 (-1.43)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Books	-0.00522 (-0.06)
Internet	1.075 (1.71)
Flag Respect	0.288* (2.47)
Women Discrimination	-0.0738 (-0.61)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.261* (2.03)
Constant	-1.266 (-1.03)
Observations	1734

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 11. First five regressions for Finland

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Mena and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0553 (1.24)	-0.00351 (-0.10)	-0.00819 (-0.23)	-0.0151 (-0.42)	-0.00246 (-0.05)
Multicultural Projects	0.0334 (0.77)	-0.0175 (-0.52)	0.0370 (1.07)	-0.0204 (-0.57)	-0.00418 (-0.09)
CCE Separate	0.471** (3.15)	0.229 (1.81)	0.525*** (4.15)	-0.140 (-1.05)	0.185 (1.00)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.102 (1.41)	-0.0570 (-0.80)	-0.0482 (-0.64)	0.0371 (0.49)	0.00236 (0.03)
CCE Professor	-0.0148 (-0.25)	0.131** (2.88)	0.0666 (1.44)	-0.0683 (-1.44)	0.0293 (0.49)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.00847 (-0.08)	0.000577 (0.01)	0.0194 (0.22)	0.00706 (0.08)	0.109 (0.95)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0615 (-0.46)	0.0749 (0.70)	0.0220 (0.20)	0.0961 (0.86)	0.313* (2.26)
CCE Racism	0.0708 (0.39)	-0.0839 (-0.57)	-0.232 (-1.55)	-0.124 (-0.83)	0.150 (0.74)
Student gender	-1.235*** (-10.87)	-0.562*** (-6.83)	-0.594*** (-7.11)	0.242** (2.77)	-0.305** (-2.79)
Immigration Problems	-0.140 (-1.63)	0.0324 (0.47)	0.0124 (0.18)	0.00293 (0.04)	0.0102 (0.11)
Unemployment Problems	0.0225 (0.28)	-0.0463 (-0.74)	-0.107 (-1.69)	-0.0199 (-0.30)	0.144 (1.71)
Ethnic Problems	0.166 (1.61)	0.0638 (0.78)	-0.0415 (-0.51)	-0.0104 (-0.12)	-0.0158 (-0.15)
School Location	-0.0174 (-0.33)	-0.0675 (-1.61)	-0.0481 (-1.13)	-0.0441 (-1.00)	-0.0775 (-1.42)
Students Income	0.0642 (1.54)	-0.0152 (-0.45)	-0.0363 (-1.06)	0.0394 (1.11)	-0.0119 (-0.26)
Education Expected	0.207*** (4.62)	0.218*** (5.56)	0.254*** (6.37)	-0.00486 (-0.12)	0.166** (2.87)
Language Spoken	3.57e-09 (0.70)	1.12e-09 (0.26)	1.47e-09 (0.33)	9.82e-10 (0.19)	7.46e-11 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.0629 (1.71)	-0.00875 (-0.29)	0.0603* (2.00)	-0.0396 (-1.23)	-0.0155 (-0.37)
Father's Education	0.0183 (0.57)	0.0468 (1.87)	0.00459 (0.18)	0.0230 (0.85)	0.0357 (1.02)
Books	-0.0798 (-1.77)	-0.204*** (-5.68)	-0.178*** (-4.90)	-0.00944 (-0.25)	-0.0730 (-1.51)
Internet	-1.020 (-1.87)	0.296 (1.17)	0.411 (1.35)	-1.259* (-2.16)	0.489 (0.81)
Flag Respect	0.136* (2.33)	0.0683 (1.35)	0.0552 (1.09)	0.566*** (8.51)	0.0998 (1.47)
Women Discrimination	-0.198** (-3.13)	-0.150** (-3.09)	-0.131** (-2.67)	0.0153 (0.31)	-0.0247 (-0.40)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.221*** (3.99)	0.207*** (4.18)	0.196*** (4.01)	0.194*** (3.46)	0.167* (2.29)
Constant	-1.098 (-1.48)	-0.753 (-1.60)	-0.486 (-0.97)	0.674 (0.93)	-0.324 (-0.40)
Disagree					

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Mena and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Human Rights Projects	-0.105 (-0.86)	-0.0288 (-0.34)	0.0991 (1.16)	-0.0207 (-0.39)	0.0121 (0.24)
Multicultural Projects	0.0305 (0.26)	0.0909 (1.09)	-0.00412 (-0.05)	-0.00960 (-0.18)	0.0170 (0.34)
CCE Separate	0.0978 (0.20)	0.147 (0.48)	-0.303 (-0.81)	0.0366 (0.19)	0.349 (1.78)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.276 (-0.63)	0.0460 (0.39)	0.102 (0.90)	-0.0206 (-0.18)	-0.127 (-1.12)
CCE Professor	-0.0119 (-0.07)	-0.0900 (-0.82)	-0.0771 (-0.67)	-0.0672 (-0.96)	0.142* (2.13)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.162 (-0.51)	-0.0874 (-0.41)	-0.167 (-0.77)	-0.0623 (-0.47)	-0.101 (-0.79)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.175 (-0.46)	0.191 (0.75)	0.217 (0.80)	-0.137 (-0.85)	0.296 (1.91)
CCE Racism	0.227 (0.47)	0.321 (1.03)	0.0694 (0.20)	-0.235 (-1.04)	0.295 (1.35)
Student gender	-1.223*** (-3.81)	-1.541*** (-6.64)	-1.870*** (-7.15)	-0.118 (-0.92)	-0.317** (-2.60)
Immigration Problems	0.0463 (0.18)	-0.0640 (-0.39)	0.0862 (0.49)	0.0664 (0.61)	0.0966 (0.93)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0648 (-0.29)	0.00664 (0.04)	0.00213 (0.01)	-0.0103 (-0.11)	0.0485 (0.52)
Ethnic Problems	0.159 (0.54)	0.0580 (0.30)	0.0290 (0.14)	-0.113 (-0.90)	0.0965 (0.80)
School Location	0.239 (1.69)	-0.174 (-1.70)	-0.0260 (-0.26)	0.0372 (0.58)	-0.154* (-2.52)
Students Income	-0.0855 (-0.71)	0.0707 (0.93)	0.151* (2.01)	0.0152 (0.29)	0.0247 (0.50)
Education Expected	0.334*** (3.84)	0.246** (3.11)	0.278*** (3.37)	-0.0402 (-0.69)	0.190** (3.05)
Language Spoken	-0.000000131 (-0.01)	-6.47e-10 (-0.06)	2.93e-10 (0.03)	3.08e-09 (0.46)	-5.33e-09 (-0.78)
Mother's Education	0.277*** (3.50)	0.182** (2.92)	-0.0155 (-0.21)	0.0231 (0.52)	0.0197 (0.43)
Father's Education	-0.108 (-1.25)	-0.0755 (-1.15)	0.0551 (0.90)	0.00696 (0.18)	0.0819* (2.16)
Books	-0.153 (-1.23)	-0.202* (-2.39)	-0.271** (-3.04)	-0.0309 (-0.56)	-0.122* (-2.29)
Internet	0.0200 (0.03)	-0.00250 (-0.00)	-1.652* (-2.41)	0.369 (1.05)	-0.0883 (-0.14)
Flag Respect	0.304** (2.67)	0.159 (1.59)	0.0640 (0.57)	0.748*** (9.23)	-0.0381 (-0.48)
Women Discrimination	-0.0994 (-0.65)	-0.210 (-1.77)	-0.198 (-1.56)	0.0143 (0.20)	-0.0416 (-0.60)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.258* (1.99)	0.0885 (0.72)	-0.160 (-1.10)	0.134 (1.70)	0.154 (1.94)
Constant	-5.310*** (-3.53)	-1.751 (-1.37)	-0.308 (-0.25)	-2.190** (-3.14)	-0.874 (-1.00)
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.00381 (0.01)	-0.433* (-1.96)	-0.255 (-1.56)	-0.0756 (-0.54)	-0.0175 (-0.25)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Mena and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Multicultural Projects	-0.188 (-0.77)	0.272 (1.48)	0.178 (1.25)	0.0855 (0.63)	0.123 (1.83)
CCE Separate	0.272 (0.32)	0.928 (1.32)	0.848 (1.57)	-0.0360 (-0.07)	0.278 (1.09)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.120 (0.34)	-1.055 (-0.94)	-0.339 (-0.55)	-0.397 (-0.64)	-0.0813 (-0.52)
CCE Professor	-0.0856 (-0.23)	-0.0937 (-0.35)	-0.0132 (-0.06)	0.160 (0.92)	0.0746 (0.82)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.542 (-0.81)	-0.330 (-0.58)	-0.389 (-0.91)	-0.632 (-1.73)	0.0236 (0.14)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.598 (-0.78)	-0.436 (-0.73)	-0.834 (-1.85)	0.184 (0.42)	0.255 (1.24)
CCE Racism	-0.279 (-0.23)	0.787 (1.21)	0.235 (0.42)	-0.492 (-0.83)	0.346 (1.23)
Student gender	-2.872** (-2.66)	-2.339** (-3.07)	-2.165*** (-3.95)	-0.387 (-1.19)	-0.786*** (-4.61)
Immigration Problems	-0.776 (-1.64)	-0.656 (-1.84)	-0.694* (-2.38)	-0.118 (-0.47)	-0.152 (-1.14)
Unemployment Problems	0.858 (1.65)	0.286 (0.72)	0.388 (1.26)	-0.169 (-0.68)	0.0434 (0.34)
Ethnic Problems	1.057 (1.43)	0.563 (1.38)	0.545 (1.59)	-0.324 (-1.12)	0.193 (1.19)
School Location	-0.429 (-1.50)	-0.0881 (-0.36)	0.00951 (0.05)	-0.383* (-2.26)	-0.247** (-2.98)
Students Income	0.415* (2.22)	-0.0117 (-0.06)	-0.00153 (-0.01)	0.199 (1.80)	0.0994 (1.55)
Education Expected	0.501** (2.92)	0.346 (1.90)	0.478*** (3.89)	0.0552 (0.41)	0.342*** (4.72)
Language Spoken	-0.000000127 (-0.01)	-0.000000107 (-0.02)	1.97e-08 (1.73)	2.00e-08* (2.24)	2.56e-09 (0.30)
Mother's Education	0.108 (0.62)	-0.292 (-1.27)	0.0680 (0.52)	0.00548 (0.05)	0.151** (2.63)
Father's Education	0.188 (1.13)	0.111 (0.84)	0.0288 (0.25)	0.0251 (0.26)	-0.00398 (-0.07)
Books	0.115 (0.47)	-0.403* (-1.98)	-0.303 (-1.90)	0.0684 (0.52)	-0.337*** (-4.70)
Internet	-3.731** (-2.76)	0.236 (0.28)	0.368 (0.51)	0.239 (0.22)	0.924 (1.43)
Flag Respect	0.0110 (0.03)	0.143 (0.61)	-0.0690 (-0.29)	0.858*** (6.24)	-0.410** (-3.27)
Women Discrimination	-0.636 (-1.65)	-0.0685 (-0.30)	-0.494* (-2.04)	0.181 (1.08)	-0.0913 (-0.97)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.504 (-1.03)	0.404* (2.12)	0.254 (1.23)	-0.0439 (-0.21)	0.110 (1.05)
Constant	-3.130 (-0.91)	-3.411 (-1.44)	-3.073 (-1.63)	-3.520 (-1.91)	-1.225 (-1.21)
Observations	2898	2898	2898	2898	2898

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 12. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Finland

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0725 (1.51)
Multicultural projects	-0.0412 (-0.87)
CCE Separate	-0.0828 (-0.45)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0934 (0.91)
CCE Professor	0.0462 (0.75)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.115 (0.96)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0897 (-0.58)
CCE Racism	0.0886 (0.44)
Student gender	0.367** (3.16)
Immigration Problems	0.0547 (0.56)
Unemployment Problems	-0.186* (-2.12)
Ethnic Problems	0.102 (0.90)
School Location	-0.00574 (-0.10)
Students Income	-0.0419 (-0.90)
Education Expected	0.131* (2.06)
Language Spoken	-9.81e-09 (-1.93)
Mother's Education	0.0389 (0.83)
Father's Education	0.0648 (1.63)
Books	-0.0364 (-0.72)
Internet	0.139 (0.46)
Flag Respect	0.202* (2.45)
Women Discrimination	0.112 (1.64)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.171* (2.17)
Constant	-0.526 (-0.81)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0153 (0.29)
Multicultural Projects	0.0449 (0.87)
CCE Separate	0.106 (0.54)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0644 (0.57)
CCE Professor	0.0453 (0.67)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.216 (1.65)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0328 (-0.20)
CCE Racism	-0.0193 (-0.09)
Student gender	0.310* (2.45)
Immigration Problems	-0.0559 (-0.53)
Unemployment Problems	-0.371*** (-3.87)
Ethnic Problems	0.138 (1.12)
School Location	-0.117 (-1.86)
Students Income	-0.00923 (-0.18)
Education Expected	0.345*** (5.24)
Language Spoken	-9.14e-09 (-1.56)
Mother's Education	0.0760 (1.54)
Father's Education	0.116** (2.78)
Books	-0.220*** (-4.03)
Internet	0.246 (0.69)
Flag Respect	0.351*** (4.06)
Women Discrimination	0.0487 (0.65)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.236** (2.83)
Constant	-0.576 (-0.81)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Project	-0.0608 (-0.71)
Multicultural Project	0.203* (2.48)
CCE Separate	0.0423 (0.14)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.120 (0.79)
CCE Professor	0.0986 (0.89)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.348 (1.68)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.137 (-0.55)
CCE Racism	-0.215 (-0.59)
Student gender	-0.521* (-2.48)
Immigration Problems	-0.0286 (-0.17)
Unemployment Problems	-0.449** (-2.94)
Ethnic Problems	0.0474 (0.24)
School Location	-0.142 (-1.44)
Students Income	0.0617 (0.82)
Education Expected	0.414*** (4.83)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Language Spoken	-1.64e-09 (-0.19)
Mother's Education	0.0976 (1.33)
Father's Education	0.0492 (0.76)
Books	-0.365*** (-4.19)
Internet	0.139 (0.20)
Flag Respect	0.478*** (4.34)
Women Discrimination	-0.112 (-0.92)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.169 (1.33)
Constant	-1.230 (-1.06)
Observations	2898

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 13. First five regressions for Italy

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0382 (0.93)	-0.0593 (-1.87)	0.0315 (0.94)	0.0322 (0.97)	0.0567 (1.46)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0192 (-0.60)	-0.000367 (-0.02)	-0.0760** (-2.87)	0.00151 (0.06)	-0.00479 (-0.17)
CCE Separate	-0.0368 (-0.54)	0.0370 (0.71)	0.0709 (1.36)	-0.0184 (-0.35)	0.0165 (0.28)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0262 (-0.59)	-0.0498 (-1.53)	-0.0650 (-1.70)	-0.0291 (-0.89)	-0.0759* (-2.22)
CCE Professor	0.0228 (0.64)	-0.0706* (-2.50)	-0.0323 (-1.09)	0.00227 (0.08)	0.0195 (0.59)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.122 (1.16)	0.0408 (0.51)	0.138 (1.61)	0.131 (1.58)	-0.0499 (-0.51)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0874 (-0.92)	-0.0134 (-0.18)	-0.0797 (-1.02)	0.0433 (0.56)	0.200* (2.26)
CCE Racism	0.000556 (0.00)	-0.100 (-0.99)	-0.0410 (-0.40)	-0.0923 (-0.87)	-0.0534 (-0.42)
Student gender	-0.890*** (-8.60)	-0.0599 (-0.78)	-0.288*** (-3.54)	0.365*** (4.55)	-0.0239 (-0.26)
Immigration Problems	0.00257 (0.05)	-0.0128 (-0.28)	-0.0442 (-0.91)	-0.0208 (-0.44)	-0.0544 (-1.00)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0383 (-0.79)	-0.00655 (-0.18)	-0.0328 (-0.85)	0.0907* (2.30)	0.0354 (0.76)
Ethnic Problems	0.0340 (0.33)	0.140 (1.73)	0.163 (1.89)	-0.0465 (-0.55)	0.0974 (1.02)
School Location	-0.0594 (-1.34)	-0.0940** (-2.95)	-0.148*** (-4.17)	0.0383 (1.17)	0.00481 (0.13)
Students Income	-0.0510 (-1.78)	-0.0272 (-1.24)	-0.00331 (-0.15)	0.0159 (0.70)	0.0139 (0.53)
Education Expected	0.182*** (4.81)	0.0632 (1.90)	0.186*** (5.45)	0.0221 (0.64)	0.0430 (1.07)
Language Spoken	9.07e-09* (2.46)	-3.84e-10 (-0.11)	7.02e-09* (1.98)	-5.73e-10 (-0.16)	-4.83e-10 (-0.11)
Mother's Education	0.0659 (1.48)	0.0701 (1.93)	0.0231 (0.60)	0.0336 (0.88)	0.0208 (0.48)
Father's Education	0.0185 (0.44)	0.0221 (0.66)	0.0355 (1.00)	-0.0179 (-0.50)	-0.0272 (-0.69)
Books	-0.168*** (-4.12)	-0.116*** (-3.61)	-0.135*** (-3.97)	-0.000436 (-0.01)	0.0170 (0.44)
Internet	0.0340 (0.38)	-0.0658 (-0.77)	-0.0429 (-0.47)	0.00397 (0.05)	-0.0941 (-0.97)
Flag Respect	0.0484 (0.89)	0.0610 (1.30)	0.152** (3.15)	0.612*** (9.18)	0.00100 (0.02)
Women Discrimination	-0.170** (-3.15)	-0.0551 (-1.31)	0.0306 (0.69)	0.0556 (1.27)	0.0286 (0.57)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0948 (1.84)	0.0782 (1.88)	-0.0282 (-0.64)	0.00292 (0.07)	0.0640 (1.26)
Constant	-1.050* (-2.17)	0.0626 (0.17)	-0.676 (-1.67)	-1.253** (-3.14)	-0.0252 (-0.06)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.205* (2.49)	0.0146 (0.25)	-0.00840 (-0.09)	0.116* (2.19)	0.0583 (1.25)
Multicultural Projects	-0.00726 (-0.10)	0.0140 (0.31)	-0.276*** (-3.56)	-0.0147 (-0.35)	-0.0292 (-0.82)
CCE Separate	-1.089* (-2.21)	0.0387 (0.38)	-0.312 (-1.15)	-0.118 (-1.03)	-0.108 (-1.28)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.308 (-1.06)	-0.254 (-1.77)	-0.218 (-1.52)	-0.0354 (-0.63)	-0.0799 (-1.73)
CCE Professor	0.133 (1.41)	-0.00935 (-0.17)	0.0230 (0.30)	0.0591 (1.18)	-0.0687 (-1.67)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0880 (-0.35)	-0.0156 (-0.10)	0.447 (1.94)	0.357* (2.45)	-0.000515 (-0.00)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0736 (0.32)	-0.0723 (-0.52)	0.0342 (0.17)	0.0354 (0.26)	0.210 (1.94)
CCE Racism	-0.166 (-0.53)	0.170 (0.97)	-0.403 (-1.52)	-0.192 (-1.09)	0.0466 (0.32)
Student gender	-1.098*** (-4.27)	-0.388** (-2.60)	-1.205*** (-5.26)	0.0784 (0.57)	-0.308** (-2.75)
Immigration Problems	-0.220 (-1.35)	-0.119 (-1.28)	-0.0861 (-0.69)	0.0391 (0.50)	0.0409 (0.63)
Unemployment Problems	0.116 (1.16)	0.0588 (0.92)	-0.0686 (-0.70)	0.118 (1.73)	0.102 (1.88)
Ethnic Problems	0.311 (1.14)	0.374* (2.29)	-0.0542 (-0.25)	-0.385** (-2.75)	-0.0821 (-0.71)
School Location	-0.0767 (-0.69)	-0.173* (-2.54)	-0.230* (-2.29)	0.0376 (0.61)	-0.0779 (-1.64)
Students Income	0.0164 (0.28)	-0.0262 (-0.62)	-0.0813 (-1.38)	-0.143** (-3.21)	-0.0316 (-0.97)
Education Expected	0.321*** (4.71)	0.110 (1.88)	0.261*** (3.79)	0.0398 (0.71)	0.0675 (1.41)
Language Spoken	-0.000000132 (-0.02)	6.53e-10 (0.10)	-1.26e-10 (-0.01)	2.61e-10 (0.04)	1.34e-09 (0.26)
Mother's Education	0.0789 (0.81)	0.0366 (0.53)	0.0461 (0.53)	-0.0398 (-0.64)	-0.00363 (-0.07)
Father's Education	0.106 (1.13)	0.00431 (0.07)	0.0673 (0.81)	0.120* (2.16)	0.0107 (0.22)
Books	-0.0602 (-0.64)	-0.215*** (-3.46)	-0.242** (-2.93)	0.0691 (1.25)	0.0368 (0.80)
Internet	-0.275 (-0.79)	-0.255 (-1.15)	0.228* (2.14)	-0.352 (-1.69)	-0.131 (-1.00)
Flag Respect	0.164 (1.58)	0.113 (1.44)	0.169 (1.81)	0.775*** (9.37)	0.0266 (0.40)
Women Discrimination	-0.255* (-2.13)	0.131 (1.67)	0.0272 (0.25)	0.0334 (0.45)	0.0713 (1.17)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.207* (2.01)	-0.152 (-1.82)	-0.219 (-1.88)	-0.0355 (-0.49)	0.0610 (1.01)
Constant	-5.282*** (-4.26)	-1.853* (-2.46)	-0.690 (-0.69)	-2.282*** (-3.41)	-0.260 (-0.48)
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	-0.403 (-1.75)	0.0312 (0.29)	-0.0417 (-0.39)	-0.115 (-0.80)	0.0588 (0.92)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Multicultural Projects	0.151 (1.12)	-0.00112 (-0.01)	0.0534 (0.72)	-0.0210 (-0.21)	-0.0149 (-0.29)
CCE Separate	-0.303 (-0.50)	0.0931 (0.36)	-0.246 (-0.73)	-0.0350 (-0.11)	-0.675* (-2.57)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0602 (-0.19)	-1.296 (-1.75)	-0.158 (-0.85)	-0.148 (-0.71)	-0.177 (-1.66)
CCE Professor	-0.0844 (-0.52)	0.0256 (0.28)	0.0519 (0.56)	0.174 (1.66)	-0.0743 (-1.19)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.291 (-0.64)	-0.128 (-0.48)	0.0354 (0.14)	0.312 (0.95)	-0.233 (-1.41)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.111 (-0.27)	-0.0223 (-0.09)	-0.241 (-1.05)	-0.449 (-1.71)	0.210 (1.32)
CCE Racism	0.510 (1.01)	0.294 (0.97)	0.430 (1.54)	0.0744 (0.21)	0.274 (1.37)
Student gender	-3.204** (-3.11)	-1.515*** (-4.45)	-1.412*** (-4.72)	-0.871* (-2.46)	-0.748*** (-4.40)
Immigration Problems	-0.131 (-0.48)	-0.536** (-2.77)	-0.0989 (-0.62)	-0.317 (-1.47)	-0.0889 (-0.85)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0457 (-0.25)	-0.0470 (-0.35)	0.0742 (0.65)	0.108 (0.75)	0.199** (2.77)
Ethnic Problems	0.719 (1.43)	0.347 (1.20)	-0.106 (-0.40)	0.00536 (0.02)	0.113 (0.63)
School Location	-0.0482 (-0.23)	-0.0786 (-0.63)	0.0931 (0.88)	-0.105 (-0.75)	-0.263** (-3.17)
Students Income	-0.0636 (-0.44)	-0.0654 (-0.88)	-0.0907 (-1.15)	0.122 (1.56)	-0.102* (-2.01)
Education Expected	0.105 (0.57)	0.253** (2.99)	0.217* (2.44)	0.113 (1.01)	0.128* (1.96)
Language Spoken	1.91e-08 (1.69)	1.94e-09 (0.18)	1.22e-08 (1.56)	-0.000000121 (-0.02)	6.32e-09 (1.01)
Mother's Education	0.0208 (0.13)	0.00507 (0.04)	0.0730 (0.72)	0.0248 (0.19)	0.0973 (1.29)
Father's Education	0.242 (1.71)	-0.0629 (-0.52)	0.0450 (0.46)	0.0517 (0.43)	-0.0885 (-1.19)
Books	-0.486* (-2.49)	-0.109 (-1.05)	-0.0913 (-0.94)	0.0108 (0.09)	0.00246 (0.04)
Internet	-0.532 (-0.82)	0.274* (2.38)	-0.317 (-0.78)	-0.140 (-0.34)	0.206* (2.01)
Flag Respect	0.190 (1.19)	0.0250 (0.18)	0.130 (1.05)	0.858*** (7.58)	0.111 (1.30)
Women Discrimination	0.0276 (0.11)	-0.0527 (-0.36)	-0.0414 (-0.31)	-0.227 (-1.39)	0.317*** (3.64)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.332 (-1.22)	0.0543 (0.42)	0.0975 (0.86)	0.123 (0.87)	-0.288** (-3.02)
Constant	-3.706 (-1.58)	-2.184 (-1.73)	-3.113** (-2.64)	-3.927** (-2.66)	-1.149 (-1.42)
Observations	3163	3163	3163	3163	3163

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 14. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Italy

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0681* (2.05)
Multicultural Projects	0.0663** (2.59)
CCE Separate	0.0170 (0.29)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0272 (-0.77)
CCE Professor	-0.0436 (-1.44)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.00736 (0.09)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0768 (-0.97)
CCE Racism	0.180 (1.74)
Student gender	0.193* (2.34)
Immigration Problems	-0.0621 (-1.26)
Unemployment Problems	0.0898* (2.27)
Ethnic Problems	0.0292 (0.34)
School Location	0.0388 (1.16)
Students Income	-0.0165 (-0.71)
Education Expected	0.187*** (5.01)
Language Spoken	-1.07e-09 (-0.28)
Mother's Education	0.0306 (0.78)
Father's Education	0.0187 (0.51)
Books	-0.118*** (-3.44)
Internet	0.0616 (0.74)
Flag Respect	0.290*** (4.99)
Women Discrimination	-0.0514 (-1.15)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0215 (0.49)
Constant	-1.304** (-3.21)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0793 (1.61)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0161 (-0.42)
CCE Separate	0.0528 (0.69)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0715 (-1.22)
CCE Professor	-0.0244 (-0.57)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.230 (1.83)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.232* (-2.07)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
CCE Racism	0.0665 (0.45)
Student gender	0.158 (1.35)
Immigration Problems	-0.0784 (-1.11)
Unemployment Problems	0.0808 (1.45)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0788 (-0.65)
School Location	0.00992 (0.20)
Students Income	-0.0487 (-1.46)
Education Expected	0.179*** (3.62)
Language Spoken	-1.07e-08 (-1.40)
Mother's Education	0.0947 (1.80)
Father's Education	0.106* (2.18)
Books	-0.251*** (-5.07)
Internet	0.0724 (0.65)
Flag Respect	0.416*** (6.01)
Women Discrimination	-0.129* (-2.02)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0312 (0.50)
Constant	-1.694** (-3.00)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Projects	-0.0205 (-0.29)
Multicultural Projects	0.0724 (1.37)
CCE Separate	0.160 (1.67)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.00381 (0.05)
CCE Professor	-0.0600 (-1.02)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.230 (-1.23)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.154 (-0.87)
CCE Racism	-0.00262 (-0.01)
Student gender	-0.169 (-1.00)
Immigration Problems	-0.198 (-1.89)
Unemployment Problems	0.0818 (1.13)
Ethnic Problems	0.164 (0.93)
School Location	-0.0515 (-0.70)
Students Income	-0.0236 (-0.49)
Education Expected	0.301*** (5.11)
Language Spoken	9.61e-09 (1.92)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Mother's Education	0.0948 (1.28)
Father's Education	0.0853 (1.23)
Books	-0.189** (-2.76)
Internet	-0.460 (-1.80)
Flag Respect	0.476*** (5.87)
Women Discrimination	0.0133 (0.15)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0624 (-0.69)
Constant	-2.629** (-3.19)
Observations	3163

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 15. First five regressions for Malta

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0586 (0.94)	-0.0898 (-1.93)	-0.0154 (-0.33)	-0.00883 (-0.18)	-0.0209 (-0.38)
Multicultural Projects	-0.00346 (-0.07)	0.128** (3.25)	0.104** (2.63)	0.0457 (1.09)	-0.0103 (-0.22)
CCE Separate	0.0917 (0.62)	-0.157 (-1.27)	-0.145 (-1.17)	0.112 (0.88)	-0.0760 (-0.54)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0808 (-0.71)	0.0933 (1.02)	0.101 (1.10)	-0.0387 (-0.41)	0.126 (1.18)
CCE Professor	0.0786 (1.59)	0.0437 (1.14)	0.104** (2.72)	-0.00299 (-0.07)	-0.0387 (-0.86)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0114 (-0.09)	0.131 (1.32)	0.140 (1.41)	0.146 (1.43)	0.211 (1.85)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0945 (0.86)	0.127 (1.46)	0.0835 (0.96)	-0.00615 (-0.07)	0.0115 (0.11)
CCE Racism	-0.170 (-1.16)	-0.251* (-2.06)	-0.304* (-2.50)	-0.0912 (-0.72)	-0.177 (-1.27)
Student gender	-0.857*** (-6.89)	-0.145 (-1.49)	-0.203* (-2.07)	0.525*** (5.16)	0.133 (1.17)
Immigration Problems	-0.132* (-1.96)	-0.0999 (-1.81)	-0.0658 (-1.19)	-0.0644 (-1.11)	-0.0896 (-1.36)
Unemployment Problems	-0.000278 (-0.01)	-0.0568 (-1.44)	-0.0214 (-0.54)	-0.0344 (-0.87)	0.0693 (1.49)
Ethnic Problems	0.176 (1.48)	0.317*** (3.32)	0.289** (3.01)	-0.0340 (-0.34)	0.105 (0.94)
School Location	0.0604 (0.59)	0.0108 (0.13)	-0.00766 (-0.09)	-0.00883 (-0.10)	-0.000302 (-0.00)
Students Income	0.0306 (0.64)	0.0230 (0.61)	-0.0494 (-1.31)	0.00859 (0.22)	0.00681 (0.15)
Education Expected	0.157*** (4.67)	0.178*** (5.75)	0.136*** (4.60)	0.00766 (0.25)	0.0853* (2.39)
Language Spoken	-3.69e-09 (-0.91)	-4.50e-09 (-1.44)	-4.66e-09 (-1.46)	-1.68e-09 (-0.54)	-6.81e-09* (-2.12)
Mother's Education	0.00411 (0.14)	0.0117 (0.49)	0.0202 (0.85)	0.0192 (0.76)	-0.0136 (-0.48)
Father's Education	0.0532* (2.08)	0.0312 (1.45)	0.0436* (2.06)	0.00721 (0.32)	0.0324 (1.29)
Books	-0.0796* (-1.99)	-0.121*** (-3.60)	-0.131*** (-3.91)	-0.0549 (-1.58)	-0.0794* (-2.06)
Internet	0.106 (1.60)	0.283** (2.92)	0.0611 (0.90)	-0.0382 (-0.61)	0.0137 (0.19)
Flag Respect	0.154*** (3.49)	0.0935* (2.35)	0.110** (2.73)	0.372*** (7.06)	0.0261 (0.57)
Women Discrimination	-0.285*** (-5.75)	-0.0717 (-1.88)	-0.00302 (-0.08)	-0.0306 (-0.76)	0.0106 (0.23)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0794 (1.67)	0.0894* (2.33)	0.0568 (1.50)	0.136*** (3.29)	0.182*** (3.58)
Constant	-2.108*** (-4.08)	-1.630*** (-3.70)	-1.933*** (-4.47)	-0.480 (-1.07)	-0.142 (-0.28)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0993 (0.89)	-0.0563 (-0.63)	0.0631 (0.62)	-0.0414 (-0.57)	-0.100 (-1.47)
Multicultural Projects	-0.000916 (-0.01)	0.112 (1.49)	0.163 (1.94)	0.0408 (0.68)	0.103 (1.84)
CCE Separate	0.308 (1.14)	-0.290 (-1.34)	0.0456 (0.19)	0.0610 (0.33)	0.474** (2.62)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.326 (-1.66)	-0.0298 (-0.18)	-0.0327 (-0.18)	-0.242 (-1.72)	-0.0773 (-0.59)
CCE Professor	0.129 (1.60)	0.0291 (0.41)	-0.0793 (-1.02)	0.0586 (1.02)	0.0791 (1.44)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0209 (-0.10)	0.165 (0.92)	0.134 (0.71)	0.269 (1.81)	0.235 (1.69)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.249 (1.35)	0.0608 (0.38)	0.0995 (0.56)	-0.115 (-0.89)	-0.107 (-0.87)
CCE Racism	-0.515* (-2.05)	-0.0505 (-0.24)	-0.0335 (-0.14)	-0.0728 (-0.41)	-0.366* (-2.12)
Student gender	-0.710*** (-3.45)	-0.552** (-3.03)	-0.983*** (-4.74)	0.102 (0.69)	-0.151 (-1.09)
Immigration Problems	-0.172 (-1.54)	-0.190 (-1.91)	-0.241* (-2.29)	-0.146 (-1.77)	-0.180* (-2.30)
Unemployment Problems	-0.122 (-1.46)	-0.0571 (-0.81)	-0.0415 (-0.60)	-0.157* (-2.41)	-0.0453 (-0.78)
Ethnic Problems	0.241 (1.19)	0.326 (1.85)	0.296 (1.57)	0.226 (1.56)	0.181 (1.33)
School Location	0.385* (2.28)	0.241 (1.59)	-0.113 (-0.68)	0.108 (0.89)	-0.0834 (-0.71)
Students Income	0.0950 (1.16)	0.0921 (1.32)	-0.0431 (-0.57)	-0.0241 (-0.43)	0.0806 (1.47)
Education Expected	0.234*** (4.89)	0.198*** (4.11)	0.131* (2.51)	-0.00787 (-0.18)	0.0606 (1.42)
Language Spoken	1.09e-09 (0.20)	1.93e-09 (0.41)	-2.91e-09 (-0.47)	-7.09e-10 (-0.16)	-6.19e-09 (-1.49)
Mother's Education	0.0162 (0.34)	0.0409 (1.00)	0.0578 (1.27)	0.0328 (0.92)	0.0269 (0.79)
Father's Education	0.00919 (0.22)	0.0577 (1.56)	0.00650 (0.16)	-0.0118 (-0.37)	0.0208 (0.68)
Books	-0.162* (-2.40)	-0.189** (-3.13)	-0.248*** (-3.86)	-0.105* (-2.09)	-0.0866 (-1.83)
Internet	0.0306 (0.22)	0.235 (1.81)	0.198* (2.34)	-0.0717 (-0.68)	-0.0803 (-0.77)
Flag Respect	0.240*** (4.01)	0.0851 (1.33)	0.189** (3.09)	0.589*** (9.68)	0.0729 (1.37)
Women Discrimination	-0.235** (-2.85)	-0.0106 (-0.16)	-0.283*** (-3.56)	-0.0607 (-1.05)	0.00702 (0.13)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0163 (0.20)	0.00557 (0.08)	0.0435 (0.54)	0.0387 (0.64)	0.290*** (5.04)
Constant	-4.295*** (-4.86)	-3.451*** (-4.47)	-1.882* (-2.27)	-1.837** (-2.83)	-1.601** (-2.60)
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	-0.0252 (-0.12)	0.0165 (0.10)	-0.0517 (-0.29)	-0.128 (-0.78)	0.127 (1.26)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Multicultural Projects	0.157 (0.85)	0.248 (1.88)	0.242 (1.82)	-0.00406 (-0.03)	-0.0830 (-1.02)
CCE Separate	-0.192 (-0.36)	-0.00676 (-0.02)	0.193 (0.53)	-0.495 (-1.41)	0.553* (2.25)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.175 (-0.42)	-0.143 (-0.52)	-1.042** (-3.03)	-0.536 (-1.68)	-0.239 (-1.34)
CCE Professor	-0.207 (-1.42)	0.0288 (0.26)	0.223 (1.83)	0.176 (1.27)	0.00550 (0.07)
CCE Promoting Rights	1.394** (3.04)	0.213 (0.70)	0.263 (0.70)	0.429 (1.31)	0.187 (0.98)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.899* (-2.51)	0.0573 (0.23)	0.208 (0.69)	-0.116 (-0.40)	-0.237 (-1.37)
CCE Racism	-0.312 (-0.56)	-0.791* (-2.24)	-0.796 (-1.73)	0.403 (1.08)	0.0724 (0.31)
Student gender	-1.337** (-3.15)	-1.000*** (-3.45)	-1.744*** (-5.27)	-0.00879 (-0.03)	-0.808*** (-4.11)
Immigration Problems	-0.591** (-2.73)	-0.366* (-2.27)	-0.432** (-2.60)	0.104 (0.54)	-0.363*** (-3.40)
Unemployment Problems	0.146 (1.06)	-0.00966 (-0.09)	-0.354* (-2.56)	-0.100 (-0.66)	-0.128 (-1.64)
Ethnic Problems	0.828 (1.96)	0.698* (2.36)	0.392 (1.32)	-0.0867 (-0.26)	0.0902 (0.50)
School Location	0.415 (1.20)	0.752** (3.07)	0.287 (1.16)	0.138 (0.51)	-0.147 (-0.90)
Students Income	-0.0234 (-0.14)	0.0766 (0.66)	0.0571 (0.44)	0.175 (1.27)	0.0210 (0.28)
Education Expected	0.196* (2.18)	0.114 (1.46)	0.129 (1.66)	0.0647 (0.79)	0.126* (2.35)
Language Spoken	1.62e-08** (2.72)	5.92e-09 (1.04)	1.39e-08** (2.78)	1.08e-08 (1.82)	1.14e-09 (0.25)
Mother's Education	0.0104 (0.12)	-0.0162 (-0.26)	-0.0732 (-1.06)	0.0227 (0.31)	0.0741 (1.62)
Father's Education	-0.0146 (-0.18)	0.104 (1.86)	0.0422 (0.70)	0.0231 (0.35)	-0.0266 (-0.63)
Books	-0.0687 (-0.58)	0.000785 (0.01)	-0.111 (-1.19)	-0.154 (-1.46)	0.000403 (0.01)
Internet	0.302** (2.76)	0.208 (1.26)	0.112 (0.75)	0.0922 (0.67)	0.0475 (0.48)
Flag Respect	0.240* (2.42)	0.135 (1.43)	0.247** (2.96)	0.617*** (6.92)	0.0111 (0.15)
Women Discrimination	-0.231 (-1.57)	-0.0333 (-0.30)	-0.516*** (-4.15)	-0.392** (-2.84)	-0.0335 (-0.45)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.172 (1.41)	0.0430 (0.39)	0.229* (2.23)	0.118 (0.89)	0.306*** (4.14)
Constant	-7.097*** (-3.69)	-7.720*** (-5.93)	-3.206* (-2.16)	-3.428* (-2.54)	-1.138 (-1.37)
Observations	3391	3391	3391	3391	3391

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 16. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Malta

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	-0.0399 (-0.77)
Multicultural Projects	0.0490 (1.12)
CCE Separate	-0.144 (-1.04)
CCE Extra-Curricular	0.0763 (0.74)
CCE Professor	0.106* (2.47)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.0509 (0.46)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.00739 (-0.08)
CCE Racism	-0.335* (-2.44)
Student gender	0.0293 (0.27)
Immigration Problems	0.0342 (0.55)
Unemployment Problems	0.0350 (0.79)
Ethnic Problems	0.213* (2.00)
School Location	0.143 (1.53)
Students Income	0.0147 (0.35)
Education Expected	-0.0453 (-1.30)
Language Spoken	-4.83e-09 (-1.46)
Mother's Education	-0.0185 (-0.68)
Father's Education	0.0562* (2.30)
Books	-0.115** (-3.06)
Internet	0.0799 (1.01)
Flag Respect	0.159** (3.06)
Women Discrimination	0.0319 (0.74)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0409 (0.91)
Constant	-1.740*** (-3.54)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.106 (1.70)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0778 (-1.46)
CCE Separate	-0.000239 (-0.00)
CCE Extra-Curricular	0.0917 (0.76)
CCE Professor	0.178*** (3.51)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0360 (-0.27)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.00745 (0.06)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
CCE Racism	-0.271 (-1.69)
Student gender	-0.180 (-1.39)
Immigration Problems	0.0264 (0.36)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0260 (-0.51)
Ethnic Problems	0.102 (0.82)
School Location	0.146 (1.34)
Students Income	-0.0366 (-0.74)
Education Expected	0.0845* (2.29)
Language Spoken	-1.02e-08* (-2.17)
Mother's Education	-0.00806 (-0.26)
Father's Education	0.0809** (2.89)
Books	-0.151*** (-3.48)
Internet	0.141 (1.77)
Flag Respect	0.318*** (5.81)
Women Discrimination	-0.0373 (-0.75)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.144** (2.89)
Constant	-2.485*** (-4.43)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0729 (0.84)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0420 (-0.60)
CCE Separate	0.190 (0.90)
CCE Extra-Curricular	-0.0674 (-0.44)
CCE Professor	0.248*** (3.68)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0948 (-0.57)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.229 (-1.57)
CCE Racism	-0.194 (-0.99)
Student gender	-0.675*** (-4.01)
Immigration Problems	-0.134 (-1.44)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0908 (-1.35)
Ethnic Problems	0.224 (1.39)
School Location	0.280* (2.02)
Students Income	0.0602 (0.90)
Education Expected	0.127** (2.92)
Language Spoken	2.83e-09 (0.72)
Mother's Education	0.00101 (0.03)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Father's Education	0.0805* (2.29)
Books	-0.176** (-3.20)
Internet	-0.0680 (-0.47)
Flag Respect	0.408*** (6.83)
Women Discrimination	-0.122 (-1.88)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.183** (2.96)
Constant	-3.328*** (-4.61)
Observations	3391

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 17. First five regressions for the Netherlands

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling
Agree				
Human Rights Projects	0.00789 (0.18)	0.120** (3.05)	0.0825* (2.11)	0.0833 (1.57)
Multicultural Projects	0.163*** (3.45)	0.0754 (1.84)	0.0527 (1.28)	-0.0281 (-0.49)
CCE Separate	0.319* (2.03)	-0.0322 (-0.23)	0.140 (1.00)	-0.0940 (-0.50)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0679 (-0.55)	-0.109 (-1.03)	-0.181 (-1.71)	0.0203 (0.14)
CCE Professor	-0.0505 (-1.26)	-0.0216 (-0.64)	0.0354 (1.06)	-0.0396 (-0.84)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.232 (-1.47)	-0.325* (-2.40)	-0.281* (-2.07)	0.290 (1.49)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.258 (-1.94)	-0.177 (-1.49)	-0.180 (-1.51)	0.0110 (0.07)
CCE Racism	-0.106 (-0.42)	-0.0297 (-0.13)	-0.0180 (-0.08)	0.546 (1.60)
Student gender	-0.840*** (-7.82)	-0.336*** (-3.62)	-0.301** (-3.24)	0.531*** (4.08)
Immigration Problems	-0.0846 (-0.83)	0.0313 (0.35)	0.0842 (0.94)	0.0488 (0.40)
Unemployment Problems	-0.00245 (-0.03)	-0.220** (-2.66)	-0.183* (-2.20)	0.146 (1.28)
Ethnic Problems	-0.116 (-0.94)	0.0924 (0.85)	0.167 (1.53)	-0.279 (-1.81)
School Location	0.00397 (0.05)	-0.185* (-2.52)	-0.188* (-2.57)	0.0188 (0.19)
Students Income	-0.00755 (-0.26)	-0.0330 (-1.32)	-0.0266 (-1.07)	0.0841* (2.26)
Education Expected	0.238*** (4.91)	0.189*** (4.37)	0.223*** (5.12)	-0.0606 (-1.03)
Language Spoken	-0.000000160 (-0.01)	3.63e-11 (0.00)	-9.60e-10 (-0.06)	0.000000161 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.0254 (0.68)	0.0408 (1.20)	0.0636 (1.86)	0.0302 (0.64)
Father's Education	0.0260 (0.74)	-0.0182 (-0.58)	0.0236 (0.76)	-0.0547 (-1.25)
Books	-0.119** (-2.62)	-0.221*** (-5.48)	-0.216*** (-5.38)	0.0692 (1.27)
Internet	0.0219 (0.66)	-0.0132 (-0.43)	-0.0273 (-0.88)	-0.0750* (-2.04)
Flag Respect	0.118* (2.31)	-0.0190 (-0.40)	0.0115 (0.24)	0.0229 (0.31)
Women Discrimination	-0.222** (-3.23)	-0.179** (-2.95)	-0.176** (-2.90)	0.234** (2.76)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.155* (2.20)	0.207** (3.21)	0.233*** (3.63)	0.191* (2.04)
Constant	-0.720 (-0.55)	1.037* (1.97)	-0.00317 (-0.01)	-0.165 (-0.13)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling
Disagree				
Human Rights Projects	-0.114 (-1.29)	0.0356 (0.52)	0.0875 (1.19)	0.0665 (1.19)
Multicultural Projects	0.155 (1.61)	0.0610 (0.83)	0.120 (1.50)	-0.106 (-1.75)
CCE Separate	0.278 (0.91)	0.0549 (0.22)	-0.0497 (-0.17)	-0.202 (-1.01)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0152 (0.06)	-0.101 (-0.53)	-0.172 (-0.81)	0.0578 (0.38)
CCE Professor	0.0237 (0.29)	0.0952 (1.63)	0.116 (1.79)	-0.0263 (-0.53)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0468 (-0.16)	-0.172 (-0.72)	-0.303 (-1.10)	0.331 (1.63)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.435 (-1.73)	-0.204 (-0.99)	-0.192 (-0.85)	-0.0689 (-0.40)
CCE Racism	0.161 (0.35)	0.351 (0.92)	0.293 (0.76)	0.440 (1.25)
Student gender	-0.758*** (-3.58)	-0.887*** (-5.24)	-1.018*** (-5.46)	0.524*** (3.85)
Immigration Problems	0.464* (2.29)	0.0381 (0.24)	0.152 (0.88)	0.0373 (0.29)
Unemployment Problems	-0.464** (-2.74)	-0.310* (-2.18)	-0.307* (-1.99)	0.126 (1.06)
Ethnic Problems	-0.211 (-0.85)	0.0444 (0.23)	-0.0711 (-0.33)	-0.144 (-0.89)
School Location	0.0383 (0.22)	-0.465*** (-3.42)	0.0206 (0.15)	0.0913 (0.86)
Students Income	-0.0396 (-0.68)	-0.0333 (-0.76)	-0.0795 (-1.56)	0.0501 (1.29)
Education Expected	0.180* (1.96)	0.303*** (4.16)	0.278*** (3.46)	-0.115 (-1.86)
Language Spoken	-0.000000132 (-0.01)	-0.000000116 (-0.02)	-0.000000113 (-0.03)	9.32e-09 (0.00)
Mother's Education	0.0375 (0.51)	-0.0695 (-1.16)	0.00549 (0.09)	0.0575 (1.18)
Father's Education	-0.0258 (-0.37)	0.0778 (1.48)	0.0892 (1.56)	-0.0446 (-0.99)
Books	-0.139 (-1.54)	-0.248*** (-3.45)	-0.319*** (-4.05)	0.00172 (0.03)
Internet	-0.0817 (-0.89)	0.0340 (0.69)	0.0236 (0.45)	-0.102* (-2.51)
Flag Respect	0.162 (1.78)	0.0744 (0.96)	0.0765 (0.94)	0.392*** (5.18)
Women Discrimination	-0.150 (-1.12)	-0.211* (-2.04)	-0.409*** (-3.54)	0.232** (2.62)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.135 (0.98)	0.368*** (3.59)	0.399*** (3.51)	0.198* (2.04)
Constant	-1.948 (-1.19)	0.0105 (0.01)	-1.421 (-1.39)	-1.285 (-0.86)
Strongly disagree				

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling
Human Rights Projects	-0.0572 (-0.28)	-0.155 (-0.96)	-0.0153 (-0.13)	-0.0622 (-0.68)
Multicultural Projects	0.340 (1.26)	0.102 (0.57)	0.0226 (0.16)	-0.127 (-1.34)
CCE Separate	0.586 (0.80)	0.174 (0.29)	0.710 (1.71)	-0.393 (-1.14)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.597 (-0.94)	-0.405 (-0.86)	0.124 (0.38)	0.0177 (0.07)
CCE Professor	0.188 (1.01)	0.388** (2.80)	0.144 (1.33)	0.0429 (0.55)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.254 (-0.34)	-1.265 (-1.88)	-0.514 (-1.12)	-0.302 (-0.81)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.140 (0.19)	-0.136 (-0.28)	0.440 (1.06)	0.245 (0.79)
CCE Racism	-13.91 (-0.01)	1.278 (1.64)	0.992 (1.52)	0.00405 (0.01)
Student gender	-1.818** (-2.78)	-1.207** (-2.91)	-1.271*** (-3.89)	0.370 (1.72)
Immigration Problems	0.0119 (0.02)	0.239 (0.57)	0.0650 (0.22)	0.266 (1.26)
Unemployment Problems	0.0346 (0.07)	-0.702* (-1.99)	-0.580* (-2.31)	-0.134 (-0.73)
Ethnic Problems	0.127 (0.20)	0.985 (1.72)	0.350 (0.91)	-0.624* (-2.51)
School Location	-0.674 (-1.48)	-1.318** (-3.04)	-0.562* (-2.15)	0.105 (0.60)
Students Income	0.0320 (0.26)	0.0666 (0.76)	0.0723 (1.01)	0.0925 (1.57)
Education Expected	0.547** (2.88)	0.274 (1.76)	0.478*** (4.29)	-0.151 (-1.59)
Language Spoken	-0.000000147 (-0.01)	-0.000000107 (-0.02)	-9.72e-08 (-0.02)	2.30e-08 (0.00)
Mother's Education	-0.0660 (-0.39)	0.182 (1.67)	0.119 (1.22)	0.0337 (0.46)
Father's Education	0.138 (0.83)	0.0780 (0.73)	-0.0981 (-0.96)	0.0187 (0.28)
Books	0.0971 (0.51)	-0.156 (-0.96)	-0.127 (-1.02)	-0.0829 (-0.90)
Internet	0.0804 (0.56)	-0.0168 (-0.12)	-0.117 (-0.86)	-0.0755 (-1.13)
Flag Respect	0.110 (0.58)	0.240 (1.76)	0.147 (1.24)	0.691*** (7.22)
Women Discrimination	-0.743* (-2.20)	-0.225 (-0.93)	-0.298 (-1.56)	0.335* (2.50)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.109 (0.32)	0.0899 (0.34)	0.0634 (0.31)	0.261 (1.92)
Constant	-5.045 (-1.61)	-3.612 (-1.50)	-2.159 (-1.21)	-2.374 (-1.35)
Observations	2275	2275	2275	2275

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 18. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for the Netherlands

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0505 (1.04)
Multicultural Projects	0.0130 (0.26)
CCE Separate	0.111 (0.65)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.219 (-1.72)
CCE Professor	-0.0196 (-0.50)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.00204 (-0.01)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.217 (1.51)
CCE Racism	0.196 (0.68)
Student gender	0.148 (1.30)
Immigration Problems	-0.106 (-0.95)
Unemployment Problems	0.0503 (0.49)
Ethnic Problems	0.0361 (0.26)
School Location	-0.114 (-1.27)
Students Income	0.0513 (1.58)
Education Expected	0.175** (3.24)
Language Spoken	-0.000000146 (-0.02)
Mother's Education	0.135** (2.84)
Father's Education	-0.00466 (-0.11)
Books	-0.149** (-3.03)
Internet	-0.0217 (-0.56)
Flag Respect	0.146* (2.33)
Women Discrimination	0.111 (1.50)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0941 (1.18)
Constant	-0.574 (-0.78)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0388 (0.73)
Multicultural Projects	0.0301 (0.54)
CCE Separate	0.196 (1.05)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.265 (-1.87)
CCE Professor	0.0419 (0.95)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0110 (-0.06)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.236 (1.48)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
CCE Racism	-0.0107 (-0.03)
Student gender	0.361** (2.88)
Immigration Problems	-0.0674 (-0.55)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0164 (-0.15)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0809 (-0.54)
School Location	-0.211* (-2.12)
Students Income	0.0260 (0.74)
Education Expected	0.298*** (5.06)
Language Spoken	-0.000000151 (-0.03)
Mother's Education	0.168*** (3.38)
Father's Education	0.0694 (1.59)
Books	-0.343*** (-6.26)
Internet	0.0127 (0.31)
Flag Respect	0.207** (3.07)
Women Discrimination	0.0754 (0.92)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.0908 (1.04)
Constant	-0.492 (-0.63)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0596 (0.88)
Multicultural Projects	0.108 (1.45)
CCE Separate	0.0101 (0.04)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.295 (-1.53)
CCE Professor	0.0761 (1.25)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.198 (-0.78)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.181 (0.85)
CCE Racism	-0.0970 (-0.24)
Student gender	-0.125 (-0.75)
Immigration Problems	-0.0125 (-0.08)
Unemployment Problems	-0.206 (-1.42)
Ethnic Problems	0.0273 (0.14)
School Location	-0.217 (-1.62)
Students Income	0.00259 (0.06)
Education Expected	0.358*** (4.75)
Language Spoken	-0.000000151 (-0.02)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Mother's Education	0.157* (2.54)
Father's Education	0.0416 (0.74)
Books	-0.537*** (-7.16)
Internet	0.00442 (0.08)
Flag Respect	0.306*** (3.83)
Women Discrimination	-0.0126 (-0.12)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.157 (1.41)
Constant	-1.112 (-1.07)
Observations	2275

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 19 First five regressions for Norway

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities	Immigrant Customs
Agree				
Human Rights Projects	0.0495 (1.37)	0.0702** (2.72)	0.0610* (2.29)	0.000900 (0.03)
Multicultural Projects	0.0150 (0.42)	0.00389 (0.15)	0.00408 (0.16)	0.0470 (1.85)
CCE Separate	-0.0517 (-0.49)	0.0116 (0.15)	-0.0277 (-0.35)	-0.247** (-3.09)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0121 (0.13)	-0.0319 (-0.50)	-0.0861 (-1.29)	0.145* (2.22)
CCE Professor	0.0208 (0.60)	-0.00963 (-0.39)	0.0149 (0.59)	0.0363 (1.49)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.0964 (1.13)	0.0213 (0.35)	-0.00971 (-0.15)	-0.0424 (-0.69)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.101 (-1.12)	-0.0106 (-0.16)	0.0231 (0.34)	0.00860 (0.13)
CCE Racism	0.0943 (1.14)	0.0520 (0.86)	0.0596 (0.95)	0.0615 (0.99)
Student gender	-0.910*** (-10.31)	-0.259*** (-4.33)	-0.477*** (-7.66)	-0.0236 (-0.38)
Immigration Problems	0.0131 (0.17)	-0.110* (-2.04)	-0.0843 (-1.50)	-0.0485 (-0.85)
Unemployment Problems	0.0272 (0.32)	0.0708 (1.17)	0.0976 (1.56)	0.0998 (1.60)
Ethnic Problems	-0.00937 (-0.09)	0.0492 (0.70)	0.0783 (1.07)	0.130 (1.76)
School Location	-0.0947* (-2.12)	-0.171*** (-5.38)	-0.164*** (-4.98)	-0.101** (-3.11)
Students Income	-0.0218 (-0.61)	0.0163 (0.64)	0.00937 (0.35)	0.00259 (0.10)
Education Expected	0.191*** (6.54)	0.116*** (4.73)	0.129*** (5.18)	0.0231 (0.88)
Language Spoken	4.98e-09 (1.81)	1.95e-10 (0.09)	-6.88e-10 (-0.29)	-2.88e-09 (-1.27)
Mother's Education	0.0147 (0.54)	-0.0158 (-0.76)	0.000587 (0.03)	-0.0158 (-0.75)
Father's Education	0.00276 (0.11)	0.0166 (0.88)	0.0289 (1.49)	-0.0201 (-1.04)
Books	-0.142*** (-4.18)	-0.162*** (-6.48)	-0.235*** (-9.03)	-0.100*** (-3.91)
Internet	-0.00311 (-0.05)	0.0739 (1.58)	0.0562 (1.12)	0.0303 (0.58)
Flag Respect	0.176*** (4.81)	0.122*** (4.12)	0.115*** (3.79)	0.0444 (1.43)
Women Discrimination	-0.275*** (-5.92)	-0.153*** (-4.74)	-0.163*** (-4.85)	-0.0948** (-2.93)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.150*** (3.77)	0.169*** (5.48)	0.167*** (5.29)	0.143*** (4.24)
Constant	-1.382*** (-4.06)	-0.287 (-1.15)	-0.426 (-1.64)	0.241 (0.94)
Disagree				
Human Rights Projects	0.122 (1.44)	0.144** (2.68)	0.0128 (0.21)	0.0219 (0.59)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities	Immigrant Customs
Multicultural Projects	-0.00926 (-0.10)	-0.0103 (-0.19)	-0.120* (-1.98)	0.0404 (1.12)
CCE Separate	-0.0188 (-0.07)	-0.141 (-0.89)	0.253 (1.35)	-0.243* (-2.21)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.211 (-0.86)	0.117 (0.84)	-0.0725 (-0.47)	0.161 (1.76)
CCE Professor	0.191* (2.35)	0.0568 (1.10)	-0.0100 (-0.17)	0.00271 (0.08)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.452* (2.09)	-0.0609 (-0.47)	-0.0434 (-0.30)	-0.150 (-1.70)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0350 (0.14)	0.189 (1.28)	0.0312 (0.21)	0.168 (1.76)
CCE Racism	-0.464* (-1.97)	-0.127 (-0.94)	0.0292 (0.21)	0.0178 (0.20)
Student gender	-1.987*** (-6.57)	-0.801*** (-5.98)	-0.667*** (-4.67)	-0.00638 (-0.07)
Immigration Problems	0.0208 (0.10)	0.0582 (0.51)	0.173 (1.35)	0.0303 (0.38)
Unemployment Problems	0.400 (1.84)	-0.205 (-1.64)	-0.0846 (-0.63)	-0.0410 (-0.47)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0721 (-0.28)	0.151 (1.02)	-0.00480 (-0.03)	0.163 (1.60)
School Location	-0.168 (-1.49)	-0.267*** (-3.95)	-0.305*** (-4.07)	-0.167*** (-3.64)
Students Income	0.0623 (0.66)	0.0629 (1.13)	0.0896 (1.62)	0.0926* (2.51)
Education Expected	0.177* (2.47)	0.159*** (3.51)	0.201*** (4.30)	0.0481 (1.36)
Language Spoken	4.27e-10 (0.06)	-3.53e-09 (-0.66)	3.42e-10 (0.07)	-6.75e-09 (-1.79)
Mother's Education	-0.0493 (-0.77)	0.0485 (1.24)	0.0885* (2.13)	0.0279 (0.97)
Father's Education	0.104 (1.78)	0.0198 (0.51)	-0.00858 (-0.20)	-0.0130 (-0.48)
Books	-0.306*** (-3.55)	-0.195*** (-3.74)	-0.272*** (-4.81)	-0.0999** (-2.79)
Internet	-0.327 (-0.61)	-0.0470 (-0.35)	0.0627 (0.63)	0.0606 (0.91)
Flag Respect	0.192* (2.21)	0.113 (1.93)	0.0116 (0.16)	0.0115 (0.26)
Women Discrimination	-0.532*** (-4.38)	-0.273*** (-3.89)	-0.314*** (-4.12)	-0.154*** (-3.36)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.173 (1.74)	0.174** (2.83)	0.181** (2.73)	0.208*** (4.73)
Constant	-3.792*** (-3.63)	-1.946*** (-3.67)	-1.368* (-2.41)	-1.183*** (-3.30)
Strongly disagree				
Human Rights Projects	0.0312 (0.24)	0.0652 (0.64)	0.0386 (0.40)	-0.0390 (-0.64)
Multicultural Projects	0.0348 (0.26)	-0.0766 (-0.70)	-0.117 (-1.20)	-0.0276 (-0.44)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities	Immigrant Customs
CCE Separate	-0.00636 (-0.02)	0.0572 (0.15)	0.0286 (0.10)	-0.134 (-0.71)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0890 (0.25)	0.356 (1.29)	0.0997 (0.41)	0.239 (1.52)
CCE Professor	0.240* (2.11)	0.0868 (0.88)	0.116 (1.31)	0.0977 (1.62)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.365 (1.18)	0.0826 (0.32)	-0.129 (-0.56)	0.0939 (0.63)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0535 (-0.15)	-0.0763 (-0.27)	0.170 (0.66)	0.107 (0.65)
CCE Racism	-0.124 (-0.42)	-0.404 (-1.24)	-0.0179 (-0.08)	-0.174 (-1.14)
Student gender	-1.548*** (-4.04)	-1.238*** (-4.42)	-1.365*** (-5.17)	-0.945*** (-5.96)
Immigration Problems	0.00688 (0.03)	-0.114 (-0.56)	-0.126 (-0.66)	-0.101 (-0.82)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0527 (-0.18)	0.0732 (0.31)	-0.0375 (-0.17)	0.0133 (0.09)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0813 (-0.22)	0.408 (1.46)	0.285 (1.11)	0.213 (1.27)
School Location	-0.348* (-2.13)	-0.375** (-2.90)	-0.281* (-2.36)	-0.365*** (-4.67)
Students Income	0.00846 (0.06)	-0.118 (-1.10)	-0.0709 (-0.71)	0.0539 (0.88)
Education Expected	0.229** (2.74)	0.264*** (3.85)	0.240*** (3.52)	0.201*** (4.20)
Language Spoken	-5.35e-09 (-0.47)	-0.0000000152 (-0.01)	-0.0000000137 (-0.02)	-9.55e-09 (-1.29)
Mother's Education	0.231** (3.20)	0.140* (2.08)	0.0908 (1.42)	-0.00763 (-0.16)
Father's Education	-0.0819 (-1.02)	-0.0726 (-1.00)	-0.0245 (-0.37)	-0.0471 (-1.01)
Books	-0.166 (-1.52)	-0.231* (-2.49)	-0.272** (-3.11)	-0.274*** (-4.65)
Internet	-2.067*** (-3.74)	-1.903*** (-3.66)	-1.489** (-2.73)	0.0758 (0.71)
Flag Respect	0.440*** (5.86)	0.310*** (4.00)	0.328*** (4.75)	0.0773 (1.17)
Women Discrimination	-0.424** (-2.67)	-0.175 (-1.61)	-0.363** (-3.24)	-0.243** (-3.24)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.272* (2.50)	0.411*** (5.20)	0.421*** (5.64)	0.349*** (5.70)
Constant	-2.933* (-2.22)	-2.791* (-2.12)	-1.996 (-1.82)	-1.332* (-2.25)
Observations	5651	5651	5651	5651

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 20. First five regressions for Sweden

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Agree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0422 (0.85)	-0.0273 (-0.74)	-0.0178 (-0.44)	-0.0483 (-1.29)	0.0261 (0.73)
Multicultural Projects	-0.00676 (-0.15)	0.0243 (0.73)	0.0256 (0.69)	-0.00830 (-0.24)	0.0783* (2.42)
CCE Separate	0.0757 (1.01)	0.0953 (1.56)	0.0646 (0.99)	0.0267 (0.37)	0.104 (1.44)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.285 (-1.79)	0.00294 (0.05)	-0.0416 (-0.58)	-0.0335 (-0.52)	-0.0626 (-1.08)
CCE Professor	0.00640 (0.09)	-0.0177 (-0.35)	0.0340 (0.60)	0.0642 (1.19)	-0.0274 (-0.53)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.158 (-1.27)	-0.0832 (-0.91)	-0.129 (-1.29)	-0.0998 (-1.05)	-0.174 (-1.90)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0276 (0.20)	-0.0923 (-0.93)	0.0405 (0.37)	0.0974 (0.92)	0.0797 (0.81)
CCE Racism	0.164 (1.34)	0.0499 (0.56)	0.0404 (0.41)	-0.00515 (-0.06)	0.0901 (1.02)
Student gender	-0.951*** (-7.05)	-0.393*** (-4.15)	-0.453*** (-4.29)	0.477*** (4.84)	0.0995 (1.09)
Immigration Problems	-0.0375 (-0.43)	-0.0372 (-0.57)	-0.0305 (-0.43)	0.133* (1.96)	-0.158* (-2.47)
Unemployment Problems	-0.00231 (-0.02)	-0.0350 (-0.48)	-0.0752 (-0.93)	-0.00853 (-0.11)	0.0514 (0.72)
Ethnic Problems	0.224* (2.02)	0.0921 (1.13)	0.147 (1.62)	-0.107 (-1.26)	0.0893 (1.12)
School Location	-0.0305 (-0.66)	-0.0718* (-2.06)	-0.0441 (-1.16)	-0.0147 (-0.42)	-0.101** (-3.05)
Education Expected	0.159*** (3.60)	0.200*** (5.17)	0.182*** (4.58)	0.0135 (0.31)	0.00477 (0.12)
Language Spoken	2.41e-09 (0.65)	3.00e-09 (1.09)	1.39e-09 (0.46)	2.83e-09 (0.98)	-3.65e-09 (-1.40)
Mother's Education	0.0368 (0.92)	0.0632* (2.03)	0.0882** (2.65)	-0.0449 (-1.36)	0.00172 (0.05)
Father's Education	0.0433 (1.10)	0.00657 (0.22)	-0.00313 (-0.10)	0.0227 (0.72)	0.0205 (0.71)
Books	-0.135** (-3.24)	-0.139*** (-4.50)	-0.194*** (-5.49)	-0.0103 (-0.33)	-0.0481 (-1.67)
Internet	0.0403 (0.39)	0.0695 (0.81)	0.0812 (0.87)	0.162 (1.12)	0.164 (1.63)
Flag Respect	-0.134* (-2.20)	-0.293*** (-6.14)	-0.260*** (-4.92)	0.215*** (4.32)	-0.253*** (-5.82)
Women Discrimination	-0.0607 (-1.25)	-0.0349 (-0.94)	-0.0137 (-0.34)	0.0176 (0.45)	-0.0114 (-0.31)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.170*** (4.13)	0.145*** (4.21)	0.102** (2.71)	0.0286 (0.78)	0.114** (2.92)
Constant	-2.131*** (-4.52)	-0.112 (-0.33)	-0.839* (-2.24)	-0.468 (-1.25)	0.591 (1.75)
Disagree					
Human Rights Projects	0.0603 (0.53)	-0.0554 (-0.59)	0.0142 (0.12)	-0.115* (-2.45)	0.0127 (0.25)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
Multicultural Projects	-0.0747 (-0.70)	0.0561 (0.74)	0.0445 (0.45)	-0.0136 (-0.33)	0.0204 (0.42)
CCE Separate	0.210 (1.30)	-0.230 (-1.24)	-0.306 (-1.16)	0.184* (2.36)	0.0666 (0.69)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.0934 (-0.65)	-0.0283 (-0.20)	0.0962 (0.72)	-0.0106 (-0.13)	-0.105 (-1.08)
CCE Professor	0.341* (2.30)	0.117 (0.97)	0.150 (1.11)	0.101 (1.60)	0.138 (1.92)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.924*** (-3.69)	-0.0953 (-0.43)	-0.0292 (-0.09)	0.0963 (0.82)	-0.141 (-1.06)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0501 (0.17)	-0.0246 (-0.10)	-0.311 (-1.00)	-0.232 (-1.88)	0.0686 (0.48)
CCE Racism	0.417 (1.54)	-0.0581 (-0.28)	-0.0658 (-0.23)	-0.150 (-1.34)	0.147 (1.16)
Student gender	-1.122*** (-3.62)	-0.999*** (-4.24)	-0.911** (-3.02)	0.251* (2.11)	-0.0317 (-0.23)
Immigration Problems	0.409* (2.00)	-0.128 (-0.88)	-0.156 (-0.86)	0.0518 (0.63)	-0.243** (-2.62)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0933 (-0.43)	0.323 (1.90)	-0.0532 (-0.26)	0.000944 (0.01)	0.0947 (0.90)
Ethnic Problems	-0.185 (-0.73)	0.00202 (0.01)	0.241 (1.02)	0.105 (1.03)	0.125 (1.08)
School Location	0.107 (1.18)	-0.130 (-1.59)	0.00774 (0.08)	-0.0745 (-1.70)	-0.142** (-2.82)
Education Expected	0.0485 (0.44)	0.249*** (3.46)	0.318*** (3.95)	0.101* (2.08)	0.0849 (1.60)
Language Spoken	1.10e-08 (1.92)	1.10e-08* (2.30)	1.25e-08* (2.37)	-3.63e-09 (-0.92)	-5.55e-09 (-1.28)
Mother's Education	0.0430 (0.49)	0.106 (1.59)	0.0713 (0.77)	-0.0129 (-0.32)	0.0742 (1.72)
Father's Education	0.0480 (0.55)	0.00731 (0.10)	-0.114 (-1.09)	0.000534 (0.01)	0.0213 (0.51)
Books	-0.146 (-1.56)	-0.175* (-2.46)	-0.138 (-1.53)	-0.00758 (-0.20)	-0.0712 (-1.67)
Internet	-0.713 (-0.65)	0.107 (0.70)	0.153 (0.98)	0.265 (1.81)	0.0713 (0.50)
Flag Respect	-0.101 (-0.74)	-0.354** (-3.14)	-0.704*** (-4.34)	0.346*** (6.05)	-0.394*** (-5.76)
Women Discrimination	-0.0794 (-0.70)	-0.184 (-1.94)	-0.108 (-0.99)	-0.0195 (-0.40)	-0.0195 (-0.38)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.125 (1.25)	0.255*** (3.73)	0.215** (2.61)	-0.0403 (-0.84)	0.243*** (5.05)
Constant	-3.629* (-2.51)	-2.636** (-3.24)	-2.681* (-2.45)	-1.663*** (-3.74)	-1.011* (-2.02)
Strongly disagree					
Human Rights Projects	-0.385 (-1.37)	-0.174 (-0.94)	0.0800 (0.49)	-0.00390 (-0.04)	-0.105 (-1.20)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0242 (-0.12)	0.0301 (0.17)	-0.0707 (-0.45)	-0.0795 (-0.92)	0.0390 (0.51)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities	EU Feeling	Immigrants Customs
CCE Separate	-0.0397 (-0.08)	-0.0296 (-0.10)	-0.144 (-0.60)	0.256* (2.07)	0.0732 (0.47)
CCE Extra-curricular	-13.30 (-0.02)	-12.90 (-0.02)	-12.68 (-0.02)	0.0554 (0.43)	-1.300 (-1.72)
CCE Professor	0.216 (0.85)	0.304 (1.39)	0.260 (1.42)	0.153 (1.18)	0.325** (3.11)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.559 (-0.86)	-0.231 (-0.41)	0.0820 (0.15)	0.113 (0.47)	-0.570* (-2.34)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.501 (-0.85)	0.299 (0.47)	0.0893 (0.16)	-0.1000 (-0.40)	0.129 (0.46)
CCE Racism	0.300 (0.56)	0.736 (1.47)	-0.121 (-0.25)	-0.489* (-2.02)	0.361 (1.60)
Student gender	-2.150** (-2.80)	-3.293** (-3.18)	-3.350** (-3.25)	-0.460 (-1.87)	-0.585** (-2.65)
Immigration Problems	0.130 (0.36)	-0.0797 (-0.26)	0.0625 (0.23)	0.328 (1.88)	-0.388** (-2.73)
Unemployment Problems	0.0595 (0.15)	-0.280 (-0.82)	-0.0968 (-0.31)	0.145 (0.76)	0.216 (1.28)
Ethnic Problems	-0.117 (-0.24)	0.152 (0.38)	-0.451 (-1.26)	-0.155 (-0.73)	0.105 (0.55)
School Location	-0.456 (-1.76)	-0.655** (-2.65)	-0.648** (-2.87)	-0.0401 (-0.44)	-0.269** (-3.24)
Education Expected	-0.0469 (-0.23)	0.217 (1.51)	0.124 (0.86)	0.0845 (0.95)	0.207** (2.93)
Language Spoken	1.58e-08 (1.73)	1.47e-08 (1.51)	1.98e-09 (0.16)	-3.57e-09 (-0.44)	-4.21e-09 (-0.56)
Mother's Education	-0.0677 (-0.42)	-0.0219 (-0.16)	0.0999 (0.83)	-0.0935 (-1.16)	0.0445 (0.61)
Father's Education	0.195 (1.32)	0.215 (1.61)	0.135 (1.06)	0.0841 (1.16)	-0.0520 (-0.69)
Books	-0.146 (-0.83)	-0.426* (-2.53)	-0.253 (-1.89)	-0.0144 (-0.20)	-0.0873 (-1.27)
Internet	-2.760** (-2.73)	-1.878 (-1.78)	0.329 (1.84)	-1.502* (-2.11)	-0.123 (-0.33)
Flag Respect	-0.0793 (-0.33)	-0.179 (-0.84)	-0.325 (-1.57)	0.551*** (6.08)	-0.414*** (-3.83)
Women Discrimination	0.00434 (0.03)	-0.226 (-1.31)	-0.00465 (-0.04)	-0.0229 (-0.26)	-0.119 (-1.49)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.275 (1.92)	0.364** (2.72)	0.364*** (3.36)	0.122 (1.57)	0.391*** (6.21)
Constant	-0.0345 (-0.01)	-0.284 (-0.12)	-1.960 (-1.01)	-3.139** (-2.84)	-1.522 (-1.46)
Observations	2588	2588	2588	2588	2588

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 21. Regression asking if students will vote in future European elections for Sweden

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
I would probably vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0175 (0.49)
Multicultural Projects	0.00864 (0.26)
CCE Separate	0.0268 (0.39)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.173* (2.08)
CCE Professor	0.0661 (1.27)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0635 (-0.68)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0145 (-0.14)
CCE Racism	-0.158 (-1.77)
Student gender	0.201* (2.15)
Immigration Problems	0.00103 (0.02)
Unemployment Problems	0.00267 (0.04)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0662 (-0.82)
School Location	-0.0146 (-0.43)
Expected Education	0.139** (2.96)
Language Spoken	3.97e-11 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.0275 (0.83)
Father's Education	0.0234 (0.76)
Books	-0.130*** (-4.39)
Internet	0.116 (0.89)
Flag Respect	0.0233 (0.52)
Women Discrimination	0.0475 (1.26)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0298 (-0.83)
Constant	0.0192 (0.05)
I would probably not vote	
Human Rights Projects	-0.00398 (-0.08)
Multicultural Projects	0.00840 (0.19)
CCE Separate	0.114 (1.41)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.105 (1.02)
CCE Professor	0.126 (1.89)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0706 (-0.58)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.121 (-0.92)
CCE Racism	-0.0474 (-0.40)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Student gender	0.123 (0.99)
Immigration Problems	-0.00651 (-0.08)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0957 (-1.00)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0326 (-0.30)
School Location	-0.00688 (-0.15)
Expected Education	0.284*** (5.45)
Language Spoken	4.69e-11 (0.01)
Mother's Education	0.0660 (1.63)
Father's Education	0.0504 (1.32)
Books	-0.276*** (-6.61)
Internet	0.321* (2.54)
Flag Respect	0.0128 (0.22)
Women Discrimination	-0.000569 (-0.01)
Immigrants Discrimination	-0.0370 (-0.75)
Constant	-0.833 (-1.81)
I would certainly not vote	
Human Rights Projects	0.0284 (0.36)
Multicultural Projects	0.00850 (0.12)
CCE Separate	-0.00115 (-0.01)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.242* (2.34)
CCE Professor	0.267** (2.70)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.355* (-1.99)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.163 (-0.83)
CCE Racism	0.113 (0.63)
Student gender	-0.511* (-2.55)
Immigration Problems	-0.107 (-0.79)
Unemployment Problems	-0.150 (-1.00)
Ethnic Problems	0.0617 (0.36)
School Location	0.102 (1.54)
Expected Education	0.247*** (3.50)
Language Spoken	-2.05e-09 (-0.35)
Mother's Education	0.0855 (1.47)
Father's Education	0.0924 (1.64)
Books	-0.304*** (-4.61)

	(1)
	Vote in EU Elections
Internet	0.147 (0.69)
Flag Respect	0.331*** (4.49)
Women Discrimination	0.0516 (0.78)
Immigrants Discrimination	0.156** (2.71)
Constant	-3.479*** (-4.98)
Observations	2588

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 22. First three regressions for Chile

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Agree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0472 (1.18)	0.0110 (0.32)	0.0597 (1.71)
Multicultural Projects	-0.00419 (-0.13)	0.0853** (3.00)	-0.0149 (-0.51)
CCE Separate	0.0174 (0.14)	0.0628 (0.58)	0.00993 (0.09)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.159 (1.29)	0.157 (1.44)	0.287** (2.70)
CCE Professor	0.0862* (2.02)	0.0294 (0.79)	0.0446 (1.22)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0867 (-0.79)	-0.0916 (-0.94)	-0.252** (-2.63)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0472 (0.55)	-0.0219 (-0.29)	0.0287 (0.38)
CCE Racism	-0.0641 (-0.37)	-0.121 (-0.78)	-0.0690 (-0.45)
Student gender	-0.328*** (-3.91)	-0.351*** (-4.75)	-0.241** (-3.28)
Immigration Problems	0.0217 (0.34)	0.0153 (0.27)	-0.0380 (-0.68)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0781 (-1.52)	-0.0367 (-0.82)	-0.0712 (-1.60)
Ethnic Problems	-0.137 (-1.72)	-0.0569 (-0.79)	-0.0486 (-0.68)
School Location	0.0304 (0.92)	0.0800** (2.69)	0.0715* (2.43)
Students Income	0.00108 (0.05)	-0.0110 (-0.56)	-0.0272 (-1.37)
Education Expected	0.333*** (7.40)	0.263*** (6.19)	0.273*** (6.29)
Language Spoken	-1.11e-08 (-1.66)	-1.36e-09 (-0.28)	-4.94e-10 (-0.10)
Mother's Education	0.0973** (3.05)	0.144*** (5.00)	0.101*** (3.51)
Father's Education	0.0539* (2.11)	0.0556* (2.43)	0.0634** (2.79)
Books	-0.235*** (-6.01)	-0.202*** (-6.01)	-0.201*** (-6.01)
Internet	0.0855 (1.86)	0.0815 (1.94)	0.0784 (1.85)
Flag Respect	0.154*** (3.88)	0.199*** (5.30)	0.175*** (4.74)
Constant	-2.026*** (-5.40)	-2.061*** (-6.09)	-1.533*** (-4.58)
Disagree			
Human Rights Projects	-0.149 (-1.68)	0.0345 (0.44)	0.0949 (1.16)
Multicultural Projects	0.182** (2.64)	0.0631 (0.99)	0.00986 (0.15)
CCE Separate	0.291 (1.00)	-0.0206 (-0.08)	-0.185 (-0.72)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.601 (-1.64)	0.336 (1.43)	0.0458 (0.18)
CCE Professor	0.0395 (0.37)	0.0858 (1.00)	0.0596 (0.67)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.146 (-0.55)	-0.143 (-0.68)	0.0259 (0.12)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.240 (-1.13)	-0.113 (-0.67)	0.0427 (0.24)
CCE Racism	0.484 (1.16)	-0.0297 (-0.09)	0.315 (0.94)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Student gender	-0.614** (-2.95)	-0.689*** (-4.03)	-0.624*** (-3.63)
Immigration Problems	-0.156 (-1.05)	0.0652 (0.53)	-0.0576 (-0.47)
Unemployment Problems	0.166 (1.30)	-0.00425 (-0.04)	-0.0420 (-0.39)
Ethnic Problems	-0.228 (-1.19)	-0.368* (-2.49)	-0.411** (-2.87)
School Location	-0.0779 (-0.96)	0.0797 (1.21)	0.145* (2.25)
Students Income	-0.0436 (-0.82)	-0.000654 (-0.02)	0.0653 (1.68)
Education Expected	0.228* (2.17)	0.330*** (4.28)	0.406*** (5.41)
Language Spoken	2.28e-09 (0.21)	3.21e-09 (0.40)	4.52e-09 (0.55)
Mother's Education	0.127 (1.77)	0.158** (2.62)	0.203*** (3.45)
Father's Education	0.0802 (1.37)	0.00536 (0.10)	-0.0256 (-0.47)
Books	-0.203* (-2.16)	-0.186* (-2.51)	-0.188* (-2.56)
Internet	-0.0218 (-0.15)	0.100 (1.21)	0.154* (2.06)
Flag Respect	0.166* (1.97)	0.237*** (3.46)	0.198** (2.77)
Constant	-2.526** (-2.85)	-3.278*** (-4.63)	-3.451*** (-4.99)
Strongly disagree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0608 (0.41)	0.0520 (0.37)	-0.0481 (-0.47)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0577 (-0.43)	0.130 (1.16)	0.0759 (0.86)
CCE Separate	0.477 (0.97)	0.286 (0.62)	0.395 (1.28)
CCE Extra-curricular	-1.899 (-1.83)	-0.760 (-1.19)	-0.189 (-0.55)
CCE Professor	0.228 (1.32)	-0.0913 (-0.58)	0.124 (1.09)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.569 (-1.56)	-0.590 (-1.57)	-0.276 (-1.00)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.234 (-0.72)	-0.630 (-1.91)	-0.367 (-1.60)
CCE Racism	-0.562 (-0.53)	0.229 (0.29)	0.447 (1.05)
Student gender	-1.341*** (-3.65)	-0.924** (-2.81)	-1.106*** (-4.51)
Immigration Problems	-0.220 (-1.02)	-0.421* (-1.96)	-0.149 (-0.94)
Unemployment Problems	0.166 (0.85)	0.346 (1.77)	0.142 (1.02)
Ethnic Problems	-0.522 (-1.77)	-0.0142 (-0.05)	-0.127 (-0.58)
School Location	0.184 (1.41)	-0.0763 (-0.62)	0.0769 (0.84)
Students Income	-0.129 (-1.50)	-0.112 (-1.16)	-0.138 (-1.95)
Education Expected	0.551*** (4.77)	0.312* (2.35)	0.363*** (3.93)
Language Spoken	2.04e-09 (0.17)	9.59e-09 (0.86)	1.52e-08* (2.14)
Mother's Education	0.270** (2.83)	0.174 (1.76)	0.126 (1.65)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities cha	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Father's Education	-0.105 (-1.03)	0.134 (1.66)	0.113 (1.83)
Books	-0.141 (-1.03)	-0.203 (-1.51)	-0.120 (-1.22)
Internet	-0.0687 (-0.33)	0.0232 (0.13)	-0.0837 (-0.52)
Flag Respect	0.391*** (4.72)	0.438*** (5.24)	0.275*** (3.49)
Constant	-4.172** (-3.13)	-4.007** (-2.98)	-4.001*** (-4.22)
Observations	4353	4353	4353

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 23. Last three regressions for Chile

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Different Color Neighbors	Different Country Neighbors	Indigenous Origin Neighbors
No			
Human Rights Projects	-0.0390 (-0.66)	-0.0148 (-0.25)	-0.0668 (-1.26)
Multicultural Projects	0.0441 (0.84)	0.0352 (0.67)	-0.000413 (-0.01)
CCE Separate	-0.0540 (-0.31)	-0.0861 (-0.49)	0.161 (0.97)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.358* (-2.07)	-0.136 (-0.75)	-0.468** (-3.03)
CCE Professor	-0.0445 (-0.70)	-0.0355 (-0.55)	0.0476 (0.84)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.163 (1.02)	0.164 (1.01)	0.239 (1.65)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0177 (-0.14)	-0.0486 (-0.38)	-0.0776 (-0.68)
CCE Racism	0.0437 (0.18)	-0.102 (-0.41)	0.105 (0.44)
Student gender	0.219 (1.75)	0.144 (1.15)	0.399*** (3.51)
Immigration Problems	0.218* (2.50)	0.148 (1.64)	0.0686 (0.82)
Unemployment Problems	0.0523 (0.68)	0.0602 (0.78)	0.0420 (0.61)
Ethnic Problems	0.0372 (0.32)	0.0442 (0.37)	0.0253 (0.24)
School Location	0.0111 (0.23)	-0.00303 (-0.06)	-0.0209 (-0.47)
Students Income	0.0886* (2.47)	0.0734* (2.08)	-0.0208 (-0.71)
Education Expected	-0.233*** (-4.01)	-0.238*** (-4.17)	-0.230*** (-4.34)
Language Spoken	1.21e-08 (1.14)	-1.20e-09 (-0.18)	-1.57e-09 (-0.27)
Mother's Education	-0.0496 (-1.02)	-0.0578 (-1.21)	-0.0183 (-0.40)
Father's Education	0.0386 (0.94)	-0.000699 (-0.02)	0.0490 (1.27)
Books	0.0549 (0.98)	0.0654 (1.16)	0.0324 (0.67)
Internet	0.0729 (0.81)	0.0115 (0.15)	-0.0269 (-0.43)
Flag Respect	-0.0624 (-1.10)	-0.0439 (-0.74)	-0.0627 (-1.22)
Constant	1.768** (3.28)	2.155*** (3.96)	2.227*** (4.47)
Observations	4353	4353	4353

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 24. First three regressions for Dominican Republic

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Agree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0378 (1.04)	0.126*** (3.73)	0.0758* (2.15)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0928* (-2.51)	-0.119*** (-3.45)	-0.0887* (-2.47)
CCE Separate	-0.0514 (-0.69)	-0.0657 (-0.92)	0.0792 (1.08)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.100 (1.37)	0.0752 (1.08)	-0.0873 (-1.21)
CCE Professor	-0.0391 (-0.75)	0.0252 (0.52)	-0.00856 (-0.17)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.243* (-2.21)	0.0134 (0.13)	-0.0663 (-0.61)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0366 (-0.39)	0.0483 (0.55)	0.0456 (0.50)
CCE Racism	0.209 (1.83)	-0.100 (-0.92)	-0.00669 (-0.06)
Student gender	0.0540 (0.64)	-0.0346 (-0.43)	0.141 (1.70)
Immigration Problems	-0.0412 (-1.22)	-0.0246 (-0.77)	-0.0103 (-0.32)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0105 (-0.30)	0.0169 (0.50)	0.0413 (1.20)
Ethnic Problems	0.0649 (1.58)	-0.0230 (-0.59)	0.0279 (0.71)
School Location	0.0224 (0.67)	-0.00585 (-0.19)	0.0227 (0.71)
Students Income	-0.00708 (-0.35)	-0.000139 (-0.01)	0.0149 (0.74)
Education Expected	0.0971** (3.22)	0.0392 (1.35)	0.0247 (0.82)
Language Spoken	-9.93e-09* (-1.99)	-3.58e-09 (-0.97)	-9.39e-09* (-2.05)
Mother's Education	0.113*** (3.40)	0.0116 (0.37)	0.0451 (1.39)
Father's Education	0.0194 (0.63)	0.0319 (1.09)	0.0120 (0.40)
Books	-0.0793 (-1.94)	-0.00839 (-0.23)	-0.00142 (-0.04)
Internet	-0.00607 (-0.11)	-0.0264 (-0.51)	-0.0425 (-0.77)
Flag Respect	0.0957*** (3.47)	0.0562* (2.02)	0.0718* (2.55)
Constant	-1.230*** (-5.03)	-0.930*** (-4.04)	-1.255*** (-5.29)
Disagree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0809 (1.13)	0.0218 (0.19)	0.281*** (3.92)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0716 (-0.99)	-0.0192 (-0.16)	-0.201** (-2.78)
CCE Separate	-0.282 (-1.88)	0.312 (1.31)	-0.379* (-2.43)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.256 (1.74)	-0.220 (-0.96)	0.318* (2.08)
CCE Professor	-0.0455 (-0.46)	0.0562 (0.33)	-0.0448 (-0.40)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.361 (-1.69)	-0.105 (-0.29)	-0.163 (-0.71)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.160 (0.86)	0.0315 (0.11)	-0.161 (-0.81)
CCE Racism	0.231 (1.04)	-0.0147 (-0.04)	0.172 (0.72)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Student gender	-0.0250 (-0.15)	-0.198 (-0.77)	-0.129 (-0.74)
Immigration Problems	-0.0411 (-0.60)	0.132 (1.38)	-0.0946 (-1.30)
Unemployment Problems	-0.00503 (-0.07)	-0.0565 (-0.51)	0.109 (1.64)
Ethnic Problems	0.0170 (0.20)	0.0900 (0.74)	0.0221 (0.27)
School Location	0.0222 (0.34)	-0.164 (-1.42)	0.0736 (1.18)
Students Income	-0.0379 (-0.84)	-0.0722 (-1.12)	0.00263 (0.06)
Education Expected	0.150** (2.84)	0.163* (2.14)	0.0934 (1.62)
Language Spoken	8.19e-09 (1.67)	1.09e-09 (0.10)	-5.85e-09 (-0.75)
Mother's Education	0.136* (2.09)	0.103 (1.01)	0.0556 (0.83)
Father's Education	-0.0703 (-1.10)	-0.107 (-1.05)	0.0189 (0.30)
Books	0.00878 (0.12)	0.0406 (0.36)	0.0654 (0.86)
Internet	-0.199 (-1.42)	-0.390 (-1.48)	0.00575 (0.06)
Flag Respect	0.0699 (1.28)	0.185** (3.24)	0.113* (2.33)
Constant	-2.677*** (-5.67)	-3.868*** (-5.14)	-3.435*** (-6.87)
Strongly disagree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0526 (0.27)	0.101 (0.56)	0.182 (1.67)
Multicultural Projects	0.256 (1.32)	-0.167 (-0.87)	-0.368** (-3.03)
CCE Separate	-0.882* (-1.97)	-0.598 (-1.43)	-0.478* (-2.10)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.584 (1.50)	0.480 (1.28)	0.434 (1.95)
CCE Professor	0.110 (0.41)	-0.536 (-1.41)	-0.137 (-0.71)
CCE Promoting Rights	-1.119* (-2.04)	-1.302** (-2.94)	-0.224 (-0.58)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.308 (0.64)	0.745 (1.66)	0.0660 (0.23)
CCE Racism	0.626 (1.01)	0.629 (1.28)	-0.696 (-1.22)
Student gender	-1.049* (-2.25)	-0.577 (-1.40)	-1.243*** (-4.21)
Immigration Problems	-0.274 (-1.36)	-0.146 (-0.80)	-0.0191 (-0.17)
Unemployment Problems	0.0498 (0.21)	-0.200 (-0.85)	-0.0390 (-0.33)
Ethnic Problems	0.155 (0.81)	0.260 (1.24)	-0.105 (-0.69)
School Location	0.0544 (0.31)	0.0897 (0.53)	-0.0359 (-0.30)
Students Income	-0.347 (-1.77)	-0.0430 (-0.30)	0.101 (1.68)
Education Expected	0.0415 (0.27)	0.123 (0.94)	0.112 (1.41)
Language Spoken	-0.000000121 (-0.02)	-0.000000127 (-0.02)	8.86e-09 (1.27)
Mother's Education	0.184 (1.30)	0.170 (1.25)	0.212* (2.37)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Father's Education	-0.232 (-1.33)	0.227 (1.81)	0.0541 (0.60)
Books	-0.195 (-0.84)	-0.102 (-0.48)	-0.235 (-1.73)
Internet	0.208 (1.67)	0.0978 (0.64)	0.0532 (0.47)
Flag Respect	0.151 (1.53)	0.254*** (3.37)	0.111 (1.68)
Constant	-3.737** (-2.72)	-4.479** (-3.11)	-2.625** (-3.05)
Observations	3020	3020	3020

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 25. Last three regressions for Dominican Republic

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Different Color neighbors	Different Country Neighbors	Indigenous Origin Neighbors
No			
Human Rights Projects	-0.133** (-3.09)	-0.102* (-2.44)	-0.0822* (-2.06)
Multicultural Projects	0.149*** (3.45)	0.145*** (3.44)	0.0500 (1.24)
CCE Separate	0.414*** (4.49)	0.372*** (4.23)	0.265** (3.13)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.356*** (-4.00)	-0.377*** (-4.42)	-0.225** (-2.73)
CCE Professor	-0.136* (-2.16)	-0.109 (-1.85)	-0.0952 (-1.70)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.0505 (0.37)	0.0761 (0.58)	0.222 (1.81)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0923 (0.81)	0.0354 (0.32)	0.0754 (0.72)
CCE Racism	0.0380 (0.27)	0.00235 (0.02)	-0.224 (-1.77)
Student gender	0.824*** (7.92)	0.569*** (5.77)	0.392*** (4.16)
Immigration Problems	-0.0618 (-1.56)	-0.0720 (-1.88)	-0.0782* (-2.16)
Unemployment Problems	-0.105** (-2.68)	-0.0562 (-1.43)	-0.0280 (-0.73)
/Ethnic Problems	0.0417 (0.83)	0.0691 (1.40)	0.0601 (1.35)
School Location	0.0380 (0.95)	0.000287 (0.01)	0.0510 (1.40)
Students Income	-0.0255 (-1.10)	-0.0290 (-1.30)	-0.00499 (-0.23)
Education Expected	-0.238*** (-7.28)	-0.206*** (-6.50)	-0.169*** (-5.45)
Language Spoken	-7.59e-10 (-0.18)	-1.81e-09 (-0.46)	-3.82e-09 (-1.03)
Mother's Education yo	-0.0940* (-2.41)	-0.114** (-3.03)	-0.0841* (-2.31)
Father's Education	-0.0299 (-0.80)	-0.0345 (-0.97)	-0.0107 (-0.31)
Books	-0.0524 (-1.15)	-0.0494 (-1.12)	-0.00656 (-0.15)
Internet	0.0140 (0.23)	0.0166 (0.27)	0.0922 (1.40)
Flag Respect	-0.0850** (-2.83)	-0.0495 (-1.62)	-0.0471 (-1.58)
Constant	2.724*** (9.27)	2.539*** (9.11)	1.910*** (7.20)
Observations	3020	3020	3020

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 26. Regressions for Russia

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Agree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0174 (0.52)	0.0365 (1.16)	0.0394 (1.25)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0361 (-0.96)	0.0377 (1.06)	0.00682 (0.19)
CCE Separate	0.0316 (0.60)	0.0614 (1.23)	0.0275 (0.56)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0392 (0.99)	-0.0240 (-0.63)	-0.0299 (-0.79)
CCE Professor	0.0287 (0.98)	0.0382 (1.38)	-0.0171 (-0.61)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0691 (-1.19)	-0.0164 (-0.30)	-0.0355 (-0.65)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.0918 (-1.77)	0.0299 (0.61)	0.0545 (1.11)
CCE Racism	0.179* (2.33)	0.103 (1.39)	0.0296 (0.41)
Student gender	-0.352*** (-6.61)	0.0668 (1.32)	0.0552 (1.10)
Immigration Problems	0.0302 (0.72)	-0.0421 (-1.07)	0.0104 (0.26)
Unemployment Problems	0.0609 (1.65)	-0.0353 (-1.02)	-0.0805* (-2.32)
Ethnic Problems	0.0322 (0.66)	0.0447 (0.97)	0.0255 (0.55)
School Location	0.0154 (0.69)	-0.0534* (-2.54)	-0.0317 (-1.51)
Students Income	-0.0357 (-0.97)	-0.0179 (-0.51)	0.00955 (0.28)
Education Expected	0.145*** (4.49)	0.156*** (5.03)	0.186*** (5.89)
Language Spoken	-5.12e-10 (-0.56)	-1.23e-09 (-1.45)	-6.33e-10 (-0.75)
Mother's Education	0.0562* (2.29)	0.0472* (2.04)	0.0713** (3.06)
Father's Education	0.0188 (1.41)	0.0352** (2.79)	0.0334** (2.67)
Books	-0.0624* (-2.52)	-0.153*** (-6.47)	-0.145*** (-6.18)
Internet	0.0126 (0.17)	0.146* (2.03)	0.0787 (1.16)
Flag Respect	0.222*** (6.61)	0.219*** (6.84)	0.195*** (6.26)
Constant	-1.095*** (-4.42)	-0.633** (-2.69)	-0.613** (-2.61)
Disagree			
Human Rights Projects	0.0132 (0.29)	-0.0572 (-0.83)	-0.0395 (-0.54)
Multicultural Projects	-0.0443 (-0.85)	0.121 (1.59)	0.0904 (1.09)
CCE Separate	0.0181 (0.25)	-0.0474 (-0.40)	-0.0573 (-0.44)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0103 (0.19)	-0.0538 (-0.58)	-0.164 (-1.45)
CCE Professor	0.0120 (0.30)	0.0185 (0.31)	0.0886 (1.50)
CCE Promoting Rights	-0.0426 (-0.53)	-0.114 (-0.97)	-0.138 (-1.09)
CCE Promoting Critical	0.0151 (0.21)	0.00952 (0.09)	-0.0125 (-0.11)
CCE Racism	-0.000935 (-0.01)	0.0380 (0.23)	0.0387 (0.22)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Student gender	-0.452*** (-6.19)	-0.380*** (-3.49)	-0.427*** (-3.60)
Immigration Problems	0.107 (1.87)	-0.128 (-1.53)	-0.101 (-1.14)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0489 (-0.99)	-0.0545 (-0.72)	-0.0496 (-0.62)
Ethnic Problems	-0.00536 (-0.08)	0.154 (1.73)	0.137 (1.41)
School Location	0.00857 (0.28)	0.0583 (1.26)	0.0609 (1.24)
Students Income	0.0338 (0.68)	0.0606 (0.83)	0.0155 (0.20)
Education Expected	0.125** (2.91)	0.225*** (3.79)	0.360*** (6.45)
Language Spoken	2.54e-10 (0.21)	-4.31e-09* (-2.03)	-3.92e-09 (-1.80)
Mother's Education	0.0567 (1.74)	-0.0669 (-1.25)	0.0499 (1.01)
Father's Education	0.0189 (1.05)	0.0302 (1.15)	0.0132 (0.46)
Books	-0.0455 (-1.35)	0.0220 (0.45)	-0.0934 (-1.75)
Internet	0.0353 (0.38)	-0.0566 (-0.32)	0.0834 (0.63)
Flag Respect	0.267*** (6.58)	0.290*** (5.61)	0.250*** (4.48)
Constant	-2.060*** (-6.20)	-3.150*** (-6.33)	-3.399*** (-6.89)
Strongly disagree			
Human Rights Projects	-0.0449 (-0.33)	-0.409** (-2.80)	-0.364* (-2.42)
Multicultural Projects	0.117 (0.73)	0.423* (2.47)	0.436** (2.65)
CCE Separate	0.191 (0.90)	0.0377 (0.18)	0.161 (0.57)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.227 (1.78)	0.101 (0.78)	-0.429 (-1.71)
CCE Professor	0.141 (1.42)	0.0295 (0.23)	0.0171 (0.14)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.361 (1.40)	-0.361 (-1.48)	-0.361 (-1.42)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.408 (-1.87)	0.0512 (0.22)	0.364 (1.47)
CCE Racism	0.309 (1.03)	0.213 (0.57)	-0.527 (-1.04)
Student gender	-2.055*** (-6.80)	-1.185*** (-4.56)	-0.868*** (-3.44)
Immigration Problems	-0.365* (-2.49)	-0.207 (-1.24)	0.00932 (0.06)
Unemployment Problems	-0.299* (-1.99)	-0.132 (-0.81)	-0.175 (-1.16)
Ethnic Problems	0.250 (1.80)	0.133 (0.72)	0.320* (2.10)
School Location	0.0851 (0.94)	0.0119 (0.12)	0.0909 (0.86)
Students Income	0.227 (1.62)	-0.0825 (-0.52)	-0.0452 (-0.30)
Education Expected	0.322*** (3.36)	0.224 (1.87)	0.374*** (3.43)
Language Spoken	-4.16e-09 (-1.00)	-9.77e-09 (-1.84)	-1.75e-08* (-2.36)
Mother's Education	0.0382 (0.44)	0.00272 (0.03)	0.00405 (0.04)
Father's Education	-0.00410 (-0.08)	0.0119 (0.21)	0.0138 (0.24)
Books	0.0356 (0.38)	-0.0292 (-0.29)	-0.0782 (-0.74)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Job Opportunities	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Internet	0.238 (1.61)	0.245 (1.46)	-0.0970 (-0.30)
Flag Respect	0.357*** (4.36)	0.356*** (4.27)	0.405*** (5.27)
Constant	-5.287*** (-5.95)	-3.199** (-2.94)	-4.931*** (-5.45)
Observations	7212	7212	7212

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 27. Regressions for South Korea

	(1)	(2)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Agree		
Human Rights Projects	0.0864 (1.16)	0.216** (3.02)
Multicultural Projects	0.0146 (0.21)	-0.00448 (-0.07)
CCE Separate	0.108 (0.86)	-0.0314 (-0.26)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.0672 (0.71)	0.0911 (1.00)
CCE Professor	-0.0244 (-1.11)	-0.0208 (-1.00)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.201 (1.88)	0.106 (1.04)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.358* (-2.10)	-0.303 (-1.90)
CCE Racism	-0.202 (-0.75)	0.219 (0.89)
Student gender	-0.178 (-1.93)	-0.163 (-1.85)
Immigration Problems	-0.114 (-1.22)	-0.0392 (-0.44)
Unemployment Problems	0.119* (2.10)	0.0357 (0.66)
Ethnic Problems	0.0197 (0.14)	-0.116 (-0.83)
School Location	-0.0515 (-1.23)	-0.125** (-3.13)
Students Income	0.0209 (0.62)	0.0473 (1.48)
Education Expected	0.0769 (1.73)	0.0843 (1.93)
Language Spoken	-1.71e-09 (-0.14)	5.73e-09 (0.54)
Mother's Education	-0.0331 (-0.86)	-0.0575 (-1.53)
Father's Education	0.1000** (2.88)	0.118*** (3.45)
Books	-0.226*** (-5.71)	-0.204*** (-5.33)
Internet	0.0396 (0.41)	-0.0847 (-0.80)
Flag Respect	0.401*** (6.65)	0.553*** (8.53)
Constant	-1.112 (-1.73)	-0.399 (-0.65)
Disagree		0.0345 (0.44)
Human Rights Projects	-0.266 (-1.45)	0.216 (0.67)
Multicultural Projects	-0.244 (-1.38)	0.109 (0.37)
CCE Separate	-0.169 (-0.55)	-0.480 (-1.04)
CCE Extra-curricular	-0.139 (-0.59)	-1.088** (-2.67)
CCE Professor	-0.00470 (-0.08)	-0.0771 (-0.82)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.00312 (0.01)	0.512 (1.15)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.549 (-1.11)	0.215 (0.30)
CCE Racism	-0.197 (-0.26)	0.929 (1.09)

	(1)	(2)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Student gender	-0.00699 (-0.03)	-0.388 (-1.05)
Immigration Problems	0.488 (1.87)	0.199 (0.52)
Unemployment Problems	-0.363* (-2.22)	0.113 (0.52)
Ethnic Problems	-0.0265 (-0.07)	-0.509 (-0.96)
School Location	-0.000213 (-0.00)	-0.0306 (-0.17)
Students Income	-0.0327 (-0.39)	-0.0723 (-0.51)
Education Expected	0.128 (1.22)	0.313* (2.56)
Language Spoken	-0.000000133 (-0.01)	-8.85e-08 (-0.02)
Mother's Education	0.0851 (0.96)	0.0222 (0.16)
Father's Education	-0.112 (-1.13)	-0.0215 (-0.16)
Books	-0.159 (-1.62)	-0.400** (-2.85)
Internet	-1.103 (-1.72)	-1.404 (-1.73)
Flag Respect	0.461*** (4.59)	0.829*** (6.83)
Constant	-1.028 (-0.52)	-1.790 (-0.67)
Strongly disagree		
Human Rights Projects	0.0555 (0.12)	0.287 (0.57)
Multicultural Projects	-0.203 (-0.46)	0.512 (1.07)
CCE Separate	13.79 (0.02)	0.197 (0.22)
CCE Extra-curricular	0.00707 (0.01)	-0.463 (-0.66)
CCE Professor	-0.103 (-0.67)	-0.178 (-1.06)
CCE Promoting Rights	0.174 (0.23)	1.057 (1.23)
CCE Promoting Critical	-0.146 (-0.12)	0.752 (0.78)
CCE Racism	0.712 (0.59)	1.192 (0.89)
Student gender	-1.214 (-1.78)	-1.116 (-1.55)
Immigration Problems	0.219 (0.35)	-0.965 (-1.53)
Unemployment Problems	-0.0864 (-0.21)	0.466 (1.06)
Ethnic Problems	1.075 (0.92)	1.178 (0.89)
School Location	-0.216 (-0.76)	0.114 (0.35)
Students Income	0.145 (0.61)	0.0174 (0.07)
Education Expected	-0.0959 (-0.44)	-0.0748 (-0.31)
Language Spoken	2.57e-08 (1.02)	3.32e-08 (1.66)
Mother's Education	0.237 (1.44)	0.431** (2.64)
Father's Education	0.253 (1.64)	-0.0456 (-0.26)

	(1)	(2)
	Men and Women Rights	Same Rights and Responsibilities
Books	-0.155 (-0.67)	-0.146 (-0.58)
Internet	-0.412 (-0.37)	-1.056 (-0.56)
Flag Respect	0.408 (1.78)	0.803*** (4.45)
Constant	-22.44 (-0.04)	-11.05 (-1.90)
Observations	2580	2580

t statistics in parentheses

** $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$*

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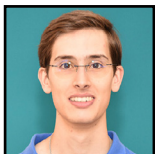
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The World Innovation Summit for Education was established by Qatar Foundation in 2009 under the leadership of its Chairperson, Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser. WISE is an international, multi-sectoral platform for creative, evidence-based thinking, debate, and purposeful action toward building the future of education. Through the biennial summit, collaborative research and a range of on-going programs, WISE is a global reference in new approaches to education. The WISE Research series, produced in collaboration with experts from around the world, addresses key education issues that are globally relevant and reflect the priorities of the Qatar National Research Strategy. Presenting the latest knowledge, these comprehensive reports examine a range of education challenges faced in diverse contexts around the globe, offering action-oriented recommendations and policy guidance for all education stakeholders. Past WISE Research publications have addressed a wide range of issues including access, quality, financing, teacher training and motivation, school systems leadership, education in conflict areas, entrepreneurship, early-childhood education, twenty-first century skills, design thinking, and apprenticeship, among others.

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