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Young People and European Citizenship

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Founded in 1963 by two prominent Austrians living in exile – the sociologist Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the economist Oskar Morgenstern – with the financial support from the Ford Foundation, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, and the City of Vienna, the Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS) is the first institution for postgraduate education and research in economics and the social sciences in Austria. The **Sociological Series** presents research done at the Department of Sociology and aims to share “work in progress” in a timely way before formal publication. As usual, authors bear full responsibility for the content of their contributions.

Das Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS) wurde im Jahr 1963 von zwei prominenten Exilösterreichern – dem Soziologen Paul F. Lazarsfeld und dem Ökonomen Oskar Morgenstern – mit Hilfe der Ford-Stiftung, des Österreichischen Bundesministeriums für Unterricht und der Stadt Wien gegründet und ist somit die erste nachuniversitäre Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für die Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften in Österreich. Die **Reihe Soziologie** bietet Einblick in die Forschungsarbeit der Abteilung für Soziologie und verfolgt das Ziel, abteilungsinterne Diskussionsbeiträge einer breiteren fachinternen Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. Die inhaltliche Verantwortung für die veröffentlichten Beiträge liegt bei den Autoren und Autorinnen.

Abstract

The European Union increasingly regulates the lives of European citizens, not only with respect to the economic but also the political and social spheres. However, the knowledge of and the interest in these developments is low. In this context the attitude of young people as future citizens and voters is especially important. Based on a study of a total of 3890 18 to 24 year olds in 10 European regions¹ factors are analysed that make young people interested in European integration and likely to vote in European elections. The results show that aspects of "activation" such as political efficacy, discussions of social and political issues and interest in a range of social and political issues influence both attitudes. In addition emotional attachment to Europe proved to be another important factor. "Activation" is influenced – apart from socio-demographic variables – by citizenship education, which varies considerably between countries in kind and extent. The data therefore stress the importance of citizenship education and suggest the inclusion of a European dimension in citizenship education.

Zusammenfassung

Die Europäische Union regelt in immer stärkerem Maß das Leben der Europäischen BürgerInnen, nicht nur im ökonomischen sondern im politischen und sozialen Bereich. Dennoch sind Wissen über und Interesse an diesen Entwicklungen gering. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Einstellung junger Menschen als zukünftige WählerInnen und BürgerInnen besonders wichtig. Basierend auf einer Studie unter insgesamt 3890 18-24 Jährigen in 10 europäischen Regionen werden Faktoren analysiert, die das Interesse an Europäischer Integration und die Absicht sich an Wahlen zum Europäischen Parlament zu beteiligen, fördern. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Aspekte der „Aktivierung“ wie „political efficacy“ (wahrgenommene politische Wirksamkeit), Diskussionen politischer und sozialer Themen und das persönliche Interesse an einer Reihe von politischen und sozialen Fragen, beide Einstellungen beeinflussen. Zusätzlich stellte sich die emotionale Verbundenheit mit Europa als weiterer wichtiger Faktor heraus. Für die „Aktivierung“ spielt neben sozio-demographischen Variablen „citizenship education“ (politische Bildung) eine wichtige Rolle. Art und Ausmaß von „citizenship education“ variieren beträchtlich zwischen den untersuchten Ländern. Die Daten unterstreichen somit die Bedeutung von „citizenship education“ im Allgemeinen und einer europäischen Ausrichtung im Speziellen.

¹ Based on grant number HPSE-CT-2001-00077 "Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity" 2001-2004, European Commission, Fifth Framework Programme. The research regions are Bilbao, Madrid, Edinburgh, Manchester, Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Prague, Bratislava, Vorarlberg and Vienna.

Keywords

citizenship education, youth, EU, participation

Schlagwörter

politische Bildung, Jugend, EU, Partizipation

Contents

1 Intended participation in EU-elections.....	5
2 Ranking of importance of political and social topics.....	6
3 Activation of European citizenship.....	8
4 Citizenship education.....	11
5 Citizenship education in the research regions.....	13
6 Multivariate Analyses.....	14
Equation 1: Regression on political efficacy.....	18
Equation 2: Regression on range of interest in political and social topics.....	19
Equation 3: Regression on the frequency of discussion of political and social issues with family and friends	20
Equation 4: Regression on interest in European integration.....	21
Equation 5: Logistic Regression on Willingness to Vote in European Elections	23
6 Conclusions.....	24
References.....	26
Appendix.....	28

Despite the substantial debates about citizenship in recent years, concern has been mostly focused on a national level. Yet through the European Union there has been a development from economic toward political and social citizenship. Most people in Europe however, understand little about these developments and the interest and involvement of young people at a European level is lacking. However, there are important differences in what citizenship means in different parts of Europe as well as in the extent of interest and identification with Europe (Jamieson 2004). Here we look at young people in contrasting regions of Europe in order to assess their relationship to European citizenship.

There has been an on-going debate about citizenship that has mainly been confined to a national level (Marshall 1950; Barbalet 1988; Turner 1990). In discussions of youth, we find that, as in the case of women, their access to citizenship has been indirect, through family status rather than directly as independent and autonomous persons (Lister 1990; Jones and Wallace 1992). However, the citizenship debate has shifted from one that emphasised rights and entitlement, particularly in terms of the welfare state, to one which has emphasised active citizenship in terms of participation in society (Hall, Coffey et al. 1999; Helve and Wallace 2000). The Crick Report on citizenship education in schools in the UK discussed a number of different concepts of citizenship in the context of citizenship education and came up with this definition:

...no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence on public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves.

(Crick Report, 1998, 1.5 cited in Lockyer 2003)

Indeed Lockyer identifies two distinct traditions in terms of the citizenship: that of classical liberalism, where citizenship is concerned with individual rights to act and engage in public life; civic republicanism, which is concerned with an ethic of civic virtue through a duty to contribute to civic communities and civil society (Lockyer, Crick et al. 2003).

Hence, we can identify two meanings of citizenship: that which emphasises the rights and benefits associated with belonging to a particular community (see Marshall 1950) and that which emphasises participation in a particular community as in the sense discussed by Bernard Crick.

The first sense of citizenship is about rights of belonging to particular political entities, mostly the nation state. We might term this "formal citizenship" and it is quite varied within Europe (Bauböck 1995). There are different kinds of citizens both within nation states (different status' of "foreigner" for example) as well as between nation states because different nations

define citizenship in different ways (Brubaker 1994). This is distinct from “substantive” citizenship which concerns the rights, duties and entitlements that a person might enjoy as a consequence of having formal citizenship. These rights and entitlements are no longer ones that just adhere to a national level but are also encoded increasingly at a supra-national level, that of the European Union. The political, legal and welfare rights that Marshall originally identified at a national level are increasingly governed through the European Union, even if the delivery is still through the nation state.

The second sense of citizenship is that of participation. The issue of participation and civic engagement is much more difficult to define as it may include a range of things from voting to participation in organisations of civil society as well as more direct actions such as taking part in a demonstration, signing a petition or undertaking some kind of service for the community, which may be formally or informally organised. Participation is sometimes discussed narrowly in terms of participation in organisations (Putnam 2000). We can also stretch this idea of participation to include the issue of “deliberative democracy” in which citizens are able to discuss and debate political and social issues in public debate (Habermas 2002). This public debate can be seen as a “public space” in which various forums are found, either informal or formal, mass media, internet discussions and web sites and so on. Citizenship as participation often takes on a moral or normative dimensions: the good citizen should be active in their community, but does all kind of action count? For example how about participation in neo-nazi organisations of spraying ones opinions on walls (sometimes offensive ones) through graffiti?

There is also a third sense in which citizenship is sometimes used: to refer to a sense of belonging (and right to belong) often at a local level. The sense of belonging is something which might exist at the local level, but whether at national or local level it is the hidden ingredient that binds people to the political entity that legally defines them as citizens. It is based upon regional and national social movements that often date back several hundred years and hence this emotional sense of belonging might be the factor that encourages citizenship participation and gives political activation a resonant meaning.

Citizenship of the European Union has become an increasingly important issue in the last decades, as the EU regulates more and more aspects of people's lives. It is arguable that the EU has moved from defining purely economic citizenship, as embodied in the creation of the single internal market for goods and people in 1985 towards a more political project of integration of nation states and finally towards social citizenship, following the Maastricht Treaty and particularly following the Lisbon summit in 2000, at least in some fields of social policy. Hence, EU citizenship is a fact, embodied in the standardised EU passport, the harmonisation of a whole raft of legislation and has been further strengthened by the introduction of a common currency for most countries. The newly minted European constitution attempts to codify many of these aspects of evolving European citizenship. Thus we find the elements of both formal and substantive citizenship in membership of the

European Union. Indeed increasingly these citizenship elements are “transnational” in character even if the nation state is still the most important body for defining access to them (Bauböck 1995; Soysal 1996). The first sense of citizenship – citizenship as a set of rights – is therefore already in place at a European level.

But to what extent is citizenship of the European Union reflected in active citizenship or a sense of belonging (the third sense of citizenship)? Delanty argues that this has failed to emerge in the European Union because it is an abstract citizenship and not one grounded in emotional commitment (Delanty 1995). Since its emergence is relatively recent, the European Union has hardly had a chance to develop the sense of emotional belonging in its citizens, especially since its activities are mainly abstract and remote, not part of the daily consciousness of most inhabitants.

However, few people are informed about what European citizenship means and this is reflected in the low turnout at European elections. Thus whilst citizenship as rights is in existence, many are ignorant about them. Citizenship as participation is mainly missing - although we can see a rise of European-wide organisations, participation in governance is mainly through the nation state rather than direct. The main form of participation at a European level is that of voting and this is what we have focused upon as an aspect of European citizenship in this paper.

Young people who have been able to vote at the very time that European citizenship has become most important might be potentially the best informed and interested in European issues. Some have argued that the values espoused by young people are a good indicator of future values because they tend to carry these values with them through life (Abrams and Inglehart 1987). Others have argued that citizenship activation is a matter of personal development, as young people move through different roles towards becoming more active citizens (although this depends upon their stage of life, educational status and orientations) (Gille, Krüger et al. 1996; Reinders 2001).

The academic debates have not addressed European citizenship to the same extent as national citizenship. Despite the saliency of this debate, it has focused upon a national level or even a local level, but seldom on a transnational level. So the ignorance of the average voter is mirrored in the lack of interest in the social science literature. Despite the broad ranging discussion identified above, we have focused in this paper upon “interest in European integration” and voting in European elections since they embody aspects of the first and second sense of citizenship: participation and legal and political rights of membership of the community. The emotional sense of citizenship we have included separately as likely influencing these first two meanings.

Here we use a study that was carried out between 2001 and 2004 for the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union (<http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth>). It involved a

survey as well as qualitative interviews with young people between 18 and 24 in the following countries: the UK, Austria, Germany, Spain, Czech and Slovak Republics. In each country, central and peripheral places were chosen with the assumption that places more marginal nationally would be more “European” in their focus. Hence in the UK, Manchester was chosen as an example of England and Edinburgh as an example of Scotland. In Germany the study was carried out in Chemnitz, Eastern Germany and Bielefeld in Western Germany. In Austria, Vienna and the Bregenz region of Vorarlberg in the extreme East and West of the country were selected and in Spain it was the Basque region (Bilbao) and Madrid in the centre. Prague and Bratislava were chosen as centre/peripheral cities within a formerly united country. The survey was divided between a cross sectional sample in each region consisting of around 400 in each location (N=3890) A sub-sample of young people in each region were interviewed in depth and excerpts from the interviews translated into English. These numbered around 24 in each location.

A reading of the qualitative interviews showed that young people were generally not well informed about European citizenship. When asked what it meant to them, most people were at first unable to respond. When asked what rights and duties were implied by European citizenship they were equally nonplussed. One answer that recurred in several locations “Well I think there are some, but I don’t know what they are”. This applied to the “Europeanised” target group as well as to the average young European. As one young person put it “Shame on me” that they had studied European studies but were unable to describe European citizenship. They were much more easily able to identify rights and duties associated with citizenship at a national level where they are identified a whole range of issues such as taxation, military service, education, voting and the duty to obey laws.

Few people were aware of the economic and political dimensions of European citizenship and almost nobody mentioned the social dimensions. Many misunderstood what the European Union was or even which countries were in it. This is partly a reflection of the fact that European issues are not often discussed at national level and even the EU elections are seen as an opportunity to promote national agendas rather than raise awareness about European ones. MEPs seldom appear in the news and it is not clear what they represent. It is not surprising therefore there is substantial ignorance of European citizenship. There is little in the way of European “public space” where issues can be discussed or explored outside of a national framework (Habermas 2002). Therefore, in this paper we want to explore factors that might lead to a greater awareness of European citizenship.

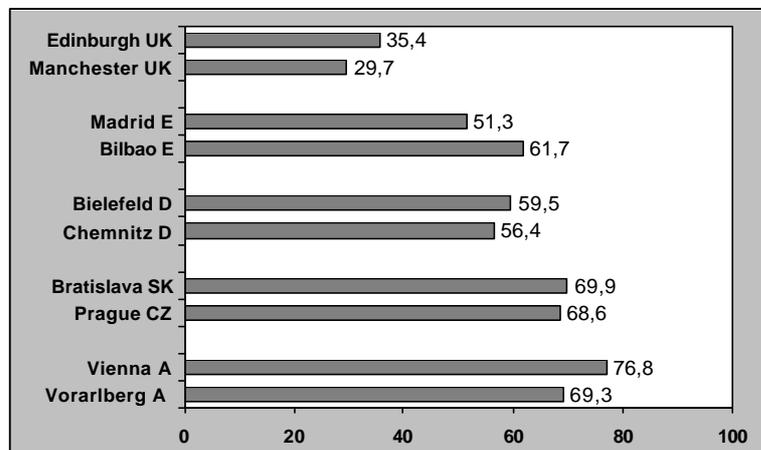
In this study we take just two indicators of European citizenship: voting in European elections and regarding European integration as important. We look at different factors that could help to “activate” young people to take an interest in European issues or vote in elections using three measures of “activation”: frequency of discussion of social and political issues with friends and family, interest in a number of social and political issues and political efficacy, which is an additive index deriving of two questions. We look at the role of “emotional”

attachment to Europe in encouraging or discouraging European citizenship and the extent to which membership in organisations might play a part. We then go on consider the factors that might encourage or discourage this kind of “activation” such as education, economic status, region, but also citizenship education at school. We assume that education, economic status and region might affect the extent of involvement in European citizenship and therefore we controlled for these variables. Although we are constructing a path model, we considered the independent effect of each variable on the two dependent variables as well as the indirect effect via political activation. The exact list of variables and the equations in which they were used can be found in Appendix 1. We consider here what aspects of citizenship education are important and how they differ between regions. Since there were strong regional variations on each variable, we including the regions as an interaction effect as well as a direct effect on the two dependent variables. Below we begin by describing each of our key variables separately before going on to carry out multivariate analysis in five different equations.

1 Intended participation in EU-elections

In the survey, respondents were asked about voting at different levels: national, regional, local and European, so we were able to single out intention to vote in European elections. The question asked was about intention to vote rather than voting itself. However, it does give us some indication of voting behaviour and we took this as our main dependent variable. Here we find striking differences between the different regions

**Figure 1: Intended participation in EU-elections, percentages of respondents
Random samples (N=10x~400)**



The willingness to vote in European elections shows considerable regional variation. In the Austrian, Slovak and Czech research regions more than two thirds of the respondents indicate that they would vote in European elections. In both German regions and in Bilbao around 60% intended to do so. Whereas in Madrid it is only a half and intended participation goes down to around a third in Edinburgh and is even lower in Manchester.

2 Ranking of importance of political and social topics

The second dependent variable was whether a respondent felt that European integration was important to them personally. Table 1 gives the percentages of respondents who express great personal interest in a certain issues. Leaving aside the level of interest, which varies considerable from region to region, the ranking of the issues is relatively similar. Whereas job and training facilities, education and also gender equality rank highest, European integration can be found at the bottom – except for Bratislava, the Slovak Republic being on the edge of accession when the survey was carried out. Returning to the absolute percentages we can see that in most of the regions the majority of young people reveal a strong personal interest in a broad range of social and political issues. In Bratislava and especially in Prague the proportions of young people expressing strong personal interest in any topic is low in comparison with other countries.

Many of those issues such as gender equality, education or environmental issues and others are obviously policy fields the EU is active in. But why then the low interest in European integration? One possible answer could be that many young people do not perceive the EU to be engaged in these topics.

**Table 1: Percentages of respondents regarding a certain issue as “very important”
(4-point scale: 0 not all important – 4 very important), random samples (N=10x~400)**

	Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
1	Job and training (73.5)	Job and training (67.0)	Job and training (29.8)	Job and training (46.8)	Job and training (61.8)	Job and training (58.5)	Job and training (65.2)	Terrorism (76.9)	Education (60.5)	Education (51.5)
2	Education (66.0)	Education (63.3)	Education (28.5)	Education (40.1)	Education (52.6)	Education (50.3)	Terrorism (61.3)	Job and training (70.5)	Terrorism (59.9)	Job and training (42.3)
3	Gender equality (63.7)	Gender equality (55.0)	Environment (22.4)	European integration (21.8)	Gender Equality (40.8)	Terrorism (41.0)	Gender Equality (51.9)	Education (63.7)	Job and training (57.3)	Gender Equality (37.1)
4	Environment (57.5)	Environment (47.0)	Minorities (21.2)	Environment (21.6)	Terrorism (34.8)	Gender Equality (38.3)	Education (41.7)	Gender Equality (58.4)	Gender Equality (52.9)	Terrorism (36.1)
5	Poverty (51.4)	Minorities (46.1)	Public Services (19.7)	Gender Equality (20.9)	Poverty (31.8)	Poverty (37.0)	Poverty (42.1)	Poverty (57.5)	Public services (44.7)	Public services (34.9)
6	Animal rights (49.3)	Poverty (45.5)	Terrorism (20.3)	Terrorism (19.0)	Minorities (26.3)	Minorities (36.8)	Public services (41.2)	Minorities (45.4)	Animal rights (44.0)	Poverty (31.5)
7	Minorities (47.8)	Public services (40.0)	Gender Equality (18.3)	Animal rights (18.3)	Environment (25.1)	Environment (25.6)	Minorities (38.0)	Public services (42.6)	Minorities (43.2)	Minorities (30.2)
8	Minorities (47.8)	Animal rights (32.3)	Poverty (16.2)	Poverty (16.6)	Animal rights (25.0)	Animal rights (23.0)	Environment (36.6)	Environment (42.1)	Poverty (40.1)	Animal rights (26.4)
9	Terrorism (43.0)	Terrorism (31.5)	Animal rights (15.9)	Public services (15.1)	Public services (16.5)	Public services (20.3)	Animal rights (27.3)	Animal rights (32.7)	Environment (26.5)	Environment (22.4)
10	European integration (23.8)	European integration (20.1)	European integration (15.5)	Minorities (13.7)	European integration (14.8)	European integration (17.5)	European integration (10.2)	European integration (22.5)	European integration (15.2)	European integration (7.6)

3 Activation of European citizenship

Next we consider how young people might be “activated” into becoming more involved European citizens. By “activation” we took into account discussing social and political issues frequently with friends and relatives, political efficacy and feeling that European integration was important (for full list of questions see Appendix 1). We considered the relationship of these to each other as well as their impact on voting and the importance of European integration.

For the indicator “political efficacy”, we constructed an index from the questions. There has been a substantial debate about political efficacy and how to measure it. In the original formulations of Campbell or Almond and Verba, it was thought that political efficacy was necessary for democracy to thrive (Campbell, Gurin et al. 1954). Political efficacy is assumed to lead to political action – for example voting and hence this seemed a useful measure for us to use. This was the case even in studies of young people (Hayes and Bean 1993; Semetko and Valkenburg 1998). Two different kinds of political efficacy were identified: internal (meaning the extent to which a person felt that they could influence politics) and external (meaning the extent to which the political system was influencible). The survey we are using did not use many questions on political efficacy, so we are only considering a small number of questions. However, we sought to build an index of political efficacy and found that in the factor analysis these two factors did not emerge distinctly. Indeed others have also had difficulty in distinguishing these aspects of political efficacy and in measuring it even with many more items and larger data sets available to them (Bynner and Ashford 1994; Vetter 1997). Therefore, we concentrated on those two items that did cohere well together: “I have no influence on what the government does” which could be seen as a measure of internal political efficacy and “There is little point in voting” which could be seen as a measure of external political efficacy. Although these did not seem to measure distinct aspects of political efficacy, but rather the same thing, the mutual interdependence of internal and external efficacy is plausible: When people judge their personal abilities of influences, this judgement is likely to depend on the responsiveness of the system; the same appeals the other way round. Therefore, political efficacy will not be split up in two dimensions here. Rather we will combine two items in an additive index, one in theory more related to internal efficacy, the other to external efficacy: “I have no influence over what the government is doing” (internal efficacy) and “There is little point in voting” (external efficacy). The items show a correlation of $r=.323$, the scores were reversed in order to assign higher values to higher political efficacy. The index is scaled 0-8. Using these measures, we were able to develop a mean scale. However, since the standard deviations were rather high in this scale, for the purpose of descriptive presentation below we have divided the scale into three groups: high, medium and low levels of political efficacy.

Figure 2: Political efficacy in the research regions
Percentages of respondents, random samples (N=10x~400)

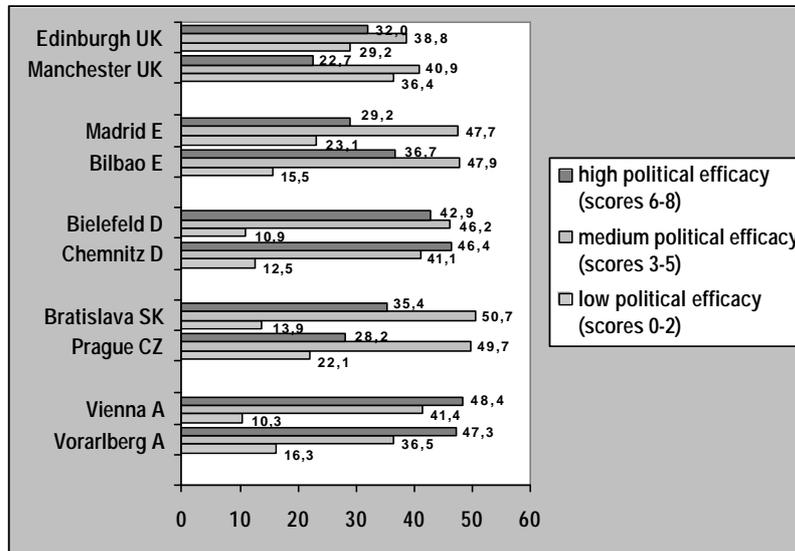
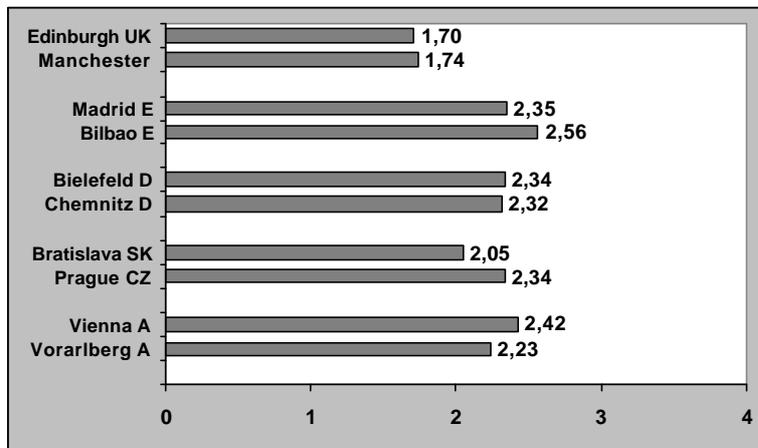


Figure 2 shows the index for political efficacy split up into 3 categories. In all regions medium scores are a comparably prominent category, ranging from around 40% in the UK and Austrian regions to 50% in the German regions. That means around half of the young people – to some extent varying from region to region – can be characterized as neither wholly attached to nor wholly detached from the political system.

But what about the other half? In this respect regional differences are striking. In both German regions and in Vienna the group of young people perceiving high political efficacy is four times as large as the group of those ranking lowest. Also in Vorarlberg, Bratislava and Bilbao the former clearly outweighs the latter. If we understand low political efficacy as an indication of alienation from the political system, the situation in Prague, in Madrid and especially in Edinburgh looks less favourable: The group of those “alienated” becomes comparable in size to the group of those who feel content with the political system. In Manchester it’s more than one third that shows low political efficacy compared to less than a quarter of respondents who indicate high political efficacy.

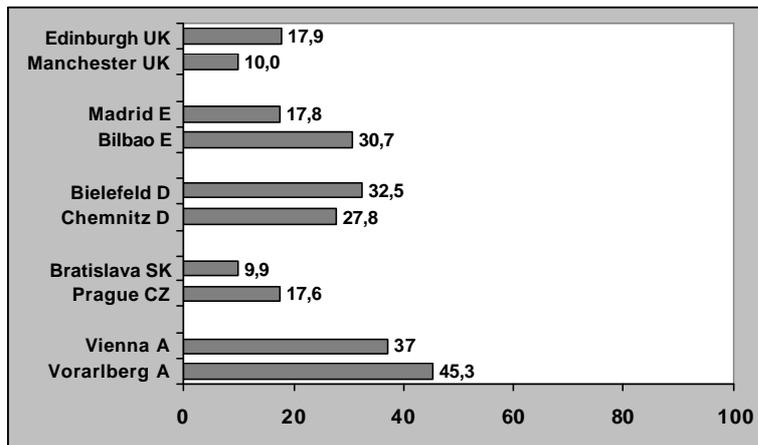
Other measures of activation were: discussing social and political issues with friends and family. Here we can see that this was lowest in Great Britain, but rather high in Bilbao, Bielefeld and Vienna. Here the question was “How often do you speak to friends and family about these issues?” with a scale from 0 to 4.

Figure 3: Frequency of discussion of political and social issues with family and friends in the research regions
 Mean values, scale 0 never-4 very often, random samples (N=10x~400)



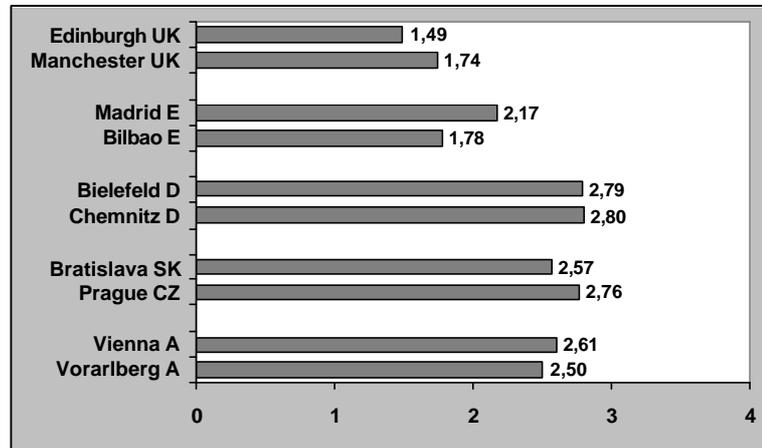
Two additional items were used as being likely to lead to European citizenship. The first was the tendency to join organisations, since we assume that membership of organisations might motivate young people to take an interest in their surrounding world. In the current debates, this aspect of citizenship is seen as very important for maintaining a thriving democracy (Putnam 2000). Once more, there are important differences between countries, with participation being quite high in Germany and Austria, but also in Bilbao. But it is rather low in the UK and Bratislava. In Austria, we note that it is the rural area where participation of this kind is highest.

Figure 4: Membership in organisations in the research regions
 Percentages of respondents, random samples (N=10x~400)



The second item was emotional attachment to Europe, which could arguably be seen as an element of emotional citizenship or belonging. Here we find the following differences across Europe:

Figure 5: Emotional attachment to Europe in the research regions
Mean values, scale 0 low – 4 high, random samples (N=10x~400)



The final measure of activation was the number of things a person was interested in from the table above. We assumed that the more issues people were interested in, the more activated they were. The issues are set out in Table 1 above and since this was open coded, people could put down as many or as few interests as they wanted.

4 Citizenship education

We were interested particularly in the role of citizenship education at school in increasing activation and therefore political engagement in Europe through voting or interest in European issues. This factor has never been investigated before in this kind of research, but we felt that it might be important in explaining differences in participation in EU citizenship, especially considering the debate about it in the UK provoked by the Crick Report. There were 6 items that looked at citizenship education at school and these included: discussions about democracy and citizenship, participation of school pupils in the school organization, the possibility to meet and discuss with politicians, collecting for charity, collecting signatures for a petition, learning about other religions and cultures.

In the survey respondents were asked whether they had taken part in five different activities relevant to gain both a deepening knowledge and a practical grasp of citizenship. Three out of the five experiences can be seen to relate to general principles of democracy and political action. These items - discussion of democracy or citizenship, opportunities for pupils to give their opinions about how things should be done in the school, talking to or talk from a politician or councillor – cover the political dimension of citizenship education. The remaining two items are related to engagement in a social community and much more directed towards concrete action. Thus raising money for charity and collecting signatures for a petition or canvassing or campaigning cover the social dimension of citizenship education. This distinction on theoretical grounds is also backed by a principal component analyses².

Here we should explain that we included as independent variable age in two categories, older young people and younger young people because it could be argued that the effects of citizenship education at school might wear off as one gets older. To test this we looked at whether younger young people were more strongly activated than older young people.

**Table 2: Principal component analysis of the 5 citizenship items
Random samples (N=10x~400)**

Item	Loading (varimax rot.)	
	Component 1	Component 2
discussion of democracy or citizenship	.776	-.142
opportunities for pupils to give their opinions about how things should be done in the school	.664	.214
talking to or talk from a politician or councillor	.557	.147
raising money for charity	-.007	.839
collecting signatures for a petition or any canvassing or campaigning	.293	.662
<i>Variance explained</i>	32%	21%

² It must be admitted that principal component analysis or factor analysis are of limited appeal, when they are applied to dichotomous items, as is the case here. A common response to this problem is the use of tetrachoric correlations. But tetrachoric estimates assume that the dichotomous measured variables are imperfect measures of underlying latent continuous variables, which we consider inappropriate here. Therefore the key criterion for the construction of the dimensions is theoretical plausibility.

The analysis of these items revealed two components that we termed political citizenship education (discussion of democracy, political views aired at school and talking to a politician or councilor) and social citizenship education (raising money for charity and signing petitions).

In addition we looked at the traditional determinants of citizenship participation such as educational level, region and economic status. In most studies we find that those with higher levels of education and those who are students or not unemployed are most likely to be engaged in politics (Wallace, Spannring et al. 2004, forthcoming). Furthermore, we find strong regional differences. However, we carried out multi-variate analysis in order to find out the extent that activation and citizenship education affected even taking these factors into account.

5 Citizenship education in the research regions

Figure 6: Mean values of social and political citizenship education in the research regions, random samples (N=10x~400)

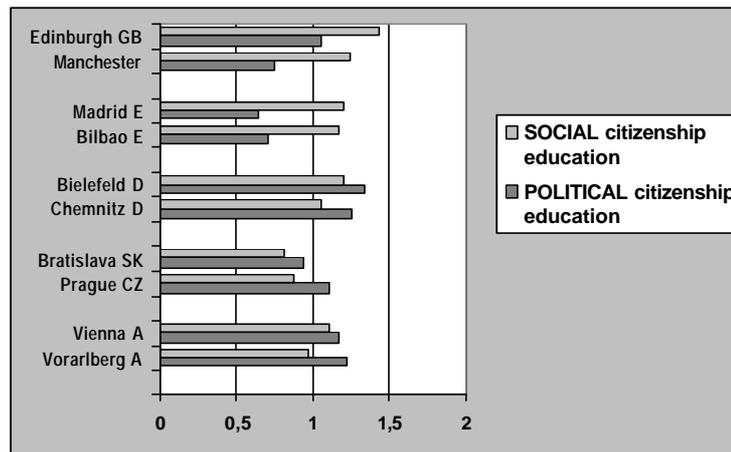


Figure 6 shows the mean values of social and political citizenship education for the ten regions under study. Political citizenship education, which consists of 3 items, was rescaled to 0-2 to make the mean values intuitively comparable with the 2-item-index for social citizenship education. The results prove evidence of national differences in educational systems. Whereas in the German, the Austrian and the Slovak as well as the Czech random samples political citizenship education is more pronounced than social citizenship education, the Spanish and British samples give quite the opposite picture. Especially in both Spanish regions and also in Manchester the political dimension seems to be under-developed in

international comparison. Exactly the regions which fall behind on the political dimension rank above average on the social dimension.

6 Multivariate Analyses

Now we turn to the multivariate analysis. The causal structure used in the multivariate analysis is shown in Figure 7. The model is set out as a sequential set of indicators because although it is applied to cross-sectional data, it captures a time perspective. Beginning at an earlier point in the respondent's experience, antecedent educational experiences (recall of citizenship education in school) are specified as the cause of attitudes of activation or non-activation. These more general attitudes are considered the cause of more specific attitudes towards European citizenship – voting and interest in European integration. This points to another interpretation of the causal structure – from general attitudes to intended behaviour. This takes place in two phases: the step from education and social background to activation is seen as the phase of the formation of general attitudes. The step from general political attitudes to attitudes concerning European integration is the phase of the concretisation of attitudes. The last variable in the causal chain, willingness to vote in European elections, is the most specific attitude and already expresses the intention to act, which is as near as we come in this survey to behaviour.

The relations are represented by five regression equations. The numbers in figure 7 indicate the regression equation with this certain construct as dependent variable.

In a first step (equations 1,2 and 3) the model is designed to assess the relative importance of citizenship education at school for activation in post-school life. In a second step the model aims at testing the effect of citizenship education on willingness to vote and personal interest in European integration (Equations 4 and 5). Although equations 4 and 5 contain direct effects of citizenship education, we consider the indirect effect of citizenship education mediated by activation to be more relevant. All equations assure statistical control for several supposed confounding factors, such as the level of general education, age, current employment or educational status. In addition we have included membership in organisations and emotional attachment to Europe as factors that are also likely to independently impact upon European citizenship as we have defined it. Therefore our hypotheses are subject to a hard test, because we are looking for unique effect after all these other factors have been taken into account.

To be consistent with the design of the study the model contains dummy variables for the research regions. In addition the models test for two kinds of interaction effects which hold theoretical plausibility. As other studies show, there are considerable national and regional differences in educational systems. In this respect our analysis asks: does the effect of social

and political citizenship education vary from region to region? A second interaction term tests a differential effect of social and political citizenship education for younger (18-21) and older (22-24) respondents in order to cover the simple questions: How long-lasting is the effect of educational experiences? Does the effect decline with the number of years young people are out of school? As a consequence of the inclusion of this interaction term the simple main effect of citizenship only corresponds to the lower age group, for the older age group the interaction effect has to be added to the main effect.

As the region-dummies are effect-coded in the linear regression equations (1, 2, 3 and 5) the coefficients for the regions represent deviations from the un-weighted average across the regions. In the presence of interaction effects the main effects indicate the average slope of a continuous independent variable such as citizenship education, whereas the interaction effects represent the regional deviations. Equation 5 is a logistic regression on willingness to vote in European elections because this is a dichotomous dependent variable. All estimates were computed with the random samples (N=3890). The precise list of variables and how they are coded is included in the relevant blocks in Appendix 1.

To begin with, the results for each equation will be examined separately, which will in the end allow an assessment of the whole model. Table 3 gives the parameter estimates for Equations 1, 2 and 3 which have exactly the same independent variables and therefore allow a direct comparison of coefficients.

Figure 7: Schematic illustration of key relations under study

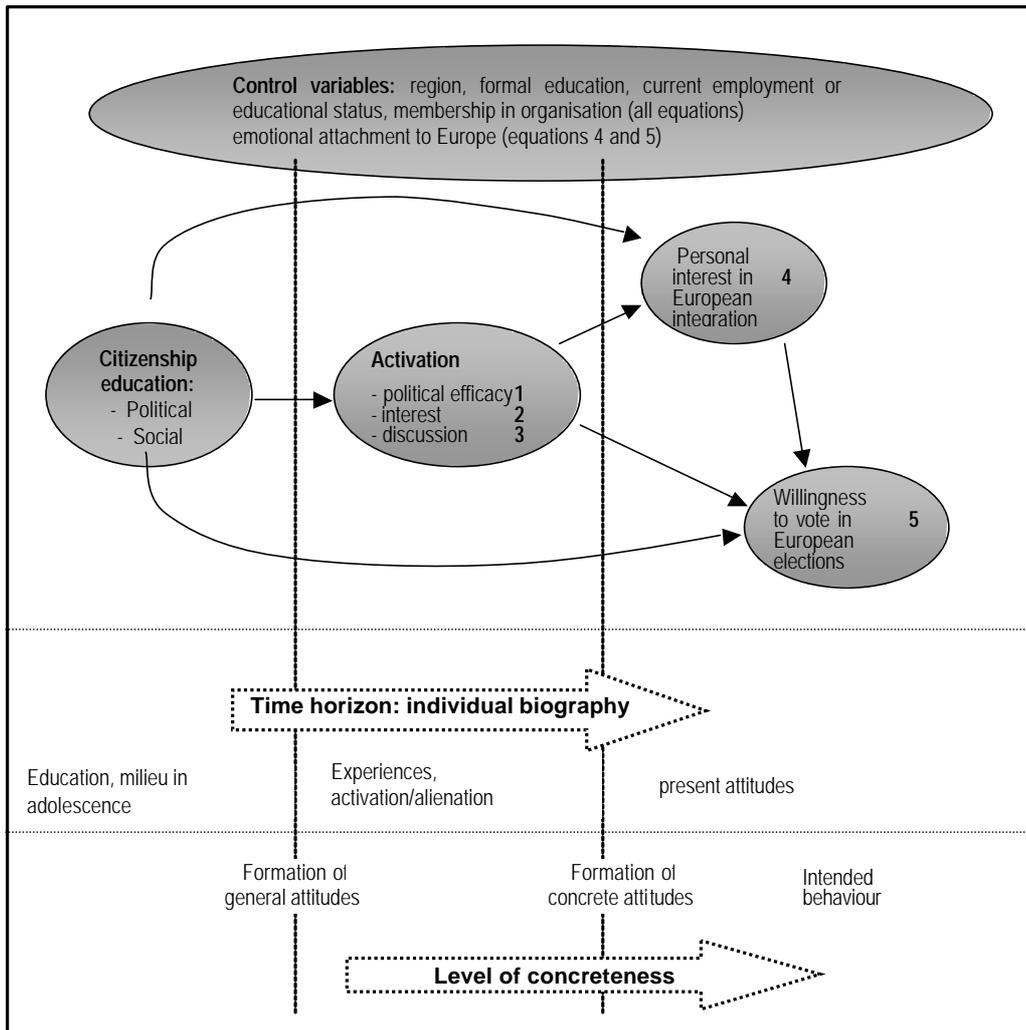


Table 3: parameter estimates for the linear regression on political efficacy, discussion of social and political issues and political interest

		Parameter estimates		
		quation 1: olitical fficacy	quation 2 terest	quation 3 iscussion
Main effects				
<i>Age</i> (ref. 18-21)	22-24	.016	.430*	.216**
<i>Gender</i> (ref. male)	Female	-.008	-.872**	-.100**
<i>Education</i> (ref. basic first school- leaving qual.)	Leaving school before 15/16	-.194	-.248	-.155
	Basis apprenticeship qual.	-.016	.121	-.073
	Higher appr. qual. or univ.-entry qual. University degree	.643** 1.062**	-.472** -.360	.219** .433**
<i>Status</i> (ref. employed)	Unemployed	-.047	-.120	-.080
	Student	.353**	-.094	.256**
<i>Membership</i> (ref. no).	Member	.297**	.066	.255**
<i>Region</i>	Vienna	.988**	.487	.192
	Vorarlberg	.966**	1.253**	.165
	Prague	-1.055**	-1.166**	.151
	Bratislava	-.127	-1.846**	-.201
	Chemnitz	.225	.325	.386*
	Bielefeld	.244	.282	.058
	Bilbao	.108	.277	.021
	Madrid	.427*	1.372**	.296**
	Manchester Edinburgh	-1.286** -.491	-.153 -.830*	-.585** -.484**
<i>Citizenship education</i>	Political	.221**	.142*	.162**
	Social	.212**	.311**	.103**
Interaction effects				
<i>Political citizenship education*Region</i>	Political*Vienna	-.146	.227	-.065
	Political*Vorarlberg	-0.08	.134	-.045
	Political*Prague	.192	-.095	-.065
	Political*Bratislava	0.08	.243	.091
	Political*Chemnitz	0.06	-.254	-.133
	Political*Bielefeld	0.10	-.281	.008
	Political*Bilbao	0.04	.195	.044
	Political*Madrid	-.326**	-.248	.026
	Political*Manchester	-.094	.004	.037
	Political*Edinburgh	.180	.004	.103
<i>Social citizenship education*Region</i>	Social*Vienna	-.187	-.159	-.001
	Social*Vorarlberg	-.219	-.257	-.064
	Social*Prague	.128	-.193	.022
	Social*Bratislava	.181	.104	.058
	Social*Chemnitz	.114	-.240	-.047
	Social*Bielefeld	-.084	.002	-.040
	Social*Bilbao	-.185	.006	.129
	Social*Madrid	-.183	.191	-.116
	Social*Manchester	.519**	.438**	.206*
	Social*Edinburgh	.180	.004	-.147
<i>Citizenship education *age</i> (ref. 18-21)	Political*22-24	-.024	-.227*	-.028
	Social*22-24	-.064	.145	.061
Adjusted R-Squared		.118	.184	.153

*denotes significance, p<.05

**denotes significance, p<.01

Equation 1: Regression on political efficacy

In sum the model accounts for 11.8% of the variation in political efficacy. The greatest partial effect is exercised by the level of general education. In detail it shows that respondents with university degree or at least university-entry qualification or higher apprenticeship qualification on average feel much more efficacious than respondents with lower apprenticeship qualification, basic first school leaving qualification or school drop-outs. The current employment or educational status reveals a similar pattern: Those who are still in education (which is also a pretty good indicator of social class and disposable capital in a family) rank higher than those who already earn their living. The group of respondents who are neither in full-time education nor in paid employment, although ranking lowest, do not differ significantly from those who have a job. It is important to mention that this conclusion is drawn in a multivariate context and relates to the unique effect of a certain variable and hence it represents an analytical separation of effects in order to reveal their relative importance. For example, the model compares unemployed and employed young people who share to same characteristics in the other variables included in the model. In reality, being employed or un-employed will definitely co-vary with other characteristics such as level of education or membership in organisation. Hence, to get closer to reality, we always have to consider several coefficients that describe a certain sub-group.

The partial effect of gender is non-significant, but significant coefficients for the regions indicate that important regional differences in the level of political efficacy, obvious at the descriptive level, persist even if there is statistical control for other factors, which themselves show regional variation. More precisely, the political efficacy of young people in both Austrian research regions is significantly above average whilst in Prague and in Manchester political efficacy among young people is significantly below average. However, the key point is that both social and political citizenship education show a considerable and significant unique impact on political efficacy, with the political dimension being more pronounced. Again, as these are partial effects, the message gets even stronger: That means that respondents with university entry qualification who experienced extensive citizenship education show higher political efficacy than those within this certain educational group who did not have much citizenship education. Membership in an organisation of any kind also increases political efficacy. Speaking more abstractly, these results could be a hint that developing political efficacy needs both abstract general knowledge via political education but also requires opportunities to get actively engaged. These two dimensions could correspond to the external and internal dimension of political efficacy. However, this remains speculation for the present and work for the future: The distinction of internal and external efficacy, which is highly plausible on a theoretical level, has never been born out in a clear-cut way in empirical studies, including this one.

The interaction effects of age and social and political citizenship education, although having a negative direction, are not significant. This is a clear signal that the effects of citizenship

education at school do not fade with age, but rather they are enduring even long after the young person has left school.

The model points towards several regional differences in the effect of citizenship education. The main effects of citizenship education discussed above represent average effects across the region, the interaction effects show the regional deviations from the average. Adding up main effect and a certain interaction effect gives the effect of citizenship education in a certain region. As far as the effect of the political dimension is concerned, the significant negative coefficients for Madrid reveals that there is no effect in this region, adding up the two coefficients even gives a negative sign in total. Whereas Manchester, Bielefeld and Vorarlberg are close to the average, the effect is slightly higher in Edinburgh, Chemnitz and Prague and lower in Vienna, but all these regional deviations do not achieve reliable significance. For the social dimension we get a significant positive effect for Manchester, the region where social citizenship education also proved to be most common. Bratislava shows some positive deviation; Madrid, Bilbao, Vienna and Vorarlberg show some negative deviation; the other regions stay in line with the average.

Equation 2: Regression on range of interest in political and social topics

Compared to political efficacy, the same independent variables achieve lightly more explanatory power on this dependent variable, resulting in a corrected R-Squared of 0.148. A detailed look at the parameter estimates reveals remarkable differences in the relative importance and direction of parameter estimates. Again, the level of formal education transports the greatest partial effect. But this time the model proves the higher educated to be interested in the least number of topics, the lowest educated group ranking negligibly above them and respondents with basic first school-leaving qualification and basic apprenticeship qualification expressing the broadest range of personal political and social interest. This may perhaps be because young working class school leavers who are found at these educational levels are more likely to have been already confronted with social and political issues such as jobs and unemployment than are their peers still in education. This shows that young people with just average formal education show a great deal of activation, on condition that they are asked questions which are both of political and of biographical relevance. The biographical argument is also backed by the fact that the 22-24year-olds are more interested than those a bit younger. In this model, employment and educational status do not add anything to the explanation and the same is true of membership in organisations. In this equation gender does play an important role: Female respondents express personal interest in a lower number of topics. Comparing the regions, the number of topics young people are interested is high in Vorarlberg and Madrid and low in Prague and especially in Bratislava. As far as citizenship education is concerned the results are more promising. Both dimensions show, on average, a significant positive effect on being politically interested. But

for the abstract and knowledge-oriented political dimension this is only true of the younger age group as the significant negative interaction term shows. For the social dimension, although the interaction term is not significant ($p=.054$), the process at work seems to be the other way round: The predicted effect is stronger in the group of respondents whose school-time dates back longer. The interaction terms for the regions indicates regional differences in the effect of social citizenship education which cannot be left aside. The effect is significantly above average in Manchester and below average in Chemnitz.

Equation 3: Regression on the frequency of discussion of political and social issues with family and friends

The model is able to explain 15.1% of the variation in the frequency of discussion of social and political topics with family and friends. The higher the level of formal education a respondent has the more common are such discussions. Students discuss more often than their age-mates who are in or out of employment. The older age group does so a bit more often than the younger. Female respondents discuss a bit less often than male respondents. Membership in organisations has a positive effect and seems to provide fora for discussions. Young people in Chemnitz and in Madrid report discussing more often whereas young people in Manchester and in Edinburgh do so less frequently than the overall average of the respondents. Both social and political citizenship education increase the frequency of this kind of activation, the political dimension here having a much stronger effect in contrast with the number of topics that people were interested in, where social citizenship was more relevant.

What can this tell us? Being interested in issues of political and relevance is to some extent tied to experiences of activation rooted in the concrete communities young people that young people find themselves in and this is most assisted by social citizenship education. However, discussing issues of broader concern is to some extent tied to gaining abstract knowledge of politics as provided by the more knowledge-oriented part of citizenship education, or political citizenship education.

Differential regional effects are not that pronounced in this model, with the exception of Manchester, where the effect of social citizenship education is above average. This consistency in above-average effects in Manchester is a clear proof of different effects of different educational systems in different circumstances. The interaction term with age yields non-significant results, pointing to relatively constant effect of citizenship education on the frequency of discussions of political and social topics over time.

Equation 4: Regression on interest in European integration**Table 4: parameter estimates for the linear regression on personal interest in European integration**

		Parameter estimates:
<i>Age</i> (ref. 18-21)	22-24	.038
<i>Gender</i> (ref. male)	Female	.079
<i>Education</i> (ref. basic first school-leaving qual.)	Leaving school before 15/16	-.193
	Basis apprenticeship qual.	-.079
	Higher appr. qual. or univ.-entry qual.	-.030
	University degree	-.026
<i>Status</i> (ref. employed)	Unemployed	-.028
	Student	.080
<i>Membership</i> (ref. no).	Member	-.137**
<i>Region</i>	Vienna	-.004
	Vorarlberg	.196
	Prague	-.111
	Bratislava	.324*
	Chemnitz	-.055
	Bielefeld	.191
	Bilbao	-.413**
	Madrid	.285**
	Manchester	-.175
Edinburgh	-.237	
<i>Citizenship education</i>	Political	.069**
	Social	.026
<i>Activation</i>	Political efficacy	.047**
	Interest	.119**
	Discussion	.097**
<i>Emotional Attachment to Europe</i>		.262**
Interaction effects		
<i>Political citizenship education*Region</i>	Political*Vienna	.004
	Political*Vorarlberg	-.096
	Political*Prague	.123*
	Political*Bratislava	.058
	Political*Chemnitz	.026
	Political*Bielefeld	.029
	Political*Bilbao	-.049
	Political*Madrid	-.098
	Political*Manchester	-.051
	Political*Edinburgh	.054
<i>Social citizenship education*Region</i>	Social*Vienna	.005
	Social*Vorarlberg	-.039
	Social*Prague	.051
	Social*Bratislava	-.155*
	Social*Chemnitz	.010
	Social*Bielefeld	-.091
	Social*Bilbao	.100
	Social*Madrid	-.048
	Social*Manchester	.094
	Social*Edinburgh	.038
Adjusted R-Squared		.239

*denotes significance, $p < .05$ **denotes significance, $p < .01$

Table 4 shows the parameter estimates for the linear regression on personal interest in European integration, the first dependent variable in the model that is related to European citizenship. This model is designed to assess the direct effect of citizenship education on personal interest in European integration and to assess the effect of political activation, which, as the previous models have shown does relate to former citizenship education. The predictive power of the more general construct of political activation will be contrasted with the effect of emotional attachment to Europe, a construct with an obvious direct relation to European integration. Thus, our hypothesis arguing that that attitudes towards European integration are as much a question of general political attitudes as of “feeling European” will be subject to a hard test.

Although the best single predictor of interest in European integration is emotional attachment to Europe, the effect of the number of other social and political issues respondents are interested in is comparable in size. That means those who are interested in a broad range of current political issues are also more likely to develop personal interest in European integration. These results support the argument that European integration is sometimes perceived in connection with other important political and social issues, perhaps as a means of resolving important problems. The effects of the other variables representing the activation construct are smaller but still significant. That means that general political efficacy and the frequency of the discussion of political and social issues in an every-day context foster personal interest in European integration. The direct partial effect of citizenship education is only significant for the political dimension. The coefficient is small but this is to some extent a result of entering many other independent variables that relate to citizenship education. To assess the importance of citizenship education correctly one has to take these indirect effects into account.

Differences of gender, age, employment or educational status and formal education only play a minor role in predicting personal interest in European integration. Somewhat surprisingly, membership in organisations has a small negative impact. The coefficients for the regions indicate that respondents in Bratislava and in Madrid are the ones most interested in European integration. Compared to the other regions European integration is less important to young people in Bilbao.

Equation 5: Logistic Regression on Willingness to Vote in European Elections

Table 5: Parameter estimates and odds ratios for the logistic regression on willingness to vote

		Logistic regression coeff.	Odds ratio
<i>Age</i> (ref. 18-21)	22-24	.156	1.168
<i>Gender</i> (ref. male)	Female	-.035	.966
<i>Education</i> (ref. basic first school-leaving qualification)	Leaving school before 15/16	-.222	.801
	Basis apprenticeship qual.	.088	1.033
	Higher appr. qual. or univ.-entry qual.	.480**	1.617
	University degree	.962**	2.618
<i>Status</i> (ref. employed)	Unemployed	.033	1.033
	Student	.217*	1.242
<i>Membership</i> (ref. no).	Member	.051	1.052
<i>Region</i> (ref. Vienna)	Vorarlberg	-.119	.887
	Prague	.269	1.309
	Bratislava	.525*	1.691
	Chemnitz	-1.052**	.349
	Bielefeld	-1.032**	.356
	Bilbao	-.197	.821
	Madrid	-.532*	.587
	Manchester	-1.286**	.276
	Edinburgh	-1.174**	.309
<i>Citizenship education</i>	Political	.035	1.036
	Social	.108	1.114
<i>Activation</i>	Political efficacy	.307**	1.360
	Interest	-.015	.985
	Discussion	.270**	1.310
<i>Emotional Attachment to Europe</i>		.230**	1.259
<i>Personal interest in European integration</i>		.304**	1.356
Pseudo R-Squared Measures	Nagelkerkes R-Squared .355 / Cox&Snells R-Squared .258		

*denotes significance, $p < .05$

**denotes significance, $p < .01$

The dependent variable in the equation 5, willingness to vote in European elections, although relating to intended behaviour, is the one in our causal model that is most closely related to acting. At this point we are able to assess the consequences of citizenship education and general attitudes of activation on a concrete expected outcome. In doing so we will again provide statistical control for more specific attitudes, which show a direct association with our topic under study: emotional attachment to Europe and personal interest in European integration. Including region, age, formal education and employment or educational status, the logistic regression equation achieves a correct classification for 75.0% of cases. This is a considerable improvement on the 64.5% potential voters, which would be the best prediction without the additional information represented by this model.

Table 5 shows the logistic regression coefficients and the odds ratios for each independent variable. Odds ratios³ offer a straight-forward interpretation: They represent the likelihood of the occurrence relative to the non-occurrence of a certain event, in this case willingness to vote.

As expected, emotional attachment to Europe and personal interest in European integration have significant positive effects on the willingness to vote in EU-elections. But there are also significant effects for two variables referring to activation, political efficacy and the frequency of the discussion of political and social issues in an every-day context. The variable measuring the number of topics respondents are interested has no partial effect. The same is true of both dimensions of citizenship education.

The formal level of education is another influential variable. Large regional differences also persist in a situation of multiple control for supposed confounding factors. Age, gender and membership in organisations do not have significant partial effects.

6 Conclusions

In general, our causal model that citizenship education will lead to higher levels of activation which are more likely to encourage young people to become active “European citizens” through voting and seeing European issues as important, is borne out in these data. Although regional differences were large, there was a general effect of this model even when controlling for region.

However, we need to distinguish between different types of citizenship education. Whereas the political dimension of citizenship education exercises the bigger effect on political efficacy and the frequency of the discussion of political and social issues, the number of issues respondents are interested in is better explained by the social dimension of citizenship. As far as the stability of these educational effects in post-school life is concerned it can be said that both effects continue in the older age group under study rather than fading away, although there is some evidence that the effect of the political dimension has a tendency to decrease the longer it dates back. The effect of the social dimension seems to be stable and there is some evidence that the effect even increases rather than decreases. Both phenomena – the differing explanatory power and the differences in the effects of time – can be seen in relation to the differing substantive meanings of the political and social dimension of citizenship education. Political citizenship education means acquiring knowledge about

³ Odds are computed $p/(1-p)$, for dummy variables the odds ratios compare a certain group to the reference group, for continuous variables odds ratios indicate the change of the odds per a one unit change in the respective variable.

politics and gaining an understanding of the otherwise abstract democratic processes. Therefore, its effect is a vital prerequisite of political efficacy, even if it declines over time. The direct relation of the political dimension to knowledge could also be the reason why it exercises the bigger impact on the frequency of discussions of social and political issues – you need some knowledge in order to discuss something. The social dimension of citizenship education is oriented towards engagement with a political community, be it local or even trans-national. Therefore, the social dimension seems to have an activating effect that can increase over time and is the better predictor for the scope of the political and social interest of young people.

The direct effects of citizenship education on the two variables in the model relating to European citizenship, personal interest in European integration and willingness to vote in European elections, are relatively small. Yet the results of equations 1, 2, and 3 indicate that citizenship education has considerable impact on mediating attitudes, which in turn are able to explain part of the variation in concrete attitudes and intended behaviour. In addition equation 4 and 5 have shown that activation as a citizen is of great importance for personal interest in European integration and being willing to vote in European elections. Activation as a citizen is not per se European but European integration is per se a political project and therefore attitudes are affected by political activation in general. The European project implies the construction of new identities and communities of identification, but as we have shown, European citizenship is not only a question of emotional attachment to an “imagined community” but also a question of political participation, perceived political influence and efficacy. The active participation of young people as well as their rights as citizens is important to understand the positive relationship of young people to Europe.

Therefore, this study points to the importance of encouraging the active participation of young people in order to create future European citizens and voters. Giving young people citizenship rights (in the traditional sense of citizenship) is not sufficient in itself to create a vibrant community. The creation of a deliberative democracy in a European public space means also activating young people as citizens. One thing that can help in this respect is to encourage citizenship education in schools if one wants to create effective and active citizens. At present this seems to be rather patchy across Europe. Whilst social and political citizenship education in schools are useful in encouraging different kinds of activation, citizenship education in schools should include a European dimension in order to create effective future citizens who can participate knowledgeably.

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Appendix

Overview of variables in the model

Variable	Measurement	Dependent variable in equation	Independent variable in equation
Age	18-21, 22-24		1,2,3,4,5
Gender	male, female		1,2,3,4,5
Education	Highest formal education completed: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - leaving school before 15/16 - basic first-school-leaving qualification - basis apprenticeship qualification - higher apprenticeship qual. or university -entry qual. - university degree 		1,2,3,4,5
Employment or educational status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - employed - student - unemployed 		1,2,3,4,5
Region	Vienna, Vorarlberg, Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Bilbao, Madrid, Manchester, Edinburgh		1,2,3,4,5
Citizenship education	"I will read out a list, please let me know whether they happened in your school" Political dimension: additive index of 3 dichotomous items, scale 0-3: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion of democracy or citizenship - Opportunities for pupils to give their opinions about how things should be done in the school. - Talking to or talk from a politician or councillor Social dimension: additive index of 2 dichotomous items, scale 0-2: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Raising money for charity - Collecting signatures for a petition or any canvassing or campaigning 		1,2,3,4,5
Political efficacy	Additive index of 2 items, scale 0-8: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I have no influence over what the government is doing" (Reversed) - "There is little point in voting" (Reversed) 	1	4,5
Frequency of the discussion of social and political topics	Scale 0-4 "How often do you speak to friends or family about these issues?" (respondents where confronted with a list of 10 issues immediately before this question)	2	4,5
Scope of personal political and social interest	Scale 0-9, number of issues respondents expressed great personal interest in when being asked about the following issues on a 5-point scale (0-of no interest – 4 of great interest): Environmental issues, Job and training opportunities, Public service or facilities, Poverty, Equality between men and women, Terrorism, Discrimination against immigrants or other minority groups, Animal rights, Quality and Content of Education	3	4,5
Personal interest in European integration	Scale 0-4	4	5
Emotional attachment to Europe	"Now I would like to ask you about the strength of how you feel about being different sorts of nationality? On a scale from 0-4 (0 no feeling at all – 4 very strong feeling) how do you feel about being European?" (the same question was also asked at the regional and national levels)		4,5
Willingness to vote in European elections	"If there were the following elections next weekend, would you vote in them?" categories: yes – no – don't know	5	

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