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Trust in Government-Related Institutions and Civic Engagement among Adolescents: Analysis of Five Countries from the IEA Civic Education Study

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine different facets of trust in the political system or civic realm and how they are correlated to the expected civic or political engagement of young people. The nature and effects of trust in social and political institutions have been studied in adults, distinguishing between various types of trust (in institutions compared with more generalized trust in people). Few studies have focused on how trust affects the political socialization of children and adolescents, who are in the process of developing their attitudes towards government and other social institutions. Our analysis uses data collected in 1999 from the IEA Civic Education Study of 14-year-olds to examine trust at three levels—trust in institutions with which individuals have little or no daily contact (those delegated as representatives in institutions such as the national legislature), trust in institutions with whose representatives individuals interact frequently (schools), and trust in other people. First in this analysis, levels of these three types of trust are compared in five democracies whose levels of political stability vary (Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, England and the United States). Second, correlates of individuals' levels of trust (including school climate and experiences with family) are examined. Third, trust, civic knowledge, school experiences, and family variables are used to predict levels of three types of civic or political engagement (voting, conventional political participation that goes beyond voting, and community participation). Levels of trust relate to the stability of democracy in the countries examined and to participation, suggesting a "threshold" of trustworthiness which a political system needs to establish in order to foster civic and political participation in young people. Additionally, different types of civic engagement are influenced differentially by trust and by other aspects of experience in schools. Civic knowledge is a predictor of the expectation of voting (and obtaining information about candidates), but it is not related to the expectation of civic participation in the community (through volunteering or collecting for charity). Service learning experiences show small positive effects on expectations of voting and larger effects on expectations of civic participation in the community (especially in the United States).

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An outline of the preliminary steps in developing the ideas found in this paper and associated presentations and publications is found in Appendix A.

Beginning in mid-2004 (with funding from CIRCLE) the CEDARS Center (standing for Civic Education Data and Researcher Services) in the Department of Human Development at the University of Maryland will provide facilitated access to the IEA Civic Education Study's Database so that others may explore questions related to this or other areas.

The concept of trust is familiar to those studying adult political attitudes as well as to those focusing on political socialization in the younger generation. The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature and correlates of trust in political institutions and its correlates in expected civic and political participation among adolescents. A fuller review of the literature on different types of trust and the related concept of "social capital" may be found in Levi & Stoker (2000), Uslaner (2002) and Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2002).

Our starting point is to consider some of the differentiations made by theorists and researchers across fields and how they might be relevant to the socialization of young people. A distinction is often made between horizontal trust (of other people) and vertical trust (of institutions) or between generalized and institutional trust. Inglehart (1997), for example, argues that interpersonal trust has as much or more to do with economic, religious and cultural circumstance as with political democracy. However, the durability or stability of democracy is the most robust predictor of the average level of trust in the national government among adults in a given country. The World Values Survey shows that in countries that have recently experienced political transitions citizens tend to have low levels of trust in political institutions (Klingemann, 1999).

Warren (1999), a political scientist, distinguishes between "bottom-up" trust, engendered by a "civic communitarian strategy" that increases trust by building networks, and "top-down" trust, engendered by institutional performance that warrants trust. If we take this distinction seriously, making trust a reality for youth requires that students both understand institutional performance (by learning about government processes in class or by reading the newspaper) and have experience in associations or organizations . This may differ, however, in different national contexts.

Hooghe and Stolle (2003) make a distinction similar to Warren's between society-centered trust (social capital) developed in social interactions and that "embedded in and shaped by government, public policies, and political institutions." Stolle (2001) examines both the theoretical and empirical issues relating to trust. She compares relatively broad notions of social capital with narrower views, and examines the concept at different levels (national, community and individual). She speculates about the role of family socialization, and asks how associational membership and levels of inequality have an impact on networks, norms, and trust. In an empirical study, she examines predictors of various aspects of trust and participation among adults in three countries (the United States, Germany, and Sweden) by looking at the countries as sites in which to replicate findings. She concludes that a given aspect of group membership primarily influences other aspects of group membership, and does not influence generalized trust diffused through the wider society. She finds somewhat different patterns of influence for civic-related and other types of participation within countries and suggests the importance of religious organizations, of political efficacy and of newspaper reading for civic-related participation. Her work also shows the value of taking a cross-national point of view in the study of youth.

Rahn and Rudolph (2002) make yet another distinction, between trust at the local and national levels. Building on Rahn's previous work, they look at predictors of trust in local government using a multi-level model with 31 U.S. cities or localities (as well as individuals) as units of analysis. Among the findings are that frequent newspaper reading is associated with higher trust, while frequent television viewing is associated with lower trust. Sense of efficacy is an important predictor of trust at the individual level (at least in the United States). At the community level, political culture appears to be more important than the structure of political institutions. Levi and Stokes (2000) also compare local and national trust, while Howard (2003) argues that somewhat different patterns of local and national trust exist in post-Communist countries and in established democracies.

Another argument for a differentiated view, and one upon which this paper will rely, comes from Patterson (1999), a sociologist. He

distinguishes "affective trust" (developed in face-to-face relations) from "collective trust" (in relation to a "familiar stranger" who fulfills a particular role in the daily life of society—the bank teller or shopkeeper) from "delegated trust" (in relation to a category of persons defined by their relation to institutions, for example, members of Congress). This formulation is appropriate in studying youth who rely on daily life experience to form their views of institutions and find ways to participate in them in either a minimal or more engaged fashion (Lave & Wenger, 1998).

Erik Erikson is a psychological theorist who has devoted substantial attention to personal trust in his life-span stage theory (1959). Each of his eight developmental stages presents a kind of conflict or tension exemplified in a continuum of opposites influenced by biological factors (e.g., the helplessness of the young infant) and social factors (e.g., the societal expectation that parents will provide a caring atmosphere for the young child). The establishment of generalized trust (rather than mistrust) during infancy is the first psychosocial conflict the individual confronts. Founding a trusting relationship with parents and trusting attitude toward life is something that most infants do. This provides the building blocks for later relationships of trust and for resolving other stages. The second and third stages of Erikson's theory deal with the child's growing autonomy and initiative, while the fourth deals with the sense of industry counterposed to the sense of inferiority (which is confronted when the child enters school). The sense of industry captures the idea that individuals set goals for themselves and realize to one degree or another that they are able to meet those goals. A sense of industry is quite close to the sense of self efficacy delineated in other theories such as that of Bandura (2001). The interplay of trust, autonomy, initiative and industry (or efficacy) is especially important in adolescence, a conclusion strengthened by both the theory and the research on community service of Youniss and Yates (1997).

Newton (2001), a political scientist, argues that social trust and political trust are clearly separate. He believes that trust is less a product of personally rooted early experience than of individuals' responses to their everyday experience in the world around them. Political trust should be seen as reflecting an individual's evaluation of a distant political world. He does not believe that a certain amount of mistrust is needed to guard democracy from scoundrels, but argues that democracies are expected to both recruit trustworthy leaders and to surround them with an institutional setting that provides sanctions if they fail to perform in a trustworthy manner. He points out, based on a review of other research and survey analysis, that neither social nor political trust is especially strongly associated with voluntary organization membership (as some others have argued). Instead, since people spend relatively more time in their schools, work places, and families, these are likely to be the arenas where trust is generated. In a pragmatic conclusion, he argues for a simultaneously top-down and bottom-up process, without expecting that empirical research will discover especially close or neatly symmetrical types of relationships.

Newton also concludes that "the relationship between individual social trust and political trust is mediated by the effectiveness of social and political institutions." (p. 211) and argues for clearly separating social and political trust in analysis. For our purposes, when one is looking at young people being socialized to political system it is important to be aware that there may be a threshold level of trustworthiness in the actual transactions of the political world necessary for appropriate socialization to take place.

Edwards (2004) considers some of the same issues placing the responsibility for civil society on institutions that solve policy dilemmas in just and effective ways as well as upon associational networks and generalized trust in others. He also argues for the role of the family and school because of the time in which young people spend there. Both Newton and Edwards (as well as other observers) would be likely to agree that attempts to socialize young people to passive forms of citizenship based on unquestioning trust in government should be avoided.

Those interested in political socialization and youth have seldom addressed trust explicitly. Early

work in the field with elementary school students did study the sense of personal connection and trust between children and the President of the United States in a sample of 12,000 drawn from 8 U.S. cities (Hess & Torney, 1967). Between grade 2 and grade 8 the high level of personal trust declined, and there was an increase in trusting attitudes toward institutions such as Congress. In early elementary school both boys and girls trusted the personal responsiveness of the government to them and their needs; at the eighth grade girls were more trusting of the government than boys. Easton and Dennis (1968) called this type of affect "diffuse support for the political regime" and argued that it played an important role in political socialization.

More recently, Rahn and Hirshorn (1999) asked elementary children to watch either positive or negative political ads and found that they could measure a "diffuse affective state" or trust-like mood in the students that seemed to be influenced by the tone of the political ads. Efficacy (but not political knowledge) seemed to serve as a moderator of the relationship between mood and interest in voting. Using data from the late 1980s Niemi and Junn (1998) attempted to predict trust in government's responsiveness among high school seniors using a series of experiences in school and outside that had effectively predicted civic knowledge in other analysis. Only about 5% of the variance in trust between students could be accounted for by these predictors.

Both the first IEA Civic Education Study in eight countries and the United States (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975) and the IEA data being analyzed here (Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2003) found a considerable difference between early and late adolescents in the level of trust in governmental institutions in countries where both 17-19 year old students and 14-year-olds were tested, with the younger students more trusting.

In a longitudinal study Damico, Conway and Damico (2000) analyzed the Youth-Parent Socialization Panel Study, which followed U.S. high school seniors from 1965 through 1982 (Jennings and Niemi, 1981). As many other investigators have noted, Watergate and the Vietnam War prompted a considerable and persisting drop in trust level. Their measure includes both a trust in government item and several other items that are often called "external political efficacy," or the belief in government responsiveness. Damico and colleagues found that there was substantial correlation for trust within individuals across time, and that extracurricular activities did not predict either personal or political trust. Instead, the significant predictors were relations with parents and perceptions that teachers and principals were fair, supporting Newton's and Edwards' position about the importance of those setting in which students spend most of their time. This longitudinal study is very valuable. However, their work shares with that of Putnam (2000) and others a tendency to think of a "bundle" of qualities such as trust, belief in responsiveness (which might also be called efficacy), willingness to cooperate and political legitimacy without differentiating between them in their potential importance for civic engagement. Our analysis attempts to unbundle some of these dimensions, both by looking at individual items or separate scales and by examining trust as a correlate or predictor of three distinct kinds of civic engagement. It bears some resemblance to Edwards's effort to separate three dimensions of civil society – associations, norms and ideals, and the public domain. Further, this paper attempts to examine the separable dimensions of trust in national settings that differ in the experience and stability of the democratic political system.

No review in this area would be complete without considering the negative side of trust. An excess of institutional trust is thought to have the potential to lead to lack of vigilance and hence lower participation on the part of adult citizens. However, how trust should be conceptualized in relation to participation is not clear when considering those not yet old enough to vote or fully participate politically. At the school level, trust has been studied primarily as it exists between parents and school personnel, with students assumed to follow their parents' lead (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). This assumption may or may not be tenable (especially in schools where

students are personally concerned about bullying or violence). Another troubling issue is that at the neighborhood level close-knit affective ties of trust may result in excluding racial or ethnic groups. A study in Guatemala and Colombia distinguished between groups in the community that generate "productive" trust (usually community betterment groups) and those that generate "perverse" trust (often youth gangs or guerilla groups) (McIlwaine & Moser, 2001, Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004)

This paper addresses several broad issues surrounding trust and its function for early adolescents growing up in democracies. In particular, three types of trust will be distinguished and examined empirically:

- Trust in proximal social objects developed in face-to-face relations (similar to Patterson's affective trust or to generalized trust)
- Trust in social objects contacted on an everyday basis, which also have more distal meaning (similar to Patterson's collective trust)
- Trust in distal social objects (similar to Patterson's delegated trust or to institutional/governmental trust)

Then, three types of civic or political participation will be examined for their relationship to trust and to several other aspects of individuals' experience or characteristics (including efficacy, school experience, and civic knowledge).

The analysis utilizes part of a database including a test and survey collected from 90,000 14-year-olds in 28 countries and addresses the following specific questions.

First, focusing on differences between countries, what differentiations should be made between social objects in order to understand the meaning of both individuals' level of trust and national differences in generalized, collective, and delegated trust? [This requires analysis of country differences in individual item means.]

Second, focusing on trust in institutions (primarily delegated trust), what are its correlates within countries? Are more knowledgeable or informed students, more efficacious students, more involved students, or more religious students more likely to be trusting? [This requires examining both zero-order correlations and simple regressions or prediction models accounting for individual variability in trust within countries. Either IRT scales or simpler composites scales are used (according to their availability in the IEA database), with single items used only when it is not reasonable to compute composites or scales.]

Third, and most important, focusing on political or civic engagement, what are its correlates in schools, families, and communities? In particular, do more trusting students expect to be more engaged? [This relies primarily on regression/prediction models accounting for individual variability in three types of expected future participation: voting, conventional political participation other than voting, and community participation (including volunteering).]

The next section of the paper introduces the data used—from the IEA Civic Education Study of nationally representative samples of 14-year-olds. The first section of analysis presents basic data about trust in different social objects in five countries. The second section presents an analysis of correlates and predictors of institutional trust. The third section summarizes results from analyses using trust as one of several predictors of civic knowledge and engagement.

THE ORIGIN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE IEA CIVIC EDUCATION STUDY

During the 1980s the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), a consortium of educational research institutes in nearly 60 countries, focused its large-scale data collections on literacy, mathematics, and science. In the early 1990s some member countries, spurred by recent massive changes in political and social structures, asked for a study of civic education that included

measures of young people's civic-related attitudes and behaviors. These interested groups did not focus on the concept of political socialization as political scientists might define it. Rather, their aim was to study schools in the context of other institutions and to take advantage of the IEA organization's perspective and resources, which brought to this effort a wide network of research institutes in different countries and a wealth of technical and methodological expertise in cross-national comparative education research (for example, in sampling and scaling).

The first phase of the IEA Civic Education Study (1994–1998) consisted of the collection of structured national case studies used as the basis for a consensus process to develop content specifications for a test of civic knowledge (with right and wrong answers) and also a survey of political attitudes and civic behavioral report items. These data also provided contextual information for interpreting the more quantitative data collected in 1999–2000. For analysis within and across countries of the data collected during Phase 1, see Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo (1999) and Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta, and Schwille (2002).

The second phase of the IEA Civic Education Study began in 1997. An International Steering Committee, together with National Research Coordinators, constructed items, pre-piloted, and then piloted an instrument (test and survey) that would be suitable for younger and older adolescents and would take about two class periods to complete. The attitude survey included a number of scales drawn from political scientists' surveys of adults and was substantially the same for the two age groups. The survey of civic knowledge administered to the older students contained items about economics, political efficacy, and international relations not administered to the 14-year-olds. Thirteen scales based on Item Response Theory (IRT) were developed for the knowledge items and for sets of attitudes items (with means set to 10 for attitudes). IRT scales represent underlying dimensions scaleable across countries and also allow estimation of missing and don't know responses. They are preferable to simple composites, and when appropriate ones are available in the IEA data base, they are used in this analysis.

SAMPLING AND CHOICE OF COUNTRIES

Nationally representative samples of students in the modal grade for 14-year-olds (a total of about 90,000 students from 28 countries) were tested in 1999; upper secondary students ranging in age from 16 to 19 (a total of about 50,000 students from 16 countries) were tested in 2000. See Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz (2001) and Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova (2002) for a description of scaling and analysis of the 28 and 16 countries, respectively, for the 14-year-olds and the upper secondary students. See http://www.wam.umd.edu/~iea for further details (and for instructions about obtaining a copy of the international data base for analysis).

Five countries out of the twenty-eight were chosen for this analysis. Two were durable or stable democracies in which we might expect trust in political institutions to be high (the United States and England). Two were countries where we might expect trust (of several types) to be low because of very recent transitions from authoritarian rule (Bulgaria and Chile). In the fifth country, we might expect trust to be low because of persistent problems with corruption and lack of impartiality in the justice system and in other aspects of governance (Colombia). The political socialization experience of adolescents in these five countries is likely to be very different; the question is how trust will differ in these young people. The numbers of students and schools in the five countries analyzed here may be found in Table 1.

MEASURES

In developing the trust measures for inclusion in the IEA instrument, a set of specific institutions similar to the list used by other researchers was selected. These included 4-point rating scales for governmental institutions (the national government, national parliament, and local government), justice institutions (courts and police), and political parties. These formed a Trust in Government Institutions IRT scale. In addition,

one item asked about "trust in people who live in this country," similar but not identical to the interpersonal trust item used by other researchers. Another item administered in all countries asked about trust in the schools. Several other items were included as national options in several countries (but not in the United States or Bulgaria), including trust in the Church. Three items on trust in media sources (news on television, news in the press, and news on the radio) were also included. The national option items (with the exception of the Church) and media items are not analyzed here (see Amadeo, Torney-Purta, and Barber, 2004, for a basic analysis of trust in the media).

The research reviewed in the first section served as a guide for the selection of correlates to be examined. Four of the IRT scales used in the international analysis are included in some part of these analyses: Trust in Government-related Institutions, Open Classroom Climate for Discussion, Confidence in Participation at School, and Civic Knowledge. In addition, three 2-item composites were developed for this analysis of expected participation: Informed Voting, Conventional Political Participation, and Community Participation. The following other composites of two or more items were used: read national and international news in newspaper, discuss national and international issues with parents, internal political efficacy, learn about community problems (in school and by volunteering), and number of organizations belonged to. Where alphas were appropriate[1], they were computed; in other cases, correlational analysis was examined before forming the composites. In addition, nine individual trust items, the rating of learning about the importance of elections at voting at school and membership in a religious organization were analyzed as separate items. See Appendix B for details about the items and scales used.

[1] Cronbach alpha is a measure of the consistency of responses to items within a scale.

NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN PERSONAL, COLLECTIVE AND DELEGATED TRUST

The IEA study's fine-grained measures of trust provide an opportunity to make comparisons using both scales and individual items and to see what distinctions seem appropriate.

COUNTRY DIFFERENCES IN AVERAGE TRUST IN GOVERNMENT-RELATED INSTITUTIONS

The level of trust in government institutions (delegated trust) was relatively modest among those tested. Figures 1 through 5 show the mean level of trust (on a scale from 1 to 4, with higher numbers representing higher levels of trust) by country for government institutions, (primarily those national in scope but also those relating to local government). These correspond to what Patterson called delegated trust. No mean is greater than 3 (corresponding to trusting "most of the time"), suggesting a moderate level of institutional trust among these respondents. Looking at institutions across nations the highest level of trust was expressed in the courts (though local government was also trusted highly in the United States). The lowest level of trust was expressed in political parties (by a considerable margin and in all countries)

Students in the United States were more trusting of courts, the Congress (national parliament), and the national government than the students in the other four countries.[2] [It should be noted that the highest levels of trust in the 28 countries was found in Denmark and Norway, but they are not included in this analysis.] Trust levels for all these institutions were lowest in Bulgaria (by .2 to .4 scale points).

Among the countries in an intermediate position between the United States and Bulgaria, students in Colombia were less trusting of the courts than those in the United States, England and Chile; they perceived considerable political influence in the judicial system (shown in other

[2] In this section differences are reported based on an analysis of variance and on contrasts. Only statistically significant differences are commented on in the text.

ratings in the IEA study, Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004). Trust in the national parliament was moderately high in Chile, followed by England and Colombia. Colombian students were more trusting of the national government than those in England or Chile. Chile and Colombia were both slightly higher than England in trusting the local government. For trust in political parties, Chile was tied with Bulgaria in having the least amount of trust.

Looking at patterns within country, the local government was generally trusted more than the national government. Of these five countries, students in the United States were the most trusting in local government, while Bulgarian students were the least trusting. Courts were the most trusted across countries in the IEA study, political parties the least trusted. The privileged position of courts in students' minds was also seen in the early political socialization research (Hess and Torney, 1967). Generally speaking, these institutions through which individuals delegate power over their lives to persons they do not know are trusted by adolescents in a way which is quite similar to the trust level expressed by adults in their countries (Inglehart, 1997).

Country Differences in Average Interpersonal, Affective and Collective Trust:

The previous section dealt with the more distant and institutionalized parts of government. This section considers how much trust young people reported in groups with personal representatives whom they are likely to meet on a regular basis—the police, the Church, and the schools. This corresponds to what Patterson calls "collective trust." Across countries these groups (police, schools, and church) are more trusted than the more distant governmental institutions; in fact, the large majority of the means are greater than 2.75. As a comparison across Figures 6-8 shows, the school was the most trusted of these institutions; the Church was also trusted to a considerable degree in Chile and Colombia (but not in England). When the five countries were compared, the police were most likely to be trusted in England and Chile (Figure 6). Students in Colombia and Bulgaria were likely to trust the schools but not the police. Students in the United States rated schools (Figure 8) as less trustworthy than did the students in the other four countries. In contrast, the U.S. students expressed relatively high levels of trust in national institutionalized groups (such as national and local government) when compared with students in other countries.

To look at it in another way, students in the United States trust the courts, the local government, and schools to about the same extent. In contrast, students in Chile, Colombia, England, and Bulgaria trust schools considerably more than they trust the courts or local government. In Chile and Colombia, where these differences are especially striking, schools appear to be safe havens for students, and may have potential as a site for socialization, a suggestion supported by a study on younger Colombian students (Ardilla-Rey & Killen, 2003).

In response to the question about trusting "people who live in this country," students in the United States were least trusting, and those in Chile and Colombia the most trusting (Figure 9). These findings concerned with affective trust diverge from those of an earlier study of adults (Inglehart 1997), but may have resulted in part from a different phrasing of the question about interpersonal trust. In the interview format used by Inglehart, respondents were asked to make a forced choice about whether most people can be trusted. The IEA survey instrument whose results are reported here asked for a rating of trust in "people who live in this country" (so that it could be administered as one of a list of written questions in the IEA survey with other trust questions). Nevertheless, the low interpersonal trust among 14-year-olds in the U.S. is striking.

In summary, students in the United States stand out from the other countries in that delegated or distant authority is trusted more than more proximal authority. In Chile and Colombia, schools and the Church are by far the most trusted, and there is evidence of relatively strong social networks with people in general as well. In Bulgaria there is a similar pattern (though not as pronounced).

Trust in national political institutions and

trust in institutions whose representatives are contacted on a daily basis are conceptually distinct and show distinct national patterns. Students in Bulgaria, Chile, and Colombia were less likely than those in the United States to trust national and institutionalized groups and more likely to trust the institutions in which they participate regularly, such as the school, as well as the people in the country – institutions with a human face. Schools may have a special niche as trusted locale in which preparation for citizenship can take place even when national institutions are unstable.

THE NATURE OF TRUST

WITHIN-COUNTRY CORRELATES AND PREDICTORS

Before proceeding to the major analysis—the relation of trust to engagement—it is useful to examine some of the zero-correlations and regression (predictor) analysis to look at associations between different kinds of trust and between trust and aspects of experiences in the school and in organizations or associational life. This examination has two functions – to explicate the nature of trust (understanding its connotations for adolescents and the context in which it develops) and also to identify a set of relatively independent predictors for use in the regression models (making decisions about analysis).

Tables 2A and 2B present the zero-order correlations for the United States and Colombia. In most cases the correlational patterns are very similar in the United States and England and in Colombia and Bulgaria. Chile sometimes resembles the United States and sometimes Colombia.

Correlations at the individual level within the countries are reasonably high between the three aspects of institutional trust, school trust and generalized interpersonal trust. According to Tables 2A and 2B, trust in institutions and trust in schools are highly positively correlated with two measures of civic-education practices in the school—the existence of an open climate for classroom discussion and the extent to which students believe that their school as a whole fosters students' voice and participation in school affairs. The correlations for institutional trust are quite substantial in the United States—.255 for classroom climate and .245 for school climate. These two aspects of school that might serve as predictors are also highly correlated with each other (.315). [3] Given this high correlation there are two possibilities: adding the two measures together or choosing to use only one for the regression analysis. It was decided to use only Confidence in Participation at School (leaving Open Classroom Climate for Discusssion for future exploration).

Substantively it is of interest to note from Table 2 that there is little evidence that number of organizational memberships predicts trust in institutions (or, for that matter, that it predicts trust in schools or in other people). This corroborates the work of Stolle (2001) and Newton (2001).

Methodologically a problem similar to that previously noted exists for using both total number of associational memberships and a variable assessing the extent to which students learn about the community through volunteering and in school (since one of the components of this measure is membership in an organization conducting volunteer activity to benefit the community) in the regression models. Both the general association membership measure and the composite including membership in an organization could not be included, since their correlation with each other was so high (.363 in the United States). In the United States and Colombia (and several of the other countries) this Learning about Community composite was significantly correlated to trust, while the number of associational membership was not. So it was decided to include only learning about the community (which has volunteer organization membership as one of its components) in the regressions.

Now we move to the findings of the regression analysis predicting Trust in Government-related Institutions.[4] Table 3 shows relatively low R-squares for predicting trust, the highest in

[3] Including both would present a problem of multicolinearity in the regressions that is likely to make interpretation difficult.
[4] See Appendix B for specification of the variables included as outcomes and as predictors.

the United States at .108. (This is only slightly higher than the R-square reported by Niemi and Junn, 1998 for a government responsiveness item, and indicates that only about 1/10th of the differences between students can be attributed to differences in the variables included as predictors). This reinforces the notion that this type of trust varies between countries more than it varies in predictable ways within countries (at least among adolescents). It also suggests that there is something veridical about adolescents' assessments of the trustworthiness of their government, since it is the countries with less stable democracies where institutional trust is low. At the individual level in the United States, the extent to which students report having learned about voting and/or elections in school as well as the extent to which they express confidence that students in their school have a voice in the school are both associated with the extent to which they trust government institutions. A smaller but still a significant contribution is made by reading national and international news in the newspaper and by learning about the community (through volunteering and discussions in class). None of the other variables make a significant contribution to trust in the United States (not civic knowledge, discussing politics with parents, nor belonging to a religious organization). The extent to which the student feels personally efficacious (believing that they understand politics and are knowledgeable participants in discussions) is negatively related. The pattern of predictors looks relatively similar in England with the curriculum about voting or elections, school culture, newspaper and community learning variables important (though both the variance accounted for and the coefficients tend to be smaller than in the United States).

There was considerable similarity across all five countries in the relationship of learning about voting and of confidence in school participation *to* trust in institutions. The community learning composite (learning about community problems in school combined with volunteering) is a significant predictor of trust in government-related institutions only in England and the United States. Participation in a religious organization and discussions with parents are small but significant predictors in some countries (but not in the United States or England).

Knowledge of civic issues shows a very interesting pattern of association with trust. In the United States, Chile, and England those who are more knowledgeable are neither more nor less trusting of institutions than those with more knowledge (the coefficients are not statistically significant). In Colombia, 14-year-olds who are more knowledgeable have considerably less trust in institutions; it is the most substantial predictor in that country, but with a negative sign. A negative relationship also exists in Bulgaria. The more students know about politics and government the less they trust. Earlier we introduced the idea that a minimum or threshold level of trust may be essential for democratic socialization. In the case of Colombia and Bulgaria it appears that trust levels in 1999 had not yet reached that threshold, and that more knowledgeable students were aware of the lack of a reasonable foundation for trust in institutions such as the courts and the national parliament.

TRUST AND OTHER PREDICTORS OF EXPECTED ENGAGEMENT WITHIN COUNTRIES

A multidimensional analysis of engagement is called for. The three types of engagement are voting and obtaining information before voting (here called Informed Voting), writing a letter about a political issue and joining a political party (here called Conventional Political Participation"), and volunteering and collection for charity or a social cause (here called Community Participation). Each is a two-item composite.

The predictors were chosen based on factors identified by other researchers as important, including reading political news in newspapers and a learning about the community in school and through volunteering (a composite meant to capture "service learning."). Another factor in the choice of predictors was the exploratory analysis presented in a previous section to examine potential multicolinearity that might result from the use of correlated predictors (see

Tables 2A and B as well as Appendix B). The IRT scale for Trust in Political Institutions was chosen as a predictor rather than a more narrowly focused composite because of the advantages of using an IRT scale.[5] The contribution of each predictor is held constant when examining the effect of each of the others.[6] Standardized regression coefficients are presented in Tables 4-6 and also presented (for comparison across types of engagement) in three bar graphs for the United States (Figures 10A-C).

PREDICTORS OF THE EXPECTATION OF INFORMED VOTING

Other research (as well as theory) suggests that voting and getting information about candidates is a minimal type of participation that is seen as a fulfilling a kind of civic duty and not as requiring strong political motivation. As Table 4 shows, the R-squares for predicting expectations of informed voting are substantial. The value of .319 in the United States, indicates that nearly a third of the between individual variance in the expected likelihood of voting and getting information about candidates is associated with the set of nine predictors used in this analysis. To answer our major question first, in all of these countries Trust in Government Institutions is significant as a positive predictor of informed voting (though not among the top predictors, ranking as third most important in Chile and fourth or lower in the United States, Bulgaria, England, and Colombia) (Table 4 and Figure 10A). Trust may play a different role in Colombia because the government does not meet the threshold level of trustworthiness.

Civic knowledge and students' reports of learning about the importance of voting in school are among the top three most important predictors of informed voting in all five countries. Voting appears to be a responsibility of citizenship that is taught in school and influenced by curriculum. The other predictors are somewhat more variable in the different countries. In the United States discussing politics with parents is very important. In the United States, Chile and Bulgaria trust in institutions has a considerable role (as indicated above). The experience of school participation and confidence in its value (a sense of school efficacy) is an important predictor of informed voting in Bulgaria, England and the United States (but less, although still significant in Chile and Colombia). Reading the newspaper is a significant predictor in all five countries. Other predictors are significant only in one or two countries -- belonging to a religious organization and learning about the community in school or through volunteering in Chile and the United States; internal political efficacy (a sense that one understands politics) in Bulgaria and Colombia.

PREDICTORS OF THE EXPECTATION OF CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There is a considerable contrast in the predictors when the type of participation is more active and more conflictual than voting. Conventional Political Participation involves writing a letter on a political issue and joining a political party. The predictors are quite different from those considered in the previous section for informed voting, as shown in Table 5 (and Figure 10B). Trust in Government Institutions is a predictor of modest size (though significant) in all the countries. The most important predictors are not school-related (as they were for informed voting). In every country except Colombia, discussing politics with parents is either the most important predictor or the second most important predictor of this more conflictual and active type of expected participation. A sense of internal political efficacy (belief in one's competence in understanding and discussing politics) is also important (the most important predictor in the United States). Learning about the importance of elections and voting in school is a significant predictor across countries. The United States and England are the only countries in which learning about the community in school and through volunteering is a significant predictor. Civic Knowledge is the sixth most important predictor of Conventional Political Participation in the United States, is

[5] "The police" is the only item in the IRT Trust scale that is not clearly "delegated authority." However, the analyses used to develop the scale clearly showed this question clustering with national parliament, national government, courts, and local government.

[6] A probability level of .01 was used because with such large N's the .05 level is likely to be misleading.

negatively related in Chile and Colombia, and is not significantly related in either a negative or positive direction in Bulgaria and England. Confidence in the value of school participation is non significant or slightly negative.

In contrast to voting, this more active type of conventional political participation is less connected with school experience and more connected with parents and the internal characteristic of explicitly political efficacy. Comparing Figure 10A with 10B shows how different the predictors of informed voting and more active types of conventional political participation are in the United States.

PREDICTORS OF THE EXPECTATION OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The third engagement variable is the expectation of volunteering or collecting for a social cause or charity (Table 6 and Figure 10C). Here, as in conventional political participation, Trust in Government Institutions is a small but significant predictor across countries. In all countries, reading the newspaper and having experiences that promote confidence in the value of school participation are among the most important predictors. The experience of learning about the community, both in school and by volunteering, also shows a significant relationship to the expectation of future volunteering and charitable activities in all countries (and especially in England and the United States). Discussion with parents is also a predictor across countries (of substantial size in England and the United States). In several countries including the United States there is a small but significant relationship for learning about voting in school. Religious membership is significant in all the countries. Civic knowledge is not significantly related to the likelihood of future community participation (volunteering and collecting for charity or a social cause) in the United States, Bulgaria or England and is negatively related in Chile and Colombia.

SUMMARY

More trusting students are somewhat more likely to expect to be participant in all three types of civic and political activities. In none of these countries for none of these actions is trust the most or second most important correlate, however. In none of these countries are any of these coefficients negative (as one might expect if the less trusting were more likely to participate in efforts to influence governmental actions).

Families are clearly vital to the socialization process. Political discussion with parents, like trust, crosses types of participation in its importance across countries. Newspaper reading is significant as a predictor of volunteering (suggesting this source for community-related information).

Civic knowledge is very important as a predictor of the likelihood of informed voting, and a very modest predictor of other types of conventional participation (less important than discussion with parents, for example). Knowledge is not positively related to the likelihood of community participation (volunteering/ collecting for charity) in any country. In some countries more knowledgeable students estimate that they will participate less in these civic activities in the community.

The predictor variable that was constructed to assess the experience of ”service learning” (volunteering and learning about community problems in school, called Learning about Community) was a modest but significant positive predictor of the expectation of informed voting in the United States and Chile, of the likelihood of conventional political participation going beyond voting in England and the United States, and of the likelihood of volunteer and collecting for charity in all the countries (but especially in the United States).

Religious organization membership was important as a correlate of informed voting only in the United States and was quite an important predictor of volunteering/charity in Colombia. In the other countries volunteering does not seem to be primarily motivated by religious membership.

AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF GROUPS DIFFERING IN TRUST LEVELS IN THE UNITED STATES

In order to explore the possibility that different types of experiences are important for enhancing participation among students who are relatively trusting and those who are less trusting (the threshold hypothesis), separate regressions were run in the United States for the group of students below the median in Institutional Trust (below 10.38) and the group above the median.

Generally, the predictors for the three types of participation are similar for students high and those low in trust. In predicting informed voting, civic knowledge, discussion with parents and learning about voting at school are still the most important predictors for both groups. There are, however, a few intriguing differences. Religious organizational membership is a strong predictor for the high trust group and somewhat less strong (though still significant) for the low trust group.

The most intriguing difference between the prediction patterns for students who are high and low in trust is for participation in learning about the community in school and through volunteering. This "service learning" experience is a significant predictor of all three types of civic participation for the high trust group but not for the low trust group. Perhaps a threshold level of trust serves as a foundation for effective community participation, or students who have at least a moderate level of trust may become more fully engaged in service experiences. More analysis and targeted research is necessary, however, before suggesting implications for practice from this finding.

DISCUSSION

Trust delegated to political institutions is easier to build in durable and stable democracies than in newly established or unstable ones. This is true of the data analyzed here for 14-year-olds (Torney-Purta, et al., 2001) and for adults (Inglehart, 1997). But what function does trust serve for adolescents? It appears that trust in governmental institutions is a foundation on which participation can be built. Young people in a stable democracy have enough institutional trust to believe that their participation will not to be a waste of their time (or potentially dangerous), even if they do not possess much sense of efficacy. In other words, there may be a threshold level of trust that is necessary for students to think of themselves as civic or political participants. It does not seem that lack of trust, at least among fourteen-year-olds is a motivation to get involved to change things through voting or to undertake more active types of participation.

If we look at countries where this threshold level of trust does not characterize the majority of students (new or unstable democracies), it is instructive that in countries such as Colombia or Bulgaria only those with relatively little civic knowledge trust government. This is not the case in more stable democracies like England and the United States. The whole idea of delegating authority to institutions that are intended to represent citizens' interests is a difficult one for some students to understand (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004). In a country without stable or trustworthy institutions this may be particularly problematic. Although we have explored this as a country-level phenomenon, Bynner & Ashford (1994) and France (1998) argue that certain high poverty-neighborhoods in England could be characterized as lacking in trustworthy institutions much as new or unstable democracies are.

Countries (or perhaps areas of countries) where basic political institutions such as the courts or police fail to protect individual rights create a difficult situation to implement the type of teaching that might lead students to trust, to learn and to engage. The stated curriculum may extol democracy and justice, but teachers may feel themselves under threat if their teaching leads students toward participation.

Both conceptually and in planning research there are many reasons for keeping trust in schools separate from trust in more distant governmental institutions. Although students in the United States

appear ready to trust legislators or the courts, they do not have as much trust in schools (or other people) as do students in Latin America, for example.

The analyses indicate that there are multiple modes of engaged citizenship resulting from the political socialization process inside and outside school. Trust in government is a significant but modest positive predictor of all three types of engagement (strongest for informed voting). However, in other ways the responsibility to vote (and get information about voting) is clearly different from more explicitly political activities such as joining a political party and writing letters about political issues, and it is also different from volunteering or charitable work in the community. The message of the regression analyses is that different types of civic engagement are likely to be fostered by different types of school-related and out-of-school experience. Among 14-year-olds the intent to be an informed voter seems primarily to be a product of school curricular emphasis and civic knowledge. Intent to become a member of a party and someone who takes positions on political issues appears to be primarily the product of experience at home and a sense of efficacy in understanding the topics on which parties take positions. Intent to volunteer time or collect money in order to help people in the community seems to have roots both outside and inside the school (at least to the extent that students get a sense of confidence from their own school activities and study community problems in conjunction with volunteering). The impact of religious organizations varies considerably across countries.

School practices, such as explicit teaching about political institutions and community problems, play a role both in building trust and in promoting engagement. By teaching knowledge, emphasizing civic topics in the curriculum, and ensuring a participatory culture schools can make a difference in preparing students for civic and political engagement. Some of those actions also promote trust. A positive role for service learning (in the form of voluntary activities in the community combined with teaching about community problems in schools), is also indicated. Newspaper reading is also a valuable activity that schools can encourage.

Our conclusion that the political socialization process takes place both inside and outside schools is consistent with the approach of sociocultural theory. As Wenger (1998) has noted, the notion of „legitimate peripheral participation" suggests that students who participate in organizations that are similar to adult organizations may develop nascent skills to join an adult community of civic and political practice. However, belonging to many organizations in itself seems to have little effect on trust. Adolescents may need explicit guidance in ways to connect current organizational participation with future adult activity, especially political activity.

It may also take a certain quality of teaching for this process to be effective. Further analysis should probe the extent to which an open classroom climate for discussion is a central factor here. Whether one uses the term culture, ethos, atmosphere, environment or climate as a way of describing schools, it is clear that this has become an important focus of researchers (Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2000). The analysis reported here confirms its importance, matching the views of many educators about the importance of the democratic climate of the school as a whole, usually emphasizing students holding power over decisions within the school structure As Freiburg and Stein (1999) conclude, „climate is a real factor in the lives of learners and…it is measurable, malleable and material to those who work in schools" (p. 17).

In conclusion, trust is not a fuzzy emotion loosely connected to periodic bursts of political activity. It is a core aspect of civic-relatedness that underlies political participation and civic engagement. Trust is not so much the product of the amount of associational or organizational experience as it is the floor or foundation on which productive membership can be based, as well as a part of the network of norms and beliefs that contributes to democratic governments' legitimacy. A threshold level of trust allows individual citizens to explore, experiment and innovate in their political and civic participation. A certain level of trust in governmental institutions makes a place in

a young person's developing identity for political participation, for a sense of civic responsibility, and for a sense of political efficacy. In conclusion, trust is important in a positive sense for engagement, but its relationship is complex and it is far from the only relevant aspect of schooling or society for adolescents.

TABLE 1 NUMBER OF STUDENTS TESTED AND OF SCHOOLS WHERE TESTING TOOK PLACE

	Number of Students	Number of Schools
Bulgaria	2884	148
Chile	5688	180
Colombia	4926	144
England	3043	128
United States	2811	124

Source: Torney-Purta et al. (2001).

TABLE 2A CORRELATES OF TRUST AND CLASSROOM CLIMATE IN COLOMBIA

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Trust in Institutions (IRT)	.236	.316	.135	.096	.123	n.s.
2. Trust in Schools		.252	.182	.179	.128	.055
3. Trust in People in the Country			.081	.062	.058	n.s.
4. Confidence in School Partic. (IRT)				.302	.161	.057
5. Open Class Discussion (IRT)					.140	n.s.
6. Learning about the Community (in school and volunteer org.)						.256
7. Number of Association Memberships						

Note: All correlations significant at $p < .01$.

n.s. Not Significant.

TABLE 2B CORRELATES OF TRUST AND CLASSROOM CLIMATE IN THE UNITED STATES

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Trust in Institutions (IRT)	.479	.236	.245	.255	.196	n.s.
2. Trust in Schools		.224	.218	.227	.170	.060
3. Trust in People in the Country			n.s.	.074	n.s.	n.s.
4. Confidence in School Partic. (IRT)				.315	.278	.107
5. Open Class Discussion (IRT)					.217	.078
6. Learning about the Community (in school and volunteer org.)						.363
7. Number of Association Memberships						

Note: All correlations significant at $p < .01$.
n.s. Not Significant.

TABLE 3 STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR INSTITUTIONAL TRUST IRT SCALE

	Bulgaria	Chile	Colombia	England	United States
R^2	.050	.071	.054	.079	.108
Learned voting/ elections in school	.144	.150	.064	.179	.165
Confidence in value/ school participation	.084	.080	.091	.120	.165
Read newspaper often	n.s.	.080	.057	.073	.081
Civic Knowledge IRT	-.052	n.s.	-.138	n.s.	n.s.
Discuss politics with parents	.079	n.s.	.070	n.s.	n.s.
Internal political efficacy	n.s.	.067	.054	n.s.	-.071
Learn about community (in school & volunteer)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.044	.074
Religious organization membership	n.s.	.051	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Note: All coefficients significant at $p < .01$.
n.s. Not Significant.

TABLE 4 STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR INFORMED VOTING

	Bulgaria	Chile	Colombia	England	United States
R^2	.203	.211	.182	.280	.319
Institutional trust IRT	.117	.109	.041	.092	.111
Learned voting/ elections in school	n.s.	.252	.142	.124	.140
Confidence in value/ school participation	.156	.055	.101	.178	.125
Read newspaper often	.145	.109	.128	.145	.063
Civic Knowledge IRT	.180	.181	.237	.245	.242
Discuss politics with parents	.112	.069	.115	.115	.165
Internal political efficacy	.083	n.s.	.045	n.s.	n.s.
Learn about community (in school & volunteer)	n.s.	.048	n.s.	n.s.	.082
Religious organization membership	n.s.	.037	n.s.	n.s.	.109

Note: All coefficients significant at $p < .01$.
n.s. Not Significant.

TABLE 5 STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

	Bulgaria	Chile	Colombia	England	United States
R^2	.144	.165	.162	.221	.288
Institutional trust IRT	.095	.094	.125	.091	.065
Learned voting/ elections in school	.161	.107	.116	.116	.101
Confidence in value/ school participation	-.109	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Read newspaper often	n.s.	.145	.137	n.s.	.076
Civic Knowledge IRT	n.s.	-.047	-.110	n.s.	.064
Discuss politics with parents	.166	.165	.095	.239	.201
Internal political efficacy	.150	.139	.153	.178	.249
Learn about community (in school & volunteer)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.054	.108
Religious organization membership	.061	n.s.	.056	n.s.	n.s.

Note: All coefficients significant at $p < .01$.
n.s. Not Significant.

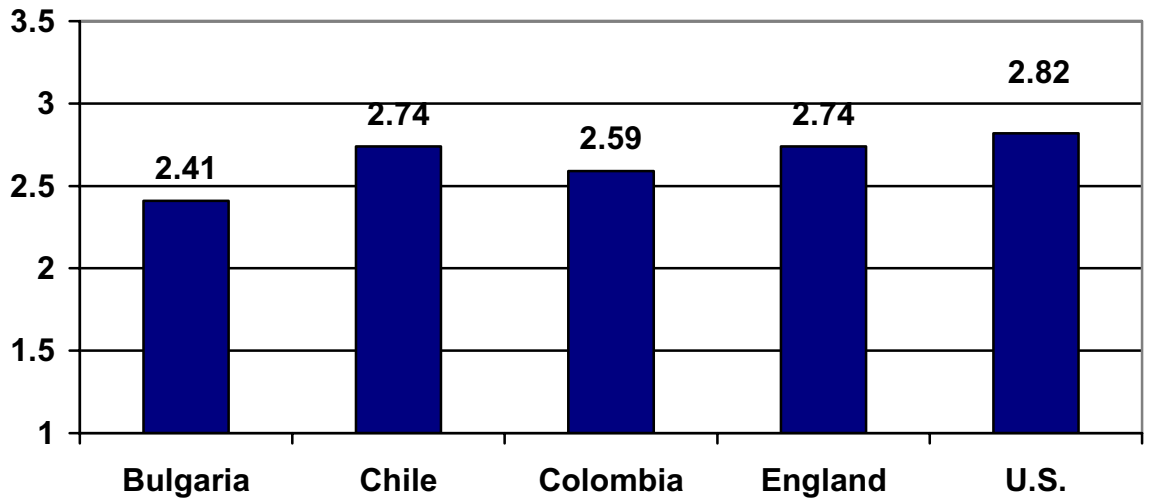
TABLE 6 STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

	Bulgaria	Chile	Colombia	England	United States
R^2	.090	.117	.162	.180	.206
Institutional trust IRT	.062	.041	.048	.072	.058
Learned voting/ elections in school	.105	.095	.110	n.s.	.070
Confidence in value/ school participation	.116	.159	.142	.172	.166
Read newspaper often	.136	.129	.123	.144	.196
Civic Knowledge IRT	n.s.	-.216	-.130	n.s.	n.s.
Discuss politics with parents	.089	.048	.084	.160	.113
Internal political efficacy	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Learn about community (in school & volunteer)	.061	.064	.065	.121	.136
Religious organization membership	n.s.	.059	.143	.094	.078

Note: All coefficients significant at $p < .01$.
n.s. Not Significant.

Figure 1

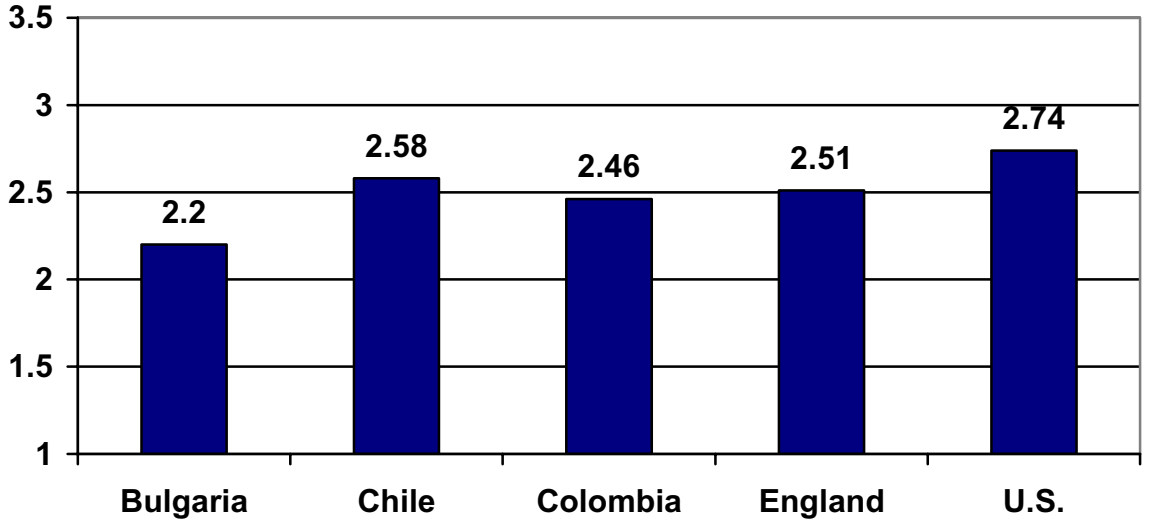
Mean Trust in the Courts by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 2

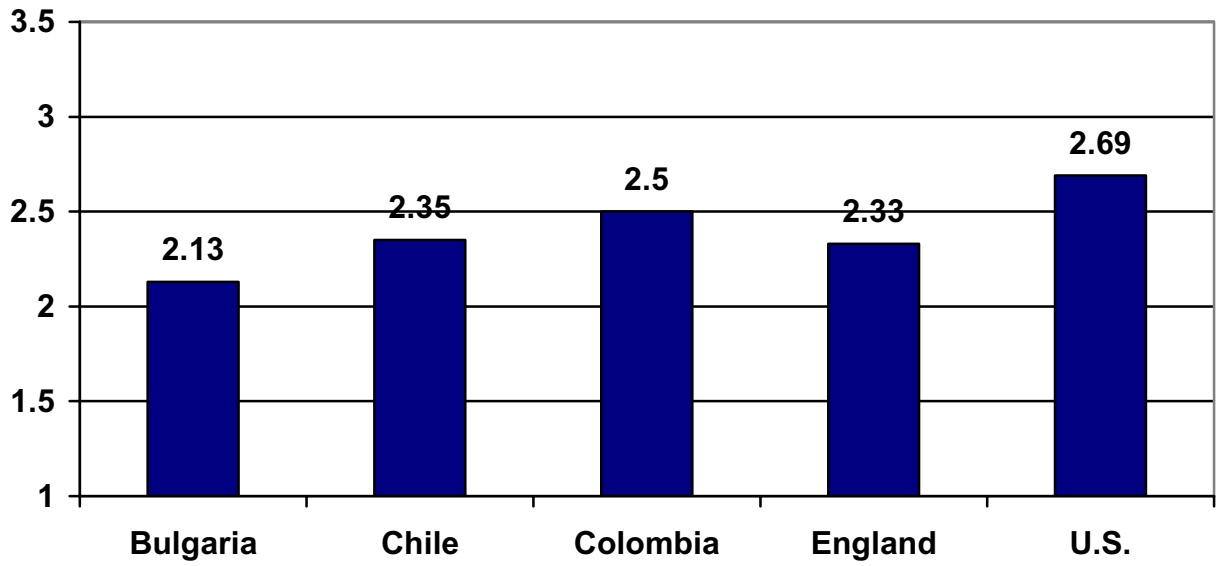
Mean Trust in the National Parliament by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 3

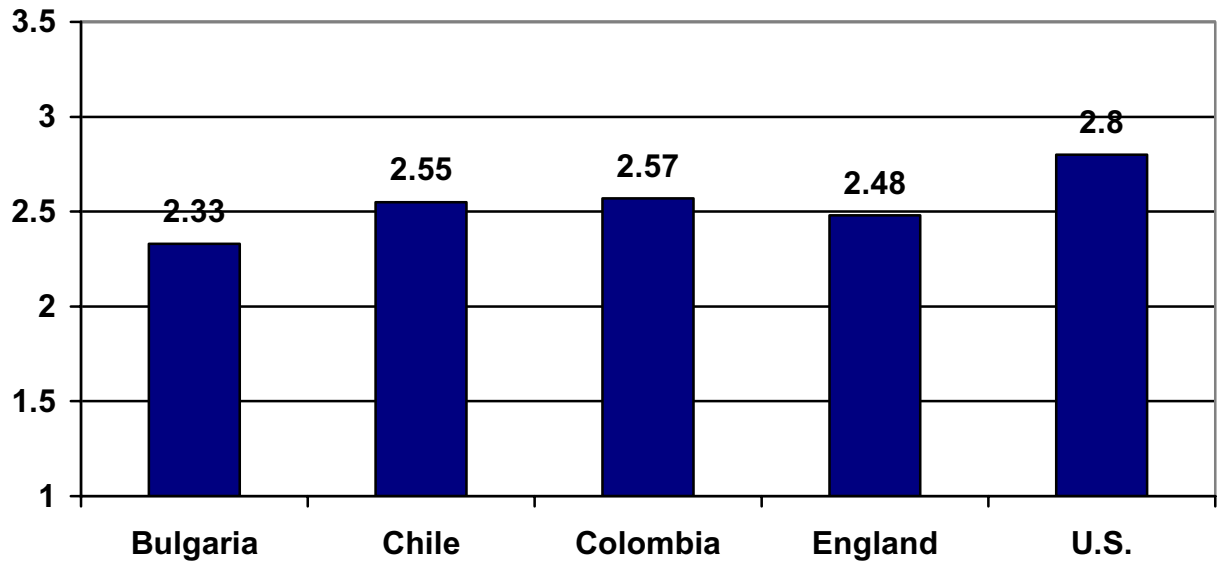
Mean Trust in the National Government by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 4

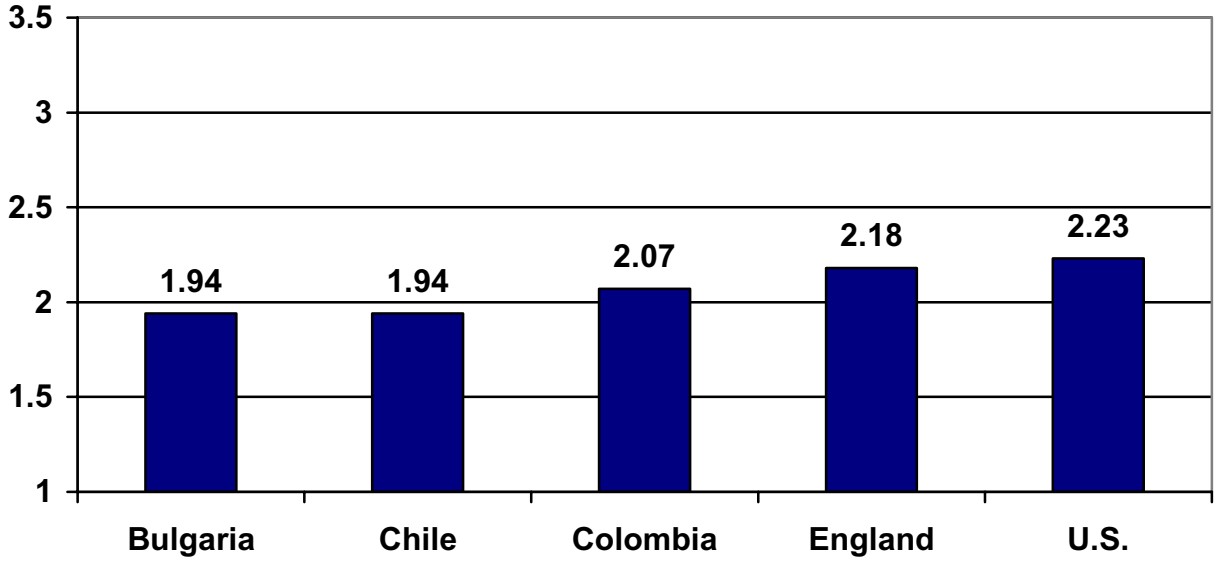
Mean Trust in the Local Government by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 5

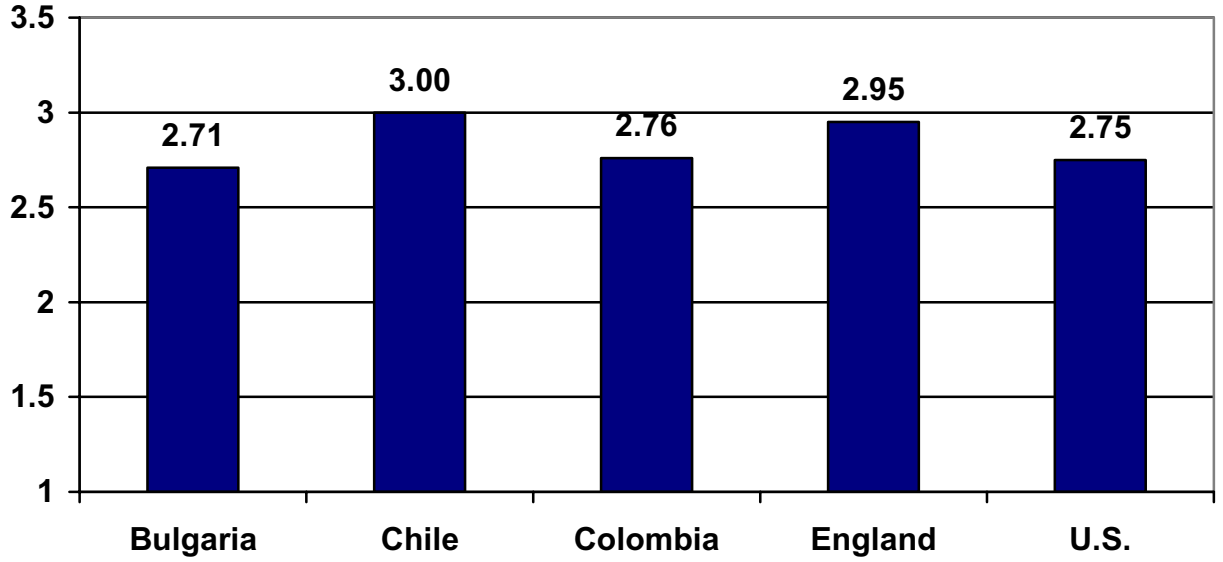
Mean Trust in Political Parties by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 6

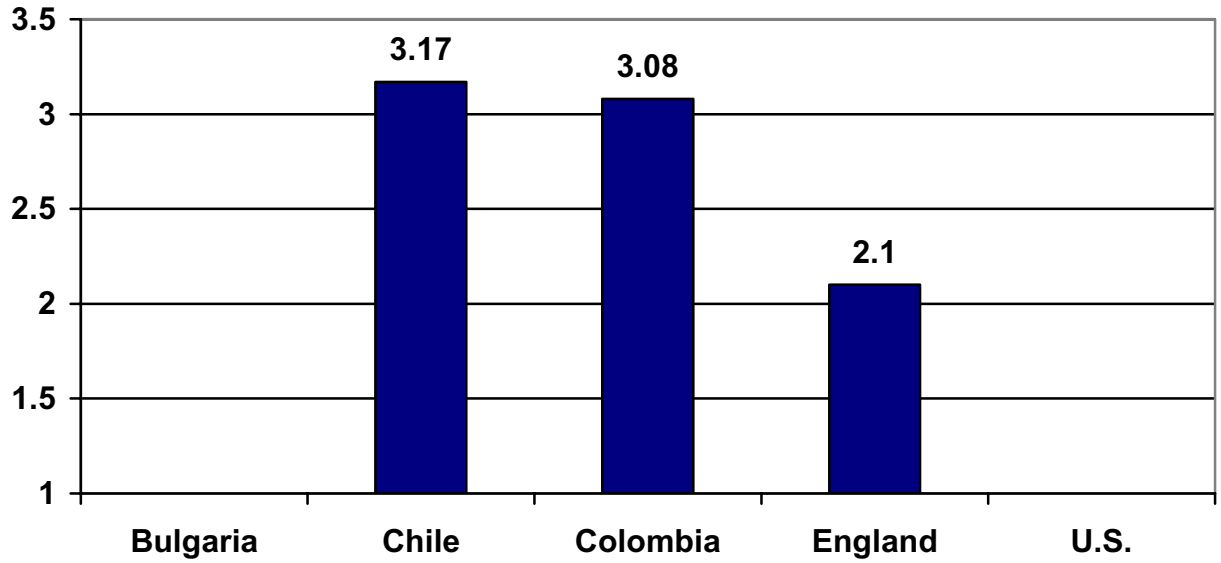
Mean Trust in the Police by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 7

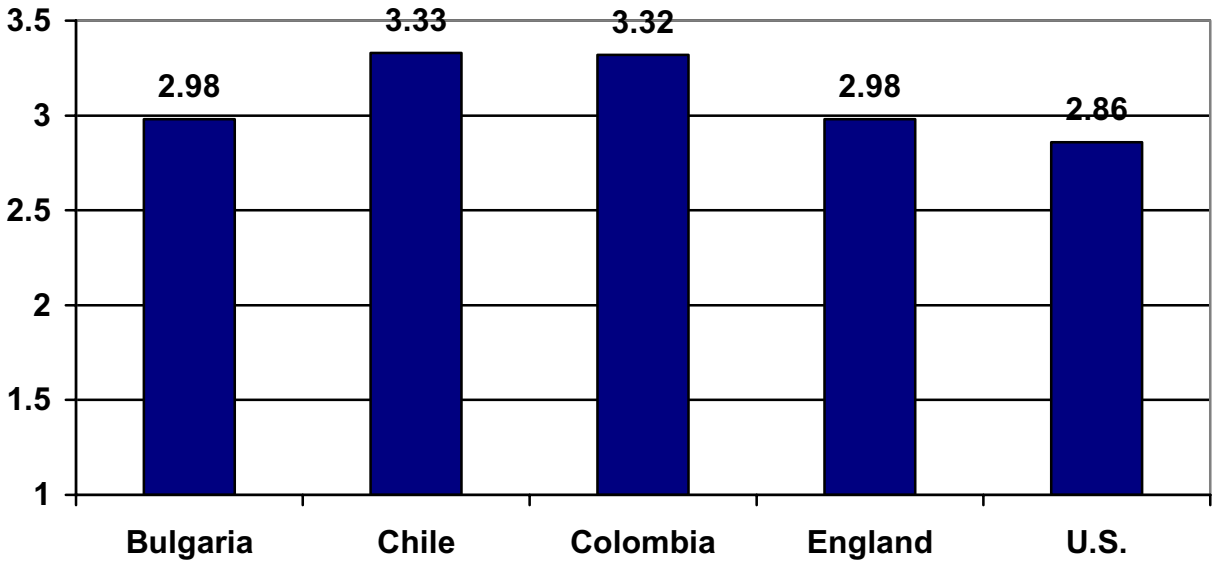
Mean Trust in the Church by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust." Absent bars indicate that the item was not administered in the country.

Figure 8

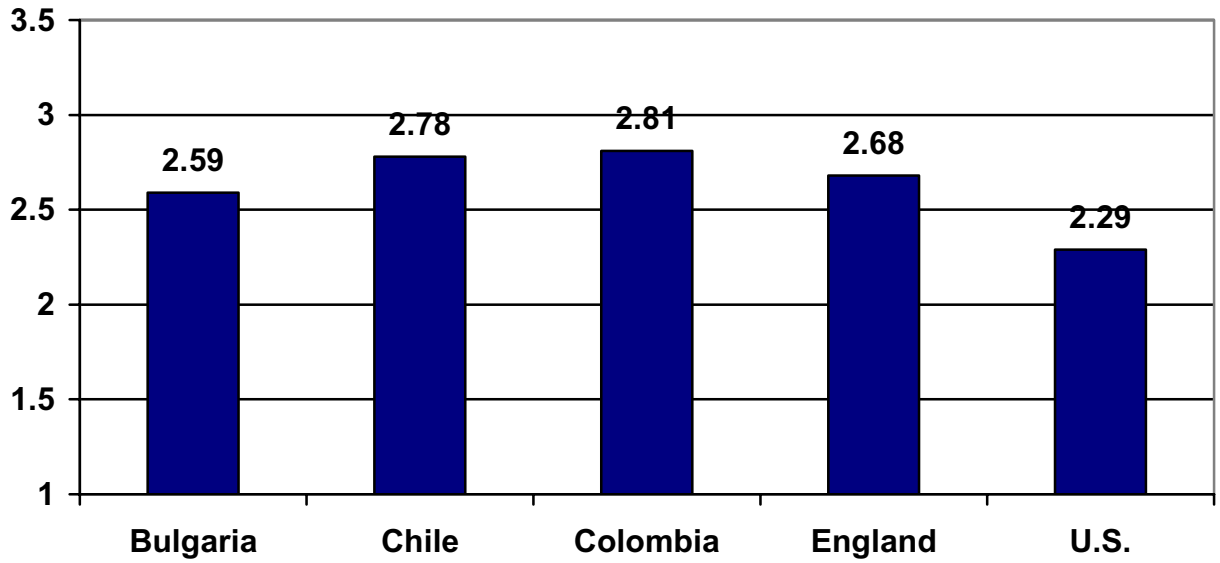
Mean Trust in Schools by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 9

Mean Trust in People in this Country by Country



Note: Means are based on a 4-point scale with 4 = "always trust" and 1 = "never trust."

Figure 10A: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Expected Informed Voting Composite in the United States

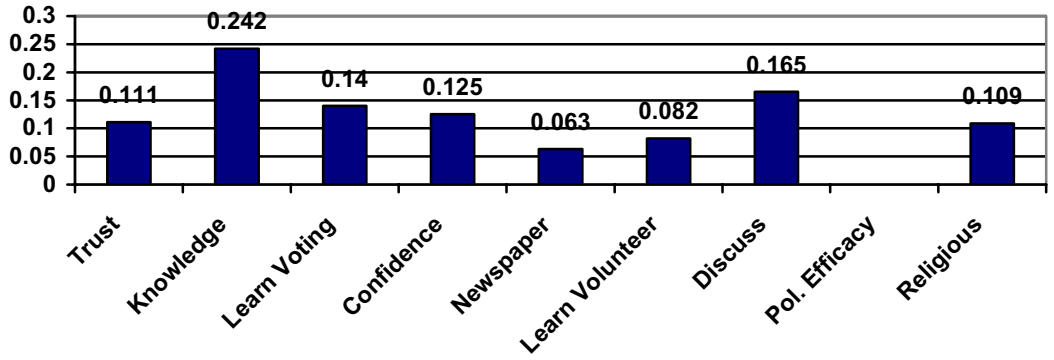


Figure 10B: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Expected Conventional Political Participation Composite in the United States

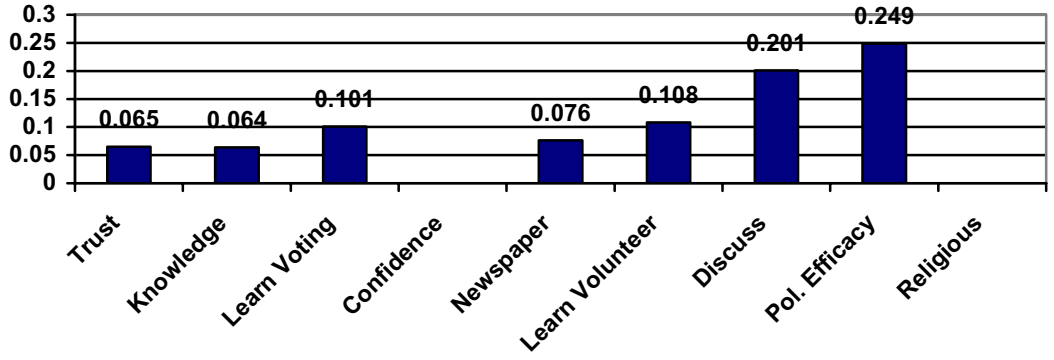
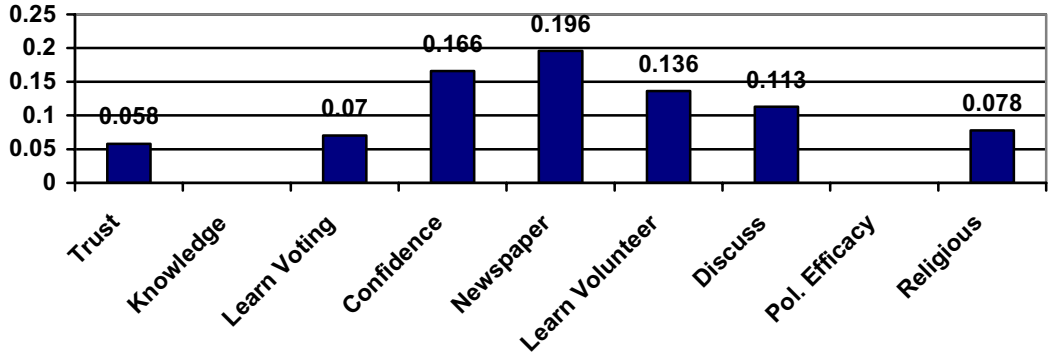


Figure 10C: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Expected Volunteering and Collecting/Charity (Composite) in the United States



Note: See Tables and Appendix for description of predictors. Absent bar indicates that regression coefficient was not statistically significant ($p > .01$).

APPENDIX A: ANALYSES, PAPERS (PUBLICATIONS) AND REPORTS IN WHICH TRUST WAS EXPLORED

Throughout the period of the grant from CIRCLE and in the months immediately following its conclusion we conducted analysis to explore trust as a predictor and an outcome of civic education, and we made several presentations of analysis in which trust variables were featured. These included

- a paper at the September 2002 American Political Science Association (which explored various types of association membership as well as other predictors of civic education; it has been revised and will be published in 2004 in an edited book published by Palgrave), [Australia, England, Greece, Norway and the United States]

- a paper presented at a Rutgers University conference held in October 2002 (which explored norms of participation and trust; it has been revised and will be published in 2004 in an edited book to be published by Erlbaum), [Chile, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Switzerland, and the United States]

- a paper in the April 2003 PS: Political Science and Politics (which explored differences in trust between 14-year-olds and 17-19 year-olds), [Chile, Czech Republic, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden]

- a paper delivered at a September 2003 conference at Washington University on civic service (which included trust as an outcome and which is scheduled to be published in a conference volume), [Chile, Denmark, England, and the United States]

- a paper delivered at the International Civic Education Conference in New Orleans in November 2003 including material analyzing a data-base of all 28 country averages with special emphasis on trust,

- a chapter on trust in a report entitled Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education: An Empirical Analysis Highlighting the View of Students and Teachers, to be published in April 2004 by the Organization of American States (Washington, D.C.) [Chile, Colombia, Portugal, and the United States]

Co-authors for these papers include two recent Ph.D.'s, Jo-Ann Amadeo and Wendy Richardson. In addition doctoral students Celeste Lay, Jeff Greene and Carolyn Henry Barber also contributed to these analyses.

These analyses contributed to our understanding of the nature of political trust and were instrumental in deciding which variables to use as predictors and outcomes in the regression analyses included here, which countries to use, and how to interpret the analysis.

APPENDIX B: SCALES AND ITEMS USED IN THE ANALYSIS

Outcome Variables

- *Trust in Governmental Institutions (IRT Scale of six items)*

How much of the time can you trust each of the following institutions?

The national government
The local council or government of your town or city
Courts
The police
Political parties
Congress/National Parliament

1 = never 2 = only some of the time 3 = most of the time 4 = always 0 = don't know

- *Informed Voting*

When you are an adult, what do you expect that you will do?

1 = I will certainly not do this, 2 = I will probably not do this, 3 = I will probably do this, 4 = I will certainly do this, 0 = don't know

Vote in national elections.
Get information about candidates before voting in an election.

- *Conventional Political Participation*

When you are an adult, what do you expect that you will do?

Join a political party.
Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns.

- *Volunteering and Collecting for a Charity*

When you are an adult, what do you expect that you will do?

Volunteer time to help people in the community.
Collect money for a social cause.

Predictor Variables

- *Learning about Voting*

In school I have learned about the importance of voting in national and local elections…

Response: 0 = don't know, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree

- *Confidence in Participation at School (IRT Scale of four items)*

An important aspect of school culture is whether respondents believe that students in their school can get together to effect change or solve problems. The IRT scale was called Confidence in Participation at School and is similar to a school efficacy measure.

1. Electing student representatives to suggest changes in how the school is run makes schools better.
2. Lots of positive changes happen in this school when students work together.
3. Organizing groups of students to state their opinions could help solve problems in this school.
4. Students acting together can have more influence on what happens in this school than students acting alone.

Response: 0 = don't know, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree

- *Reading Newspaper (average of two items)*
  How often do you…
  Read articles in the newpaper about what is happening in this country?
  Read articles in the newspaper about what is happening in other countries?
  Response: 1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 0 = don't know

- *Civic content knowledge and interpretive skills – an IRT scale based on 38 items.*

- *Discussion with Parents (average of two items)*

1. How often do you have discussions of what is happening in U.S. government?

…with parents or other adult family members.

2. How often do you have discussions of what is happening in international politics?

…with parents or other adult family members.

Response: 1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 0 = don't know

- *Internal Political Efficacy (average of three items)*

1. I know more about politics than most people my age.
2. When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say.
3. I am able to understand most political issues easily.

Response: 0 = don't know, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree

- *Learning about Community (in school and volunteering in organizations with community activities)*
  [score of 3 represents agreement with school item and answer of yes to volunteer item; score of 2 indicates agreement with only one of the two items; score of 1 indicates disagreement with school item and answer of no to volunteer item];

  In school I have learned to contribute to solving problems in the community….
  Response: 0 = don't know, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree

  Have you participated in the following organizations?
  A group conducting voluntary activities to help the community

- *Participation in a Religious Organization*
  Have you participated in the following organizations?
  An organization sponsored by a religious group
  Response 0 = no, 1 = yes

NOTE: *Trust in Government Institutions* was also used as a predictor for the three civic participation outcome variables.

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