ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: ADOLESCENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIETAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT IN 24 COUNTRIES

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Adolescents' attitudes toward government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being are examined in 24 countries grouped within welfare regime types. Adolescents' own sense of civic responsibility to participate in community service is also investigated. This study uses data from the IEA Civic Education Study (1999) in combination with macroeconomic indicator data employing descriptive statistics, multiple regression, and other techniques to compare results between regimes and countries. The adolescents surveyed in 1999 are now adult members of a millennial generation that is rising in political influence.

Adolescents demonstrate well-established attitudes that are consistent with those of adults in certain welfare regime contexts. Attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities are in the expected directions for regimes with a legacy of communism, which are above the international mean, as well as in the liberal regime,

which is below the international mean. Adolescents in the United States (a liberal regime ideal-type country) hold the least favorable attitudes toward government-provided economic support. In addition, adolescents' expectations of community participation are higher in the liberal and Southern Europe regimes.

Female students are more likely to believe in government provision for economic needs in liberal, Southern Europe, and post-communist Central Europe regimes. Notably, no significant gender differences are found in the social democratic regime, where women face fewer social protection risks. Female students are also much more likely than males to anticipate future volunteer community participation across regimes. Contrary to expectations, variables measuring social class have few significant or meaningful associations.

Volunteering has small negative effects with belief in government-provided economic support in most regimes, and small to moderate positive effects with adolescents' anticipated community engagement in all regimes. In addition, studying community problems has small positive effects with support for economy-related government responsibilities in several regimes (including liberal) and small to moderate positive effects in all regimes for anticipated community engagement. Finally, collective student efficacy and support for ethnic minority group opportunities have positive associations with beliefs that both governments and individuals are responsible for economic and societal needs.

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by

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Having a broad and deep level of civic and political engagement is necessary to ensure that a government is both responsive and responsible to its citizens' needs regardless of their social background differences (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). A high level of civic engagement is also important to maintain a healthy participatory democracy that is stable and legitimate over time, as well as one that is free of civic empowerment gaps (Levinson, 2012). Even in democratic societies that may tolerate a certain degree of inequality under capitalism, there is citizen expectation for equality of opportunity as well as for full civic representation, protection, and responsiveness from government institutions (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Kenworthy, 2011).

However, economic inequality, political polarization, and civic empowerment gaps can create challenges for both governments and individuals in regard to their responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. The past several decades have witnessed rising levels of income inequality in most advanced societies, particularly in liberal democracies such as the United States (Dallinger, 2010; Piketty, 2013). This results in negative outcomes for the education, health, mobility, and other life chances of low-income individuals throughout the life course (Duncan & Murnane, 2011). Some argue that a rational response to this increase in inequality would be to expect governments to step in through redistributive programs to fulfill unmet economic and societal needs. However, research reveals that citizens in nations with the highest levels of inequality (like the United States) are among those with the least support of government intervention to ensure that economic needs are met (Dallinger, 2010;

Oser & Hooghe, 2018). This situation is compounded by increasing levels of political polarization, which further erodes government responsiveness (Pew, 2014). For lower income citizens, rising inequality can also decrease their ability to fulfill their own economic needs, as well as those of their neighbors through volunteer and charitable contributions.

As the literature review in the next section shows, an individual's level of civic engagement and attitudes toward a government's responsibility for economic and societal well-being are related in complex ways. On the one hand, having an engaged citizenry is important to maintain a healthy participatory democracy and to prevent the formation of persistent social and political inequalities. Yet, civic engagement alone is not enough to meet the interdependent economic and societal needs of modern societies, particularly those with substantial class-based inequalities (Goldberg, 2001). In addition, liberal theorists beginning with de Tocqueville have long warned that too much government involvement in civil society to ensure economic and societal well-being can lead to civic complacency and dependency on government. To move past this dichotomy, social scientists such as T.H. Marshall have argued that active civic engagement can coexist with enhanced economic and social welfare provisions by government, and that this pattern represents a more complete and ideal form of democratic citizenship that is inclusive of civic, political, and social rights and responsibilities (Goldberg, 2001; Janoski, 1998; Marshall 1950).

Despite this vision of a progression to the three forms of citizenship, variations in civic engagement and attitudes toward governments' responsibilities are found within and between nations. At the country level, adults' views of the balance of government and

individual responsibilities for economic and societal well-being vary by welfare regime type, with liberal democracies, and the United States as a prototypical example, exhibiting a more individualistic orientation with less support for economy- and society-related responsibilities of government (Andreß & Heien 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2009; Linos & West, 2003; Oser & Hooghe, 2018; Svallfors, 1997, 2003, 2004). Lipset and Marks (2000) evoke the concept of American exceptionalism to describe the lack of socialist sentiment and working class power in the United States. In lieu of government-provided support, Americans instead focus on private solutions and philanthropic activities to address most economic and societal needs.

Patterns of civic engagement and attitudes toward economic and societal well-being begin to take shape by adolescence before deepening in complexity and stabilizing in subsequent years (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Hess & Torney, 1968; Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008). In part, civic attitudes and dispositions relate to how youth conceive of the social contract, or the balance of rights and obligations they hold as citizens. This includes the compromise that individuals make with a government to give up certain rights in return for economic stability, social safety net provisions, and other forms of security. In addition, adolescents' understanding of the social contract may differ based on the disparate social and educational opportunities and supports that are available to them (Flanagan, Ingram, Gallay, & Gallay, 1997; Flanagan, Lin, Luisi-Mills, Sambo, & Hu 2015; Flanagan, Kim, et al., 2014; Flanagan, Stout, & Gallay, 2008; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999).

A review of several decades of emerging research in civic education reveals that civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes are influenced by social and educational contexts

(Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2017). However, having a deeper understanding of how youth develop conceptual attitudes toward economic and societal wellbeing is largely an underexplored area in comparative, cross-national research. Studies of adults reveal that attitudes differ by welfare regime type, and this study will investigate the possibility that there are regime differences among adolescents. This study also explores the extent to which family background, learning opportunities, and other political attitudes are associated with adolescents' beliefs within 24 countries classified into 6 regime types.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation research is to conduct a cross-national examination of adolescents' attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities. In particular, this study investigates fourteen-year-olds' beliefs regarding governments' economic and societal responsibilities to those in need as well as adolescents' own sense of civic responsibility and expectations of community service. These attitudes relate to important aspects of the social contract, or the balance of rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship and community membership (Flanagan et al. 2015). Of particular interest is whether aspects of family background, schooling/service learning experiences, and country-level characteristics such as welfare regime type are associated with these attitudes. It is anticipated that the results will (1) further inform the research base on the development of political attitudes in youth, and (2) be useful to researchers and practitioners interested in raising the civic and social consciousness of youth.

Theoretical Orientation

This dissertation study is guided by two theoretical frameworks from sociology and human development that are used to explore cross-national differences in adolescents' attitudes toward economic and societal responsibilities. First, this study uses a comparative institutional approach to examine how adolescents' attitudes are culturally embedded and differ based on country-level social structures such as welfare regime type as well as macroeconomic indicators (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Hall & Lamont, 2013; Janoski, 2008; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Thelan, 2003). Second, this study utilizes a socio-ecological framework to explore the more proximal contexts within which adolescents develop. In particular, a developmental niche model is employed to examine how adolescent development is influenced by family factors and schooling/service learning experiences in addition to macro-level structures (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). These theoretical perspectives are further described in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Research Questions

Supported by the empirical and theoretical literature surveyed in the next chapter, the following is a summary of the main research questions that are addressed in this dissertation study using nationally representative samples of adolescents in 24 countries:

1. What welfare regime and cross-national differences exist in adolescents' attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities, and do these resemble patterns found in studies of adults? In particular, do adolescents in the liberal regime, and the United States as its prototype nation, exhibit low support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities?

2. To what extent do cross-national patterns exist in attitudes toward governments' economic responsibilities based on other macroeconomic indicators related to economic opportunity, risk, and protection?
3. Among adolescents, are demographic and family background factors associated with attitudes toward economy- and society-related government support, and do the strength of associations vary among different welfare regime types?
4. Do classroom and service learning experiences make a difference in adolescents' views of economy- and society-related government responsibilities? Is a sense of collective efficacy to enact positive changes at school related to these attitudes?
5. Are other political attitudes, such as protective nationalism, attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and trust in government institutions related to attitudes toward government support?
6. What are the similarities and differences between attitudes toward government responsibilities and an individual's own sense of responsibility for societal welfare as measured by expectations of volunteer community participation?

Data and Outcome Measures

To explore these research questions, this dissertation utilizes data of fourteen-year-olds in 24 countries who participated in the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) study in combination with macroeconomic indicator data. The adolescents surveyed in 1999 are now in their thirties and members of the millennial generation, who today, are demographically on the verge of surpassing baby boomers in both cohort size and potential political influence (Fry, 2018).

For most analyses, individual data is grouped within welfare regime types using an adapted classification based on Esping-Anderson (1990, 1999). For analyses using macroeconomic indicators, data is grouped within countries.

Three outcome measures related to governments' and individuals' responsibilities for economic and societal well-being are analyzed using descriptive statistics, multiple regression, and other comparative techniques. Each outcome from the archived dataset is a single scaled attitudinal variable developed from multiple item responses of similar questions types using Item Response Theory (IRT). The scaled outcome variable associated with economy-related government responsibilities includes component questions related to agreement that governments should provide individual economic protections (guaranteed employment, unemployment assistance, and income redistribution) and should also enact protectionist macroeconomic policies (controlling inflation and supporting industries). The scaled outcome variable associated with society-related government responsibilities measures agreement with items about government responsibilities for items beyond those that are economic in nature. These include items ranging from individuals' health and old-age protections to broader societal concerns related to public education, gender equality, environmental protection, and encouragement of pro-social behavior (Schulz, 2004a). The researchers constructing the IEA Civic Education Study modeled the question stems for these two sets of government support items on those used with adults in the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and the General Social Survey (GSS) (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Research utilizing adult data on these attitudinal items is referenced in the literature review section in the next chapter. Finally, the third scaled outcome measure

relates to an individual's anticipated involvement in community activities and includes questions concerning volunteer activity, fundraising, and issue canvassing (Husfeldt, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2005).

Patterns and associations with these outcome variables will be explored using individual, family, and classroom related variables in the CIVED dataset, along with supplemental macroeconomic indicator data. Chapter 3 provides more detail on the methods and data utilized is this study, and chapter 4 presents the results of data analyses. This dissertation ends with a discussion of findings in chapter 5, which among other things, show several differences in adolescents' support for government and individual responsibilities by welfare regime type. Other differences based on demographic, family background, learning environment, and political attitudes are further examined in the concluding chapter.

Significance of Study

This study provides a deeper understanding of the family, learning environment, and country level factors that contribute to the formation of adolescents' attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities—or the stewardship that governments and individuals have to ensure the economic and societal well-being of citizens.

This dissertation aims to make the following important contributions to the civic engagement and public opinion literatures: (1) a unique cross-national examination of how youth conceive of government and individual responsibilities for economic and societal well-being, and the extent to which these differ according to the welfare regime type in which the individual resides; and (2) the identification of the roles that gender,

family background, classroom/service learning experiences, and other political attitudes play in the development of these beliefs.

This dissertation employs a relatively unique, underutilized, and comprehensive data source (CIVED) that is designed to make a statistically sound cross-national study of adolescents' attitudes toward social rights possible. These attitudes and their contributing family socialization and educational factors are not well understood and remain underdeveloped areas of cross-national research. In addition, this study of adolescents will extend the welfare regime literature, which has largely been centered on adults. Finally, having a deeper understanding of these areas of study has the potential to provide insight into ways to improve civic and social consciousness of youth, and ultimately, to improve the ability of individuals and governments to address economic and other needs of society.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section provides an overview of the sociological and education literatures on citizenship and social rights, including the development of social and economic protections as an expansion of the concept of democratic citizenship. This review also includes an overview of the special roles that student background factors and civic education have in (1) fostering attitudes toward government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being; and (2) imparting the skills and dispositions to engage in effective civic and community-oriented participation.

Literature Review

The Ideal of Democracy and the Common Weal

An ideal of a democratic society in which all citizens are civically engaged is contemplated by Alexis de Tocqueville (1835/2001) in his nineteenth century observation of civic life in the newly-formed United States. In a historical case study, de Tocqueville set out to establish that the transition from aristocracy to democracy had the potential to lead to long-lasting stable political order and social cohesion. In his study, de Tocqueville differentiates between subjects and citizens, with citizens being more empowered and active in local civic affairs rather than passively dependent on the state for subsistence support. As important attributes to ensure a robust democracy, de Tocqueville advocates for voluntary involvement in civic associations, local governance, and universal education to teach the knowledge and skills necessary for active citizenship. Such attributes should be expected to promote the ideals of freedom and equality, building both patriotism and ownership in the common weal.

However, this democratic ideal did not fully take into account the need for social safety net provisions for vulnerable citizens, or the impact that the Industrial Revolution would later have on the social and political empowerment of lower class groups (Goldberg, 2001). (Although de Tocqueville did warn that if a new aristocracy was to form, it would emerge among the manufacturing classes, and singled out the emerging industrial working poor as an exception to the general prosperity seen in American democracy.) Habermas (1989) similarly reveals that unequal social and economic power accruing in industrialized capitalism led to increased state intervention to promote universal access and social safety net provisions. This recognized complexity in a transforming public sphere, where the lines between state and society blurred, especially as the state took on the role of taxation and social welfare.

This emphasis on having a vibrant civil society combined with social welfare protections is captured in the writings of sociologist T.H. Marshall. In a classic essay, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Marshall defines citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (Marshall, 1950/1992, p. 18). Although the boundaries of citizenship may vary from one society to the next, Marshall sees the full share of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship as generally composed of civil, political, and social rights components. Marshall outlines a general progression of the historical attainment of these forms of citizenship as an expansion of civil rights and freedoms in the eighteenth century, followed by political rights and expanding enfranchisement in the nineteenth, and social rights (including economic and social welfare entitlements) attained in the twentieth. Key provisions of social citizenship include the expansion of public education along with the development of a social safety

net through the expansion of social services. Marshall also believed that the ascendancy of social citizenship during the twentieth century could help to ameliorate economic inequalities and achieve a fairer balance of community and individual needs.

Addressing Marshall's expanded concept of ideal citizenship and building on de Tocqueville's work in identifying the institutions that would promote democracy, Goldberg (2001) outlines institutional forms that promote an expanded social welfare state while maintaining civic vibrancy. These include a balance of local civic associations (including unions) and universally available social welfare provisions aimed at securing individual autonomy as well as reducing societal risks. He believes that these were congruent with de Tocqueville's ideals while not leading to an overly centralized government authority.

Marshall also believed that although citizenship and capitalism may co-exist as somewhat conflicting forces, inequality can be lessened given increasing levels of the three forms of citizenship. Through the expansion of social citizenship protections (such as Elizabethan Poor Laws, factory codes legislation, and an expanding social welfare state), a guaranteed minimum subsistence can be established to address the worst aspects of poverty while still permitting the capitalist economic system to thrive. Finally, Marshall emphasizes that it is important to maintain the balance of market opportunities and social protections, with any imbalance addressed as a social justice issue.

Welfare Regime Types and Attitudes toward Economic and Societal Well-Being

Some scholars believe that the theoretical formulation of citizenship put forth by Marshall (a progression to a full welfare state that maintains civic, political, and social rights and responsibilities) became stuck at the third stage of the full attainment of social citizenship, with many Western nations restricting (rather than expanding) social welfare policies (Turner, 1990). Other researchers argue that distinct welfare regime differences have emerged in the twentieth century with different levels of support for social rights within them.

Welfare Regime Theory

Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) advances the regime differences approach using a historical/institutional lens for the study of social welfare and believes that western democratic nations generally fall into three welfare regime categories comprised of liberal, social democratic, and conservative types. These differences are based on whether social rights are: (1) provided by or gained through sources other than those of the open market (level of de-commodification); (2) based on social class divisions or are more universally applied (level of solidarity); and (3) available or not based on expected level of family provision (Esping-Anderson, 1990; Arts & Gelissen, 2002). A review of adult attitudes toward social rights (described in the next section) consistently shows regime differences in cross-sectional survey data from over a twenty-year period from 1992 through 2014. A consistent finding is the lower regard that citizens in the liberal regime, and the United States in particular, hold for government-provided economic and social benefits (Andreß & Heien 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2009; Linos & West, 2003; Oser & Hooghe, 2018; Svallfors, 1997, 2003, 2004).

In terms of social rights, liberal regimes are the most restrictive, with strong class divisions evident in a largely market-based approach to economic and social benefit provision. Government benefits are largely means-tested and available mostly to those with very low incomes. Higher income groups in the liberal regime also generally participate in market (and employer) based systems of social service provision, with women regularly engaged in the private labor market to gain access to and/or supplement individual and family benefits. Less tied to the private market, the conservative regime instead organizes social rights along status group and family lines. This is a reflection of a corporatist system of maintaining occupational/status group differences and the influence of Catholicism in many countries in promoting the primacy and centrality of families. Economic and social support is also not generally extended unless families (and individuals within them) are unable to provide for themselves. Finally, social democratic regime countries offer a universalistic approach to social rights that is based in government provision with guaranteed full employment of men and women (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 26–28; Arts & Gelissen, 2002, p. 141–142). Given the comprehensive nature of government-centered social rights in the social democratic regime, access to economic and social support is less dependent on the employment market or family formation (Dallinger, 2010; Linos & West, 2003; Orloff, 1993).

In subsequent debate and revision, Esping-Andersen's (1990) original "three worlds of welfare" (p.5) has been expanded to include other regime types. This includes a fourth welfare regime type encompassing Southern European and Mediterranean-bordering countries that are characterized by somewhat limited state involvement in social welfare activities, as well as a strong familial culture that sees the family as

primarily responsible for economic and social needs (Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Ferrera, 1996; Trifiletti, 1999).

Post-communist Central European and former Soviet countries form two additional regimes that share a historical legacy of a having a highly centralized and notably inefficient system of providing for economic and social needs. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the transitioning countries within these regimes struggled to meet social welfare demands as new governments were put in place, often reducing social benefits as they moved to welfare models more characteristic of conservative/corporatist and liberal regimes (Deacon, 2000). In a study of attitudes using 2008 European Social Survey (ESS) and 2006 ISSP data, Arikan and Bloom (2015) also find that embedded countries (such as post-communist nations) are more supportive of government responsibilities (pertaining to economic security, health, and family support items) than types of countries that are less collectively-focused.

Regime differences can also be observed regarding individual civic engagement. For example, Janoski (1998) shows relatively higher levels of voluntary association activity in liberal and social democratic regimes compared to the traditional (or conservative) regime. Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) also find that liberal and social democracies have higher levels of association activity than a group of transitioning post-communist countries.

In addition, Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) find that the level of association membership is negatively associated with a country's level of statism, or the degree to which a nation is rooted in authoritarian and bureaucratic control as opposed to having power centered in civil society. These authors also find a positive relation

between individual association membership and a nation's level of corporateness, or the degree to which societies are organized by functional status groupings. (However, the effect for corporateness is only significant for association membership types that include more traditional political, trade, and professional groups, and not newer social movement type groups). The two dimensions of statism and corporateness can be thought of in terms of typology. Along the statist dimension, liberal and social democratic countries are considered low-statist countries, while conservative regime countries as well as Southern European and post-communist nations generally rank high on the statist continuum. In addition, liberal and Southern Europe nations can also be further differentiated as anchoring the low end of the corporateness dimension. (Jepperson, 2002; Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Meyer, 1983, 1992; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001).

Finally, in a multilevel analysis of CIVED data, Pizmony-Levy (2007) examines support for and expected participation in social movement activities. Pizmony-Levy includes an adaptation of Esping-Andersen's classification of democracy regime type as a country-level characteristic for the 28 countries examined. He finds that adolescents in social democracies have a higher level of support for and expected participation in social movement activities than those in liberal democracies.

American Exceptionalism

Along with measuring regime and country differences, this dissertation also considers the comparative experience of the United States, which is often thought of as a prototypical liberal democracy (Arts & Gelissen, 2002). The term "American exceptionalism" is often used to describe the pattern of U.S. citizens being less inclined to believe in economy- and society-related responsibilities of government except in the

form of tax incentives and subsidies to individuals and employers (Lipset & Marks, 2000; Prasad, 2016). Lipset & Marks (2000) further describe why working class power did not coalesce in the United States, citing cultural and institutional reasons such as having a comparatively high level of economic opportunity/mobility (despite high inequality), low union support, a strong sense of individualist/anti-statist sentiment, and a high level of ethnic fractionalizaton that led to having a different foci (other than social class) for identity affiliation. Together, these led to a divergence in social spending and working class power in the United States compared to other countries, especially in the period following World War II.

Regime Differences in Adult Attitudes Toward Social Rights

A report of initial findings published by the CIVED study sponsoring organization (IEA) makes the observation that "with respect to concepts of government's responsibility for aspects of the society and the economy, 14-year-olds already appear to be members of the political culture that they share with adults" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p.90). The report authors note that country-mean differences of the economy-related government responsibilities scale broadly reflect economic and political characteristics of countries (e.g. free-market oriented countries like the United States score at the low end of comparative results and countries with a historical connection to socialism score high on this scale). This dissertation builds on the contours of these observations by situating the analysis using welfare regime theory, and explores how differences in youth attitudes differ based on welfare regime (described above). This dissertation also explores how attitudes of students measured in the CIVED study

compare to studies of adults' attitudes in different welfare regimes or regime prototype nations.

In studies of adult attitudes aggregated at the regime level, or at the county-level for studies of countries serving as welfare regime ideal-types, empirical results show that that there are regime mean differences in support for social rights. These studies utilize ISSP data as well as ESS data with matched U.S. survey data. Findings generally show that the liberal regime, and the United States as a prototypical liberal democracy, have low support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities.

In three cross-national studies of country cases representing "ideal" types using 1992 ISSP data, the United States (as the "ideal" case of the liberal regime) consistently ranks lowest among nations in adults' support of economic responsibilities of government using a "redistribution" scale of items that include: reducing wealth differences, guaranteed employment, and guaranteed basic income. Norway (as an ideal social liberal democracy) ranks highest in mean level of government support for economic well-being in two of these studies (Svallfors, 1997; Linos & West, 2003), and East Germany the highest in the third (Andreß & Heien, 2001). In two additional studies, the United States has lowest mean level support for economic redistribution among 23 nations surveyed in a study by Dallinger (2010) using 1999 ISSP data, and the United States has lower mean level support than the mean of European Union member countries in a study by Oser and Hooghe (2018) using 2012 ESS data supplemented with 2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES) data. Authors in both of these studies note the position of the United States as having high levels of inequality yet low support for redistribution. In a multi-level model study of fifteen countries grouped into

regime types and using 1999 ISSP data, Jaeger (2009) finds that support for redistribution is the lowest in the liberal regime and highest in the conservative regime. The author also examined variance in adults' level of support within regimes, finding that variance is highest in the social democratic regime, and the lowest in the liberal regime. Finally, in two studies using 1996 ISSP data that include other social service items (health, education, old age, and housing) in addition to economic redistribution items, the United States again ranks lowest in support for social welfare among nations, while Norway ranks the highest in one study, and Britain (which is sometimes considered a mixed case), the highest in the other (Svallfors, 2003, 2004).

Cross-National Differences Based on Other Macroeconomic Indicators

Macroeconomic variables have also been explored in the literature to explain attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities, either to provide descriptive background information or as an alternative regime-related variable to use in statistical models. These indicators measure level of economic and social opportunity as well as level of risk and protection available to a country's citizens. Types of indicators used include gross domestic product (economic development/wealth), unemployment rate, Gini Index (inequality), governments' social expenditure, and the United Nations' Gender Empowerment Measure. The methods section describes how these measures are incorporated in complementary descriptive analyses using countries as a unit of analysis in addition to the regression models using individual-level data that are grouped by regime type.

In a bivariate analysis, Dallinger (2010) finds a general negative association between mean support for income redistribution and level of GDP with ends of a

continuum anchored by a pattern of high support/low GDP among the post-communist countries, and a low support/high GDP pattern in the liberal regime countries of the United States and Canada, as well as the oil rich country of Norway. In a multi-level regression model, Dallinger also finds a significant negative association between support for redistribution and GDP. Together, these results illustrate the inverse relationship between level of economic development/wealth and support for governments' economic responsibilities to those in need.

In a scatterplot of mean support for redistribution and level of inequality (Gini Index), Dallinger shows a less distinct pattern, although a notable contrast is seen with the U.S. having a pattern of high inequality with low mean support for redistribution, while Russia has a very high level of inequality with high support for redistribution. Dallinger also finds a positive association between support for redistribution and a country's unemployment rate. Blekesaune (2007) similarly finds an inverse relationship between a nation's employment rate and attitudes toward income redistribution and governments' economic provision. In addition, while Jaeger (2006) finds a positive association between total public social expenditure (% GDP) and attitudes toward redistribution, Dallinger only finds this positive association after controlling for level of GDP.

Finally, in a study of 20 countries, Mair, Chen, Liu, and Brauer (2016) find that a higher level of gender empowerment is associated with less agreement with the belief that children have a duty to provide support for older adults. This study shows that in addition to macroeconomic factors, gender-related indices are also associated with attitudes toward certain social rights.

Within Regime (and Regime Prototype Nation) Differences in Adult Attitudes

While regime differences can be seen in terms of mean levels of support for government-provided economic and societal responsibilities, the literature paints a less clear picture as to whether there are within regime differences based on the influence of demographic and social background factors. This literature section provides an overview of theorized gender and social class differences and whether these anticipated differences are actually found in empirical studies of adults' attitudes.

Demographic and Family Background Factors

The literature provides several hypotheses regarding anticipated gender associations with economic and social responsibilities within regimes. Esping-Anderson (1990) theorizes that there will be a more pronounced gender difference in the social democratic regime given gender segmentation in employment between private and public sectors. Alternatively, others hypothesize that there may be a more pronounced gender difference in regimes where women have increased economic and social risks. In this scenario, women will be less likely to differ in their attitudes in social democracies than in other regimes, given the reduced reliance on free market employment or marriage formation for securing their economic well-being. Instead, we would expect that larger gender differences will be present in the more free market liberal regime, as well as the more familial conservative and Southern Europe regimes (Dallinger, 2010; Linos & West, 2003; Orloff, 1993). Finally, since some scholars believe that women are more likely to favor relational empathy and an ethic of caring (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984) as well as a stronger sense of altruism to those in need and government intervention

(Schlesinger & Heldman, 2001), this would indicate similarity across regimes in the effect of gender on attitudes toward the provision of social rights.

In cross-national studies of adults' attitudes, women favor government-provided economic and social support more than men in studies representing countries of different regime types and in cross-national multi-level studies with combined country data. First, in cross-national multi-level studies, females are more supportive of government-provided economic redistribution (Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2006, 2009); unemployment benefits and health care (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003); aging care (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Mair et al., 2016); and social rights ideals (including economic redistribution and government accountability) (Oser & Hooghe, 2018).

In two cross-national studies of regime prototype nations, women are more supportive of economic redistribution than men in Germany, Norway, and the United States (Svallfors, 1997; Linos & West, 2003). In regression analyses, both studies found similar gender associations among these countries and did not find evidence of regime-specific cleavages. (These studies also included a fourth country, Australia, in which Linos and West do not find a significant gender difference, and Svallfors finds a somewhat smaller and significant gender difference). In a study comparing East Germany, Norway, United States, and West Germany, Andreß & Heien (2001) find women more supportive of economic provision and redistribution in all four countries. Although these authors expected a gender cleavage in Norway, only a marginally larger effect is found in Norway compared to the United States. In addition, in a cross-national study measuring attitudes toward economic and social protections (targeting jobs, unemployment, income inequality, price control, health, old age, higher education, and

housing), Svallfors (2004) finds that females are more supportive than males in each of four countries analyzed (Britain, Germany, Sweden, and United States), with the largest gender differences found in the United States and the smallest gender differences found in Sweden.

These studies show a largely cross-cutting and persistent gender difference with women favoring government responsibilities more than men. While there is some small indication that these differences may be more substantial in the United States, the available research and results do not provide clear and consistent evidence of gender differences by regime or regime prototype nations.

Several researchers also theorize that social class structure within regimes and nations that comprise them will be associated with attitudes toward economic and societal responsibilities (Esping-Anderson, 1990, 1999; Janoski, 1998; Turner, 1990). In particular, it is hypothesized that a more pronounced social class difference will exist in liberal nations, and the United States in particular as a regime prototype country, due to a high level of economic inequality and related gap in income and benefits between those having high and low paying jobs (Esping-Anderson, 1990). Another possibility is that social class cleavages will be apparent in regimes and representative nations where social class identity and power is strong. In this case, we would expect strong social class differences in the social democratic regime and not in the liberal regime (or in the United States), where working class identity and power is weaker (Lipset & Marks, 2000; Svallfors, 2004).

In studies of adult attitudes, investigations of the role of social class in attitudes toward social rights attitudes find consistent evidence that higher levels of social class (as

measured by education, income, and occupational status) are associated with lower support for government provision for economic and social needs. In several multi-level cross-national studies, having a higher level of education is associated with lower support for economic redistribution (Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2006, 2009), and having lower support for an ideal of social rights (including economic redistribution and government accountability) (Oser & Hooghe, 2018). Moreover, in a study of four regime-representative nations (Australia, Germany, Norway, and United States), Linos and West (2003) find a negative association between education and support for redistribution in each country, with similar associations between countries. In another study, education is again found to be negatively associated with attitudes toward economic redistribution in four regime representative nations (East Germany, Norway, United States, and West Germany) (Andreß & Heien 2001). Finally, Arts and Gelissen (2001) find negative associations with education when the outcome is either attitudes toward government-provided economic redistribution, or a combined scale of government provided economic and social benefits, which the authors view as collective protection/solidarity.

In addition, multi-level studies show that higher levels of income are associated with lower support for economic redistribution (Arts &Gelissen, 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger, 2009), and collective protection for economic and social needs (Arts & Gelissen, 2001). In another study, higher income is negatively associated with attitudes toward economic redistribution in three of four regime representative nations (Norway, United States and West Germany) (there was no significant association in East Germany) (Andreß & Heien, 2001). These authors find the largest negative effects for income (and

education) in the United States, although these are only slightly larger in the United States than in Norway.

Finally, higher occupational status is also found to be associated with less support for economic redistribution in several cross-national studies (Jaeger, 2006, 2009; Svallfors, 1997) as well as the following comparative studies of regime prototype nations. Linos and West (2003) find that those with higher occupational jobs are less inclined to support economic redistribution in four nations (Australia, Germany, Norway, and United States), and note a stronger cleavage in the United States. Svallfors (2004) explores social class differences in adult attitudes toward government responsibilities for both social and economic well-being in regime representing nations (Britain, Germany, Sweden, and United States) finding that higher occupational classes have less favorable attitudes toward government intervention. In addition, Svallfors notes that within country, class-based differences are particularly large in Sweden, which he attributes to the strength of trade unions and the fact that politics is organized by social class.

The literature reviewed in regard to social class and social rights consistently finds that higher levels of social class (as measured by education, income, and occupational status) are associated with lower support for government intervention to promote economic and societal well-being. This pattern appears to be cross-cutting, with no clear evidence of class differences between regime types (as measured by regime prototype nations).

Overall, these research studies illustrate that adult attitudes toward government provision of economic and societal needs differ based on gender, social background, and country-level regime-type contexts. In particular, studies show that adults in liberal

democracies, males, the more highly educated, and those with higher incomes and occupational status are less inclined to support government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. The research reviewed in the next section explores to what extent these attitudes may be present and concordant with those formed in adolescence, and further examines the special role that learning opportunities and other political attitudes may have in developing dispositions toward social rights.

Adolescents' Understanding of the Social Contract Concerning Responsibilities for Economic and Societal Well-Being

A central notion of how youth conceive of individual and government responsibilities takes the form of a social contract, or the balance of rights and obligations of being a citizen in a democracy. Flanagan et al. (2015) define this contract as the "rules and obligations by which the state, the market, the institutions of civil society, and the people live in harmony" (p.476). How this contract is understood varies from society to society, including the ways in which nation states provide opportunities for a free market and provisions for economic and societal well-being. These conceptualizations, along with historical developments at the national level, shape the policies and practices of institutions that have an influence on how youth develop knowledge, skills, and dispositions for citizenship as well as attitudes toward the common good (Flanagan, 2013; Flanagan & Gallay, 2014; Flanagan et al., 2015). Preparatory environments include classroom and volunteer experiences gained through the "mini-polities" of schools and out-of-school activities in community organizations where youth learn about responsibilities of democratic citizenship, social issues affecting the community, and the differing perspectives of other social groups. Through these experiences, youth develop

civic and reasoning skills as well as attitudes and dispositions toward moral commitment, collective responsibility/problem-solving, and interdependence (Flanagan & Gallay, 2014). In other democracy regime types, policies of the nation-state may instead lead to forms of civic disengagement. This can be seen in a study by Amnå and Eckman (2013), who find that social democracies cultivate a particular form of civic and political passivity in the form of the standby citizen, who despite being disengaged is nevertheless informed, trusting, and willing to participate when needed.

Although the cross-national literature of adolescents' attitudes toward social rights is underdeveloped, one study suggests that the low support for social rights in the United States found among adults is also to be found among youth. Jonsson and Flanagan (2000) conducted a cross-national study of youth attitudes (students in 8th and 11th grade) towards government support including unemployment, housing, child support, basic income, health, legal aid, and food assistance. Two liberal democracies had the lowest mean support among those surveyed in seven countries, with the United States having the lowest mean support, and Australia as the second lowest. Russia was found to have the highest mean support for economic/social needs among countries. In addition, the United States has the highest mean support for the belief that government support risks dependency.

In 2001, a source of comparative survey data was made available to allow researchers to explore differences in adolescent attitudes toward economic and societal well-being cross-nationally. The CIVED study includes both qualitative case study research and quantitative survey data for 28 countries (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This is the same dataset that I use in this dissertation study, and further description of the CIVED

dataset is provided in the methods section. In an initial analysis of the data, the United States has the lowest mean score among nations on a scale measuring youth attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

The Influence of Demographic and Family Background Factors

In addition to the structuring policies of nation-states, adolescents' gender, social background, and family socialization experiences shape how they conceive of responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. Civic development is context specific, occurring within institutions, social settings, and cultural groups that have a unique set of understandings and experiences of power and resources in a society (Flanagan et al., 2015; Levinson, 2012; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). These social background differences may result in differences in how youth view individual and government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being, and indeed, research shows these associations do exist based on demographic and social class factors (Flanagan et al., 1997; Flanagan, Kim et al., 2014; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999).

Results from the United States and cross-national surveys consistently show that female students are more likely than male students to favor government support for economic and social service needs. In studies using the U.S. sample of the CIVED data, fourteen-year-old girls are more supportive of economy- and society-related governmental responsibilities than boys (Baldi, Perie, Skidmore, Greenberg, & Hahn, 2001). Grayman and Godfrey (2013) also find that girls are more likely to favor government support of economy-related and society-related needs using multiple regression and a revised index of social protection items from the CIVED data, including

guaranteed employment, old-age, unemployment, health, and income redistribution. Other studies of U.S. students show that girls make different attributions for societal problems than boys. In a study of attitudes in a sample of 434 U.S. teenagers in a Midwestern state, Flanagan and Tucker (1999) find that girls are more likely to assign broader societal (rather than individual) causes to unemployment and less likely to believe that government support leads to dependency. In a different analysis of 593 Midwestern teenagers using multinomial logistic regression, girls are also more likely to cite societal/structural reasons for the existence of poverty rather than individual factors (Flanagan, Kim, et al., 2014). Cross-nationally, girls also favor government support (for unemployment, housing, child support, basic income, health, legal aid, and food assistance) more than boys in six countries, including the United States (Jonsson & Flanagan, 2000).

In addition to differences with attitudes toward social rights, researchers also find that gender is associated with differences in the quality of civic learning opportunities that students are exposed to. A study by Kahne and Middaugh (2008) of California high school seniors using supplemental data collected as part of the CIVED study finds that gender is associated with an increased likelihood of experiencing more interactive and enriching civic learning opportunities, including volunteering and reflective discussions of community issues within a perceived open climate for discussion. In their study of U.S. fourteen-year-olds, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) find that girls are more likely to participate in community-based volunteer activities. In addition, Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta (2012) find that girls anticipate a higher likelihood of volunteer engagement in the community than do boys. Finally, in the study report of the cross-national CIVED data of

fourteen-year-olds in 28 countries, female students have significantly higher mean scores on the expectations of community participation scale in nearly all countries surveyed with the exception of Bulgaria, Russia, and Romania, where the gender differences are not statistically different (Husfeldt et al., 2005).

This dissertation also explores immigrant status and support for government provided social rights. The experience of being an immigrant student, including the possible maintenance of transnational and diasporic community ties can influence the development of civic identity and attitudes toward government and perceived level of social solidarity (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Castles & Miller, 2009). It is expected that immigration status will have some effect on beliefs toward the role of government as well as expected participation in community activities in many countries and regime types, which differ in level of migration, and have different cultural and political realities in terms of incorporating immigrants as citizens (Banks, 2016; Brubaker, 2004).

In their study using the U.S. sample of the CIVED study, Grayman and Godfrey (2013) do not find any associations between being native-born and attitudes government support for economic and health care needs. In a separate study using the same data, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) similarly do not find an association between being native-born and either beliefs in government responsiveness or participation in volunteer activities.

Other studies using CIVED data have found differences based on immigrant status with civic knowledge and other attitudes. In a comparative study of Sweden and the United States, Barber, Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, and Ross (2015) find significant

differences between immigrant and native-born students in levels of civic knowledge and support for women's rights in both countries.

In a separate analysis of the U.S. CIVED data, Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta (2012) do not find an association between immigrant status and expectations of community participation. However, the authors do find an interaction in which a comprehensive civics curriculum (including studying community problems) has a more positive effect on students' anticipated community engagement in neighborhoods that have larger numbers of immigrants. Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfeld (2006) also find that U.S. immigrant students have lower average civic knowledge and skills than native-born students. In addition, immigrant students are less likely to hold nationalist/protectionist attitudes and more likely to support opportunities for ethnic minority groups. The authors find no difference in expected community participation between immigrant and native-born students.

Beyond these individual student traits, adolescents' social class background and family socialization patterns also exert an influence on their civic learning, including the development of political attitudes. In the United States, the Coleman report was among the first to reveal the importance of students' family backgrounds to the academic success of children, and subsequent research has consistently shown the persistent pattern of inequality based on student background factors (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, & York, 1966; Gamoran & Long, 2006; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Reardon, 2011; National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2014). Research also indicates that socioeconomic (SES) differences in civic opportunities and experiences are "deeply rooted in economic, educational, and social inequalities" (Kahne

& Middaugh, 2008, p. 9), and inequality can also accrue across generations and perpetuate group differences based on a family's level of education, income, and political involvement (Verba, Burns, & Schlozman, 2003). Group differences are also attributed to differential availability and access to resources (time, information, education, finances, etc.) as well as having available opportunities to be civically involved (Verba et al., 1995; Foster-Bey, 2008). Gaps may also be perpetuated by differences in level of social and institutional trust that develop over time since these are also found to be associated with social background (Putnam, 2000; Levinson, 2012).

What children learn in their home environment exerts a particularly strong influence on their development as citizens. Lower SES children may experience a less enriching home learning environment with a diminished level of cognitive complexity and literacy to prepare them for school and eventual roles as citizens (Hess & Torney, 1968; Spaeth 1976; NCES, 2012). Elements of the home environment through which SES operates include parent background factors such as education, occupation, learning resources in the home, language use, parent-child interactions, and daily routine. Level of social and cultural capital in the larger community may also be involved in the way that SES influences child learning and development (NCES, 2012).

An early study illustrating differences in political attitudes among students was conducted by Hess and Torney (1968) who surveyed more than 12,000 elementary school children regionally dispersed throughout the United States. Their study investigates the relation of gender, SES (measured by parent occupation from school files), and family socialization on the development of political attitudes in children. Hess and Torney find

gender and SES differences in children's political interests and perspectives (toward government institutions, political figures, and political issues).

As one of the first analyses of CIVED data, Torney-Purta et al. (2001) performed descriptive and regression analyses to show that SES was associated with civic knowledge cross-nationally. Using home literacy resources as a measure of SES, the authors find that these were consistently and positively correlated with civic knowledge in most countries surveyed, with the strongest correlations found in Chile, England, Germany, Hungary, and the United States. These authors also performed a path regression model and similarly found a positive association between home literacy resources and civic knowledge in all countries surveyed (except Hong Kong). In addition, home literacy resources are found to be positively associated with likelihood of voting when controlling for other factors in six countries surveyed: Denmark, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. These findings affirm earlier findings by Torney-Purta regarding the influence of SES differences found in the initial IEA civic education cross-national study conducted in 1971.

Descriptive quantitative studies utilizing survey data (such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress) also continue to document civic education and civic outcome gaps based on SES. In the United States, civic knowledge is shown to be persistently related to SES at both the individual and the school level (as measured by eligibility for free and reduced lunch) (Torney-Purta, 2002; Niemi & Junn, 1998; NCES, 2010, 2014). In addition, lower SES students are found to be less likely to volunteer or participate in extra-curricular activities that cultivate important civic skills (McNeal, 1998; Spring, Dietz, & Grimm, 2007; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008).

In a review and qualitative case study, Levinson (2012) illustrates how civic engagement continues to be stratified by SES in the United States, particularly in relation to level of income and education. In summarizing this literature, Levinson offers the hypothesis that there is a "civic empowerment gap … between ethno-racial minority, naturalized, and especially poor citizens, on the one hand, and White, native-born, and especially middle-class and wealthy citizens, on the other"(p. 31–32). Descriptive quantitative studies such as those utilizing NAEP data and qualitative accounts such as Levinson's provide evidence to hypothesize that a relation between SES and civic education outcomes exists, and also serve as a foundation for more complex studies to empirically examine whether and how this relationship varies by different demographic, organizational, and country-level contexts.

In the United States, data also show that youth from lower SES backgrounds do not have the same access to interactive classroom learning practices, and they also score lower on the NAEP civics assessment (Hansen, Levesque, Valant, & Quintero, 2018; NCES, 2010, 2014). A study by Kahne and Middaugh (2008) of California high school seniors using a supplemental 12th grade sample of the CIVED data also finds that both student level and classroom level of SES (as measured by parent's education) are associated with experiencing an open classroom climate for discussion and engagement in volunteer activities. In addition these authors find that students who plan to continue in higher education report higher levels of community service and higher quality civic learning experiences, such as having an open classroom climate for discussion.

Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta (2012) explore the associations of SES-related contextual effects and parent discussion of politics with anticipated volunteer community

participation in the U.S. using multi-level modeling of CIVED data and linked neighborhood information from the 2000 U.S. census. These authors find that parent discussion of politics (national and international affairs) has a positive association with anticipated volunteer engagement in the community. In addition, Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta find an interaction in which a more comprehensive school civics curriculum (including studying community issues) has a more positive effect on adolescents' anticipated volunteer community engagement in high poverty neighborhoods.

Several other studies show the important role that parent/child interaction has in the political socialization process and how these are influenced by SES. Schlozman, Verba, and Brady (2012) find that educated parents have a higher interest in politics and discuss politics in greater frequency at home. They also have more educated children, who are then poised to accrue the resources necessary for political efficacy (e.g. money, occupations that cultivate skills and opportunities for being recruited into leadership positions at civic organizations). In a survey of young adults ages 15–25, Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter (2003) find that political discussions at home are associated with voting behavior and volunteer participation. Likewise, parents who volunteer pass on that spirit of engagement to their children. Finally, in a review and case study, Hart and Atkins (2002) hypothesize that the civic engagement of parents serves as a link to explain the unequal civic outcomes experienced by students related to SES. They believe that children in part learn civic competencies from parents, and lower-SES parents (based on income and education) may not be modeling (or may not have the opportunity to model) civic behaviors to the same degree that higher-SES parents do.

In contrast to civic learning opportunities, existing research reveals a more mixed picture regarding social class differences in adolescents' attitudes regarding economy- and society-related responsibilities. In an analysis of U.S. CIVED data, Baldi et al. (2001) find that those with a higher amount of books in the home (a SES measure used in the CIVED study) have a higher mean score on a scale indicating that government should be responsible for society-related protections. However, for the economy-related government responsibilities measure, no clear pattern is discernable. Grayman and Godfrey (2013) also do not find an association with maternal education or school SES with a revised scale that they developed of economic and social support items in the U.S. sample of the CIVED study. In addition, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) find that paternal education is positively associated with volunteer participation in the community.

Other studies have explored social class differences in attributions students make to economic and social issues. In their study of U.S. Midwestern students, Flanagan and Tucker (1999) find that higher SES (maternal education and average school district household income) is associated with a higher likelihood of attributing societal/structural (rather than individual) reasons for unemployment as well as conditions of poverty and homelessness. Students from the highest income school districts are also the least likely to hold the attitude that government support leads to dependency.

In a study using multinomial logistic regression models, Flanagan, Kim, et al. (2014) find that those with more highly educated parents and who have classmates that discuss current events at home have a higher odds of providing a societal/structural explanation for the existence of poverty. The counter-intuitive findings that lower SES students in the United States appear to believe that individuals are more responsible for

economic well-being may in part be due to personal strategies for mobility. For youth who feel alienated and disbelieving in the potential for societal help, individual effort and self-reliance may offer the only chance to pursue mobility (Flanagan et al., 1997; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999).

The Special Roles of Civic Education, Service Learning, and Opportunities to Develop Collective Efficacy

Civic education, as it takes place in many venues, serves as an important social institution to prepare youth for democratic citizenship, to protect against the formation of persistent social inequalities, and to develop more complex understanding of individual and government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. In the essay "Education: Its nature and its role", Emile Durkheim defines the fundamentally social function of education by outlining the following essential principles: "respect for reason, for science, (and) for ideas and sentiments which are at the base of democratic morality" (Durkheim, 1956, p. 81). Noted education philosopher John Dewey also remarked on the potential for education to address civic inequalities, and that the "essential need…is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. That is *the* problem of the public" (1927, p. 208).

Studies of civic education and political socialization of children date back to the 1960's, and in recent decades, have evolved to provide a more complex analysis of how youth develop a full range of civic engagement including the "knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and behaviors (current and expected)" for the development of citizenship (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013, p. 89). Civic education also involves several core domains, including democratic and electoral processes, trust in government

institutions and government responsiveness, and community engagement. Civic education can be experienced in both formal and informal settings and engages several overlapping institutions; these include schools, families, communities, the economy, youth development organizations, and social movements. Within schools, civic education is often embedded in particular subjects (e.g. social studies, civics, and government) or spread across the curriculum, and often involves service-learning opportunities with community organizations (Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, 2016; Gould, 2011; Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta, & Schwille, 2002; Torney-Purta, 2002; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013).

Although several decades ago some political scientists questioned the value of civic education in developing political dispositions and behaviors in youth (Langton & Jennings, 1968), studies of civic education over recent decades have generally revealed its effects. High-quality civic education develops the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that students need to be future citizens in a democracy, although its effectiveness can be improved upon (Galston, 2001; Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2015; Niemi & Junn 1998; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013). Civic education can also help to reduce civic empowerment gaps found among youth (Levinson, 2012). In particular, effective civic education practices include a quality curriculum to promote civic knowledge and skills, an open classroom climate that encourages student participation, and other school-based service and leadership opportunities that promote hands-on civic skills and reflective discussions (Andrews, Ganz, Baggetta, Han, & Lim, 2010; Andolina et al., 2003; Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2015; Torney-Purta 2002). Those who study social movements also believe that it is important to improve the knowledge and skills of youth so that they

may be encouraged to become civic leaders in the future. As such, it is important to cultivate civic efficacy, commitment, teamwork, and leadership skills necessary to organize, mobilize, and manage complex social movements (Andrews et al., 2010).

Service Learning (Volunteering and Studying Community Problems)

Community-based volunteer service provides students with opportunities to practice civic skills and to develop a sense of civic agency. Social studies educators advocate pairing community service with reflective study of community issues as part of a comprehensive approach to civic learning. This includes deeper attention to the analysis of community problems as well as student collaboration to solve these concerns and create change in institutions (Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg 2015; National Council for the Social Studies, n.d.).

Several U.S. states have incorporated some form of service learning into their civic standards, and Maryland and the District of Columbia are among the first to mandate service learning as a high school graduation requirement (Hansen et al., 2018; Thomsen, 2014)[1]. However, civics education remains a contested terrain, with other U.S. states experiencing movements to restrict civic education to just the knowledge domain. Fearing a liberal bias, conservative groups are promoting a reduced form of civics by just teaching the structures and functions of government as well as reading the country's

[1] How volunteer requirements might affect students' sense of internal motivation and implied responsibility to engage in community activities is an interesting research question; unfortunately, data is not available in the CIVED dataset that is used in this analysis to address this line of inquiry.

founding documents (Goldstein, 2019). The politicization of civic education is not new, as Scribner (2012) describes in a historical account of the clashing interests in the Cold War era between the new (at the time) inquiry-based civics education approaches and the introduction of rigid anti-Communist curriculum mandates. Campbell (2014) also notes that the teaching of civic knowledge is the least contested of the three traditional domains of civic education, given political disagreements over whether developing civic attitudes and behaviors/skills should be the responsibility of schools.

Despite these political disagreements, a growing research base shows the impacts of volunteering and service learning on several civic outcomes, although the effects are sometimes contradictory. Torney-Purta, Amadeo, and Richardson (2007) provide an analysis of service learning using the CIVED dataset and a composite measure of volunteer service and reflective classroom discussion of community problems in four countries (Chile, Denmark, England, and the United States). These authors find a particularly notable pattern in the United States in which there is a higher mean for this composite measure (than either volunteering or studying community issues alone) with the following outcomes: trust in government, likelihood of informed voting, norms of social movement citizenship, anticipated involvement in community activities, and individual and collective school efficacy. In addition, female students volunteered at higher rates in each of the four countries examined. Using a scatterplot of the full set of countries involved in the CIVED study, these authors also reveal a negative correlation between students' volunteer activity and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. The plot is bounded by the United States, whose students volunteer at the highest rate and who are least supportive of governments' economic responsibilities, and

the post-communist countries along with Finland and Sweden, who less frequently volunteer and believe more strongly in government provided economic support.

Instead of viewing volunteering and reflective study as one composite measure, Kawashima-Ginsberg and Levine (2014) find that volunteering and studying about underlying community issues (connected with service) can have different effects. In an analysis of young adult (18-24) engagement with the 2012 U.S. presidential election, studying community issues tied to a service project in high school had a borderline positive association with informed voting, but required volunteer service had a negative effect.

Finally, Wilkenfeld and Torney-Purta (2012) find positive associations between anticipated community participation with the following predictors in the U.S. sample of adolescents in the CIVED study: being female, parent discussion of national politics, exposure to civics curriculum (including learning about community problems), perceived open classroom climate for discussion, and having a sense of collective school confidence that together students can enact change.

Open Classroom Climate for Discussion

An important element of civic education is the creation of learning environments that facilitate an open classroom climate for discussion. This includes the ability to engage in respectful dialogue with others with whom the student may disagree, and to participate in reasoned debate (Hess & McAvoy, 2015).

In a review of studies using IEA civic education datasets, Knowles, Torney-Purta, and Barber (2018) find that having an open classroom climate for discussion is positively associated in 38 separate studies with a range of civic outcomes representing civic

knowledge, future anticipated civic engagement, and other pro-social attitudes. In a study of the U.S. sample of the CIVED data, Campbell (2008) finds that positive classroom climate for discussion is associated with higher civic knowledge, higher expected likelihood of informed voting, and higher appreciation of having conflicting political views. Campbell also finds that open classroom climate has stronger effects for lower SES students (measured by expected education) for the latter two findings (informed voting and appreciation for conflicting views). Finally, in a multi-level model using the U.S. sample of the CIVED data, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) find that classroom climate is positively associated with collective school efficacy (as a group, students can affect change at school), and is positively associated with volunteer community engagement.

Individual and Collective School Efficacy

How students experience and interact with one another in learning environments can also develop individual and collective efficacy to solve community issues. It is anticipated that individual and collective efficacy may relate to student beliefs regarding individual and/or collective solutions to economic and societal needs, and these constructs are included in this dissertation study. Hall and Lamont (2013) suggest that social relations can serve as explanatory variables, seeing the value in "understanding how societies build and sustain collective capacities, understood as capacities for cooperation in the service of collective well-being" (p. 62).

In an examination of low-income and working class African-American and Latina/o students in the U.S. subsample of the CIVED study, Diemer and Rapa (2016) finds that internal political efficacy (knowledge, understanding, and discussion of, as well

as interest in, political issues/problems) in adolescence is positively associated with expected adult voting and expected adult political participation among both African-American and Latina/o students. Internal political efficacy is also positively associated with anticipated engagement in protest activities for Latina/o students.

In a study of approximately 1,000 U.S. undergraduates, Beaumont (2010) finds that interactive learning experiences, such as community service and learning about socio-political issues, helps build a sense of political efficacy and community solidarity among student participants. These learning experiences also encourage students to work with and across different organizations and groups, further developing a sense of collective efficacy.

Protective Nationalism, Support for Ethnic Minority Groups, and Institutional Trust

The final set of predictor variables that this dissertation addresses is the role of nationalist attitudes, institutional trust, and ethnic minority group sentiment, and how these attitudes relate to dispositions toward social rights and responsibilities.

Generalized, community-oriented exchange (as takes place when a government provides for individuals' economic and social needs) relies on having a foundation of trust and solidarity (Janoski, 1998). However, levels of trust may differ based on national context as well as social background and learning factors. For example, Amnå, Ekman, and Almgren (2007) identifies a "golden chain" of trust in government institutions in social democracies given the relatively higher degree of social and economic support that Scandinavian nations provide. In contrast, Putnam (2000) documents the decline of social and institutional trust in the liberal democracy of the United States in the last few decades of the twentieth century.

Within nations, social trust can also vary based on social background and learning factors. In an examination of how trust develops in a study of U.S. teenagers in a mid-Atlantic state, Flanagan and Gallay (2008) find that female students had a lower degree of social trust, while those with a higher level of parent education exhibit a higher degree of trust. At school, the authors also find that having a sense of solidarity with fellow students and a perception of an encouraging classroom climate are associated with higher levels of trust. Torney-Purta, Barber, and Richardson (2004) find a similar positive association between collective confidence in school participation and institutional trust in an analysis of CIVED data in each of six countries examined (Belgium (French), Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, England, and the United States). These authors also find that institutional trust is positively associated with anticipated community involvement in these countries.

A related concept to social trust and solidarity is protective nationalism, or the psychological attachment that individuals may have regarding the preservation of their historically imagined national culture. In the CIVED dataset that this dissertation utilizes, a composite scale for protective nationalism includes items such as having protective feelings regarding the nation's economy, politics, traditions, and culture (Schulz, 2004a).

Protective nationalism, along with attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups, are also found to relate to attitudes toward social rights. As Brubaker (2004) notes, "redistributive social policies…require cross-class solidarity and mutual responsibility if they are to be seen as legitimate; and nationalism can generate such solidarity and responsibility" (p. 121). Brubaker further believes that this solidarity and mutual responsibility can be cultivated, and this can be accomplished with the integration

of immigrants. However, other scholars and researchers believe that higher degrees of ethnic heterogeneity interfere with support for social rights.

In their analysis of why the United States didn't fully mature as a welfare state compared to other democracies, Lipset and Marks (2000) cite ethnic fractionalization and the weakness of social class political strength. Ethnic and racial divisions in U.S. both reduced opportunities for socio-political organization, and they also weakened sentiment toward socialist leaning policies overall. Without the strength of labor and a politically-active working class, welfare policies were geared to other influential groups (middle and upper classes, elderly, etc.) and not those who are lower income or otherwise marginalized (Lipset & Marks, 2000). Beginning in 1990 until the Great Recession of 2008, McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal (2016) also find that increasing inequality in the United States did not lead to increased pressure for redistribution since non-voting immigrants comprised an increasing share of those who were lower SES.

Lipset and Marks (2000) also believe that other immigration-related reasons contribute to low support for social rights in the United States. These include a strong sense of individualism found in the traditions of older Protestant settlers, and a more conservative ideology of self-reliance among newer immigrants, who found American standard of living and wages comparatively better than the circumstances they left behind. In addition, other researchers find that protective nationalism is more negatively associated with support for immigrant opportunities in longer duration democracies, and in countries with a higher percentage of immigrants (Barber, Fennelly, & Torney-Purta, 2013; Barber, Torney-Purta, & Fennelly, 2010).

Implications from Literature Review

The previous review of research indicates that having engaged citizens (regardless of social background) is important to maintain a healthy participatory democracy and to ensure the economic and social well-being of citizens. This review also reveals that civic outcome gaps exist based on gender and social class, and that these are likely rooted in social institutions and contexts within which youth are prepared to become democratic citizens.

Although a growing research literature has investigated the embedded and interactive role of social background, family socialization, schooling practices, and national context to various civic education outcomes, these remain largely missing areas in comparative research involving adolescents' attitudes toward economy- and society-related governmental responsibilities. These beliefs are central to how youth conceive of important dimensions of the social contract, or their fundamental understanding of their rights and obligations as citizens in different types of democracies (Flanagan et al. 2015).

The literature reviewed in this section draws upon cross-national studies of adult attitudes and mostly single country studies of adolescents to formulate the hypotheses outlined in the next section. A main finding from this review is that welfare regime type is associated with how adults conceive of governments' responsibilities for economic and societal well-being, and it is anticipated that adolescents' attitudes will show a similar pattern. In particular, it is expected that youth in the liberal regime, and the United States in particular, will show comparatively lower support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities.

The literature review also finds that indicators of national wealth and economic opportunity, as well as those measuring economic risk and protection, have mixed patterns with adults' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. Studies show that national employment level and GDP rates are inversely related with adults' attitudes toward economic redistribution. However, there does not appear to be a clear relationship between support for economy-related government responsibilities and a country's level of inequality (Gini Index) or its level of social expenditure.

Demographic and social background patterns are also found to be associated with attitudes toward government responsibilities. This review finds that females generally favor economic and social protections more than males (in studies of both adults and adolescents), although it is an open question as to whether differences will be more pronounced in welfare regimes where women are more dependent on family formation or free-market employment for economic and social protections. The literature also reveals that immigrants may be more individualistic and have less support for government provided economic and social support. However, among adolescents, the review does not find differences by immigrant status in attitudes toward social rights in the limited number of studies that have examined this relation using CIVED data.

In addition, while studies of adults generally show that higher levels of SES are associated with lower support for government provision, the literature on adolescents' attitudes shows a less clear association between social class factors and support for governments' economic and social responsibilities. Moreover, there is mixed support for the notion that there is between-regime differences in adults' attitudes based on social class factors. In this dissertation study, it is expected that social class differences in

attitudes will be less apparent in the social democratic regime given lower economic inequality.

This review also suggests that classroom and service learning experiences will make a difference in adolescents' views of government responsibilities. In particular, an open climate for discussion and experiences of service learning are associated with expected community engagement and other civic outcomes, and it is anticipated that these learning factors will also be associated with student beliefs regarding the provision of social rights. Likewise, having a stronger sense of collective efficacy to solve problems at school is expected to be associated with collective responsibility more broadly, and by extension, having higher levels of support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities. Moreover, it is anticipated that those with nationalist/protectionist feelings, higher institutional trust, and more positive views of opportunities for ethnic minorities will have more supportive attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities.

Finally, this literature suggests that attitudes toward individual civic responsibilities for community welfare (as measured by expectations of community participation) are different than those for government responsibilities. In particular, liberal regime nations that are rooted in individualism and free market ideology will exhibit a higher level of support for an individual's sense of community responsibility.

An important next step in developing the research literature regarding attitudes toward governments' and individuals' economic and societal responsibilities is to further explore welfare regime and cross-national patterns utilizing more complex models and involving a broader set of social background, family socialization, and schooling/service

learning contextual factors available in the CIVED dataset. This will allow a deeper understanding of whether families, schools, and the larger cultural context makes a difference in the development of these attitudes. Deeper insight into these contexts would be of interest to those seeking to increase the civic and political efficacy of youth.

Conceptual Framework and Research Design

This dissertation research analyzes adolescents' attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities and the extent to which these may differ by welfare regime type and based on other macroeconomic data. This research further explores how patterns may vary within regime based on gender, social background, learning experiences, sense of individual and collective efficacy, and other political attitudes. In addition, this research will examine how patterns of support for governments' economic and societal responsibilities compare when the outcome measure is an individual's own sense of responsibility to fulfill community needs.

This dissertation research draws from several frameworks from sociology and human development to explore the embedded exchange relations and institutional contexts that characterize this cross-national examination of youth attitudes toward government and individual responsibilities for economic and societal well-being.

Various institutional and cultural frameworks from sociology guide the approach to and development of this dissertation study. The first is a comparative institutional approach in examining how social structures and institutions may foster variability in civic attitudes and outcomes across regimes and countries (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Janoski, 1998; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Thelan, 2003). Such an approach emphasizes the embedded nature of social relations within a shared cultural schema that

"requires a deeper understanding of how institutional and cultural frameworks interact to condition the terrain for social action" (Hall & Lamont, 2013, p. 49). Hall and Taylor (1996) define an institutionalist approach as one that "seek(s) to elucidate the role that institutions play in the determination of social and political outcomes" (p. 936). Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) emphasize how such a process can be viewed through a cultural frame, described as "cognitive scripts, embedded in long institutional traditions and organizational frameworks that shape the social behaviors and practices that are deemed legitimate, even 'thinkable' " (p. 810). A combination of historical and split-sample regression models can also respond to a vision laid out many decades ago by Parsons (1950) for "systematic comparative analysis of social structures," including reciprocal role relations (of individual and government responsibilities), motivation, and the influence of institutions and other aspects of culture (p. 5).

Another related sociological framework that influences the approach to this study concerns exchange relationships and pro-social (altruistic) behavior, including concepts of restricted (self-oriented) and generalized (community-oriented) exchange. This framework is grounded in Durkheimian theories of normative behavior through family, peer, and community socialization processes, and Weberian theories regarding the role of status transmission (e.g. the role of resources available given social class position) (Janoski & Wilson 1995; Simpson & Willer, 2015). In addition, comparative political sociologist Janoski (1998) finds that the balance of generalized exchange as compared with restricted exchange varies according to democracy regime type, and that these exchanges take place within a civil society characterized as a "dynamic and responsive discourse between state, public, and market spheres in society" (p. 218). Lastly, Arts and

Gelissen (2001) use a related frame of institutionalized social solidarity to view regime differences. In this frame, stronger members of society collectively support their weaker counterparts through government-provided economic and social support.

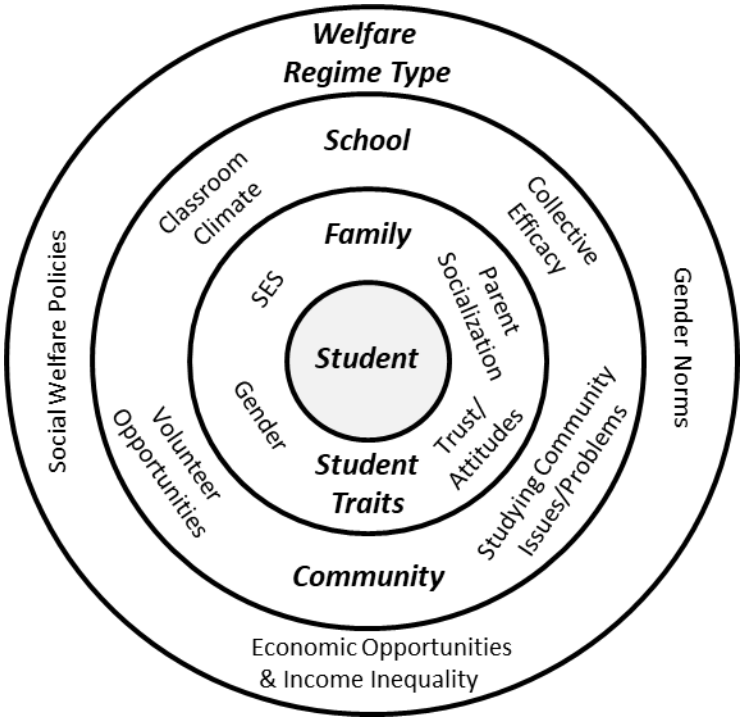
To operationalize these frameworks and to further account for the embedded nature of how youth are prepared to become citizens, a socio-ecological model (adapted from Bronfenbrenner, 1979) is used. This approach emphasizes the nested structure of youth development, taking into consideration the roles that social and institutional contexts play in the formation of adolescent civic identity. Within the civic education literature, the ecological approach has been further expanded through the developmental niche model. In this model originally formulated by Super and Harkness (1986, 1999), participatory citizenship is shaped by (1) the institutions and social settings of daily life in which adolescents reside (families, neighborhoods, and schools); (2) the beliefs and expectations of adults; (3) historical and cultural beliefs of the groups to which the adolescents belong; and (4) overarching forces such as inequality (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011).

Figure 1 provides an illustration of the socio-ecological model used in this dissertation study. At the micro and meso levels, family background, resources, and socialization processes have a direct influence on student development, and the formation of civic identity also occurs through collective actions within institutions such as schools and community organizations. This includes opportunities for high-quality civic education and service learning, an open climate for classroom discussions, and the availability of resources and opportunities that may be associated with an individual's social class. Moving toward the outer rim of the model, macro-level influences on civic

outcomes also occur through the policies and practices of nation-states, including social welfare policies, gender norms, and level of economic opportunities and risks (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Flanagan et al., 2015; Flanagan, Kim et al. 2014).

The socio-ecological approach fits nicely with the proposed data and methods for this dissertation study. The proposed data set (the CIVED study) is purposely designed to account for the embedded nature of student level variables within families, schools, and nations (Torney-Purta & Amadeo 2013; Torney-Purta et al, 2001). The nested structure of the CIVED dataset is also well suited to a modeling approach focused on the investigation and comparison of socioeconomic and other gradients. Through this approach, within group and between group analyses of variables and social outcomes are explored, as well as the comparisons of gradients between institutional contexts (Ermisch, Jantti, & Smeeding, 2012; Willms, 2003). In short, by using an existing data set reporting responses by adolescents to questions that closely match those used with adults, dissertation analyses clarify the roots of beliefs about governments' responsibilities to ensure economic and social well-being. In addition, the analyses clarify the meaning of the differences found with reference to regime type and several other variables such as gender and social class.

Figure 1. Socio-ecological model of factors contributing to social rights attitudes in youth.



Dissertation Hypotheses

The following hypotheses focus on adolescents' attitudes toward forms of generalized (community-oriented) exchange, and the extent to which these beliefs are similar to those of adults in corresponding types of welfare regimes. Specifically, dissertation hypotheses relate to adolescents' support for government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being as well as their intended participation in community-related activities. Going into further depth, the hypotheses guide the investigation of associations with these outcomes based on students' gender, SES, parent socialization, civic education/service learning experiences, and other political attitudes. In addition, the hypotheses are explored in cross-national comparative analyses using descriptive statistics, multiple regression, and other techniques to examine data grouped within

welfare regime types. Finally, additional analyses will explore country mean comparisons using macroeconomic indicator data.

Hypothesis One

The welfare regime type of the nation state is associated with how adolescents conceive of governments' responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. Overall, adolescents' attitudes toward government responsibilities in 1999 will be similar to adult patterns found in the literature among different welfare regime types. Notably, adolescents in the liberal regime, and in the United States as a liberal regime prototype nation, will have low support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities.

Hypothesis Two

Cross-national patterns of adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities will exist based on macroeconomic indicators measuring economic opportunity, risk, and protection. These indicators include GDP per capita (economic development/wealth), unemployment rate, Gini Index (income inequality), and public social expenditure as a percentage of GDP.

Hypothesis Three

Demographic and family background factors will be associated with students' attitudes toward government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being, and the strength of associations between these factors and student attitudes will differ between individuals from different welfare regime types. In particular, gender and social class differences will be less pronounced in the social democratic regime, where there is higher levels of economic protection and gender empowerment.

Hypothesis Four

Classroom and service learning experiences make a difference in adolescents' views of government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. In particular, an open climate for discussion, experiences of service-learning (volunteering and studying community issues), and sense of collective school efficacy will be associated with student beliefs that governments are responsible for economic and societal needs.

Hypothesis Five

Other political attitudes, such as having protective nationalist feelings, support of opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and institutional trust will be associated with more supportive beliefs in economy- and society-related government responsibilities.

Hypothesis Six

Attitudes toward individual civic responsibilities for community welfare (as measured by expectations of community participation) will be different than those for government responsibilities. In particular, liberal regimes with a legacy of individualism and a private market emphasis will exhibit a high level of expected community participation.

CHAPTER 3: DATA & METHODOLOGY

Sample Participants

Data from the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) is used in a cross-national comparative study employing descriptive statistics, multiple regression, and other analytical techniques to compare results between group samples. The goal of the CIVED study (and related IEA studies) is to provide data for the comparative analysis of how youth are prepared as citizens in democracies. This includes gaining an understanding of students' civic and political attitudes, and the dataset is unique in its ability to provide data measuring cross-national attitudes toward economic and social welfare. The framework of the CIVED study is also designed to take advantage of the nested structure of student level variables within classrooms, schools, and countries (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Using a cross-sectional design, the CIVED study is a nationally representative sample of students who are in the modal grade for fourteen-year-olds and located within 28 countries. The school age of fourteen is selected due to the fact that older ages might create issues with secondary school dropouts in some countries (given the end of compulsory schooling) and affect the generalizability of the results (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Research also finds that politically oriented attitudes begin to crystallize by the age of fourteen and tend to stabilize in subsequent years (Gallatin & Adelson, 1970; Hess & Torney, 1968; Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). It is also noteworthy that these students are considered members of the millennial generation today.

Student data is analyzed from a subset of twenty-four democratic nations in the CIVED dataset. The sample used in this dissertation includes the following countries: Australia, Belgium (French), Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, and United States. Countries excluded from the sample are Hong Kong SAR, Chile, Colombia, and Switzerland, which fall outside a clearly identified welfare regime type as found in the literature.

Individual country datasets are downloaded from the ICPSR data repository (http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/21661) and merged into a master dataset with recoded and imputed data on independent variables described further below. A welfare regime type variable is also added based on identification of country regime types found in the literature (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999; Janoski, 1998; Arts & Gelissen, 2002). After completion of data coding and imputation of independent variables, three separate data files are created for each dependent variable explored in this study.

Missing Values and Data Transformations

Missing cases are deleted on the dependent variables, which are then grand-mean centered and standardized across the twenty-four countries in the data. Standardizing the dependent variable results in the ability to have the independent variables interpreted as effect sizes.

Cases with less than five percent missing data on any independent variable within each country are also deleted. For independent variables that have more than five percent

missing data in any country, data are imputed using the mean of the school within each country. In a limited number of cases in which the school mean is not available, the mean of the country is used. (See Table 1 for missing data per variable.) A sensitivity analysis is also conducted with non-imputed data, and the regression findings generally do not show substantial changes in the results.

Finally, independent variables are group-mean centered within each regime based on the regime's mean for the independent variable. By centering in this manner, the intercept becomes the value of the dependent variable based on the average value of each of the independent variables. Since these are each centered, the intercept is also the regime mean for the outcome variable. Appropriate weighting is used for creating regime mean variables and for standardizing the dependent variables across observations in the dataset.

Dependent Variables

Attitudes toward government and individual responsibilities serve as dependent variables in this study. Each of these dependent variables represents a single scaled variable developed from multiple item responses of similar questions types. Scaled items enable a standardized form of comparison between countries. Scales have been developed for use before the data was archived using Item Response Theory (IRT) with appropriate testing to determine item fit and reliability. Confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling are used to determine theoretical validity. The value of each scaled item is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2 within the entire group from 28 countries (Schulz, 2004a, 2004b;

Husfeldt et. al., 2005). Dependent variables are standardized and re-centered among the 24 countries remaining in this analysis.

- **Economy-related government responsibilities** (GOVECMLE) is an IRT scale and an attitudinal measure related to whether or not governments should provide economic protections for individuals as well as enact protectionist macroeconomic policies at the national level. This variable is standardized and grand-mean centered (with a mean value of 0) across observations in the dataset of the 24 countries that I am investigating. The following items are included in the economy-related government responsibilities scale:

  What responsibilities should the government have?

  — *To guarantee a job for everyone who wants one.*

  — *To keep prices under control.*

  — *To provide industries with the support they need to grow.*

  — *To provide an adequate [decent] standard of living for the unemployed.*

  — *To reduce differences in income and wealth among people.*

  Response categories are: *definitely not, probably not, probably, definitely.* (Schulz, 2004a, p. 100)

- **Society-related government responsibilities** (GOVSOMLE) is an IRT scale and an attitudinal measure related to what responsibilities a government should have that go beyond those that are economic in nature. This variable is also standardized and grand-mean centered across observations in the dataset. The items included in the society-related government responsibilities scale are:

What responsibilities should the government have?

— *To provide basic health care for everyone.*

— *To provide an adequate [decent] standard of living for old people.*

— *To provide free basic education for all.*

— *To ensure [be sure there are] equal political opportunities for men and women.*

— *To control pollution of the environment.*

— *To guarantee peace and order [stability] within the country.*

— *To promote honesty and moral behavior among people in the country.*

.Response categories are: *definitely not, probably not, probably, definitely.* (Schulz, 2004a, p. 100)

- **Expectations of community participation** (COMMMLE) is an IRT scale and an attitudinal measure representing a student's anticipated involvement in volunteer activities to benefit the community. This variable is standardized and grand-mean centered across observations in the dataset. The following items comprise the expectations of community responsibilities scale:

  What do you expect that you will do in the next few years?

  — *Volunteer time to help people in the community.*

  — *Collect money for a social cause.*

  — *Collect signatures for a petition.*

  Response categories are: *will certainly not do this, will probably not do this, will probably do this, will certainly do this.* (Husfeldt et al., 2005, p. 28)

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this investigation include those focused on the following groups of factors hypothesized to influence governmental and civic attitudes in adolescents: (1) demographic and family background factors; (2) learning experiences; (3) self and collective efficacy; and (4) other political attitudes. Descriptions for each variable used are listed below. (Note: regime type group mean centered versions of these variables are used for regression analyses.)

Demographic and Family Background

- **Gender** (GENDER) is a dichotomous variable coded 0=male and 1=female.
- **Home literacy** (HOMELIT) is an interval variable measuring the amount of reading resources (books) in home coded 1=less than 11; 2=11–50; 3=51–100; 4=101–200; 5=more than 200.
- **Highest household education** (HHED) is a newly computed ordinal variable measuring the highest level of parent education that is created from two variables representing mother's (BSGEDUM) and father's (BSGEDUF) education. This recoded ordinal variable represents the highest value of either mother's or father's education with values ranging from 1=no elementary school; 2=finished elementary school; 3=finished some high school; 4=finished high school; 5=some technical education after high school; 6=some college/university; 7=bachelor's degree.
- **Expected education** (EXPEDUC) is an interval variable coded 0=0; 1=1–2 years; 2=3–4 years; 3=5–6 years; 4=7–8 years; 5=9–10 years; 6=more than 10 years.

- **Native born** (NATBRN) is a recoded dichotomous variable (from BSGBRN1) that represents whether a youth is native born with 0=no; 1=yes.
- **Parent discussion national politics** (PARDISC) is a recoded dichotomous variable (from BS5L2) representing whether a child has discussions with a parent or adult family member about national politics and is coded 0=no; 1=yes.

The CIVED study contains two common socioeconomic measures used by education researchers: parent education and reading resources in the home. Although there is some concern with student self-reports of family status measures (Rutkowski, 2016), these have been widely used and are considered plausible indicators in international assessments of student achievement (Carnoy & Rothstein, 2013; NCES, 2012).

Learning Experiences

- **Volunteer group participation** (VOLGROUP) is a recoded dichotomous variable (from BSGAS08) representing whether a youth participated in a group conducting voluntary activities to help the community and is coded 0=no; 1=yes.
- **Studied community problems** (STUDYCP) is a recoded dichotomous variable (from BS4K3) representing whether a youth in school learned to contribute to solving problems in the community or society and is coded 0=no; 1=yes.
- **Civic knowledge/skills score** (TOTCGMLE) is a scaled item measuring civic knowledge and skills, and it is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally scaled to a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 20 (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004).
- **Open climate for classroom discussion** (CCLIMMLE) is an IRT scale of items related to experiencing classroom environments that encourage student discussion

and debate. It is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent increased experiences of open classroom climates. The following items are included in the open climate for classroom discussion scale:

- *Students feel free to disagree openly with their teachers about political and social issues during class.*
- *Students are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues.*
- *Teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them during class.*
- *Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.*
- *Teachers encourage us to discuss political or social issues about which people have different opinions.*
- *Teachers present several sides of [positions on] an issue when explaining it in class.*

Response categories are: *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.* (Schulz, 2004a, p.120)

Collective and Individual Efficacy

- **Collective student efficacy** (CONFSMLE) is an IRT scale assessing confidence in participation at school and including questions related to beliefs in how student collective action can enact changes at school. It is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent agreement with statements affirming the value of collective

participation with other students at school. The following items are included in the confidence in participation at school IRT scale:

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

Response categories are: *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.* (Schulz, 2004a, p.115)

- **Internal political efficacy** (EFFICMLE) is an IRT scale comprising questions related to a student's interest and self-confidence in understanding and discussing political issues, and it is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent agreement with statements affirming internal political efficacy. The items included in the internal political efficacy scale are:
  - *I know more about politics than most people my age.*
  - *When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say.*
  - *I am able to understand most political issues easily.*
  - *I am interested in politics.*

Response categories are: *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.* (Husfeldt et al., 2005, p. 26)

Other Political Attitudes

- **Protective nationalism** (PROTCMLE) is an IRT scale related to having protective feelings for a student's country, and it is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent agreement with protectionist statements. The following items are included in the protective nationalism scale:
  - *To help protect jobs in this country we should buy products made in this country.*
  - *We should keep other countries from trying to influence political decisions in this country.*
  - *We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to this country's political independence.*
  - *We should stop outsiders from influencing this country's traditions and culture.*

  Response categories are: *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.* (Husfeldt et al., 2005, p. 23)
- **Positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities** (MINORMLE) is an IRT scale related to having positive attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and it is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent agreement with

statements affirming opportunities for ethnic minorities. The items forming this scale are:

- *All ethnic groups should have equal chances to get a good education in this country.*
- *All ethnic groups should have equal chances to get good jobs in this country.*
- *Schools should teach students to respect members of all ethnic groups.*
- *Members of all ethnic groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office.*

Response categories are: *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.* (Husfeldt et al., 2005, p. 24)

- **Trust in government institutions** (TRUSTMLE) is an IRT scale representing how often a student has trust in various government-related institutions, and it is a maximum likelihood estimate internationally-scaled to a mean of 10 and a standard deviation of 2. Higher values represent higher levels of trust.

  The following are included in the trust in government institutions scale:

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

  - *The national [federal] government*
  - *The local council or government of town or city*
  - *Courts*
  - *The police*

— *Political parties*

— *National Parliament [Congress]*

Response categories are: *never, only some of the time, most of the time, always.* (Schulz, 2004a, p.103)

Country-Level Groups and Indicators

A central variable of interest is a **welfare regime** grouping variable. The main country-level contextual difference that will be explored is the classification of welfare regime type based on an adaptation of a classification provided by sociologist Esping-Andersen (1990,1999) as well as the use and critical review of this typology by others who organize countries into liberal, conservative, and social democracies (Arts & Gelissen, 2001; Janoski, 1998). The regime variable also includes a fourth suggested category of Southern European nations that can be considered separate from conservative democracies (Ferrera, 1996; Trifeletti, 1999). Finally, given the unique political and economic history and shared values of post-communist countries in Central Europe and former Soviet republics, these two sets of transitional democracies will serve as additional welfare regime categories (Arikan & Bloom, 2015; Deacon, 2000).

The welfare regime variable includes the following categories and countries:

- Liberal: Australia, England, and United States.
- Social democratic: Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden.
- Conservative: Belgium (French) and Germany.
- Southern Europe: Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and Portugal.
- Post-communist Central Europe: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.

- Former Soviet: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russian Federation.

Finally, country-level demographic and economic indicator data will be utilized to further explore hypotheses with individual countries as the unit of analysis.

The following indicators were compiled for the year closest to the collection date of the student level data*:

- **Gender Empowerment Measure** is a national indicator of female participation in the economic and political affairs of a country (United Nations Development Programme, 2000, http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2000).
- **Gross Domestic Product** (per capita purchasing power parity (PPP) rate) is compiled for year 1999 and from the World Bank (http://data.worldbank.org).
- **Gini Index** is for 1999 and from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID) (https://fsolt.org/swiid/).
- **% Female Labor Force Participation Rate** (females 15-64 yrs.) is for 1999 and from the United Nations (http://data.un.org).
- **Public Social Expenditure (% GDP)** is compiled for year 1999 and from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (http://stats.oecd.org).
- **Unemployment Rate** (% total labor force) is for 1999 and from the World Bank (http://data.worldbank.org).

*For these data, information for United Kingdom is used for England and information for Belgium is used for French Belgium.

Lastly, a composite variable of volunteer group participation and collected money for a charity was created and used in cross-country analysis. This variable is a summation of the dichotomized items measuring participation in: (1) a group conducting voluntary activities to help the community (BSGAS08), and (2) a charity collecting money for a social cause (BSGAS09).

Protection of Human Participants

This dissertation employs secondary analysis of previously collected and archived survey data. As such, it does not require human subjects approval.

Data Analysis Strategy

Once constructed, the properties and distributions of dependent and independent variables are analyzed, including an evaluation of means, frequency distributions, and correlations. Descriptive and regression results include appropriate survey weights and centering decisions.

The statistical software program IDB Data Analyzer (https://www.iea.nl/data) is utilized in conjunction with SPSS 24 statistical package for data analyses. The IDB software creates macro codes for using jackknife repeated replication (JRR) techniques to correct estimates of the standard error to account for a nested sampling design. The syntax is then used in combination with SPSS for data analyses.

In addition, the analyses described below involve grouping data by either individual countries, in which case a total weight is used, or grouping the data by welfare regime type, in which case a senate weight is used. The total weight measure “represents the weight attached to each student. The sum of [total weight] across all participating students is an estimate of the population size” (Sibberns, n.d., p.15). The senate weight

“represents a weight equivalent to [total weight]. The sum of [senate weight] across all participating students within each country is 500. This variable must always be used for country comparisons if countries should contribute equally to the comparisons" (Sibberns, n.d., p. 15).

The following statistical techniques are performed to examine the hypotheses described in chapter 2.

Data Analysis Plan for Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one relates to the identification of welfare regime differences in attitudes toward governments’ responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. To examine this hypothesis, the dissertation employs descriptive statistics and analyzes welfare regime mean and country mean differences of the IRT-scaled outcome variable for economy-related government responsibilities (GOVECMLE). These results are then compared to mean differences for the society-related government responsibilities (GOVSOMLE) outcome and the expectations of community participation (COMMMLE) outcome to determine if different patterns exist.

To examine welfare regime differences, means of the three outcome variables are calculated using IDB Analyzer software and employing jackknife repeated replication (JRR) procedures for variance estimation. Means are first calculated grouped by regime type and utilizing a senate weight. Confidence intervals are then constructed (based on two standard errors of the mean), mapped, and compared for each regime type. Means are also calculated grouped by countries using a total weight and also using IDB Analyzer. Confidence intervals are then constructed, mapped, and compared across countries.

Data Analysis Plan for Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis two concerns the analysis of cross-national patterns of adolescents' attitudes toward government economic responsibilities based on macroeconomic indicators measuring economic opportunity, risk, and protection. The country means of the IRT-scaled outcome variable for economy-related government responsibilities are entered into a new dataset constructed to include other national level macroeconomic indicator data. Scatterplots are then constructed in SPSS24 to compare the economy-related government responsibilities scale with the following macroeconomic indicator data: GDP per capita PPP, unemployment rate, Gini Index, and public social expenditure (% GDP). Scatterplots will include correlation coefficient and its statistical significance level.

Data Analysis Plan for Hypothesis Three through Six

The remaining hypotheses and research questions focus on the extent to which demographic and family background, learning experiences, and other dispositions, including a students' sense of efficacy and other political attitudes, are associated with beliefs toward government responsibility for economic and societal well-being as well as with expectations for community participation. These analyses also examine whether the strength of associations differ based on welfare regime type. Multiple regression models (using ordinary least squares (OLS) method) are employed with data grouped by welfare regime type.

For the economy-related government responsibilities outcome, models are first run with student background variables and subsequent runs add learning experience variables, individual/collective efficacy variables, and political attitudinal variables.

Finally, interaction terms for gender and SES measures with learning variables are explored in separate models for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome. However, the results of these interactions are small or non-significant and are not included in the final analyses that are presented.

Regression models are run using IDB Data Analyzer in conjunction with SPSS 24. The IDB software creates macro code syntax for using jackknife repeated replication (JRR) techniques in SPSS for variance estimation and to account for a complex sampling design. The data was also grouped by welfare regime type, and using a senate weight to ensure that each country contributed equally to the analysis.

In analyzing the results of the regression models, the intercept is viewed as the value of the dependent variable based on the average value of each of the independent variables. Since the independent variables are regime-mean centered, the mean of each of the independent variables is zero. Therefore, the intercept can also be viewed as the regime mean. In addition, since the dependent variable is standardized (creating a Z-score), the regression coefficients can be considered effect sizes. While the effect sizes reported in this study are not used to indicate strict causality, they are used to indicate the magnitude of association in terms of standard deviation units.

Independent variables can also be compared across regime groupings using a test of independence (difference) of two coefficients from two separate samples. In particular, this test is used to determine if there are statistically significant differences between coefficients of interest in two different regimes (e.g. that the difference in gender coefficients between liberal democracies and social democracies is statistically significant).

This test can be illustrated by:

$$z = \frac{B_{i1} - B_{i2}}{\sqrt{SE^2_{B_{i1}} + SE^2_{B_{i2}}}}$$

(Cohen & Cohen, 1983, p.111)

This formula can be understood as the difference between the coefficients divided by the square root of the pooled squared standard error. The regression results between the liberal regime and the other regimes types are compared for each coefficient, with the exception in cases where the results appear negligible across regimes.

In addition, the analysis of hypothesis three includes a comparison of gender and social class differences for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome with macroeconomic indicator data. First, gender mean differences are calculated for each country using IDB analyzer. These calculated within-country gender differences are then used to create a new variable that is included in the country-level indicator dataset for comparison in bivariate correlations with the Gender Empowerment Measure and percent female labor force participation rate. Variation in home literacy resources is also calculated as the within-country difference in attitudes between households with greater than 200 books versus the least resourced homes with less than 11 books (corresponding to the highest and lowest coded values of this variable). These calculated differences are also saved as values in a new variable for use in a bivariate correlation comparison with the Gini Index.

A final set of analyses compare the full model for the economy-related government responsibilities (GOVECMLE) outcome variable with two additional

outcome variables: (1) society-related government responsibilities, and (2) expectations of community participation. While the coefficients between the outcome variables cannot be directly compared, general patterns among the three outcome variables are analyzed.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the analyses of the hypotheses described in chapter 3. This results section begins with a presentation of descriptive statistics for the dataset used in analyzing the attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities outcome. Mean values and confidence intervals are also presented for this outcome, along with two additional outcomes measuring society-related government responsibilities and expectations of community participation. Figures are presented grouped by welfare regime type and then by the 24 countries in the dataset. Next, scatterplots illustrate comparisons between attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities and a series of national level macroeconomic indicator data. Finally, regression models are presented for each of the three outcomes and split by regime type.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for variables used in analyzing adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. (The descriptive statistics for the files created for the analyses of the society-related government responsibilities and expectations of community participation outcomes are similar, and these can be found in Appendix A.) The percentage missing for each variable that was either imputed or deleted based on the procedures outlined in the previous chapter is also presented. In addition, Tables 2 and 3 show descriptive information for the outcome variable economy-related government responsibilities grouped by regime type and by country.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for data analyzing the attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities outcome.

	N	Mean or Percentage	Standard Deviation	Min.	Max.	% Missing (orig. file)
Gender (female)	72613	51.7%	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.8%
Home Literacy	72613	3.41	1.29	1.00	5.00	1.0%
Highest Parent Education	72613	4.80	1.62	1.00	7.00	14.5%
Expected Education	72613	3.24	1.41	0.00	6.00	1.4%
Native Born	72613	94.0%	0.24	0.00	1.00	1.3%
Parent Discussion National Politics	72613	0.57	0.49	0.00	1.00	4.3%
Volunteer Group Participation	72613	0.16	0.36	0.00	1.00	9.1%
Studied Community Problems	72613	0.67	0.45	0.00	1.00	11.6%
Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	72613	102.09	20.04	9.63	165.19	0.3%
Open Climate for Classroom Disc.	72613	10.00	1.99	2.58	15.54	3.8%
Collective Student Efficacy	72613	10.03	1.98	3.51	14.05	3.1%
Internal Political Efficacy	72613	9.98	1.97	4.80	16.27	3.6%
Protective Nationalism	72613	10.05	1.99	2.63	14.73	2.0%
Positive toward Minority Groups	72613	9.99	1.98	3.80	13.90	2.6%
Trust in Government Institutions	72613	10.00	1.96	2.77	17.24	2.1%
Economy-Related Government Responsibilities	72613	0.00	1.00	-4.10	2.55	1.7%

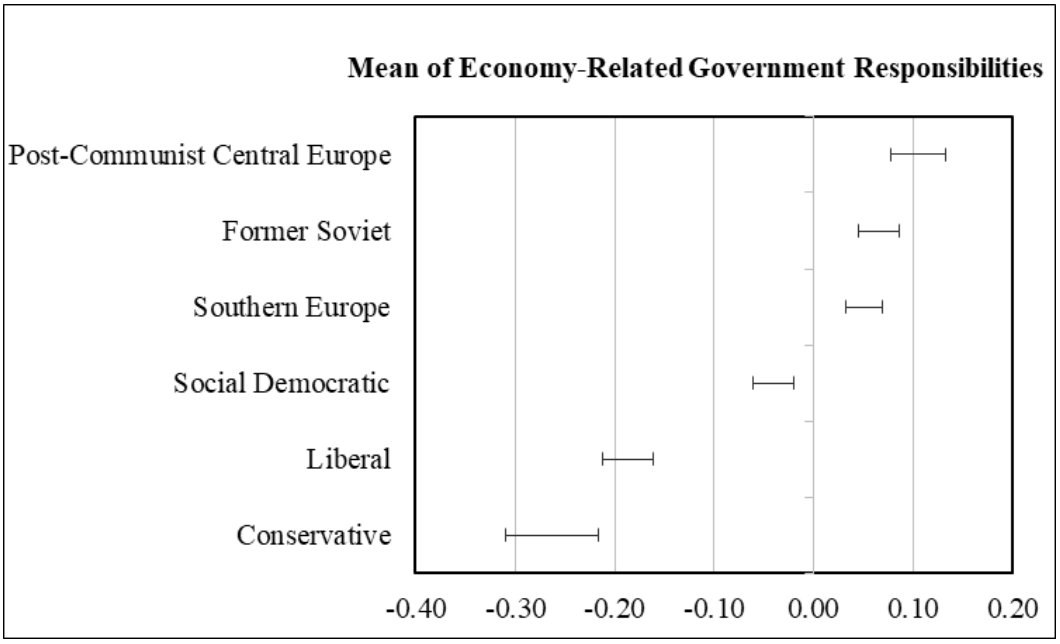
Regime and Country Differences for Economy-Related Government Responsibilities

Table 2 and Figure 2 present results related to hypothesis one, theorizing that a country's welfare regime type will be associated with differences in the outcome variable measuring youth attitudes toward government support for economic needs.

Table 2. Mean of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities by regime type.

Regime	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Liberal	8,489	-0.19	0.01	-0.21	-0.16
Social Democratic	11,926	-0.04	0.01	-0.06	-0.02
Conservative	5,509	-0.26	0.02	-0.31	-0.22
Southern Europe	13,379	0.05	0.01	0.03	0.07
Post-Communist Central Europe	22,065	0.11	0.01	0.08	0.13
Former Soviet	11,245	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.09
	72,613				

Figure 2. Mean of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities by regime type.



Notes: Confidence intervals = Mean +/- 2 standard errors.

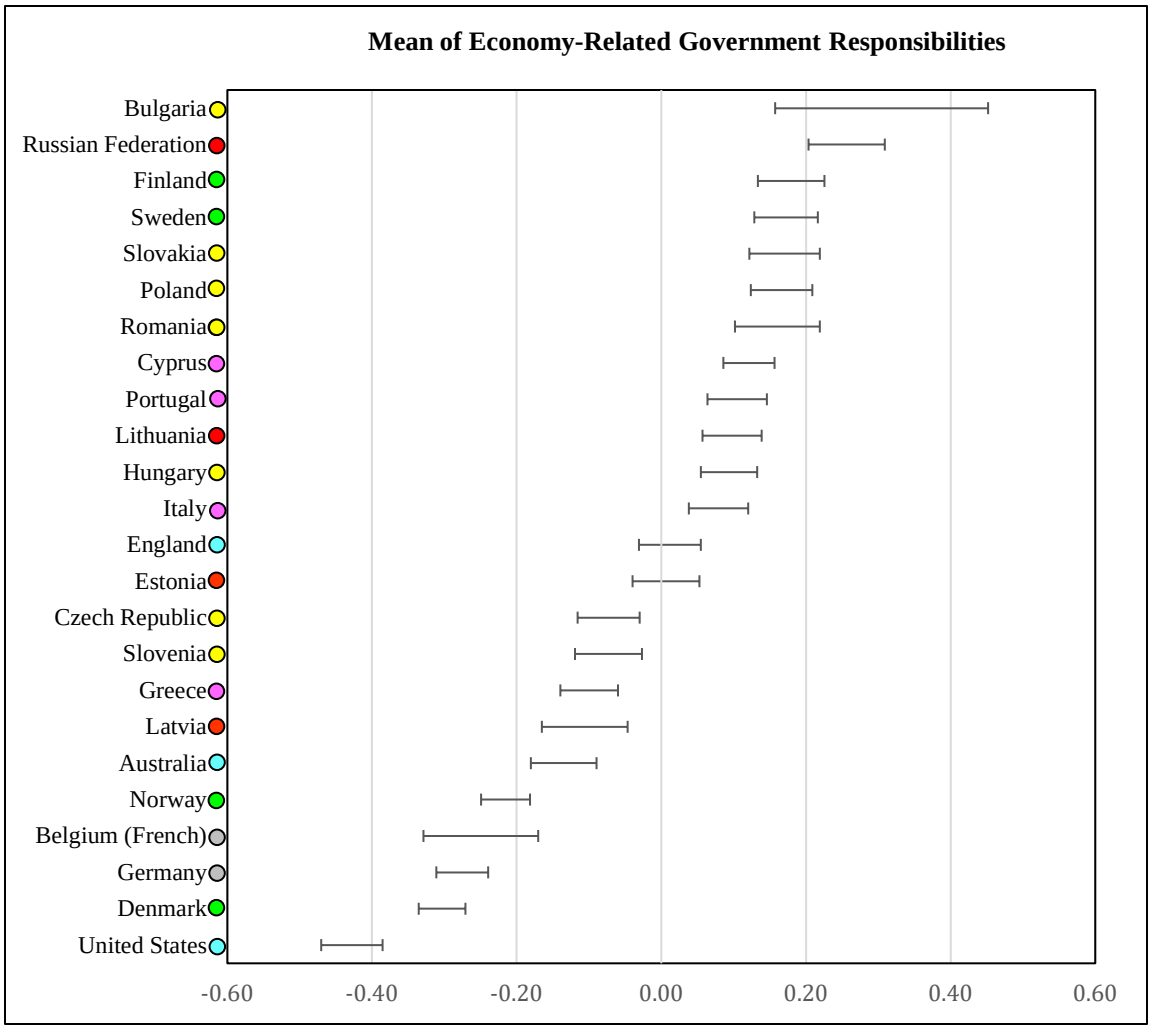
In plotting the regime mean values and 95% confidence intervals for the economy-related government responsibilities scale, several regime groupings are evident. First, confidence intervals for the social democratic, liberal, and conservative regimes are independent of one another. The highest regime mean is post-communist Central Europe (.11), followed in descending order by former Soviet (.06), and Southern Europe (.05), with these regimes falling above the overall international mean. The social democratic (–.04), liberal (–.19), and conservative (–.26) regimes fall below the international mean. Given that the outcome variable is grand-mean centered, differences between regime means are considered in standard deviation units. The difference in means between the highest (post-communist Central Europe) and lowest (conservative) regime mean is over a third (.37) of a standard deviation.

Mean differences were also calculated by country, with Table 3 and Figure 3 showing the distribution of means cross-nationally.

Table 3. Mean of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities by country.

Country	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Australia	3,031	-0.13	0.02	-0.18	-0.09
Belgium (French)	1,956	-0.25	0.04	-0.33	-0.17
Bulgaria	2,620	0.30	0.07	0.16	0.45
Cyprus	3,054	0.12	0.02	0.09	0.16
Czech Republic	3,585	-0.07	0.02	-0.12	-0.03
Denmark	3,063	-0.30	0.02	-0.34	-0.27
England	2,798	0.01	0.02	-0.03	0.05
Estonia	3,284	0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.05
Finland	2,729	0.18	0.02	0.13	0.23
Germany	3,553	-0.28	0.02	-0.31	-0.24
Greece	3,393	-0.10	0.02	-0.14	-0.06
Hungary	3,126	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.13
Italy	3,790	0.08	0.02	0.04	0.12
Latvia	2,481	-0.11	0.03	-0.17	-0.05
Lithuania	3,373	0.10	0.02	0.06	0.14
Norway	3,208	-0.22	0.02	-0.25	-0.18
Poland	3,335	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.21
Portugal	3,142	0.10	0.02	0.06	0.15
Romania	2,965	0.16	0.03	0.10	0.22
Russian Federation	2,107	0.26	0.03	0.20	0.31
Slovenia	3,005	-0.07	0.02	-0.12	-0.03
Slovakia	3,429	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.22
Sweden	2,926	0.17	0.02	0.13	0.22
United States	2,660	-0.43	0.02	-0.47	-0.39
	72,613				

Figure 3. Mean of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities by country.



In viewing means grouped by country (instead of welfare regime type), the following are notable observations. First, the United States, considered the prototypical representation of the liberal regime, has the lowest mean value of any county. The United States has a non-over-lapping confidence interval that is well below the other countries. On average, youth in the United States have attitudes toward government-provided economic support that are nearly half (.43) of a standard deviations below the

international mean. Among the two other liberal democracies, Australia is also in the lowest quartile; however, England is in the middle of the group of 24 countries with a confidence interval that straddles the international mean. England is considered either a liberal regime or a mixed case in the literature (Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Janoski, 1998). This is important to note in considering the regime mean distributions in Figure 2, since England's inclusion as a liberal regime raises the overall liberal regime mean somewhat.

Unexpectedly, the social democracies are split in their support for economy-related government responsibilities, with Finland and Sweden in the highest quartile, and Denmark and Norway in the lowest quartile of countries. This may be due in part to the wording of the "redistribution" question that is part of the index of the dependent variable, and whether students interpret the question to mean "further" redistribution beyond the high degree of social welfare that already exists (Dallinger, 2010).
As expected, countries listed in the top quartile of the distribution of means are represented by a mix of social democratic and post-communist transitioning countries.

Regime and Country Differences for Society-Related Government Responsibilities

The next series of tables and figures illustrate regime and country patterns when the outcome is society-related government responsibilities (beyond economic).

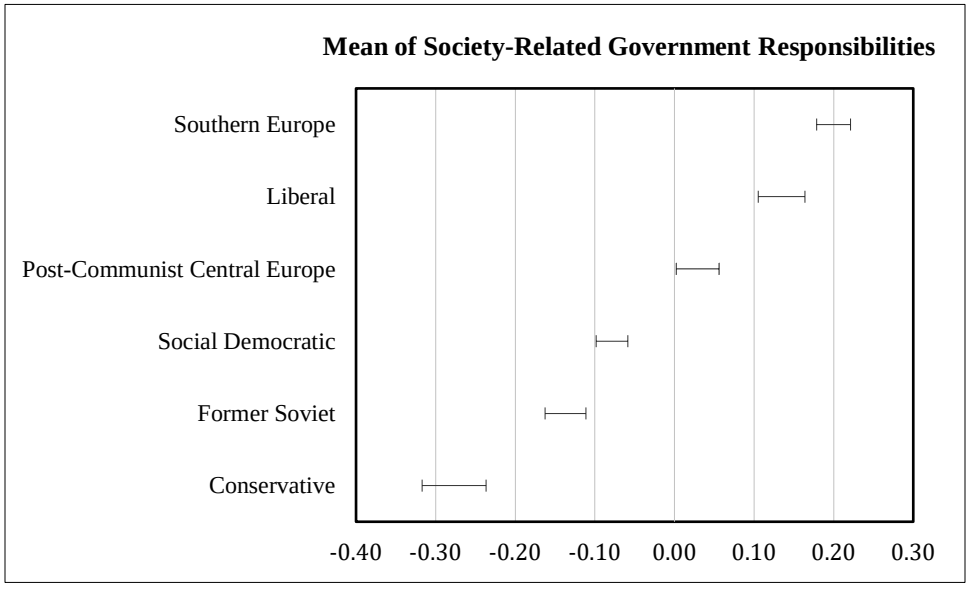
As seen in Tables 4 and 5, the distributions of means for the outcome variable society-related government responsibilities exhibit a different pattern to those seen in economy-related government responsibilities. Here, the mean for the liberal regimes (.13) is now above the international mean with the second highest level of support next to Southern Europe regime (.20). Other regime means include post-communist Central Europe (.03), social democracies (–.08); former Soviet (–.14); and conservative (–.28).

In viewing the means for individual countries, it appears that the United States ranks approximately in the middle of the surveyed countries, with an error bar range that straddles the international mean. The difference in means between the most supportive regime (Southern Europe) and least supportive regime (conservative) is nearly half (.48) of a standard deviation, and between the most supportive country (Poland) and least supportive country (Denmark) is .83 standard deviations.

Table 4. Mean of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities by regime type.

Regime	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Liberal	8,468	0.13	0.01	0.11	0.16
Social Democratic	11,858	-0.08	0.01	-0.10	-0.06
Conservative	5,497	-0.28	0.02	-0.32	-0.24
Southern Europe	13,372	0.20	0.01	0.18	0.22
Post-Communist Central Europe	22,046	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.06
Former Soviet	11,240	-0.14	0.01	-0.16	-0.11
	72,481				

Figure 4. Mean of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities by regime type.

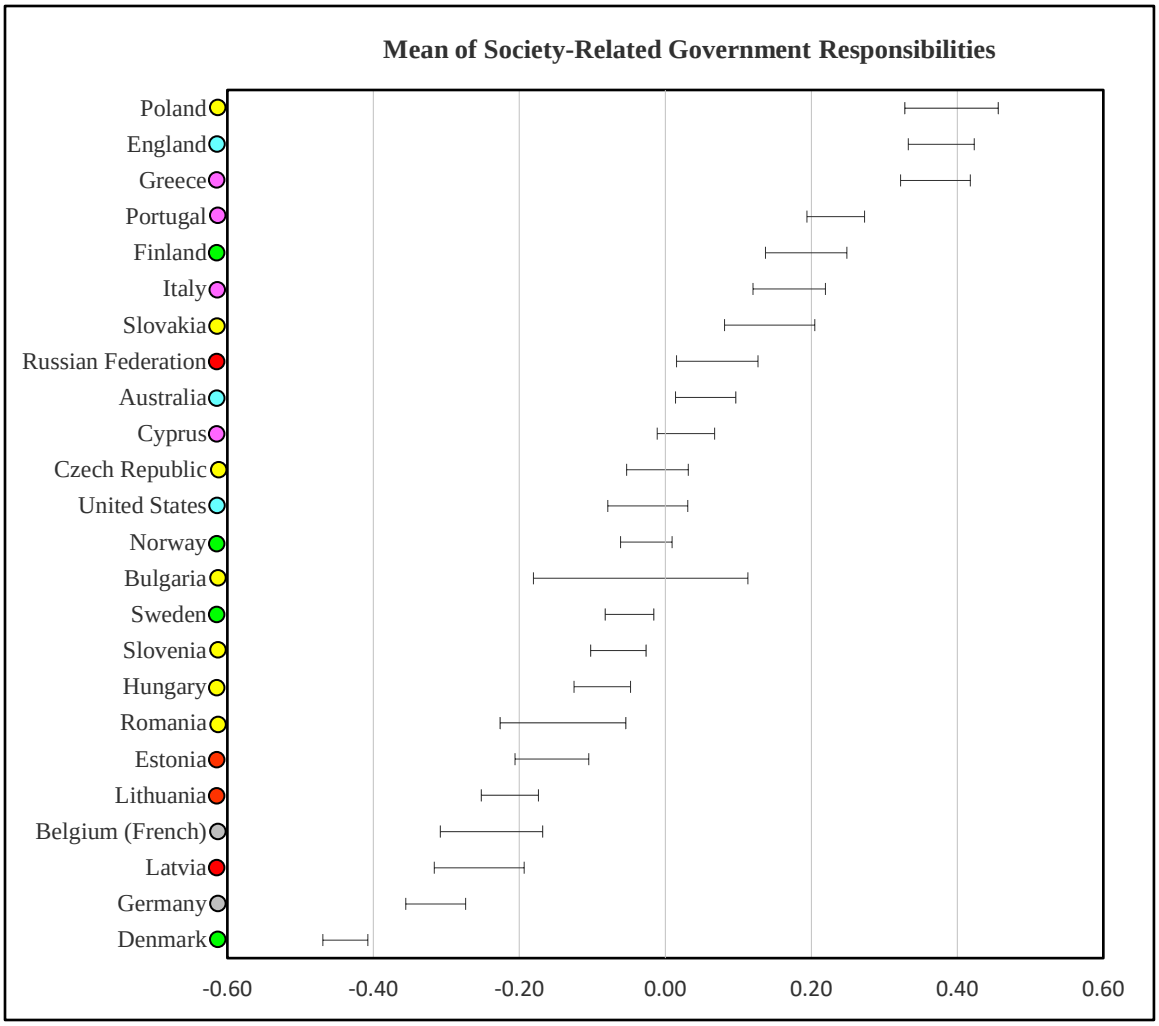


Notes: Confidence intervals = Mean +/- 2 standard errors.

Table 5. Mean of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities by country.

Country	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Australia	3,028	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.10
Belgium (French)	1,950	-0.24	0.04	-0.31	-0.17
Bulgaria	2,620	-0.03	0.07	-0.18	0.11
Cyprus	3,053	0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.07
Czech Republic	3,584	-0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.03
Denmark	3,060	-0.44	0.02	-0.47	-0.41
England	2,793	0.38	0.02	0.33	0.42
Estonia	3,281	-0.16	0.03	-0.21	-0.10
Finland	2,704	0.19	0.03	0.14	0.25
Germany	3,547	-0.31	0.02	-0.36	-0.27
Greece	3,391	0.37	0.02	0.32	0.42
Hungary	3,114	-0.09	0.02	-0.13	-0.05
Italy	3,788	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.22
Latvia	2,479	-0.25	0.03	-0.32	-0.19
Lithuania	3,372	-0.21	0.02	-0.25	-0.17
Norway	3,187	-0.03	0.02	-0.06	0.01
Poland	3,329	0.39	0.03	0.33	0.46
Portugal	3,140	0.23	0.02	0.19	0.27
Romania	2,966	-0.14	0.04	-0.23	-0.05
Russian Federation	2,108	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.13
Slovakia	3,429	0.14	0.03	0.08	0.20
Slovenia	3,004	-0.06	0.02	-0.10	-0.03
Sweden	2,907	-0.05	0.02	-0.08	-0.02
United States	2,647	-0.02	0.03	-0.08	0.03
	72,481				

Figure 5. Mean of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities by country.



Notes: Confidence intervals = Mean +/- 2 standard errors.

Liberal Social Democratic Conservative Southern Europe
Post Communist/Central Europe Former Soviet

Regime and Country Differences in Expectations of Community Participation

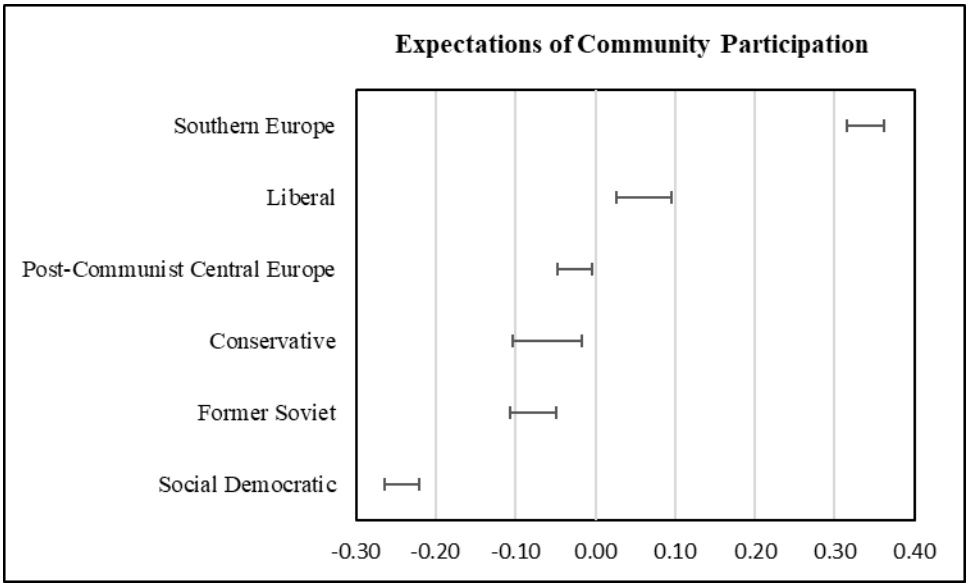
As seen in Tables 6 and 7, the distributions of means for the outcome variable expectations of community participation also show a different pattern to those seen in economy-related government responsibilities. The highest mean support can be found for the Southern Europe regime (.34), followed by liberal (.06), post-communist Central Europe (–.03), conservative (–.06), former Soviet (–.08), and social democratic (–.24)

regimes. In looking at the means of individual countries, the United States is in the first quartile of countries, with a mean (.18) that is well above the national average. The spread in mean differences between the highest and lowest regimes is more than half (.58) a standard deviation, and nearly a full standard deviation (.99) between the highest and lowest mean values among countries. Also notable is the concentration of Southern Europe countries found above the national mean, and the concentration of social democratic nations, concentrated below the international mean.

Table 6. Mean of expectations of community participation by regime type.

Regime	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Liberal	7,852	0.06	0.02	0.03	0.10
Social Democratic	11,014	-0.24	0.01	-0.26	-0.22
Conservative	5,220	-0.06	0.02	-0.10	-0.02
Southern Europe	12,914	0.34	0.01	0.31	0.36
Post-Communist Central Europe	21,130	-0.03	0.01	-0.05	0.00
Former Soviet	10,720	-0.08	0.01	-0.11	-0.05
	68,850				

Figure 6. Mean of expectations of community participation by regime type.

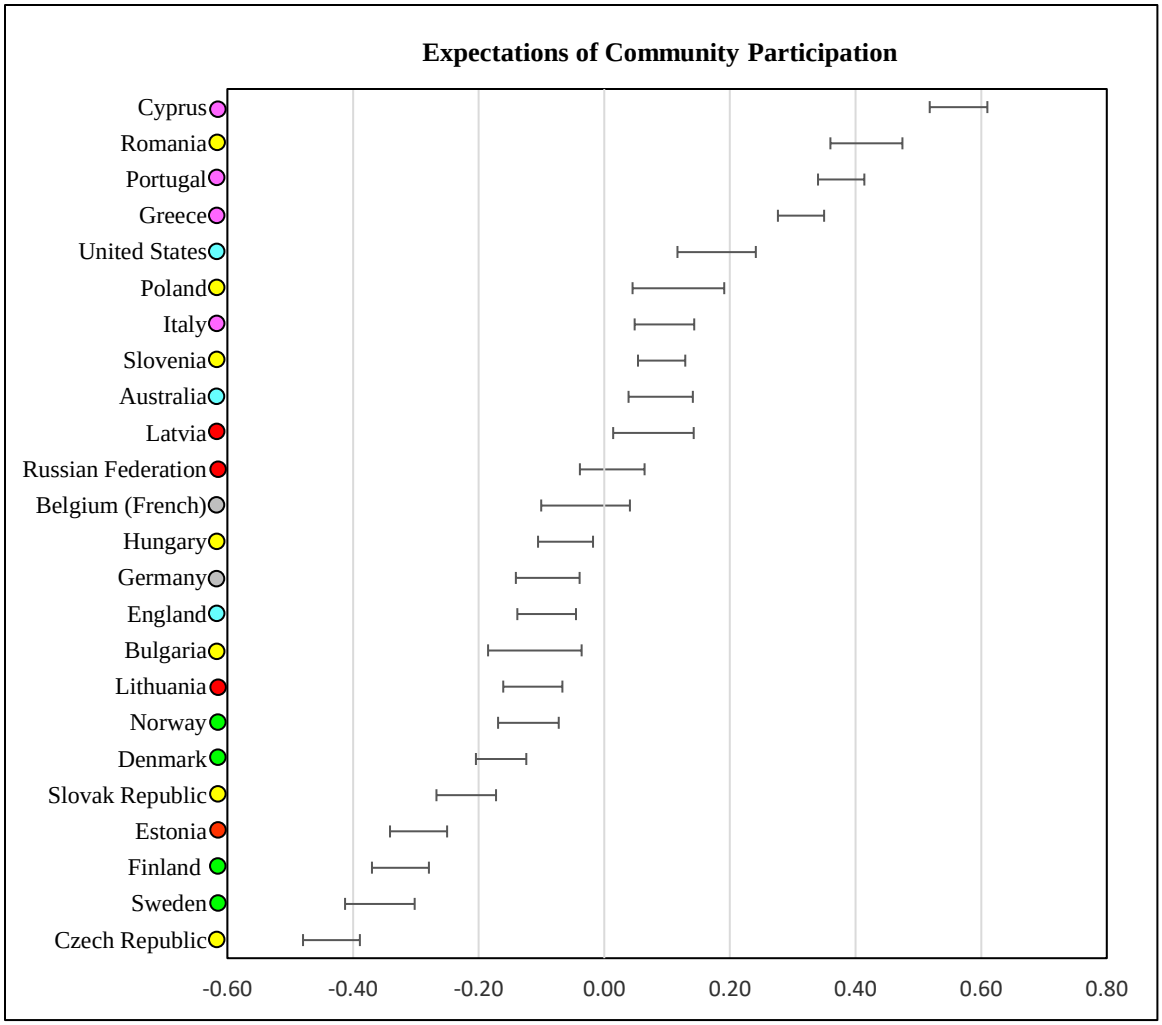


Notes: Confidence intervals = Mean +/- 2 standard errors.

Table 7. Mean of expectations of community participation by country.

Country	N	Mean	SE	95% CI	
Australia	2,828	0.09	0.03	0.04	0.14
Belgium (French)	1,826	-0.03	0.04	-0.10	0.04
Bulgaria	2,423	-0.11	0.04	-0.18	-0.04
Cyprus	3,005	0.56	0.02	0.52	0.61
Czech Republic	3,415	-0.43	0.02	-0.48	-0.39
Denmark	2,816	-0.16	0.02	-0.20	-0.12
England	2,574	-0.09	0.02	-0.14	-0.05
Estonia	3,146	-0.30	0.02	-0.34	-0.25
Finland	2,526	-0.32	0.02	-0.37	-0.28
Germany	3,394	-0.09	0.03	-0.14	-0.04
Greece	3,308	0.31	0.02	0.28	0.35
Hungary	3,086	-0.06	0.02	-0.11	-0.02
Italy	3,642	0.10	0.02	0.05	0.14
Latvia	2,394	0.08	0.03	0.01	0.14
Lithuania	3,137	-0.11	0.02	-0.16	-0.07
Norway	2,963	-0.12	0.02	-0.17	-0.07
Poland	3,181	0.12	0.04	0.05	0.19
Portugal	2,959	0.38	0.02	0.34	0.41
Romania	2,889	0.42	0.03	0.36	0.47
Russian Federation	2,043	0.01	0.03	-0.04	0.06
Slovak Republic	3,302	-0.22	0.02	-0.27	-0.17
Slovenia	2,834	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.13
Sweden	2,709	-0.36	0.03	-0.41	-0.30
United States	2,450	0.18	0.03	0.12	0.24
	68,850				

Figure 7. Mean of expectations of community participation by country.



Notes: Confidence intervals = Mean +/- 2 standard errors.

Liberal Social Democratic Conservative Southern Europe
Post Communist/Central Europe Former Soviet

Finally, country mean values for the economy-related government responsibilities scale are plotted against each of the two other outcome measures explored in this dissertation with the results presented in Appendix C, Figures C1 and C2. First, and as expected, the two government responsibility items are correlated ($r = .41$, $p<.05$). However, the lack of a stronger correlation is likely due to outlier countries such as the United States, which occupies the most extreme position on the economy-related

government responsibilities outcome, and is near the international mean on support for society-related government responsibilities.

Figure C2 shows a plot of adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities versus their own expectations of community participation. The values in this scatterplot are not correlated. However, the positions of Sweden and Finland indicating higher support for economy-related government responsibilities and having lower expectations of community participation follow expected patterns found in the literature review. The position of the United States also fits the American exceptionalism pattern of very low support for economy-related government responsibilities along with relatively higher expectations of community participation.

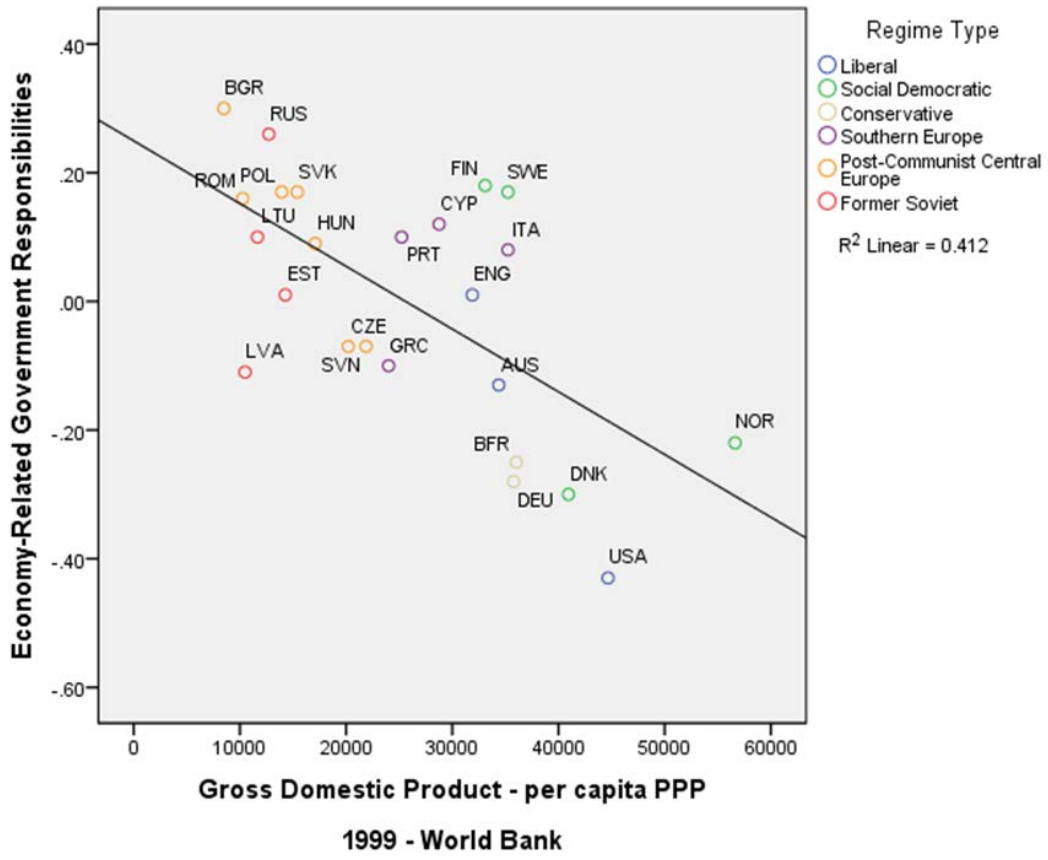
Country-Level Scatterplots

While the primary focus of this dissertation is on a comparative analysis of welfare regimes and students' social rights attitudes, an analysis of other country-level indicators may provide insight into the United States experience as an outlier, as well as provide some clues as to unexpected findings for Denmark and Norway.

As additional descriptive background, a series of scatterplots are presented to illustrate patterns of economy-related government responsibilities with regime-related macroeconomic indicator data that measure levels of economic opportunity as well as levels of social risk and social protection that a nation's population might experience. Studies of welfare regimes include these regime-related macroeconomic indicator data either as a means to provide additional descriptive background information or to provide an alternative regime-related variable to use in regression models (Blekesaune, 2007; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger, 2006, 2009; Mair et al., 2016; Svallfors, 1997).

Figure 8 illustrates a plot of government support attitudes against level of gross national product GDP per capita (PPP), which is a common measure of economic production and prosperity. In this scatterplot, a fairly clear inverse linear trend is apparent with high GDP nations having lower mean levels of support for economy-related government responsibilities among adolescents. This is also indicated by a significant and somewhat strong correlation coefficient (r= –.64; p<.01). The country pattern is bookended by the less developed transitioning post-communist and former Soviet nations having high attitudinal support and lower GDP, and the United States, Norway, and Denmark, which display the opposite pattern.

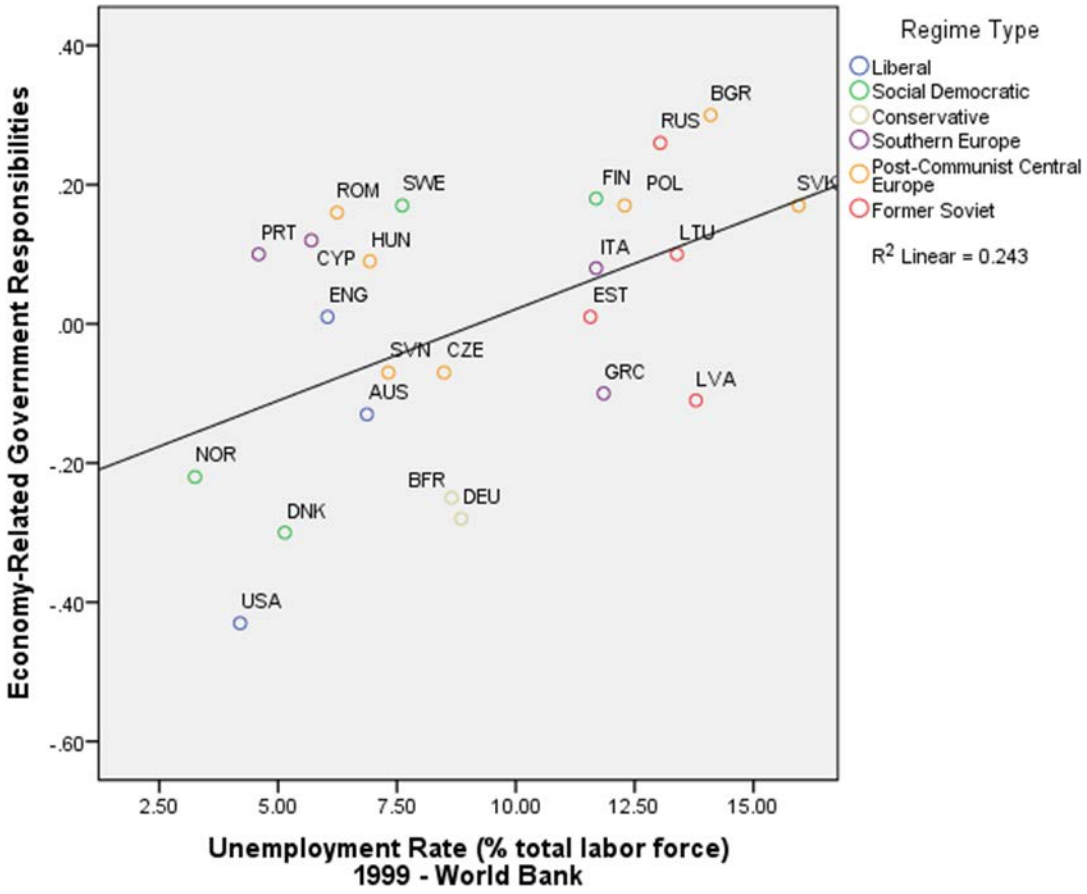
Figure 8. Plot of correlation between size of economy (GDP per capita PPP) and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = -.64, p<.01).

Figure 9 includes a bivariate correlation for a second macroeconomic indicator, unemployment rate as a percentage of the total labor force, compared with mean support for economy-related government responsibilities. As an economic risk factor, the unemployment rate shows a significant moderate positive relationship (r=.49, p<.05). The results are again bookended by the United States, Denmark, and Norway, as having lower mean support for government-provided economic protection and low unemployment, and several of the transitioning post-communist countries at the other end of the continuum.

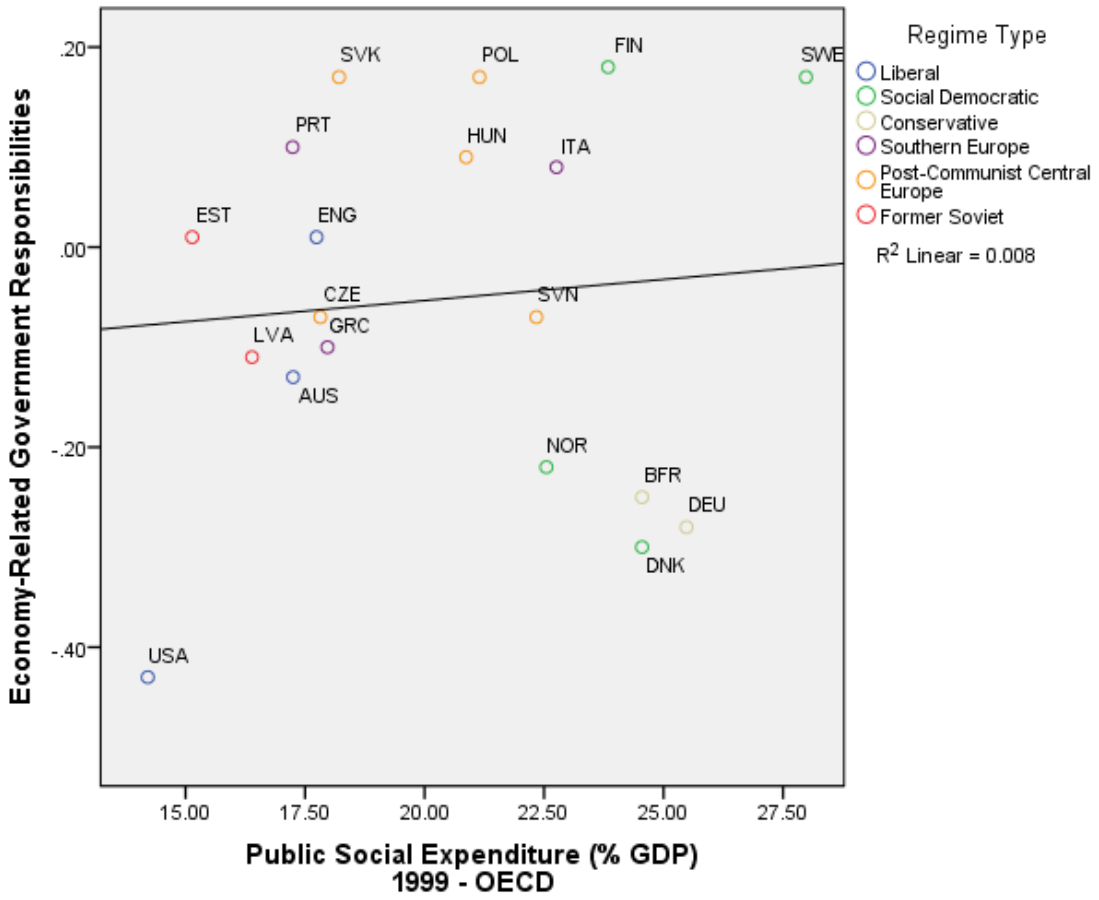
Figure 9. Plot of correlation between unemployment rate and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = .49, p<.05).

The next scatterplot (Figure 10) displays attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities versus public social expenditure as a percentage of GDP, a measure of total welfare spending. A less clear pattern is shown in this figure, although it is notable that the United States again is in an outlying position of having the lowest level of welfare spending and the lowest mean support for economy-related government responsibilities. In contrast, Sweden inhabits an extreme position at the other end of the figure, with high attitudinal support and the highest level of public social expenditure in the dataset.

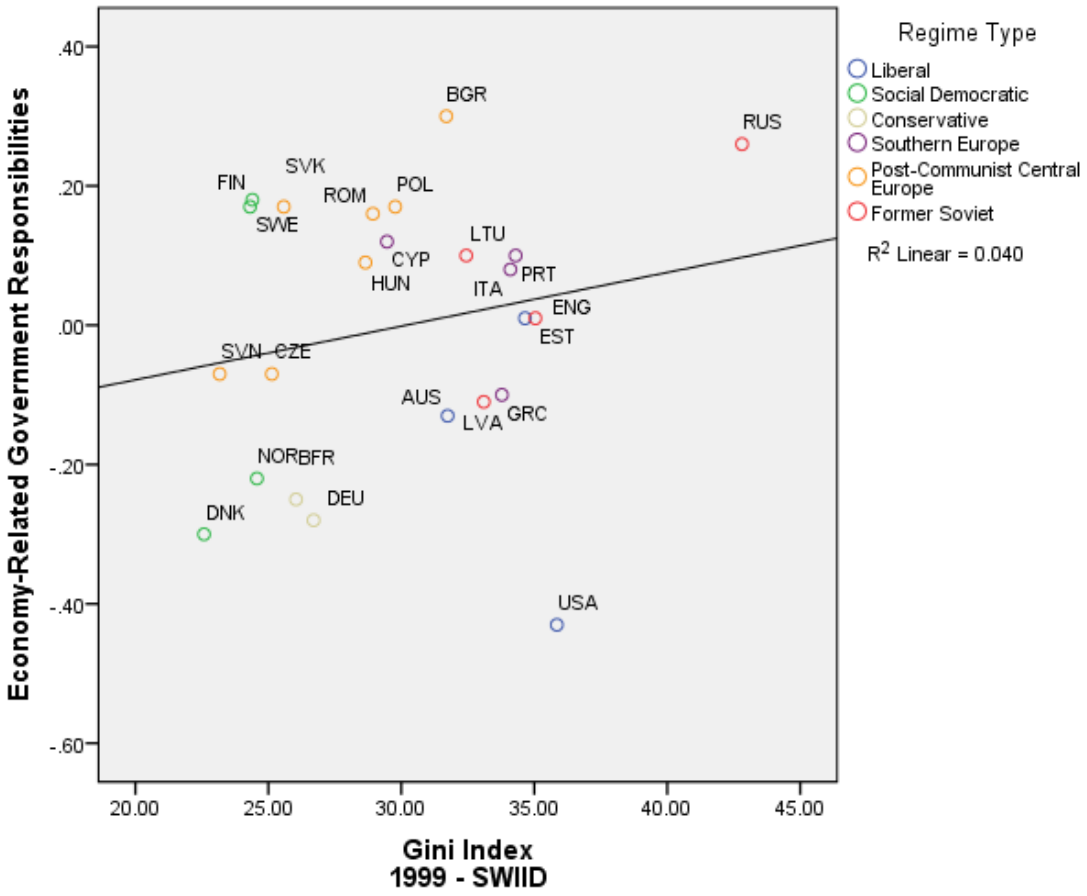
Figure 10. Plot of correlation between public social expenditure as a % GDP and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = .09, n.s.). Data is not available for Bulgaria, Cyprus, Lithuania, Romania, and Russian Federation.

Finally, in a plot of attitudes versus national Gini Index (measuring level of economic inequality) as seen in Figure 11, no clear relational pattern is apparent, although two high-inequality national outliers are found. The United States appears distinctive in having high inequality and low support for economy-related government responsibilities, while Russia stands apart in having high inequality and high levels of support.

Figure 11. Plot of correlation between level of inequality (Gini Index) and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = .20, n.s.).

Regression Models

Economy-Related Government Responsibilities

The following set of results relate to hypothesis three, which explore the extent to which student's demographic and social background will be associated with attitudes toward government support of economic well-being, and whether these patterns will vary by welfare regime type. To address this hypothesis, multiple regression models are run with incrementally added sets of independent variables culminating in a full model. Models are also split by welfare regime type and are presented as effect sizes, which allow for between regime group statistical testing. Table 8 includes an incremental set of models, including a model with just social background factors. Table 9 presents the full model analyzing attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities on student background, learning, efficacy, and attitudinal variables.

Table 8. Incremental OLS regression models (split by regime type) of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities on set of independent variables.

		Liberal				Social Democratic			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
		Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes	Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes
	Constant	-0.19 *** (0.01)	-0.19 *** (0.01)	-0.19 *** (0.01)	-0.19 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.10 *** (0.02)	0.09 *** (0.02)	0.06 ** (0.02)	0.05 * (0.02)	0.04 * (0.02)	0.04 * (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
	Home Literacy	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
	Expected Education	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
	Native Born	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.10 * (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 * (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation		-0.11 *** (0.03)	-0.12 *** (0.03)	-0.12 *** (0.03)		-0.12 *** (0.03)	-0.14 *** (0.02)	-0.11 *** (0.02)
	Studied Community Problems		0.12 *** (0.02)	0.08 ** (0.03)	0.07 ** (0.02)		0.04 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score		0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 *** (0.00)		0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.		0.02 ** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)		0.02 *** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy			0.07 *** (0.01)	0.03 *** (0.01)			0.08 *** (0.01)	0.05 *** (0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy			-0.02 ** (0.01)	-0.02 ** (0.01)			0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism				0.08 *** (0.01)				0.09 *** (0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups				0.08 *** (0.01)				0.09 *** (0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions				-0.01 (0.01)				-0.03 *** (0.01)
	Adj. R Sq.	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.09

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=72,613.

		Conservative				Southern Europe			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
		Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes	Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes
	Constant	-0.26 *** (0.02)	-0.26 *** (0.02)	-0.26 *** (0.02)	-0.26 *** (0.02)	0.05 *** (0.01)	0.05 *** (0.01)	0.05 *** (0.01)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.07 *** (0.02)	0.06 *** (0.02)	0.06 ** (0.02)
	Home Literacy	0.03 ** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
	Expected Education	0.03 * (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 *** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
	Native Born	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	0.05 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.07 *** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation		0.02 (0.06)	0.00 (0.05)	0.00 (0.06)		-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06 * (0.02)
	Studied Community Problems		0.07 * (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)		0.17 *** (0.02)	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.08 *** (0.02)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score		0.01 *** (0.00)	0.01 *** (0.00)	0.01 *** (0.00)		0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 ** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.		0.03 *** (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)		0.06 *** (0.01)	0.04 *** (0.01)	0.04 *** (0.00)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy			0.07 *** (0.01)	0.04 *** (0.01)			0.08 *** (0.00)	0.03 *** (0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy			0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)			0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism				0.08 *** (0.01)				0.07 *** (0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups				0.06 *** (0.01)				0.07 *** (0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions				0.00 (0.01)				0.00 (0.01)
	Adj. R Sq.	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.03	0.06	0.10

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=72,613.

		Post-Communist Central Europe				Former Soviet			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
		Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes	Student Background	Learning	Efficacy	Attitudes
	Constant	0.11 *** (0.01)	0.11 *** (0.01)	0.11 *** (0.01)	0.11 *** (0.01)	0.06 *** (0.01)	0.06 *** (0.01)	0.06 *** (0.01)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.08 *** (0.02)	0.07 *** (0.02)	0.06 *** (0.02)	0.07 *** (0.02)	0.06 ** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
	Home Literacy	0.03 *** (0.01)	0.03 ** (0.01)	0.03 ** (0.01)	0.03 ** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	-0.02 * (0.01)	-0.02 * (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
	Expected Education	0.05 *** (0.01)	0.02 *** (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.06 *** (0.01)	0.04 *** (0.01)	0.04 *** (0.01)	0.03 *** (0.01)
	Native Born	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.05)	-0.09 * (0.05)	-0.10 * (0.04)	-0.10 * (0.04)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	0.08 *** (0.02)	0.04 * (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.08 *** (0.02)	0.05 * (0.02)	0.05 * (0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation		-0.09 *** (0.03)	-0.08 *** (0.02)	-0.07 ** (0.03)		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)
	Studied Community Problems		0.17 *** (0.02)	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.08 *** (0.02)		-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score		0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)		0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 *** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.		0.03 *** (0.01)	0.01 * (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)		0.04 *** (0.01)	0.03 *** (0.01)	0.02 ** (0.01)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy			0.11 *** (0.01)	0.07 *** (0.01)			0.08 *** (0.01)	0.05 *** (0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy			0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)			0.02 * (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism				0.10 *** (0.00)				0.08 *** (0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups				0.05 *** (0.01)				0.06 *** (0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions				-0.01 (0.01)				-0.04 *** (0.01)
	Adj. R Sq.	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.07

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=72,613.

Table 9. OLS regression full model (split by regime type) of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities on set of independent variables.

		Liberal	Social Democratic	Conservative	Southern Europe	Post-Communist Central Europe	Former Soviet
	Constant	-0.19 ***	-0.04 ***	-0.26 ***	0.05 ***	0.11 ***	0.06 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.05 *	0.00	0.01	0.06 **	0.07 ***	0.03
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
	Home Literacy	0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03 **	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Expected Education	-0.04 ***	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Native Born	-0.05	0.06	-0.05	-0.03	-0.09	-0.10 *
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.11)	(0.04)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.05 *
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation	-0.12 ***	-0.11 ***	0.00	-0.06 *	-0.07 **	-0.06
		(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
	Studied Community Problems	0.07 **	0.02	0.03	0.08 ***	0.08 ***	-0.04
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	0.00 ***	0.00	0.01 ***	0.00	0.00	0.00
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.04 ***	0.00	0.02 **
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy	0.03 ***	0.05 ***	0.04 ***	0.03 ***	0.07 ***	0.05 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy	-0.02 **	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02 *
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism	0.08 ***	0.09 ***	0.08 ***	0.07 ***	0.10 ***	0.08 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups	0.08 ***	0.09 ***	0.06 ***	0.07 ***	0.05 ***	0.06 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions	-0.01	-0.03 ***	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.04 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Adj. R Sq.		0.06	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.07

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=72,613.

In viewing Tables 8 and 9, the intercept (constant) is the value of attitudes toward the economy-related government responsibilities outcome based on the average value of each the independent variables. Since these predictor variables are group-mean centered within each regime type, the intercept also represents the mean value of the dependent variable within each regime. In addition, standardizing the dependent variable results in the ability to have the independent variables interpreted as effect sizes.

Demographic and Family Background Differences

As seen in the full model (Table 9), statistically significant associations between gender and attitudes supporting economy-related government responsibilities are found in several regimes. Although the effect sizes reported for gender are considered small, for regimes in which statistically significant coefficients are found, females have more positive views of government support for economic needs than do males. In particular, female students in liberal democracies are .05 standard deviations more likely to believe that governments are responsible for economic well-being compared to males (β = .05). Females are also more likely to favor government support in the post-communist Central Europe (β = .07) and Southern Europe (β = .06) regimes. The coefficient for gender is not significant in the other regimes.

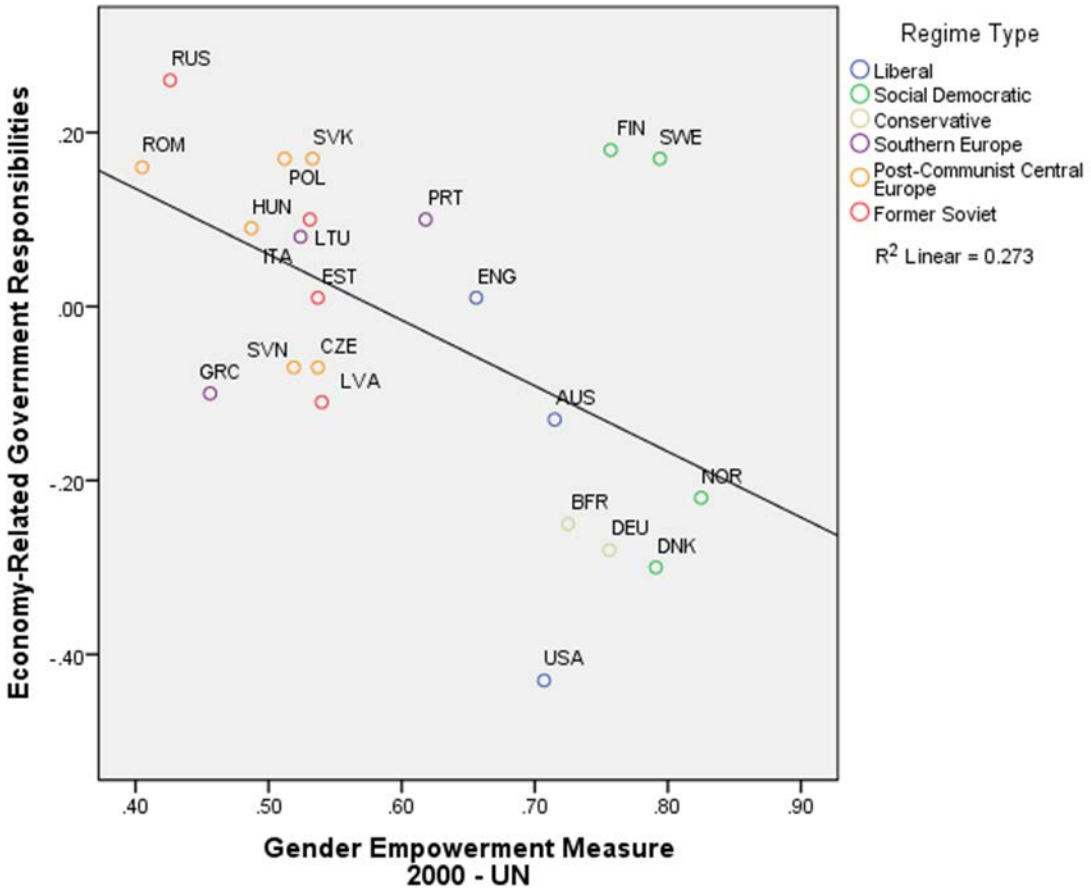
In order to test whether the coefficient for gender is significantly different between the liberal and other regimes, we can use a test of independence of two coefficients found in Cohen and Cohen (1983, p.111):

$$z = \frac{B_{i1} - B_{i2}}{\sqrt{SE_{B_{i1}}^2 + SE_{B_{i2}}^2}}$$

Employing this test for the liberal regime coefficient for gender and each of the other regimes does not yield any significant differences. However, a test of the difference in gender coefficients between liberal and social democratic regimes in the incremental model with just student background variables (Table 8) does find that these are significantly different (at $p<.05$ level). (Tests of difference between the liberal regime and the other regime coefficients do not find any significant differences in the incremental model). Also noteworthy, the coefficient for gender in the liberal regime in the model with just social background factors ($\beta = .10$) is substantially reduced by half in the full model.

Figure 12 shows the bivariate correlation between attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities and the United Nations Development Programme's Gender Empowerment Measure (female participation in a country's economic and political affairs). A significant and moderate negative trend is found ($r = –.52$, $p<.05$). The scatterplot is anchored on one end by the transitioning post-communist countries representing high support for economy-related government responsibilities and low levels of gender empowerment. At the other end of the continuum are a mixture of conservative, liberal, and two social democratic nations (Norway and Denmark), which have comparatively lower support for economy-related government responsibilities and high levels of gender empowerment. Sweden and Finland appear as outliers exhibiting high support for both measures.

Figure 12. Plot of correlation between Gender Empowerment Measure and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = -.52, p<.05). Data is not available for Bulgaria and Cyprus.

Gender differences are also analyzed in a comparison of country means. First, as seen in Table 10, statistically significant mean differences are found in more than half of the countries in this analysis, with females favoring government support more than males in each. Second, in each of the social democracies, no significant gender differences are found. Third, significant gender differences are found in all the liberal democracies, as well as in three of the four Southern Europe regime nations.

Table 10. Gender differences by country for attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.

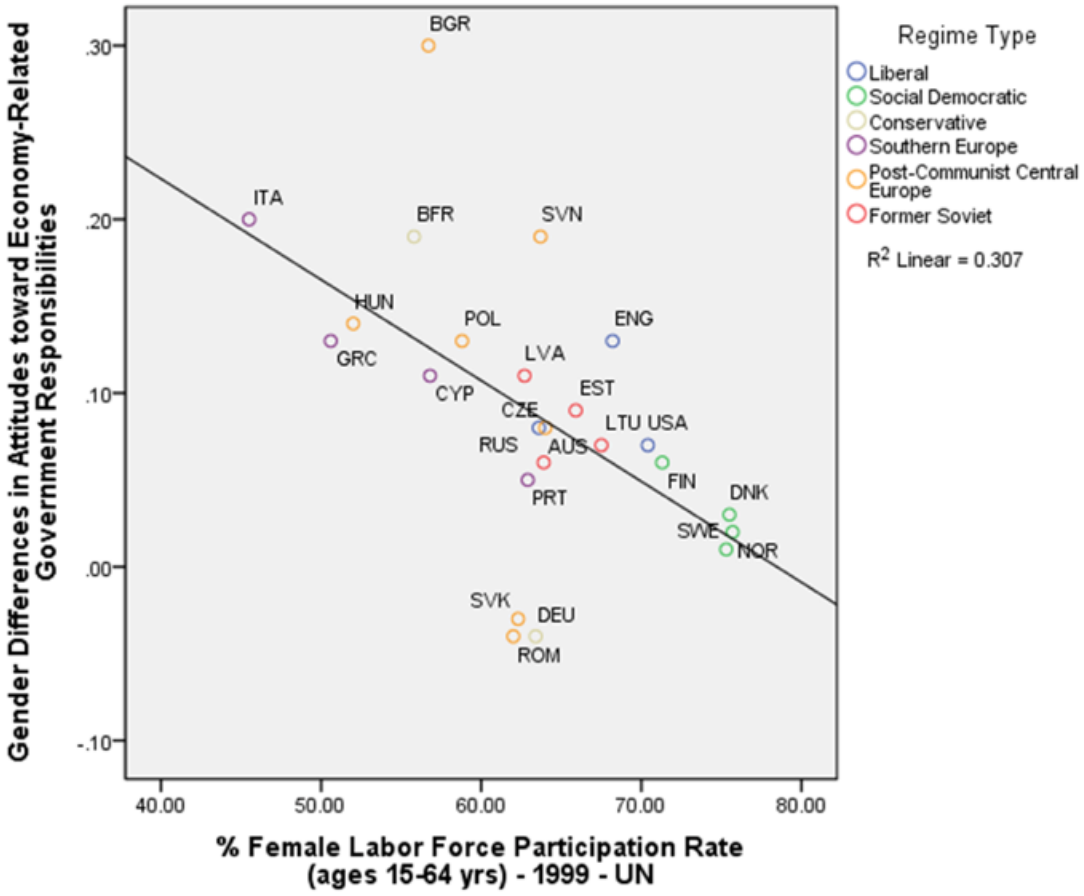
	Female	Male	Mean Difference		Regime Type
Germany	-0.29	-0.26	-0.04		Conservative
Romania	0.14	0.18	-0.04		Post-Communist
Slovakia	0.16	0.19	-0.03		Post-Communist
Sweden	0.18	0.17	0.01		Social Democratic
Norway	-0.20	-0.23	0.02		Social Democratic
Denmark	-0.29	-0.32	0.03		Social Democratic
Portugal	0.13	0.08	0.05		Southern Europe
Russian Federation	0.28	0.23	0.06		Former Soviet
Finland	0.21	0.15	0.06		Social Democratic
Lithuania	0.13	0.06	0.07		Former Soviet
United States	-0.39	-0.47	0.07	*	Liberal
Australia	-0.10	-0.18	0.08	*	Liberal
Czech Republic	-0.03	-0.11	0.08	*	Post-Communist
Estonia	0.05	-0.04	0.09		Former Soviet
Cyprus	0.17	0.07	0.11	**	Southern Europe
Latvia	-0.05	-0.16	0.11	*	Former Soviet
Poland	0.23	0.10	0.13	*	Post-Communist
England	0.08	-0.05	0.13	**	Liberal
Greece	-0.04	-0.17	0.13	***	Southern Europe
Hungary	0.17	0.02	0.14	***	Post-Communist
Belgium (French)	-0.15	-0.34	0.19	***	Conservative
Slovenia	0.02	-0.17	0.19	***	Post-Communist
Italy	0.17	-0.02	0.20	***	Southern Europe
Bulgaria	0.44	0.15	0.30	***	Post-Communist

Notes: *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

These gender differences are further analyzed using scatterplots that allow comparisons to other gender-related macroeconomic indicator data. In Figure 13, gender differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities are compared to the percentage of female labor force participation for the year in which student data was collected. The data show a moderate and significant negative correlation ($r = –.55$, $p<.01$). The results are bookended by a clustering of each of the social

democracies in the lower right quadrant (with having little to no gender differences and high female labor force participation), and Italy, Greece, and Hungary in the upper left hand quadrant (with higher gender differences and low female labor force participation).

Figure 13. Plot of correlation between female labor force participation and gender differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.

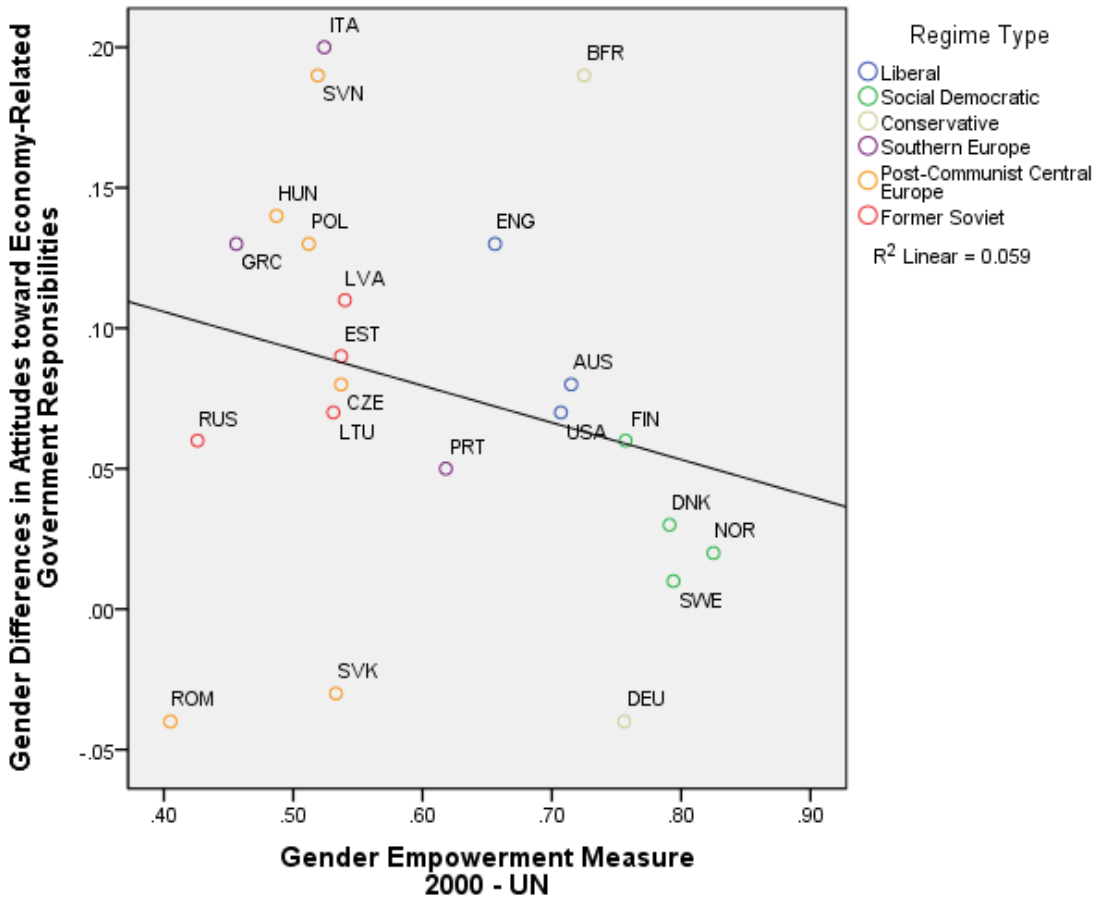


Notes: Correlation (r = -.55, p<.01).

The plot in Figure 14 shows gender differences in economy-related government responsibilities compared with the Gender Empowerment Measure. Although the bivariate correlation is not significant, the plot similarly finds the social democracies grouped in the lower right quadrant (with having little to no gender differences and high

female empowerment), and Italy and Greece as well as several post-communist Central European countries in the upper left hand quadrant (with high gender differences and lower values on the Gender Empowerment Measure).

Figure 14. Plot of correlation between Gender Empowerment Measure and gender differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = -.24, n.s.). Data is not available for Bulgaria and Cyprus.

For the most part, results related to immigrant status are not significant with the exception of the former Soviet regime. Here, being native born is associated with lower support for economy-related government activities (β = –.10). A test of regime

differences finds that this coefficient is not statistically different than the result found for the liberal regime.

Next, social background and parent socialization factors are also explored using regression models and stratified group means based on high and low levels of home literacy resources. The regression results in Table 9 show that, with a few exceptions, the regression coefficients for social background-related variables are largely inconsequential. First, there are no significant associations for parent education in any regime. Second, there is a very small statistically significant negative association (β = –.04) for expected education and economy-related government responsibilities in the liberal regime, which contrasts with a positive association (β = .03) in the former Soviet regime. A test of difference shows that these two coefficients are significantly different from one another. In addition, home literacy has only a statistically significant coefficient (β = .03) in the post-communist Central Europe regime. Finally, parent discussion of politics has a small positive association (β = .05) in the former Soviet regime. There are no other significant associations in any of the other regimes, and this coefficient is not significantly different that the result for the liberal regime.

A few notable observations are seen in the incremental model with just social background factors included (Table 8). The coefficient for expected education in liberal regimes remains consistent with the full model while the significant coefficients for expected education in the other regimes become non-significant or are reduced. In addition, there is a small positive effect (β = .10) for being native born and support for economy-related government responsibilities in the social democratic regime and fairly small positive associations with parent discussion in the post-communist Central Europe

regime (β = .08) and Southern Europe (β = .07) regime (compared to non-significant coefficients in the full model). Finally, there is a small positive association with parent discussion in the former Soviet regime (β = .11), which is reduced by more than half in the full model.

Mean differences in home literacy resources (between the most and least resourced homes) are analyzed for the economy-related government responsibilities scale and are presented in Table 11). The United States, Australia, and Denmark appear to have a different pattern than the rest of the sample in that those with more books in the home have less support for government provision of economic needs. Although a test of mean differences for these countries is not significant, these results are counter to the prevailing pattern of higher support provided among the most resourced homes. In addition, the highest and most statistically significant gaps in the prevailing pattern can be found among several of the transitional former Soviet and post-communist Central European countries.

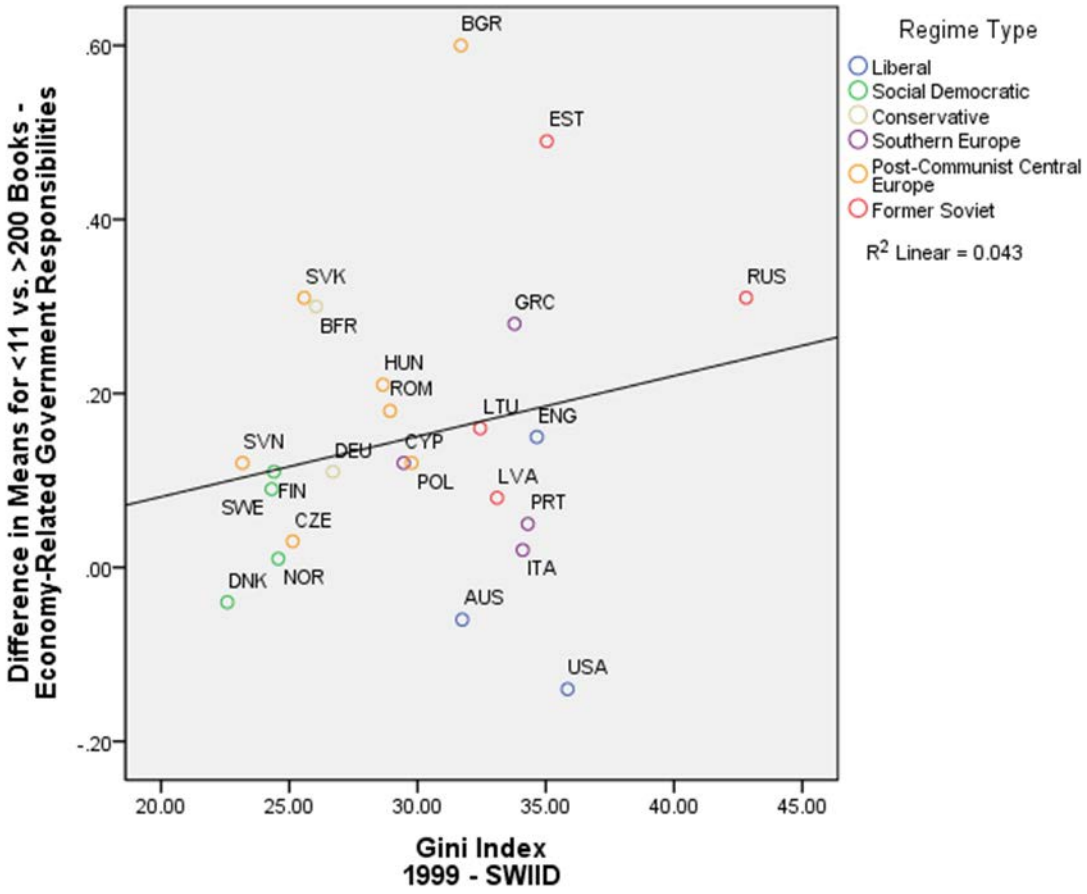
Table 11. Differences between highest and lowest levels of books in the home for attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.

	<11	>200	Mean Difference		Regime Type
United States	-0.38	-0.52	-0.14		Liberal
Australia	-0.09	-0.15	-0.06		Liberal
Denmark	-0.23	-0.27	-0.04		Social Democratic
Norway	-0.20	-0.19	0.01		Social Democratic
Italy	0.09	0.12	0.02		Southern Europe
Czech Republic	-0.05	-0.02	0.03		Post-Communist
Portugal	0.10	0.14	0.05		Southern Europe
Latvia	-0.16	-0.07	0.08		Former Soviet
Sweden	0.13	0.22	0.09		Social Democratic
Germany	-0.33	-0.23	0.11		Conservative
Finland	0.07	0.18	0.11		Social Democratic
Poland	0.05	0.17	0.12		Post-Communist
Slovenia	-0.16	-0.03	0.12		Post-Communist
Cyprus	0.08	0.21	0.12		Southern Europe
England	-0.09	0.07	0.15	*	Liberal
Lithuania	-0.01	0.15	0.16		Former Soviet
Romania	0.07	0.25	0.18	*	Post-Communist
Hungary	-0.05	0.16	0.21	*	Post-Communist
Greece	-0.29	-0.01	0.28	***	Southern Europe
Belgium (French)	-0.43	-0.13	0.30	**	Conservative
Slovakia	-0.09	0.22	0.31	**	Post-Communist
Russian Federation	0.00	0.32	0.31	*	Former Soviet
Estonia	-0.40	0.09	0.49	*	Former Soviet
Bulgaria	-0.11	0.49	0.60	**	Post-Communist

Notes: *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

A plot of mean differences between high and low levels of home literacy versus Gini Index (Figure 15) shows that these are not significantly related measures. However, the United States and Russia stand apart as highly unequal nations with divergent patterns of how high- and low-resourced homes view government responsibilities. There is also a clustering of the social democracies representing low inequality and positioned closer to having little difference between high and low home literacy levels.

Figure 15. Plot of correlation between inequality (Gini Index) and home literacy differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = .21, n.s.).

Classroom and Service Learning

The following results focus on hypothesis four, which analyze associations with classroom and service learning experiences and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.

As seen in Table 9, the results for the set of learning experience variables provide a few unexpected findings. When viewing the full model, volunteer group participation has a small negative association with support for economy-related government responsibilities in the liberal (β = –.12), social democratic (β = –.11), post-communist

Central Europe (β = –.07), and Southern Europe (β = –.06) regimes. Coefficients are not significant in the conservative or former Soviet regimes. A test of regime coefficients between the liberal regime and other regimes does not find any differences.

In contrast to the pattern for volunteer behavior, fairly small but significant positive associations are found for studying community problems in the liberal (β = .07) regime, as well as in the Southern Europe and post-communist Central Europe (β = .08 each) regimes. In the literature, these two variable types (volunteering and reflective study) are sometimes combined to form a composite index of service learning. However, the opposite signs of the regression coefficients for these two variables are noteworthy, which would have been masked if a composite was created and used instead of keeping the two variables separate. A test of regime differences for the studied community problems variable between the liberal regime and other regimes found only one difference with the former Soviet regime.

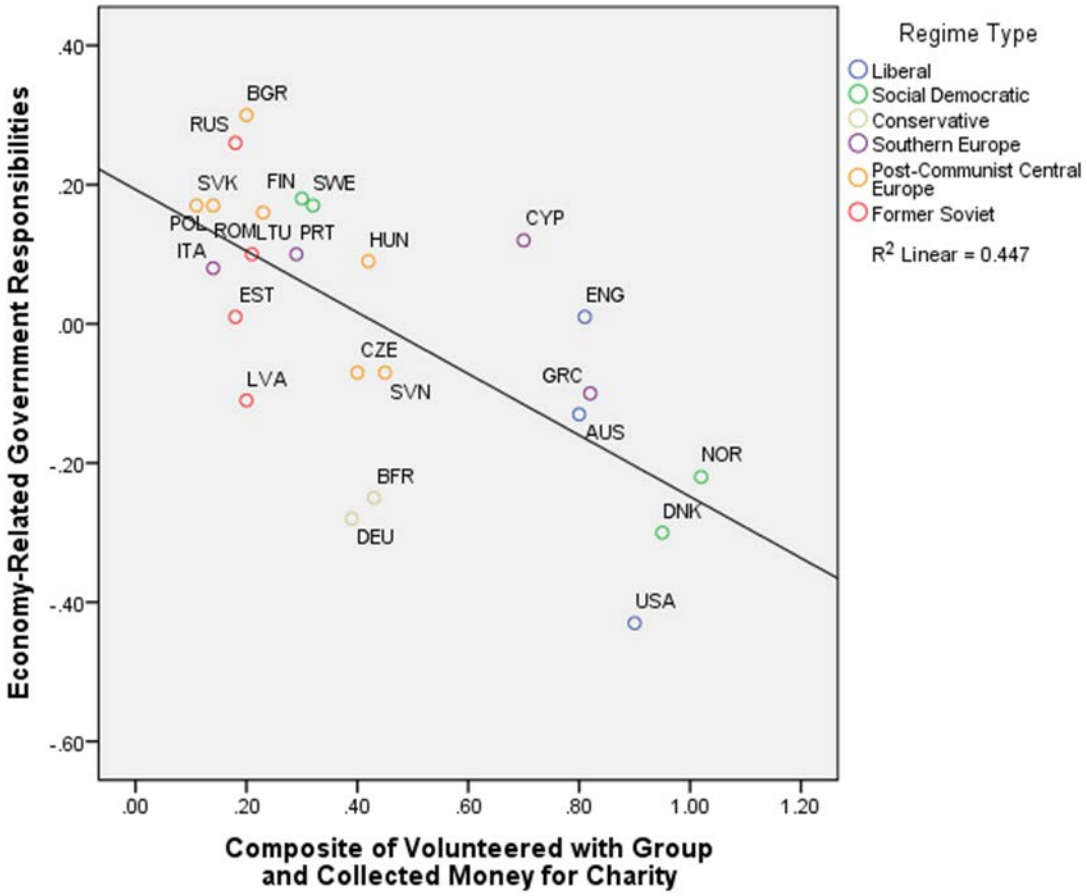
The scale representing civic knowledge and skills has significant associations with attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities in the liberal and conservative regimes, although the coefficients are near zero. Having an open classroom climate similarly appears to have limited association, with only very small statistically significant results found for the Southern Europe (β = .04) and former Soviet regime (β = .02).

In the incremental model in Table 8, there are a few notable results when comparing Model 2 (which includes the learning and social background variables) with the full set of variables in Model 4 for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome. For the studied community problems predictor variable: (1) the small positive

effect for the liberal regime (β = .12) in Model 2 is reduced to (β = .07) in full model, (2) the small to moderate positive effects for the Southern Europe and post-communist Central Europe regimes (β = .17 for each) in Model 2 are reduced by more than half for each in full model; and (3) there is a positive association with studying community problems (β = .07) in the conservative regime, which becomes insignificant in the full model. Finally, there are very small positive associations for open classroom climate and economy-related government responsibilities in the liberal and social democratic regimes (β = .02 each), as well as for conservative and post-communist Central Europe regimes (β = .03 each) in Model 2. The coefficients for all four regimes become insignificant in the full model (Model 4).

Finally, country differences in engagement in volunteer community-based activities and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities are also observed. In Figure 16, a moderately strong and significant negative trend is found between support for economy-related government responsibilities and a composite measure of volunteered with a group and collected money for a charity ($r = -.67$, $p<.01$). The results are anchored by the post-communist and former Soviet countries (along with Finland and Sweden), which exhibit strong support for government responsibilities and low volunteer community engagement, and the United States (along with Denmark and Norway), which exhibit the opposite pattern.

Figure 16. Plot of correlation between composite measure of volunteered with a group and collected money for a charity and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = -.67, p<.01).

Individual and Collective Efficacy

The two variables measuring collective and individual efficacy yield small but interesting patterns in the full model for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome in Table 9. There are very small to small positive effects that are statistically significant across regimes for the collective student efficacy variable that measures students' belief that working together in groups can enact positive changes at school. There is a very small association for this variable and holding a favorable view of economy-related government responsibilities in the liberal regime (β = .03), and a range

of small effects in the post-communist Central Europe (β = .07), social democratic (β = .05), former Soviet (β = .05), conservative (β = .04), and Southern Europe (β = .03) regimes. A test of coefficient differences between the liberal regime and these other regimes only finds a significant difference with the post-communist Central Europe regime. In looking at the incremental models in Table 8, the regime coefficients for collective efficacy are generally reduced when other political attitudes variables are added.

In contrast to what is found for collective efficacy, coefficients for individual efficacy and support for economy-related government responsibilities are smaller with fewer significant associations found. There is a very small negative association (β = –.02) found in the liberal regime, and a significant positive association (β = .02) found in the former Soviet regime. These coefficients are also significantly different from one another. The opposite signs in these two regimes are also noteworthy given historical differences in individual agency between the liberal regime and a regime with a legacy of communism (although again, the differences are very small).

Protective Nationalist Attitudes, Support for Ethnic Minority Groups, and Trust in Government Institutions

The remaining set of predictor variables in the full model assessing support for economy-related government responsibilities pertain to hypothesis five, or that other political attitudes, such as having protective nationalist feelings, views of opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and having trust in government institutions will be associated with attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.

As seen in Table 9, protective nationalism has small associations with economy-related government responsibilities across regimes with a significant positive coefficient in the liberal regime (β = .08), and a range of significant positive effects in the post-communist Central Europe (β = .10), social democratic (β = .09), conservative (β = .08), former Soviet (β = .08), and Southern Europe (β = .07) regimes. Among these coefficients, a significant difference with the liberal regime is only found with the post-communist regime.

In addition, positive views toward opportunities for ethnic minorities also has positive significant associations across regimes, with small positive effects found in the liberal regime (β = .08), as well as in the social democratic (β = .09), Southern Europe (β = .07), conservative (β = .06), former Soviet (β = .06), and post-communist Central Europe regimes (β = .05). Significant coefficient differences are found between the liberal regime and each of the conservative, post-communist, and former Soviet regimes.

Finally, trust in government institutions has little to no relation with economy-related government responsibilities, with no significant result found for the liberal regime, and the social democratic (β = –.03) and former Soviet (β = –.04) regimes having very small negative associations, both of which are significantly different than the result found for the liberal regime.

Society-Related Government Responsibilities

This dissertation also conducted an analysis of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities that go beyond economy-related measures (e.g. health care, education, old age insurance, etc.). This analysis includes a regression model that mirrors the analysis conducted for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome, and

the regression results in Table 12 are very similar to those found for economy-related government responsibilities measure. One interesting item to note with this measure is that there is not as much variation in response distributions in the original items that comprise the society-related scale than exists in the economy-related scale.

Demographic and Family Background

The results for gender similarly find that female students are more likely to believe that governments are responsible for society-related responsibilities in the liberal and Southern Europe regimes (β = .06 each), but not the post-communist Central Europe regime, which was significant for the economy-related outcome. A test of differences for the gender coefficient with the liberal regime only finds a significant difference with the former Soviet regime.

Similar to the result found for the economy-related government responsibilities scale, native born students are less likely to support society-related government responsibilities in the former Soviet regime (β = –.09). There are no other significant differences found in other regimes. A test of regime differences finds that liberal and former Soviet regimes are not significantly different from one another.

Table 12. OLS regression model (split by regime type) of attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities on set of independent variables.

		Liberal	Social Democratic	Conservative	Southern Europe	Post-Communist Central Europe	Former Soviet
	Constant	0.13 ***	-0.08 ***	-0.28 ***	0.20 ***	0.03 **	-0.14 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.06 *	0.03	0.02	0.06 ***	0.00	-0.02
		(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
	Home Literacy	0.02 **	0.02 *	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	0.02 *	0.00	0.03 **	-0.01	0.00	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Expected Education	-0.03 ***	0.02 *	0.02	0.01	0.02 *	0.02
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Native Born	0.03	0.05	-0.04	0.02	0.03	-0.09 *
		(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.05)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.09 ***
		(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation	-0.07 **	-0.09 ***	0.01	-0.02	-0.05 *	-0.04
		(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)
	Studied Community Problems	0.10 ***	-0.01	0.02	0.14 ***	0.11 ***	-0.03
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	0.01 ***	0.01 ***	0.01 ***	0.01 ***	0.01 ***	0.01 ***
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.	0.02 *	0.02 ***	0.03 **	0.04 ***	0.02 ***	0.02 **
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy	0.05 ***	0.04 ***	0.06 ***	0.04 ***	0.06 ***	0.04 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy	-0.02 ***	0.01	0.00	-0.02 ***	-0.01	0.01
		(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism	0.09 ***	0.09 ***	0.08 ***	0.08 ***	0.10 ***	0.09 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups	0.09 ***	0.10 ***	0.06 ***	0.08 ***	0.09 ***	0.08 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions	0.00	-0.02 **	0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.02 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Adj. R Sq.		0.13	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.18	0.12

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=72,481.

The results for SES also find very small to nonexistent associations. There are very small and significant positive associations with home literacy resources in both the liberal and social democratic regimes (β = .02 each) as well as highest parent education in the liberal (β = .02) and conservative (β = .03) regimes. There are also very small significant associations found for expected education in the liberal regime (β = –.03), as well as in the social democratic and post-communist Central Europe regimes (β = .02 each). Given the very small size of these effects, tests of regime differences are not performed.

Finally, and similar to what is found for the economy-related government responsibilities scale, there is a significant small positive association found in the former Soviet regime (β = .09) between parent discussion of national politics and attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities. A test of regime difference shows that this effect is significantly different than the result found in the liberal regime.

Classroom and Service Learning

Similar to the results for economy-related government responsibilities scale, significant small negative associations are found between volunteer group participation and support for society-related government responsibilities in the liberal regime (β = –.07) regime, as well as in the post-communist Central Europe (β = –.05) and social democratic (β = -.09) regimes. In addition, there are small positive associations found for studying about community problems in the liberal regime (β = .10), as well as in Southern Europe (β = .14) and post-communist Central Europe (β = .11) regimes. After conducting a test of coefficient differences, no significant differences are found between the liberal and other regimes for the volunteer group participation variable, and

significant differences are found between liberal and social democratic, conservative, and former Soviet regimes for the studied about community problems variable.

The results also show significant, although very small, coefficients across regimes (β = .01 each) for the combined civic knowledge/skills score. In addition, significant, although very small positive coefficients are found across regimes for open climate for classroom discussion, including liberal (β = .02), as well as in the Southern Europe (β = .04), conservative (β = .03), former Soviet (β = .02), post-communist Central Europe (β = .02), and social democratic (β = .02) regimes. None of these regime coefficients are found to be significantly different from the liberal regime coefficient.

Collective and Individual Efficacy

The efficacy-related variables for society-related government responsibilities also exhibit a pattern similar to that found for the economy-related government responsibilities scale. Statistically significant coefficients for the collective student efficacy measure have small positive associations across regimes. These include the significant positive association found in the liberal regime (β = .05), as well as the positive associations in the post-communist Central Europe and conservative regimes (β = .06 each), and in the former Soviet, social democratic, and Southern Europe regimes (β = .04 each). Among these results, there are no significant differences found between the liberal regime and collective efficacy coefficients in the other regimes. Lastly, the coefficients for internal political efficacy range from very small to negligible, with only two significant and very small negative associations found in the liberal and Southern Europe regimes (β = –.02 each).

Protective Nationalism, Support for Ethnic Minority Groups, and Trust in Government Institutions.

Finally, with results that approximate those for the economy-related government responsibilities measure, protective nationalism has a small significant positive association with society-related government responsibilities in the liberal regime (β = .09), as well as small significant positive associations found in post-communist Central Europe (β = .10), former-Soviet (β = .09), social democratic (β = .09), conservative (β = .08), and Southern Europe (β = .08) regimes. Similar results are also found with the positive attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minorities variable, with small associations found in the liberal regime (β = .09), as well as in the social democratic (β = .10), post-communist Central Europe (β = .09), former-Soviet (β = .08), Southern Europe (β = .08), and conservative (β = .06) regimes. Trust in government institutions also has little to no relation with society-related government responsibilities, with very small significant negative coefficients found for only social democratic and former Soviet regimes (β = -.02 each).

In performing a test of coefficient differences between the liberal regime and other regimes, no differences are found for the protective nationalism variable, and only one significant difference is found between liberal and conservative regimes for the positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities variable. Tests were not conducted for the trust measure given the negligible size of the results.

Expectations of Community Participation

The final set of results for this dissertation study focus on attitudes toward individual responsibilities and relate to hypothesis six, which is that expectations of community participation will be different than those for government responsibilities, and patterns will differ by regime type.

In contrast to the findings found for the two government responsibilities scales, the results in Table 13 for the individual responsibilities scale (expectations of community participation) show much stronger associations with gender, parent discussion, volunteered and studied about community issues, although the effects for the other predictor variables remain small or non-significant.

Demographic and Family Background

For gender, female students in the liberal regime (β = .35) are more than a third of a standard deviation more likely to anticipate involvement in community activities over the next few years than male students. The other regimes also exhibit moderate to large associations in conservative (β = .42), social democratic (β = .39), post-communist Central Europe (β = .19), Southern Europe (β = .18), and former Soviet (β = .18) regimes. Among these coefficients, significant differences exist between the liberal regime, and each of the Southern Europe, post-communist Central Europe, and former Soviet regimes.

Table 13. OLS regression model (split by regime type) of expectations of community participation on set of independent variables.

		Liberal	Social Democratic	Conservative	Southern Europe	Post-Communist Central Europe	Former Soviet
	Constant	0.06 ***	-0.24 ***	-0.06 ***	0.34 ***	-0.03 **	-0.08 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Student Background	Gender	0.35 ***	0.39 ***	0.42 ***	0.18 ***	0.19 ***	0.18 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
	Home Literacy	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02 **	-0.04 ***	-0.03 **
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Highest Parent Education	-0.02 *	-0.01 *	-0.01	-0.01 **	-0.03 ***	-0.03 **
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Expected Education	0.03 **	0.00	-0.01	0.02 ***	0.00	-0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Native Born	-0.09 *	-0.06	-0.09	-0.04	0.02	-0.04
		(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)
	Parent Discussion National Politics	0.20 ***	0.14 ***	0.21 ***	0.12 ***	0.10 ***	0.19 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Learning Experiences	Volunteer Group Participation	0.33 ***	0.36 ***	0.27 ***	0.20 ***	0.18 ***	0.21 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
	Studied Community Problems	0.22 ***	0.16 ***	0.12 ***	0.28 ***	0.19 ***	0.22 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
	Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	0.00 ***	0.00 ***	0.00 ***	-0.01 ***	-0.01 ***	-0.01 ***
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
	Open Climate for Classroom Disc.	0.04 ***	0.03 ***	0.04 ***	0.06 ***	0.05 ***	0.05 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Efficacy	Collective Student Efficacy	0.06 ***	0.03 ***	0.08 ***	0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.03 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Internal Political Efficacy	0.05 ***	0.06 ***	0.03 **	0.05 ***	0.06 ***	0.06 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Attitudes	Protective Nationalism	0.01	0.00	0.02 *	0.02 ***	0.03 ***	0.02 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
	Positive Toward Minority Groups	0.05 ***	0.08 ***	0.09 ***	0.08 ***	0.06 ***	0.05 ***
		(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	Trust in Government Institutions	0.03 ***	0.03 ***	0.03 **	0.02 ***	0.02 ***	0.04 ***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Adj. R Sq.		0.24	0.19	0.20	0.17	0.14	0.12

Notes: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
N=68,850.

There is a small and significant negative association for being native born in the liberal regime (β = –.09), and there are no other significant associations found in the other regimes. This is in contrast to the non-significant coefficient for native born in the liberal regime and the significant negative coefficient for the former Soviet regime in the government responsibility outcomes. In addition, the coefficient for the liberal regime is not significantly different from any of the other regime coefficients.

In contrast to the results found for gender, the coefficients for home literacy resources, parent education, and expected education are substantially smaller. For home literacy resources, a very small significant positive association is found in the Southern Europe regime (β = .02), while quite small negative associations are found in the former Soviet regime (β = –.03) and the post-communist Central Europe regime (β = –.04). For highest level of parent education, very small yet significant associations are found, including in the liberal (β = –.02) regime, as well as in social democratic and Southern Europe regimes (β = –.01 each), and in the post-communist Central Europe and former Soviet regimes (β = –.03 each). In addition, there are only two significant associations (both positive and quite small) found for expected education in the liberal regime (β = .03) and in the Southern Europe regime (β = .02). Tests of regime differences are not performed on these social background results given the very small effects.

Moreover, parent discussion of national politics has significant small to moderate positive associations found across regimes. These include a somewhat moderate effect (β = .20) found in the liberal regime, as well as small to somewhat moderate effects in the conservative (β = .21), former Soviet (β = .19), social Democratic (β = .14), Southern Europe (β = .12), and post-communist Central Europe (β = .10) regimes.

Among these results, significant differences are found between the liberal regime and each of the social democratic, Southern Europe, and post-communist Central Europe regimes.

Classroom and Service Learning

Unlike the results for the two government responsibilities outcomes, moderate positive associations are found across regimes for current volunteer participation and future expectations for community participation. This is in contrast to the negative associations found in the government responsibilities outcomes. Students who volunteer with a group in the liberal regime are a third of a standard deviation more likely to have future expectations of community participation than students who do not volunteer (β = .33), and mostly moderate associations are also found in the social democratic (β = .36), conservative (β = .27), former Soviet (β = .21), Southern Europe (β = .20), and post-communist Central Europe (β = .18) regimes. Among these, significant differences are found between the liberal regime and the Southern Europe, post-communist Central Europe, and former Soviet regimes.

Small to medium-sized positive associations are also found for studying about community problems. These include the somewhat moderate effect for the liberal regime (β = .22), as well as a range of positive coefficients in the Southern Europe (β = .28), former Soviet (β = .22), post-communist Central Europe (β = .19), social democratic (β = .16), and conservative (β = .12) regimes. Of these, significant coefficient differences are found between the liberal regime and both the conservative and Southern Europe regimes.

Similar to the government responsibility outcomes, the results again show significant (although near zero) coefficients for the civic knowledge and skills scale (β = .00 or β = –.01), which are found across regimes. In addition, significant although fairly small effects are found across regimes for the open classroom climate for the discussion variable, including a small positive association for the liberal regime (β = .04), and range of coefficients in the Southern Europe (β = .06), post-communist Central Europe and former Soviet (β = .05 each), conservative (β = .04), and social democratic (β = .03) regimes. There are no significant differences found between the liberal and any other regime for the open classroom climate coefficient.

Individual and Collective Efficacy

The two efficacy variables show significant positive associations with expected community participation in each regime. For the liberal regime, there is a small positive association for collective student efficacy (β = .06), and a range of small positive associations found in the conservative regime (β = .08), post-communist Central Europe and Southern Europe regimes (β = .05 each), and former Soviet and social democratic regimes (β = .03 each). Of these significant coefficient differences are found between liberal and social democratic as well as liberal and former Soviet regimes.

Internal political efficacy shows similarly small positive associations across regimes, with small effects found in the liberal regime (β = .05), as well as in the former-Soviet, post-communist Central Europe, and social democratic regimes (β = .06 each), Southern Europe regime (β = .05), and conservative regime (β = .03). In addition, there are no significant differences found between the liberal and these other regimes.

Protective Nationalist Attitudes, Support for Ethnic Minority Groups, and Trust in Government Institutions.

In contrast to the results for the government responsibilities scales, there are no significant or sizeable associations found for protective nationalism and expectations of community participation in either the liberal or social democratic regimes. There are only very small significant associations found in the post-communist Central Europe regimes (β = .03), as well as in the conservative, former Soviet, and Southern Europe regimes (β = .02 each). Significant regime differences are only found between the liberal regime and the post-communist Central Europe regime.

However, the results for the positive attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups variable are more similar to results found for the government responsibilities scales, with a somewhat small association found in the liberal regime (β = .05), and a range of small associations found in the conservative regime (β = .09), social democratic and Southern Europe regimes (β = .08 each), post-communist Central Europe regime (β = .06) and former Soviet regime (β = .05). Significant coefficient differences exist between the liberal regime and each of the social democrat, conservative, and Southern Europe regimes, but not for the other transitioning post-communist Central Europe or former Soviet regimes.

Finally, having trust in government institutions is found to have significant associations with expected community participation across regimes, with a very small positive association in the liberal regime (β = .03), and similarly small positive associations in former Soviet regime (β = .04), conservative and social democratic regimes (β = .03 each), and post-communist Central Europe and Southern Europe

regimes (β = .02 each). There are also no significant differences found between the liberal regime and each of these other regimes.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The preceding chapter presented results of a cross-national study of adolescents' attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities. These include fourteen-year-olds' beliefs regarding governments' economic and societal responsibilities to those in need as well as adolescents' own sense of civic agency and expectations of community service. These attitudes relate to important aspects of the social contract or the balance of rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship and community membership (Flanagan et al., 2015). Using institutional and ecological approaches, this study explores how adolescents' understanding of their social rights and responsibilities is culturally embedded, particularly in respect to the welfare regime type within which students reside, as well as the other social influences and learning practices that they experience. These contexts can also be understood as the developmental niches of family life, learning environments, and historical beliefs and policies of nation-states within which students develop (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011).

Highlighted Findings

The results of this dissertation provide increased evidence for, as well as confidence in, the idea that adolescents hold established political attitudes that mirror those of adults in specific welfare regime types and country contexts. Overall, the regime means for attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities are in the expected directions for regimes with a legacy of central government control (post-communist central Europe and former Soviet regimes), which are above the international mean, as well as in the liberal regime, which is well below the international mean.

However, youth in the social democratic regime exhibit lower than expected support for economic welfare.

These results extend the research literature regarding the development of political attitudes in adolescents and adults. The observation that adolescents in the CIVED study exhibit attitudes toward government and individual responsibilities that suggest they are members of a shared political culture with adults was first made by Torney-Purta et al. (2001). Other analyses using the CIVED data have shown the consistency of adolescent beliefs with those of young adults in the areas of political trust and immigrant rights (Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008). This dissertation analysis shows that not only do adolescents have established attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities by the time they are fourteen, but these attitudes mirror those found among adults in certain welfare regime contexts, particularly in the liberal regime and the United States as a liberal regime prototype nation (Andreß & Heien 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2009; Linos & West, 2003; Oser & Hooghe, 2018; Svallfors, 1997).

A pattern of American exceptionalism in having the least supportive attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities appears deeply rooted and manifests itself by the time children reach adolescence. The United States has the lowest mean support for economy-related government responsibilities of any county, with a non-overlapping confidence interval that is well below other countries. On average, American youth have attitudes toward government provided economic support that are nearly one half of a standard deviation below the international mean. The United States also exhibits an outlying position as illustrated in bivariate scatterplots of attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities with other national indicator data related to level of

economic opportunity and risk (measured by gross domestic product (GDP) and unemployment rate). These results suggest that the relatively higher level of economic development and lower risk of unemployment in the United States may provide a partial explanation for the very low support for economy-related government responsibilities found in this liberal regime prototype nation.

Although the overall influence of demographic and social background variables on attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities appears limited, some regime differences are still found. First, gender differences are smallest in a regime context in which there is lower economic and social risk for women. There appears to be little gender differences in social democracies where females are less likely to be dependent on marriage or market-based employment for their economic well-being. This finding suggests that adolescent girls in the study may be aware of these social and economic conditions. In addition, and contrary to expectations, variables measuring social class background have few significant and meaningful associations. In addition, each of the social democratic countries stand out as having both low levels of inequality and little to no differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities based on home literacy resources as seen in Figure 15.

In examining learning experiences and other attitudes, several important findings emerge from the data. While some studies consider the two processes of studying social issues and volunteering as part of a continuum of "service learning," this analysis shows that these two activities exhibit different relations with beliefs toward governments' economic responsibilities. For the liberal and other regimes where significant effects are found, volunteering has a small negative effect on belief in economy-related government

responsibilities, while studying community problems has a small positive effect. Finally, there are small positive associations between belief in governments' providing economic support and three other attitudes: having a sense of collective efficacy, holding protective nationalist feelings, and believing in opportunities for ethnic minority groups[2].

As a possible contrast to attitudes toward government responsibilities, this study also considered a measure of individuals' sense responsibility to fulfill community needs. In particular, it was hypothesized that youth in the liberal regime would exhibit relatively higher levels of support for anticipated individual community engagement given a legacy of individualism and voluntary group association that is a characteristic of the liberal regime type. It was also hypothesized that regimes with a legacy of centralized, government-provided support would exhibit lower expectations of individual service to the community. The findings of this dissertation mostly confirm these predictions. The results indicate that adolescents in the liberal regime have a level of anticipated community engagement that is above the international mean, while those in the former Soviet and post-communist Central Europe regimes have lower mean levels of expected community participation that are below the international mean. (The highest level of

[2] Although the highlighted findings in the above section pertain to the economy-related government responsibilities outcome, a mostly similar pattern of results is found for the predictor variables in the regression model run for the society-related government responsibilities outcome.

expected community participation is found in the Southern Europe regime, while lowest level is found in the social democratic regime.)

In viewing the regression results in Figure 13, there are also substantially larger effect sizes found for gender and parent discussion of politics when the outcome is individual expectations of community participation. The remaining social background variables have only very small to non-existent associations, with the exception that being native born is associated with lower anticipated community engagement in the liberal regime. In addition, reported volunteering has positive moderate associations across regimes with expectations of community participation. This is in contrast to the small negative associations found in certain regimes for the government responsibilities outcomes. There are also larger (small to moderate) sized-effects for studying community issues across all regimes. Finally, having positive attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups again has small positive associations for all regime types for expectations of community participation.

Discussion of Findings in Relation to Hypotheses

This discussion now returns to the specific hypotheses and research questions that have guided this analysis and will address how well these dissertation findings correspond to initial expectations. The results are also discussed in terms of the socio-ecological and developmental niche models that have framed these analyses.

In general, the hypothesis that regime differences exist, and that adolescents' attitudes resemble those of adults, is mostly supported. The hypotheses related to whether differences exist based on student background, learning factors, and other political attitudes receive mixed support. Finally, in support of the last hypothesis, there are clear

differences between the economy-related government responsibilities outcome and the expectations of community participation outcome, both in regime mean differences as well as in the patterns of some predictors.

Hypothesis One Discussion

The first hypothesis states that the welfare regime type of the nation state will be associated with how adolescents conceive of governments' responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. Further, it suggests that student attitudes will be similar to adult patterns found in the literature. This hypothesis also corresponds to the outer rim in Figure 1 of the socio-ecological model, which shows welfare regime type as a primary variable of interest that contributes to the development of social rights attitudes in adolescents.

Hypothesis one relates to the theory that adolescents' attitudes are culturally and institutionally embedded in macro-level social structures and national polity forms (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Hall & Lamont, 2013; Janoski, 2008; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Thelan, 2003). The historical beliefs and policies of nation-states, such as those characterizing welfare regime types, are considered important developmental niches within which adolescents develop (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). These macro-level influences are also associated with "cognitive scripts" that can shape the development of social attitudes and behaviors (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001, p. 810).

As seen in Figure 2, clear regime differences in attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities are found in the original "three worlds of welfare capitalism" (Esping-Andersen, 1990) representing the liberal, social democratic, and conservative

regimes that have independent and non-overlapping confidence intervals. (The confidence interval for the former Soviet regime overlaps with both the Post-Communist Central Europe regime and the Southern Europe regime.) For the society-related government responsibilities outcome (Figure 4), each of the regime confidence intervals are independent of one another. Whether regime differences are in the expected direction is a separate question. However, the hypothesis that welfare regime differences exist in the attitudes of fourteen-year-olds is supported.

The dissertation findings show a mixed picture regarding how well the attitudes of youth correspond to those of adults in different regimes types. For the economy-related government responsibilities outcome, the results are in the expected direction for the former Soviet and post-communist Central Europe regimes, which are characterized by a legacy of centralized government authority and collectivist sentiment (Arikan & Bloom, 2015; Deacon, 2000), and whose youth also exhibit supportive beliefs toward government-provided economic assistance. The results are also in the expected direction for the more individualistic liberal regime, which is significantly below the international mean for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome. This finding related to the liberal regime, as well as the very low support found in the United States as a liberal regime ideal-type country, are in line with Esping-Andersen's (1990, 1999) original thesis, as well as what is found in numerous studies of adult attitudes described in the literature review section (Andreß & Heien, 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2009; Linos & West, 2003; Oser & Hooghe, 2018; Svallfors, 1997).

Although the liberal regime is not found to have the lowest mean level of support for economy-related government responsibilities (a place held by the conservative

regime), this may be due to the classification of England as a liberal regime nation, since England is sometimes considered a mixed case in the literature. The other two liberal regime nations are in the bottom quartile (low support) among nations, with the United States exhibiting the lowest level of support with a non-overlapping confidence interval that is significantly below all other nations.

In these three regimes that conform to hypothesized expectations, it appears that adolescents' attitudes are concordant with prevailing cognitive scripts that are reflective of welfare regime theory described in the literature section. It may be that the individualistic and private market character of the liberal regime and the more collectivist and government centric tradition of the former Soviet and post-communist Central Europe regimes cast a larger cultural imprint in determining how individuals view government responsibilities for economic well-being than in other regimes.

For the remaining three regime types, the results do not conform to expectations concerning adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. Adolescents in the social democratic regime show less support than anticipated with a mean value for the economy-related government responsibilities scale that is below the international mean. This result is not indicative of the strong level of solidarity and government support for economic needs typically expected in the social democratic regime type (Arts & Gelissen, 2001; Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999; Janoski, 1998). The comparatively higher level of support found in the Southern Europe regime, which is above the international mean, is also in contrast with less supportive attitudes that are expected in this regime type given limited state support and a tradition of familial responsibility (Ferrera, 1996; Trifeletti, 1999). Lastly, the very low support in adolescent

attitudes found in the conservative regime is surprising, as the research literature generally places this regime in the middle or toward the more supportive end of a continuum of governments' economic and social welfare responsibilities (Arts & Gelissen, 2001; Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999; and Janoski, 1998).

Deviations from the expected regime pattern for the social democratic regime are partially attributed to divergent underlying country results. In viewing the individual country-means for the economy-related government responsibilities scale (Figure 3), Finland and Sweden are in the expected direction and in the first quartile of countries, with high levels of support for economy-related government responsibilities. However, Norway and Denmark are in the bottom quartile of nations showing low levels of mean support. The scatterplots in Figures 8 and 9 comparing economy-related government responsibilities with GDP per capita and unemployment rate also show somewhat divergent patterns, perhaps indicating that level of economic wealth and lower unemployment risk may be contributing factors for having fewer expectations of economy-related government support in Norway and Denmark. In addition, Jaeger (2009) finds that there is greater variance in support for economic redistribution in the Social Democratic regime in a study of adults. Finally, there may also be an issue of youth interpreting questions as "further" redistribution beyond the current high level of government support in social democratic nations (Dallinger, 2010).

A related research question for hypothesis one is whether the pattern found for society-related government responsibilities is the same or different than the one found for economy-related government responsibilities. For the society-related government responsibilities outcome, the country-level mean results are correlated with those of the

economy-related outcome (although weakly: $r = .41$, $p<.05$ as indicated in Figure C1). However, in viewing the regime patterns in Figure 4, it appears that the former Soviet regime changes from being above the international mean for the economy-related government responsibilities scale to below the international mean on the society-related government responsibilities scale. Conversely, the liberal regime changes from below the international mean on the economy-related scale to above the international mean on the society-related government responsibilities scale. In addition, the United States is now found at the international mean for the society-related government responsibilities outcome (Figure 5), compared to its rank at the bottom for the economy-related outcome.

The somewhat weak correlation between the two government responsibilities outcomes along with the different placements of former Soviet and liberal regimes suggest that the economy- and society-government responsibilities items function differently within regime contexts. Another notable difference between these two scales is the higher level of response variability found in the economy-related government responsibilities scale. This indicates less agreement with survey questions that are economic and redistributive in nature, and more agreement for responsibilities such as health care, education, and maintaining peace and order (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 199–200).

Hypothesis Two Discussion

Hypothesis two assumes that cross-national patterns of adults' attitudes toward governments' economic responsibilities will exist based on macroeconomic indicators measuring level of economic wealth, unemployment risk, social welfare spending, and income inequality. These macro-level economic factors also correspond to the outer-rim

of the socio-ecological model in Figure 1 and are theorized to contribute to the development of economic responsibility attitudes in adolescents.

Overall, this hypothesis receives mixed support. Discernable cross-national patterns that are similar to those of adults are found between adolescents' beliefs in economy-related government responsibilities and indicators measuring economic wealth (GDP per capita) and economic risk (unemployment rate). A country's social welfare spending and its level inequality do not appear related to adolescents' attitudes toward government-provided economic support.

The first two scatterplots that are presented in the results section compare country means on the economy-related government responsibilities scale with GDP per capita and a country's unemployment rate (Figures 8 and 9). These macroeconomic indicators are moderately correlated with adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities and point to the role of perceived economic opportunity and reduced risk in high wealth and low unemployment nations. In addition, these two scatterplots further highlight the outlying position of the United States given its favorable macroeconomic characteristics and extremely low levels of support for economic responsibilities of government. At the other end of the continuum from the United States, these plots illustrate the role of low levels of economic development in having higher support for economy-related government responsibilities. This is seen in the transitioning post-communist and former Soviet countries that have lower levels of economic wealth (GDP) and more pervasive unemployment as well higher support for government economic intervention. This cross-national pattern is similar to what Dallinger (2010) found in studies of adults' attitudes.

While there appears to be somewhat strong associations with GDP per capita and the unemployment rate, the scatterplots comparing adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities with level of income inequality and public social expenditure are less clear. In Figure 10, the bivariate correlation for the scatterplot including public social expenditure is not significant, although it shows the United States in the extreme position of having very low levels of support for government economic provision matched by actual low levels of social welfare spending. The non-significant bivariate correlation in the plot including the Gini Index (Figure 11) also does not show any discernable pattern, and the position of the United States echoes the pattern described in the literature section of having high levels of inequality while also having the lowest level of support for economy-related government responsibilities.

In all, the results related to GDP per capita and the unemployment rate suggest that a country's level of economic development/wealth and the job opportunities that are available to its citizens are important contributors to attitudes toward governments' responsibilities for economic needs. A question for future research is the extent to which welfare regime differences still exist when these macroeconomic indicators are also considered in the same statistical models.

Hypothesis Three Discussion

The remaining hypotheses pertain to individual level predictors that are analyzed through regression models grouped by welfare regime type. Hypothesis three relates to individual demographic and social background factors that are in the more immediate developmental niche of family environment represented by the inner ring in the social-ecological model in Figure 1. Overall, the results show mixed support for this hypothesis,

which states that demographic and family background patterns are associated with students' attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities, and that the strength of associations differ based on welfare regime type.

In terms of demographic factors, there is evidence of gender differences within and among regimes, and where significant differences exist, it is female students who are more likely to be supportive of government's economy-related responsibilities than male students. Among regimes, this study finds that female students are more likely to believe in government support for economic needs in the liberal, Southern Europe, and post-communist Central Europe regimes. The results also provide some support for the theoretical expectation that few gender differences will be found in the social democratic regime, where there is lower social protection risk for women.

Female students appear to show higher support for economy-related government responsibilities in regimes where there is higher market-based unemployment risk (liberal), stronger level of familial responsibilities toward social rights (Southern Europe), and in regimes undergoing substantial institutional change in the social welfare system (post-communist Central Europe). These gender differences are evidenced by gender regression coefficients, mean gender differences by country, and in the plot of gender differences compared with female labor force participation. In addition, and in support of hypothesis three, there appears to be few gender differences in social democracies, where women are less likely to be dependent on free market employment or marriage for their economic protection. Figure 12 also shows outlier positions held by Sweden and Finland in bivariate correlations of economy-related government responsibilities and the United Nation's Gender Empowerment Measure. These social democracies appear to be outside

the trend evidenced by a moderate negative correlation in which higher levels of gender empowerment are associated with lower support for the economic responsibilities of government.

Moreover, as individual and collective efficacy variables are added to Model 3, the coefficient for gender is reduced in the liberal regime and loses significance in the social democratic regime. These results, in addition to the finding that individual and collective efficacy each have small and significant correlations with gender (Appendix B, Table B1), indicate that there is shared variance between these efficacy-related variables and gender. As such, efficacy-related traits may be important to consider in future research aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of how gender is related to conceptions of economic responsibilities of government.

The results related to gender presented here, as well as observations from other studies and developmental theorists discussed in the literature section, suggest that females are generally more likely to support economy-related government responsibilities. However, this pattern is not universal, and this disparity seems to diminish in environments where women experience more gender empowerment and where women's economic well-being is more guaranteed (as in social democracies) from sources outside of the free market or family.

Beyond gender, and contrary to expectations, there are few meaningful associations found with other demographic and social background-related variables and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. This analysis finds little evidence that being a native-born student has an effect on attitudes toward government support for economic needs, with the exception of a small negative association in the

former Soviet regime. The regression results in Table 9 also show little evidence of effects for the social class proxy variables, with few and only very small effects found. In addition, the analysis did not find substantial evidence of an anticipated class cleavage in the liberal regime despite high levels of inequality in liberal regime nations (and particularly the United States). Also notable, parent discussion appears to have little to no association with attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities, with only a small positive effect in the former Soviet regime.

A potential explanation for the largely non-significant and negligible effects for social class factors in this analysis concerns the strength of the SES measures available in the dataset. Although these are well-used measures by researchers and federal agencies, there is some concern with the accuracy of student self-reports of family social class measures in cross-national comparative assessments (Rutkowksi, 2016). The issue of not having better measures for family education and income may have limited the ability to conduct a more complete exploration of hypothesis three concerning associations between students' attitudes toward government support and these SES related factors.

Finally, although not described in detail, the gender and family background findings for the society-related government responsibilities outcome are mostly similar to those found for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome.

Hypothesis Four Discussion

Hypothesis four focuses on learning factors, and whether having an open classroom climate for discussion, as well as service learning and efficacy-building experiences in school and in the community, make a difference in adolescents' views toward government responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. Moving further

outward in the socio-ecological model in Figure 1, these learning opportunities represent "mini-polities" where adolescents come to more deeply understand societal and community issues as well as develop important skills and dispositions toward democratic citizenship and collective responsibilities (Flanagan & Gallay, 2014). Informed by a growing body of research, it is anticipated that having an open climate for discussion, experiences of service learning, and collective student efficacy will be associated with attitudes toward government responsibilities.

Hypothesis four receives mixed support in the results that show several small effects between adolescents' beliefs economy-related government responsibilities and volunteering, studying about community issues, and having a sense of collective student efficacy. Mostly similar effects are found when the outcome relates to attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities.

Although it was expected that volunteering would be associated with attitudes toward government responsibilities, the research literature is less clear on what the anticipated direction and magnitude of this effect might be. In this dissertation study, volunteer participation has significant, negative, and small associations with attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities in most regimes (liberal, social democratic, Southern Europe, and post-communist Central Europe). In contrast, studying about community issues has significant, small, and positive associations in liberal, Southern Europe, and post-communist Central Europe regimes.

The difference in direction for the coefficients representing volunteering and studying about community problems for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome is notable since these measures are sometimes combined together to form a

"service learning" composite variable. Use of such a composite would have veiled the directional variability found in this analysis if it were employed rather than keeping the measures separate. The opposite directions for the coefficients for these two measures is also similar to what Kawashima-Ginsberg and Levine (2014) found, in that volunteering and studying complex social issues connected with service can have different effects on informed voting.

Also noteworthy is the stability of the negative coefficient for volunteering in the liberal and social democratic regimes as seen in the incremental models in Table 8. The effect size remains largely unchanged as efficacy-related and other attitudinal variables are added to the model. This is in contrast to the studied community problems effect size, which is reduced in the liberal and several other regimes when efficacy-related variables are added. Finally, the significant positive coefficients for the studied community problems variable that are found in the liberal, southern, and post-communist Central Europe regimes may reveal that this type of learning is particularly impactful in these regime types where the welfare state is comparatively underdeveloped or in transition.

The open classroom climate for discussion predictor variable does not exhibit substantial associations with economy-related government responsibilities, with only very small statistically significant results found for the Southern Europe and former Soviet regimes. The lack of meaningful findings for this measure is notable since classroom climate is often found to be predictive of other civic outcomes (Knowles et al., 2018).

The results for sense of individual political efficacy are minor, with only very small (although directionally opposite) effects found in the liberal and former Soviet

regimes. In addition, sense of collective student efficacy at school appears to have very small to small positive effects across regimes with attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. In addition, there are slightly larger effects in an incremental model without national attitudes. It appears from these findings that experiences of collective efficacy and feelings of solidarity at school may translate into having a sense of solidarity toward the needs of fellow citizens at the country level in regard to supporting a government's role in taking care of the economic needs of individuals.

Moreover, when efficacy-related variables are added in Model 3 in Table 8, the coefficient for studying community problems is reduced in the liberal regime and is reduced or loses significance in several others. This indicates that a portion of the effect of studying community problems on attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities may be accounted for by internal and/or collective student efficacy. (Appendix B, Table B1 indicates that there are small but significant correlations between studying community problems and each of these efficacy-related variables.) In addition, the coefficient for collective student efficacy is reduced in all regimes when political attitudes are added in Model 4. This indicates possible shared variance between collective student efficacy and these political attitudes, which have small to moderate correlations with collective student efficacy.

In the liberal and other regimes, the finding that studying community problems and having a sense of collective student efficacy at school are associated with more supportive attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities may raise concern among those who fear that such educational experiences risk political indoctrination. This is based on current and historical debates (particularly in the

United States) that any form of civic education beyond teaching knowledge of government institutions risks undue political influence of students (Goldstein, 2019). However, it also must be emphasized that these are not causal findings, and these results may reflect other factors. For instance, forms of civic education that include attention to reflective study of community issues may disproportionately be taking place in more liberal leaning districts and regions. Still, these findings provide some evidence that civic education pedagogy as experienced in the "mini-polities" of schools may deepen students' understanding of the complexity of social problems as well as influence their attitudes in regard to having higher levels of acceptance of government-provided economic support.

In addition, the negative effects for volunteering on attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities in the regression models in the low statist liberal and social democratic regimes raise the question as to whether level of statism is an important dimension to consider when analyzing the effects of volunteerism. Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) find that level of statism is negatively related to voluntary association membership, and this analysis also indicates that a measure of statism may be important to consider when examining voluntary activities in comparative research.

Hypothesis Five Discussion

Hypothesis five states that other political attitudes, such as having protective nationalist feelings, positive views of opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and institutional trust are associated with more supportive attitudes toward economy- and

society-related government responsibilities, and that different patterns will be found by welfare regime type. The results show that this hypothesis is only partially upheld.

In support of this hypothesis, this study finds that protective nationalism and believing in opportunities for ethnic minority groups are both positively associated with adolescents' attitudes toward economy- and society-related government responsibilities. In the current political climate, it may seem that those who hold protective nationalist feelings are often not the same individuals who support opportunities for ethnic minority groups. However, the positive associations found with these predictors are consistent in that each measure supports the idea of collective solidarity.

In contrast, the lack of more substantial or significant findings for trust in government institutions is unexpected, given that it is at the institutional level that the enactment of government responsibilities occurs. Not having larger between-regime differences for protective nationalism and support for ethnic minority group opportunities is also unexpected, given differences in immigration and ethnic heterogeneity between regimes.

Hypothesis Six Discussion

Finally, hypothesis six states that patterns of attitudes toward individuals' civic responsibilities for community welfare (as measured by expectations of community participation) are different than those for attitudes toward government responsibilities. It is further expected that the liberal regime, given its legacy of individualism and private market emphasis, will exhibit a high level of support for individuals' community responsibilities. A comparative analysis of attitudes toward government responsibilities

and expectations of community participation reveals that this hypothesis is mostly supported.

The expectations of community participation outcome exhibits a very different pattern than the one found for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome. In Figures 6 and 7, which present means and confidence intervals of the expectations of community participation scale, both the liberal regime, and its prototype the United States, are now above the international mean, indicating higher levels of anticipated community volunteer engagement. In addition, the former Soviet and post-communist Central Europe regimes fall below the international mean. Notably, the social democratic regime has the lowest mean level of expected community participation, and each of the four social democratic nations are below the international mean. There are fewer differences found when comparing the regime mean placements between the expectations of community participation outcome and the society-related government responsibilities outcome, particularly concerning the liberal regime, which is above the international mean for both measures.

The results comparing economy-related government responsibilities and expectations of community participation are also presented in a scatterplot (Figure C2). While the correlation between these two outcomes is not significant, the country placements in the scatterplot juxtaposing these two measures illustrate an expected pattern in which the United States and Finland/Sweden anchor opposite ends of a resulting typology.

These differing patterns of government and individual responsibilities are in accord with the highly individualistic and volunteer character of United States civil

society, as well as the more collectivist-oriented and government-centered approach to social rights in social democracies. These placements also resemble the expected pattern of "American exceptionalism" of having low support for government-provided economic support and an emphasis on private philanthropy in the United States (Lipset & Marks, 2000), as well as a "golden chain" of historically generous government provision in Scandinavian countries (Amnå et al., 2007). The higher level of support for economy-related government responsibilities combined with low levels of anticipated community engagement in Finland and Sweden may also be an example of civic complacency that de Tocqueville cautioned against.

In viewing the split regime regression model results for the expectations of community participation outcome (Table 13), several noteworthy differences are found when compared with the government responsibilities outcomes. Given the different sample sizes and outcome measures used, the effects sizes among these different outcomes cannot be directly compared. However, several differences based on magnitude and direction of effects are apparent. In addition, adjusted R-squared values are also higher than those found in the regime-split models for the economy-related government responsibilities outcome.

First, substantially larger and significant effect sizes are found across regimes for gender and parent discussion of national politics when the outcome is individual expectations for community participation. Compared to the government responsibilities outcomes, gender and political discussion at home appears to have clear and consistent effects across regimes with anticipated community participation. In particular, female students in the liberal, social democratic, and conservative regimes are more than a third

of a standard deviation more likely to anticipate future community involvement. Parent discussion of national politics also has small to more moderate positive associations across regimes with anticipated community engagement.

Another notable difference between outcomes is that native born students in the liberal regime are less likely to anticipate community involvement than are those who are immigrants. While this is an interesting finding for future exploration, it may be that the higher levels of immigration and a more developed civil society found in liberal regime countries may offer more organized forms of community involvement along ethnic identity lines.

As a predictor variable whose effect has a changed direction, volunteering has positive moderate associations across regimes for expectations of community participation. This is in contrast to the small negative associations found for the government responsibilities items. For students who currently volunteer, it appears that they anticipate continuing their community involvement. There are also larger (small to moderate-sized) positive effects for studying community issues across all regimes. In the liberal, post-communist Central Europe, and Southern Europe welfare regimes, it also appears that studying community issues has positive effects for both holding favorable attitudes toward government support as well as expected community involvement.

In addition, having an open classroom climate for discussion and a sense of individual and collective efficacy have very small to small positive effects across regimes. While the magnitude of effects is limited, it appears that classroom practices and experiences that foster student voice and confidence may yield important benefits for community involvement.

Finally, and in contrast to what was found for the government responsibilities outcomes, protective nationalism has little or no association with expectations of community participation, while trust in government institutions has very small positive associations across regimes. In addition, support for ethnic minority groups again has small positive associations across regimes with anticipated community engagement. The results for institutional trust and holding favorable attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups indicate that fostering these dispositions in adolescents through intergroup contact and service learning might further strengthen a sense of community commitment in adolescents as they develop into adult citizens.

Theoretical Implications

The results of this study advance theory in multiple ways. First, this analysis provides important new evidence that adolescents have established political attitudes that resemble those of adults in certain regime and country-level contexts in which they are growing up. The findings also affirm institutional theories that suggest adolescents' beliefs are culturally embedded (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Hall & Lamont, 2013; Janoski, 2008; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Thelan, 2003). In addition, this research provides insight into developmental niche and other socio-ecological theories by revealing the ways in which a students' demographic background, family socialization, educational environment, and service learning opportunities make a difference in attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). Finally, this analysis broadens an understanding of regime theory, which to date, has largely been investigated using studies of adults (Esping-Anderson, 1990, 1999; Arts & Gelissen, 2002).

In regard to the establishment of attitudes, this study affirms nearly fifty years of research investigation that indicates adolescents have identifiable political attitudes, and that these attitudes resemble those of adults in certain country-level contexts (Gallatin & Adelson, 1970; Hess & Torney 1968; Hooghe & Wilkenfeld 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In addition, this dissertation provides new insight into how adolescents' understanding of the social contract varies cross-nationally, extending lines of research by other civic education researchers whose work has been primarily focused on the United States and with limited investigation at the international level (Flanagan, 2013; Flanagan & Gallay, 2014; Flanagan et al, 2015; Jonsson & Flanagan, 2000). The finding of cross-national and cross-regime variability in attitudes also supports institutional and cultural frameworks from sociology, which emphasize how adolescents' beliefs are shaped by shared cultural schema (Hall & Lamont, 2013; Hall & Taylor, 1996; Janoski, 1998; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Thelan, 2003).

Beyond these macro-level contexts, this study also shows that adolescents' attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities are associated with other "mini-polities" of schools and informal learning environments (Flanagan & Gallay, 2014, p. 43). This socio-ecological perspective is related to developmental niche theory, which posits that adolescents' attitudes are shaped within participatory niches of family socialization, educational environments, and service learning opportunities (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). In support of this theory, the results of this study reveal that a student's gender as well as the service learning opportunities available to them make a difference in how they view government and individual responsibilities for economic and societal well-being. Moreover, these findings support Durkheimian

theories of learned normative behavior through family, peer, and community socialization processes; however, there is less support for theories of status transmission, given the lack of findings related to social class (Janoski & Wilson, 1995; Simpson & Willer, 2015).

Finally, this study advances regime theory by undertaking research with a younger population and employing a different data source than is typically utilized in this line of research. In support of regime theory, adolescents' attitudes resemble those of adults in certain regime contexts. In particular, adolescents' exhibit lower support for economy-related government responsibilities in the more individualistic liberal regime, and adolescents' attitudes in the United States echo the pattern of American exceptionalism characterized by very low support for government economic provision (Andreß & Heien 2001; Dallinger, 2010; Jaeger 2009; Linos & West, 2003; Oser & Hooghe, 2018; Svallfors, 1997).

Implications for Future Research

The results of this dissertation suggest that institutional and cultural factors may be especially influential in the development of adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities. Social background factors do not appear to have as much an effect on these attitudes, and the school's role also appears limited to small effects. Future research could focus more centrally on macro-level cultural influences, and further unpack how these are associated with adolescents' attitudes toward economic support and redistribution. Country-level indicators representing economic opportunity and risk offer promising avenues for further exploration. Qualitative interviews with students in different country and regime contexts may also elucidate other possibilities.

In addition, the finding that social class factors have little relation with support for economy- and society-related government responsibilities is unexpected. Researchers have raised concern that currently-used student self-reports of social class may be inadequate as SES measures (Rutkowski, 2016). Future research on this topic could explore alternative approaches to capturing student social background, such as using linked administrative data.

The results of this study also reveal promising educational practices that can help elevate critical consciousness and solidarity beliefs among youth, which is an emerging focus of researchers (Diemer & Rapa, 2016). In the liberal regime among others, experiences of collective student efficacy, holding positive attitudes toward opportunities for ethnic minority groups, and studying community issues appear to have positive effects for both government and individual responsibilities outcomes. Future research could further explore whether these practices do indeed have positive effects for having beliefs that both individuals and governments are responsible for economic and societal needs. These positive findings for both types of outcomes may provide a counterpoint to fears (particularly in the United States) that certain educational practices risk the political indoctrination of students.

Finally, a future research project could build on these findings by comparing them to a synthetic cohort of adults surveyed using ISSP data. This may involve rescaling the economy-related responsibilities measure and including a matched scale using similar question stems in the most recent year available in the ISSP role of government module. This would also involve limiting the ISSP sample in order to represent the same

generation of students sampled in the CIVED dataset. A study of this type could provide a better understanding of the stability (or malleability) of political attitudes over time.

Limitations of Dissertation Research

This dissertation research uses data from a cross-sectional survey collected at one moment in time, and as such, it is subject to certain limitations. The data examined was collected in 1999 and should not be understood as representing the views of current adolescents, or the views of the same cohort of individuals today. More research is needed to determine if the attitudes of adolescents sampled in 1999 are consistent with those of adults who are in now their thirties. Unfortunately, the survey questions that comprise the government responsibilities scales examined in this study are no longer included in subsequent IEA civic education surveys that are periodically conducted. This prevents the ability to examine more recent cohorts of adolescents. Still, these findings do reveal that political attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities are well established by adolescence, and this deep-rootedness may help to explain the persistence of regime differences, particularly in the liberal regime and in the United States as a liberal regime prototype nation.

As an additional limitation, this dissertation research does not permit a causal interpretation of results since it is not based on an experimental design. This limits the internal validity of findings. There is the potential that some of the associations that are found may be due to other factors beyond the variables that are observed in this study. For instance, although it is possible that schooling practices such as studying community problems may have an effect on attitudes, it could also be the case that these practices are

more prevalent in communities that have a higher average belief in economy-related government responsibilities.

Conclusion

This dissertation examined adolescents' attitudes toward the economic and societal responsibilities of government in 24 democratic nations representing 6 welfare regime types. Adolescents' own sense of responsibility to address community needs through volunteering and engagement in charitable activities was also examined. Despite the limitations that can be drawn from a cross-sectional study of this type, the results reveal several important insights. First, this analysis shows that adolescents have well established attitudes toward social rights and responsibilities, and that these attitudes are found to be culturally embedded within certain welfare regimes and developmental contexts. In particular, adolescents in the liberal regime are found to be similar to adults in having lower support for economy-related government responsibilities, with adolescents in the United States as a liberal regime prototype nation having the lowest support among the 24 countries examined.

In several regimes (including the liberal regime), girls and those who study community problems have higher levels of support for economy-related government responsibilities. However, volunteering with a group in the community is associated with being less supportive of government intervention in citizens' economic affairs. In addition, being a female student, engaging in political discussions with parents, volunteering, and studying about community issues have small to moderate positive effects on adolescents' expected community participation in all regimes. Finally, students' sense of collective efficacy to solve problems at school and having positive

attitudes toward ethnic minority groups are associated with beliefs that both governments and individuals are responsible for addressing economic and societal needs. Cultivating these dispositions in adolescents may be an effective way to encourage individuals' civic engagement and to advance solidarity interests in these polarizing times.

APPENDIX A

Table A1. Descriptive statistics for dataset analyzing the attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities outcome.

	N	Mean or Percentage	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Gender (female)	72481	51.8%	0.50	0.00	1.00
Home Literacy	72481	3.41	1.29	1.00	5.00
Highest Parent Education	72481	4.80	1.62	1.00	7.00
Expected Education	72481	3.24	1.41	0.00	6.00
Native Born	72481	94.0%	0.24	0.00	1.00
Parent Discussion National Politics	72481	0.57	0.49	0.00	1.00
Volunteer Group Participation	72481	0.16	0.36	0.00	1.00
Studied Community Problems	72481	0.67	0.45	0.00	1.00
Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	72481	102.11	20.05	9.63	165.19
Open Climate for Classroom Discussion	72481	10.00	1.99	2.58	15.54
Collective Student Efficacy	72481	10.04	1.98	3.51	14.05
Internal Political Efficacy	72481	9.98	1.97	4.80	16.27
Protective Nationalism	72481	10.05	1.99	2.63	14.73
Positive Toward Minority Groups	72481	9.99	1.98	3.80	13.90
Trust in Government Institutions	72481	10.00	1.96	2.77	17.24
Society-Related Government Responsibilites[1] ([1]1.9% missing in original file.)	72481	0.01	1.00	-4.15	1.91

Table A2. Descriptive statistics for dataset analyzing the expectations of community participation outcome.

	N	Mean or Percentage	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Gender (female)	68850	51.8%	0.50	0.00	1.00
Home Literacy	68850	3.42	1.29	1.00	5.00
Highest Parent Education	68850	4.81	1.63	1.00	7.00
Expected Education	68850	3.25	1.41	0.00	6.00
Native Born	68850	94.0%	0.24	0.00	1.00
Parent Discussion National Politics	68850	0.57	0.49	0.00	1.00
Volunteer Group Participation	68850	0.17	0.36	0.00	1.00
Studied Community Problems	68850	0.67	0.45	0.00	1.00
Civic Knowledge/Skills Score	68850	102.36	20.07	9.63	165.19
Open Climate for Classroom Disc.	68850	10.01	2.00	2.58	15.54
Collective Student Efficacy	68850	10.04	1.99	3.51	14.05
Internal Political Efficacy	68850	9.99	1.98	4.80	16.27
Protective Nationalism	68850	10.06	1.99	2.63	14.73
Positive toward Minority Groups	68850	10.00	1.98	3.80	13.90
Trust in Government Institutions	68850	10.00	1.95	2.77	17.24
Expectations of Community Participation[1] ([1]7.0 % missing in original file.)	68850	0.00	1.00	-2.54	2.51

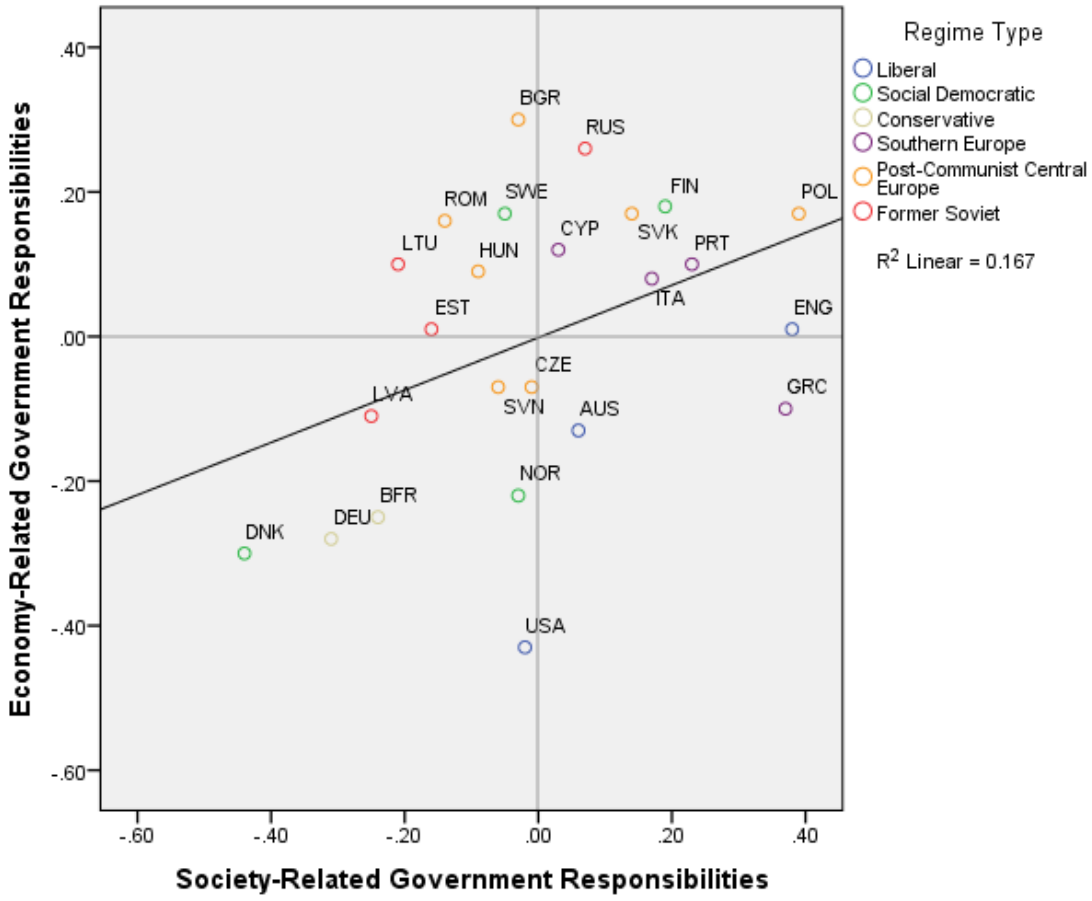
Table B1. Correlations for dataset analyzing attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities outcome.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1 Gender	—	.02 **	-.02 *	.10 **	.00	.03 **	.03 **	.03 **	.03 **	.13 **	.10 **	-.15 **	-.06 **	.17 **	.00	.05 **
2 Home Literacy		—	.38 **	.32 **	.04 **	.08 **	.05 **	-.06 **	.26 **	.06 **	.03 **	.05 **	.03 **	.05 **	.01	.03 **
3 Highest Parent Education			—	.33 **	-.02 **	.06 **	.05 **	-.08 **	.24 **	.04 **	.02 **	.06 **	.00	.06 **	.00	.02 *
4 Expected Education				—	.01	.13 **	.04 **	.00	.38 **	.11 **	.12 **	.11 **	.09 **	.14 **	.02 **	.06 **
5 Native Born					—	-.01	-.01 *	.02 *	.05 **	-.01	.01	-.01 *	.07 **	-.03 **	.00	.01
6 Parent Discussion National Politics						—	.07 **	.10 **	.13 **	.16 **	.11 **	.34 **	.08 **	.08 **	.09 **	.04 **
7 Volunteer Group Participation							—	.08 **	.04 **	.06 **	.06 **	.06 **	-.02 **	.06 **	.07 **	-.04 **
8 Studied Community Problems								—	-.03 **	.19 **	.18 **	.13 **	.08 **	.10 **	.13 **	.05 **
9 Civic Knowledge/Skills Score									—	.20 **	.17 **	.13 **	.17 **	.21 **	.06 **	.08 **
10 Open Climate for Classroom Discussion										—	.24 **	.10 **	.11 **	.21 **	.21 **	.09 **
11 Collective Student Efficacy											—	.10 **	.26 **	.34 **	.15 **	.19 **
12 Internal Political Efficacy												—	.10 **	.06 **	.10 **	.03 **
13 Protective Nationalism													—	.11 **	.09 **	.23 **
14 Positive Toward Minority Groups														—	.13 **	.18 **
15 Trust in Government Institutions															—	.01
16 Economy-Related Government Resp.																—

Notes: *p<.05. **p<.01.

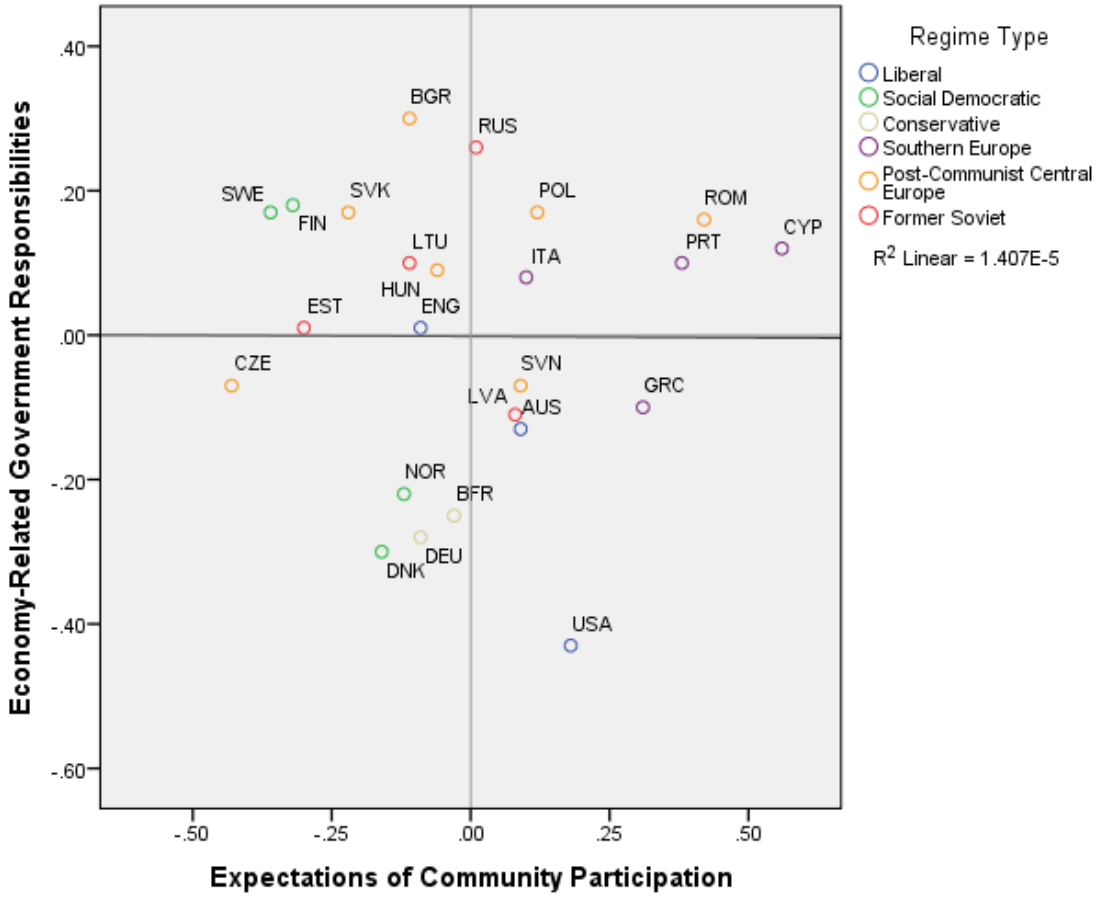
APPENDIX C

Figure C1. Plot of correlation between adolescents' attitudes toward society-related government responsibilities and attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = .41, p<.05).

Figure C2. Plot of correlation between expectations of community participation and adolescents' attitudes toward economy-related government responsibilities.



Notes: Correlation (r = -.004, n.s.).

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