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Education for a better citizen: An assessment

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Education for a better citizen: An assessment

George Psacharopoulos

Highlights

- There is significant variation between countries in the civic knowledge of students and the civic behaviour of adults.
- There is not sufficient evidence on how civics-specific education contributes to civics knowledge and outcomes later in life.
- An open school classroom contributes to the formation of civic behaviour among students.
- There is plenty of rigorous evidence that non-civics-specific general education is a very powerful determinant of civic behaviour.
- Civic behaviour is a powerful determinant of a wide range of socioeconomic outcomes.
- Given the externality element of good citizenship, public subsidy for education processes that contribute to it is justifiable as a policy option.
- Given the role of general education in forming civic attitudes, priority could be given to fixing problems in the mainstream education system, e.g., reducing the rate of secondary school dropouts.

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Executive Summary

Typically, the benefits of education to society have been estimated by relating a measure of educational attainment, such as years of schooling, to market earnings. Recent research, however, has shown that education’s effect extends well beyond what can be readily observed in the labour market, such as forming a better citizen, to a host of non-market or external benefits that in turn can enhance a series of socioeconomic outcomes.

Since ancient times, the role of education has also been to create a better citizen. In practically all countries, some form of a civics subject has been introduced to the school curriculum. Civics contributes to making a society more homogenous. Civics cultivates interpersonal skills and tolerance of others that, among other things, promote social and economic stability, conflict resolution, voting participation, democracy and better governance. A higher level of trust in a society facilitates investment and lowers the cost of market transactions. Lack of trust in society imposes a type of tax on all forms of economic activity.

There is significant variation between countries in the civic knowledge of students, with the highest scores recorded in Scandinavian countries. And similarly in the civic behaviour of adults, which ranges from 75% trusting others in Scandinavia to 20% in Mediterranean countries. In a survey of 14-year-olds in European countries, only 50% of students declared they trusted civic institutions, while 65% expect to vote in European elections.

Civic behaviour by level of education, OECD country averages (% of adults)

Indicator	Educational level		
	Below upper secondary	Upper secondary	Tertiary
Volunteers	12	18	22
Trusts others	13	18	29
Participates in elections	74	79	87

Civics education is offered in a variety of ways in the school curriculum, ranging from a few hours devoted to the subject, to being integrated with other subjects such as history.

There is plenty of rigorous evidence that non-civics-specific general education is a very powerful determinant of civic behaviour. In a cross-section of 100 countries, the number of years of primary schooling was found to be a significant predictor of democracy in terms of electoral rights and civil liberties. By contrast, there is not enough evidence on how civics-specific education contributes to civics knowledge and outcomes later in life.

Civic behaviour is a powerful determinant of a wide range of socioeconomic outcomes. Many studies have found that civic behaviour promotes investment in physical capital and human capital. Trust is associated with efficiency gains because it reduces transaction costs and enhances the profitability of investments in physical and human capital. A high degree of trusting and social cohesion creates an attractive investment climate by providing an amenity bonus and eases the way new ideas are disseminated.

In cross-country study, an increase in trust by one standard deviation raises per capita income by about 12 percent. In another study, a 15-percentage point increase in trust raises the economy's growth rate by one percentage point. According to a further study, a one standard deviation increase in trust at the mean level of investment share of GDP produces a 3% increase in per capita income. Trust also explains up to a third of differences in macroeconomic volatility across countries.

This review has documented that active citizenship is an important correlate and determinant of a broad range of socioeconomic outcomes. At the same time, it has also shown that the state of civic behaviour in the world today might be far less than desired, e.g. with only 30% trusting a country's institutions.

Beyond reasonable doubt, active citizenship should be promoted. The next question is how it should be delivered and who should finance it. The review has shown that a pro-civics environment in regular class teaching, such as having an open classroom climate, holding student elections and promoting working in teams, contributes to students' civic knowledge and thus should be encouraged.

Given that many of the benefits of civic behaviour are external, i.e. they spill over to others, this is a classic case of market failure and opens the room for public subsidy for general and/or civics-specific education. Education policy could give priority to fixing problems in general education, e.g., reducing early school leaving – an action that, among other benefits, would induce civic behaviour. A related option is subsidy to help low-family-income students complete secondary education.

Résumé

En général, les bénéfices de l'éducation pour la société sont appréciés en comparant le niveau d'éducation, par exemple le nombre d'années d'études, avec les revenus obtenus plus tard sur le marché du travail. Des travaux de recherche récents ont toutefois mis en évidence le fait que les bénéfices de l'éducation vont bien au-delà de ce qui est spontanément observable sur le marché du travail : cela s'étend de la formation de meilleurs citoyens, à toute une variété de bénéfices externes ou non captés par les mécanismes de marché, qui à leur tour, peuvent avoir des impacts socio-économiques favorables.

Depuis l'antiquité, l'éducation est également un vecteur de civisme. Dans quasiment tous les pays, l'éducation civique a été introduite sous une forme ou une autre dans les programmes scolaires. L'éducation civique contribue à rendre la société plus homogène. Elle permet le développement de compétences interpersonnelles et de comportements tolérants, qui contribuent à la stabilité économique et sociale, la résolution de conflits, la participation électorale, la démocratie ainsi qu'une meilleure gouvernance. Un niveau élevé de confiance dans une société incite à l'investissement et réduit les coûts de transaction sur les marchés. A l'inverse, le manque de confiance au sein de la société induit une forme de taxation sur tous les types d'activité économique.

Il existe des écarts considérables entre pays en ce qui concerne les connaissances civiques des étudiants, les résultats les plus élevés étant enregistrés dans les pays scandinaves. La situation est similaire concernant le comportement civique des adultes, allant de 75 % de confiance en autrui en Scandinavie à seulement 20 % dans les pays méditerranéens. Dans un sondage mené auprès des adolescents de 14 ans dans les pays européens, seulement 50 % des collégiens ont déclaré faire confiance aux institutions publiques, alors que 65 % comptaient voter lors des élections européennes.

Comportement civique selon le niveau d'études, moyennes des pays de l'OCDE (% d'adultes)

Indicateur	Niveau d'études		
	Primaire et collège	Lycée	Enseignement supérieur
Bénévoles	12	18	22
Confiance en autrui	13	18	29
Participation aux élections	74	79	87

L'éducation civique est intégrée aux programmes scolaires de façon variée, allant de quelques heures consacrées au sujet, à son intégration dans une autre matière telle que l'Histoire.

De nombreux travaux empiriques mettent en évidence le fait que l'éducation dans son ensemble, hors éducation civique, est un déterminant essentiel du comportement civique. Selon une étude transversale menée sur un échantillon de 100 pays, le nombre d'années d'enseignement primaire s'est avéré être un bon prédicteur du degré de démocratie de la société, en termes de droits électoraux et de libertés civiles. A l'inverse, on manque d'éléments permettant de conclure quant à l'impact d'un enseignement spécifique à l'éducation civique sur les connaissances civiques ou sur de potentiels effets sur les trajectoires individuelles.

Le comportement civique a de nombreuses conséquences socio-économiques. D'après plusieurs analyses, le comportement civique favorise les investissements tant en capital physique qu'en capital

humain. La confiance se traduit par des gains d'efficacité car elle réduit les coûts de transactions et augmente la rentabilité des investissements en capital physique et humain. Un niveau élevé de confiance et de cohésion sociale donne lieu à un climat d'investissement attractif, en raison de l'environnement convivial qu'il génère, propice à la diffusion de nouvelles idées.

Une étude transversale a montré qu'une hausse du niveau de confiance d'un écart-type augmentait le revenu par tête d'environ 12 %. D'après une seconde étude, une augmentation de 15 points de pourcentage du niveau de confiance induit une hausse du taux de croissance de l'économie d'un point de pourcentage. Selon une troisième étude, une augmentation du niveau de confiance d'un écart-type, avec un taux d'investissement au niveau moyen de l'échantillon, donne lieu à une hausse de 3 % du revenu par tête. Enfin, le niveau de confiance explique jusqu'à un tiers des différences de volatilité macroéconomique entre pays.

Cette revue de littérature a permis de documenter le fait qu'une implication forte dans la citoyenneté est corrélée à, et induit de nombreuses conséquences socio-économiques. Elle a également mis en évidence le fait qu'actuellement, le comportement civique dans le monde est parfois très en deçà du niveau optimal ; par exemple seulement 30 % des répondants font confiance aux institutions de leur pays.

Il paraît indiscutable qu'une citoyenneté active doit être promue ; la question est de savoir comment y parvenir et par le biais de quels financements. Cette étude a démontré qu'un environnement favorable au civisme dans l'enseignement en général (par exemple à travers un climat d'ouverture pendant les cours, l'organisation d'élections parmi les élèves ou encore la promotion du travail en équipe) contribue aux connaissances civiques des élèves, et doit par conséquent être encouragé.

Etant donné que de nombreux bénéfices du comportement civique sont des externalités positives, il s'agit d'une situation classique de défaillance de marché, laissant ainsi une place aux subventions en faveur de l'éducation dans son ensemble et/ou civique. Les politiques en matière d'éducation pourraient privilégier la résolution des problèmes dans l'éducation en général, comme par exemple, faire reculer la déscolarisation précoce (ce qui, entre autres bienfaits, contribuerait à l'amélioration des comportements civiques). La mise en place de subventions visant à aider les enfants issus de familles à bas revenus à aller au bout de l'enseignement secondaire constitue une option alternative.

Kurzversion

Um den gesellschaftlichen Nutzen von Bildung zu bewerten, wird normalerweise ein Zusammenhang zwischen einer Maßeinheit des Bildungsniveaus – wie z. B. die Dauer der schulischen Ausbildung – und dem Markteinkommen hergestellt. Jüngste Studien haben jedoch ergeben, dass die Auswirkungen der Schulbildung weit über das hinausgehen, was sich nur am Arbeitsmarkt ablesen lässt, so zum Beispiel die Schaffung besserer BürgerInnen sowie eine Reihe von externen bzw. nicht marktwirtschaftlichen Vorteilen, die wiederum zahlreiche positive sozioökonomische Ergebnisse mit sich bringen können.

Bereits seit der Antike besteht eine Aufgabe der Bildung darin, bessere BürgerInnen hervorzubringen. In so gut wie allen Ländern steht mittlerweile irgendeine Form von Gemeinschaftskunde auf dem Lehrplan. Gemeinschaftskunde trägt zu einer größeren gesellschaftlichen Homogenität bei. Gemeinschaftskunde fördert die soziale Kompetenz und die Toleranz gegenüber anderen, was unter anderem zu höherer gesellschaftlicher und wirtschaftlicher Stabilität, besserer Konfliktlösung, einer höheren Wahlbeteiligung, einer stärkeren Demokratie und besserer Regierungsführung beiträgt. Ein hohes Maß an Vertrauen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft begünstigt Investitionen und senkt die Kosten von Markttransaktionen. Dagegen führt ein Mangel an Vertrauen zu einer Art Steuer auf alle Formen der Wirtschaftstätigkeit.

Staatsbürgerliche Kenntnisse von SchülerInnen unterscheiden sich erheblich zwischen den Ländern, wobei die skandinavischen Länder hierbei am besten abschneiden. Ähnliches lässt sich auch bei staatsbürgerlichem Verhalten der Erwachsenen beobachten. Beispielsweise geben in Skandinavien 75 % der Erwachsenen an, anderen zu vertrauen, während diese Zahl in den Mittelmeerländern nur bei 20 % liegt. Eine Umfrage unter vierzehnjährigen SchülerInnen aus verschiedenen europäischen Ländern ergab, dass lediglich 50 % der Befragten Vertrauen in zivilgesellschaftliche Institutionen haben, während 65 % vorhaben, bei künftigen Europawahlen ihre Stimme abzugeben.

Staatsbürgerliches Verhalten nach Bildungsniveau, Durchschnittswerte für OECD-Länder (Prozentanteil der Erwachsenen)

Indikator	Bildungsabschluss		
	Unter der Sekundaroberstufe	Sekundaroberstufe	Höherer Bildungsabschluss
Engagiert sich ehrenamtlich	12	18	22
Vertraut anderen	13	18	29
Nimmt an Wahlen teil	74	79	87

Der Gemeinschaftskundeunterricht unterscheidet sich je nach Lehrplan – in manchen Fällen finden pro Woche ein paar Stunden reiner Gemeinschaftskundeunterricht statt, in anderen Fällen wird der Stoff in andere Fächer wie z. B. Geschichte integriert.

Es liegen sehr viele schlüssige Belege dafür vor, dass der allgemeine, nicht gemeinschaftskundespezifische Schulunterricht ein entscheidender Faktor in puncto staatsbürgerlichem Verhalten ist. Eine Analyse der Situation in 100 Ländern hat ergeben, dass die Dauer der Grundschulzeit

ein signifikanter Prädiktor für Demokratie ist, was das Wahlrecht und bürgerliche Freiheiten angeht. Demgegenüber existieren keine ausreichenden Nachweise darüber, wie gemeinschaftskundespezifischer Unterricht im späteren Leben zum Wissen über Bürgerkunde und zu entsprechenden Ergebnissen beiträgt.

Staatsbürgerliches Verhalten ist ein entscheidender Faktor für eine ganze Reihe von sozioökonomischen Ergebnissen. Zahlreiche Studien haben festgestellt, dass staatsbürgerliches Verhalten Investitionen in Sach- und Humankapital fördert. Vertrauen wird mit Effizienzsteigerungen in Verbindung gebracht, da es Transaktionskosten verringert und die Rentabilität von Investitionen in Sach- und Humankapital erhöht. Ein hohes Maß an Vertrauen und sozialem Zusammenhalt führt dank gesteigerter Annehmlichkeit zu einem attraktiven Investitionsklima und erleichtert die Verbreitung neuer Ideen.

Eine länderübergreifende Studie hat ergeben, dass im Bereich Vertrauen eine Standardabweichung nach oben das Pro-Kopf-Einkommen um etwa 12 Prozent erhöht. Aus einer anderen Studie geht hervor, dass eine Erhöhung des Vertrauens um 15 Prozent das Wirtschaftswachstum um ein Prozent steigert. Und laut einer dritten Studie sorgt eine Standardabweichung nach oben in puncto Vertrauen gemessen am mittleren Investitionsanteil des BIP für einen Anstieg des Pro-Kopf-Einkommens um drei Prozent. Darüber hinaus ist bis zu einem Drittel der makroökonomischen Volatilität zwischen verschiedenen Ländern auf das unterschiedliche Maß an Vertrauen zurückzuführen.

Dieser Bericht dokumentiert, dass eine aktive Bürgerschaft ein wichtiges Korrelat und ein entscheidender Faktor für eine ganze Reihe von sozioökonomischen Ergebnissen ist. Gleichzeitig wurde auch aufgezeigt, dass es um das staatsbürgerliche Verhalten derzeit möglicherweise nicht so gut steht wie gewünscht, wenn beispielsweise nur 30 % der Befragten Vertrauen in die staatlichen Institutionen haben.

Zweifelsfrei sollte die aktive Bürgerschaft gefördert werden. Die nächste Frage ist, wie man dies erreichen kann und wer für die Kosten aufkommen sollte. Aus dem Bericht geht hervor, dass eine bürgerschaftlich engagierte Atmosphäre im regulären Unterricht die staatsbürgerlichen Kenntnisse der SchülerInnen erweitert und daher gefördert werden sollte. Hierzu gehört beispielsweise ein offenes Klassenklima, das Abhalten von SchülerInnenwahlen und das Arbeiten in Gruppen.

Da sich viele der Vorzüge eines guten staatsbürgerlichen Verhaltens extern – also bei anderen – auswirken, haben wir es hier mit einem klassischen Fall von Marktversagen zu tun und es spricht einiges für die staatliche Förderung des allgemeinen und/oder gemeinschaftskundespezifischen Unterrichts. Die Bildungspolitik sollte den Schwerpunkt auf die Lösung von Problemen in der allgemeinen Schulbildung legen, beispielsweise auf die Reduzierung der Schulabbruchquote. Eine von vielen positiven Auswirkungen dieser Maßnahme wäre die Förderung von staatsbürgerlichem Verhalten. Eine weitere Möglichkeit wären Zuschüsse, um SchülerInnen aus Geringverdienerhaushalten eine Sekundärausbildung zu ermöglichen.

1. Introduction

The education of the young needs the special attention of the lawmaker. The neglect of education in a state is injurious to the state. One ought to be educated in accordance with the particular form of the state, because the particular character of each state both guards the state and originally establishes it. The democratic ethos promotes democracy, and a better ethos produces a better state.

So wrote Aristotle centuries ago. It took over two thousand years for people to realise the importance of civics and introduce it to the school curriculum. Historically, most Western nations introduced some kind of civic education during the process of nation building (Alesina and Reich, 2018; Bandiera et al., 2017).

The European Commission (2017a, 2018) echoed Aristotle in its recommendation to Member States on promoting common values to harness the potential of education and culture as drivers for active citizenship.

In his 2017 State of the Union Address, President Juncker noted that education and culture are the drivers not only for job creation and economic growth, but also for social fairness, unity, and a more democratic Union (European Commission, 2017b).

European Ministers of Education made a declaration to ensure that children acquire common social values, tolerance and active citizenship (European Commission, 2015).

The purpose of this report is to take stock and review the state of our knowledge on the many facets of civics, from its meaning and theoretical foundations to its measurement and socioeconomic outcomes. The report concludes with what the review findings mean for education in Europe today.

What is civics?

Beyond teaching the three 'R's, the role of education since ancient times has also been to create a better citizen. In practically all countries, some form of a civics subject has been introduced to the school curriculum. The interest in civic education has recently increased because of the availability of evidence on its potential benefits to society.

Civics has been a late addition and extension to the human capital theory (Coleman, 1988; Putman, 1993). Building civic behaviour contributes to the formation of social capital that is expected to have economic returns similar to that of other forms of capital.

The aim of civic education is to inculcate behavioural traits that would make the student a better citizen. Civics contributes to making a society more homogenous and this facilitates the process of building state capacity and social transfers (Besley and Persson, 2010).

Based on a review of civics education in 42 countries, Eurydice lists 41 specific citizenship competences ranging from empathy to multi-perceptivity, with the qualification that the long list is not exhaustive.

Table 1. Citizenship competences

Interacting effectively and constructively with others	Thinking critically	Acting in a socially responsible manner	Acting democratically
Self-confidence	Multi-perspectivity	Respect for justice	Respect for democracy
Responsibility	Reasoning and analysis skills	Solidarity	Knowledge of political institutions
Autonomy (personal initiative)	Data interpretation	Respect for other human beings	Knowledge of political processes (e.g. elections)
Respect for different opinions or beliefs	Knowledge discovery and use of sources	Respect for human rights	Knowledge of international organisations, treaties and declarations
Cooperation	Media literacy	Sense of belonging	Interacting with political authorities
Conflict resolution	Creativity	Sustainable development	Knowledge of fundamental political and social concepts
Empathy	Exercising judgement	Environmental protection	Respect for rules
Self-awareness	Understanding the present world	Cultural heritage protection	Participating
Communicating and listening	Questioning	Knowing about or respecting other cultures	Knowledge of or participation in civil society
Emotional awareness		Knowing about or respecting religions	
Flexibility or adaptability		Non-discrimination	
Inter-cultural skills			

Source: Eurydice (2017), Figure 1.7.

2. Theoretical foundations

‘Active citizenship’ is a multidisciplinary concept: education, sociology, economics, psychology, criminology and political science, to mention a few, have all contributed to theoretical and empirical analyses relating to active citizenship.

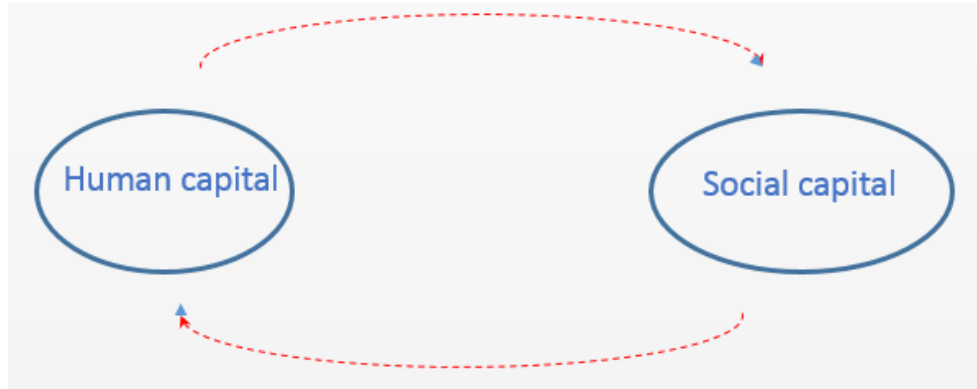
Two intellectual strands are dominant in the academic literature dealing with this topic:

- human capital, and
- social capital

According to human capital theory, a person’s or a country’s wealth is not only measured by their savings or GDP, but also by the skills and knowledge they have accumulated through education and training. Social capital theory came later, adding another dimension to the traditional factor endowments in the form of behavioural characteristics, such as trust.

In theory, both human and social capital are expected to contribute to personal and societal outcomes, such as higher earnings of a more educated worker, higher productivity of labour and, hence, a higher rate of economic growth. In fact, the two forms of capital are complementary, in the sense that a higher stock of human capital may lead to better civic behaviour; and a higher stock of social capital may help build human capital (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Human-social capital interaction



The main actor in human capital theory is the individual, e.g., by obtaining more education and increasing his/her earnings; whereas social capital relates to how groups of individuals interact with each other to produce a common good.

Table 2. Human-social capital differences and indicators

	Human capital	Social capital
Main actor	Individual	Community
Indicators	Years of schooling Education quality Training Education expenditure	Trust Political participation Criminality Volunteerism
Effects	Earnings Productivity	Better citizen Better government Better institutions

The economic aspect of citizenship relates to the complementarity between factors of production. In theory, a better citizen embodying social capital is expected to boost the productivity of physical capital and others' labour and enhance innovation (Grannovetter, 1973). It is also expected to generate fiscal benefits, e.g., in the sense of less criminality thus saving law enforcement public expenditure.

An important theoretical concept in this review is that of an 'externality', often referred to as 'spill over'. This concept refers to a situation where the effect of actions by someone imposes costs or benefits on others that are not reflected in market prices. For example, a more educated person following high hygiene standards may reduce the spread of disease to others. Or an active citizen may contribute to the benefit of others by voting for a better government.

The theoretical mechanism by which civics works is that it promotes social cohesion and trust (Dee, 2004, 2010). Civics cultivates interpersonal skills to tolerate others that, among other things, promote social and economic stability, conflict resolution, voting participation, democracy and better governance (Gallego, 2010; Temple, 2001). A higher level of trust in a society facilitates investment and lowers the cost of market transactions (Sequeira et al., 2011).

2.1 Social capital as civic capital

Social capital was coined by Bourdieu (1972, 1986), and elaborated by Putman (1993), Fukuyama (1995) and Coleman (1988, 1990). The keywords in the early works on human capital relate to belonging, group associations, networks, relationships, sharing social norms, obedience to the law and trustworthiness.

Putnam (1993) defined social capital as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”.

When the notion of social capital first appeared in sociological literature, there was high concern about its ambiguity and fuzziness. In reviewing Fukuyama’s (1995) book on trust, (Solow, 1995) noted that social capital might be a vague impressionistic buzzword because it does not share the characteristics of proper capital – there is no identifiable investment, no depreciation, and non-clarity on how to measure it. It could also refer to the formation of a gang for illicit activities.

Arrow (1972) linked social capital to economic outcomes, noting that virtually every commercial transaction has within itself an element of trust, and argued that much of the economic backwardness in the world might be explained by the lack of mutual confidence. Fukuyama (1995) noted that distrust in a society imposes a kind of tax on all forms of economic activity.

Knack and Keefer (1997) argued that improvement in social cohesion could affect macroeconomic performance by reducing transaction costs, thereby facilitating investment, innovation, better government institutions, and reducing police costs. Lott (1999) noted that schools may have a function to indoctrinate certain values, hence schools in most countries are mainly public in order to be under the control of the state. This point is echoed by Pritchett and Viarengo (2015), explaining why private schooling and vouchers are not popular in most countries. On the other hand, schools in most countries are mainly publicly funded because education is seen as a public good, not solely because governments want schools to be under the control of the state

More recently Guiso et al. (2011) define social capital as civic capital - “those persistent and shared beliefs and values that help a group overcome the free rider problem in the pursuit of socially valuable activities”.

2.2 From theory to practice

Active citizenship can take several forms, such as social entrepreneurship, solidarity, consumer advocacy, volunteering, community work, human capital accumulation, associational membership, social engagement, and NGO formation. Clearly, for analytical purposes one needs to operationalise the topic into a few non-overlapping and hopefully measurable indicators.

In this review, we adopted the following categories of indicators:

- Input – The supply of civics education,
- Intermediate output – The competences resulting from civics education,
- Ultimate output – Socioeconomic outcomes of civic behaviour.

Civic behaviour is not only taught during a school class on civics. The family plays a great role in influencing and shaping the civic behaviour of children. Certainly, non-civics-specific education must enhance the civic behaviour of graduates, e.g., by promoting collaboration between students in teaching general, mainstream subjects.

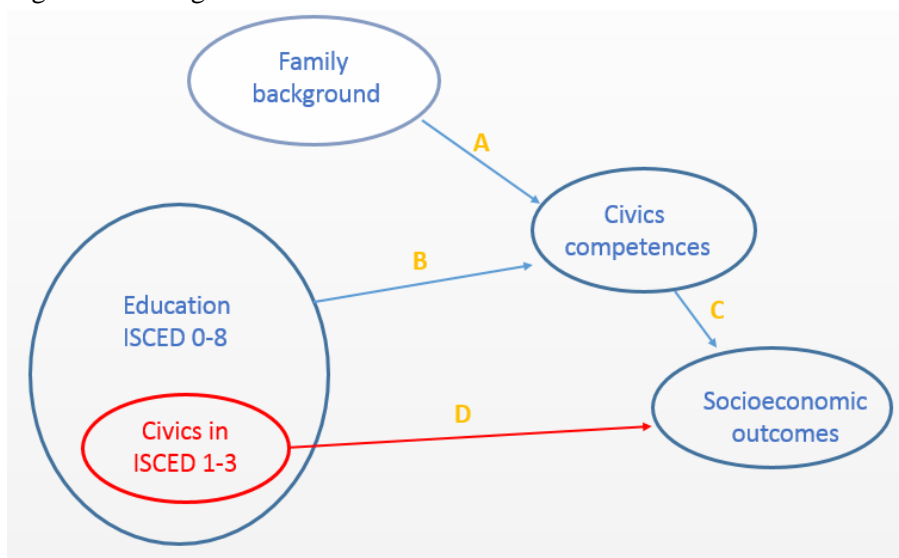
In addition, community or peer groups are another source of influence on civic behaviour (Barbour et al., 2008). Simple tasks, such as taking children out to pick up litter in their area, can increase their sense of civic pride in the streets around their school, an effect which lasts after the event takes place.

Examples are the Adlai Stevenson High School in Illinois and the Eastridge Community Elementary School in Colorado (Education Alliance, 2008). The European Commission's (undated) eTwinning program is in the same spirit.

The relationship between education and civics is very complex because of the many factors at play. Isolating causal factors in this relationship is even more complex. The complexity of the relationship between civics and education is also due to the possible reverse causality (e.g., socio-economic outcomes can have an impact on both education and civic competences).

For illustrative purposes, and as a road map for organising this report, Figure 2 shows the main paths in the complex education-civics relationship. The analytical research challenge is to disentangle the relative strength of the four arrows in a set of very complex relationships.

Figure 2. From general and civics education to outcomes



2.3 The intermediate output

Many of Eurydice's (2017) around 50 specific citizenship competences ranging from empathy to multi-perceptivity are overlapping. Even so, this is a very tall order for a course taught in the few hours devoted to civics, or diluted within another mainstream school subject. In addition, many of these competences are most likely the by-product of mainstream general subjects in the curriculum.

Eurydice (2017) contains 30 pages on the many and diverse civic knowledge assessment and evaluation systems for students in different countries. There is no mention of how well students learn civics, although there is some information in this respect in other sources.

Based on a survey of about 53,000 8th grade students in 14 European countries, only 50% of students have trust in civic institutions and 65% of students expect to vote in European elections (IEA, 2017a). In a larger sample of 94,000 students in 24 countries, civic knowledge measured on a scale set to a mean of 500 points showed wide variation between countries – Denmark and Scandinavia, scoring above 580 points, and Bulgaria scoring 485, equal to one standard deviation difference (IEA, 2017b).

2.4 The eventual output

Isolating the effect of a civics curriculum on socioeconomic outcomes is not an easy matter. Beyond civics-specific instruction, there are a myriad other factors that influence civic behaviour, such as parental background and non-civics-specific general subjects in school instruction.

Studies attempting to relate civics and general education to civic behaviour later in life can be classified into two big categories: (a) those reporting associations, and (b) those reporting causal effects. Associations are useful, in the sense of suggesting relationships. But the ultimate test lies in causal studies. The literature is rich in the first category, but scarce in the second one.

Out of the dozens of civic outputs in Eurydice (2017), researchers have focused on very few, more or less concrete, non-overlapping and measurable output indicators:

- Trust
- Electoral participation
- Criminality
- Productivity
- Institutions
- Volunteerism
- Entrepreneurship

3. Empirical approaches

In reviewing the analytic literature, a sharp distinction should be made between simple correlations and causation of civics to outcomes, along with where the civics competences were obtained – during regular mainstream education, or in specific civics-specific instruction. There is plenty of evidence on the suggestive effects of general education on civic behaviour. But any policy conclusion should be based on the causal effects of civics-specific education, on which the literature is very thin and mostly referring to the United States.

Figure 3. Availability of empirical evidence

Evidence type Method of instruction	Suggestive	Causal
General education	****	**
Civics-specific	***	*

Legend: Number of stars indicates the quantity of evidence. Green to red colour indicates the quality of evidence, high to low, respectively.

Researchers have applied a number of econometric techniques to determine causal effects of education and civics to outcomes, e.g., Milligan et al. (2004).

3.1 Defining and measuring civic capital

“Citizenship and education” is a very broad subject spanning many disciplines. Literature on the subject could be classified into two broad categories:

- Descriptive, such as in the various publications of the European Union and the IEA, e.g., Eurydice (2017) and IEA (2017).
- Analytical, such as those published in academic refereed journals and peer-reviewed books, e.g., Urwin et al. (2008).

The emphasis in this review is on the second category, while descriptive material will be used as an introduction to the topic.

3.2 Data sources

European data is based on Eurostat's (2018) income and living conditions surveys (EU-SILC), the European Social Survey (ESS, 2018), Eurobarometer (2014), the OECD (2011, 2016b) and Eurydice (2017). In the United States, the General Social Survey has been used (NORC, 2018).

International data are found in IEA's (2017a,b) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) covering 24 countries. The most used international data source of civic behaviour is the World Value Survey (WVS, 2016; Inglehart et al., 2004). Civic behaviour is measured by responses to questions such as on claiming government benefits to which one is not entitled, avoiding a fare in public transport, cheating on taxes, keeping money that was found, or failing to report damage done accidentally to a parked vehicle. The most used statistic by researchers using these databases is 'Trust', measured as a dichotomous variable based on the responders answer to the question:

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

Similarly, the World Gallup (2016) poll contains information on civic behaviour of 145,000 respondents in 140 countries. A sample question is:

Have you done any of the following in the past month? Donated money to a charity, volunteered your time to an organization, helped a stranger or someone you didn't know who needed help?

In its surveys, the World Bank measures civic capital by six families of variables: Groups and Networks, Trust and Solidarity, Collective Action and Cooperation, Information and Communication, Social Cohesion and Inclusion, and Empowerment and Political Action (Grootaert et al. 2005).

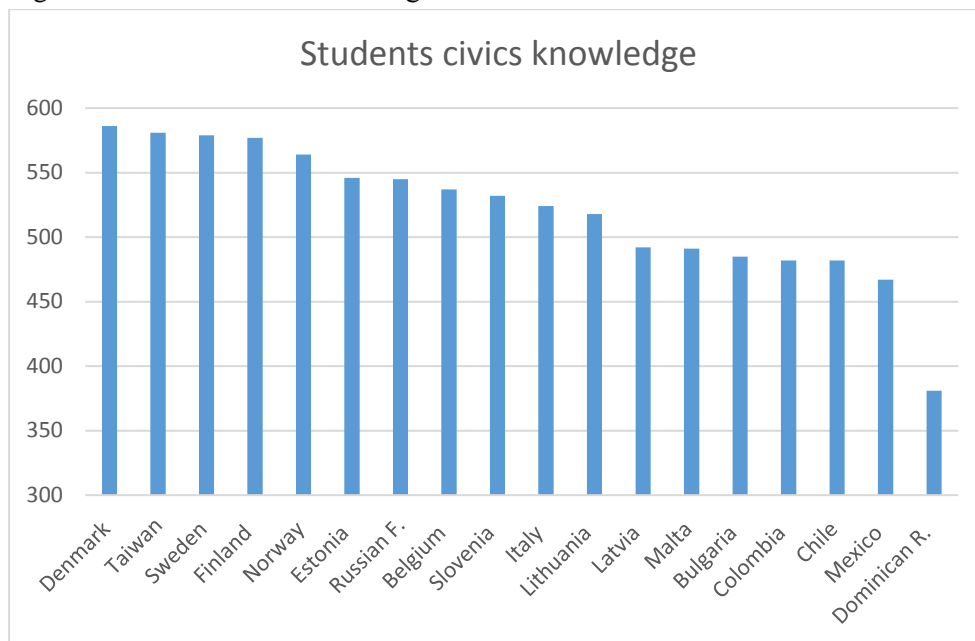
3.3 State of civics

What is the state of civics in the world today? This question could be answered in two steps: What do students learn about civics in school, and what is the adults' civic behaviour?

Student's civic knowledge

ICCS 2016 covering 94,000 14-year-old lower secondary school students in 24 countries gives us a glimpse of their knowledge of civics (IEA, 2017a). The civics knowledge measure was based on a test of 87 items set at an international average of 500 points, and a standard deviation of 100.

Figure 4. Students' civic knowledge



Source: based on Annex Table A-1.

A level of 479 points was set to denote proficiency regarding the most pervasive civic institutions and concepts, e.g., “What is the best way to choose a leader – by vote or because someone offers to be a leader?” Among European countries, 59% of students answered correctly, with the highest score in Finland, 82% and the lowest in Lithuania, 47%. Only 35% of Colombian students answered this question correctly.

3.4 Students' civic attitudes

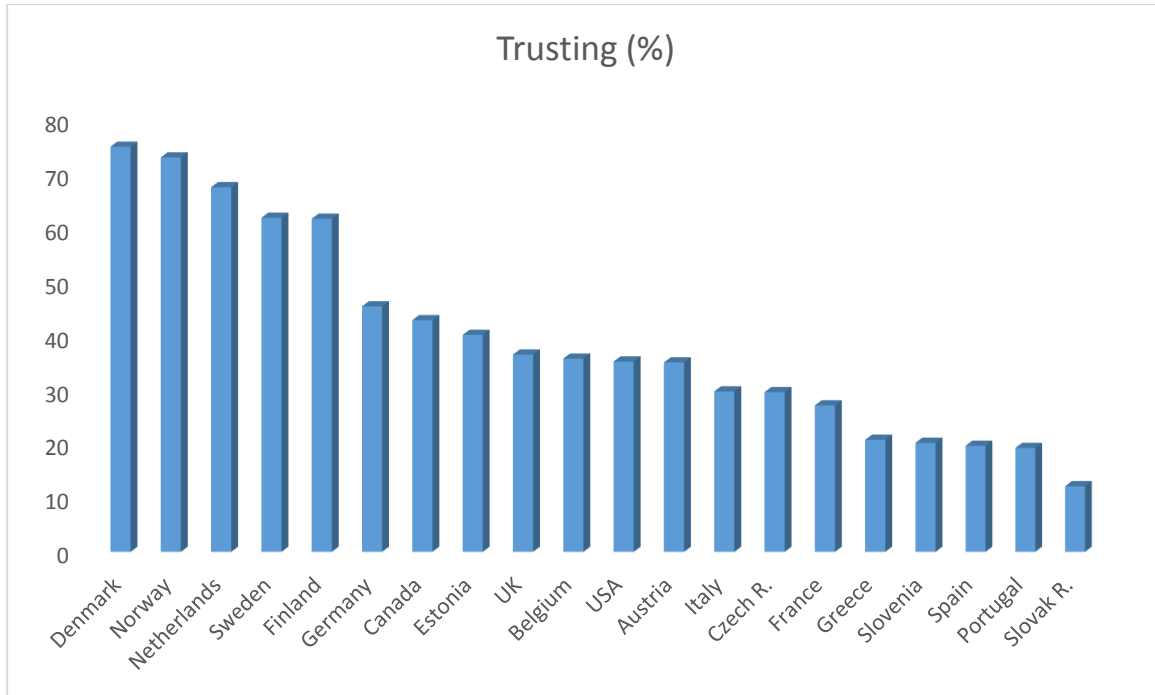
The European student questionnaire in ICCS 2016 (IEA, 2016b) gathered data from almost 53,000 students in their eighth year of schooling in 14 European countries. According to their responses:

- 50% of students have trust in civic institutions,
- 53% of students felt that they have a sense of European identity,
- 50% of students report having opportunities for learning about Europe in school,
- 70% of students trust the European Union and 72% the European Parliament,
- 65% of students expect to vote in European elections,
- 85% expect to vote in national elections,
- 65% expect to vote in European elections.

3.5 Adult civic behaviour

The OECD (2016a) used data from the World Values Survey, the European Values Survey and Gallup World Poll to compile adults' behaviour on trust, voting and volunteering (Annex Table A-2). Figure 2 shows a wide variation between countries on trust – a key citizenship attribute.

Figure 5. Adult civic behaviour



Source: Based on Annex table A-2.

Citizenship education is part of national curricula in all countries. It is delivered in schools through three main approaches: as a stand-alone subject, as part of another subject or learning area, or as a cross-curricular dimension. However, a combination of these approaches is often used. Twenty countries or regions dedicate a separate compulsory subject to citizenship education, sometimes starting at primary level, but more usually at secondary level. The length of time during which citizenship education is taught as a separate subject varies considerably between countries, ranging from 12 years in France to one year in Bulgaria and Turkey (Eurydice, 2017).

4. General vs. civic-specific education

The analytical literature is much richer regarding the effects of general education on civic outcomes, than civic-specific education on outcomes. There is ample evidence that general education and civic behaviour are highly correlated. This correlation also has policy implications, covered later in this review.

Civics behaviour is not only built by a civics curriculum. There is plenty of evidence that education in general, not specifically civics, enhances civic behaviour (Oreopoulos and Salvanes, 2011; Gallego, 2010; Temple, 2001; Temple and Johnson, 1998).

According to the OECD (2009), education in general can directly increase civic and political engagement by providing relevant information and experience, and by developing competencies, values, attitudes and beliefs that encourage civic participation. The empirical literature documents positive associations between education and civic and social engagement (e.g. OECD, 2007b).

Table 3. Civic behaviour by level of education, OECD country averages (% of adults)

Indicator	Educational level		
	Below upper secondary	Upper secondary	Tertiary
Volunteer	12	18	22
Trusts others	13	18	29
Has say in government	23	30	43
Participates in elections	74	79	87

Source: OECD (various years).

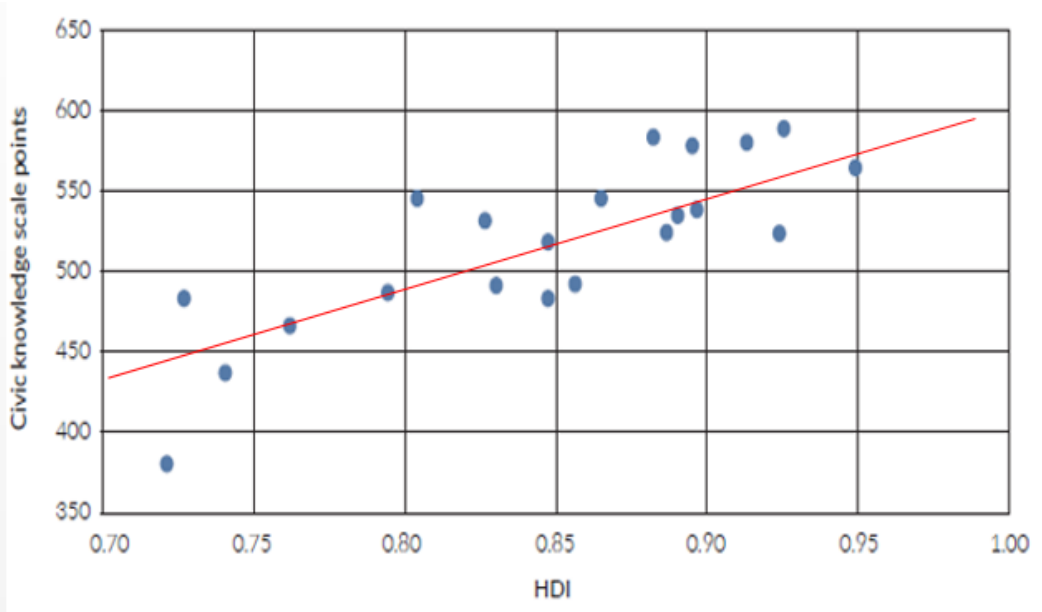
As noted in Eurydice (2017), schools are meant to be among the most significant socialising factor in the development of students into well-informed, responsible, participatory, active, and socially integrated young individuals capable of contributing to the well-being of the society in which they live (i.e. providers of civic competence).

In a meta-analysis of 154 studies, Huang et al. (2009) report that education is a strong and robust correlate of individual social capital. A one standard deviation increase in years of schooling accounts for a change of individual social capital by 12–16 percent of its standard deviation.

The correlation between civics knowledge and general education is also well documented in IEA’s international ICCS study (IEA 2017b).

Figure 3 plots for 21 countries the civics score against the country’s UNDP’s Human Development Index (HDI), a component of which is the country’s educational development, along with health and income.

Figure 6. Civic knowledge and Human Development Index



Source: Adapted from IEA (2017b).

The ICCS 2016 shows that socioeconomic background (SES) relates strongly to how students assimilate civic knowledge (Table 4).

Table 4. Civic knowledge by parental background, countries average

Parental background	Civic knowledge score
Educational level - Below tertiary - Above tertiary	503 545
Occupation - Below average SES - Above average SES	501 536
Immigrant - Yes - No	479 523

Source: IEA (2017a) Figures 3.14 and 3.15.

Helliwell and Putman (1999) using data from the US General Social Survey found that one additional year of education increases an individual’s probability of being trusting by 4 percentage points over the average probability of 38%.

Social capital, as embodied in family and community relations, is very important to the accumulation of human capital. Using US data, Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) found a strong relationship between social capital and high school dropout rates.

Using data from more than 50 countries and instrumental variables, Bjørnskov (2009) found a positive and statistically significant relationship between trust and the growth of schooling.

Using data from the World Values Survey for more than 100 countries, Dearmon and Grier (2009) found a positive relationship between trust and as the share of population with secondary education.

Using data from about 40 countries, Papagapitos and Riley (2009), found a positive relationship between trust and secondary school enrolment.

Glaeser, Laibson, Scheinkman, and Scoutter (1999) assert that the most robust correlate of social capital variables is years of schooling. Using the World Values Survey, they find a positive relationship between membership in organisations and schooling in almost all countries.

The correlation between education and civic capital could be interpreted in reverse way – civics affecting human capital. For example, in a trusting society, individuals are more likely to invest in their education because they would expect higher returns (Papagapitos and Riley (2009).

Knack and Keefer (1997) argue that, beyond the socialisation effect, higher learning makes individuals better informed and conscious of their actions, thus investing in human capital.

Firms hiring labour will pay higher wages for educated workers because the cost of monitoring employee performance is lower. Bjørnskov (2009) asserts that social trust affects the growth of schooling by lowering transaction costs associated with employing educated workers. In a sample of 52 countries over a 40-year period, using a robust econometric technique (instrumental variables) he found that an increase in social trust of 15 percentage points of its mean value is associated with a 30% increase in the average years of schooling.

Using data from US states and using a robust econometric technique to establish causality, Dincer (2011) found that a 25 percentage point increase in trust increases the average years of schooling by approximately 1.5 months.

Groot and Huang (2008) report the results of a meta-analysis synthesising 154 evaluations on social trust and 286 evaluations on social participation. They found that one additional year of schooling increases social trust by 4.6 percent of its standard deviation and social participation by 4.8 percent. One standard deviation of schooling years is about 3 years for most countries.

One standard deviation of years of schooling accounts for the change in individual social capital by 12–16 percent of the standard deviation.

5. Civics outcomes

In his *Principles of Political Economy*, British philosopher John Stewart Mill (1848) noted:

There are countries in Europe where the most serious impediment to conducting business is the rarity of persons to be trusted.

There are several empirical analyses associating civic behaviour and economic outcomes, e.g., the size of per capita income, the rate of economic growth, and productivity. The list of civic outcomes includes the provision of public goods (Putnam 1993), economic growth (Knack and Keefer 1997; Algan and Cahuc 2010), formation of large firms and organisations (La Porta et al. 1997), financial development and trade (Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales 2004).

5.1 Trust

The most common civic attribute dealt with in the empirical literature is trust, measured by respondent answers to a survey question whether most people can be trusted. There is a wide variation in this statistic across countries, ranging from a high of 75% in Denmark to a low of 4% in Colombia.

Social capital, especially trust, is found to affect a broad range of political and economic variables, including voter turnout (Knack, 1992), higher institutional quality and lower corruption (Knack, 2002; Uslaner, 2004), lower mortality (Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stit, 2001) and Zak and Knack (2001).

Higher trust levels might increase information sharing and allow faster dissemination of new research and ideas. Efficiency gains in human capital produced by trust would increase GDP not only directly, but also indirectly by working through physical capital (Knack and Keefer, 1997).

Trust is associated with efficiency gains because of reducing transaction costs and enhances the profitability of investments in physical and human capital (Arrow, 1972; Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 1995; Coleman, 1988; Durlauf and Fafchamps, 2005).

Trust affects economic growth by facilitating investment in physical capital (Knack & Keefer, 1997) and in human capital (Bjornskov, 2009; Papagapitos and Riley, 2009).

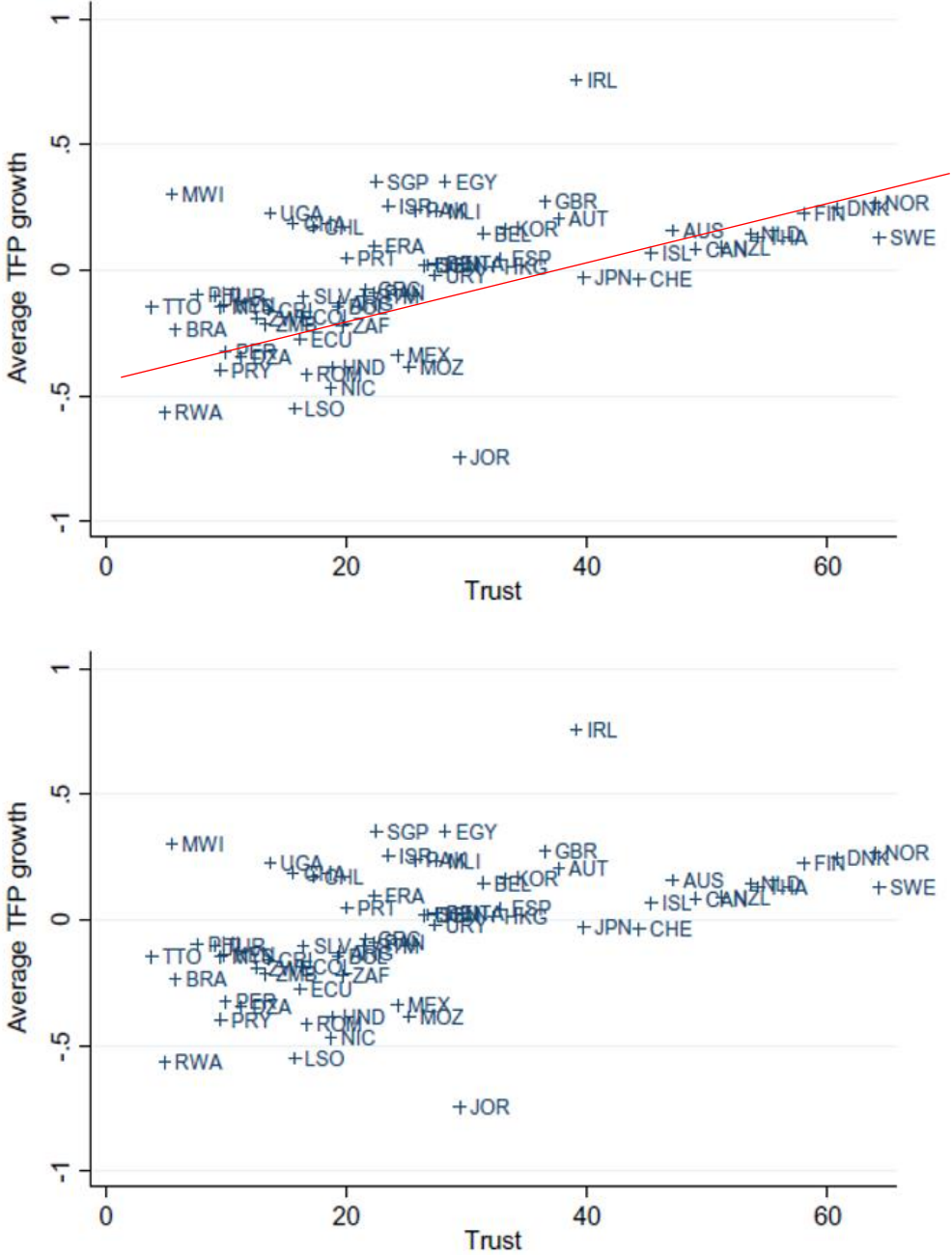
Bjornskov (2006b) finds that the macro-level impact of trust on schooling is both positive and significant.

Guiso et al. (2009) find that trust plays a significant role in determining the extent to which countries will trade with one another. Butter and Mosch (2003) assert that increasing trust by one standard deviation can boost bilateral trade by 150%.

Putnam et al. (1993) and Helliwell and Putnam (1995) find that regions of Northern Italy grew faster than Southern Italy after the Second World War due to the presence of a higher level of social capital in the North.

Using data from the American National Election Study, Uslaner (2002) found a strong positive relationship between trust and business involvement in groups of workers with different skills.

Figure 8. Trust and productivity growth, 1980 – 2000

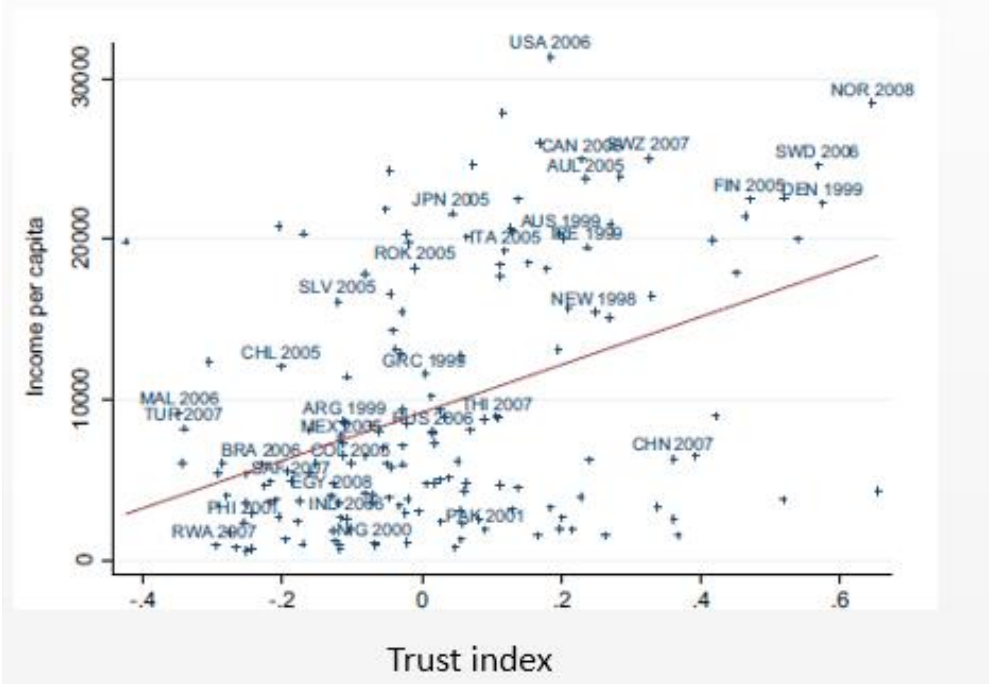


Source: Adapted from Bjørnskov and Méon (2015).

5.4 Higher per capita income

Lim et al. (2018) found a strong positive relationship between the level of trust and per capita income instigated by an increase in investment. Using trust data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Survey (EVS) they found that trust increases investment and income – a rise of trust by one standard deviation increases income per capita by about 12 percent.

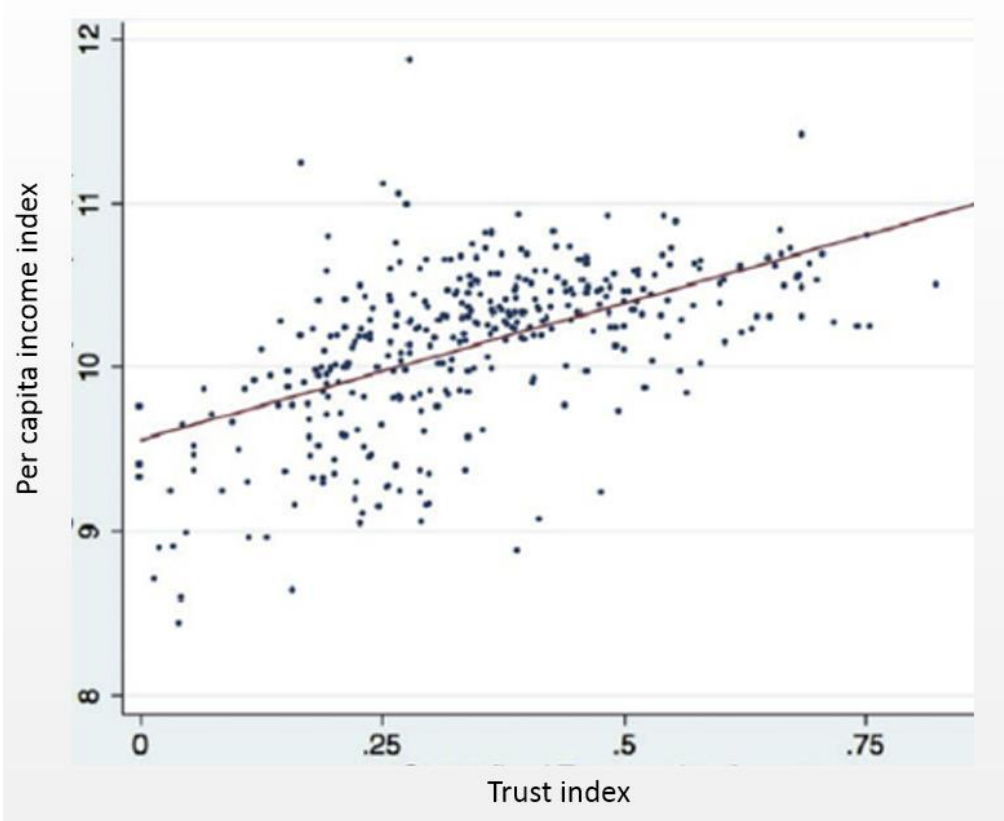
Figure 9. Trust and per capita income, cross-country



Source: Lim et al. (2018).

Using longitudinal data on trust and per capita income in 829 European country regions, Algan and Cahuc (2010) found that trust explains a substantial part of economic development.

Figure 10. Trust and per capita income, 829 EU27 regions

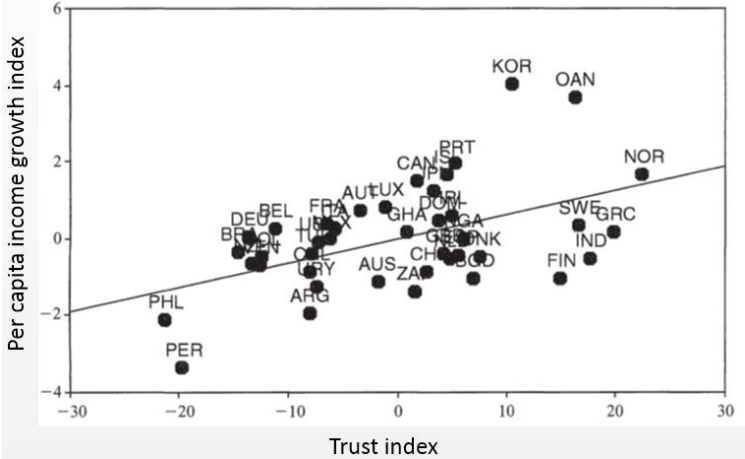


Source: Adapted from Algan and Cahuc (2014).

5.5 Higher rate of economic growth

Zak and Knack (2001), using data from 41 countries, found that a 15-percentage point increase in trust raises the economy’s growth rate by one percentage point (a one standard deviation increase). This finding is confirmed by Beugelsdijk et al. (2004) using data for the same countries.

Figure 11. Trust and economic growth, cross-country



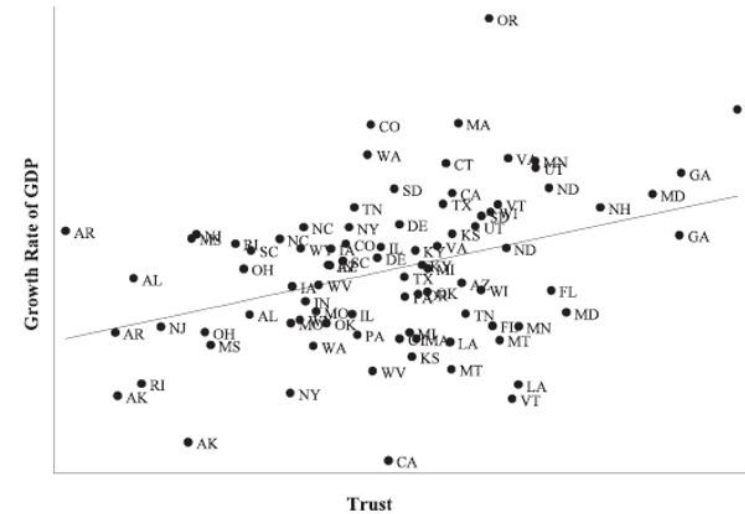
Source: Adapted from Zak and Knack (2001).

Knack and Keefer’s (1997) using WVS data found that trust is a significant causal component of growth – a 10 percentage points increase in trust increases the rate of growth of the economy by 0.8 per cent, and a four-point rise in the 50-point civic cooperation measure would raise growth by one percentage point.

In a cross-country study, using data from the World Value Survey, Knack and Keefer (1997) found that a 10% increase in their measure of trust leads to a 0.8 percentage point increase in the rate of economic growth.

Dincer and Uslander (2010), using data from US states and controlling endogeneity, found that a 10 percentage point increase in trust increases the GDP growth rate by 0.5 percentage points over a five-year period. In the United States, trust explains nearly one-half of the variation of the growth rate of GDP (Dincer, 2011).

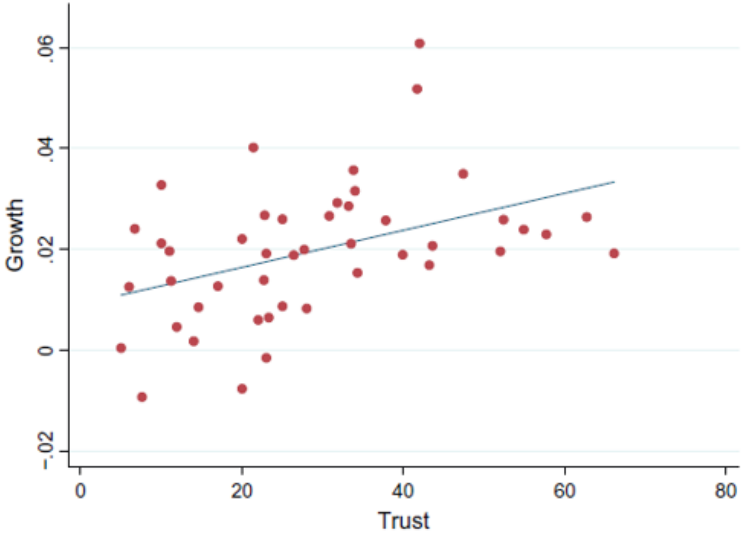
Figure 12. Trust and economic growth, US states



Source: Dincer and Uslander (2010).

Using the WVS and a host of factors to control for endogeneity, Horvath (2012) found a robust relationship between trust and economic growth (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Trust and economic growth, cross-country - 2



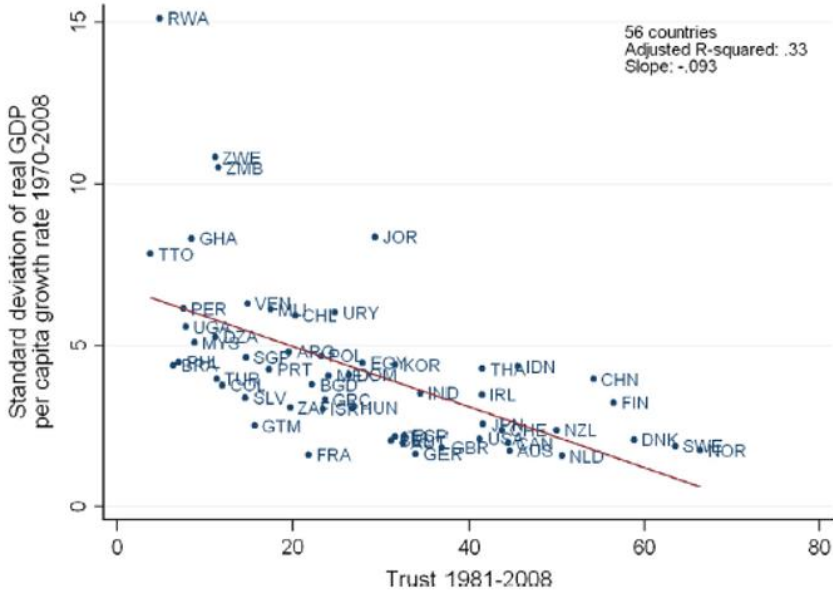
Source: Horvath (2012).

5.6 Macroeconomic stability

Nunn et al. (2018) showed that economic downturns are more likely to cause political turnover in countries that have lower levels of generalised trust.

Trust favours macroeconomic stability. Sangnier (2010) measured macro volatility by fluctuations of real GDP per capita in 56 countries over the period 1970–2008. Trust was measured by the share of people who agreed that most people could be trusted in the World Values Survey. Macro volatility was measured by the standard deviation of real GDP per capita growth rate. Using instrumental variables, he found that differences in trust explain up to a third of differences in macro volatility across countries.

Figure 14. Trust and economic growth variability



Source: Sangnier (2010).

Rupasinga (2000) using data from 3,040 US counties, found that social capital had a statistically significant positive effect on the rate of per capita income growth.

Dearmona and Grier (2009) using data from four waves of the WVSs for 51 countries covering and controlling for endogeneity, found that a one standard deviation increase in trust at the mean level of investment share of GDP produces a 3% increase in per capita income.

They also found a significantly positive coefficient on a trust-education interaction term in the production function, meaning that trust and education reinforce each other in determining per capita income. Their education measure was the percentage of population over 15 with secondary education in a given country. A 13-percentage points increase in education in a country with the mean level of trust increases per capita income by 2%.

Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) claim that Northern Italy developed faster than Southern Italy because the former was better endowed in social capital, measured by membership in groups and clubs. This finding has been corroborated by Tabellini (2010), who used a sample of 69 regions in eight European countries: France, Germany, the UK, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal and the measure of trust from the WVS. He found that if people in Southern Italy had the same civic behaviour as those in Lombardy, its average yearly growth rate would have been higher by almost half a percentage point.

5.7 Lower crime

The relationship between education and crime has been studied at length (e.g., Bell et al., 2016).

Whether civics-specific or not, it is a universal fact that education increases earnings. Higher-earning people might not be as prone to steal. In addition, by potentially going to prison they would sacrifice future earnings. By raising wage rates, schooling makes any time spent out of the labour market more costly (Lochner and Moretti, 2004).

In the United States, the probability of imprisonment of blacks who have completed secondary education is much lower than for high school dropouts. A one-year increase in years of schooling in a state reduces arrests by 11%. A 10 percentage point increase in the secondary school graduation rate reduces arrest rates by 7% (Lochner, 2011).

In Italy, 75% of convicts have not completed high school. A 10 percentage point increase in high school education reduces property crimes by 4% and total crime rates by about 3% (Lochner, 2011).

In the United Kingdom, Machin et al. (2012) report causal effects of education reducing both property and violent crimes. A 1% increase in the proportion of male students staying on at school after the compulsory school leaving age reduces male crime by around 1.7%.

Also in the UK, those without an education qualification had an eight times higher probability of being convicted. A one-year increase in the average years of schooling reduces arrests for property crimes by about 25%. Educational subsidies for coursework completion reduced burglary rates from 22% to 6%. In England and Wales a one-year increase in average schooling levels reduces conviction rates for property crime by 20% to 30% and violent crime by roughly one-third to one-half (Lochner, 2011).

Using a panel dataset for 20 Italian regions, Buonanno (2009) found that education reduces crime, controlling for a host of socioeconomic variables.

Bjornskov (2004) finds that trust is associated with lower levels of corruption, while Bjornskov (2006b) shows that social trust affects both schooling and the rule of law. Glaeser et al. (1996) found that social interactions could explain difference in crime across US states.

Levin (2007) reports that in the United States, increasing the average years of schooling for high school dropouts by one year would mean 30% fewer murders and assaults, 20% fewer car thefts, 13% fewer arsons and 13% fewer burglaries. This translates to \$1.4 billion per year in reduced costs from crime.

A similar finding is reported in the United Kingdom where potential savings from crime reduction amount to £109 million (Machin, et al., 2011).

Using Norwegian data and instrumental variables, Brugård et. al. (2013) report a causal effect of one year of high school reducing days in prison by 7%.

5.8 Better institutions

Trust is key in business. A trusting civic behaviour means less need for regulations (Aghion et al., 2010). A higher level of trust in a society reduces the cost of producing and monitoring regulations.

In a cross-section study, Knack (2002) reports that trust is a significant predictor of government performance.

The potential validity of the investment channel is corroborated by empirical evidence. Guiso et al. (2004) and Calderon et al. (2002) found that financial institutions in areas with inefficient court systems and low education benefit from higher trust levels.

In a cross-country study, Knack and Keefer (1997) found that controlling for per capita income, the trust variable is the only significant determinant of government performance. Each two-percentage-point rise in trust is associated with a rise in confidence in the government of about one percentage point.

La Porta et al. (1997) tested the hypothesis that trust promotes cooperation and efficient outcomes in government, large organisations, and social structures. He reports that across countries, a one-standard deviation increase in trust increases judicial efficiency by 0.7 of a standard deviation and reduces government corruption by 0.3 of a standard deviation.

5.9 Environmental awareness

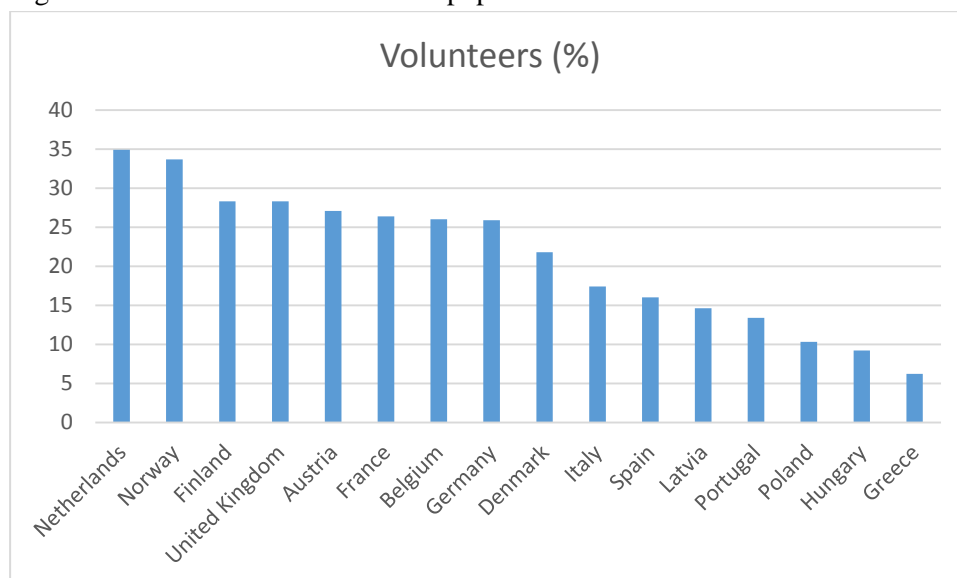
Using instrumental variables, Meyer (2015) reports statistically significant “green returns” to education in the sense of knowledge-based pro-environmental actions. An increase of one year of schooling raises the probability of regular use of cloth bags by 5%, energy-saving light bulbs by 2%, and energy-efficient appliances by 8%.

In a causal analysis, Chankrajang and Muttarak (2017) found that in Thailand more years of schooling lead to a greater environmentally-friendly behaviour.

5.10 Volunteerism

The number of volunteers ranges widely between countries. The highest level, 35% of the population, is in the Netherlands (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Share of volunteers in the population



Source: Based on Annex Table A -2.

Using policy reforms as an instrumental variable in Britain, Italy, Northern Ireland and Ireland, Denny (2003) found a causal effect of education on altruistic and charity activities in most West European countries. Acquiring a 4-year university degree is associated with a 10 percent higher probability of an individual engaging in voluntary works.

In an experimental study, Heinz and Schumacher (2017) examined the effect of a job applicant saying in his/her résumé that they have served as a volunteer. They found a very wide range (2.6% to 94.7%) in effects of volunteering on wages in Germany. The reason is that volunteerism is a signal to employers that the candidate would be willing to cooperate with others in a production process involving teamwork.

Using the World Values Survey, Glaeser et al (1999) found a positive relationship between schooling and membership in organisations.

Uslaner (2002) found that social trust is affiliated with positive economic outcomes, among them volunteering and charity giving.

In the United States, a survey by the Corporation for National and Community Service (2007) showed that volunteering ranges from 30% in Nevada to 46% in Utah. Based on these data, Lipforda and Yandleb (2009) found that an increase of ten percentage points in the share of a state's population with a bachelor's degree or higher raises volunteerism by about 6 percentage points.

5.11 Delegation

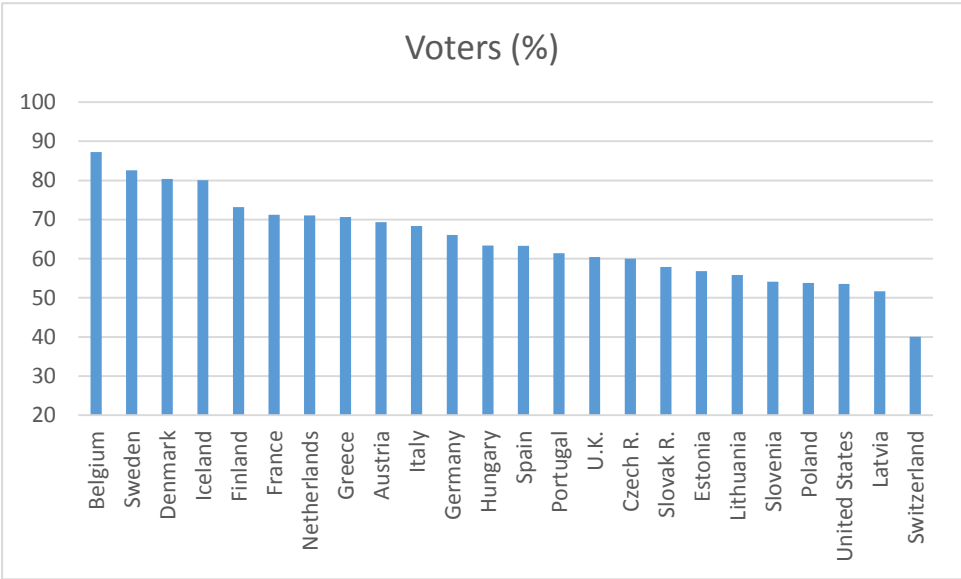
A higher level of trust ensures that managers can delegate, an action that in turn could mean a more efficient production process because of the reduction of worker monitoring costs.

Nurullah and Bjørnskov (2017) used data in 144 countries based on the answers of CEOs of about 14,000 firms on the level of delegation in their country, coded on a scale from 1 (low delegation) to 7 (high delegation). The average value of delegation was 3.8, with a low of 2 in Burkina Faso and a high of 6 in Denmark. Relating this statistic to trust data from the WVS, they found that a one standard deviation increase in trust is associated with approximately a 60% increase of the delegation measure.

5.12 Political engagement

Across OECD countries, only 66% of potential voters actually voted in a last election (OECD, 2016a).

Figure 16. Share of voters in the population



Source: Based on Annex Table A-2.

Many studies have found a robust positive relationship between educational attainment and the probability of voting (Burden, 2009). Education correlates with political views. Using data from 11 European countries and an instrumental variables econometric technique, Meyer (2017) reports a 5% causal effect of one additional year of schooling moving a respondent to the right of the political spectrum.

Alesina and Perotti (1993) argue that the freedom to participate in civic life is conducive to capital accumulation because it creates conditions of political stability. An increase in the political instability index of about one standard deviation causes a decrease of 4 per cent in the share of investment in gross domestic product (GDP). They report that if Canada's level of political stability fell to that of France, its annual investment would be reduced by \$10 billion dollars or roughly 5%.

The 2016 ICCS also shows that students' participation in school correlates with expected later electoral voting and political activism. Motivating students to take part in within-school activism, such as voting for student-representatives, is likely to increase their actively engaging in the democratic processes in later life. It also shows that parental background plays a role in civic competences. Those students who considered their parents to be very interested in political and social matters scored higher on all the citizenship and institutional trust scales, and expressed more intentions to participate both in elections and in other political activities (IEA 2017b).

Dee (2004) reports that in the United States, one additional year of schooling increases voter participation by 3.8 percentage points – an increase of approximately 5% over the mean participation rate of 73%. Another year of schooling increases the number of group memberships by 12%, and increases support for free speech by nearly 4 percentage points. He also finds that college *entrance* increased voter registration by approximately 12% and actual voting by 28%.

Also in the United States, controlling for covariates, the difference in the probability of voting between high school drop outs and those with 12 or more years of schooling ranges between 21 and 29 percentage points depending on the econometric specification. Individuals with more schooling are more likely to report having voted in the last election. While only 52% of US high school dropouts report voting, this percentage increases to 67% for high school graduates, 74% for individuals with some college and 84% for college graduates (Milligan, Moretti and Oreopoulos, 2004).

In a cross-section of 100 countries, the number of years of primary schooling was found to be a significant predictor of democracy in terms of electoral rights and civil liberties (Barro, 1999).

Rupasanga (2000) using data from 3,040 US counties, found that social capital had a statistically significant positive effect on participation in elections.

It should be mentioned that not all studies have found a positive effect of education on political knowledge. Applying a rigorous econometric technique (regression discontinuity), Persson et al. (2016) using a sample of about 30,000 students in four European countries (Greece, Norway, Slovenia and Sweden) found that an additional year of schooling had no detectable effect on political knowledge, democratic values or political participation.

Levin-Waldman (2013) using data from the US Current Population Survey (CPS) found that individuals with higher income, associated with higher educational attainment, will be more likely to be engaged in civic participation (Table 5).

Table 5. Political engagement by level of income

Income level (US\$)	Never discuss politics (%)
Less than 30,000	40.3
30,000 – 59,999	32.3
60,000 – 99,999	17.7
Higher than 100,000	9.7

Source: Adapted from Levin-Wladman (2013), Table 2.

5.13 Social entrepreneurship and NGOs

The OECD (2013b) defines social enterprises as any private activity conducted in the public interest, whose main purpose is not the maximisation of profit but the attainment of certain economic and social goals. The European Commission (2011) defines a social enterprise as being an operator in the social economy whose main objective is to have a social impact rather than make a profit for their owners or shareholders, and considers the feasibility of an education and training investment platform (European Commission, 2017a).

A non-governmental organisation has the character of and often operates as a social enterprise.

To form or enter a non-profit social enterprise or NGO requires a degree of altruism – a human behaviour one could theorise relates positively to education and civics in particular.

Based on 80,000 individuals in 76 countries, Falk et al. (2018) found that education, measured by maths skills, significantly determines altruism as measured by the willingness to give to good causes. The same effect of education was found in determining risk-taking, an essential attribute for engaging in an enterprise.

Guiso et al. (2006) found that trust has a positive and statistically significant impact on the probability of becoming an entrepreneur. Trusting others increases the probability of being self-employed by 1.3 percentage points over the 14 percent sample mean.

6. Delivery

Citizenship education is offered under many names and forms in different countries. Usually a citizen course is added to the primary and secondary school curriculum. Or it is taught as part of a mainstream course such as history. In many countries, citizenship education is integrated into other compulsory subjects without being in the curriculum as a subject in its own. The recent national education reform in Spain removed the obligation to provide a compulsory separate subject in general education. Same in Cyprus, where the compulsory separate subject ‘civics’ is now covered by other subjects – history and modern Greek. In Norway, the compulsory subject ‘pupil council work’ previously taught at lower secondary education was recently removed from the curriculum and components of it integrated into the subject of social studies.

Table 6. Examples civics-related instruction in selected countries

Country	Hours civics taught
Estonia	70 hours in grade 9
Ireland	70 hours over 3 years in secondary
Italy	33 hours/year in all grades
Norway	256 hours in grades 8 to 10
Poland	3 hours/week over 3 years
Russian Fed.	140 hours in grades 10 and 11
Slovak Rep	4 hours per week in grades 5 and 9
Slovenia	1 hour/week in grades 7 and 8
Greece	1 hour/week in primary
Cyprus	4 hours/week in primary
Korea	5 hours/week in middle schools

Source: IEA (2009). Greece, private communication with the Ministry of Education.

In France and Belgium, citizenship education is both integrated into other compulsory subjects and delivered as a separate subject. In Croatia, the United Kingdom and Bosnia and Herzegovina, citizenship education is provided as a compulsory separate subject without being integrated into other compulsory subjects.

Out of the 24 countries in ICCS 2016, in only 10 was civic education taught as a separate subject by teachers of subjects related to civic education. In only 7 countries was civic education a mandatory subject in specialist teacher pre-service training (IEA 2017, Tables 2.6 and 2.10). The number of hours civics are taught as a compulsory subject varies widely between countries, e.g., from 4.4 in Estonia to 36.0 in France at the primary level.

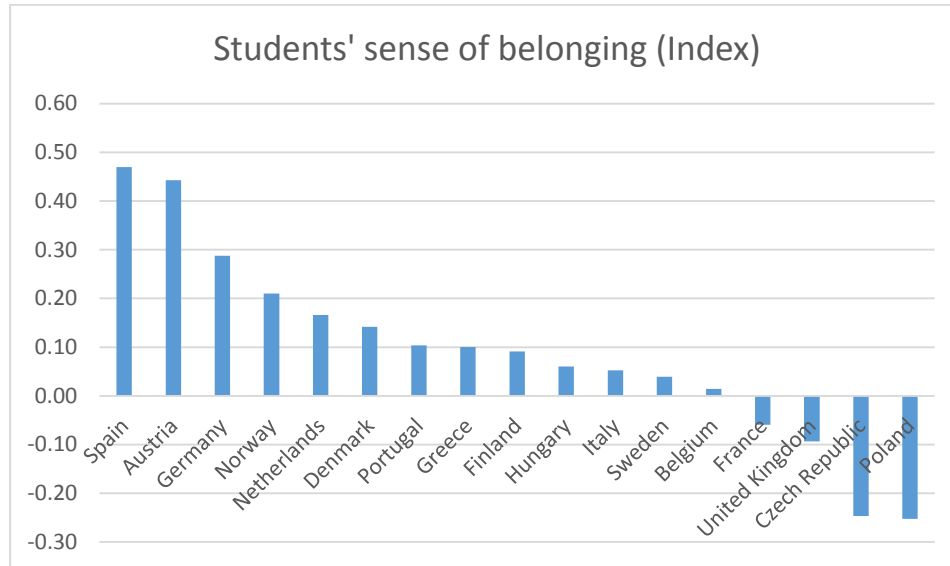
Using data from Chicago elementary schools, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that trust between teachers, students and parents helps teachers to innovate in the classroom, which increases student test scores.

Teaching practices in general education have an effect on the formation of social capital. Katz and McClellan (1997) emphasise the importance of the teacher leaving space for interpersonal communication between students. Using cross-country data, Algan, Cahuc, and Shleifer (2013) found that the method of teaching, such as copying from the board versus working in teams are strongly correlated with student beliefs about cooperation. Addressing econometrical causality concerns, their findings support the notion that progressive education (Dewey, 1944) promotes the formation of social capital.

JRC (2018) reports that maintaining an open classroom climate is the single most effective factor associated with positive civic attitudes. Teamwork boosts learning in schools (Sacerdote, 2009).

Across OECD countries only 73% of students declared a sense of belong to school (OECD, 2016b).

Figure 17. Students' sense of belonging to school



Source: OECD (2016b) PISA.

7. Policy hints

The above review has documented that active citizenship is an important correlate and determinant of a broad range of socioeconomic outcomes. At the same time, it has also shown that the state of civics in the world today might be far less than desired, e.g., only 30% trusting a country's institutions (IEA, 2016b).

Beyond reasonable doubt, active citizenship should be promoted. The next question is how it should be delivered and who should finance it.

The review has shown that family background is an important determinant of children's later civic behaviour. Alas, family background is not an instrument for policy manipulation as it refers to the intergenerational transmission of values.

Then there is the school, where civic values can be instilled in students' minds in two ways: First, tacitly, by absorbing values from subjects in the general school curriculum; and second, explicitly, by offering a civics-specific subject.

Based on the available evidence, the above review has shown that general education is a very powerful determinant of civic behaviour later in life. There is not enough evidence on the relative power of civics-specific education.

The review has shown that a pro-civic environment in regular class teaching, such as having an open classroom climate, holding student elections and promoting working in teams, contributes to students' civic knowledge and thus should be encouraged. There is a lot of room for improvement in this respect, given that on average across OECD countries, only 73% of students declared a sense of belonging to their school (OECD, 2016b).

Given that many of the benefits of civic behaviour are external, i.e. they spill over to others, this is a classic case of market failure and opens the room for public subsidy for general and/or civics-specific education.

One of the contributions of Dutch economics Nobel Laureate Jan Tinbergen (1952) was his rule that for each policy target there must be at least one policy tool. If there are fewer tools than targets, then some policy goals will not be achieved.

As an example, education policy could give priority to fixing problems in general education, e.g., reducing early school leaving – an action that, among other benefits, would induce civic behaviour. A related option is subsidy to help low-family-income students complete secondary education.

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Annex

Table A-1. Students' civic knowledge and sense of belonging

Civics knowledge		Sense of belonging	
Country	Score	Country	Index
Denmark	586	Spain	0.47
Taiwan	581	Austria	0.44
Sweden	579	Germany	0.29
Finland	577	Norway	0.21
Norway	564	Netherlands	0.17
Estonia	546	Denmark	0.14
Russian F.	545	Portugal	0.10
Belgium	537	Greece	0.10
Slovenia	532	Finland	0.09
Italy	524	Hungary	0.06
Lithuania	518	Italy	0.05
Latvia	492	Sweden	0.04
Malta	491	Belgium	0.01
Bulgaria	485	France	-0.06
Colombia	482	U.K.	-0.09
Chile	482	Czech R.	-0.25
Mexico	467	Poland	-0.25
Dominican R.	381		

Source: IEA (2017b) Source: OECD (2016a)

Table A-2. Adults' civic behavior

Trusting (%)		Voting (%)		Volunteering (%)	
Denmark	75	Belgium	87	United States	43
Norway	73	Sweden	83	New Zealand	41
Netherlands	67	Denmark	80	Canada	39
Sweden	62	Iceland	80	Ireland	38
Finland	62	Finland	73	Australia	36
New Zealand	57	France	71	Netherlands	35
Switzerland	53	Netherlands	71	Slovenia	35
Australia	52	Greece	71	Norway	34
Iceland	49	Austria	69	Indonesia	31
Germany	45	Italy	68	Luxembourg	29
Canada	43	Germany	66	Switzerland	28
Estonia	40	Hungary	63	Finland	28
Japan	39	Spain	63	United	28
Ireland	37	Portugal	61	Austria	27
UK	36	U.K.	60	France	26
Belgium	36	Czech R.	60	Belgium	26
USA	35	Slovak R.	58	Germany	26
Austria	35	Estonia	57	Iceland	26
India	33	Lithuania	56	Costa Rica	24
Luxembourg	31	Slovenia	54	Korea	23
Russian F.	30	Poland	54	Japan	23
Italy	30	USA	54	Denmark	22
Czech R.	29	Latvia	52	Israel	22
France	27	Switzerland	40	Colombia	21
Korea, S.	27	Belgium	87	South Africa	21
Latvia	25	Sweden	83	Russian	19
Israel	23	Denmark	80	Mexico	19
South Africa	23	Iceland	80	Estonia	18
Poland	23	Finland	73	Italy	17
Hungary	21	France	71	Spain	16
Greece	21	Netherlands	71	Argentina	16
Slovenia	20	Greece	71	India	16
Argentina	20	Austria	69	Chile	15
Spain	20	Italy	68	Brazil	15
Portugal	19	Germany	66	Latvia	15
Chile	13	Hungary	63	Czech Republic	14
Mexico	12	Spain	63	Saudi Arabia	14
Turkey	12	Portugal	61	Portugal	13
Slovak R.	12	U.K.	60	Sweden	13
Brazil	7	Czech R.	60	Slovak	13
Colombia	4	Slovak R.	58	Lithuania	11

Source: OECD (2016a).

Acronyms

CPS	Current Population Survey, USA
ESS	European Social Survey
EVS	European Values Survey
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSS	General Social Survey, USA
HDI	Human Development Index, United Nations
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, IEA
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
JRC	Joint Research Center, EU
NBER	National Bureau of Economic Research, USA
NORC	National Organization for Research, USA
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment, OECD
SILC	Statistics on income and Living Conditions, EU
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WVS	World Value Survey

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