

# A systematic literature review of research examining the impact of citizenship education on active citizenship outcomes

Lee Jerome<sup>1</sup>  | Faiza Hyder<sup>2</sup> | Yaqub Hilal<sup>2</sup> | Ben Kisby<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Education, Middlesex University, London, UK

<sup>2</sup>Association for Citizenship Teaching, London, UK

<sup>3</sup>School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lincoln, Lincoln, UK

## Correspondence

Lee Jerome, Department of Education, Middlesex University, The Burroughs, London NW4 4BT, UK.

Email: [l.jerome@mdx.ac.uk](mailto:l.jerome@mdx.ac.uk)

## Funding information

National Citizen Service; Association for Citizenship Teaching and Middlesex University

## Abstract

This article reports on a systematic review of the evidence concerning the impact of citizenship education, specifically focusing on the effect of different teaching activities on a range of active citizenship outcomes. It provides a narrative synthesis of 109 articles in peer reviewed journals, representing a wide range of methodological approaches. The review was undertaken for a teacher audience and the research team identified four themes with practical implications. First, we discuss the significance of school ethos and distinguish between distinctive aspects of ethos in the literature including relationships between students and teachers, values and behaviours. Second, we explore some of the characteristics of successful projects, including detailed consideration of the type of projects selected for action by young people, the role of teachers, and the duration of projects. This discussion suggests that, whilst full project cycles (involving students identifying and researching areas for action and devising, implementing and reviewing action plans) are valuable, there is also evidence to suggest that short, partial projects may be easier to implement and still secure comparable benefits. Third, we consider the evidence about whether and how citizenship education can have some compensatory effect, closing the civic gap between different groups of young people. In the fourth theme we consider the wide range of teaching strategies which have been demonstrated to have some success in practice.

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2024 The Authors. *Review of Education* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of British Educational Research Association.

**KEYWORDS**

active citizenship, Citizenship, ethos, pedagogy, systematic review, teaching

**Context and implications****Rationale for this study**

This literature review was undertaken on behalf of a teacher's organisation to consider the evidence base for citizenship education.

**Why the new findings matter**

The review demonstrates the breadth of evidence for the positive impact of citizenship education and highlights several avenues for further exploration relating to school ethos, action projects and reducing inequalities.

**Implications for researchers and educational institutions**

Implications for practice relate to the importance of how students perceive the ethos of the school as a whole, as well as their experiences when learning citizenship. This has specific implications for school leaders whose support is required to nurture a positive school ethos (beyond the formal curriculum). Implications for citizenship teachers include making use of short, partial active citizenship projects more routinely; and adopting strategies for closing the civic gap. Researchers are urged to move beyond large-scale surveys to explore longitudinal studies in specific contexts to track impacts over time for different students.

**INTRODUCTION**

This literature review was undertaken as part of a collaboration between the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) and Middlesex University, to inform the development of a programme of work to promote active citizenship in schools. As a result, the review is particularly focused on the practical implications that can be drawn from the research evidence. The review explores the empirical evidence about what kinds of citizenship education might lead to (i) improved knowledge about, (ii) motivation for, and (iii) participation in active citizenship activities. Dowd and Johnson (2020) have argued that when writing systematic reviews for practitioners it is particularly useful to adopt a narrative approach, which explains the salient features of research design and context and which explicitly engages with the heterogeneity of findings. Alford (1998) suggests that it is also useful to foreground the kind of studies that are generally perceived to be more reliable (such as large-scale, positivist research) whilst incorporating other types of study within the broader discussion of each theme, as these tend to represent greater variability and insights into specific practices. Our review builds on this advice and considers a wide range of research and adopts a thematic approach to discussing the evidence, rather than attempting a statistical synthesis. Since we have considered a wide variety of types of study, we do not set out to make definitive statements about effectiveness and causation, but rather to use the evidence base to generate some

well-grounded suggestions for practice and to identify some relevant criteria to consider when planning and teaching. These might be seen as an attempt to formulate recommendations for schoolteachers that are informed by the evidence, without claiming they offer some definitive account of 'what works'. Wrigley (2016) has argued that the best use of such reviews is to promote a 'rich and lively debate' about the evidence and the variety of factors that influence outcomes, rather than seeking to narrow that debate to identify the 'one best way' to proceed. In our discussion of the evidence we have stayed alert to this warning.

In the next section we outline some existing reviews of the literature and situate our approach in this context to clarify the novelty of our contribution. Then we outline the approach we adopted to find and review appropriate literature, before discussing the four themes we identified that seem particularly relevant to teachers, and which address some of the gaps in the existing reviews. These address the role of school ethos, the nature of active citizenship projects in schools and the challenge of inclusion and offer some suggestions for teaching approaches more generally.

## WHAT DO WE ALREADY KNOW ABOUT CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FROM PREVIOUS REVIEWS OF THE EVIDENCE?

There have been a variety of reviews of the evidence to date, which are outlined in this section to set the scene for this literature review. Manning and Edwards' (2014) systematic review focused narrowly on the impact of citizenship education on behavioural outcomes, rather than attitudinal or knowledge outcomes (thus excluding all the often-cited international surveys reporting intentions to participate rather than actual participation). As a consequence, they only included nine studies, seven of which concerned school-based citizenship education. They found no evidence to suggest that voter registration and turnout are affected by civic education, but they did find evidence to suggest that other forms of citizenship participation, such as political expression through signing petitions or engaging in debates, could be increased by specific programmes with those intentions. Whilst systematic reviews are valuable, Manning and Edwards' work demonstrates that they can also be too restrictive and so other reviews have either adopted a less rigorous methodology for identifying literature or broadened the range of outcomes of interest.

Campbell's (2019) review of the literature does not employ any systematic methodology for the literature search but it does provide an impressive overview of (mainly US-based) research evidence. He laments the rarity of randomised control trials (RCTs) but, nevertheless, argues that there is compelling evidence that civics education in the classroom has an impact on students' civic knowledge and intention to participate, especially for those students who may not encounter politics elsewhere. For Campbell, the compensatory effect of civics is the most significant finding. In relation to specific aspects of civics, he discusses open classroom climate (OCC) as a particularly promising area, which is generally associated with positive outcomes. OCC is a standard measure that describes the degree to which the classroom operates as a space for open discussion, where teachers welcome a variety of opinions and students feel able to express and explore them (for slight variations see Flanagan et al., 2007; Schulz & Sibbers, 2004). However, Campbell notes that students with an interest in politics tend to rate their classrooms as more open to classroom discussion, which suggests we should adopt caution when interpreting such correlations in self-reported measures. His discussion of teaching approaches is relatively brief, and he notes evidence (Gainous & Martens, 2012) that suggests a wide variety of teaching activities may lead to gains in political efficacy but also potentially to a reduction in knowledge, perhaps due to the possibility that students may be overwhelmed by the variety of activities.

In relation to extra-curricular activities, Campbell notes evidence that suggests there is a small cumulative effect of participation in civic-related activities, but that these are much more likely to be taken up by students from higher socio-economic backgrounds. He also singles out 'service learning' activities, which are common in the USA. Here, he notes there is mixed evidence, largely focusing attention on the role of compulsion in such 'voluntary' service, as Helms' (2013) study suggested that mandatory programmes can backfire and reduce the desire for future volunteering. His discussion of school ethos points to evidence that this is also a significant factor, and he discusses examples of Charter Schools with an overt civic ethos which strongly suggest that the school context itself can have a significant impact (in the Democracy Prep example, the school organises a number of civic activities through extra-curricular and community-based projects) (Gill et al., 2018).

Lin's (2015) review of US evidence is more tightly focused on the kind of activities used in schools and he considers political simulations and service-learning programmes as two commonly used approaches in US high schools. He is more positive about the impact of service-learning and considers evidence that, although those compelled to participate tend to have reduced positive impacts, nevertheless there are measurable benefits in terms of future participation. It is worth noting that Campbell's note of caution is injected by the Helms (2013) study, which Lin does not include in his review. Lin does, however, include other material, which indicates that the type and duration of service is important. For example, having direct contact with those being served, engaging for longer, and spending more time reflecting on and discussing the service are all associated with more positive effects. Lin also considers the role of simulations in high school—for example, by role playing public meetings, holding debates and so on. He considers several well-documented examples of programmes, such as Project Citizens (evaluated by Hartry & Porter, 2004) and the Kids Vote programme (evaluated by McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006), and concludes that those focused on state and national elections and government tend to have positive impacts on levels of interest and intention to participate in such forms of citizenship, but not on broader dimensions such as protesting or campaigning. One conclusion Lin draws from his review is that the precise focus of each project is important for determining the impact on specific outcomes, which suggests that different types of activity will yield different citizenship outcomes.

As a result of Campbell's focus on the US literature, he neglected the earlier review conducted by Geboers et al. (2013), which employed a more systematic approach to searching for evidence of the impact of citizenship education (for 13–16-year-olds) in peer-reviewed journal articles published between 2003 and 2009. They included 28 studies and adopted a similar structure to Campbell, considering the formal curriculum, classroom climate, extra-curricular and out-of-school experiences. Their analysis focused on the effect sizes reported in these studies, although the different methodologies and reporting styles adopted meant that this was not available for all the studies in relation to all the relevant variables. In their review of classroom climate, they note that this has been the most studied aspect of citizenship education but that the type and size of effect seems to reflect the methodology adopted, with larger effects evident in cross-sectional than longitudinal studies. They also note that there seems to be a more consistent impact on attitudes and behaviours (for example, discussing politics more frequently, intending to vote) than on knowledge. Whilst the research on the curriculum is less extensive, Geboers and her colleagues observe that it is generally stronger (for example, with more quasi-experimental studies with control groups) and demonstrates larger effect sizes than is evident for classroom climate studies. Taught programmes or projects in the curriculum were compellingly associated with increased knowledge, more positive attitudes towards citizenship issues and participation, and enhanced skills. Extra-curricular clubs and societies were also generally associated with small, positive impacts on attitudes and participation. The review also considers 'the curriculum outside of school' by which the authors mean community-based projects and volunteering activities. As with

Campbell's observations about service learning, Geboers and her colleagues conclude that the evidence here is weaker and more mixed, with some studies demonstrating negative outcomes in attitudes and intentions to participate. Overall, however, they are more cautious than Campbell in claiming evidence for a compensatory effect, because the studies they reviewed did not include sufficient detail on school contexts and student demographics.

Donbavand and Hoskins (2021) set out to focus on the most rigorous studies in their review. Ordinarily these would include randomised control trials (RCTs) but there were insufficient numbers and so they identified 25 'controlled trials' in citizenship education (where researchers were able to compare intervention and non-intervention groups, but these did not always incorporate randomised allocation of students between these categories). They discuss some of the large-scale American evaluations already considered by other reviews and generally confirm the overview already established. For example, they note the impact of the Student Voice programme (which involves debates and mock elections) on knowledge, intention to vote and participation in political discussions (Syvertsen et al., 2009); and the Kids Voting programme, which is similar in some regards but which also includes an element of taking tasks home to complete with families, which seems to have an amplifying effect (McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006). They also consider a range of participatory approaches and draw attention to the potential for youth-led research to help improve the connection between increasing knowledge, interest and participation (Ozer & Douglas, 2013). Donbavand and Hoskins also discuss evidence that online learning is much more impactful when students actively contribute (by posting content rather than merely consuming it) (Levy et al., 2015) and engage (where people respond to their posts). Here, however, they stray beyond evidence from schools and infer how findings from research with adults might inform teaching (Margetts et al., 2009). They argue that knowledge, attitudes and behaviour are not necessarily connected, as several studies show improvements in one or two areas but not all, but they also point out that the best programmes can combine all three outcomes.

These reviews of the evidence establish some important starting points for this review. There is ample evidence that citizenship education can secure significant improvements in knowledge, attitudes, intention to participate and actual levels of participation. But there is less clarity about what other factors might mediate these impacts. For example, why do some projects secure improvements in some measures but not others, and what is the role of the teacher and the school context? The reviews we have considered here seem to be limited in one of two ways: either they adopt a rigorous review procedure alongside highly selective methodological criteria, which results in a rather small set of studies to consider (Manning & Edwards, 2014) or a very narrow reporting of comparative effect sizes, with little synthesising narrative (Geboers et al., 2013); or they adopt a less rigorous approach in order to engage with a more varied range of studies, which means that there are sometimes blind-spots or selection criteria which remain unstated (Campbell, 2019; Lin, 2015). Donbavand and Hoskins (2021) come closest to addressing a teacher audience by attempting to provide some commentary on various approaches to teaching. However, they limited their review to controlled trials, but recognise that this is an under-developed aspect of the research base. This literature review starts where they left off but expands the methodological criteria to incorporate a wider range of studies.

## METHODS

As the previous section demonstrates, the construction of this review has been informed by our analysis of previous reviews of the impact of citizenship education, which should be the first stage of planning to undertake a systematic review, according to Petticrew and Roberts (2006). They also suggest it is useful to clarify the style of review being undertaken



and the approach adopted here is closest to their definition of a 'narrative review' where the evidence is communicated through a synthesising narrative, which takes account of the methods employed in each study, but does not reflect a statistical meta-analysis. Booth et al. (2016) discuss this as a form of 'configurative' synthesis where the purpose is to attempt to capture a 'whole rounded out picture' (p. 217) of the phenomenon of interest, considering themes that occur across studies, main areas of agreement (and disagreement), and the extent to which different perspectives are reflected across the evidence base. We adopted this approach partly because it differentiates this review from those that have been completed before and partly because it was well suited to our particular purpose. As well as seeking to summarise the available evidence for teachers (discussed below in Section 3.5), we also wanted to use the review to inform the design of a student survey. As such, there was some benefit to considering relatively small projects that might highlight potentially novel areas for inclusion. Once we had decided to include studies embracing a wide variety of methodological approaches, it was impossible to continue with a statistical synthesis, as many of the articles would draw on qualitative data, mixed methods, and small opportunistic samples. A more robust statistical technique would have had the knock-on effect of excluding many relevant studies and thus reporting on a much narrower evidence base and so there is a trade-off between being more inclusive in our search, and less focused on quantitative analysis. A further consequence of this decision to include a wide variety of studies was that we did not adopt a specific tool to assess the methodological rigour of each study; rather we extracted information on the types of data collected, the size and nature of samples, and what strategies were used by authors to analyse their data. Following Wrigley's (2016) call for a nuanced engagement with evidence, we discuss these issues within the text to enable readers to form their own judgement about the strengths and limitations of each study. We discuss the limitations of our approach below (in Section 3.6) in order to be as transparent as possible about this.

## Defining the search terms

We were primarily interested in the impact of citizenship education in schools on active citizenship outcomes, such as actual levels of volunteering and participation in campaigns as well as intentions to vote and undertake citizen actions in adulthood. One of the challenges in the research literature is that 'citizenship education' is not a universally used name for the school subject, and so we used a variety of terms including 'civics' and 'social studies' (which are very widely used) and 'democratic', 'political' or 'rights' education, which might also capture material of interest. This strategy also captured out-of-school but formally planned projects, such as summer camps, which we kept in the review as they used project-based approaches that were similar to school-based, extra-curricular projects. A similar challenge lies in the outcome of 'active citizenship' and as well as this very broad term we also searched for other rather generic terms (such as 'political action', 'participation' or 'agency') as well as a long list of specific examples of such behaviour (such as 'petition', 'rally' etc.). We were also keen to focus on literature that explicitly set out to describe impact, as opposed to general reflections on teaching, proposals for models of education, or more theoretical discussions, and so we used some specific terms relating to methodology. These were loaded towards quantitative approaches, but key words such as 'impact' or 'outcome' also captured qualitative evaluations (see Table 1 for the full list of keywords we devised for each of these categories). The Venn diagram in Figure 1 reflects our overall strategy for making each of these broad individual searches manageable by looking for the more restricted space in the centre.

TABLE 1 Key search terms.

Area of interest	Key search terms
a. Citizenship education terms (keywords)	educat* OR teach* OR school OR classroom OR learn* OR student OR study OR lesson AND citizen* OR civic OR democ* OR politic* OR rights OR social studies
b. Active citizenship terms (abstract)	political action OR active citizen* OR agency OR agent OR boycott OR boycott OR campaign OR direct action OR political demonstration OR efficacy OR march OR political participation OR civic participation OR civic engagement OR petition OR protest OR rally OR strike OR volunteer OR voting OR vote OR trust OR electoral turnout OR activism OR party membership
c. Research terms (abstract)	experimental OR effect OR evaluation OR impact OR longitudinal OR measure OR outcome OR pre-test OR post-test OR trial

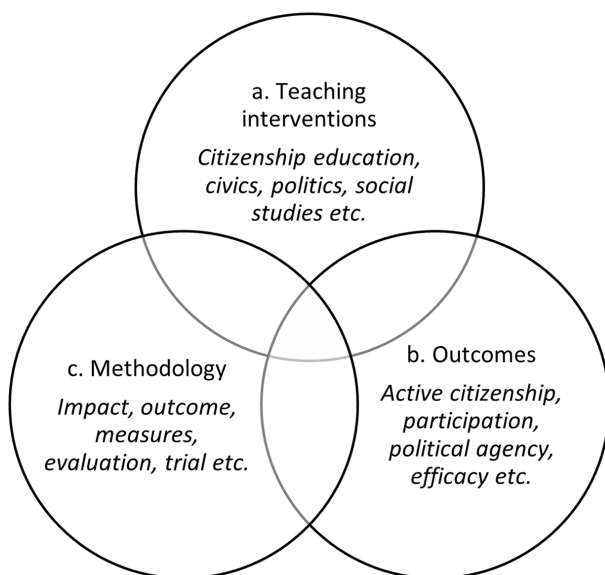


FIGURE 1 Venn diagram of search strategy.

### Databases searched

We devised the keyword/Venn diagram strategy with EBSCO in mind, because this is a commonly used education database, which includes a search function in which all these terms could be used simultaneously. We also used a number of other databases, some of which have more limited search functions. Where necessary we adapted the keywords within these restricted search engines—for example, by conducting several separate searches for single terms. The following databases were consulted:

- EBSCO: APA PsycArticles; APA PsycInfo; APA PsycTests, Education Research Complete, Humanities International Complete
- Conference Proceedings Citation Index: Social Science and Humanities
- Education Journals Collection (Taylor & Francis)

- Heinonline – Law Journal Library
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences
- PubMed (Open Access Resource)
- Sage Journals Online
- Science Direct
- Social Sciences Citation Index
- Wiley online library

## Screening and review

This initial search yielded 1594 possible items of interest and the review team conducted an initial screening of each item to check for relevance. This examination of titles and abstracts reduced the number of items to 322. These records were downloaded into a single file and screened for duplicates, which left 197 items for the review.

The team was able to locate copies of 193 of these articles for a full review. Of these, a further 84 were excluded as not relevant. Some of the common reasons for exclusion at this stage included the abstract referring to the impact of a programme on ‘classes’, but the content being exclusively concerned with higher education; or studies focusing on correlations between overall education data (such as level of education completed/highest qualification) and civic attitudes and activity. Others reversed the causation we were interested in (e.g. impact of democracy on type of education) or focused exclusively on an analysis of policy documents. We also removed the literature reviews discussed above (in Section 2). In the end, 109 articles were subjected to a full review (see Figure 2 and Appendix A for the full list of references).

These articles were read and summarised according to the following criteria:

- Summary of aims
- Data collection dates (before 2000; 2000–2009; 2010–)
- Age range of students (primary, secondary, FE)

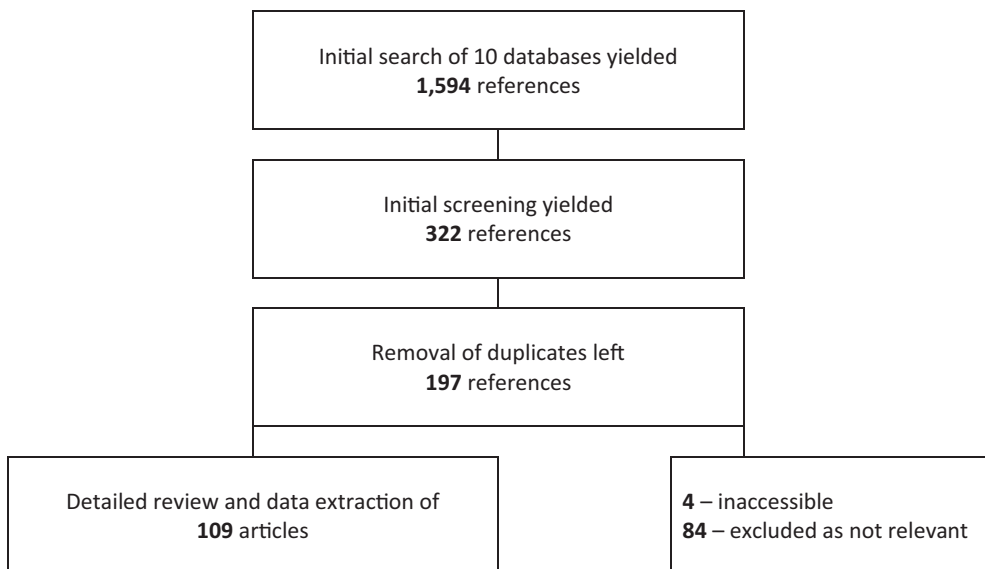


FIGURE 2 Summary of search process.



- Any specific focus on demographic factors
- Location of research
- Details of what is being evaluated (where relevant)
- Type of design
  - Descriptive case study
  - Correlational study with no intervention
  - Retrospective evaluation with no baseline data
  - Evaluation with pre/post measures
  - RCT style evaluation with control group
- Sample size and nature of sample (e.g., representative, purposive, opportunistic)
- Type of data (quantitative, qualitative, mixed)
- Methods used (surveys, interviews, observations, secondary data analysis, other)
- Details of any specific measures used
- Any discussion of validity or reliability
- Approaches to data analysis
- Whether quantitative data was fully reported
- Nature of any statistically significant findings reported
- Author conclusions
- Whether the study explicitly addresses inequalities.

The team undertook a small initial sample of articles to review, which was then moderated in a team meeting to identify any differences of interpretation/application of these criteria. The wording on the template was adjusted to clarify issues arising and the revised template was used to complete the reviews.

## Characteristics of literature

Petticrew and Roberts (2006) draw attention to the widely accepted 'hierarchy of evidence' in systematic reviews, which has informed our categorisation of these studies. As we saw in Section 2, some systematic reviews choose to focus quite tightly on those studies at the top of the hierarchy, but Booth et al. (2016) point out that adhering to a hierarchy of evidence too rigidly can create the impression that a poor quality RCT is better than a well-designed observational study (p. 149) or, we would add, an insightful case study. Booth and his colleagues also suggest that it is useful to pragmatically consider one's key audience at this stage of the review as this may inform some of the technical decisions. This literature review was undertaken as part of a broader project between Middlesex University and the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT), a teachers' organisation, with the aspiration that it might offer some evidence-informed discussion about teaching approaches to ACT's members and inform ACT's own programme of support for schools. A practitioner audience is unlikely to feel well served if the criteria adopted for inclusion are drawn so tightly that the number of studies included ends up as being very small: 'practitioners seem to favour having some evidence, albeit of a low quality, over no evidence' (Booth et al., 2016: 277). The final range of articles included in this review had the following characteristics.

- Eleven adopted an approach which incorporated pre- and post-intervention measures and some form of control group, although they generally fell short of the benchmark of the RCT method. See et al. (2017) provide a good example of one of the most robustly designed and executed studies. They conducted a one-year trial involving 7781 students aged 13–14 across 71 secondary schools in England (38 treatment schools and 33 control). Pre- and post-test surveys used validated measures from previous

studies and researchers supervised the administration of surveys. By contrast Dallago et al. (2010) adopted a similar design but only worked with 132 students, split roughly equally between six small intervention groups and six comparable control groups. Lee et al. (2019) designed their study along similar lines but only 29 out of 40 students in their experiment group and 60 out of 99 students in the control group consented to and completed their survey. This illustrates Booth's warning that studies adopting apparently rigorous designs may be limited by weaknesses in recruitment, completion rates, and sample size.

- Fourteen described themselves as evaluations, although not all of these included pre-intervention measures. Blevins et al. (2021) administered pre- and post-evaluation surveys to 456 young people participating in the iEngage civics summer school. They are very open about the limitations to their study, not least the fact that young people were unrepresentative of the local population and their data on demographic variables was inconsistently collected, meaning their analysis of differences between groups was limited. Dumutriu and Dumitru (2014), by contrast, report on a study with only 24 children aged 8–10, including 7 girls and 17 boys. Whilst both these examples have methodological flaws, they are still useful in sharing data from highly relevant activities. Indeed, Blevins and her colleagues provide a fascinating insight into the nature and impact of summer camps through a variety of snapshots published over time (Blevins et al., 2016, 2018, 2021, 2014).
- Fifty-six were classified as 'correlational studies' because they did not set out to measure the impact of a specific intervention; rather, they used survey data to search for correlations between various aspects of citizenship education and the kind of active citizenship outcomes in which we were interested. Of these, 17 analysed data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) and its forerunner—surveys administered through the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Cheung et al. (2018) provide an example of a team exploring ICCS data from one location (Hong Kong) in relation to one particular issue (religion). Maurissen et al. (2018) by contrast use ICCS data from 22 European countries containing 67,695 students from 3212 schools to explore the factors associated with 'open classroom climate'.
- Twenty-eight adopted what we characterised as a descriptive case study approach or a purely qualitative approach. Some of these, such as Preus et al. (2016), capture detail from small-scale initiatives and are particularly useful in illustrating how students engage with such activities. Others, such as Míguez and Hernández (2018), focus on how specific issues are considered in citizenship classrooms. In this instance, they considered how teachers and students engaged with student protests in the local area.

Like many school subjects, especially those related to the arts and humanities, citizenship education appears in different guises around the world. In the USA and Canada it generally forms part of the broader social studies tradition, where teachers often combine history, geography, and civics in one timetabled subject. Elsewhere it might appear in the context of national education; ethics and values; personal and social education; or in its own right as a standalone subject. Consequently, the focus of these research reports often reflects the national context. These differences do not merely reflect curricular preferences or naming conventions, they also reflect the political traditions in each context. Pykett et al. (2010) have argued that it is very difficult to make sense of a general idea of 'citizenship education'; rather, we should stay alert to the ways in which political traditions and discourses shape the curriculum subject—both in terms of what it is called, what it includes, and how it should be taught. Our search led us to articles with the following provenance:

- Forty came from the USA and Canada. Here, the tradition of social studies dominates although the curriculum is also devolved to individual states and provinces and so may reflect the ideological interests of those in power, and vary significantly within each country. Several of these studies focused on aspects of pedagogy, including the role of 'Open Classroom Climate' (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014), volunteering (Kim & Morgül, 2017), and student voice (Serriere et al., 2011). Some of the articles focused on particular interventions and programmes—for example, Andolina and Conklin (2018) evaluated 'Project Soapbox', whilst Linimon and Joslyn (2002) evaluated the impact of the 'Kids Voting USA' programme.
- Twenty-five came from Europe. These included single country data sets as well as collaborative projects. There is funding at EU/Council of Europe level to promote Education for Democratic Citizenship, both in Western European countries and in new accession states, where the emphasis is often on developing and consolidating democratic cultures. Janmaat (2008, 2012 and 2022) has focused primarily on the relationship between diversity and citizenship education in Western Europe; Toots (2003) focused on the role of values in promoting citizenship in Estonia (after independence but before joining the EU); and Fesnic (2016) compared Hungary and Poland to consider the role of citizenship education in consolidating democracy.
- Ten came from South-East Asia. Here, there is considerable debate about how Western liberal norms of citizenship fit with a more collectivist stance. Cheung et al. (2018), for example, focused on the relationship between religion and citizenship in Hong Kong; Nuansri et al. (2016) focused on the development of 'responsible' citizenship in Thailand.
- Ten came from the Middle East, North Africa and Turkey (MENAT) region. Here, there is often a focus on post-conflict education—for example, Akar (2020) discussed citizenship education in Lebanon and Kuwait; Goren et al. (2019) researched citizenship in the context of the deeply divided society of Israel.
- Ten came from the UK, although most of these relate to England, which is the only one of the four nations to have explicit Citizenship in the curriculum. Having said that, Keating and Janmaat's (2016) article is one of the only ones to focus explicitly on the citizenship curriculum. Others focus on activities beyond the curriculum—for example, Covell (2010) studied a rights respecting schools initiative in the south-east of England; Robinson et al. (2019) have written about a specific arts award programme; and See et al. (2017) included citizenship-related outcomes in their evaluation of extra-curricular 'uniformed group activities'.
- Seven were international, crossing the boundaries listed so far. Several of these involved international comparison of the ICCS data (e.g., Isac et al., 2014), although others were smaller comparative studies. Examples of the latter include Han et al.'s (2014) comparison of vocational tracks in the UK and Singapore; and Jahromi et al.'s (2012) comparison of community involvement in Italy and the USA.
- Of the rest, four came from Africa, and one came from each of New Zealand, Australia and Argentina.

In pulling together themes within this literature, we aim to identify patterns of similarity that help to illustrate the distinctive contribution of citizenship education, but we are also aware of the need not to gloss over these important contextual variations, which are an inevitable feature of citizenship education.

## Limitations of this study

There are a number of limitations of the approach we have undertaken, which we draw to readers' attention at the outset. Our literature search was conducted in November 2021,

and so material published after that date is excluded from our study. The literature search was also limited only to articles published in English, meaning that other material will be missing. This will obviously exclude work that focuses specifically on non-English speaking countries, especially reports written for a predominantly local audience. Whilst the articles gathered do reflect significant national variations, this is likely to be under-represented due to this limitation. In addition, our decisions to adopt a narrative approach to our review, and throw the net wide to include a variety of methodological approaches, has several implications. It means that we are weaving together themes from rather disparate source material, and also that we are including work that would be dismissed by those adopting different standards. As explained above, we have adopted this inclusive approach deliberately to give us an impression of the wider issues being investigated, but the corollary of this is that some of the evidence is relatively weak. As we did not adopt any standardised tools for evaluating these diverse methods, we are restricted to reporting the salient design features as we consider each source within our narrative analysis. We also deal with this in the following sections by placing more emphasis on material that could be situated higher up the hierarchy of evidence and drawing attention to the scale and rigour of each study where it seems particularly important to do so. A full list of references can be found in Appendix A, including notes about the type of study reported.

## FINDINGS

We identified a number of themes of relevance to our teacher audience. We start this section with three themes that emerged as having a degree of novelty about them, compared to the prior studies discussed above. Towards the end of this section we also summarise the other themes related to teaching, which have practical implications, but which will feel more familiar to readers with a knowledge of the prior studies discussed in Section 2.

### The role of school ethos

Campbell's (2019) review of the evidence discusses 'ethos' in relation to Charter Schools, and our review also identified evidence about the Democracy Prep school example he discusses (Gill et al., 2020). However, it is evident that this example concerns a school that undertakes lots of citizenship projects, and so it is unclear how one might distinguish between the 'ethos' separately from the numerous activities that are carried out. Sampermans' (2019) analysis of school ethos in the ICCS data is similarly problematic in that it includes measures of pedagogy and civics learning in the curriculum, as well as aspects of whole school culture. There is clear evidence that repeated involvement in a variety of active citizenship projects would lead to positive outcomes (see discussion of this example in Donbavand & Hoskins, 2021: 9), but this does not address the distinctive role of ethos, defined by Donnelly (2000) as both the espoused values and beliefs supported by the school and the observed practices and interactions of school members. In relation to those other dimensions of ethos, there were several other findings that might be useful to teachers and school leaders thinking about establishing a supportive ethos for citizenship.

The first dimension concerns the quality of relationships between students and teachers. Finkel and Ernst (2005) conducted their research with 600 high school students in South Africa. They divided students into three groups for analysis: (i) those who experienced some traditional civics education; (ii) those receiving more interactive civics; (iii) and those receiving none. They found that 'when students perceived their teachers to be highly knowledgeable, competent, likeable and inspiring, they appeared to internalize attitudes and

values supportive of democracy to a greater extent than students who received training from “poor” instructors or “not at all” (Finkel & Ernst, 2005: 358). In the context of post-Apartheid South Africa, Finkel and Ernst were able to make an important point that relationships and activities emerged as more important than civics lessons in promoting democratic values. They explicitly frame this as a correction to Niemi and Junn's (1998) classic study in the USA that demonstrated the impact of civics lessons. Wanders et al. (2020) analysed data from over 10,000 Dutch school students and found a positive relationship between good teacher-student relationships and ‘societal involvement’, which included positive attitudes towards others and citizenship participation. In turn, societal involvement led to higher levels of citizenship knowledge. The researchers reported that teacher-student relationships were more significant than relationships between students and their peers, and that the impact was bigger for students whose parents were less educated, or who were first generation migrants. Maurissen et al. (2018) analysed data from 67,695 students from 3212 schools across 22 European countries and conclude that in any school where students perceive they have positive relationships with teachers and the school is responsive to their demands, this is positively correlated with ‘open classroom climate’, which in turn is one of the most important predictors of civic knowledge and intentions to vote (Campbell, 2008).

In relation to the kinds of values promoted across the school (not just through lessons or projects), several studies suggested this might be particularly valuable. Jagers et al. (2017) considered the pastoral curriculum through examining the effect of a democratic homeroom (equivalent to tutor groups in England) on 515 students aged 11–14 in the USA. They used surveys to measure students' evaluations of the extent to which their homeroom was democratic, their views about how equitable the school was, and a range of citizenship outcomes (behaviours and beliefs). The strongest positive effects were seen where students perceived their school to be equitable and the homeroom to be democratic. Where one of these factors was missing, the results were lower. Similarly, a small-scale qualitative study by Jarkiewicz (2020) found that students participating in a youth forum reported improvements in efficacy and attitude towards civic matters. However, Thornberg's (2010) more critical qualitative study of ‘school democratic meetings’ in Swedish primary schools found a form of ritualistic or performative participation that masked a combination of naivety and cynicism, which prevented such fora from being useful sites for citizenship education for many. Covell (2010) reports on an evaluation of the Rights, Respect and Responsibility (RRR) programme in Hampshire, in the South of England, which collected data from 1289 students across 18 schools (6 of which were implementing the initiative and 12 were not). The RRR programme led to higher levels of children feeling that they were treated fairly and that the school cared for them and reduced levels of bullying. RRR schools also experienced higher rates of participation in school clubs and activities.

This increased propensity to participate in extra-curricular activities is itself a significant aspect of the school ethos. Reichert and Print (2018) analysed data from a large-scale Australian survey of 15–16-year-old students (5137 in 2010 and 4074 in 2013) and concluded that all types of student engagement in clubs and activities were associated with a willingness to engage in civic action. Similarly, Kahne and Sporte (2008) analysed data from 4057 high school students in the USA and found that willingness to engage in civic action was positively associated with student participation in any type of extra-curricular society or activity. They did, however, find that sports activities were an exception, with no positive citizenship outcomes, whilst explicitly focused citizenship activities (such as service learning) were even more strongly associated with positive outcomes.

Finally, See et al. (2017) provide an interesting additional angle on the whole school dimension. They conducted an RCT with 7781 students aged 13–14, to explore the effect of participation in a range of uniformed activities including St John Ambulance, Sea Cadets, Fire Cadets and Scouts. Each organisation taught basic first aid skills as well as



skills specific to each service and the programme lasted a year. The authors focused on a range of citizenship outcomes and softer skills, such as teamwork and self-confidence. As well as analysing data for those who participated directly in an activity, they also considered data for non-participants in schools where the programmes operated and compared these to students in the control group of schools. The authors conclude that 'the results are invariably in favour of the treatment, even just being in the treatment schools (regardless of participation) can have a positive effect' (See et al., 2017: 115). Having said that, the effects were greater for those experiencing more sessions, and were even greater for participating students from more deprived backgrounds, especially in respect of developing empathy, civic-mindedness, and happiness.

We used this literature review to inform the design of a new survey in England for secondary school students between 11 and 15 years of age. In our survey, we have sought to develop a measure for ethos which builds on these insights and will enable us to focus on ethos as distinct from other aspects of school provision. Our measure includes the following questions:

- In general, do you enjoy being at school?
- In general, do you feel safe at school?
- In general, do you feel the school takes students' views seriously?
- In general, do you have good relationships with your teachers?
- When you learn about Citizenship topics, would you say your teachers generally seem very enthusiastic about the content?

Each question is followed by the following scale:

1. Not at all
2. Not very much
3. Quite a lot
4. Very much

The answers to each of these questions are all closely associated with the others, which suggests they are measuring one underlying concept. These form a new measure of 'student perceived ethos' (Jerome et al., 2024). Our initial results from the first year's data indicate that this is a promising theme to explore, as it has a significant role in models predicting students' intentions to participate in adulthood and their overall levels of trust. Tzankova et al.'s (2023) research in four European countries suggests that impacts of school culture on actual participation (rather than adult intentions) might be more elusive. Whilst we regard these as preliminary results to be further tested with larger groups of respondents, we believe this measure to be particularly useful because it separates ethos from citizenship lessons and citizenship activities. In our initial survey we noted that older students tended to have more negative perceptions of their school ethos and so we have constructed a small longitudinal study to track individuals over time to consider whether this measure declines as students get older, and how this may be linked to other citizenship outcomes.

## The impact of different types of active citizenship projects

Many of the studies demonstrate that active citizenship pedagogies have a variety of positive impacts. Typically, such pedagogic approaches involve opportunities for researching, planning and undertaking some kind of activity, often a civics project/campaign. However, some projects include only part of this full cycle of action. For example, researching and planning



action but not implementing it, or being co-opted into action (through volunteering or service learning) without full involvement in research and planning (see Figure 3). Nevertheless, many of these kinds of projects lead to outcomes such as improvements in students' sense of civic responsibility and motivation to act. Some projects observe this is more pronounced in relation to local / neighbourhood contexts (Dallago et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2019), whereas others observe impacts on voting behaviours (Ballard et al., 2016). Participation also leads to other personal effects, such as improved attitudes towards oneself and others (Dumutriu & Dumitru, 2014), increased institutional trust, and improved self-reported well-being (Prati et al., 2020).

Whilst the evidence of impact looks impressive, it is worth noting that evaluations often set out to measure a range of indicators, all of which relate to perfectly reasonable expectations from the intervention, but many studies report measurable change only on some of these indicators. This suggests that, whilst it is easy to construct coherent models of impact akin to a 'theory of change', the evidence does not always support such neat models. There are two general observations to make before we consider these studies in greater detail. First, the issue of 'dosage' emerges in several studies as being significant. Some projects are rather short-lived and therefore it might not be surprising that comprehensive change is not secured from a single experience over a few weeks or a term (Dallago et al., 2010). Positive outcomes into adulthood are often associated with a longer duration of school activities (Gardner et al., 2008; Keating & Janmaat, 2016). Second, some researchers measure a wide range of civic outcomes for quite sharply focused interventions. For example, Ballard et al. (2016) evaluate a social action project which demonstrates impact on knowledge and efficacy but not civic commitment. Similarly, Blevins et al. (2021) ran civics summer camps around social action and observed improved levels of knowledge about social action, but no change to underlying worldviews related to citizenship. This helps to set the scene for some of the variations in the projects described below—they often measure change in relation to the specific focus of the project, but not in the broader range of civic outcomes, and some are relatively short projects of variable intensity. This cautions against being overly optimistic that a few well-designed active citizenship projects can achieve all the desirable citizenship outcomes. The evidence suggests more pragmatically that specific projects promote specific outcomes, but it also identifies some design aspects we might bear in mind.

Ballard et al. (2016) investigated the effect of Generation Citizen on middle and high school students in the USA. They describe the project as an 'action civics process' in which students choose a local issue to tackle collectively, learn strategies and skills for taking action, and develop and implement an action plan accordingly. The study included 617 students and the project lasted one semester, with two sessions per week facilitated by college students. It generated bigger impacts in civic efficacy and action civics knowledge and a smaller impact in local political knowledge and general civic commitment. Perhaps most usefully, the researchers explored three factors that might be expected to influence the impact of the project:

Full cycle evident in Ballard et al. (2016)

Identify issue	Research issue	Discuss options	Plan action	Implement action	Reflection
----------------	----------------	-----------------	-------------	------------------	------------

Partial cycle evident in Blevins et al. (2021)

Identify issue	Research issue	Discuss options	Plan action
----------------	----------------	-----------------	-------------

FIGURE 3 Full and partial active citizenship cycles.

- Context: the research distinguished between proximal (in-school) or distal (out of school) issues. They speculated that issues closer to home might be more likely to lead to successful outcomes, but they found this made no difference.
- Content: the research also distinguished between projects dealing with issues related to safety, and others such as the school environment and broader social issues. Examples of what were considered 'safety' issues included bullying, theft on campus, conflict mediation, lack of information about safety concerns, safety in community parks and safety on public transportation. They found that projects relating to safety had the most positive impact, possibly because they generate a more immediate motivation for students and seem like addressable issues.
- Contact with decision-makers: the researchers concluded it was better to undertake projects where students had easy access to decision-makers (which had a positive impact on knowledge and efficacy) rather than where access would be difficult (which often led to frustration).

This strongly suggests that the same project process can lead to very different outcomes and that teachers should pay attention both to what the students want to address and the mechanism by which they aim to address it. Ballard and her colleagues speculate that the most impactful projects were perceived as important and achievable, and that because they often dealt with the behaviour of peers, seemed more independent of adults. That said, they also suggest that where students want to deal with broader social issues, teachers should spend time working with them on how to access appropriate decision makers.

Two Italian projects seem to demonstrate the limitations of projects which do not fully embrace citizenship action, even though they generated some positive results. Dallago et al. (2010) investigated the effect of 'The Adolescents, Life Context, and School' project on 12-year-olds at a school in Italy. During the 3-month programme 132 students observed, documented, and talked about their own life contexts in order to 'voice problems to decision makers'. The researchers collected data on four civic outcomes: self-efficacy, empowerment, civic responsibility, and neighbourhood attachment but the project only affected the last two. Prati et al. (2020) investigated the effect of Youth-Led Participatory Action and Research on students in an Italian high school. They worked with 35 students over 2 years and also collected data from 34 students in a control group. The project focused on conducting research into social issues of interest to students, presenting the findings to others and suggesting actions that could be taken by EU institutions. The results showed that participants in the intervention group reported increased scores on social well-being, institutional trust, and participation and decreased scores on political alienation compared with the control group. There was no impact on students' feelings towards the EU or EU citizenship and the researchers speculate that this was because the concept of EU citizenship had not really been taught. These projects reinforce the idea that the precise design and content of a project leads to rather precise outcomes.

Blevins et al. (2021) investigated the effect of the 'iEngage Summer Civics Institute' on 10–14-year-olds in a summer camp in Texas. The programme is an out-of-school action civics programme that seeks to develop young people's civic and political competence and strengthen their community and political engagement through inquiry-based civics projects, in which they research and present their ideas about action on local community issues. They collected data from 456 individuals over the course of 6 years. The authors found that the programme had an effect on all four constructs measured: civic competence, community engagement, political competence and political activism and the impacts tended to be bigger for younger participants. The researchers also note that, whilst teaching people about forms of activism led to improvements in their knowledge about how to act as citizens, it did not affect their overall view of citizenship (their broader worldview as reflected in Westheimer

and Kahne's (2004) typology: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens). This indicates the potential of relatively short-lived but intense projects to have an impact, but suggests broader attitudinal change is unaffected by such activities. We note here that the projects were limited by the summer camp setting, and so the participants focused on the research, discussion and planning stages rather than enacting a full active citizenship process. Blevins and her colleagues also note that the camp recruits more white young people than black, whilst the local population is predominantly black, which suggests there may also be a recruitment bias built into the project.

Three other US studies also suggest some useful insights in relation to volunteering. In Section 2, we noted that Lin's (2015) literature review concluded that service learning, akin to a form of volunteering, can lead to improved civic engagement. We also noted that Campbell (2019) cited Helms (2013) as a reason to be cautious about a possible backfire effect of compulsory volunteering. This note of caution is strengthened by Kim and Morgül's (2017) large longitudinal study of 15,701 young people (11–18 years of age), which concluded that those who participated in youth volunteering were more likely to volunteer as adults, but this did not apply when youth volunteering was forced rather than optional. They also confirmed that voluntary volunteering is positively correlated with psychological well-being, but forced voluntary activity is not. Hill and Dulk (2013) add a possible caveat to this. They analysed longitudinal data from over 3000 students in different types of school and concluded that students who went to Protestant schools were more likely to continue volunteering into adulthood, and to report that most of their volunteering opportunities arose through their church. They speculate that this pattern may be established through habit rather than coercion, which might open up a space for some kind of half-way house between coercion and an entirely *laissez-faire* approach.

## The challenge of inclusion

Approximately half of the articles in the literature review dealt with differences between social groups, either as a main focus or through comparisons between different groups in the data analysis phase, and almost half of these were from the USA. They demonstrate the rich diversity of diversities—in other words, studies dealt with socio-economic status (which is often discussed in relation to a 'civic gap'), but also migration status, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, age, disability, access to technology and so on.

The civic gap refers to the gap in political knowledge, interest and participation between students of higher and lower socio-economic status, which mirrors the general attainment gap between students. This is well documented and is reflected in UK voter turnout figures for 2017 which showed 35% of young unemployed and semi-skilled workers voted, when the overall turnout was 63% (Hoskins, 2019). The strength of the relationship between social class and voting intentions increases as students progress through secondary school in the UK, meaning that the civic gap widens during adolescence (Hoskins & Janmaat, 2019). The gap, in part, reflects a cultural capital gap, as middle-class parents are generally educated to a higher level, are more likely to vote themselves, and more likely to engage their children in discussions of contemporary social issues and accompany them to museums and galleries (Hoskins et al., 2017). Galais (2018: 612), working in Canada, found that 'the strongest effect observed ... is the one exerted by familial status' and Kahne and Sporte (2008) found that in the USA 'neighbourhood and family context were strongly related to students' commitments to civic participation' (Kahne & Sporte, 2008: 17). They also found that 'classroom civic learning opportunities can more than offset the impact of neighbourhood or home contexts that are relatively inattentive to civic and political issues when it comes to the development of commitments to civic participation' (Kahne & Sporte, 2008: 19). As relatively deprived

young people tend not to receive these advantages from home (or experience them less), it does mean that schools may be well placed to have a significant compensatory effect, by introducing young people to knowledge and experiences they do not encounter at home or in their local community.

There is good evidence that many aspects of citizenship education, for example, open classroom climate and active citizenship, have a bigger impact on relatively deprived young people (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014; Hoskins et al., 2017; Maurissen et al., 2018; Rutkowski et al., 2014; See et al., 2017). However, one significant problem seems to relate to access, as poorer students tend to access these opportunities less frequently (Hoskins et al., 2017). This may be because their lower level of prior interest leads them to overlook opportunities on offer; but it may also be the result of differential access through in-school streaming and setting; and it may also be the result of middle-class children simply stepping forward to take up the opportunities first. The evidence suggests, therefore, that ensuring poorer students take up these opportunities could narrow the civic gap.

As well as considering issues relating to unequal access, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) considered an array of individual- and school-level characteristics to explore the connections between OCC and 'critical consciousness', in which they include efficacy, intentions to participate, and critical thinking. They noted that on most of their measures, OCC was associated with positive civics outcomes, although not for critical thinking, which they put down to the fact that OCC is concerned with classroom processes not content. They further commented that the relationship held for ethnic minority and majority students alike across all the measures except school efficacy, where OCC was associated with even higher levels for minority ethnic students. They speculate that creating classroom environments where adults value students' opinions and nurture respectful exchanges may communicate important messages about trust and respect, which may have particularly positive effects on young minoritized people who are more likely to experience mistrust and marginalisation. Readers outside the USA will recognise the significance of discussing ethnic inequalities in that context.

One small study, which was published after our initial literature search (Weinberg, 2022), addressed the impact of political contact (politicians/political institution) that students may encounter (face to face or online). In interpreting these findings, it is important to note the survey only included 350 students from 17 schools, suggesting a very small sample from each school, which is unlikely to be representative. Nevertheless, the study is interesting because it suggests that political contact may mostly benefit white affluent students rather than ethnic minority students. Each one-unit increase in the frequency of political contact resulted in an 8% increase in students' self-reported intentions to participate in citizenship activities for high SES students and young women, and a 9% increase among white students. However, the effect among low SES students is weaker (5%) and no effects are detected among ethnic minority students. These results suggest that political contact may actually have an acceleration effect on the civic gap, perhaps because it reinforces young minoritized people's perceptions of political representatives as belonging to traditionally dominant social and demographic groups. Mulder's (2023) analysis of secondary students visiting the Dutch Parliament shows rather different results, securing improvements in knowledge but little change in attitudes. However, like Weinberg, Mulder concludes such programmes do not reduce pre-existing inequalities.

Participation in alternative citizenship education can help to move beyond traditional, didactic models of civic education and towards a vision of civics education that is engaging and inclusive (Andolina & Conklin, 2018; Blevins et al., 2021). Blevins et al. (2021) comment that student choice is crucial to increasing student motivation and engagement, including community and political engagement. Allowing students to examine local issues of importance creates interest, and interest in turn sparks motivation and commitment. For many

students, particularly minority students and/or those from deprived backgrounds, school can be disconnected from their lived experiences in their communities. Providing students with the opportunity to choose their own issues is one way to help bridge this gap and make civic education more meaningful and authentic.

Other studies have shown that younger students (aged 12) tend to experience the biggest impacts from active citizenship projects, whilst it is much more difficult to affect change by the end of secondary education (Blevins et al., 2014; Wanders et al., 2020). Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) make the general point that interactive teaching leads to better results (in terms of knowledge and intentions to participate), but they add an important exception regarding students from the most deprived backgrounds who may actually need some direct teaching of information before they can benefit from opportunities to participate in open discussion. If general knowledge of contemporary issues is another element of cultural capital, then teachers may need to sequence these teaching strategies carefully, to ensure that they work and do not further alienate disadvantaged students from citizenship education.

As with the broader educational attainment gap, this class gap is complicated by a gender gap and variations related to ethnicity and migration status. Girls tend to report greater impacts from participation in citizenship education (Andolina & Conklin, 2018; Blevins et al., 2021; Činčera et al., 2018). And relatively poor migrant students often differ from others in the same socio-economic circumstances by having more interest in social and political issues and a greater propensity to participate in their local communities. However, this difference may reduce with second and third generations in migrant families. A study including over 8000 young people in the USA found that formal citizenship education had a particularly positive effect on migrant students because it addressed a knowledge deficit for relatively newly arrived families (Callahan et al., 2008).

## Pedagogic strategies

Our first three themes struck us as having some novelty as they made powerful points that have been glossed over in previous literature reviews, such as the need to distinguish between ethos and curriculum-related activities, or to categorise active citizenship projects more specifically. The third theme was important in alerting us to the evidence about the kinds of educational activities that might exacerbate or narrow the civic gap(s) between groups of students. The review also enabled us to identify some additional insights that will be useful to teachers thinking about how to plan effective pedagogic strategies for citizenship education.

## Teaching styles

McCowan (2009) has argued that the pedagogy of citizenship education is as important as the content, not least because bringing the ends and means into alignment helps to model the skills and experiences being promoted as valuable. The evidence in our review also suggests this may be an important aspect of citizenship education. Finkel and Ernst (2005), in their investigation of the effect of the Democracy for All programme on 600 South African students, found that 'when students were trained in civics classrooms using interactive and participatory teaching methods they developed political tolerance and trust, as well as important civic skills and supportive participatory attitudes to a greater extent than students who were trained using more traditional pedagogical approaches or who received no civics training whatsoever' (Finkel & Ernst, 2005: 358). This programme trained university students to teach high school students about issues related to democracy, human rights, elections,



conflict resolution, and how citizens can participate responsibly in democratic politics, suggesting that participative methods may be effective regardless of the level of teacher qualification. Ballard et al. (2016) studied a similar student-led active citizenship project in the USA with 617 students from 26 schools and reported a 14% difference in levels of knowledge between those participating in the project and a control group. Other significant improvements were recorded in civic efficacy.

Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) analysed data from 2800 ninth-grade students in the USA and concluded that interactive teaching methods or a combination of interactive and lecture-style inputs generally resulted in higher levels of knowledge and related citizenship skills compared to students who predominantly experienced lecture-style teaching. A caveat to this general finding was that students from more deprived backgrounds appeared to benefit from some forms of direct instruction to enhance specific skills such as media literacy, but this was also associated with lower measures of self-efficacy in discussing topical issues. This suggests that a blend of carefully selected approaches might be most beneficial and Campbell (2019) discusses the need for balance in his own review of the evidence for citizenship education. Too much direct instruction seems to limit efficacy but too many unfamiliar activities may lead to lower knowledge. A range of teaching approaches, used routinely, seems to be a reasonable interpretation of these diverse studies. Keating and Janmaat (2016) found that participation in activities such as school councils, mock elections and debate clubs was positively correlated with levels of participation into adulthood. Young people reporting a high incidence of such activities in year 11 (the final year of secondary school) were up to 14% more likely to participate in voting and other forms of citizenship (protesting, petitions etc.) into adulthood, and the impact persisted independent of social class. Whilst the study certainly suggests that a variety of learning activities is an important dimension to effective citizenship education, we need to exercise caution in interpreting the findings as the number of respondents fell significantly after the young people left school.

Many studies also indicate that a wide variety of learning activities often has significant effects on student outcomes. For example, Vercellotti and Matto's (2016) study with 361 high school students in New Jersey concluded that regular engagement with the news (at school and at home) led to significant improvements in knowledge and interest in researching wider media sources, and that this combination of home/school activities had a bigger impact than simply undertaking regular activities in class. In this study, the effect was even greater for those students with less-educated parents. Feddes et al. (2019) conducted pre- and post-evaluation surveys with 453 Dutch secondary students attending an interactive educational exhibition (Fortress Democracy) and found an 18% improvement in knowledge (specifically related to democracy), as well as improved levels of political trust. Blevins et al. (2014) studied the impact on 256 students of using an online interactive civics game for 6 weeks and found a moderate effect size overall with bigger impacts on younger students. Bowyer and Kahne (2020) investigated the effect of digital engagement learning opportunities on 10,254 high school students in Chicago over the course of a year. They found that students who learnt how to create and share digital media related to social issues were more likely to engage in participatory politics as a result, whereas those who were only positioned as critical consumers of media created by others became less likely to participate.

## Discussion and debate

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) international survey is a large-scale international project that generates a data set of tens of thousands of school students (around 14 years of age) on a fairly regular basis. This includes a widely used measure



of 'open classroom climate' (OCC) using the following criteria, which students respond to on a 4-point 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 students' opinions and encourage them to express them during class.
- Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most other students.
- Teachers encourage students to discuss political or social issues about which people have differing opinions.
- Teachers present several sides of an issue when explaining it to a class.

Several studies have analysed the ICCS data and noted that high ratings of OCC are generally correlated with a number of other factors, for example, 'critical consciousness' (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014), civic knowledge (Lin, 2015), political participation (Hoskins et al., 2017), good teacher-student relationships and positive student perceptions of school (Maurissen et al., 2018). As we said at the outset, good teacher-student relationships underpin effective citizenship education, however, it is also possible that promoting OCC serves to enhance those relationships, so there may well be a mutually reinforcing process at work. We should also be aware that students' evaluations of OCC are often quite different within the same class, so their perception of OCC may also reflect their pre-existing attitude towards their relationship with their teachers (Campbell, 2019).

Whilst the survey data alone is stronger for demonstrating consistent correlations than causal mechanisms, a number of more specific evaluations strongly suggest that the adoption of talking strategies helps to cause those other positive outcomes. Andolina and Conklin (2018) investigated the effect of Project Soapbox on 204 high school students from nine public Chicago schools. The project is a brief (1–2 week) programme in which students write and deliver a speech about a community issue of importance to them. It aims to cultivate both democratic and literacy skills among young people. The authors found that participation in this very short project yielded small gains in students' expectations for future civic engagement and they expressed greater confidence in their rhetorical skills. Additionally, although this curriculum is designed to emphasise rhetorical skills and democratic orientations, some of the strongest impacts appeared in students' reports of their listening and empathy skills. Levy (2018) investigated the effect that participation in Model United Nations (MUN) club activities had on 61 students at a mid-western high school over one academic year. Levy found that students' political efficacy increased more than in a comparison group who undertook 20 hours of independent community service per academic year but with no interactive political learning. Vercellotti and Matto's (2016) study of 361 students engaging regularly with news sources concluded that those who discussed their news stories had much better outcomes than those who simply read news stories themselves on a regular basis. Schuitema et al. (2009) undertook research with 482 Dutch students to assess the impact of dialogic teaching, which was enacted through groupwork. They assessed the quality of an essay for students who undertook tasks in groups and those who worked individually. They concluded that dialogic teaching is linked to better justifications for one's argument and that groupwork works as a method for dialogic teaching, which they define as having three characteristics: (i) students should exchange views, (ii) they should engage with one another to co-construct ideas, and (iii) engage in some form of evaluation of suggestions.

## The role of planning

Planning as a distinct teacher-led activity was not the focus of any studies, which in itself suggests an interesting gap in the literature, but we can infer some ideas that might inform planning by considering the extent to which research concerns school curricula, as opposed to one-off projects or programmes run by external agencies. Feitosa (2020) examined evidence collected as part of the ICCS study, which collected data from 86,914 students from 23 countries in 2016. He focused on outcomes related to students' intentions to vote when they are adults and tested the significance of three aspects of education: (i) experiencing formal citizenship lessons, (ii) participating in school-based activities, and (iii) students' evaluation of 'open classroom climate'. Whilst all three factors are correlated with improved outcomes, Feitosa notes the biggest effect is in relation to having formal citizenship lessons. This supports the conclusion reached by the longitudinal evaluation of the introduction of citizenship education in England (Keating et al., 2010), which identified regular specialist teaching as having a positive impact on a range of citizenship outcomes for students. Keating and Janmaat's (2016) follow-up work, with a smaller group of young people after they had left school, demonstrated that experiencing citizenship until the final year of school had the biggest impact into adulthood, suggesting that consistency of citizenship education throughout schooling was important.

All of this reflects See et al.'s (2017) point in their evaluation of uniformed activities, that the 'dosage' has an impact—that is, that the more one experiences a project or programme, the better the impact. Blevins et al. (2021) also reported that students who came back to their civics summer camps for multiple years still continued to demonstrate improved outcomes each year, suggesting that more of a similar experience has an additive impact. This would suggest that short-lived one-off projects may have more limited impact overall, especially when they are not typical of students' experiences in school. Blevins et al. (2021) have evaluated civic summer camps over a number of years and demonstrated that the precise focus of a programme determines the kinds of outcomes secured. For example, a narrow focus on social action secures improved knowledge of, and attitudes towards, social action, but not voting. Similarly, improved knowledge about social action does not affect underlying worldviews about citizenship.

There is strong and consistent evidence that citizenship education improves students' citizenship knowledge and understanding. Niemi and Junn (1998) provide the classic account of the impact of citizenship education, based on a nationally representative survey of over 4000 high school students in the USA. They demonstrated that routine citizenship education with regular class discussions of citizenship topics led to an 11% gain in basic knowledge. Finkel and Ernst's (2005) study of 600 students in South Africa reported similar gains simply by having timetabled citizenship classes. Zhang et al. (2012) analysed data from 2811 students aged 14 in the USA and concluded that citizenship education helped build basic knowledge, which in turn enabled students to achieve higher levels of conceptual thinking about citizenship. However, they found that for many students there was no link between this knowledge and their citizenship skills. This suggests that teachers need to address both aspects explicitly in their planning, rather than assume knowledge would lead to preparedness to participate. Bayram Özdemir et al. (2016) analysed survey data from 2012 Swedish students in grade 7 (12–13-year-olds) and grade 10 (15–16-year-olds). They concluded that citizenship education lessons were a necessary but not sufficient condition for promoting the political socialisation of young people. The additional factors that had significant effects were student perceptions of their teachers (they wanted them to be inspirational and engaging) and their feelings towards the school.

## CONCLUSION

This review lends further support to the consistent findings that citizenship education is a route to securing better knowledge about politics, higher levels of support for democracy, and increased commitment to participate. It adds to the previously conducted reviews by focusing more on some of the practical aspects of teaching. We have been able to share some of these findings with teacher colleagues in the UK and Ireland, as well as with fellow researchers, through seminars and conference presentations and have observed which aspects of the review seem to generate interest. In reflecting on these conversations, we suggest the following areas would be useful for further research.

### The role of ethos

The evidence considered here sheds further light on how schools might build a supportive ethos, by nurturing strong relationships between students and teachers, encouraging teachers to model democratic values and processes in the pastoral system, and promoting a culture of participation in a wide variety of (non-sports) activities. The evidence suggests that there may be grounds for optimism that creating such an ethos may have a positive impact on all members of the school community, regardless of individuals' personal participation levels. We suggest this as a possible focus for future research, and we are exploring these variables in our own evaluation of citizenship education in secondary schools. In progressing with a more focused definition of school ethos, it will be particularly useful to explore how this interacts with specific classroom experiences, and wider experiences of participation. This will enable researchers to develop a clearer view of the role played by ethos and how other aspects of provision might be complementary. We would also urge researchers to investigate how student perceived ethos changes over time and whether it reflects differences between groups of students. This will be important in exploring whether it might make a contribution to narrowing the civic gap.

### Teaching strategies

A second contribution of this review lies in the detailed discussion of types of active citizenship projects that can be undertaken in schools. In particular, the notion of full and partial active citizenship cycles seems to be a useful way for teachers to conceptualise their work. In the context of England, where we are working, the GCSE Citizenship Studies syllabus includes a requirement for students to undertake a full project cycle, which can be seen as the gold standard for active citizenship education. One challenge here is that such cycles take time and effort, and in an already crowded curriculum these are scarce resources. Therefore, it seems particularly useful to consider how shorter, partial projects may also play an important role, and to consider how such projects may be planned over time to secure a cumulative impact (Blevins et al., 2021). We think it would be valuable to undertake some comparative research to consider the relative impacts of partial and full active citizenship cycles, to create a clearer cost–benefit analysis to help teachers think about the best use of time. Our ongoing research does incorporate individual participation profiles for students, which will enable us to compare outcomes for students with different levels of participation, but we are not yet in a position to undertake this kind of closely controlled comparative trial. In relation to teaching strategies it would be useful to explore how the partial active citizenship projects work in practice. Might teachers find it easier to embed more short and partial projects into their teaching than complete and time-consuming projects? And would the

cumulative effect of these shorter experiences be greater than the one-off impact of a larger project?

## Closing the civic gap

Our third contribution is to consider how such educational practices might be planned with inclusion in mind. Here, we have drawn attention to the need to compare (i) the opportunities for participation in the school, (ii) the mechanisms by which these are filtered out for some teaching groups/streams, (iii) the rates of take-up by students, and (iv) the reasons that lie behind any differences. This discussion also drew attention to some caveats to the general principles established in the field. For example, it is generally accepted that a diverse range of interactive teaching approaches leads to better outcomes than traditional instruction, but there may be good reasons to include a phase of direct instruction to help the most deprived young people to build a foundation for activities involving discussion and the application of knowledge (Torney-Purta & Wilkenfeld, 2009).

In this area, our main conclusion is to be alert to the ways in which these patterns intersect in particular contexts. In our own research, we are compiling school-level analyses as well as considering patterns across our whole dataset, to help us remain aware of context. It would seem that there is more scope for exploring the practicalities of contextualised intersectional analysis in future research to dig deeper into how inclusion works, and what practical steps might be helpful in this regard. Some of the research that suggests interesting possibilities for closing the civic gap is based on one-off surveys and some of that uses samples comprised of small subsamples from different schools. It would be useful to explore longitudinal data for whole cohorts within specific schools to enable researchers to account for differences between groups, over time, and in specific school contexts. This would help to track more specifically what works and for whom, and under what conditions. In the aggregation of individuals into high/low affluence; majority/minority ethnic groups; immigrant/non-migrant it is easy to lose sight of the differences within those broad categories, as well as those between them.

## FUNDING INFORMATION

This research was carried out in collaboration between the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) and Middlesex University as part of the Active Citizenship In Schools (ACIS) project. ACIS has been funded by the National Citizen Service.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analyzed in this study.

## ETHICS STATEMENT

No ethics agreement was required for this project as the authors have only worked with previously published material.

## ORCID

Lee Jerome  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0278-6986>

## REFERENCES

- Akar, B. (2020). Citizenship education in conflict-affected areas and nation-states: Empowering teachers for sustainable reform. *Intercultural Education*, 31(5), 519–532.
- Alford, R. R. (1998). *The craft of inquiry*. Oxford University Press.
- Andolina, M. W., & Conklin, H. G. (2018). Speaking with confidence and listening with empathy: The impact of project soapbox on high school students. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 46(3), 374–409.
- Ballard, P. J., Cohen, A. K., & Littenberg-Tobias, J. (2016). Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 58(3–4), 377–390.
- Bayram Özdemir, S., Stattin, H., & Özdemir, M. (2016). Youth's initiations of civic and political discussions in class: Do youth's perceptions of Teachers' behaviors matter and why? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45(11), 2233–2245.
- Blevins, B., LeCompte, K. N., Riggers-Piehl, T., Scholten, N., & Magill, K. R. (2021). The impact of an action civics program on the Community & Political Engagement of youth. *The Social Studies*, 112(3), 146–160.
- Blevins, B., LeCompte, K. N., & Wells, S. D. (2014). Citizenship education goes digital. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, 38(1), 33–44.
- Blevins, B., LeCompte, K. N., & Wells, S. D. (2016). Innovations in Civic Education: Developing Civic Agency Through Action Civics. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 44(3), 344–384.
- Blevins, B., LeCompte, K., & Bauml, M. (2018). Developing students' understandings of citizenship and advocacy through action civics. *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 13(2), 185–198.
- Booth, A., Sutton, A., & Papaioannou, D. (2016). *Systematic approaches to a successful literature review* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- Bowyer, B. T., & Kahne, J. (2020). The digital dimensions of civic education: Assessing the effects of learning opportunities. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 69, 101–162.
- Callahan, R. M., Muller, C., & Schiller, K. S. (2008). Preparing for citizenship: Immigrant high school Students' curriculum and socialization. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 36(2), 6–31.
- Campbell, D. (2008). Voice in the classroom: How an open classroom climate fosters political engagement among adolescents. *Political Behavior*, 30(4), 437–454.
- Campbell, D. (2019). What social scientists have learned about civic education: A review of the literature. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 94(1), 32–47.
- Cheung, C. H. W., Kennedy, K. J., Leung, C., & Hue, M. T. (2018). Religious engagement and attitudes to the role of religion in society: Their effect on civic and social values in an Asian context. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 40(2), 158–168.
- Činčera, J., Skalík, J., & Binka, B. (2018). One world in schools: An evaluation of the human rights education programme in the republic of Georgia. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 48(6), 769–786.
- Covell, K. (2010). School engagement and rights-respecting schools. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 40(1), 39–51.
- Dallago, L., Critini, F., Perkins, D., Nation, M., & Santinello, M. (2010). The adolescents, life context, and school project: Youth voice and civic participation. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 38(1), 41–54.
- Donbavand, S., & Hoskins, B. (2021). Citizenship education for political engagement: A systematic review of controlled trials. *Social Sciences*, 10(5), 151. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10050151>
- Donnelly, C. (2000). In pursuit of school ethos. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 48(2), 134–154.
- Dowd, A. C., & Johnson, R. M. (2020). Why publish a systematic review: An Editor's and Reader's perspective. In O. Zawacki-Richter, M. Kerres, S. Bedenlier, M. Bond, & K. Buntins (Eds.), *Systematic reviews in educational research: Methodology, perspectives and application* (pp. 69–87). Springer VS.
- Dumutriu, C., & Dumitru, G. (2014). Achieving citizenship education: A theoretical and experimental approach. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 149, 307–311.
- Feddes, A. R., Huijzer, A., van Ooijen, I., & Doojse, B. (2019). Fortress democracy: Engaging youngsters in democracy results in more support for the political system. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 25(2), 158–164.
- Feitosa, F. (2020). Does civic education Foster civic duty? *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 53(4), 887–901.
- Fesnic, F. N. (2016). Can civic education make a difference for democracy? Hungary and Poland compared. *Political Studies*, 64(4), 966–978.
- Finkel, S. E., & Ernst, H. R. (2005). Civic education in post-apartheid South Africa: Alternative paths to the development of political knowledge and democratic values. *Political Psychology*, 26(3), 333–364.
- Flanagan, C. A., Syvertsen, A. K., & Stout, M. D. (2007). Civic measurement models: tapping adolescents' civic engagement. Circle working paper 55.
- Gainous, J., & Martens, A. M. (2012). The effectiveness of civic education: Are “good” teachers actually good for “all” students? *American Politics Research*, 40(2), 232–266.
- Galais, C. (2018). How to make dutiful citizens and influence turnout: The effects of family and school dynamics on the duty to vote. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 51(3), 599–617.



- Gardner, M., Roth, J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Adolescents' participation in organized activities and developmental success 2 and 8 years after high school: Do sponsorship, duration, and intensity matter? *Developmental Psychology*, *44*(3), 814–830.
- Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal, W., & ten Dam, G. (2013). Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review*, *9*, 158–173.
- Gill, B., Tilley, C., Whitesell, E., Finucane, M., Potamites, L., & Corcoran, S. (2018). *The impact of democracy prep public schools on civic participation*. Retrieved from. <https://www.mathematicamp.com/our-publications-and-findings/publications/the-impact-of-democracy-prep-public-schools-on-civic-participation>
- Gill, B., Whitesell, E., Corcoran, S., Tilley, C., Finucane, M., & Potamites, L. (2020). Can charter schools boost civic participation? The impact of democracy prep public schools on voting behavior. *American Political Science Review*, *114*(4), 1386–1392.
- Godfrey, E. B., & Grayman, J. K. (2014). Teaching citizens: The role of open classroom climate in fostering critical consciousness among youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*(11), 1801–1817.
- Goren, H., Maxwell, C., & Yemini, M. (2019). Israeli teachers make sense of global citizenship education in a divided society-religion, marginalisation and economic globalisation. *Comparative Education*, *55*(2), 243–263.
- Han, C., Hoskins, B., & Sim, J. B. (2014). The relationship between civic attitudes and voting intention: An analysis of vocational upper secondary schools in England and Singapore. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *44*(5), 801–825.
- Hartry, A., & Porter, K. (2004). *We the people curriculum: Results of pilot test*. Centre for Civic Education.
- Helms, S. E. (2013). Involuntary volunteering: The impact of mandated service in public schools. *Economics of Education Review*, *36*, 295–310.
- Hill, J. P., & Dulk, K. R. (2013). Religion, volunteering, and educational setting: The effect of youth schooling type on civic engagement. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *52*(1), 179–197.
- Hoskins, B. (2019). *Disadvantaged young people don't vote, and why education is making this worse*. Comment Central. <https://commentcentral.co.uk/disadvantaged-young-people-dont-vote-and-why-education-is-making-this-worse>
- Hoskins, B., & Janmaat, G. (2019). *Education, democracy and inequality: Political engagement and citizenship education in Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hoskins, B., Janmaat, J. G., & Melis, G. (2017). Tackling inequalities in political socialisation: A systematic analysis of access to and mitigation effects of learning citizenship at school. *Social Science Research*, *68*, 88–101.
- Isac, M. M., Maslowski, R., Creemers, B., & van der Werf, G. P. (2014). The contribution of schooling to secondary-school students' citizenship outcomes across countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, *25*(1), 29–63.
- Jagers, R. J., Lozada, F. T., Rivas-Drake, D., & Guillaume, C. (2017). Classroom and school predictors of civic engagement among Black and Latino middle school youth. *Child Development*, *88*(4), 1125–1138.
- Jahromi, P., Crocetti, E., & Buchanan, C. M. (2012). A cross-cultural examination of adolescent civic engagement: Comparing Italian and American community-oriented and political involvement. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, *40*(1), 22–36.
- Janmaat, J. G. (2008). The civic attitudes of ethnic minority youth and the impact of citizenship education. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(1), 27–54.
- Janmaat, J. G. (2012). The effect of classroom diversity on tolerance and participation in England, Sweden and Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(1), 21–23.
- Janmaat, J. G. (2022). School social segregation and social inequalities in political engagement among 16 to 20 year olds in fourteen countries. *Research Papers in Education*, *37*(1), 52–73.
- Jarkiewicz, A. (2020). Using participatory action learning to empower the active citizenship of young people. *Action Learning: Research and Practice*, *17*(1), 72–83.
- Jerome, L., Hilal, Y., & Hyder, F. (2024). *ACT Research Briefing 1: School Ethos and Citizenship Education*. London: Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT).
- Kahne, J., & Sporte, S. E. (2008). Developing citizens: The impact of civic learning opportunities on Students' commitment to civic participation. *American Educational Research Journal*, *45*(3), 738–766.
- Keating, A., & Janmaat, J. G. (2016). Education through citizenship at school: Do school activities have a lasting impact on youth political engagement? *Parliamentary Affairs*, *69*(2), 409–429.
- Keating, A., Kerr, D., Benton, T., Mundy, E., & Lopes, J. (2010). *Citizenship education in England 2001–2010: Young people's practices and prospects for the future*. Research Report DFE-RR059. Department for Education.
- Kim, J., & Morgül, K. (2017). Long-term consequences of youth volunteering: Voluntary versus involuntary service. *Social Science Research*, *67*, 160–175.
- Lee, T., An, J., Sohn, H., & Yoo, I. T. (2019). An experiment of community-based learning effects on civic participation. *Journal of Political Science Education*, *15*(4), 443–458.
- Levy, B. L. (2018). Youth developing political efficacy through social learning experiences: Becoming active participants in a supportive model United Nations Club. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *46*(3), 410–448.



- Levy, B. L., Journell, W., He, Y., & Towns, B. (2015). Students blogging about politics: A study of students' political engagement and a teacher's pedagogy during a semester-long political blog assignment. *Computers & Education, 88*, 64–71.
- Lin, A. (2015). Citizenship education in American schools and its role in developing civic engagement: A review of the research. *Educational Review, 67*(1), 35–63.
- Linimon, A., & Joslyn, M. R. (2002). Trickle up political socialization: The impact of kids voting USA on voter turnout in Kansas. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 2*(1), 24–36.
- Manning, N., & Edwards, K. (2014). Does civic education for young people increase political participation? A systematic review. *Educational Review, 66*(1), 22–45.
- Margetts, H., John, P., Escher, T. & Reissfelder, S. (2009). Can the internet overcome the logic of collective action? An experimental approach to investigating the impact of social pressure on political participation. Paper to the Political Studies Association Annual Conference. University of Manchester.
- Maurissen, L., Claes, E., & Barber, C. (2018). Deliberation in citizenship education: How the school context contributes to the development of an open classroom climate. *Social Psychology of Education, 21*(4), 951–972.
- McCowan, T. (2009). *Rethinking citizenship education: A curriculum for participatory democracy*. Continuum.
- McDevitt, M., & Kioussis, S. (2006). *Experiments in political socialization: Kids voting USA as a model for civic education reform*. CIRCLE Working Paper 49. Center for Information and Research on civic learning and engagement (CIRCLE).
- Míguez, D., & Hernández, A. (2018). Civic education as social process: A case study of students' protests in Córdoba, Argentina, 2010. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 13*(2), 144–162.
- Mulder, L. E. M. (2023). On-site citizenship education: An effective way of boosting democratic engagement and reducing inequalities among young people? *Political Behaviour, 45*, 511–535.
- Niemi, R. G., & Junn, J. (1998). *Civic education: What makes students learn?* Yale University Press.
- Nuansri, M., Tangdhanakanond, K., & Pasiphol, S. (2016). Development of multidimensional construct map of responsible citizenship of lower secondary school students. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 217*, 537–543.
- Ozer, E. J., & Douglas, L. (2013). The impact of participatory research on urban teens: An experimental evaluation. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 51*(1–2), 66–75.
- Petticrew, M., & Roberts, H. (2006). *Systematic reviews in the social sciences: A practical guide*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Prati, G., Mazzoni, D., Guarino, A., Albanesi, C., & Cicognani, E. (2020). Evaluation of an active citizenship intervention based on youth-led participatory action research. *Health Education & Behavior, 47*(6), 894–904.
- Preus, B., Payne, R., Wick, C., & Glomski, E. (2016). Listening to the voices of civically engaged high school students. *The High School Journal, 100*(1), 66–84.
- Pykett, J., Saward, M., & Schaefer, A. (2010). Framing the good citizen. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 12*(4), 523–538.
- Reichert, F., & Print, M. (2018). Civic participation of high school students: The effect of civic learning in school. *Educational Review, 70*(3), 318–341.
- Robinson, Y., Paraskevopoulou, A., & Hollingworth, S. (2019). Developing 'active citizens': Arts award, creativity and impact. *British Educational Research Journal, 45*(6), 1203–1219.
- Rutkowski, D., Rutkowski, L., & Engel, L. C. (2014). Inclusive schooling: Fostering citizenship among immigrant students in Europe. *Intercultural Education, 25*(4), 269–282.
- Sampermans, D. (2019). The democratic school climate: Active citizenship at school. Unpublished PhD Thesis. KU Leuven: Netherlands <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/2363338?limo=0>
- Schuitema, J., Veugelers, W., Rijlaarsdam, G., & ten Dam, G. (2009). Two instructional designs for dialogic citizenship education: An effect study. *The British Journal of Educational Psychology, 79*(3), 439–461.
- Schulz, W., & Sibbers, H. (2004). *IEA civic education study: Technical report*. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- See, B. H., Gorard, S., & Siddiqui, N. (2017). Does participation in uniformed group activities in school improve young people's non-cognitive outcomes? *International Journal of Educational Research, 85*, 109–120.
- Serriere, S. C., Mitra, D., & Reed, K. (2011). Student voice in the elementary years: Fostering youth-adult partnerships in elementary service-learning. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 39*(4), 541–575.
- Syvertsen, A. K., Stout, M. D., Flanagan, C. A., Mitra, D. L., Oliver, M. B., & Sundar, S. S. (2009). Using elections as teachable moments: A randomized evaluation of the student voices civic education program. *American Journal of Education, 116*(1), 33–67.
- Thornberg, R. (2010). School democratic meetings: Pupil control discourse in disguise. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*(4), 924–932.
- Toots, A. (2003). The role of values in citizenship education: A comparative study of Estonian-and Russian-speaking schools in Estonia. *International Journal of Educational Research, 39*(6), 565–576.

- Torney-Purta, J., & Wilkenfeld, B. (2009). *Pathways to twenty-first century competencies through civic education classrooms: An analysis of survey results from ninth-graders*. Division for Public Education, American Bar Association.
- Tzankova, I., Albanesi, C., Prati, G., & Cicognani, E. (2023). Development of civic and political engagement in schools: A structural equation model of democratic school characteristics' influence on different types of participation. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 20(6), 1060–1081.
- Vercellotti, T., & Matto, E. C. (2016). The role of media use in the classroom and at home in improving news consumption and political knowledge. *Journal of Political Science Education*, 12(2), 151–168.
- Wanders, F. H. K., van der Veen, I., Dijkstra, A. B., & Maslowski, R. (2020). The influence of teacher-student and student-student relationships on societal involvement in Dutch primary and secondary schools. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 48(1), 101–119.
- Weinberg, J. (2022). Civic education as an antidote to inequalities in political participation? New evidence from English secondary education. *British Politics*, 17(2), 185–209.
- Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 237–269.
- Wrigley, T. (2016). Not so simple: The problem with 'evidence-based practice' and the EEF toolkit. *Forum*, 58(2), 237–252.
- Zhang, T., Torney-Purta, J. V., & Barber, C. E. (2012). Students' conceptual knowledge and process skills in civic education: Identifying cognitive profiles and classroom correlates. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 40(1), 1–34.

**How to cite this article:** Jerome, L., Hyder, F., Hilal, Y., & Kisby, B. (2024). A systematic literature review of research examining the impact of citizenship education on active citizenship outcomes. *Review of Education*, 12, e3472. <https://doi.org/10.1002/rev3.3472>

## APPENDIX A

### The 109 studies included in the review.

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Akar, B. (2020). Citizenship education in conflict-affected areas and nation-states: Empowering teachers for sustainable reform. <i>Intercultural Education</i> , 31(5), 519–532.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Lebanon and Kuwait	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Akin, S., Calik, B., & Engin-Demir, C. (2017). Students as change agents in the community: Developing active citizenship at schools. <i>Kuram ve Uygulamada Egitim Bilimleri</i> , 17(3), 809–834.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Turkey	Evaluation (retrospective, i.e., no baseline data)
Alviar-Martin, T., Ho, L. C., Sim, J. B. Y., & Yap, P. S. (2012). The ecologies of civic competence: Students' perceptions from one Singapore school. <i>Asia Pacific Journal of Education</i> , 32(4), 473–488.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Singapore	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Andolina, M. W., & Conklin, H. G. (2018). Speaking with confidence and listening with empathy: The impact of Project Soapbox on high school students. <i>Theory and Research in Social Education</i> , 46(3), 374–409.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	United States	Evaluation (pre/post-measures)
Arphattananon, T. (2021). Breaking the mold of liberal multicultural education in Thailand through social studies lessons. <i>The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas</i> , 94(2), 53–62.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	Thailand	Evaluation (retrospective, i.e., no baseline data)
Bajaj, M. (2012). From “time pass” to transformative force: School-based human rights education in Tamil Nadu, India. <i>International Journal of Educational Development</i> , 32(1), 72–80.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Tamil Nadu, India	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Ballard, P. J., Cohen, A. K., & Littenberg-Tobias, J. (2016). Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. <i>American Journal of Community Psychology</i> , 58(3–4), 377–390.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	RCT (control groups/comparison groups)
Barrault-Stella, L., & Douniès, T. (2021). From good “user” to good citizen? The political effects on families of education policies in France. <i>Politics and Policy</i> , 49(4), 866–890.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	France	Other (qualitative)
Bayram Özdemir, S., Stattin, H., & Özdemir, M. (2016). Youth's initiations of civic and political discussions in class: Do youth's perceptions of teachers' behaviors matter and why? <i>Journal of Youth and Adolescence</i> , 45(11), 2233–2245.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Sweden	Correlational study (looking at relationships between variables generally without a specific planned intervention)
Blaskó, Z., da Costa, P. D., & Vera-Toscano, E. (2019). Non-cognitive civic outcomes: How can education contribute? European evidence from the ICCS 2016 study. <i>International Journal of Educational Research</i> , 98, 366–378.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	13 European countries	Correlational study

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Blevins, B., LeCompte, K. & Bauml, M. (2018) Developing students' understandings of citizenship and advocacy through action civics. <i>Social Studies Research and Practice</i> , 13(2), 185–198.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Evaluation (retrospective)
Blevins, B., LeCompte, K. N., Riggers-Piehl, T., Scholten, N., & Magill, K. R., (2021). The impact of an action civics program on the community & political engagement of youth. <i>The Social Studies</i> , 112(3), 146–160.	After 2010	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16	USA	Evaluation (pre/ post-measures)
Blevins, B., LeCompte, K.N., & Wells, S.D. (2016). Innovations in civic education: Developing civic agency through action civics. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 44(3), 344–384.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Evaluation (pre/ post-measures)
Blevins, B., LeCompte, K.N., Wells, K., (2014). Citizenship education goes digital. <i>The Journal of Social Studies Research</i> , 38(1), 33–44.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Evaluation (pre/ post-measures)
Bobek, D.L., Zaff, J.F., Li, Y., & Lerner, R.M. (2009). Cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components of civic action: Towards an integrated measure of civic engagement. <i>Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology</i> , 30(5), 615–627.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Bowyer, B.T., & Kahne, J. (2020). The digital dimensions of civic education: Assessing the effects of learning opportunities. <i>Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology</i> , 69, 101–162.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Callahan, R. M., Muller, C., & Schiller, K. S., (2008) Preparing for citizenship: Immigrant high school students' curriculum and socialization. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 36(2), 6–31.	Before 2000 2000– 2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	USA	Correlational study
Chee, Y, S, Mehrotra, S & Liu, Q. (2013). Effective game based citizenship education in the age of new media. <i>The Electronic Journal of E-learning</i> , 11(1), 16–28.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Singapore	Evaluation (pre/ post-measures)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Cheung, C., H., W., Kennedy, K. J., Leung C., & Hue, M., T. (2018). Religious engagement and attitudes to the role of religion in society: Their effect on civic and social values in an Asian context. <i>British Journal of Religious Education</i> , 40(2), 158–168.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Hong Kong	Correlational study
Cho, H. (2018). Crafting a third space: Integrative strategies for implementing critical citizenship education in a standards-based classroom. <i>Journal of Social Studies Research</i> , 42(3), 273–285.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Seoul, South Korea	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Činčera, J., Skalík, J., & Binka, B. (2018). One world in schools: An evaluation of the human rights education programme in the Republic of Georgia. <i>Cambridge Journal of Education</i> , 48(6), 769–786.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Georgia (Europe)	RCT (control groups / comparison groups)
Claude, K.M. and Hawkes, M.T. (2020). Ebola crisis in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: Student-led community engagement. <i>Pathogens and Global Health</i> , 114(4), 218–223.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Democratic Republic of Congo	Evaluation (retrospective, i.e., no baseline data)
Correia, N., Camilo, C., Aguiar, C. & Amaro, F. (2019). Children's right to participate in early childhood education settings: A systematic review. <i>Children and Youth Services Review</i> , 100(2), 76–88.	After 2010	Early years	International	Literature Review
Covell, K. (2010). School engagement and rights-respecting schools. <i>Cambridge Journal of Education</i> , 40(1), 39–51.	2000–2009	Primary 5–11	England (Hampshire)	RCT (control groups/ comparison groups)
Dallago, L., Critini, F., Perkins, D., Nation, M. & Santinello, M. (2010). The adolescents, life context, and school project: Youth voice and civic participation. <i>Journal of Prevention &amp; Intervention in the Community</i> , 38(1), 41–54.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Italy	RCT (control groups/ comparison groups)
Dumutriu, C & Dumitru, G. (2014). Achieving citizenship education: A theoretical and experimental approach. <i>Procedia: Social and Behavioural Sciences</i> , 149, 307–311.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	Romania	Evaluation (pre/post-measures)

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Ersoy, A.F. (2014). Active and democratic citizenship education and its challenges in social studies classrooms. <i>Eurasian Journal of Educational Research</i> , 55, 1–20.	After 2010	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16	Turkey	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Favaro, D., Sciulli, D. & Bartolucci, F. (2020). Primary-school class composition and the development of social capital. <i>Socio-Economic Planning Sciences</i> , 72, 100,874.	Before 2000 2000–2009	Primary 5–11	UK	Correlational study
Feddes, A.R., Huijzer, A., van Ooijen, I. & Doojse, B. (2019). Fortress democracy: Engaging youngsters in democracy results in more support for the political system. <i>Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology</i> , 25(2), 158–164.	After 2010	FE 16–19	Netherlands	Evaluation (pre/post-measures)
Feitosa, F. (2020). Does civic education foster civic duty? <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> , 53(4), 887–901.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	23 countries	Correlational study
Fesnic, F. N. (2016). Can civic education make a difference for democracy? Hungary and Poland compared. <i>Political Studies</i> , 64(4), 966–978.	Before 2000 2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Poland Hungary	Correlational study
Finkel, S. E., & Ernst, H. R. (2005). Civic education in post-apartheid South Africa: Alternative paths to the development of political knowledge and democratic values. <i>Political Psychology</i> , 26(3), 333–364.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	South Africa	RCT (control groups/comparison groups)
Galais, C. (2018). How to make dutiful citizens and influence turnout: The effects of family and school dynamics on the duty to vote. <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> , 51(3), 599–617.	After 2010	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	Canada	Correlational study
Gardner, M., Roth, J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Adolescents' participation in organized activities and developmental success 2 and 8 years after high school: Do sponsorship, duration, and intensity matter? <i>Developmental Psychology</i> , 44(3), 814–830.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	USA	Correlational study



## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal, W., Jorgensen, T., & ten Dam, G., (2015). Citizenship development of adolescents during the lower grades of secondary education. <i>Journal of Adolescence</i> , 45(1), 89–97.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Netherlands	Correlational study
Geller, J., Voight, A., Wegman, H & Nation, M. (2013). How do varying types of youth civic engagement relate to perceptions of school climate? <i>Applied Developmental Science</i> , 17(3), 135–147.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Gill, B., Whitesell, E., Corcoran, S., Tilley, C., Finucane, M., & Potamites, L. (2020). Can charter schools boost civic participation? The impact of democracy prep public schools on voting behavior. <i>American Political Science Review</i> , 114(4), 1386–1392.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Godfrey E. B. & Grayman J. K., (2014). Teaching citizens: The role of open classroom climate in fostering critical consciousness among youth. <i>Journal of Youth and Adolescence</i> , 43(11), 1801–1817.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Goren, H., Maxwell, C., & Yemini, M. (2019). Israeli teachers make sense of global citizenship education in a divided society: Religion, marginalisation and economic globalisation. <i>Comparative Education</i> , 55(2), 243–263.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Israel	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Grobshäuser, N., & Weißeno, G. (2021). Does political participation in adolescence promote knowledge acquisition and active citizenship? <i>Education, Citizenship and Social Justice</i> , 16(2), 150–164.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Germany	Correlational study
Guillaume, C., Jagers, R., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2015). Middle school as a developmental niche for civic engagement. <i>American Journal of Community Psychology</i> , 56(3–4), 321–331.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Han, C., Hoskins, B., & Sim, J.B. (2014). The relationship between civic attitudes and voting intention: An analysis of vocational upper secondary schools in England and Singapore. <i>Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education</i> , 44(5), 801–825.	2000–2009 After 2010	Secondary 11–16	UK Singapore	Correlational study
Hill, J.P., & Dulk, K.R. (2013). Religion, volunteering, and educational setting: The effect of youth schooling type on civic engagement. <i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i> , 52(1), 179–197.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	USA	Correlational study
Ho, L., Alviar-Martin, T., Sim, J.B., & Yap, P.S. (2011). Civic disparities: Exploring students' perceptions of citizenship within Singapore's academic tracks. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 39(2), 203–237.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Singapore	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Høigaard, R., Kovač, V. B., Øverby, N. C., & Haugen, T. (2015). Academic self-efficacy mediates the effects of school psychological climate on academic achievement. <i>School Psychology Quarterly: The Official Journal of the Division of School Psychology, American Psychological Association</i> , 30(1), 64–74.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Norway	Correlational study
Hoskins, B., & Janmaat, J. G. (2016). Educational trajectories and inequalities of political engagement among adolescents in England. <i>Social Science Research</i> , 56, 73–89.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	UK	Correlational study
Hoskins, B., Janmaat, J.G. & Melis, G. (2017) Tackling inequalities in political socialisation: A systematic analysis of access to and mitigation effects of learning citizenship at school. <i>Social Science Research</i> , 68, 88–101.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	112 State maintained schools in England	Correlational study
Hurtado, S., Engberg, M. E., Ponjuan, L., & Landreman, L. (2002). Students' precollege preparation for participation in a diverse democracy. <i>Research in Higher Education</i> , 43(2), 163–186.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Isac, M.M., Maslowski, R., Creemers, B., & van der Werf, G.P. (2014). The contribution of schooling to secondary-school students' citizenship outcomes across countries. <i>School Effectiveness and School Improvement</i> , 25(1), 29–63.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	38 countries	Correlational study
Jagers, R. J., Lozada, F. T., Rivas-Drake, D., & Guillaume, C. (2017). Classroom and school predictors of civic engagement among Black and Latino middle school youth. <i>Child Development</i> , 88(4), 1125–1138.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Jahromi P., Crocetti E. & Buchanan C. M., (2012). A cross-cultural examination of adolescent civic engagement: Comparing Italian and American community-oriented and political involvement. <i>Journal of Prevention &amp; Intervention Community</i> , 40(1), 22–36.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	Italy and USA	Correlational study
Janmaat, J. G. (2008). The civic attitudes of ethnic minority youth and the impact of citizenship education. <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> , 34(1), 27–54	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	5 European countries	Correlational study
Janmaat, J. G., (2012). The effect of classroom diversity on tolerance and participation in England, Sweden and Germany. <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> , 38(1), 21–3	Before 2000	Secondary 11–16	England, Sweden and Germany	Correlational study
Janmaat, J. G., (2022). School social segregation and social inequalities in political engagement among 16 to 20 year olds in fourteen countries. <i>Research Papers in Education</i> , 37(1), 52–73.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	14 countries	Correlational study
Janmaat, J.G. (2015). School ethnic diversity and White students' civic attitudes in England. <i>Social Science Research</i> , 49, 97–109.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	UK	Correlational study
Jarkiewicz, A. (2020). Using participatory action learning to Empower the active citizenship of young people. <i>Action Learning: Research and Practice</i> , 17(1), 72–83.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	UK	Evaluation (retrospective i.e. no baseline data)

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Kahne, J. & Sporte, S.E. (2008). Developing citizens: The impact of civic learning opportunities on students' commitment to civic participation. <i>American Educational Research Journal</i> , 45(3): 738–766.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	USA	Correlational study
Keating, A. & Janmaat, J.G. (2016). Education through citizenship at school: Do school activities have a lasting impact on youth political engagement? <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i> , 69(2): 409–429.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	England	Correlational study
Keegan, P. J. (2017). Belonging, place, and identity: The role of social trust in developing the civic capacities of transnational Dominican youth. <i>The High School Journal</i> , 100(3), 203–222.	After 2010	FE 16–19	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Keser, F., Akar, H. & Yildirim, A. (2011). The role of extracurricular activities in active citizenship education. <i>Journal of Curriculum Studies</i> , 43(6), 809–837.	2000–2009	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16	Turkey	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Kim, J. & Morgül, K. (2017). Long-term consequences of youth volunteering: Voluntary versus involuntary service. <i>Social Science Research</i> , 67, 160–175.	Before 2000 2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Kiousis, S. & McDevitt, M. (2008). Agenda setting in civic development. <i>Communication Research</i> , 35(4), 481–502.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	USA	Correlational study
Larsen, M.A. & Searle, M.J. (2017). International service learning and critical global citizenship: A cross-case study of a Canadian teacher education alternative practicum. <i>Teaching and Teacher Education</i> , 63, 196–205.	After 2010	More specific	Canada	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Lee, T., An, J., Sohn, H., & Yoo, I. T. (2019). An experiment of community-based learning effects on civic participation. <i>Journal of Political Science Education</i> , 15(4), 443–458.	After 2010	FE 16–19	Japan	RCT (control groups/comparison groups)
Levy, B.L. (2018). Youth developing political efficacy through social learning experiences: Becoming active participants in a supportive model United Nations Club. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 46(3), 410–448.	2000–2009 After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	RCT (control groups/comparison groups)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Lin, A. (2014). Examining students' perception of classroom openness as a predictor of civic knowledge: A cross-national analysis of 38 countries. <i>Applied Developmental Science</i> , 18(1), 17–30.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	International	Correlational study
Linimon, A., & Joslyn, M. R. (2002). Trickle up political socialization: The impact of kids voting USA on voter turnout in Kansas. <i>State Politics &amp; Policy Quarterly</i> , 2(1), 24–36.	2000–2009	FE 16–19	USA	RCT (control groups/ comparison groups)
Lukšik, I. (2019). The effect of primary education teachers on the formation of pupil citizenship. <i>European Journal of Education</i> , 54(3): 457–470.	After 2010	More specific	Slovakia	Correlational study
Mann, J.A., Dymond, S.K., Bonati, M.L. & Neeper, L.S. (2015). Restrictive citizenship: Civic-oriented service learning opportunities for all students. <i>Journal of Experiential Education</i> , 38(1), 56–72.	After 2010	More specific	USA	Literature Review
Marchi, R. and Clark, L.S. (2021). Social media and connective journalism: The formation of counterpublics and youth civic participation. <i>Journalism</i> , 22(2), 285–302.	After 2010	More specific	USA	Other (qualitative)
Masoudi, S. & Navehebrahim, A. (2011). Gender differences in citizenship behavior among the Iranian elementary school students. <i>Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences</i> , 29, 1426–1435.	2000–2009	Primary 5–11	Iran	Correlational study
Maurissen, L., Claes, E. & Barber, C. (2018). Deliberation in citizenship education: How the school context contributes to the development of an open classroom climate. <i>Social Psychology of Education</i> , 21(4), 951–972.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	22 European countries	Correlational study
McAnelly, K. & Gaffney, M. (2019). Rights, inclusion and citizenship: A good news story about learning in the early years. <i>International Journal of Inclusive Education</i> , 23(10), 1081–1094.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	New Zealand	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)

(Continues)



## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
McEachin, A., Lee Lauren, D., Crittenden Fuller, S. & Perera, R. (2020). Social returns to private choice? Effects of charter schools on behavioral outcomes, arrests, and civic participation. <i>Economics of Education Review</i> , 76, 101,983.	2000–2009 After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
McNaughtan, J. & Brown, M. (2020). Fostering democratic participation at community colleges: Understanding the relationship between voting and student, institutional, and environmental factors, <i>Community College Review</i> , 48(4): 355–375.	After 2010	More specific	USA	Correlational study
Míguez, D., & Hernández, A. (2018). Civic education as social process: A case study of students' protests in Córdoba, Argentina, 2010. <i>Education, Citizenship &amp; Social Justice</i> , 13(2), 144–162.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Argentina	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Nuansri, M., Tangdhanakanond, K. & Pasiphol, S. (2016). Development of multidimensional construct map of responsible citizenship of lower secondary school students. <i>Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences</i> , 217, 537–543.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Thailand	Correlational study
Otsu, K. (2001). Civics education in transition: The case of Japan. <i>International Journal of Educational Research</i> , 35(1), 29–44.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Japan	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Pearlman-Avniot, S. & Grayevsky, M. (2019). Homeschooling, civics, and socialization: The case of Israel. <i>Education and Urban Society</i> , 51(7), 970–988.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	Israel	Correlational study
Persson, M., Lindgren, K., & Oskarsson, S. (2016). How does education affect adolescents' political development? <i>Economics of Education Review</i> , 53, 182–193.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Greece, Norway, Slovenia and Sweden	Correlational study
Piedade, F., Malafaia, C., Neves, T., Loff, M., & Menezes, I. (2020). Educating critical citizens? Portuguese teachers and students' visions of critical thinking at school. <i>Thinking Skills and Creativity</i> , 37, 100,690.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Portugal	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Prati, G., Mazzoni, D., Guarino, A., Albanesi, C. & Cicognani, E. (2020). Evaluation of an active citizenship intervention based on youth-led participatory action research. <i>Health Education &amp; Behavior</i> , 47(6), 894–904.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Italy	RCT (control groups/ comparison groups)
Preus, B., Payne, R., Wick, C., & Glomski, E. (2016). Listening to the voices of civically engaged high school students. <i>The High School Journal</i> , 100(1), 66–84.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Quintelier, E. (2010). The effect of schools on political participation: a multilevel logistic analysis. <i>Research Papers in Education</i> , 25(2), 137–154.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Belgium	Correlational study
Reichert, F., & Print, M. (2018). Civic participation of high school students: the effect of civic learning in school. <i>Educational Review</i> , 70(3), 318–341.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Australia	Correlational study
Resh, N., & Sabbagh, C. (2017). Sense of justice in school and civic behavior. <i>Social Psychology of Education</i> , 20, 387–409.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Israel	Correlational study
Robinson, Y., Paraskevopoulou, A. & Hollingworth, S. (2019). Developing 'active citizens': Arts Award, creativity and impact. <i>British Educational Research Journal</i> , 45(6), 1203–1219.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	UK	Evaluation (retrospective i.e. no baseline data)
Rubin, B. C., Ayala, J., & Zaal, M. (2017). Authenticity, aims and authority: Navigating youth participatory action research in the classroom. <i>Curriculum Inquiry</i> , 47(2), 175–194.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Rutkowski, D., Rutkowski, L., & Engel, L. C. (2014). Inclusive schooling: Fostering citizenship among immigrant students in Europe. <i>Intercultural Education</i> , 25(4), 269–282.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	24 European countries	Correlational study
Scheerens, J. (2011). Indicators on informal learning for active citizenship at school. <i>Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability</i> , 23, 201–222.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	7 European countries	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Schuijtema, J., Veugelers, W., Rijlaarsdam, G., & ten Dam, G. (2009). Two instructional designs for dialogic citizenship education: an effect study. <i>British Journal of Educational Psychology</i> , 79(3), 439–461.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Netherlands	Evaluation (pre/post-measures)
Schulz, W., Fraillon, J., & Ainley, J. (2013). Measuring young people's understanding of civics and citizenship in a cross-national study. <i>Educational Psychology</i> , 33(3), 334–356.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Worldwide	Correlational study
See, B.H. and Gorard, S. & Siddiqui, N. (2017). Does participation in uniformed group activities in school improve young people's non-cognitive outcomes? <i>International Journal of Educational Research</i> , 85, 109–120.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	England	RCT (control groups/comparison groups)
Serriere, S. C., Mitra D., & Reed, K. (2011). Student voice in the elementary years: Fostering youth-adult partnerships in elementary service-learning. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 39(4), 541–575.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Shelly, B. (2011). Bonding, bridging, and boundary breaking: The civic lessons of high school student activities. <i>Journal of Political Science Education</i> , 7(3), 295–311.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Sigauke, A.T. (2012). Young people, citizenship and citizenship education in Zimbabwe. <i>International Journal of Educational Development</i> , 32(2), 214–223.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16 FE 16–19	Zimbabwe	Correlational study
Simó, N., Parareda, A., & Domingo, L. (2016). Towards a democratic school: The experience of secondary school pupils. <i>Improving Schools</i> , 19(3), 181–196.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Catalunya, Spain	Case study approach (descriptive/narrative)
Simon, J. & Merrill, B. (1998). Political socialization in the classroom revisited: The Kids Voting program. <i>Social Science Journal</i> , 35(1), 29–42.	Before 2000	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Staeheli, L.A. & Hammett, D. (2013). "For the future of the nation": Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa. <i>Political Geography</i> , 32(1), 32–41.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	South Africa	Other (qualitative)
Straughn, J.B. & Andriot, A.L. (2011). Education, civic patriotism, and democratic citizenship: Unpacking the education effect on political involvement. <i>Sociological Forum</i> , 26(3), 556–580.	After 2010	More specific	USA	Correlational study
Thornberg, R. (2010). School democratic meetings: Pupil control discourse in disguise. <i>Teaching and Teacher Education</i> , 26(4), 924–932.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	Sweden	Case study approach (descriptive / narrative)
Tichnor-Wagner, A., Parkhouse, H., Glazier, J. & Cain, J.M. (2016). Expanding approaches to teaching for diversity and social justice in K-12 education: Fostering global citizenship across the content areas. <i>Education Policy Analysis Archives</i> , 24, 59.	After 2010	Primary 5–11 Secondary 11–16	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Toots, A. (2003). The role of values in citizenship education: A comparative study of Estonian- and Russian-speaking schools in Estonia. <i>International Journal of Educational Research</i> , 39(6), 565–576.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Estonia	Correlational study
Vercellotti, T., & Matto, E. C. (2016). The role of media use in the classroom and at home in improving news consumption and political knowledge. <i>Journal of Political Science Education</i> , 12(2), 151–168.	2000–2009	More specific	USA, New Jersey	RCT (control groups/ comparison groups)
Voight, A., Giraldo-García, R., & Shinn, M. (2020). The effects of residential mobility on the education outcomes of urban middle school students and the moderating potential of civic engagement. <i>Urban Education</i> , 55(4), 570–591.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study

(Continues)

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

References	Date of data collection	Age range	Location	Methodology
Wanders, F.H.K., van der Veen, I., Dijkstra, A.B., & Maslowski, R. (2020). The influence of teacher-student and student-student relationships on societal involvement in Dutch primary and secondary schools. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 48(1), 101–119.	After 2010 2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Netherlands	Correlational study
Wargo, J. M. (2021). “Sound” civics, heard histories: A critical case of young children mobilizing digital media to write (right) injustice. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 49(3), 360–389.	After 2010	Primary 5–11	USA	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)
Witschge, J. & van de Werfhorst, H.G. (2016). Standardization of lower secondary civic education and inequality of the civic and political engagement of students. <i>School Effectiveness and School Improvement</i> , 27(3), 367–384.	2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Yemini, M. & Furstenburg, S. (2018). Students' perceptions of global citizenship at a local and an international school in Israel. <i>Cambridge Journal of Education</i> , 48(6), 715–733.	After 2010	Secondary 11–16	Israel	Other (qualitative)
Zhang, T., Torney-Purta, J.V., & Barber, C.E. (2012). Students' conceptual knowledge and process skills in civic education: Identifying cognitive profiles and classroom correlates. <i>Theory &amp; Research in Social Education</i> , 40(1), 1–34.	Before 2000 2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	USA	Correlational study
Zohar, A. & Cohen, A. (2016). Large scale implementation of higher order thinking (HOT) in civic education: The interplay of policy, politics, pedagogical leadership and detailed pedagogical planning. <i>Thinking Skills &amp; Creativity</i> , 21, 85–96.	Before 2000 2000–2009	Secondary 11–16	Israel	Case study approach (descriptive/ narrative)