

**Attitudes towards political engagement among lower  
secondary students in East Asian countries: Results from  
ICCS 2009**

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# **Attitudes towards political engagement among lower secondary students in East Asian countries: Results from ICCS 2009**

## **Abstract**

*Based on student survey data from five East Asian countries, the paper contains an analysis of attitudes towards the use of personal connections in politics and towards personal morality among politicians. The first part of the analysis describes the extent and variations of these attitudes which are viewed as of particular relevance within the East Asian context. The second part of the analysis investigates the relationship of these attitudes with student background and school-related variables such as civic knowledge as well as uncovering to what extent these attitudes are related to indicators of future civic engagement among students.*

## **Introduction**

Many western countries are concerned about the level of participation of their citizens in civic life and the apparent lack of interest and involvement among young people in public and political life (Curtice & Seyd, 2003). The development of knowledge, understanding, skills and dispositions that prepare young people to comprehend the world, hold productive employment and be informed active citizens are among the characteristics that educational systems, schools and teachers value and attempt to foster. However, countries vary in the status accorded to civic and citizenship education as part of school education and the relative importance of developing the knowledge and understanding and dispositions to participate effectively as citizens in society.

Hahn notes that ‘scholarship on education for citizenship and democracy has greatly expanded over the past decade...clearly the field of comparative and international civic education has gone global’ (Hahn, 2010). Part of that research has explored the extent to which education for citizenship follows common patterns across countries and regions rather than being bound by the particulars of individual countries. At the same time there has been an emergence of regional political institutions such as those in Europe and Latin America through which there is a sharing of interests and operational principles. Regional contexts are now important for civic and citizenship education because they shape how people undertake their roles as citizens and there have been a number of regional studies of education for civics and citizenship in

recent years (Birzea et al., 2004; Lee et al., 2004; Cox, Jaramillo & Reimers, 2005; Eurydice, 2005).

This paper makes use of data collected as part of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) undertaken in 38 countries from Europe, Latin America and the Asian-Pacific region (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010). ICCS 2009 included an international core of data focused on aspects of civic knowledge and understanding, as well as attitudes to civic principles, structures and systems, which appeared to be internationally common. In addition it incorporated regional modules for Europe, Latin America and Asia that were intended to assess aspects of citizenship education seen as relevant to the regions which were not included in the international data collection.

The paper is concerned with aspects of civic and citizenship education in the East Asian region. It focuses on five countries that participated in the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009): Chinese Taipei, the Hong Kong SAR, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea and Thailand. Although these countries differ considerably with regard to cultural background (three have strong Confucian heritages, one has an Islamic heritage and another has a Buddhist tradition), their economic development and their political structures, scholars have recognized some common characteristics of citizenship education across the region (see for example Lee et al., 2004). Moreover, results from ICCS 2009 show that a large majority of secondary school students in these countries expressed a strong sense of Asian identity with little variation across countries (Fraillon, Schulz & Ainley, 2012).

The Asian module focused on measuring attitudes and value beliefs viewed as of particular relevance in the region (Fraillon, Schulz & Ainley, 2012). In the five Asian countries, ICCS 2009 investigated students' views on the role and responsibilities of the government and the law in their countries, including trust in institutions, acceptance of authoritarian government practices, and beliefs in the integrity of the legal system. It described and analyzed students' perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of public officials, including acceptance of using public office for personal benefit, views on the importance of personal morality for politicians, and the use of personal connections for holding public office. The ICCS 2009 Asian regional module also explored students' attitudes toward Asian identity and citizenship, including support for the preservation of their countries' traditional culture and for obedience to authority, their sense of Asian identity, as well as their views on the importance of morality and spirituality for being a good citizen.

## Framework

ICCS 2009 was based on a framework that described relevant cognitive as well as affective-behavioral aspects as outcomes of citizenship education (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito & Kerr, 2008). One part of this framework was concerned with articulating intended outcomes of citizenship education including knowledge and understanding as well as perceptions, attitudes and intentions. Another part was concerned with context and it documented factors expected to influence these outcomes and explain their variation. Whilst the contextual framework assumed that learning outcomes were affected by antecedent and process-related variables located at the levels of the individual student, their home, their school or the wider community, the civics and citizenship framework was organized around three dimensions: a content dimension, an affective-behavioral dimension and a cognitive dimension.

The content dimension, which formed the basis for the development of the assessment instruments, comprised four content domains: civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities. Each of these domains was further divided into sub-domains and cognitive as well as affective-behavioural measures were developed in relation to the different content domains.

The affective-behavioural dimension of the framework identified the types of student perceptions and behaviors relevant to these content areas. Four affective-behavioral domains were identified: value beliefs about democracy and citizenship, attitudes such as self-cognitions as well as towards institutions, rights and responsibilities, behavioral intentions for future participation as citizens and behaviors with regard to participation while students.

The cognitive dimension of the framework described two cognitive domains: knowing about the learned civic and citizenship information that is part of civics and citizenship; and reasoning and analyzing to use civic and citizenship information to reach conclusions by integrating perspectives that apply to more than a single concept and are applicable in a range of contexts.

Using this as a frame of reference, country representatives from East Asia developed a regional framework of attitudes and value beliefs with particular importance in their region. The East Asian framework placed an emphasis on the Asian culture and concepts of personal morality not represented in the international framework. In this paper we will focus on two attitudinal aspects that were considered as particularly important for the region: (1) the extent to which students perceived personal morality

as important for politicians, and (2) the students' endorsement of the notion of personal connections for holding public office.

The first attitudinal aspect is related to the notion of Confucian morality, which is commonly regarded as a foundation of traditional values in many East Asian countries, and which assumes an inherent connection of each individual to others (Marsella, De Vos & Hsu, 1985). In the other East Asian countries in ICCS, values informed by Islamic (Indonesia) and Buddhist (Thailand) principles provide a strong influence on perspectives concerned with civics and citizenship. Fredrickson (2002) states that matters of morality are more prevalent in the traditional Asian notion of bureaucracy and government than in Western concepts of political leadership. Recent data from the Asian Barometer Survey, for example, showed that in the Republic of Korea about two-thirds of the population were prepared to leave all decisions to political leaders if they were morally upright (Park & Shin, 2006).

The emphasis on morality in civic and citizenship education in East Asian countries tradition has been highlighted in the literature (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2008). The importance of moral behavior in this learning area is also evident from a review of the national contexts survey data for Asian ICCS 2009 countries (Frailon, Schulz & Ainley, 2012).

With regard to the second attitudinal aspect, a number of scholars have emphasized the importance of the use of personal connections in sustaining political and social relationships as an aspect of traditional values in East Asia (Khatri & Tsang, 2003). In Chinese culture this social interaction is referred to as *guanxi*, a term which, under simple translation, refers to connections or relationships. Wu (2013) argues that the term *guanxi* extends beyond what is commonly understood as 'relationships' and cites Bain (2006) in defining *guanxi* as a long-term 'sentimental tie that has the potential of facilitating favor exchanges between the parties connected by the tie' (see also Pye, 1992; Goodwin & Tang, 1991). It can be seen as a form of social capital that creates a culture of connections that provides access to resources and influence (Wu, 2013).

## **Data and Methods**

ICCS 2009 data were collected using different instruments including an international student cognitive test with 80 items in a matrix design, an international student questionnaire, a teacher questionnaire and a school questionnaire. National context data were collected through an online survey among national coordinators. In addition, regional student instruments were administered following the international

student assessment. In East Asian countries, the instrument consisted of student questionnaire with 56 Likert-type items measuring nine different scales. This paper makes specific use of two of these scales: the use of personal connections in politics and the importance of morality for being a politician. The international student test was used to derive an internationally comparative student knowledge scale and the international student questionnaire provided contextual and affective-behavioural data.

The ICCS 2009 data were collected from representative samples of students in their eighth year of schooling, teachers and school principals in 38 countries (see Schulz, Ainley & Fraillon, 2011). The Asian module involved 23,600 students from 667 schools in five countries. The analysis presented in this paper used both international and Asian region-specific data.

The paper focuses mainly on descriptive and multivariate analyses of student survey (test and questionnaire) data. The extent and variation in attitudes towards the use of personal connections in politics and the importance of morality for being a politician is reviewed at the item and scale level within and across countries. Structural equation modeling is used to analyze for each national sample how these attitudes relate to student and school background variables as well as predictors of future civic engagement. Standard errors of model parameters are estimated using replication methods.

## **Results**

### ***Attitudes towards personal morality for holding political office***

The question in ICCS 2009 (regional questionnaire) on student views of public service and politicians included the following five items designed to measure students' attitudes toward the importance of moral behavior among politicians:

- The honesty and morality of a politician is more important than his/her abilities.
- Political leaders should be role models of morality.
- Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family obeys the law.
- Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family behaves morally.
- Politicians should be accountable if a member of their family breaks the law or behaves immorally.

Table 1 shows the percentages of students agreeing or strongly agreeing with each of

these items. In this and other descriptive tables in this paper, the results from Hong Kong SAR are reported in a separate line as the survey and not included in the regional ICCS 2009 average because the respective national sample did not meet the ICCS 2009 sampling requirements.

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**Table 1: National percentages of students' agreement with statements about the personal morality of politicians**

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The results show that on average across Asian ICCS countries very high percentages of students agreed or strongly agreed with these statements: 91 percent agreed that political leaders should be role models of morality and that they had a responsibility to ensure moral behavior of their families, 90 percent that politicians had a responsibility to ensure their families' obedience to the law, 86 percent that honesty and morality in a politician were more important than their abilities, and 81 percent that politicians should be accountable for immoral or illegal family behavior. Considerably lower levels of agreement were found only for the last statement, that politicians should be accountable for family members, among students from Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR. Otherwise there was little variation in these percentages across participating countries.

The five items formed a scale with a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.68 for the on which more positive scale scores indicated higher levels of agreement with importance of personal morality for political leaders.

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**Table 2: National averages for students' attitudes towards the personal morality of politicians**

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Table 2 shows the national average for this scale overall and by gender group. It confirms that there was little variation across participating countries. Furthermore, only in Thailand were statistically significant gender differences found, with female students having more positive attitudes towards the importance of personal morality in politicians than male students.

*Use of personal connections to hold public office*

The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire included a question designed to measure students' views on the use of personal connections or social relationships (guanxi) to hold public office, where students were requested to indicate their agreement or

disagreement (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) with the following statements (expressions in angled brackets were adapted to the national context):

- If there are many candidates in an election we should only vote for the people from our <hometown/local area>.
- Only the candidates we have <connections> with would truly serve us after they get elected.
- If a candidate is a friend or relative then we should vote for him/her even if he/she is not the best candidate for the job.
- It is acceptable for public officials to give preference to family and friends when hiring people for public office.
- It is acceptable for a public official to give government contracts to people they have <connections> with even if they are not the best qualified to do the contract work.

Table 3 shows the percentages of students who strongly agreed or agreed with these statements. On average, 26 percent of students agreed that one should vote for friends or relatives even if they are not the best candidates, 33 percent that public officials should favor people they have connections with when giving government contracts even if they are not the best qualified ones, and 34 percent that voters should always give preference to local candidates. Forty percent found it acceptable to prefer family and friends when hiring for local office and 44 percent that only those candidates with whom voters feel connected would truly serve them.

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**Table 3: National percentages of students’ agreement with the use of personal connections to hold public office**

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When comparing across countries in the region, it became apparent that there were considerable differences. The percentages of students in Indonesia and Thailand who agreed with positive statements on the use of personal connections for holding public office were much higher than in other countries. In Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea and Hong Kong SAR only small minorities of students tended to agree with these statements.

The five items measuring students’ attitudes toward the use of personal connections to hold public office formed a scale with a reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) ranging from 0.75 to 0.87 across Asian national samples. Positive values indicated higher levels of endorsement for the use of personal connections when holding public office.



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**Table 4: National averages for students' attitudes towards the use of personal connections to hold public office**

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Table 4 shows the national averages for students' attitudes towards the use of personal connections to hold public office overall and by gender groups. As already seen in from the percentages in Table 3, there was considerable variation across countries with Indonesian and Thai students having much higher levels of acceptance of the use of personal connections.

There were also considerable gender differences for this scale, with males responding more positively about the use of personal connections to hold public office in all countries. On average the difference between male and female students was three score points (about one-third of an ICCS standard deviation) and ranged from one (in Hong Kong SAR) to four score points (in Thailand) across countries.

***Modelling the relationship between attitudes and expected participation***

To investigate the relationships between home and school context variables, civic-related student learning outcomes and expected participation as adults, we estimated a path model which assumes that civic knowledge<sup>1</sup>, trust in civic institutions<sup>2</sup>, attitudes towards morality of politicians and attitudes towards the use of connection for holding public office function as intermediate variables between background variables and expected electoral or active political participation in the future.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This term is used to signify students' levels of knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship represented by scores on the ICCS assessment.

<sup>2</sup> The scale reflecting students' trust in civic institutions was based on a set of six items measuring how much students thought they could trust six civic institutions in their country (national government, local government, courts of justice, the police, political parties, and national parliament) and scale reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) ranged from 0.77 to 0.86 across Asian ICCS 2009 countries (see further details in Schulz & Friedman, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> The ICCS 2009 student questionnaire asked students to indicate whether they expected to participate as adults in a number of activities ranging from voting in local or national election to joining political parties or trade unions or standing as candidates in local elections. The response categories were "I will certainly do this", "I will probably do this", "I will probably not do this" and "I will certainly not do this". The scale reflecting expected electoral participation was based

The following contextual variables were included:

- *Students' sex* with female coded as 1 and male as 0;
- *Students' expected further education* (in approximate years according the expected ISCED level of qualification);
- *Students' socio-economic background* (a nationally z-standardized composite index based on highest parental occupation, highest parental education and the number of books at home);
- *Reported parental interest in political and social issues* (0 = both parents not interested or not very interested, 1 = at least one parent quite interested or very interested which reflects home context);
- *Students' interest in political and social issues*, which is an IRT (item response theory) scale, which reflected the extent to which students consider they are free to express opinions in class and to discuss civic-related issues.<sup>4</sup>

Once the final model had been defined, the analyses were carried out with the software package MPLUS (version 6) for the five Asian national samples using jackknife replication (JK2) to estimate the sampling variance associated with the coefficients. All continuous variables (IRT scale scores) were converted into z-standardized variables with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 within each national sample whilst categorical variables were left unstandardized. Therefore effect coefficients reflect the expected change in the dependent variable (as standard deviation units) associated with an increase of one standard deviation in the continuous independent variables or one category for categorical independent variables.

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on three items (voting in local elections, voting in national elections, get information about candidates before voting in an election) and reliabilities ranged from 0.69 to 0.86 across Asian ICCS 2009 countries. The scale reflecting expected active political participation was based on four items (help a candidate or party during an election campaign, join a political party, join a trade union, stand as a candidate in a local election) and reliabilities ranged from 0.76 to 0.83. Both scales are described in further detail in Schulz & Friedman (2011).

<sup>4</sup> The scale was derived from student responses regarding their interest in five areas (political issues within your local community, political issues in your country, social issues in your country, politics in other countries, international politics) and the reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) ranged from 0.75 to 0.88 across Asian ICCS 2009 countries (see further details in Schulz & Friedman, 2011).

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**Figure 1: Path model**

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In the exploratory phase all possible paths were included and then removed if the coefficients were of negligible size in the overall model as well as not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ) in almost all national samples. The final model includes some path coefficients that were of significance only in some countries. The model also includes estimates of the (partial) correlations between the three intermediate variables and the two indicators of expected participation as adults.

Figure 1 illustrates the final path model with its effects between background, intermediate and independent variables. The model does not assume any causal relationships among intermediate or among independent variables because we assume these associations to be reciprocal. Table 5 shows the (unstandardized) path coefficients with their standard errors in tabular form for each of the national samples and on average across countries. Statistically significant coefficients (at  $p < 0.05$ ) are printed in bold.

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**Table 5: Unstandardized path coefficients**

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Civic knowledge tended to be positively associated with female gender, socio-economic background, expected years of further education and students' interest in civic issues. After controlling for other background factors, parental interest had a weak negative correlation in three of the five countries.

Among background variables, both students' civic interest and expected further education had large and consistent positive effects on students' trust in civic institutions. In Indonesia and Korea parental interest also showed positive association with this variable.

Students' attitudes towards personal morality of politicians were positively associated with parental interest, expected further education and civic interest. Other background variables had only inconsistent associations with this variable.

Across Asian countries, female students were less inclined to support the notion of using personal connections for holding public office and also expected further education was negatively associated with using personal connections. Socioeconomic background also had negative associations with this variable in four out of five countries whilst civic interest had inconsistent effects on this variable across countries.

Among the student background variables, civic interest had a consistent strong

positive effect on expected electoral participation and parental interest as well as expected further education also tended to be positively associated with this variable. Civic knowledge, trust in institutions and positive attitudes towards the importance of personal morality for politicians are all consistent positive predictors of student expectations to become involved in elections. Positive attitudes towards the use of connections to hold office, however, is a weak negative predictor in Hong Kong SAR and the Republic of Korea.

In four out of five Asian countries, females are less likely to expect active political participation whilst civic interest is a consistently strong positive predictor. In most countries civic knowledge has a weak negative association with expected political participation whilst both trust in institutions and positive attitudes towards the use of connections were positive predictors.

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**Table 6: Correlations between intermediate and independent variables**

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Table 6 records the estimated correlations among the intermediate and among independent variables. The two dependent variables related to expected participation as adults had a positive correlation across Asian ICCS 2009 countries. Trust in institutions had weak negative correlations with civic knowledge and tended to show weak to moderate positive correlations with attitudes towards personal morality of politicians and attitudes towards the use of connections. Civic knowledge tended to be positively correlated with student attitudes towards the importance of personal morality for politicians but negatively correlated with attitudes towards the use of connections for holding public office. Attitudes towards the importance of personal morality among politicians and towards the use of connections were negatively correlated in Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong SAR and the Republic of Korea.

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**Table 7: Model fit and explained variance**

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Table 7 describes the model fit and the explained variance for each of the dependent variables for each national sample and on average across countries. On average, the model explained 21 percent of the variance in civic knowledge (ranging from 12% to 30%), seven percent for trust in civic institutions (ranging from 2% to 11%), five percent for attitudes towards personal morality of politicians (ranging from 4% to 6%), seven percent for attitudes towards use of personal connections for holding public office (ranging from 3% to 13%), 24 percent for expected electoral participation (ranging from 15% to 29%) and 17 percent for expected active political

participation (ranging from 14% to 20%). It should be noted that the percentages of explained variance varied considerable across participating countries. The model fit was satisfactory across countries with an average RMSEA of 0.022 and an average RMR of 0.007.

## **Discussion**

The analyses of the large-scale data from the representative national samples in ICCS 2009 suggest that whilst few students in Chinese Taipei and the Republic of Korea expressed acceptance of predicating political support on personal connections, higher levels of acceptance were evident in Indonesia and Thailand. They also showed that large majorities of students in all Asian ICCS 2009 countries supported for the notion of morality as an important characteristic of political leaders.

The results of the path model presented in this paper illustrate that higher levels of civic knowledge tended to be associated positively with importance of morality for being a politician, but had negative correlations with the acceptance of using personal connections in politics. Furthermore, whilst positive attitudes towards the use of personal connections in politics were positively associated with expectations to become actively involved in politics they did not affect expected electoral participation. Positive attitudes towards the notion of personal morality in political office had weak positive effects on expected electoral participation but there were no associations with expected active political participation.

Students' trust in civic institutions was an important factor explaining expected participation in the future but had only weak correlations with civic knowledge (negative) and region-specific attitudes (positive). Student background variable were generally more important for predicting civic knowledge than for attitudinal variables. However, after accounting for other variables males were more inclined to support for the use of connections for holding public office and to expect active political participation as adults.

It is interesting to note that students who thought that personal connections should be part of how public office is managed were also more inclined to expect to become actively involved in politics whilst a stronger sense of moral obligations for political office showed positive associations only with expected electoral participation. However, one should interpret these findings with caution given the cross-sectional nature of the ICCS 2009 survey and that causal relationships could only be truly assessed through longitudinal studies.

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## Tables

**Table 1 National percentages of students agreement with statements about the personal morality of politicians**

Country	Percentages of students strongly agreeing or agreeing that:														
	The honesty and morality of a politician is more important than his/her abilities			Political leaders should be role models of morality			Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family obeys the law			Politicians have the responsibility to make sure that their family behaves morally			Politicians should be accountable if a member of their family breaks the law or behaves immorally		
Chinese Taipei	88	(0.6)	△	91	(0.5)		93	(0.4)	△	88	(0.5)	▽	59	(0.8)	▼
Indonesia	85	(0.6)		93	(0.5)	△	91	(0.6)		94	(0.5)	△	88	(0.6)	△
Korea, Republic of <sup>1</sup>	79	(0.6)	▽	86	(0.5)	▽	87	(0.6)	▽	88	(0.5)	▽	91	(0.5)	▲
Thailand †	91	(0.5)	△	96	(0.4)	△	91	(0.7)	□	93	(0.5)	△	86	(0.5)	△
<b>Asian ICCS Average</b>	86	(0.3)		91	(0.2)		90	(0.3)		91	(0.2)		81	(0.3)	
Hong Kong SAR	85	(0.8)		94	(0.8)		90	(0.8)		87	(0.8)		57	(1.2)	
<b>National percentage</b>															
more than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average ▲															
significantly above ICCS Asian average △															
significantly below ICCS Asian average ▽															
more than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average ▼															

(<sup>1</sup>) Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.



**Table 2 National averages for students' attitudes toward the personal morality of politicians**

	All students			Females		Males		Differences (Males-Females)*	
Chinese Taipei	49	(0.2)	□	49	(0.2)	49	(0.3)	0	(0.3)
Indonesia	50	(0.2)		50	(0.2)	50	(0.3)	0	(0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>1</sup>	49	(0.2)	□	50	(0.2)	49	(0.2)	0	(0.3)
Thailand †	52	(0.2)	□	53	(0.3)	51	(0.3)	<b>-2</b>	(0.4)
<b>Asian ICCS Average</b>	50	(0.1)		50	(0.1)	50	(0.1)	0	(0.2)
Hong Kong SAR	48	(0.2)		48	(0.3)	48	(0.3)	0	(0.5)

**National average**

more than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average ▲

significantly above ICCS Asian average △

significantly below ICCS Asian average ▽

more than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average ▼

\* Statistically significant (p<0.05) coefficients in **bold**.

(†) Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

**Table 3 National percentages of students agreement with the use of connections to hold public office**

Percentages of students strongly agreeing or agreeing that:																		
Country	If there are many candidates in an election we should only vote for the people from our <hometown/local area>			Only the candidates we have <connections> with would truly serve us after they get elected			If a candidate is a friend or relative then we should vote for him/her even if he/she is not the best candidate for the job			It is acceptable for public officials to give preference to family and friends when hiring people for public office contract work			It is acceptable for a public official to give government contracts to people they have <connections> with even if they are not the best qualified to do the contract work					
	Percentage	SE	Change	Percentage	SE	Change	Percentage	SE	Change	Percentage	SE	Change	Percentage	SE	Change			
Chinese Taipei	15	(0.6)	▼	20	(0.7)	▼	16	(0.6)	▼	17	(0.5)	▼	17	(0.6)	▼	93	(0.4)	▲
Indonesia	57	(1.8)	▲	69	(1.4)	▲	34	(1.4)	△	51	(1.5)	▲	38	(1.7)	△	49	(0.9)	▼
Korea	10	(0.6)	▼	29	(0.8)	▼	16	(0.7)	▼	20	(0.8)	▼	15	(0.7)	▼	56	(0.8)	▼
Thailand	53	(1.4)	▲	59	(1.4)	▲	40	(1.5)	▲	74	(1.1)	▲	63	(1.4)	▲	68	(0.9)	△
<b>Average</b>	34	(0.6)		44	(0.6)		26	(0.6)		40	(0.5)		33	(0.6)		67	(0.4)	
Hong Kong	13	(1.3)		22	(1.2)		16	(1.3)		18	(1.4)		15	(1.3)		78	(0.8)	

**National percentage**

- more than 10 percentage points above ICCS Asian average ▲
- significantly above ICCS Asian average △
- significantly below ICCS Asian average ▼
- more than 10 percentage points below ICCS Asian average ▼

( ) Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

**Table 4 National averages for students' attitudes toward the use of connections to hold public office**

	All students			Females		Males		Differences (Males-Females)*	
Chinese Taipei	45	(0.2)	▼	44	(0.2)	47	(0.2)	<b>3</b>	(0.2)
Indonesia	54	(0.3)	▲	53	(0.3)	56	(0.3)	<b>3</b>	(0.3)
Korea, Republic of <sup>1</sup>	45	(0.2)	▼	44	(0.2)	46	(0.2)	<b>2</b>	(0.3)
Thailand †	56	(0.3)	▲	54	(0.3)	58	(0.3)	<b>4</b>	(0.3)
<b>Asian ICCS Average</b>	50	(0.1)		48	(0.1)	52	(0.1)	<b>3</b>	(0.1)
Hong Kong SAR	45	(0.3)		44	(0.3)	46	(0.5)	<b>1</b>	(0.5)

**National average**

- more than 3 score points above ICCS Asian average ▲
- significantly above ICCS Asian average △
- significantly below ICCS Asian average ▽
- more than 3 score points below ICCS Asian average ▼

\* Statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) coefficients in **bold**.

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

**Table 5 Regression Coefficients for the Path Model Shown in Figure 1**

	Regression Coefficients									
	Chinese Taipei	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Korea	Thailand	Average				
<b><i>Civic knowledge on</i></b>										
Sex	<b>0.20</b> (.02)	0.14 (.08)	<b>0.23</b> (.04)	<b>0.27</b> (.03)	<b>0.47</b> (.05)	<b>0.26</b> (.04)				
SES	<b>0.23</b> (.02)	0.06 (.03)	<b>0.18</b> (.04)	<b>0.22</b> (.02)	<b>0.21</b> (.03)	<b>0.18</b> (.03)				
Parental interest	<b>-0.12</b> (.04)	-0.02 (.05)	<b>-0.09</b> (.03)	<b>-0.10</b> (.03)	-0.05 (.03)	<b>-0.07</b> (.03)				
Expected education	<b>0.20</b> (.01)	<b>0.14</b> (.01)	<b>0.09</b> (.01)	<b>0.21</b> (.01)	<b>0.13</b> (.01)	<b>0.15</b> (.01)				
Civic interest	<b>0.14</b> (.01)	<b>0.16</b> (.03)	0.01 (.02)	<b>0.18</b> (.02)	<b>-0.06</b> (.01)	<b>0.09</b> (.02)				
<b><i>Trust in institutions on</i></b>										
Sex	0.01 (.03)	0.00 (.04)	0.05 (.03)	<b>-0.12</b> (.03)	<b>-0.18</b> (.04)	-0.05 (.03)				
SES	-0.03 (.02)	-0.04 (.02)	<b>-0.11</b> (.02)	<b>-0.05</b> (.01)	<b>-0.10</b> (.02)	<b>-0.06</b> (.02)				
Parental interest	-0.01 (.06)	0.01 (.05)	<b>0.12</b> (.03)	<b>0.12</b> (.03)	0.03 (.03)	0.05 (.04)				
Civic interest	<b>0.27</b> (.02)	<b>0.27</b> (.03)	<b>0.22</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.30</b> (.02)	<b>0.24</b> (.02)				
<b><i>Attitudes to morality on</i></b>										
Sex	0.03 (.03)	-0.01 (.05)	-0.03 (.04)	0.04 (.03)	<b>0.11</b> (.04)	0.03 (.04)				
SES	<b>0.05</b> (.02)	0.03 (.03)	0.02 (.02)	<b>0.03</b> (.01)	<b>0.09</b> (.02)	<b>0.05</b> (.02)				
Parental interest	<b>0.19</b> (.05)	<b>0.15</b> (.07)	<b>0.09</b> (.04)	<b>0.15</b> (.03)	<b>0.13</b> (.03)	<b>0.14</b> (.04)				
Expected education	<b>0.05</b> (.01)	<b>0.02</b> (.01)	<b>0.04</b> (.01)	<b>0.06</b> (.01)	<b>0.06</b> (.01)	<b>0.04</b> (.01)				
Civic interest	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)	<b>0.16</b> (.02)	<b>0.16</b> (.02)	<b>0.14</b> (.01)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)				
<b><i>Attitudes to connections on</i></b>										
Sex	<b>-0.26</b> (.03)	<b>-0.12</b> (.04)	<b>-0.38</b> (.04)	<b>-0.23</b> (.03)	<b>-0.46</b> (.04)	<b>-0.29</b> (.03)				
SES	<b>-0.10</b> (.02)	0.02 (.02)	<b>-0.07</b> (.02)	<b>-0.07</b> (.02)	<b>-0.15</b> (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)				
Expected education	<b>-0.10</b> (.01)	<b>-0.06</b> (.01)	<b>-0.06</b> (.01)	<b>-0.06</b> (.01)	<b>-0.05</b> (.01)	<b>-0.07</b> (.01)				
Civic interest	-0.01 (.01)	<b>-0.09</b> (.02)	<b>0.04</b> (.02)	<b>-0.07</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	0.00 (.02)				
<b><i>Electoral participation on</i></b>										
Parental interest	<b>0.17</b> (.04)	<b>0.13</b> (.05)	0.01 (.04)	<b>0.13</b> (.03)	<b>0.07</b> (.02)	<b>0.10</b> (.03)				
Expected education	<b>0.03</b> (.01)	<b>0.02</b> (.01)	<b>0.02</b> (.01)	<b>0.03</b> (.01)	<b>0.01</b> (.01)	<b>0.02</b> (.01)				
Civic interest	<b>0.26</b> (.02)	<b>0.25</b> (.03)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.25</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.20</b> (.02)				
Civic knowledge	<b>0.24</b> (.02)	<b>0.21</b> (.02)	<b>0.20</b> (.02)	<b>0.27</b> (.02)	<b>0.34</b> (.02)	<b>0.25</b> (.02)				
Trust in institutions	<b>0.17</b> (.02)	<b>0.22</b> (.02)	<b>0.14</b> (.02)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.16</b> (.02)				
Attitudes to morality on	<b>0.14</b> (.02)	<b>0.06</b> (.02)	<b>0.19</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.16</b> (.02)	<b>0.13</b> (.02)				
Attitudes to connections	-0.01 (.02)	<b>-0.07</b> (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	<b>-0.05</b> (.01)	-0.02 (.02)	-0.03 (.02)				
<b><i>Political participation on</i></b>										
Sex	<b>-0.20</b> (.03)	-0.06 (.04)	<b>-0.14</b> (.03)	<b>-0.08</b> (.03)	<b>-0.14</b> (.03)	<b>-0.12</b> (.03)				
SES	0.00 (.01)	-0.03 (.02)	-0.02 (.02)	-0.01 (.01)	<b>-0.04</b> (.01)	-0.02 (.02)				
Civic interest	<b>0.30</b> (.02)	<b>0.28</b> (.03)	<b>0.20</b> (.02)	<b>0.25</b> (.02)	<b>0.18</b> (.02)	<b>0.24</b> (.02)				
Civic knowledge	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)	<b>-0.12</b> (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)				
Trust in institutions	<b>0.15</b> (.01)	<b>0.19</b> (.02)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)	<b>0.18</b> (.02)	<b>0.17</b> (.02)	<b>0.17</b> (.02)				
Attitudes to morality on	0.02 (.02)	0.00 (.02)	<b>0.06</b> (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	0.01 (.01)	0.02 (.02)				
Attitudes to connections	<b>0.20</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.21</b> (.02)	<b>0.17</b> (.02)	<b>0.16</b> (.03)	<b>0.17</b> (.02)				

**Table 6 Correlation coefficients among intermediate and independent variables**

	Chinese Taipei	Hong Kong SAR	Indonesia	Republic of Korea	Thailand	Average results
<u>Political participation with</u>						
Electoral participation	<b>0.19</b> (.01)	<b>0.26</b> (.02)	<b>0.24</b> (.02)	<b>0.23</b> (.02)	<b>0.23</b> (.02)	<b>0.23</b> (.02)
<u>Trust in institutions with</u>						
Civic knowledge	<b>-0.07</b> (.01)	<b>-0.06</b> (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)	<b>-0.15</b> (.01)	<b>-0.05</b> (.02)	<b>-0.08</b> (.02)
Attitudes to morality	<b>0.07</b> (.01)	<b>0.11</b> (.02)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	<b>0.14</b> (.02)	<b>0.09</b> (.02)
Attitudes to connections	<b>0.11</b> (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	<b>0.15</b> (.02)	<b>0.14</b> (.02)	<b>0.12</b> (.02)	<b>0.10</b> (.02)
<u>Civic knowledge with</u>						
Attitudes to morality	<b>0.08</b> (.02)	<b>0.08</b> (.02)	<b>0.10</b> (.02)	<b>0.21</b> (.01)	<b>0.19</b> (.01)	<b>0.13</b> (.02)
Attitudes to connections	<b>-0.32</b> (.01)	<b>-0.27</b> (.03)	<b>-0.36</b> (.02)	<b>-0.31</b> (.01)	<b>-0.35</b> (.02)	<b>-0.32</b> (.02)
<u>Attitudes to morality with</u>						
Attitudes to connections	<b>-0.11</b> (.02)	<b>-0.16</b> (.02)	0.00 (.03)	<b>-0.24</b> (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	<b>-0.11</b> (.02)

**Table 7 Explained variances and indices of model fit**

Explained variance for...	Chinese Taipei	Hong Kong SAR	Indonesia	Republic of Korea	Thailand	Average
Civic knowledge	30%	12%	12%	24%	26%	21%
Trust in institutions	7%	7%	6%	2%	11%	7%
Attitudes toward morality of politicians	4%	4%	4%	6%	6%	5%
Attitudes toward use of connections	8%	3%	7%	4%	13%	7%
Expected electoral participation	29%	27%	15%	27%	22%	24%
Expected political participation	20%	14%	17%	15%	20%	17%
Indices of model fit...						
RMSEA	0.017	0.029	0.030	0.017	0.018	0.022
RMR	0.005	0.009	0.009	0.006	0.005	0.007

**Figure 1 Conceptual path model for civic knowledge, trust in civic institutions, attitudes and expected participation**

