Teachers' Organizational Participation: Profiles in 12 Countries and Correlates in Teaching-Related Practices

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Abstract

Interactions within classrooms contribute to adolescents' democratic civic development by providing resources fostering students' political understanding. Many teachers participate in social or political groups in their communities and more broadly. These out-of-school experiences inform their classroom practices and are contextualized by national situations. The role played by these experiences has received little attention from social studies researchers. The present analysis examined teachers' organizational participation and its association with classroom discourse and practices utilizing large-scale data from 12 countries in Europe and Asia. A person-centered statistical approach identified four organizational participation profiles among teachers that were further examined in relation to classroom practices. Teachers who were active in a broad range of organizations were likely to provide more stimulating civic and political learning environments with potential to foster students' active construction of civic and political understanding. Contextual factors and implications for civic and citizenship education at school are discussed.

Keywords: civic education; civic engagement; constructivism; political participation; political socialization; political understanding; social studies teachers

Civic education processes are situated within contexts inside and outside schools. Through interactions with teachers and each other students learn what it means to participate in groups with civic aims. Many researchers, however, focus on formal instruction (using prescribed materials relating to particular objectives; Reichert & Print, 2018). Socio-constructivist as well as socio-cultural perspectives on civic learning propose a more inclusive view that confirm everyday observations especially in the social studies (Carretero et al., 2016; van Hover & Hicks, 2017):

> "Learning results not only from formal teaching of information, but also from individuals' interaction, dialogue, and performance of action within their social context. [...Researchers should pay] attention to classroom and school climate [...], community experience, service learning, family interactions, cultural narratives, norms and expectations [...]." (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 295f)

The approach put forth by Carretero et al. (2016) suggests that social studies leaders and researchers seeking to improve civic education consider three things. First, recognize that teachers have civic lives outside of school that contribute to their classroom behavior. Examining this claim is the major purpose of this article. Second, although qualitative case studies are valuable, the analysis of large-scale cross-national quantitative surveys can also illuminate social studies classroom practice (Fitchett & Heafner, 2017). This is especially true when data such as those from nationally representative samples of schools surveyed in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) are analyzed and presented to allow one to visualize groups of teachers who have particular profiles of experience. Third, it suggests teaching processes should be studied across a range of educational and cultural settings. The IEA data are rich in possibilities for this contextualized research, including each responding

teacher's report about the out-of-school organizations to which he or she belongs. The datasets also include activities that each teacher reports employing in the classroom.

Socio-constructivist theory suggests that creating active and democratic citizens is a developmental process shaped by interactions with multiple contexts and socialization agents (Carretero et al., 2016; Haste, 2009; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). Previous research has shown the importance of both parent-child interactions and responsive school climates that support youths' participation in the public sphere (Campbell, 2008; Neundorf et al., 2016). However, researchers rarely considered community groups and professional organizations as important contexts shaping instruction. Teachers gain experience with how policies are formulated when they contact political leaders or participate in teacher associations and on school boards (Morton & Staggs, 2001; Pustka, 2012). Participation in community organizations can broaden teachers' awareness of their students' lives. Some teachers choose to act as part of groups seeking social change, which informs their decisions about presenting curricular material (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009; Louth, 2017). Arguably, participatory teachers may be more likely to give their classes opportunities to engage in meaningful dialogue about civic problems by formulating issues in a way that recognizes the complexity of civic life. Therefore, an examination of teachers' own patterns of participation and its connections with teaching-related practices in particular national contexts is of interest to social studies professionals.

The present study fills this research gap by analyzing data from the ICCS 2009 – the most recent collection of data by IEA from nationally representative samples of schools in which a question about teachers' out-of-school participation was included. The analysis employed a person-centered approach to examine patterns of teachers' civic and social participation outside school and considered the extent to which this participation may motivate

them to create stimulating learning environments that encourage students to achieve a more complex understanding of political and civic issues.

Literature Review

Researchers have studied a wide array of influential contexts and agents in the civic development of adolescents, including the family, schools and those who work in them, peers, the media, and community organizations (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011). Schools are expected to educate knowledgeable citizens who are aware of political issues and understand a range of political actions (Gibson & Levine, 2003). However, research in schools has primarily focused on teaching practices in social studies (where most civic topics are found) and on the climate for discussion. According to a recent review of secondary analyses by Knowles et al. (2018), teachers' beliefs and their civic participation have not been studied in relation to their classroom behavior. However, several studies have examined links between the political beliefs of parents and their offspring, indicating that adults' experiences of participation can influence adolescents' civic orientations (see below).

Adults' Participation and the Shaping of Adolescents' Learning Contexts: Theoretical Perspectives

Many studies have analyzed the transmission of civic knowledge and interest (e.g., Jennings et al., 2009; Niemi & Junn, 1998). However, most research linking adults' and adolescents' participation has focused on the political orientations and activities of parents (Flanagan, 2003). Park (1993), for example, found that Korean college students reported more participation in protest movements if their parents affiliated with the opposition party. Analyses of cross-sectional and longitudinal data from Belgian youths showed that having politically active family members increased the likelihood of political participation in early adulthood

(Quintelier, 2014), and that positive associations between parents' political activity and their offspring's intentions were mediated by discussions about politics (Quintelier, 2015). Similarly, analysis of U.S. longitudinal data found that parent-child similarities were stronger when political attitudes were consistent between parents and when family members engaged in frequent discussions about politics (Jennings et al., 2009). Results from Cicognani et al. (2012) suggest that these associations may be stronger for girls independent of the gender of the active parent.

The most general explanation for parent-child similarities is Bandura's (1986) social cognitive learning theory: people observe, evaluate and imitate behaviors of others, particularly those perceived as competent. For example, Achen (2002) suggested that young people may rely on their parents' experiences realizing that their own experiences are limited. Moreover, Nesbit (2013) argued that parents' explicit expectations encourage volunteering.

Over the previous decade, however, these models have been challenged by a more active model of civic learning. From a *constructivist* point of view, adolescents construct meaning and understanding through engagement with authentic learning tasks and interactions with a variety of people (van Hover & Hicks, 2017). This developmental perspective has similarities with a socio-cultural perspective, which also recognizes the adolescent as an active agent in the learning process influenced by formal education and observations of others, and also by dialogue within various social and cultural contexts (Carretero et al., 2016). From this viewpoint, adults scaffold and support active civic learning by encouraging discussions about political issues, by urging students to seek multiple sources of information, by enabling interactions with individuals taking action in their communities, and by providing opportunities for involvement. A few studies have demonstrated that environments rich in discourse contribute to the civic development of young people (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Zhang et al., 2012). The present research adopted a socio-constructivist perspective to consider whether

teachers' personal experiences with organizations outside school can make them better resources in this process.

The Role of Teacher Participation

Research has confirmed that civic education at school can compensate for a lack of political experiences at home (Neundorf et al., 2016). Specifically, a classroom climate that is open for discussion has been found to positively relate to the development of participatory citizenship (Campbell, 2008; Reichert et al., 2018). Yet, teachers' participation in organizations where such discussion is often modeled has rarely been examined, even though teachers are mediators of students' classroom experience (Lumpkin, 2008; Sampermans & Claes, 2018). Interactions with teachers who are active in social or political organizations have potential to facilitate stimulating learning contexts for young people, similar to family contexts that encourage the discussion of public issues. Consequently, teachers' out-of-school participation has potential to influence their classroom practices – they may feel more confident when talking about participation with their students and may discuss a broader range of civic issues and multiple viewpoints in class as a result of their own experiences in organizations (Louth, 2017; Rogers & Westheimer, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The current analysis viewed civic education primarily from the perspective of socio-cultural constructivism. This approach conceptualizes civic development as an individually constructed and socially mediated process of acquiring understanding through engaged participation in authentic learning tasks, discourse, negotiations and dialogue with others (Carretero et al., 2016; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). This includes community experiences as well as the classroom context. By understanding real-life civic issues, young people become aware of the complexity of civic dilemmas, which paves the way for developing skills and meaningful

activities (Haste, 2010). This active process enables students to "negotiate their place and role within their civic communities" (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 297).

Among other key principles of socio-cultural constructivism is the provision of "authentic learning tasks" and "opportunities to process information into deeper conceptual understandings," as well as "extending a learner's prior knowledge" and helping students "to become self-regulated learners" (van Hover & Hicks, 2017, p. 274). Arguably, teachers can better enable this process if they have experiences in civic communities outside the school. They can create vicarious opportunities for students "to experience civic action [… and] to connect abstract ideas with real-life situations" (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 298). These experiences may also correct young people's tendency to underestimate the complexity of social problems. Carretero and his colleagues argued that it is helpful for students to encounter contradictions between the principles of democracy and lived experiences. That is, discussing real-life civic experiences can foster a multifaceted and critical understanding of political processes. Teachers' personal experiences in social or political organizations can thus facilitate civic learning experiences that stimulate students' civic development. To put it another way, discussing these experiences can transform factual knowledge "into 'usable knowledge' that is relevant, transferable, and applicable in a variety of real-life situations" (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 305).

Socio-cultural constructivism also recognizes the importance of teachers' use of "the resources of the cultural context, to facilitate interaction, critical reflection, and negotiation […] through experience and engagement with actual civic life" (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 296). The available resources are further contextualized by the national situation, as recognized in comparative studies of educational achievement such as those conducted by the IEA. Although it was conceptualized within a different framework, the IEA Civic Education Study (CivEd) conducted in 28 countries in 1999 developed a socio-cultural, ecological model that placed

emphasis on the national contexts of education (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Civic and pedagogical cultures differ across countries, as shown in studies by Hahn (1998, 2020), and several relevant dimensions were captured in the IEA's teacher questionnaires. Moreover, opportunities for civic engagement vary across national contexts – for example, fewer opportunities for political participation exist in the Asian and post-Communist countries when compared with the Nordic countries (Economist Intelligence Unit [EIU], 2019). These differences in country contexts can affect how teachers' civic experiences are reflected in pedagogical choices about presenting political institutions and their functioning.

Summary of Existing Research on Teachers' Civic Experiences

Very little research attention has been paid to teachers' out-of-school participation and its links to pedagogy. However, the National Education Association (NEA, 2010) did report a decline of public school teachers' membership in community and civic organizations in the U.S. between 1966 and 2006. Studies have also shown that teachers are active in cultural or religious groups and parent-teachers' associations, but rather inactive in political and professional groups (NEA, 2010; Wong, 2007). However, union membership remains strong among teachers in the Nordic countries (Hargreaves, 2009; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2019). There has also been focus elsewhere on participation in school boards and/or labor unions (Chambers-Ju, 2017; Moe, 2005).

Yet only a few studies have linked teachers' own civic participation with their teaching. For example, Rogers and Westheimer (2017) found that teachers who were highly engaged in civic activities in the U.S. were especially likely to address themes of economic inequality. Their study also found that teachers' civic participation was more strongly associated with how they taught (e.g., presenting a broader range of themes and contrasting multiple perspectives) than were their abstract political convictions.

Other research has focused on teachers' participation in public protests. For instance, teachers' participation in demonstrations against a cut in the Wisconsin state budget was reflected in their discussions with students (Swalwell & Schweber, 2016). These U.S. teachers found it challenging to remain neutral but thought it important to present multiple viewpoints. Also, one teacher in this study changed her pedagogical approach after participation, reporting more emphasis on social justice and democratic participation. In another study, Louth (2017) found that a majority of the social studies teachers in her Texas sample reported more stimulating learning environments as a result of their own political participation. Teachers believed this experience helped them to present multiple perspectives in classroom discussions, and to speak more confidently about citizens' opportunities and responsibilities. However, research on demonstrations against a curriculum reform in Taiwan found that very few teachers reported discussing the protests in class (Hung, 2019).

These studies support the value of investigating how teachers' own civic participation reinforces opportunities for classroom discussions of real-world situations and for perceiving students as active constructers of the meaning of civic and political events. However, these studies did not consider national contexts. Myers (2007, 2009) conducted notable research here, using semi-structured interviews and classroom observations of Brazilian and Canadian teachers. Across both national contexts, teachers who were more active in formal organizations, such as political parties and trade unions, emphasized class discussions of public issues from multiple perspectives. They often drew on experience in formal political activities but avoided sharing partisan views. They commonly used questioning strategies. On the other hand, teachers who reported activism in social movements introduced social justice themes consistent with their political beliefs. These teachers made relatively frequent use of student-centered activities motivating social action. These findings provide further evidence that classroom experiences available to students can differ depending on their teachers' out-of-

school political activities. This research also indicated that participation in a political party may mean something different than participation in a social movement. Interestingly, the differences in pedagogy associated with teachers' political participation were more pronounced than the differences between Canadian and Brazilian teachers (Myers, 2007). This suggests the value of broader cross-national studies. In fact, some Canadian educators have proposed a whole school approach to reinforce classroom approaches in this area (Evans & Kiwan, 2017).

Motivation for the Current Study

Previous research has suggested that teachers' participation in social and political organizations may help them facilitate stimulating learning contexts for their students. However, most of that research was qualitative or conducted with small samples of teachers within one or two national contexts (Hung, 2019; Louth, 2017; Myers, 2007, 2009; Swalwell & Schweber, 2016). There is very limited information about *patterns* of participation in social and political activities, or differences in national contexts. Furthermore, there has been no representative research examining whether participatory teachers tend to create more stimulating classroom contexts for civic learning when compared to non-participating teachers.

In 2009, the IEA conducted the ICCS (the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) in which non-nested random samples of students and teachers from representative national samples of schools were surveyed across countries. One question set asked teachers about their participation in social and political organizations; these items were rotated out of the ICCS of 2016. Thus, ICCS 2009 provides rare representative large-scale data enabling the comparative analysis of teachers' participation in different countries. As a review by Fitchett and Heafner (2017) has suggested, the secondary analysis of large-scale datasets has strengths: the breadth of measures and also large and representative samples, which makes it possible to generalize the results. This quantitative analysis can inform teacher education,

and is more likely than qualitative research to be impressive to those interested in policy (Fitchett & Heafner, 2017).

Regional Contexts

Using ICCS 2009 data allowed us to address some limitations of prior studies. The current analysis focused on 12 countries in four regions (i.e., Nordic, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Asia), paralleling analysis of data on teachers' aims in civic education by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019). At the time of writing and when ICCS 2009 was conducted, the four regions differed in context, teachers' participation and pedagogy. The Nordic countries have been relatively homogeneous welfare states and democracies whose curricula emphasize democratic participation. Citizens have had a range of ways to participate in politics (EIU, 2010, 2019), and democratic participation was supposed to be modelled in schools (Oftedal Telhaug et al., 2006). There has also been a high level of unionization as Nordic trade unions have been seen as efficacious in defending workers' interests (Armingeon, 2006; ILO, 2019). Particularly in Finland teachers have high social status (Hargreaves, 2009), and over 90% have been found to be union members (The Trade Union of Education in Finland [OAJ], 2018).

The Western European societies, also long-standing democracies, have had less similar historical trajectories and differing qualities of democracy (EIU, 2010, 2019). Eastern European countries have faced challenges from recent political and economic changes. In fact, the participation opportunities for adults in the post-Communist societies of Eastern Europe remained behind those in the Nordic and most Western European countries when the ICCS 2009 was conducted (EIU, 2010). Compared to the Nordic countries, much lower proportions of employees have been members of a labor union in Western Europe and in the post-Communist countries (Armingeon, 2006; ILO, 2019).[1]

In Asian societies, citizenship embodies Confucian principles emphasizing hierarchy, collectivism and reciprocity, and harmony (Arthur et al., 2008; Ho, 2017; Knowles, 2015). The

Asian societies that participated in ICCS 2009 have experienced relatively recent transitions and have relatively few political participation opportunities (EIU, 2010, 2019). There has also been considerable variation in union density among Asian countries (ILO, 2019). According to Synott (2007), the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union "JeonGyoJo" has been an active teachers' union publicly committed to promoting democratic education. On the other hand, Wong (2007) found that teachers in Hong Kong and Taiwan were indifferent towards political parties and protests.

Looking across the twelve countries, civic education was likely to be integrated into other subjects, but it was a designated subject at the lower-secondary level in seven of the twelve countries (Ainley et al., 2013). Across countries teachers emphasized civic knowledge and cognitive skills (Schulz et al., 2018). However, teachers in the Nordic countries were more likely to prioritize independent thinking, while those in Western Europe and Hong Kong emphasized knowledge transmission. Preparing students for future political participation or developing strategies for the fight against xenophobia were rarely prioritized (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019).

Data from these four regions allowed us to examine some distinct patterns of participation, how they differ across regions and countries, and whether these participation patterns have similar associations with pedagogy in different countries.

Summary

Teachers are citizens who participate in society and politics as well as in professional organizations. They are political actors or "street-level bureaucrats" (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009; Lipsky, 1980/2010), and the insights they gain from participation in social and political organizations can influence their classroom interactions and students' concepts of citizenship. Yet previous studies have largely ignored teachers' social and political lives outside school. The present analysis attempted to fill this gap using representative large-scale data suitable to

complement existing small-scale studies. The aim was to inform teacher education and policy by exploring the connection between teachers' out-of-school participation in social or civic organizations and the use of activating pedagogy (such as hands-on activities, social interactions, and prompting reflective thinking).

Current Study

This analysis was guided by three research questions (RQs):

RQ1: What Are the Patterns of Teachers' Participation in the Activities of Organizations Outside Schools?

First, we were interested in describing coherent patterns of teachers' participation. This RQ had three parts: (a) How many groups or profiles can be identified? (b) What are the patterns of participation of the identified groups? (c) How are teachers distributed into the identified participation patterns across the 12 countries?

We hypothesized that it would be possible to identify three or more groups of teachers characterized by distinct patterns of participation (or non-participation) in the activities measured in ICCS. Following Dalton's (2008) distinction between dutiful and engaged citizenship, we hypothesized that one group would primarily be engaged in conventional political activities promoted by formal political organizations. Another group of teachers might be primarily engaged in activities associated with postmodern sensibilities, such as environmental organizations or protests for social justice (Hooghe et al., 2016). It also seemed plausible that there would be a group of rather inactive teachers, reflecting a pattern of "disengaged" or "indifferent" citizens (Hooghe et al., 2016; Oser, 2017; Reichert, 2016a). On the other hand, we expected to identify a group involved in a broad range of organizational activities, sometimes labelled "all-around" citizens (Hooghe et al., 2016; Oser, 2017). Finally,

an important question was whether certain profile groups would be more numerous in particular national contexts.

RQ2: How Do These Profile Groups Differ From Each Other With Respect to the Characteristics of Teachers Who Are Members?

It is helpful to know characteristics of the identified profile groups – whether they differ by teachers' age, gender, or subject specialization. For example, men have been found more frequently to be political party members and to attend demonstrations, while women preferred to sign petitions or donate money (Ondercin & Jones-White, 2011). Furthermore, Dalton (2008) argued that younger generations are less active in traditional political activities such as political parties, compared to older cohorts. Our most specific expectation was that teachers of civics-related subjects would be particularly likely to participate in the organizations listed.

RQ3: How Is Membership in These Profile Groups Associated With Classroom Practices?

We also examined whether teachers in different profile groups reported different teaching practices. Knowles (2017) found that teachers in Missouri who supported a more conservative ideology of civic education were more prone to employ teacher-centered methods, compared to other teachers who more commonly relied on student-centered instruction. Gainous and Martens (2016) analyzed the U.S. sample of civics-related teachers surveyed in CivEd and found that teachers who endorsed liberal views supporting social justice were more likely to use an open classroom climate approach than teachers who felt more strongly about the law and loyalty.

It is reasonable that the profiles of teacher participation would be associated with their choice of teaching methods. Teachers who are themselves more active organizational

participants should be aware of more resources supporting active citizenship and of issues that might interest students. We would expect them to be more comfortable with dialogue about social and political issues, and they should have a propensity to create experiences and contexts that scaffold active learning and the development of political understanding among young people.

Methodology

Data

ICCS is an international large-scale assessment of fourteen-year-olds' civic knowledge and dispositions in which schools were sampled with probability proportional to size within each nation, and then one intact class of target-grade students and a random sample of all target-grade teachers in the school across subjects were surveyed (for data collection procedures and measures, see Schulz et al., 2011). The data from teacher surveys have attracted little attention from researchers, despite their rare advantage as nationally representative samples. Although a second cross-sectional ICCS was conducted in 2016, the question about teachers' out-of-school participation was rotated out of this administration. Hence, the ICCS 2009 data (IEA, 2018) from 12 countries was employed.

Samples from three societies in each of the four selected regions were analyzed: Taiwan (Chinese Taipei), Hong Kong and the Republic of Korea for Asia; the Czech Republic, Poland and the Slovak Republic for Eastern Europe (post-Communist countries); Denmark, Finland and Sweden for the Nordic region; England, Ireland and Italy for Western Europe. These countries parallel analysis of data on teachers' aims in civic education by Reichert and Torney-Purta (2019).[2] In total, 23,356 teachers (ranging from 928 teachers in Denmark to 3,023 teachers in Italy) from these 12 countries responded to the questionnaires. Teacher participation rates exceeded 82% in the sampled schools where the principal had agreed to participate.

Measures[3]

Teachers' Organizational Participation

The teacher questionnaire asked respondents how often in the previous 12 months they had personally taken part in activities organized by each of eleven organizations/groups. The organizations and the percentages of active teachers are listed in Table 1.

The four-point Likert-type items captured teachers' participation in a range of social, cultural, professional and political activities that can provide teachers with relevant civic experiences enabling them to draw on real-life situations and to consider contradictions between lived experiences and abstract democratic principles. Many match what Carretero et al. (2016) described as organizations where discourse about political and social issues is likely to occur. As teachers' responses to these items were highly skewed,[4] the responses were collapsed into two categories (never vs. at least a few times).

Teacher Characteristics

Teachers reported their gender (68% female) and their age (average approximately 43 years). They also indicated whether they taught a civics-related subject (31% civics-related teachers; Table 1).

Teachers' Reports of Classroom Practices

Four reliable scales, derived from Likert-type items about teachers' reported classroom practices, were available in the database and used as distal outcomes. These measures enabled us to compare teachers' use of activating pedagogy across the profiles. One scale reflected *participatory classroom context* by indicating the extent to which the teachers' classroom was open for students' opinions about learning-related questions; it was measured with teachers' reports of the extent of their students' participation/involvement in class activities, such as proposing topics for class discussion and freely expressing their opinion ($\alpha = 0.79$, $M = 47.20$,

SD = 9.58). The second scale captured the *facilitation of experiences with organizations* measured via the teachers' self-reported cooperation with groups outside the school for the purpose of instruction, such as human rights projects or activities to improve facilities for the local community ($\alpha = 0.73$, *M* = 47.01, *SD* = 9.54). A third scale captured the use of activities that would be expected to achieve the curricular goals of civic education (*civics activities*), such as the discussion of controversial issues and simulations (this scale was answered only by teachers who self-identified as teaching civic and citizenship education; $\alpha = 0.75$, *M* = 47.84, *SD* = 9.36). These three measures tap pedagogies with the potential to facilitate discourse about civic-related issues and provide adolescents with experience to actively co-construct their political understanding (Carretero et al., 2016). These scales reflect empirical evidence that both an open classroom climate for discussion and civics activities that require students to engage with different perspectives or with community groups are associated with positive educational outcomes, such as higher levels of civic knowledge, respect for diversity, and readiness to participate in their communities (Kahne et al., 2013; Knowles et al., 2018; Reichert & Print, 2018). In addition, all teachers indicated the extent to which they used evaluative assessments to provide feedback (e.g., provide feedback to students or parents) and to facilitate reflection (e.g., allow students to reflect on their behaviors or learning processes) ($\alpha = 0.81$, *M* = 47.97, *SD* = 10.69).

The four scales were developed and standardized by IEA as weighted least squares estimates based on a partial credit scaling approach with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 across the 38 countries participating in ICCS 2009. Higher scores indicated more extensive use of an activity. All four scales had good reliability, although the scale capturing *Cooperation with external groups* yielded slightly lower reliability estimates in the Nordic countries (Table A2 in Online Appendix 2).[5]

Analytical Procedures

Before addressing the three RQs, the percentages of teachers reporting participation in the eleven activities were calculated for each country. These percentages were helpful in understanding differences in the participation patterns among the 12 countries.

Subsequently, separate two-level latent class analyses (LCAs) were performed for each country using the Syntax Module add-on of the software Latent Gold 5.1 (Vermunt & Magidson, 2016), followed by an analysis of the pooled data to answer RQ1. The LCAs examined whether there were groups of teachers characterized by distinct patterns in their organizational participation, and how many definable profile patterns existed. This "person-centered" approach (Collins & Lanza, 2010) identified latent classes of teachers (i.e., *teacher participation profiles*) reflecting patterns of heterogeneity (Reichert, 2016a). Its findings have been found to be easier to grasp for policy makers, educators and the public than the results of variable-centered analyses (Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011), in particular when complemented by analyses of correlating variables (described in addressing RQ2 and RQ3) (Reichert, 2016b). The two-level LCAs accounted for the clustered nature of the data in which teachers (the first level) were nested in schools (the second level). The decision about how many patterns of participation best described the teacher samples was based on relative model fit (including the Bayesian information criterion [BIC], the sample size-adjusted BIC [SABIC] and the consistent Akaike information criterion [CAIC]), classification error and the meaningfulness of the extracted profile patterns (Collins & Lanza, 2010).

Teachers and schools were nested within countries, taken into account by examining the invariance of the profile patterns. Profile invariance was required to ensure that the identified participation profiles could be compared among the 12 countries. Therefore, four additional LCAs were modeled for the pooled sample: (1) A full invariance model with invariant item intercepts and slopes, (2) a random intercepts model with invariant item

intercepts and non-invariant item slopes, (3) a random slopes model with non-invariant item intercepts and invariant item slopes, and (4) a random intercepts and random slopes model in which both item intercepts and slopes were non-invariant. These supplemental analyses further examined the proportions of teachers in each profile using a categorical country indicator as covariate. The fit indexes described above were used to determine which invariance model should be reported.

A three-step regression approach correcting for classification bias was adopted to answer RQ2 and RQ3. Categorical variables were effect-coded (i.e., their respective regression coefficients reflected deviations from the sample averages) and two-level analyses (teachers nested within schools) with random country intercepts (to account for mean differences among the countries) were modelled. Specifically, this was a multinomial logistic regression of the participation profiles on the three teacher characteristics, in which these characteristics predicted membership in the profile groups, addressing RQ2. A regression analysis was used to predict the teaching-related practices ("distal outcomes" or dependent variables) with the identified participation profiles (RQ3). The analyses for RQ3 also controlled for the subject taught by the teachers, as subject specialization is likely to influence pedagogy; this was not necessary for the *civics activities* as these were only measured among civics teachers. Regression coefficients were used to examine the mean differences in teaching-related practices across the identified profile groups to answer RQ3.

In all analyses, missing data were treated using full information estimation for indicators and dependent variables; cases with missing information on predictors and covariates were excluded. Teacher and school weights were used, and all countries were weighted equally in the analyses to balance unequal sample sizes (i.e., the weighted total sample was set to 12,000 across the 12 countries).

Results

This section first describes the activities in which the teachers participated, followed by one subsection for each RQ. The first subsection examines how teachers' participation was patterned and describes these profiles of teachers' participation (RQ1). Subsequent subsections report how the profile groups differed from each other with respect to teachers' characteristics and reported pedagogy. One subsection links membership in the profile groups to the characteristics of the teachers (RQ2), and the final subsection presents the associations between the profile patterns and teachers' reported educational practices (RQ3).

Table 1 summarizes how many teachers on average reported participating in activities promoted by eleven out-of-school organizations. By far the most frequent form of participation was involvement in associations that promoted culture in their local communities. Respondents were also quite active in teachers' professional associations and in groups helping disadvantaged people. On the other hand, the teachers rarely reported involvement in political parties, activities promoting human rights and the integration of ethnic minorities. The biggest variation was in participation in activities promoted by teachers' unions, which was relatively low in the Asian societies and high in the Nordic countries (Table A1 in Online Appendix 2).

<TABLE 1>

Patterns of Teachers' Participation (RQ1)

The Number of Participation Patterns (RQ1a)

Table 2 shows that the relative fit indexes started to level off from the four-class model. These profiles reflecting teachers' patterns of participation were meaningful, and the four-class model was selected to examine the identified participation profiles.

<TABLE 2>

The participation profiles were extracted from the random intercept model with fixed slopes such that the four profile patterns had the same substantive meaning and could be compared across the 12 countries. Finally, the model in which the percentages of teachers assigned to each of the profiles in every country varied reduced classification errors to less than 16%.

The Teacher Participation Profiles (RQ1b)

Figure 1 shows the four participation profiles. Teachers in the largest profile group (over 38% of all teachers) were unlikely to participate in any of the listed activities. This group of civically inactive teachers was labelled *Uninvolved*.

The second largest profile group, labelled *Community participation* (38%), was characterized by the second-highest probabilities of participation in eight of the eleven activities. Members of this profile were particularly active in associations promoting culture in the local community or in groups helping disadvantaged people (usually local). However, these teachers were relatively unlikely to be engaged in activities promoted by professional and political organizations, including political parties, trade unions and teachers' associations.

<FIGURE 1>

Membership in the next largest profile group was substantially smaller (12%). Whereas the participation of the teachers in the *Community participation* profile reflected concern about teachers' local areas, the teachers in this third profile group were quite disengaged in activities promoted by community groups. However, they were active in activities promoted by organizations connected to their job or profession (contrasting with patterns in the other profiles). Specifically, these teachers were most likely to be involved in activities provided by trade unions and teachers' associations, and they had the second-lowest probabilities of participation in most other activities. Therefore, this relatively narrowly focused third group was named *Professional participation*.

Involved teachers formed the smallest group (11%). They had the highest probabilities of participation in nine of the eleven activities when compared with the other three patterns of participation. The two exceptions were trade unions and teachers' associations (the profession-focused organizations). These teachers were also more likely to participate in groups offering professional activities when compared with the *Uninvolved* and *Community* profile groups. Thus, the *Involved* profile reflected a small group of very active teachers who reported participation in all of the listed social *and* political activities. Noteworthy is that their participation appeared to reflect concern about social justice, as suggested by high levels of involvement in groups helping disadvantaged people and those with health issues and disabilities. They also showed active support for the environment, human rights and ethnic minorities. Few teachers in the other profile groups supported these activities. In addition, teachers in the *Involved* group were quite engaged in activities promoted by political parties, the least common activity reported among the teachers as a whole.

Variability in the Size of the Profile Groups Between Countries (RQ1c)

Variation in teachers' participation in trade unions and in teachers' associations appeared to be a major reason for differences in the observed distributions of profiles across the 12 countries. *Uninvolved* teachers were especially common in the three Asian societies (Table 3). Some Asian teachers were in the *Community participation* group (especially in Hong Kong). However, less than 10% of the teachers in Hong Kong and Taiwan were in the *Professional* group, reflecting their limited participation in trade unions (Table A1 in Online Appendix 2).

The *Professional* profile group was also small in the post-Communist countries and Italy (Table 3), where participation in teachers' associations was relatively uncommon. The *Involved* profile was rare in the Czech and Slovak Republics, where many teachers were in the *Uninvolved* group. Teachers in these four countries were also more commonly found in the *Community* profile than teachers from other countries.

<TABLE 3>

The Nordic countries as well as Ireland had comparatively large proportions of teachers in the *Professional* profile group (Table 3). That is, relatively high percentages of teachers reported participation in trade unions or teachers' associations, and this group was particularly dominant among teachers in Finland. The *Uninvolved* profile comprised less than one third of the teachers in Denmark, Finland, and Ireland, but more than 40% of Swedish teachers. Finally, England mirrored the pooled sample average, either *Uninvolved* or *Community* focused.

Teachers' Participation Profiles and Teachers' Characteristics (RQ2)

Table 4 shows that, accounting for the two other predictors, male teachers were more likely members of the *Professional* participation profile, whereas female teachers were more commonly in the *Community* involvement profile. Younger teachers were more often members of the *Uninvolved* and *Community* groups, while older teachers were more common in the *Professional* and *Involved* groups. Finally, teachers of civics-related subjects were more likely members of several organizations (*Involved*) and less likely in the *Uninvolved* group than teachers of other subjects.

<TABLE 4>

Associations between Participation Profiles and Teaching-Related Practices (RQ3)

Now we move to our major purpose, examining associations between membership in these four patterns of teachers' activity participation and their classroom practices.

Facilitation of Experiences through Cooperation with External Groups

The four profile groups had significantly different reports of teaching practice (shown for the pooled sample in Figure 2). Teachers who had the multi-faceted *Involved* out-of-school profile were most likely to report that their classroom practice included educational cooperation with

external groups in all 12 countries (Table A3 in Online Appendix 2). This comparison was significant except in Hong Kong. The *Uninvolved* group of teachers was uniformly low in reported cooperation with outside groups as part of their teaching. The most impressive result was the consistency of the rank order of average cooperation with external groups (which was highest in the *Involved* group and lowest in the *Uninvolved* group, with teachers in the *Community* and *Professional participation* profiles ranked second and third) in eleven countries. In Finland this external cooperation was slightly more frequent in the *Professional* group compared to the *Community* profile.

<FIGURE 2>

Participatory Classroom Context (Student Participation in Class)

The teachers who were in the *Involved* profile also reported the highest levels of their students' participation in class, while the *Uninvolved* teachers reported the lowest levels (Figure 2). The group with the more specialized *Professional* activity profile (including union membership) on average reported the second-lowest perceived student participation in the majority of countries (Table A4 in Online Appendix 2).

Use of Evaluative Feedback

The use of assessment to provide evaluative feedback and encourage reflection was also highest among the *Involved* group (except in Taiwan). Assessment feedback was the lowest among the *Uninvolved* teachers (except in Italy). The use of assessment was usually lower or non-significantly different for the *Professional* group when compared with the *Community* profile (Table A5 in Online Appendix 2).

Activities Conducted During Civics Classes

Finally, only those who reported being civics teachers had been asked about their use of civic and citizenship activities in their classes (e.g., role playing, discussing controversial issues).

The civics teachers in the outside *Involved* group reported the most frequent use of such pedagogy, while it was least common among the civics teachers in the *Uninvolved* profile. These activities were more common or non-significantly different among teachers in the *Community* profile when compared with the *Professional* group. Teachers in the Czech Republic did not follow this pattern (Table A6 in Online Appendix 2); the sample of civics teachers was very small in this country.

Discussion

Patterns of Teachers' Participation and Teachers' Characteristics

This innovative analysis of teacher's organizational participation takes advantage of an existing dataset from nationally representative samples of schools in a range of countries in Europe and Asia. The results suggest that many teachers participated in activities promoted by organizations outside their schools. However, their participation was largely concentrated in activities focusing on local education and culture and sometimes on disadvantaged groups. Teachers rarely participated in political parties, the wider promotion of human rights or the integration of ethnic minorities across countries. The findings are in some respects similar to a representative survey in the U.S. which found that few teachers engaged in political parties (NEA, 2010). The results also align with findings that teachers surveyed in ICCS were very unlikely to think it was important to prepare students for future political participation or to develop strategies for the fight against xenophobia (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019; Schulz et al., 2018). Those preparing educators need to investigate why many teachers in a substantial number of countries appear to distance themselves from these issues. More important, what could be included in teacher education programs to counter this trend, especially given the association between organizational involvement and the use of activating pedagogies found in this study?

Our in-depth analysis of teachers' activities suggests four distinct patterns describing organizational participation among teachers. As hypothesized, one group was quite inactive outside school and was labelled *Uninvolved*. Most citizens are inactive (Oser, 2017), and teachers are no exception. They may also be wary of parents' or administrators' concerns about activism if it does not support community values, or if organizations are perceived as divisive or ineffective, as is the case with unions in some countries (Armingeon, 2006; Wong, 2007). Further discussion at the local level might result in policies more supportive of the role of teachers as active members of the community and its groups.

Teachers of civics-related subjects were more commonly found in the relatively small profile group labelled *Involved*, meaning a pattern of relatively high levels of participation across multiple organizations. These teachers have considerable potential for creating participatory learning experiences. The reality is that civic education is taught in a transversal way across subjects in many countries (Ainley et al., 2013). Thus, teacher development programs may need to address teachers of non-civics subjects to prepare them to incorporate civic themes in classes, and to encourage them to participate in out-of-school organizations that can enrich this process across subject matters.

None of the profiles appeared to closely correspond to the duty-based citizens described by Dalton (2008). Participation in political parties was relatively low, but the ICCS did not ask about teachers' electoral participation, which is an essential element of duty-based citizenship.

Teachers in the *Community* participation profile were somewhat more likely than other teachers (except the *Involved*) to engage in activities associated with postmodern sensitivities. They were over-proportionally female (similar to the results from Hooghe et al., 2016; Oser, 2017). On the other hand, female teachers were underrepresented in the *Professional* participation group. Studies on parent-child similarities have shown that the gender of the politically active adults surrounding adolescents can matter (e.g., Cicognani et al., 2012), and

whether schools and teachers reproduce those gender-unequal patterns of participation could be examined in future research.

Finally, the analysis provides some support for Dalton's (2008) value change hypothesis, as older teachers were more likely to be *Involved* (with several organizational ties) or engaged in *Professional* participation (such as unions), while younger teachers were more often in the *Community* or *Uninvolved* groups. Younger teachers are more likely to be establishing their teaching skills and practices or to have family responsibilities that leave little time for societal participation. Thus, encouraging teachers to become active in societal organizations during their preparation could be a step forward. Schools might also make new teachers aware of non-partisan local organizations.

Differences Between Countries

The differences in profile group sizes between countries were mainly due to the *Professional* profile (which includes unions), though cultural differences may play a role. For example, Asian societies are often characterized by the Confucian values of hierarchy and harmony (Ho, 2017), hence teachers may be less willing to claim their rights through organized protests. Wong (2007) also concluded that the governments in Hong Kong and Taiwan frequently ignored teachers' organizations. Differences in the perceived effectiveness of trade unions in the four regions is likely to account for some differences in teachers' participation.

The observed variations might also result from differences in opportunities available for organizational participation and the value placed upon it. Historical experiences may explain why Korean teachers were more often in the *Professional* profile and less commonly *Uninvolved* than teachers from the other two Asian societies: past experiences may have encouraged these individuals to stand up, and these experiences have been shaped by the teacher union "JeonGyoJo" (Synott, 2007).

Finally, the relatively large percentage of Finnish teachers found in either the *Involved* or the *Professional* profile may be associated with the high prestige and the comparatively high social status that these teachers experience (Hargreaves, 2009). Democratic organizational participation is highly valued in the Nordic countries. Teacher associations and unions can be places where teachers become active, as they see it in their own interest to support these organizations. In-depth country-specific research should explore how membership in teacher unions contextualizes teachers' perceptions of democracy in different cultural contexts.

Teachers' Participation and the Facilitation of Participatory Learning Contexts

Schools can be seen as street-level bureaucracies where students' interactions with teachers can influence how young people see the government and their own roles as citizens (Lipsky, 1980/2010). Furthermore, teaching about participation is likely most effective when students perceive their teachers as having relevant experience (Bandura, 1986). Small-scale qualitative studies suggest that teachers' out-of-school participatory experiences can motivate their work (Louth, 2017; Swalwell & Schweber, 2016), and it also has the potential to facilitate meaningful civic learning opportunities. The current study adds cross-national evidence for the association of teachers' out-of-school participation with their classroom practices and discourse to a small existing research base. Teachers who were active in several types of organizations (the *Involved* group) on average reported classroom situations characterized by high levels of perceived student participation in class activities, joint class activities with external groups, the use of assessments for evaluative feedback and reflection, and civic and citizenship-related pedagogy. This is not surprising, given that teachers who are members of several groups are more likely to be familiar with modes of political/social discourse and aware of opportunities for engaging students. Teachers who participate in a broad range of activities have more resources to bring to creating participatory climates for student discussion. The

findings from this study suggest that teachers who are active in various organizations, including those dealing with social problems, can provide authentic learning contexts that connect abstract ideas with real-life situations and facilitate students' active and meaningful processing of information, as socio-cultural constructivism requires (Carretero et al., 2016; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). These teachers may also realize the importance of balancing multiple viewpoints in their classrooms (Myers, 2007; Swalwell & Schweber, 2016).

Teachers in the *Community* participation profile ranked second after the *Involved* in providing classroom contexts that encourage participation, though mean differences between the *Community* and *Professional* profiles differed only by chance in some countries. Overall, in many countries teachers who themselves participated in the community (either as their sole activity or together with other activities) were especially likely to create contexts where their students could show participatory interest. These teachers may be able to bring concrete examples of community issues into class discussions (Hung, 2019; Swalwell & Schweber, 2016). On the other hand, teachers in the *Professional* profile may be particularly competent in arranging meaningful debates about controversial issues, or about movements toward change as "Solidarność" and "JeonGyoJo" did in Poland and Korea, respectively.

Finally, teachers who reported little or no involvement in community groups and societal organizations (the *Uninvolved*) were least likely to facilitate contexts that involve students in active learning. Their limited experiences in social and political organizations seem to go with less willingness to engage students in discourse and active, self-directed civic learning. Some of these teachers might benefit from professional development opportunities and encouragement from fellow teachers, administrators and teacher educators to participate in groups that provide real-life experience of democratic processes. On one hand, teachers may be concerned that participation in political groups may be perceived as partisan (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019). On the other hand, however, participation in cultural, educational or other

community groups can enhance skills that facilitate stimulating learning contexts and discourse about issues with the potential to promote students' active construction of civic identities (Carretero et al., 2016). Even moderate levels of participation in just a few organizational activities seems to make a difference. All teachers should be encouraged to acquire techniques for sharing their civic experiences without attempting to increase support for their own political positions.

Interestingly, the patterns of associations between membership in the participation profiles and pedagogy were very similar across national contexts and subject specializations. Myers' (2007) conclusion that teachers' out-of-school participation is consequential for pedagogy deserves additional attention, as it appears to have positive consequences for the teaching process in a variety of country contexts in a number of world regions. The specific kind of participation is, of course, conditioned by the opportunities that are readily available (or sometimes required). Our analysis suggests that teacher participation is associated with stimulating pedagogy in the same way across a dozen country contexts, though at different average levels. While experiences of participation can help teachers create more meaningful learning contexts for students, particular national contexts for education and participation do not seem to moderate these associations. This suggests that the encouragement of teacher participation can broadly benefit students' civic-related learning experiences.

In summary, this analysis supports the value of conceptualizing civic learning as a process of socio-cultural construction. It suggests that teachers create relevant and meaningful contexts at school that draw upon their participation experiences outside of school. Those who participate in several types of organizations (the *Involved*) are likely to have experience in working on projects with others, hearing different points of view about issues, and becoming realistic about what works in real-life settings. They know how to participate productively. They can identify different perspectives when they discuss issues with others; their

participatory experiences likely also enable them to understand which individuals can be convinced by a particular argument and which groups are effective in addressing particular issues. Therefore, these teachers can contribute meaningfully to young peoples' concepts of political life. They are likely to be able to encourage students to express and negotiate different points of view. They may command additional respect if their students know about some of these activities. In particular, *Involved* teachers can provide more stimulating learning contexts characterized by meaningful opportunities to facilitate deep political understanding (Carretero et al., 2016; Louth, 2017). Other research has also shown that political interest and discussions about participation experiences mediate the effects of observed participation (Jennings et al., 2009; Quintelier, 2015). By selecting relevant topics and employing participatory pedagogies, teachers can stimulate students' interest in public issues and help them construct a positive civic identity.

Limitations

Despite the strengths of having a large representative sample and of these analytic methods, there are limitations to our conclusions. First, ICCS is a cross-sectional survey and causal inferences cannot be established. In addition, it is necessary to rely on teachers' reports of discussion because the dataset does not allow matching teachers with their students. Self-reports of teaching often differ from the perceptions of independent observers. Future studies with observational data could examine associations between teacher participation, teaching practices, and student learning. Previous research contains some suggestions – for example, cooperation with external groups might encourage students to participate in expressive actions (Kahne et al., 2013).

Furthermore, these 12 countries do not represent the spectrum of democracies, and opportunities for organizational participation in these societies vary. While it is probable that

teachers in other democracies could be characterized within the four profiles, the patterns of participation also might have shifted in the context of the social and political changes since 2009 when these data were collected. For example, recent migrant movements and the rise of right-wing political parties in Europe rallying against immigration and asylum seekers may have motivated some teachers to become involved in organizations helping incoming migrants (e.g., to learn the host society's language). There are recent efforts to use IEA studies to raise awareness about the positive attitudes towards diversity (Sandoval-Hernández et al., 2018). In addition, the surge of anti-government protests in Hong Kong has been accompanied by the establishment of new trade unions (Wu, 2020), but there have been arrests for protest-related statements (Ho-him, 2019). Fears of negative consequences could have an influence on the proportions of teachers reporting the identified patterns of participation. Unfortunately, there is no recent representative international data available as teachers were not asked about their organizational participation in ICCS 2016. There remains a need for research on teachers' involvement in organizations outside school in a time of rapid social and political change.

Conclusion

This analysis contributes cross-national support for several conclusions. First, teachers' participation in organizations in society is not widespread across a range of countries. However, teachers can be classified meaningfully into groups based on the nature of their participation, providing concrete visualizations of different patterns of involvement. These patterns exist in different proportions across four regions of the world.

This analysis also adds cross-national evidence to a few qualitative studies suggesting that differences in teachers' social and political participation are associated with differences in pedagogy (Louth, 2017; Myers, 2007, 2009; Swalwell & Schweber, 2016). The current analysis shows that teachers who are *Community* participants or are *Involved* in multiple

organizations outside the school (including community organizations) provide particular support for active learning in a way aligned with constructivist principles (Carretero et al., 2016; Haste, 2009; van Hover & Hicks, 2017). That is, those teachers who participate in organizations outside school appear more ready to create contexts within the school and classroom that have potential to increase students' understanding of meaningful civic participation. These teachers appear more prepared to involve students in participatory dialogue providing them the opportunity to further develop their own opinions in the context of the opinions of others.

This insight becomes particularly important as countries move toward cross-curricular approaches to civic education. Teachers across countries and subject matters who demonstrate their concern for society by active participation in social and political groups appear to perceive students as co-constructers of learning. They seem more prone to share participatory experiences in meaningful ways (Louth, 2017). They appear more willing to engage students in open and productive discussion with the potential to raise students' interest in political issues (Kahne et al., 2013). Although national and local settings contextualize participation, we agree with Myers (2007) that this participation has value across national settings. Hence, motivating teachers to become active in their communities and helping them understand how to become effective organizational participants is a recommendation suitable across many contexts. Future studies should examine moderating factors at the school, community, or country levels.

When teachers are motivated to follow the news, to follow or to engage in civic debates and to participate in civic life, they are more likely to be able to discuss realistic paths toward a sense of competence and realistic political efficacy with their students (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017). These efforts extend across grade levels and can be enacted in line with constructivist principles in entire schools or individual classes (Evans & Kiwan, 2017). Discussions in pre-service or in-service classes could call teachers' attention to the positive advantages of

participation in non-partisan social groups. This might encourage teachers, including those who are currently *Uninvolved*, to become more participative. Although teachers should avoid indoctrinating students, their participatory experiences are valuable and can provide conceptual as well as contextual support for students in constructing political understanding and civic identities.

However, teachers need training to meaningfully share the experiences of participation that take place outside school and to initiate discussion about real-life issues, when they believe it is relevant. It is important to avoid promoting politically partisan views, but many teachers could augment their skills to incorporate participation as a goal in education (Reichert & Torney-Purta, 2019). School administrators supported by education policies could create opportunities for teachers to engage in out-of-school organizations, and partnerships between schools and community organizations could be actively sought. Meetings with potential cooperation partners could be integrated into teacher education programs. Many of those preparing to be teachers would be receptive to assistance in developing links with out-of-school organizations and with other networks from faculty members in their preparation programs. Effectively designed service-learning experiences can increase students' civic engagement (Kahne et al., 2013). Service-learning activities could be integrated into teacher development programs. Some pre-service teachers would welcome assistance in understanding how to link their own organizational memberships with real-life civic learning experiences for students. Education policies could create incentives for teachers to engage with groups outside the classroom (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017), and provide guidelines on effective practices. In particular, teacher preparation programs need assistance in fostering the skills teachers need to productively discuss their out-of-class experiences without appearing to suggest that students agree with the teacher's opinions. The socio-cultural approach with its emphasis on teachers

as scaffolding the classroom discourse of their students appears of special value (Carretero et al., 2016).

The findings also have implications for future research. For example, instead of asking teachers to disclose their political ideologies, which many feel uncomfortable about sharing, researchers can focus on understanding how teachers draw on their lived experiences in a variety of organizations to create civically stimulating experiences for active learning (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017). How do they see themselves scaffolding their students' experience to involve them in classroom discussion and motivate out-of-school activity? Future studies should also examine mechanisms by which teachers could encourage students' engagement in specific out-of-school contexts while avoiding overly political or partisan situations.

Researchers also need to pay attention to the interactions between families, schools, and peers in the process of adolescents' civic development (Carretero et al., 2016; Wanders et al., 2020). Although large-scale datasets such as ICCS have enormous benefits and can inform education policy and teacher education, they also have constraints (Fitchett & Heafner, 2017). For example, most data collections do not allow linking students and teachers. Analyses within one or two selected countries could enhance the understanding of these processes.

Furthermore, researchers could consider teachers' characteristics in this process. Are female teachers especially important role models for female students? Are there particular niches for the involvement of science teachers or literacy teachers as well as social studies or civic education teachers? How can research inform debates about cross-curricular civic education programs and how do adolescents' learn to interact positively with community organizations (Carretero et al., 2016)? Mixed methods studies that include classroom observations and reflective interviews with teachers and students could be helpful as well as involvement by those who study how schools' administrative structures form connections to communities.

There is no simple answer to the question about how teachers can create contexts for active and self-directed civic learning, but recognizing that teachers have civic lives outside school is a beginning. Teachers' own participation in social, professional and/or political groups provides them with experiences that can enable civically meaningful and active learning environments for students. There are many possibilities for pre-service as well as in-service teachers to become active members in their local communities. Collaborative partnerships with these organizations can benefit them professionally and personally throughout their careers. Case studies of successful linkages might be useful for understanding best-practice pedagogies. Schools and teacher education institutions should support teachers who want to explore how participatory experiences can inform their pedagogy and their self-awareness in order to deepen their civic understanding within their communities and more broadly. Haste (2009) reminds us that this requires skills and abilities on the part of teachers such as adaptability to changing situations, ability to deal with ambiguity, and a sense of agency (i.e., being able to take action). Teachers who possess these qualities can create learning environments that foster deeper civic engagement among their students.

Notes

1. Though teachers tend to be more densely organized than employees in most other sectors (Carter et al., 2010), we have no representative data to compare all countries.

2. Slovenia was replaced by Slovakia because Slovenia's political trajectory differs in many ways from the other post-Communist societies (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz et al., 2018).

3. Online Appendix 1 has a list of all items.

4. The two highest response categories were rarely used by the teachers whereas "never" was very common for all items.

5. Note that coefficient alpha is one of the lowest lower bounds of reliability and actual

reliability will usually be higher (Sijtsma, 2009).

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Teachers' Organizational Participation: Profiles in 12 Countries and Correlates in Teaching-Related Practices

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Figure 1. Patterns of Teacher Participation ("Participation Profiles"). The figure shows conditional probabilities of participation in activities promoted by societal organizations for teachers in each of the four profile groups. *Notes.* Activities are ordered from most common (left) to least frequent (right). Data sourced from ICCS 2009.
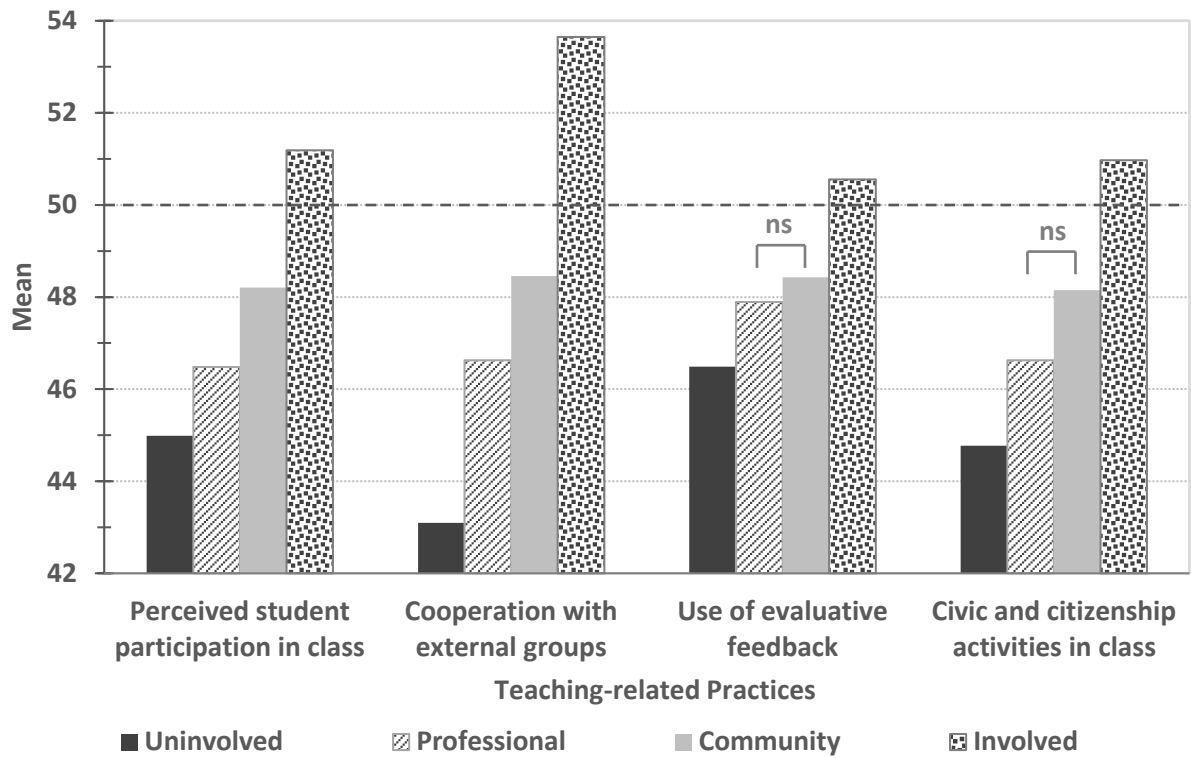
Figure 2. Average Scores of Teaching-related Practices by Participation Profiles. *Notes*.

Mean differences between profile groups are significant ($p < .01$) unless indicated by "ns".

The dashed line locates the international mean in ICCS 2009. Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Surveyed Teachers and Percentages of Teachers

Participating in Activities Promoted by Societal Organizations

Variable	*N*	*Min*	*Max*	Sample
Female teacher	11,892	58.69%	80.26%	68.20%
Age				
Less than 25 years	11,895	0.20%	6.22%	2.05%
25-29 years	11,895	1.95%	24.55%	12.15%
30-39 years	11,895	16.43%	44.44%	29.74%
40-49 years	11,895	20.93%	44.13%	28.21%
50-59 years	11,895	9.23%	44.56%	23.49%
60 years or over	11,895	0.33%	12.57%	4.37%
Teacher of civics-related subject	11,995	17.17%	60.65%	31.21%
Teachers' participation in:				
Associations promoting culture in the local community	11,688	41.27%	84.55%	58.15%
Teachers' associations	11,668	19.09%	64.69%	41.05%
Groups helping disadvantaged people	11,618	21.58%	57.33%	40.83%
Cultural and/or educational organizations	11,636	18.84%	52.61%	30.02%
Groups run by religious organizations	11,666	7.44%	41.66%	28.32%
Trade unions	11,672	3.23%	52.10%	26.70%
Environmental organizations	11,688	17.08%	42.22%	26.58%
Health/disability organizations	11,602	9.39%	46.58%	25.82%
Human rights organizations	11,612	4.93%	32.95%	15.30%
Cultural groups promoting the integration of ethnic minorities	11,614	3.98%	26.78%	13.17%
Political parties or organizations	11,644	3.14%	22.66%	12.55%

Notes. Activities are ordered from most common to least frequent. *N* is based on senate weighting with each country contributing 1,000 teachers (differences between 12,000 and the reported *N* reflect item non-response). Minimum and maximum are the highest and lowest percentages, respectively, of teachers among the twelve countries. Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

Table 2

Comparison of Models with Different Numbers of Latent Classes

Latent classes	LL	BIC	SABIC	CAIC	Error
1	-71,824	143,750	143,715	143,761	0.0000
2	-65,755	131,726	131,653	131,749	0.0874
3	-64,849	130,026	129,915	130,061	0.1440
4	**-64,290**	**129,021**	**128,872**	**129,068**	**0.1790**
5	-64,075	128,705	128,517	128,764	0.2269
6	-63,927	128,521	128,295	128,592	0.2631
7	-63,738	128,255	127,992	128,338	0.2636
8	-63,638	128,168	127,866	128,263	0.2936

Notes. Models have been adjusted for the number of schools using fit indexes appropriate for multilevel data. LL = Log-Likelihood, BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion, SABIC = Sample-size Adjusted BIC, CAIC = Consistent Akaike Information Criterion, Error = classification error. Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

Table 3

Distribution of Teachers Across Profile Groups by Country

	Country	Uninvolved	Community	Professional	Involved
Asia	Hong Kong SAR	49.20%	40.81%	0.73%	9.26%
	Korea (Republic)	42.35%	33.44%	12.07%	12.14%
	Taiwan	53.65%	35.35%	0.79%	10.22%
East Europe	Czech Republic	46.20%	45.45%	4.12%	4.23%
	Poland	27.41%	53.47%	6.28%	12.84%
	Slovak Republic	43.12%	45.70%	4.01%	7.17%
Nordic	Denmark	30.23%	36.49%	20.46%	12.83%
	Finland	24.14%	25.64%	32.90%	17.32%
	Sweden	43.35%	22.69%	23.53%	10.42%
West Europe	England	36.15%	39.71%	11.41%	12.73%
	Ireland	31.56%	32.40%	24.30%	11.74%
	Italy	34.35%	46.14%	7.27%	12.24%
Overall pooled sample		**38.47%**	**38.10%**	**12.32%**	**11.10%**

Notes. Shown are posteriori probabilities in percent. Rows may not sum up to 100% due to rounding. Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

Table 4

Multinomial Regression of Participation Profiles on Teacher Characteristics

Covariate	Uninvolved	Community	Professional	Involved
Female teacher	0.00 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)**	-0.08 (0.02)**	-0.05 (0.02)
Age of teacher	-0.003 (<0.001)**	-0.001 (0.001)*	0.002 (0.001)*	0.002 (0.001)**
Civics teacher	-0.17 (0.02)**	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16 (0.02)**

Notes. Unstandardized estimates (standard errors in parentheses). Categorical variables are effect-coded. Intercepts are fixed at the country means. Data sourced from ICCS 2009. *$p <$ .01; **$p <$ .001

Online Appendix 1: Measures

Teachers' Civic and Political Participation

"Besides the activities carried out as part of your school work, how often in the last twelve months have you personally taken part in activities promoted by the following organizations/groups?" (never, a few times, about once a month, more than once a month)

1. Environmental organizations

2. Cultural and/or educational associations

3. Human rights organizations

4. Political parties or organizations

5. Groups helping disadvantaged people

6. Cultural groups promoting the integration of ethnic minorities

7. Associations promoting culture in the local community

8. Groups run by religious organizations

9. Health/disability organizations

10. Trade unions

11. Teachers' associations

Teacher Characteristics

Teacher gender. "Are you female or male?" (female, male)

Teacher age. "How old are you?" (less than 25 years, 25-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years, 50-59 years, 60 years or over)

Subject specialization. Teachers' subject specialization was identified by means of their responses to three questions:

- "What subject are you teaching for the majority of hours per week in this school during the current school year?" (Language Arts, Human Sciences/Humanities, Mathematics, Sciences, Other)

- "Are you teaching any other subjects in this school during the current school year?" (Language Arts, Human Sciences/Humanities, Mathematics, Sciences, Other)

- "Do you teach a civic and citizenship education related subject at target grade?" (yes, no; "target grade" was used as a placeholder and replaced by the country-specific terms of the eighth grade)

Information from these three questions was used to produce a binary variable indicating whether a teacher specialized in a civics-related subject or not. A teacher was assigned into the civics-related subject category if they said they teach Language Arts or Human Sciences/Humanities in the first or second question, or if they responded with "yes" to the third question. All other teachers with responses to one of the three questions were categorized as teaching non-civics-related subjects.

Teaching-related Practices

Teachers' reports of students' participation in class activities. "In your lessons for target grade, how many students …" (all or nearly all, most of them, some of them, none or hardly any)

1. suggest class activities?

2. negotiate the learning objectives with the teacher?

3. propose topics/issues for class discussion?

4. freely state their own views on school problems?

5. know how to listen to and respect opinions even if different from their own?

6. freely express their opinion even if different from those of the majority?

7. feel comfortable during class discussions because they know their views will be respected?

Cooperation with external groups (referred to as "teachers' perceptions of students' activities in the community" in the ICCS database). "During the current school year, have you and any of your target grade classes taken part in any of these activities?" (yes, no)

1. Activities related to the environment, geared to the local area

2. Human rights projects

3. Activities related to underprivileged people or groups

4. Cultural activities

5. Multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community

6. Campaigns to raise people's awareness

7. Activities related to improving facilities for the local community

Teachers' use of assessments. "To what extent do you use the performance of your <target grade> students on assessment tasks for the following purposes?" (to a large extent, to a moderate extent, to a small extent or not at all)

1. Providing feedback to your students

2. Allowing your students to reflect on their learning processes

3. Allowing your students to reflect on their behaviour

4. Identifying your students' learning difficulties

5. Providing feedback to parents

6. Illustrating learning objectives to your students

7. Planning future lessons

8. Improving your teaching

Civics teachers' use of civic and citizenship activities in class. "How often do the following activities occur during your <civic and citizenship education> classes at <target grade>?" (never, sometimes, often, very often)

1. Students work on projects that involve gathering information outside of school

2. Students work in groups on different topics and prepare presentations

3. Students work individually on different topics and prepare presentations

4. Students participate in role play and simulations

5. The teacher includes discussion on controversial issues in class

6. Students research and analyse information from different sources

Online Appendix 2: Tables

Table A1

Percentages of Teachers Participating in Societal Organizations by Country

Activity/Organization	Asia			East Europe			Nordic			West Europe		
	HKG	KOR	TWN	CZE	POL	SLO	DNK	FIN	SWE	ENG	IRL	ITA
Associations promoting culture in the local community	**50%**	**62%**	**47%**	**75%**	**60%**	**85%**	**61%**	**62%**	**51%**	**45%**	**41%**	**59%**
Teachers' associations	**44%**	**49%**	**50%**	19%	26%	25%	**50%**	**65%**	**43%**	**28%**	**61%**	33%
Groups helping disadvantaged people	34%	**44%**	**44%**	22%	**54%**	30%	32%	**57%**	32%	**46%**	**48%**	**46%**
Cultural and/or educational organizations	31%	25%	23%	**36%**	32%	**53%**	19%	29%	22%	25%	28%	38%
Groups run by religious organizations	**42%**	40%	33%	7%	36%	35%	*13%*	30%	15%	27%	26%	34%
Trade unions	*8%*	20%	*3%*	14%	25%	28%	**45%**	52%	**36%**	*18%*	38%	35%
Environmental organizations	37%	17%	22%	23%	33%	**39%**	17%	23%	20%	22%	24%	**42%**
Health/disability organizations	17%	23%	23%	**25%**	**47%**	36%	20%	23%	*9%*	28%	29%	*31%*
Human rights organizations	*6%*	*7%*	*5%*	19%	*14%*	*15%*	15%	*12%*	15%	21%	*24%*	33%
Cultural groups promoting the integration of ethnic minorities	*9%*	*4%*	11%	*8%*	*10%*	18%	15%	*11%*	*13%*	17%	*15%*	27%
Political parties or organizations	*9%*	*3%*	*3%*	*9%*	*12%*	*15%*	23%	*16%*	*14%*	*12%*	*17%*	*18%*

Notes. Country percentages are sorted from the most frequent to least frequent activity in the pooled sample. Percentages in **bold** highlight the three most frequent activities; percentages in *italics* highlight the three least frequent activities. HKG = Hong Kong, KOR = Republic of Korea, TWN = Taiwan (Chinese Taipei), CZE = Czech Republic, POL = Poland, SLO = Slovak Republic, DNK = Denmark, FIN = Finland, SWE = Sweden, ENG = England, IRL = Ireland, ITA = Italy. Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

Table A2

Scale Reliabilities (Coefficient Alpha) by Country

	Country	Perceived student participation in class	Cooperation with external groups	Use of evaluative feedback	Civic and citizenship education in class
Asia	Hong Kong SAR	0.85	0.78	0.84	0.83
	Korea (Republic)	0.88	0.71	0.85	0.76
	Taiwan	0.86	0.77	0.84	0.76
East Europe	Czech Republic	0.82	0.75	0.79	0.77
	Poland	0.76	0.69	0.78	0.71
	Slovak Republic	0.78	0.63	0.73	0.73
Nordic	Denmark	0.77	0.58	0.84	0.65
	Finland	0.72	0.58	0.76	0.70
	Sweden	0.77	0.63	0.83	0.63
West Europe	England	0.79	0.74	0.77	0.76
	Ireland	0.80	0.75	0.81	0.70
	Italy	0.81	0.69	0.75	0.73
Overall pooled sample		0.79	0.73	0.81	0.75

Note. Data sourced from ICCS 2009 (IEA, 2018; Schulz et al., 2011).

Table A3

Teachers' Cooperation with External Groups

	Country	Uninvolved	Professional	Community	Involved
Asia	Hong Kong SAR[a]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high[1]	High[1]
	Korea (Republic)[a]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High
	Taiwan[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high	High
East Europe	Czech Republic	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Poland	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Slovak Republic	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
Nordic	Denmark	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High
	Finland	Low	Medium-high[1]	Medium-low[1]	High
	Sweden[a]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High
West Europe	England	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Ireland	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high	High
	Italy	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Overall pooled sample[b]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High

Notes. The categories are based on the means of the four profile groups per country, ordered from the lowest mean ("Low") to the highest mean ("High"), with "Medium-low" representing the group with the second lowest mean and "Medium-high" representing the second highest mean. One model was estimated for each country using random intercepts for civics- vs. non-civics teachers (unless otherwise mentioned in the notes below). Same superscript numbers in a row indicate that the means of two (or more) profile groups did not differ significantly from each other (with $p < .05$). Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

[a] Model with invariant intercepts for civics- and non-civics teachers is reported due to superior model-data fit.

[b] Model includes "country" as control variable due to mean differences across countries.

Table A4

Teachers' Perceptions of Student Participation in Class

	Country	Uninvolved	Professional	Community	Involved
Asia	Hong Kong SAR[a]	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Korea (Republic)[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high	High
	Taiwan[a]	Low	Medium-high[1]	Medium-low[1]	High
East Europe	Czech Republic[a]	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
	Poland	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Slovak Republic	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
Nordic	Denmark	Medium-low[1]	Low[1]	Medium-high	High
	Finland	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High
	Sweden	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High
West Europe	England	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High
	Ireland	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Italy	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High
	Overall pooled sample[b]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High

Notes. The categories are based on the means of the four profile groups per country, ordered from the lowest mean ("Low") to the highest mean ("High"), with "Medium-low" representing the group with the second lowest mean and "Medium-high" representing the second highest mean. One model was estimated for each country using random intercepts for civics- vs. non-civics teachers (unless otherwise mentioned in the notes below). Same superscript numbers in a row indicate that the means of two (or more) profile groups did not differ significantly from each other (with $p < .05$). Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

[a] Model with invariant intercepts for civics- and non-civics teachers is reported due to superior model-data fit.

[b] Model includes "country" as control variable due to mean differences across countries.

Table A5

Teachers' Use of Evaluative Feedback

	Country	Uninvolved	Professional	Community	Involved
Asia	Hong Kong SAR[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High[2]
	Korea (Republic)	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[2]	High[2]
	Taiwan	Low	High[1]	Medium-low	Medium-high[1]
East Europe	Czech Republic[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
	Poland	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High[2]
	Slovak Republic	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2,3]	High[3]
Nordic	Denmark	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[2]	High[2]
	Finland[a]	Low[1]	Medium-high[2]	Medium-low[1,2]	High[2]
	Sweden[a]	Low[1]	Medium-high[2]	Medium-low[1,2]	High[1,2]
West Europe	England[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High
	Ireland[a]	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High[1]
	Italy	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[2]	Low[1]	High[2]
	Overall pooled sample[b]	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1]	High

Notes. The categories are based on the means of the four profile groups per country, ordered from the lowest mean ("Low") to the highest mean ("High"), with "Medium-low" representing the group with the second lowest mean and "Medium-high" representing the second highest mean. One model was estimated for each country using random intercepts for civics- vs. non-civics teachers (unless otherwise mentioned in the notes below). Same superscript numbers in a row indicate that the means of two (or more) profile groups did not differ significantly from each other (with $p < .05$). Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

[a] Model with invariant intercepts for civics- and non-civics teachers is reported due to superior model-data fit.

[b] Model includes "country" as control variable due to mean differences across countries.

Table A6

Use of Civic and Citizenship Pedagogy by Civics Teachers

	Country	Uninvolved	Professional	Community	Involved
Asia	Hong Kong SAR	Low[1]	High[1]	Medium-high[1]	Medium-low[1]
	Korea (Republic)	Medium-low[1]	Low[1]	Medium-high[2]	High[2]
	Taiwan	Low[1]	Medium-high[2]	Medium-low[1,2]	High
East Europe	Czech Republic	Medium-low[1]	High	Medium-high	Low[1]
	Poland	Low[1]	Medium-high[1]	Medium-low[1]	High[1]
	Slovak Republic	Low[1]	Medium-low[1,2]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
Nordic	Denmark	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
	Finland	Low	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
	Sweden	Low[1]	High[1]	Medium-high[1]	Medium-low[1]
West Europe	England	Low[1]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[1,2]	High[2]
	Ireland	Low[1,2]	Medium-low[1]	Medium-high[2]	High
	Italy	Low	Medium-high[1,2]	Medium-low[1]	High[2]
	Overall pooled sample[a]	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High

Notes. Data only available for civics teachers. The categories are based on the means of the four profile groups per country, ordered from the lowest mean ("Low") to the highest mean ("High"), with "Medium-low" representing the group with the second lowest mean and "Medium-high" representing the second highest mean. One model was estimated for each country. Same superscript numbers in a row indicate that the means of two (or more) profile groups did not differ significantly from each other (with $p < .05$). Data sourced from ICCS 2009.

[a] Model includes "country" as control variable due to mean differences across countries.