PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

Faculty of Arts
Department of Politics and European Studies

Aleš Kudrnáč

Determinants of Czech Youths' Political Attitudes

Dissertation Thesis

Supervisor: Doc. PhDr. Tomáš Lebeda, Ph.D.

OLOMOUC 2017

Declaration of authorship:

This dissertation is based on the following articles:

CHAPTER 1: Kudrnáč, A. 2015. "Theoretical Perspectives and Methodological Approaches in Political Socialization research." *Sociológia* 47(6): 605-624. (if: 0.28)

CHAPTER 2: Kudrnáč, A., P. Lyons[1]. 2016. "Attitude towards Voting Turnout: Parental Example as a Motivation?" *Political studies*. doi: 10.1177/0032321716644614 (if: 1.16)

CHAPTER 3: Kudrnáč, A. 2015. "Youth Party Preferences in the Czech Republic." *Sociológia* 47(5): 527-550. (if: 0.28)

CHAPTER 4: Kudrnáč, A. "The Impact of Classroom Socio-economic Composition Effect on Czech Youth's Political Literacy and Engagement." *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*. Resubmitted. (if: 1.33)

CHAPTER 6: Kudrnáč, A. 2016. "Gender Differences among Czech Youth in Prejudice towards Minorities." *Journal of Youth Studies*. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2016.1254166. (if: 0.97)

I hereby declare, that this dissertation thesis has been written by me in person. All information derived from other works has been acknowledged in the text and the list of references.

In Prague 9.1.2017 ……...……

[1] Author of this dissertation is also the main author of this article being responsible for the topic, data gathering, modelling and write up. A declaration of co-author's contribution to Chapter 2 can be found in the APPENDICES.

Acknowledgements:

Hereby I would like to thank my supervisor doc. Tomáš Lebeda for his help and guidance throughout my whole studies at Palacký University. It was him who gave me the motivation to study political science at Ph.D. level and I will be always grateful for that.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude and acknowledge all the help and support from Pat Lyons, Ph.D. He gave me the opportunity to join his research team and learn from him. Whenever I needed consultation he was there for me. It would not be possible to write this dissertation as it is without his guidance, insightful comments and encouragement.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family: my parents as well as my girlfriend and colleagues Míša, Lucka, Lukáš and Ivan from the Department of Political Sociology, Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. It would be much more difficult to finish this thesis without their encouragement and great support.

ABSTRACT

The political attitudes and behaviour of youth are of a great interest of both scholars and the public. However, the study of youth engagement in politics has been dominated by work undertaken in established democracies. Similar research in post-communist countries remains under-developed. This dissertation addresses this gap in the scholarly literature. Using four data sets and a series of multilevel models the aim of this dissertation is to provide insight into the role of family and school contexts in shaping Czech youths' political attitudes. The causal mechanism linking youths' attitudes to their social context is derived from James S. Coleman's (1990) social theory which proposes one solution for how micro-macro relationships can be conceptualised and modelled. In five empirical chapters this dissertation on contemporary Czech youths explores voter turnout (Chapters 2 and 4); party preferences (Chapter 3); political knowledge and political participation (Chapter 4); sense of internal political efficacy (Chapter 5); and attitudes towards minorities (Chapter 6). The results of this dissertation reveal that parental attitudes, behaviour, and socio-economic status are crucial for understanding the attitudes of contemporary Czech youth. Various chapters also show classroom composition is also important: peers' attitudes, knowledge and wealth matter. This is particularly important in explaining prejudice, party preference, level of political knowledge, and confidence in politics. Poorer pupils surrounded by peers with higher socio-economic status or political knowledge express more pro-democratic attitudes and values *ceteris paribus*. This dissertation argues that classroom or school effects may in reality be indicators of a family selection effect where the fundamental differences between Czech students originate in the home. A key substantive conclusion of this dissertation is that participation in the contemporary Czech education system replicates pre-existing socio-economic inequalities and exacerbates prevailing political inequalities.

ABSTRAKT

Politické postoje a chování mládeže poutají zájem vědců i veřejnosti. Výzkumu vztahu mladých lidí a politiky byla dosud věnována pozornost především v zavedených demokraciích, zatímco v postkomunistických zemích má okrajové postavení. Záměrem této práce, která chce přispět k rozvoji výzkumu v této oblasti, je poskytnout vhled do role rodiny a školy při utváření politických postojů české mládeže za pomoci víceúrovňových regresních analýz čtyř datových souborů. Kauzální mechanismus spojující osobní politické postoje a společenský kontext, v němž vznikají a jsou formovány, vychází ze sociální teorie Jamese S. Colemana (1990), která nabízí způsob, jak pojímat a modelovat mikro-makro vztahy. V této disertační práci jsou v pěti empirických kapitolách zkoumány následující politické postoje mladých lidí: volební účast (kapitoly 2 a 4); stranické preference (kapitola 3); politické znalosti a politická participace (kapitola 4); pocit vnitřní politické efektivity (kapitola 5); a postoje vůči menšinám (kapitola 6). Výsledky této práce ukazují, že rodičovské postoje, chování a socio-ekonomický status mají zásadní význam pro pochopení politických postojů současné české mládeže. Vybrané kapitoly nalézají rovněž souvislost s postoji, znalostmi a socio-ekonomickým statusem spolužáků. Složení školní třídy se jeví jako důležité zejména při vysvětlování stranických preferencí, úrovně politické znalosti, pocitu politické efektivity a předsudků vůči menšinám. Žáci s nižším socio-ekonomickým statusem obklopeni vrstevníky s vyšším sociálně-ekonomickým statusem či politickou znalostí vyjadřují *ceteris paribus* více pro-demokratické postoje a hodnoty. Tato práce argumentuje, že třídní nebo školní vlivy mohou být ve skutečnosti rovněž ukazateli výběrového efektu školy, kdy základní rozdíly v politických postojích české mládeže vycházejí z jejich rodinného zázemí. Závěrem této práce je, že současné české školství reprodukuje již existující sociálně-ekonomické nerovnosti a prohlubuje převládající politické nerovnosti.

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION 7

1. WHY ARE YOUTH POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR IMPORTANT? 8
2. WHY DO WE NEED A POST-COMMUNIST STATE CASE STUDY? 11
3. WHAT CAN A CZECH CASE STUDY TELL US ABOUT YOUTH POLITICAL ATTITUDES MORE GENERALLY? 14
4. WHAT IS THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT IN STUDYING YOUTH POLITICS? 20
5. HOW SHOULD YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICS BE ANALYSED? 22
6. DATA AND RESEARCH STRATEGY 28
7. WHY MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS? 30
8. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION 32

CONCLUSION 35

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH 36

INTRODUCTION 36

1. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH OVERVIEW 38
2. DATA DESIGN IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH 45

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION 51

CHAPTER 2: ATTITUDE TOWARDS VOTING TURNOUT: PARENTAL EXAMPLE AS A MOTIVATION? 54

INTRODUCTION 54

1. VOTING TURNOUT WITHIN POLITICAL SOCIALISATION RESEARCH FRAMEWORK 56
2. INDIVIDUAL MOTIVATION FOR TURNOUT 63
3. DATA, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION 66

CONCLUSION 73

CHAPTER 3: WHAT ARE THE VOTING PREFERENCES OF CONTEMPORARY CZECH YOUTH? 76

INTRODUCTION 76

1. FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND POLITICAL PREFERENCES 78
2. DATA, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION 82
3. RESULTS 90
4. DISCUSSION 96

CONCLUSION 98

CHAPTER 4: THE IMPACT OF CLASSROOM SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION EFFECT ON CZECH YOUTH'S POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AND ENGAGEMENT 100

INTRODUCTION 100

1. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, PARTICIPATION AND SCHOOLS 102
2. CLASSROOM EFFECTS ON CITIZENSHIP COMPETENCIES 103
3. DATA, METHODS AND VARIABLES 109
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 110

CONCLUSION 115

CHAPTER 5: POLITICAL INEQUALITY AMONG CZECH YOUTH: HOW DO CLASSROOM DISCUSSIONS FOSTER A SENSE OF INTERNAL POLITICAL EFFICACY? 117

INTRODUCTION 117
1. POLITICAL INEQUALITY AMONG YOUTH 119
2. POLITICAL EFFICACY AND ITS ROOTS 120
3. SOCIAL COGNITIVE LEARNING THEORY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 120
4. CLASSROOM POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS: FREQUENCY AND QUALITY 124
5. DATA AND INDICATORS 127
6. RESULTS 131
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION 135

CHAPTER 6: GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG CZECH YOUTH IN PREJUDICE TOWARDS MINORITIES 138

INTRODUCTION 138
1. THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PREJUDICE 139
2. TOLERANCE, SOCIAL CONTACT, AND CLIMATE OF OPINION 144
3. FAMILY AND SCHOOL CONTEXT EFFECTS 146
4. EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS: INDIVIDUAL AND CONTEXT 147
5. COUNTRY SPECIFICS AND YOUTH SURVEY DATA 149
6. DISCUSSION OF MODELLING RESULTS 154
CONCLUSION 165

CONCLUSION 168

1. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES 169
2. WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED? 171
3. SOME REFLECTIONS ON POLICY IMPLICATIONS 179
4. THEORY OF YOUTH POLITICS 182
5. CONCLUDING COMMENTS 185

BIBLIOGRAPHY 187

APPENDICES 201

1. APPENDIX CHAPTER 2 201
2. APPENDIX CHAPTER 3 203
3. APPENDIX CHAPTER 4 204
4. APPENDIX CHAPTER 5 207
5. APPENDIX CHAPTER 6 210

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1, Multilevel logit modelling results of the determinants of Czech adolescents' attitudes toward electoral participation 68
Table 3.1, Comparison of representative sample of adult population (CVVM, September 2012) and youth survey party preferences (per cent) 89
Table 3.2, Party preferences of adolescents 2012 (multilevel multinomial logistic regression) 91
Table 4.1, Models of the determinants of student's citizen competence skills 112
Table 4.2, Variation in mean political knowledge by classroom inequality and SES 113
Table 5.1, Determinants of internal political efficacy among Czech high school students 133
Table 6.1, Trend in prejudice towards minorities among Czech adults, 2003-2016 (per cent) 151
Table 6.2, Gender differences in prejudice among Czech youths toward minority groups 156
Table 6.3, Models of prejudice among Czech youths toward outsider minorities 161
Table 6.4, Models of prejudice among Czech youths towards sexual and dependent minorities 162
Table 6.5, Models of prejudice among Czech youths toward social minorities 164
Table 7.1, Overview of the main hypotheses and results examined in this dissertation 177
Table 7.2, Summary of modelling results reported in this dissertation 178
Table 8.1, Summary statistics for variables in models used in Chapter 2 203
Table 8.2, Summary statistics for variables in models used in Chapter 3 204
Table 8.3a, Overview of all variables in models used in Chapter 4 204
Table 8.3b, Descriptive statistics of variables before standardizing in models used in Chapter 4 207
Table 8.4a, Overview of all variables in model used in Chapter 5 207
Table 8.4b, Descriptive statistics of all variables in model used in Chapter 5 209
Table 8.5, Descriptive statistics of variables before standardizing in models used in Chapter 6 211

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1, Voter turnout by age cohort in the Czech Republic, 1990-2013 (per cent) 15
Figure 2, Czech Youths propensity to vote and political knowledge in comparative perspective 17
Figure 3, Coleman's model of macro-micro-macro linkages in society 24
Figure 4, The contextual and individual-level determinants of a macro-level effect where the influence of context varies across individuals 27
Figure 2.1, Comparison of parental and motivation effects for Czech high school students' attitudes toward turnout 71
Figure 3.1, Comparison of parental preferences, left-right self-placement, average self-placement at school effects on probabilities of Czech high school students' right-wing party preference 96
Figure 4.1, Impact of open classroom climate on political knowledge and electoral participation in terms of level of SES 114
Figure 6.1, Expected differences in tolerance among the youth on the basis of gender 148
Figure 6.2, Comparison of net attitudes of tolerance/prejudice towards gays and lesbians among adults in Europe, 2012-2014 (per cent) 152
Figure 6.3, Gender differences in attitudes toward minorities among Czech youths, 2015 157
Figure 6.4, A mapping of Czech youths' orientations towards minorities, 2015 159
Figure 7.1, Voting turnout by education in all Czech general elections 181

INTRODUCTION

Much of political science is concerned with the measurement and interpretation of public opinion and how opinion change creates the conditions for political change. Here the assumption is that opinions or attitudes are good predictors of subsequent political behaviour. In the study of 'public opinion' the process of change can take two forms. First, the 'public' can change through generational replacement, or what is sometimes called "demographic metabolism" where older generations die and are replaced by younger generations. Second, 'opinion' can alter as citizens' change their mind about what is desirable, preferable or objectionable. Social and political reality is of course complicated where both 'public' and 'opinion' changes occur simultaneously.

The dual process of systematic attitude change through aging is captured neatly in Winston Churchill's (apocryphal) aphorism that "If you're not a liberal when you're 25, you have no heart. If you're not a conservative by the time you're 35, you have no brain." In this dissertation, the focus is on 'public' change where the next generation of youth often have contrasting political attitudes and behaviours evident in competing policy preferences such as being more liberal and tolerant and having lower voter turnout. Youth political attitudes and behaviour are important in understanding the nature of party competition, the process of political change, and more specifically the stability of democracy as a form of governance.

This dissertation will examine the political attitudes of youth in the contemporary Czech Republic where the current system of liberal multiparty democracy is less than a generation old. Having access to the first generation of citizens socialised in a democratic state represents an important opportunity to explore how and why political attitudes and behaviour vary with age. There are also some important puzzles. For example, why is today's Czech youth less enthusiastic about voting, joining political parties, and being interested and knowledgeable about politics than their grandparents who were socialised under communism?

The implication here is that the older generation inculcated with the collective ideals of socialism are in some ways better democratic citizens than the current youth who have been schooled in a culture of competition and individualism. Differences between the old and young are important in understanding how Czech society and politics is likely to evolve in coming decades as today's youth take an increasingly more influential role as they become leaders and have families of their own. Consequently, the central aim of this dissertation is to explore in a systematic manner youth political attitudes in the contemporary Czech Republic. Any study of youth political attitudes must address five core questions at the outset, and these are the topics examined in this introductory chapter.

1. Why are the political attitudes and behaviour of youth important?
2. Why do we need a post-communist state case study?
3. What can a Czech case study tell us about youth political attitudes more generally?
4. What is the importance of context in studying youth politics?
5. How should youth attitudes towards politics be analysed?

In sum, the goal of this introductory chapter is to provide succinct answers to these five questions, and in the process to make the argument that a study of youth political attitudes and (reported future) behaviour in the contemporary Czech Republic makes a contribution to (a) understanding the development of Czech society and politics, and (b) the study of political change more generally within political science.[2]

1. Why are youth political attitudes and behaviour important?

There are two main reasons why attention should be given to what young people think about politics. First, today's youth stand for a generation which will gradually replace the current one, and it is important to understand if youth attitudes towards politics are different, and why this is the case. This may be important for developing policies that would help to change undesirable trends, such as declining voter turnout. This is also one of the points Mark N. Franklin (2004) makes in his theory of turnout. He argues that the general decline of electoral participation should take account of the importance of young people's political engagement. This is because the impact of non-voting youth can have serious long-term effects. His central point is that the experience of political disengagement during youth shapes voting habits for the rest of a voter's life. Persistent disengagement of succeeding youth cohorts makes every new generation less likely to vote (Franklin 2004; Vowles 2010). Eventually, this process of youth alienation may have fatal consequences for democracy.

Second, young people stand for a subpopulation of citizens and even though they are mostly not eligible to vote yet, their voices should be heard because of basic principles of participatory democracy that emphasise political equality. Joseph Kahne and Ellen Middaugh (2008: 3) also point out that people who participate in politics receive much more attention from government than non-participants. This gap in youth participation reflects differences in socio-economic status. Young people are underrepresented in many countries, and their interests are more likely to be also ignored in parliaments (Hooghe 2014).

[2] Formally speaking this dissertation deals exclusively with youth political attitudes as there are no data for actual political behaviour because the survey evidence refers to vote intention in a future election. However, the attitudes vs. behaviour distinction is used in an informal way to refer to different types of attitudes, i.e. those which lead to behaviour such as turnout, demonstrating and boycotting, in contrast to feelings such as sense of political efficacy where no direct behavioural component is likely to be observed.

The United Kingdom's (Brexit) referendum on European Union (EU) membership on June 23, 2016 revealed in a stark way how young peoples' preferences can be suppressed by the wishes of an older generation that turned out to vote at a higher rate. Here the key factor was an aged-based difference in electoral participation. Although a majority of three-in-four young Britons who voted to "remain", the level of youth turnout was insufficient to overcome older generations vote for "exit" (Goulard 2016). Long after the older voters have left the electorate through mortality, these younger voters will be left with the consequences of the Brexit vote. However, some commentators have reported that young Britons have no one else to blame but themselves because it has been estimated that only 36% of 18–24 years old voted in the Brexit referendum. In contrast, three-in-four British voters aged 35 years or more went to the polls. For those who are retired, i.e. aged 65 years or older, turnout in the Brexit referendum was 83% (Rhodes 2016).

The Brexit example highlights a number of central points. First, young people participate less in politics than older cohorts. Second, there are significant age differences in political attitudes and values. In general, previous international academic surveys of social and political attitudes have shown that European youth are more pro-integration than older generations, and are also on average more liberal, tolerant, and more likely to hold post-materialist values (see Inglehart 1997, 2004). Such aged-based differences are important because a country with a large group of dissatisfied, non-participative, citizens can be seen as a "ticking time-bomb" for democracy. Here it is important to stress that young people are not a homogenous group: there are differences among youths and understanding such things as lack of interest in politics and dislike of parties is important for dealing effectively with youth disengagement from public affairs.

Political scientists know that youth can be politically active through various channels, i.e. formally through voting and party membership, or informally through protesting, demonstrating and boycotting. The key thing here is that political action requires interest, and most previous research has shown the youth exhibit less political interest and engagement than older cohorts. Influential scholars such as Robert D. Putnam (2000), Pippa Norris (2002), and Laura Stoker with M. Kent Jennings (2006) have (a) highlighted a general decline in political participation of all types, and (b) identified the source of such democratic decline as succeeding generations of youth who have become increasingly politically apathetic and alienated (See also, Henn et al. 2005; Russell 2005; Marsh et al. 2007; Dalton 2008).

In this respect, Paul Whiteley (2011) has recently emphasised youths' low and declining membership of political parties and other formal political organizations as a leading indicator of

other types of political change. This process of British youth disengagement with politics is not new, as the following quote from Theresa O' Toole et al. (2003: 45) reveals:

> The turnout in the 2001 general election was 59%, down 12% from the turnout in 1997, and 25% from a post-war high of 84% in 1950. In relation to young people, in 2001 it is calculated that the turnout rate for 18–24 year olds was only 39%–down 27% from the 1997 election turnout. Similarly, membership of political parties has declined significantly, with both major political parties having barely more than 300,000 members. Party membership, particularly of the Conservative Party, is ageing and youth political parties barely exist in numerical, if not in organizational, terms. To put it another way, the combined membership of British political parties is a little over two-thirds of the membership of the largest UK interest group, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. These figures worry politicians, journalists and the 'chattering classes'.

Here the question is what makes youths' political attitudes and behaviour so different from older age groups? There is no simple answer to this question. Taking voter turnout as an example, young voters' turnout is generally lower than that observed among middle-aged and older voters; this pattern is seen in almost all countries studied (Blais 2007; Fieldhouse, Tranmer and Russell 2007). Moreover, youth turnout is lower than all older age cohorts even when a country has compulsory voting (Edwards 2007).

Blais and Rubenson (2013) reveal that turnout is stable among older generations, but is low and declining among youth. One of the traditional explanations of "why youths don't vote" is that going to the polls is a matter of habit (e.g. Green and Shachar 2000; Gerber et al. 2003; Wood and Neal 2007; Cutts et al. 2009; Aldrich et al. 2011). In the past in the United States and Britain for example, individuals picked up the habit of voting early in life and this habit persisted until death. Today's young people are different because they are not acquiring the habit of voting. One possible source of this habit of voting is thinking that voting is a "civic duty" or something that a conscientious citizen should do for the collective good (note Thijssen et al. 2016). In this respect, some scholars have argued that young people are less likely to go to the polls because they lack this sense that voting is a "civic duty". According to this pessimistic interpretation, the main reason for future declines in overall turnout will be increasingly lower levels of participation among youth because civic duty is waning (Blais and Rubenson 2013).

In contrast, Russell J. Dalton (2008) holds the more optimistic view that young people do not see voting as a duty, but instead are motivated by a desire for "real engagement" that translates itself into civic participation in their local community. Dalton's (2008) argument here is that it is incorrect to blame young people for abandoning social responsibilities such as voting, because they are more attracted to non-institutionalized forms of civic engagement. Similarly, Marc Hooghe and Joris Boonen are not as sceptical as Blais and Rubenson (2013).

Hooghe and Boonen (2016) argue that if the young generation really lack interest in politics, then they would not be buying fair trade products, boycotting other products, or expressing their indignation on various websites. Instead, the argument is that it is better not to judge youth political engagement solely on a basis of institutional participation, but try to investigate the complex character of youth political attitudes. This means that evaluating the determinants of youth political behaviour is important, but it is more important to get an insight into attitudes that shape the decision to turn out to vote. Such a perspective provides a sounder foundation for understanding current political engagement and the future of democracy. Most scholars think that the main clue to solving this puzzle involves understanding youth political attitudes. The experience of youth attitudes in established and consolidating democracies is important in studying the impact of institutions and historical legacy.

2. Why do we need a post-communist state case study?

This dissertation is a case study and does not aim to offer any type of East-West comparison. The goal of this subsection is to provide a brief overview of main general differences between growing up in old democracy or post-communist state. The Czech Republic's characteristics described in the following paragraphs will help the reader better understand some country specifics which are relevant for studying Czech youths' political attitudes. This information is important as this dissertation will show that social context is very important in explaining youth political attitudes. Scholars usually argue that the post-communist context is different from old democracies. As this is not a comparative dissertation this East-West divide debate will not be addressed.

The following sub-sections aim to orient the international reader about some important features of the context in which Czech youth are raised and educated. A fundamental point here is that the five empirical chapters in this dissertation will present general theories applied to the Czech case. If these general theories have merit then they should help explain the observed variation in attitudes and behaviour explored. Deviations from theoretical expectations must control for specific contextual features that characterise contemporary Czech society and its system of education. In summary, the application of general theories to the Czech case provides a means of testing these theories with new data: an exercise that constitutes a defining feature of scientific work, and is most often referred to by the term 'replication'.

A brief examination of youth studies of political attitudes quickly reveals that most research comes from established democracies such as Britain and the United States. Although a majority of studies focus on established democracies, the importance of active and participative citizens

for establishing a strong democracy in post-communist countries has also been stressed since 1990. If one accepts that youth voter turnout and non-electoral political participation in old democracies is bad, then the situation in post-communist countries is even worse. Although levels of formal and informal political participation for post-communist citizens are relatively low, young people appear to be least interested in politics, least likely to join a political party, and least inclined to turn out to vote (Szczerbiak 2001; Rotariu and Comşa 2002; Fieldhouse et al. 2007; Linek and Lyons 2013). Why is this the case?

In looking for answers to this question, it quickly becomes evident that little attention has been given to the young people's political attitudes and participation in post-communist countries. The idea which instinctively comes up is that we have very limited knowledge about the political attitudes of young people who stand for the first generation born and raised in countries, such as the Czech Republic, whose democratic tradition was interrupted by communism (1948-1989). Furthermore, these young people live in families with parents who personally experienced both the end of communism and were part of the democratization process of the 1990s. From what we know about explanations of youth attitudes, the parents' political engagement and attitudes are crucial in understanding youth attitudes. As Youniss and Levine (2009: 3) note "We know, from looking at former communist states that active citizenship does not arise spontaneously as people age, nor does it result from official pronouncements."

Persistent differences in political attitudes and participation observed between established democracies and post-communist states are often attributed to the legacy of communist: an issue examined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Here it is important to stress that during the communist era in Czechoslovakia (1948-1989) there were strict norms regarding civic involvment and participation. Official propaganda disseminated through a state controlled media compelled Czechs and Slovaks to engage in overt political behaviour regardless of their personal antipathy to communism. Here the primary motivations were fear of the consequences of not doing one's "civic duty" as a citizen of socialism. This led to a pervasive system of dissimulation that contributed to the rapid collapse of communism (see, Kuran 1995).

Parents of todays' youth remember how (a) they had to join youth organizations such as the Pioneers (i.e. the communist equivalent of boy scouts and girl guides), and (b) where all other forms of civic participation not sanctioned by the communist authorities were suppressed. These forms of controlled, and often forced, civic participation resulted in people in post-communist states having to learn the civic and political behaviour appropriate in a liberal democracy. The experience of communism has had another important consequence: everything to do with politics, primarily politicians and political parties, is viewed negatively. This is one of the reasons

why currently in the Czech Republic there are more political "movements" than "parties": a similar process is evident in other European countries such as Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain.

One way of dealing with a civic engagement deficit lays is through education. After 1990 there were educational reforms in east and central Europe which accroding to Torney-Purta (2002) resulting in the mass hiring and training of new civics teachers. As Torney-Purta (2002) puts it – one of the greatest challenges was the formal and informal political socialization of the previous generation due to the great economic and political changes. There is also empirical evidence provided by several scholars (Listhaug and Grønflaten 2007; Torney-Purta 2002; Whiteley 2005) indicating that the differences between countries in eastern and western Europe has declined since 1990. There are two main explanations given. First, the effort put into civic participation and education in new democracies resulted into improvement in this area. Second, the youth civic engagement in established democracies has a declining trend. Nonetheless, some differences in level of civic engagement between old democracies and post-communist states are observed. Coffé and van der Lippe (2009) suggest that these East-West differences stem from different experiences with the principles and practicies of civic society on either side of the Cold War divide.

Moving away from such large scale cross-national differences, this dissertation will deal with one post-communist state, the Czech Republic, and some of the important communist-era legacies that relate directly to youth politics: the structure and functioning of the current Czech education system. There has been very limited academic research on youth and politics in the Czech Republic. Two exceptions in this respect are studies produced by (1) The Institute for Research on Children, Youth and Family, Masaryk University, Brno, and (2) The Institute for Research and Development of Education, Faculty of Education, Charles University, Prague. The former is closely connected with the department of psychology at Masaryk University and focuses primarily on the psychological aspects of youth development and politics. The latter institute primarily studies topics related to transformation of the Czech education system and stratification. Both institutes contribute to the study of Czech youth attitudes, skills and behaviour using different perspectives.

This dissertation is different in its approach because it adopts a broader perspective integrating theoretical insights from political science, sociology and social psychology. Notwithstanding, the benefits of having an interdisciplinary outlook, the primary perspective of this dissertation is political science point where other social science theories are used to build

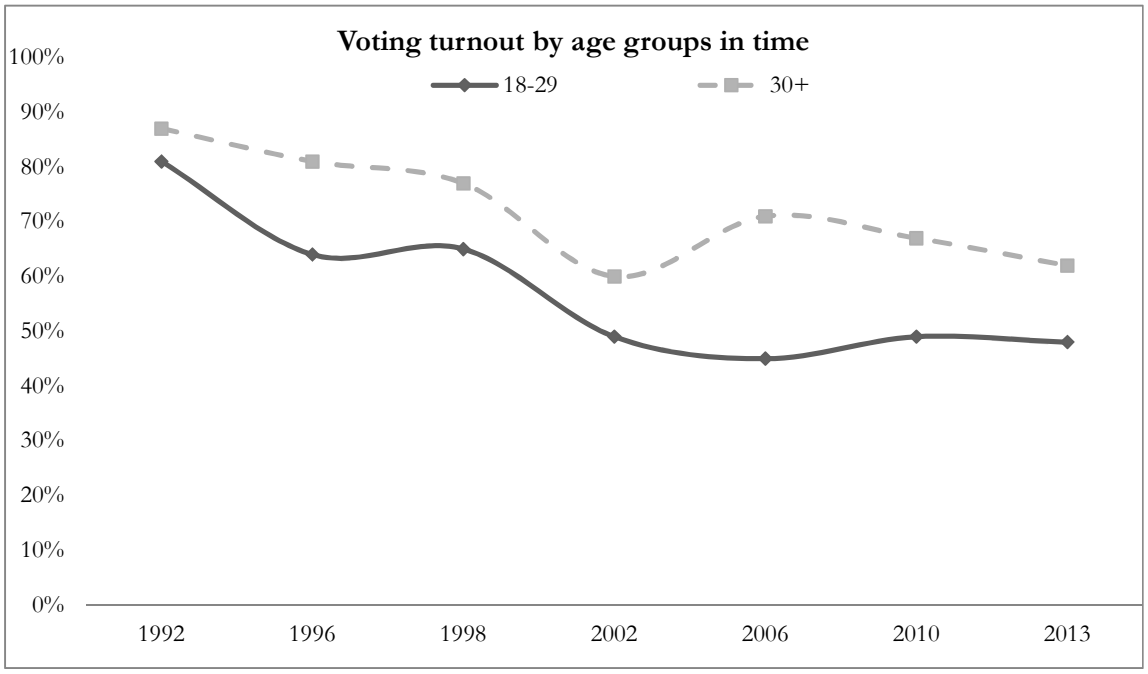
arguments and analyses for the purpose of extending current knowledge of youth politics within the Czech and international political science communities.

3. What can a Czech case study tell us about youth political attitudes more generally?

It was highlighted earlier that age is a key factor in explaining the Brexit referendum result of June 2016 where low turnout among the young facilitated the older generation constituting a majority favouring exit from the EU. The fact that a majority of current British youth did not go to the polls on June 23 may be seen as a failure of the civics education system of the UK. In 1997, the newly elected Labour Party government, led by Tony Blair, commissioned the Crick Report, *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (1998). This influential document recommended that citizenship education should be compulsory for all secondary school students where the core goal was to address declining political and civic participation among young people. From 2002 these civics education classes formed 5% of the national curriculum. The Brexit result of 2016 suggests that citizenship education classes in British secondary schools have had limited success, at least with regard to youth turnout.

Similar logic may apply to the Czech case where the general level of education has risen since the 1990s but voter turnout shows a declining trend. Figure 1 also reveals that young Czechs aged 18 to 29 years old, are over-represented among non-voters in all parliamentary elections that occurred after the fall of communism. In the Czech Republic there has been no major education policy report or major policy initiative regarding the schooling of future citizens similar to British example (i.e. the Crick Report of September 1998). One key reason for this state of affairs is that has been, to date, no consensus on (a) what should ideally constitute a Czech civics education curriculum, and (b) how civics should be taught (e.g. formal lessons, class discussions, etc.). Consequently, it is difficult to evaluate the success of civics education in contemporary Czech society in terms of criteria such as youth engagement in politics. This is because there has been no systematic and coherent policy in place since the foundation of the current Czech state almost a quarter of a century ago in 1993.

Figure 1, Voter turnout by age cohort in the Czech Republic, 1990-2013 (per cent)



Source: CVVM surveys and Czech electoral studies. Note: 1992 (N=745), 1996 (N= 1071), 1998 (N= 1856), 2002 (N= 861), 2006 (N= 1759), 2010 (N= 1622), 2013 (N= 1479). Weighted according to election results.

The Czech Republic has a long history of civic education. Although there was not a separate subject in Czechoslovakia during the First Republic (1918-1938), the concept of "Občanská nauka" (civic education) was frequently invoked in the teaching of history and geography in gymnasiums: a similar approach had been adopted in the Czech lands in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918). Later under the communists (1948-1989), civics education became a separate and compulsory subject (see, Sayer 2000: 184). Here it is important to stress that civic education was used by the communist regime for indoctrination and creating a new model of the "socialist citizen". Later in the 1990s, civic education in the Czech Republic suffered from a lack of vision as nobody was sure what should be included in the new curriculum: this problem persists to the present.

The main reason why many scholars continue to make East-West comparisons in Europe is the assumption that the experience and legacy of communism during the Cold War (1947-1991) period is fundamentally important. The implication here is that political attitudes and behaviour in post-communist states is significantly different from that observed in established democracies. There is growing evidence that such a simple division of Europe into East vs. West fails to reflect (a) the complexities of differences within the eastern and western blocs of countries and (b) a general pattern of convergence due to common membership of the EU, OECD and NATO (see Toká 2006).

Case selection and selection bias

A more systematic and reliable approach is to use international academic surveys of youths in the areas of attitudes towards politics and political knowledge. Fortunately, the Civic Education Study (CIVED, 1999) and its successor the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS, 2009) conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) facilitate comparative youth research in the field of schooling. Judith Torney-Purta (2002) using the CIVED (1999) data found that East European students exhibited lower levels of political knowledge and trust than their peers in Western Europe. Similar findings were later reported by Hoskins (2009) who found lower political participation rates in southern and eastern Europe.

Such work suggests that studies of youth political attitudes in post-communist countries such as the Czech Republic has the advantage of greater variation among students because in Western Europe there is greater student homogeneity due to decades of policies promoting equality and access to education. However, care is required in making inferences here because there is the danger of selection bias when choosing case studies on the basis of values of the dependent variable such as low voter turnout. King, Keohane and Verba (1994: 138-139) make the following essential point:

> […] selection bias is introduced when the units were chosen according to some rule correlated with the dependent variable or correlated with the dependent variable after the explanatory variables were taken into account. With this type of selection effect, estimated causal effects are always underestimates. This is by far the most common type of selection bias in both qualitative and quantitative research.

It is important to note here that selection on an explanatory variable is not a problem because there is restriction on the variation of the dependent variable (King et al. 1994: 137). In other words, it is reasonable to justify study of the Czech Republic on the basis of its unique educational system or family structures which helps to explain turnout and political attitudes, but it would be unwise to argue that Czech students are a good case study because they have one of the lowest propensities to turn out to vote. More will be said about these important methodological concerns later in various chapters. In order to understand if study of the Czech Republic runs the risk of selection bias, it is important to map out how Czech students compare with students from other countries using international survey data.

Use of comparative data

The ICCS (2009) survey is invalauble in studying the political attitudes of Czech youth for two main reasons. First, it facilitates seeing how youth attitudes and knowledge about politics in the

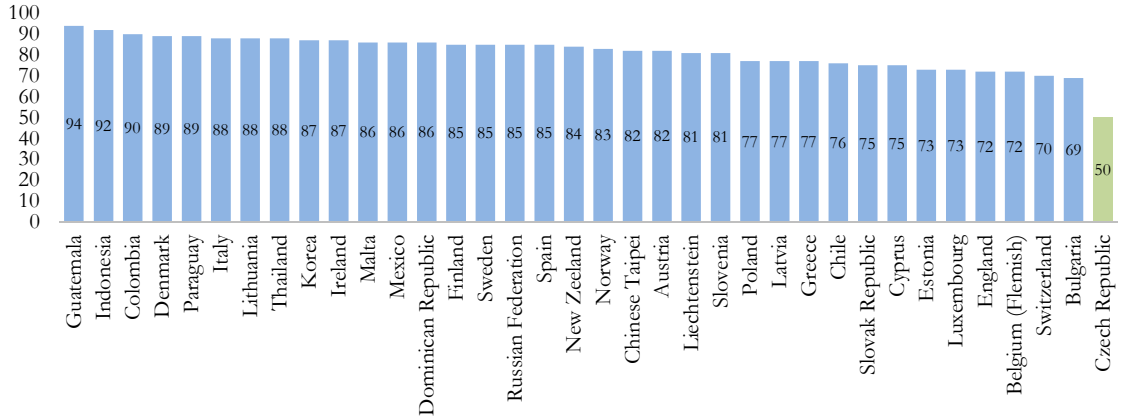
Czech Republic and elsewhere changed between 1999 and 2009. Second, an examination of Czech youths' political attitudes and knowledge twenty years after the fall of communism thereby provides evidence of the impact of the democratisation process. In most comparative research a distinction between old democracies and new democracies is often based on the assumption that a "democratic deficit" arises when citizens are not actively engaged in public affairs. Under communism, genuine civic engagement was low vis-à-vis life in Western Europe and the United States. Here the East-West divide is seen to neatly summarise differences in citizens' political experiences over the long-term where there is the expectation that there will be a persistent legacy of communism (Dalton 2008).

Czech youths in comparative perspective

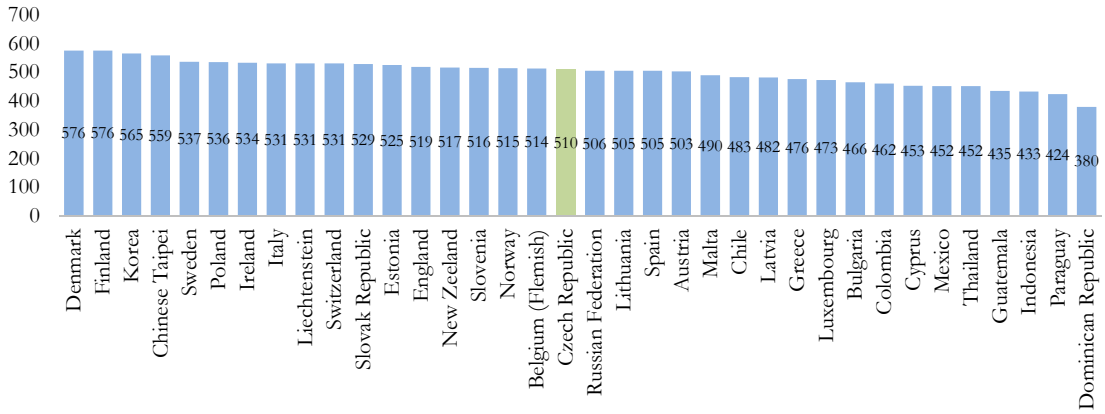
It is possible to examine this 'East vs. West' divide thesis using comparative survey data. For contemporary youth political attitudes across the globe it is best to use the ICCS (2009) data. Window (a) of Figure 2 highlights that Czech youths are not enthusiastic about the opportunity of voting in future elections. These data also show that the distinction between 'old' and 'new' democracies is not clearly evident. Why Czech students are significantly less interested in going to the polls than their fellow students in other countries is not clear from the series of ICCS reports on these data (e.g. Schulz et al. 2010). What is clear is that Czech students have similar levels of political knowledges as students elsewhere. Turning now to window (b) of Figure 2 we see that Czech youths scored close to the average on the large political knowledge test implemented in the ICCS (2009) study.

Figure 2, Czech Youths propensity to vote and political knowledge in comparative perspective

(a) Mean national estimates of propensity to vote



(b) Mean national estmates of political knowledge



Source: Schulz et al. 2010. Respondents were 8th graders interviewed in 2008 and 2009.
Note in window (a) above the estimates refer to the percentages of students who "probably" or "definitely" expect to vote in national elections. In window (b) the average political knowledge score is 500, and so estimates above and below this number indicate national variation around the international mean estimate.

The patterns in Figure 2 are puzzling because Czech youth have an average level of political knowledge, but relatively little interest in voting in future elections. Previous research almost always shown a strong positive association between knowledge and turnout. One could argue that formal participation such as voter turnout is unique; however, a similar pattern is also evident among Czech youth for informal political activities such as demonstrating, protesting and boycotting. Here once again, Czech students were well below the international average in 2008-2009. Here it is important not to treat all Czech students as being the same, as this ignores important differences among schools and the type of education received.

Impact of the Czech educational system

Unsurprisingly, not all Czech school pupils are the same. Analyses of Czech students' political views and propensity to vote in future elections, reported in this dissertation and elsewhere, show that there are differences between Czech youths based on the type of school they attend. Czech children from gymnasiums (i.e. academic high schools preparing pupils for university) are much more politically knowledgable and report a higher level of interest in politics (Soukup et al. 2010). This form of educational stratification is more visible in Czech high schools where again pupils attending gymnasiums are more informed (higher political knowledge), interested in politics and more likely to vote. Why are there divisions in the Czech educational system?

One answer is that gymnasiums are simply better able to prepare Czech students for the duties of an active citizenship. Another explanation is that educational stratification is a source of

political unequality that is evident later in differences between university educated citizens and others. Here the education variable in surveys refers to differences in family background (typically wealth) rather than variations in cognitive ability (note, Highton 2009). Whatever the exact reason (which is currently unknown and requires research), lower numbers of university educated citizens in the Czech Republic may be part of the reason for differences in political attitudes between Czechs and citizens living in established democracies in Western Europe and elsewhere.

The Czech Republic is not unique. Post-communist countries typically have lower shares of university educated citizens than in populations living in advanced industrial economies such as Great Britain, Germany and the United States. This 'lack of graduates' is often attributed to the legacy of communism where under socialism the goal was the promotion of opportunities for those coming from working class backgrounds. Moreover, in communist Czechoslovakia the government believed that most people did not need higher education for their job. Matějů et al. (2007) note that only half of the roughly fifty thousand of students who applied to university under communism were accepted. This changed after 1989 when there was a rapid growth in the number of university students where official obstacles were removed, and the demand (and salaries) for graduates increased. The rate of growth in university graduates peaked in the around 2005 (Matějů and Smith 2009).

As university education is known from previous research to have a positive association with both turnout and attitudes supportive of democracy such as party membership and trust in government. Consequently, the expansion of university participation in the Czech Republic should have been associated with an increase in turnout and support for democracy. This did not happen. It appears that the impact of the education system on young Czechs during democratisation after 1990 has coincided with a decline in electoral participation, party membership, trust in government, etc. On the one hand, this is a puzzling pattern because it goes against previous individual-level survey research findings. On the other hand, it fits with international trends of increasing popular disenchantment with democratic politics. In the Czech case, how can these puzzling results be explained?

One obvious answer to this puzzle is the institutional nature of the Czech educational system. Currently, the Czech educational system is highly stratified, as noted above, where parents strive to give their children at least the same level of education as they have achieved themselves. Starting at the primary school level, ambitious Czech parents ensure that their children are enrolled in classes with more intensive language teaching. When the pupils reach the sixth grade they are ready to take the competitive entrance exams for enrollment in an 8-year

gymnasium program: these are the most prestigious schools because they have high success in preparing students for entering university.

Straková and Greger (2013) indicate that after controlling for individual characteristics such as grades and abilities, pupils with university educated parents have a three-fold greater chance of getting into an eight-year gymnasium programme in comparison to pupils with less educated parents. If children do not enter into an eight-year gymnasium programme, they continue to secondary school and in the ninth grade they must decide if they will continue their education in a vocational schools (ISCED 3C), upper-secondary school, or a four-year gymnasium program. This distinction among Czech high schools is important because the academic performance of pupils differs significantly across school types: a fact evident in several national and international education evaluation surveys (e.g. PISA, PIRLS, CIVED, and ICCS). Differences in academic success are known from previous research to be linked with political unequalities such as differential turnout, political knowledge and interest.

4. What is the importance of context in studying youth politics?

The importance of family and school context for academic success and becoming an effective citizen in the Czech Republic was highlighted in the previous section. Here there is a more general point which is the context in which youths live and learn is important. It makes sense to think that political attitudes are not solely the result of individual thinking (an example of a methodological problem known as the *Fundamental Attribution Error*, more details are given below), but are the outcome of the individual's interaction with society and institutions, which is also dependent on the natural development of cognition, emotion and other competencies. Political attitudes are sometimes seen to be the result of a social process labelled "political socialization" where youths become citizens by learning this role from others in the context of families, friends and schools.

The fundamental attribution error and the importance of context

Previous research has highlighted the important influence of families, peers and schools in explaining the political attitudes and behaviour of young people (Eccles and Barber 1999; McFarland and Thomas, 2006; Youniss and Levine 2009). Although individual-level predictors are often of central interest in research on youth politics, it is also critically important to take into account family and school environments. Otherwise there is the danger of making the Fundamental Attribution Error, which is also known as "correspondence bias" or the "attribution effect" (Jones and Harris 1967; Ross 1977; Ross and Nisbett 2011). This is an

influential idea from social psychology which highlights the tendency in humans to emphasise individual characteristics and ignore external or contextual factors when explaining individual behaviour. For example, a youth with high school grades expresses attitudes of a model citizen because they are intelligent, thereby downplaying the impact of coming from a politically engaged family runs the risk of making a fundamental attribution error.

This dissertation aims to avoid invalid inferences because of the fundamental attribution error by taking the family and school context of youth politics into account in the models presented in each of the chapters of this study. Political scientists know that an individual is "embedded within a particular context […] which structures social interaction patterns" (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995: 8). A social context, such as a family or school classroom, may reflect situations where interpersonal interactions facilitate the transmission of political information which may affect an individual's political attitudes.

Differences between contexts

There is one important distinction between family and school contexts. Individuals cannot choose family they will be born into and live in. In this respect, youths are exposed to information they did not choose. For example, if an adolescent's parents are social democrat voters (or party members) then the children in this family are more likely to hear about inequality and welfare. In contrast, a youth's school is chosen by parents or the state (i.e. they are allocated a place in a local school).

In the Czech Republic, the school attended by a teenage student is often selected by their parents. Some parents, typically with lower levels of schooling, chose for their adolescent children the school geographically closest to their home for reasons of cost and convenience. However, as noted above, school selection is often determined by parents' desire to ensure their children get the best possible education and attend university. Here school attended reflects parents' preferences and socio-economic background, or wealth. Through selection effects, Czech youths are likely to experience systematically different context effects. For example, some students will be members of classrooms composed of highly engaged peers engaging in political discussions or other forms of political activity and will learn to become a "good citizen" by imitation.

This means that probably the most effective way of analysing Czech youths' political attitudes and behaviour lies in combining the individual data with contextual information. Such a combined or "multilevel" approach has the advantage of allowing the effects of individual and context level factors to be explored in a common modelling framework. Here individual youths

are not treated as isolated units, the context in which they spend most time is taken into account, i.e. at home and school. A multilevel modelling strategy also offers the opportunity to examine if context effects are the same for all youths, or are more influential for those coming from poorer families for example.

5. How should youth attitudes towards politics be analysed?

Let's use education and attitudes towards voting turnout as one of the traditionally most reliable relationships for illustrative purposes. The connection here is straightforward: there is a positive relationship between higher education and higher probability of participation in elections which in effect means higher turnout. Naturally, the effects of individual determinants vary in time. For example one would expect that when education becomes much more inclusive; and a higher share of people will reach university degree, we will also observe higher voting turnout. However, evidence from the real-world reveals that although the general level of education has risen in time we cannot say the same about voting turnout. This applies also to the Czech case where the share of university educated people is constantly increasing, but voter turnout is declining.

Within political science much research focusses on explaining the attitudes and behaviour of (isolated) individuals using mass surveys. However, there is much evidence which shows that most individuals are influenced by others. In this respect, Hedström (2006: 81) argues that explaining individual attitudes and behaviour requires an understanding of the social context and group level characteristics such as (1) typical actions, beliefs, desires etc. among members of a social group, (2) distributions and aggregate patterns such as spatial distributions and inequalities, (3) topologies of networks that describe relationships between the members of the social group, and (4) informal rules or social norms that constrain the actions of the members of a group.

Conceptualising and modelling context effects

In any mechanism-based explanation the key units of analysis are the agents of socialisation. An influential example of a mechanism-based methodology is given in James S. Coleman's (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*. This book focusses on the complex relationship between how individuals (micro) create (macro) social structures and are simultaneously influenced by these collective structures. Specifically, "Coleman's boat" represents one explanation of how a social (or macro-level) context can shape individual attitudes and behaviour. A key insight here is that two correlated macro-level properties cannot provide a satisfactory understanding of how one aggregated feature of the social world can explain another macro-level property.

Consequently, Coleman (1990) argued that it is fundamentally important to identify cross-level causal mechanisms that link individual-level behaviour with observed aggregate level patterns, e.g. individual motivations for going to the polls with changes in national turnout in different types of elections. Of course this is a dynamic process where individual-level behaviour shapes aggregate-level patterns that in turn determine future individual-level (Coleman 1990; Hedström and Swedberg 1998). For example, the context of different types of elections (e.g. lower chamber versus European Parliament polls) is known to have systematic different impact on individuals' motivation to vote over successive elections.

These conceptual, or theoretical, ideas are important because they provide the basis for constructing empirical models of the determinants of Czech youths' political attitudes and behaviour. Here it is important to specify clearly how the family and school contexts might be expected to help shape youth's attitudes toward voting and a range of other political attitudes explored in this dissertation. Here it is important to be clear that a social context may shape individual attitudes and behaviours in many different ways. Consequently, it is important to outline a specific causal mechanism that is testable.

Limits of aggregate and individual level models

As a motivating example, let's examine the positive association between voter turnout and level of education among high school students eligible to vote. Czech students who attend academic high schools (gymnasiums) have a higher propensity to go to the polls than their peers. The key variable of interest is the national turnout rate among first-time youth voters. Previous research indicates that contextual characteristics such as parents' level of education or the school curricula may help to explain the general level of youth turnout in a country. Analysing youth (or first-time) voter turnout cross-nationally using mean national parental-level of education to predict youth turnout is an important first step, but it excludes individual-level characteristics such as interest in politics which is also known to be a fundamentally important determinant of turnout.

This simple example reveals that it makes little sense to explain youth turnout at the national level solely in terms of differences in family and school contexts across countries for two reasons. First, such an aggregate-level analysis implies that youths are automatons (produced by families and schools) who have no personal motivations for going to the polls. Second, aggregate level analyses are incapable of explaining rapid change. For example, turnout in European and general election contests held a short time apart show very different levels of turnout (except in countries with compulsory voting). Here family wealth and school curricula which do not change over

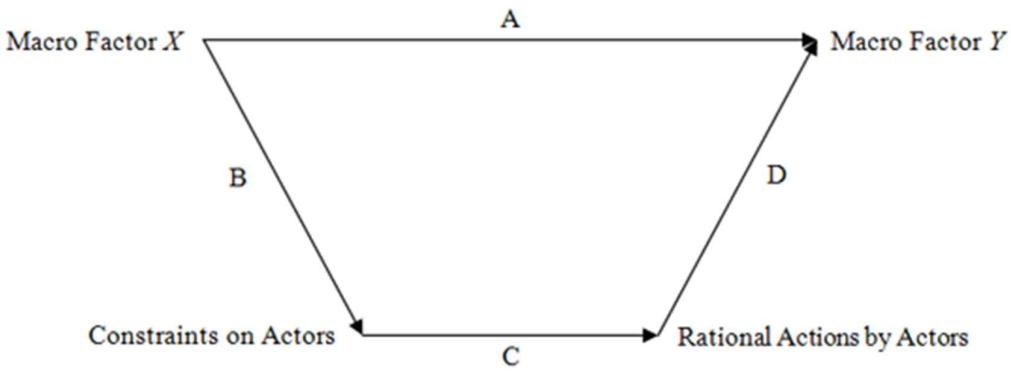
short periods cannot explain swift changes in turnout. What has changed are youths' (and adults') personal motivation to vote: something that can only be captured in individual-level models.

However, individual-level explanations are also insufficient for the reasons described earlier relating to the fundamental attribution error. To briefly recap, modelling youth turnout solely in terms of the individual characteristics such as sex, interest in politics, level of political knowledge, and party attachment treat these voters as isolated individuals who are only responsive to their own internal desires and preferences. This egocentric perspective is as unrealistic as the 'automaton' scenario described above where knowledge of youth voters' social background and schooling is sufficient to perfectly predict turnout. Quite obviously, a micro-macro, or multilevel, approach to youth political attitudes and behaviour is the best research strategy to studying youth political attitudes, and this is approach adopted in Chapters 2 to 6 of this dissertation.

A multilevel model of youth political attitudes and behaviour

At the risk of over-simplification, James S. Coleman's (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory* is concerned with the transition from micro to macro levels. Coleman's scheme for exploring the micro-macro linkage is presented in Figure 3. It is perhaps easiest to explain or figure called "Coleman's boat" with an example. In Figure 3, the "Macro Factor *X*" explanatory variable could be average family wealth in a country, and "Macro Factor *Y*", i.e. the dependent variable, is national youth voter turnout. Arrow A in Figure 3 shows that higher levels of mean family wealth are associated with an elevated level of youth turnout. This causal mechanism predicts that in a cross-country analysis youths from rich countries (or counties in a single country) will vote at higher rates than their peers in poorer countries.

Figure 3, Coleman's model of macro-micro-macro linkages in society



Source: derived from Coleman (1990: 10)

One important goal in research on youth politics is to explain Macro Factor *Y*, e.g. variations in youth turnout within the Czech Republic across its 76 okresy or counties. This national level of turnout (Macro Factor *Y*) can be explained (denoted by arrow A), for example, by mean level of family wealth shown (Macro Factor *X*). According to Coleman this purely aggregate-level of explanation is incomplete. A full explanation will involve two steps: (1) a macro-to-micro analysis, and (2) a micro-to-macro transition model. These two steps involve answering the following three questions.

1. How does family wealth condition affect individual youth's decisions to vote (Arrow B)?
2. How do individual youth's choices to turn out vary because of differences in family wealth (Arrow C)?
3. How do individual youth choices to turn out or abstain aggregate to the macro level (Arrow D)?

Coleman argued that the third question is most difficult to answer because it involves the emergence of a party system and democratic culture of electoral participation. Most often in mass surveys it is simply assumed that a simple aggregation of all individual attitudes yields the mean national attitude. Coleman (1990: 2, 5) highlights the dangers of following this research strategy:

> The principal task of the social sciences lies in the explanation of social phenomena, not the behavior of single individuals. In isolated cases the social phenomena may derive directly, through summation, from the behavior of individuals, but more often this is not so. Consequently, the focus must be on the social system whose behavior is to be explained […] The interaction among individuals is seen to result in emergent phenomena at the system level, that is, phenomena that were neither intended nor predicted by individuals.

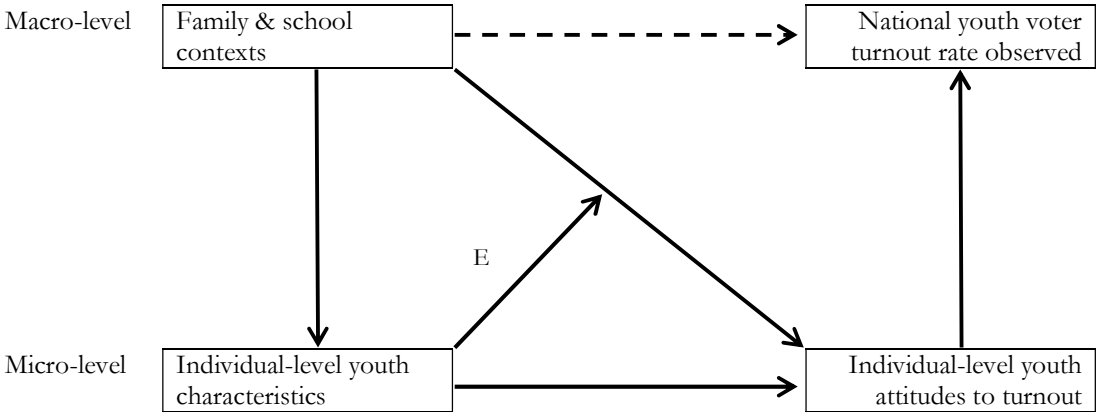
Individual-level analyses are often based on the implicit assumption that personal attitudes may be counted like votes in a national election to yield a country-level mean score. Methodological research in the area of ecological inference in the social sciences demonstrates that aggregate-level data may emerge from a wide range of social processes (note, Achen and Shively 1995; King 1997). In this respect, Coleman (1990: 20) provides half a dozen examples of how individual-level behaviour may combine in very different ways to produce the aggregate or collective-level outcomes observed.

1. *Tragedy of the commons*: all individual act independently where there are no rules resulting in individual gains (for a time) and collective loss (ultimately).
2. *Bilateral exchange*: mutual cooperation between pairs of individuals on the basis of agreements resulting in gains at the individual and collective levels.
3. *Free market exchange*: cooperation between many individuals on the basis of rules which may result in individual and collective gains or losses.
4. *Elections*: an expression of preferences by individuals is converted into a collective decision on the basis of all votes being equal and a rule converting votes to outcomes (e.g. seats in parliament).
5. *Industrial production*: goods are produced through the interdependent actions of individuals that are guided by institutional rules grounded in individual incentives (e.g. financial rewards such as salaries and bonuses).
6. *Social norms*: individual behaviour is controlled by other individuals or institutions through social rules which have sanctions for non-compliance.

These six examples highlight that the treating of individual contributions to collective outcomes as being equal, as is the case in democratic elections and mass surveys, is just one among many possibilities in the social world. In this dissertation, the intractable question of what is the most appropriate micro-macro link for youth political attitudes will not be addressed, as the stress will be on exploring Arrow C in Figure 3. Here the objective is to see, using a variety of multilevel modelling techniques, how the family and school context shape individual youths political attitudes. Coleman's framing of the specifying the appropriate micro-macro causal mechanism (as shown in Figure 3) is highlighted here to show that great caution is required in interpreting national survey results (as in CIVED and ICCS) that claim to show cross-national differences (see Figure 2 as an example)based on mean estimates derived from individual-level data results.

The situation represented in Figure 3 is even more complicated because this causal model is incomplete. This is because "Coleman's boat" assumes that the influence of context (e.g. family wealth) has the same impact on all youths. This strong assumption is unlikely to be true in the real-world. For example, higher levels of exposure to news are known to boost turnout; however, this national media effect depends critically on whether all citizens watch the evening news on television. With contemporary Czech youths it is known that many rarely watch television news or read daily newspapers, and consequently youths' political information context effect is mediated by individual differences. More generally, previous empirical work clearly shows that a minority of young voters will for example always vote or abstain for purely personal (individual-level) reasons. In contrast, a majority of young voters will vote sometimes depending on whether they live at home (a theme explored in Chapter 2) where context matters. The central point here is that context effects on individual youths are likely to be variable.

Figure 4, The contextual and individual-level determinants of a macro-level effect where the influence of context varies across individuals



Source: derived from Coleman (1990) and van Egmond (2003: 36)
Note the dashed line indicates a pure macro-level explanation of youth turnout, something not examined in this dissertation. Such an explanation would require a comparative analysis of many countries. Here the Czech Republic is the case being examined where there is an individual-level analysis where context effects (family and school) are mediated by individual level characteristics as shown by arrow E.

Figure 4 is a revised version of the previous figure where contextual effects operate (a) independently of individuals, and (b) interact with individual-level characteristics. This revised model allows for uniform context effects to operate on all individuals where for example family wealth has the same impact on all youths, or type of school has the same effect on all students – an approach adopted in Chapters 2, 3 and 6 of this dissertation. In addition, context effects operate differently on specific types of individuals. Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation use this insight of varying school context effects to explore how classroom composition may help poorer students to (a) do better than expected in political knowledge tests, and (b) enhance their sense of efficacy when they are members of classes of wealthier peers (a compensation effect). Conversely, class composition may have the opposite effect of increasing knowledge and confidence differences (an acceleration effect) for a poor minority being schooled among a majority of richer peers.

In this dissertation, as highlighted in Figure 4, the contextual characteristics examined are the family and school. Models of family context effects will focus on the parental example of voting, wealth and education. The school context effects modelled in this dissertation will concentrate on different types of high school (a topic discussed earlier with regard to educational stratification in the Czech Republic), and the wealth and educational composition profiles of classrooms. These types of context effects represent some of the main themes in the comparative

youth political attitudes research literature and represent a portion of the most important ways in which social context might matter for youths in developing their political attitudes and behaviour.

6. Data and research strategy

Study of the political attitudes and behaviour of Czech youth is limited by data constraints. For example, the (Czech) Institute for Public Opinion Research (CVVM) in their monthly political attitudes surveys have nationally representative quota samples of the adult population, which is defined as all citizens aged 15 years or older. Such data are of limited value in examining youth political attitudes and behaviour for two main reasons: (1) there are very few cases ($n \leq 70$) of young people in such national samples, and (2) many questions or variables of theoretical interest are missing. Consequently, there are currently less than a handful of data sets suitable for analysing the political attitudes and behaviour of Czech youth.

Comparative survey research

Fortunately, the Czech Republic has participated in two important international school surveys designed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA): (a) the Civic Education Study (CIVED) fielded in 1999, and (b) the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) implemented in 2009. In both studies, more than two thousand students aged 13 or 14 years old (eight graders) in about three dozen countries were interviewed to evaluate their "knowledge and conceptual understanding, as well as student dispositions and attitudes relating to civics and citizenship." The main topics in this research may be summarised as follows.

- Knowledge of the fundamental principles of democracy
- Skills in interpreting political communication
- Understanding of democracy and citizenship
- Attitudes to country, trust in institutions, opportunities for immigrants, and the political rights of women
- Expectations for future participation in civic-related activities

The main strengths of the CIVED (1999) and ICCS (2009) surveys are the detailed questionnaires, scope for international comparison, and opportunity to make cross-time comparisons. These data have some weaknesses such as the focus on reported political attitudes that may have been subject to *social desirability effects* (yielding insincere answers), a sample composed of students who were ineligible to vote in most countries examined for a considerable period (four years). Consequently, these survey data may be criticised for measuring attitudes that

might have had little influence on actual political behaviour such as decisions to go to the polls for the first time. The Czech wave of ICCS (2009) is used in Chapter 5 for analysing the individual and contextual determinants of attitudes toward political participation and political knowledge.

For this reason, national surveys have been implemented in many countries of upper high school students who are close to voting in their first elections. In this respect, the Czech Republic is no different where a small number of surveys have focussed on youth attitudes to voting and democracy as a system of governance.

School-based surveys of Czech youths' political attitudes

In the Czech Republic, one of the few sources of survey data on contemporary Czech youths' political attitudes is a set of studies commissioned by a non-governmental organisation (NGO) called *People in Need* (Člověk v tísni). This NGO has financed a number of surveys of nationally representative samples of high schools where the fieldwork was undertaken by Median s.r.o. a commercial survey research company. Some of these surveys are linked with fielding simulated national elections in schools where students are taught about the practicalities of holding elections and voting. These infrequent surveys tend to have different topics. In a survey fielded in 2015, the focus was on youth attitudes towards almost two dozen ethnic, religious, sexual and social minorities: data used in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

A survey of Czech youths' party preferences

Another important representative school-based survey of youths, used in Chapters 2 and 3 to explore the determinants of turnout and party choice, was collected in 2012 by the Aleš Kudrnáč (the author of this dissertation), and two colleagues Jakub Vrobel and Karel Komínek. This survey was financed by Masaryk University, Brno. This survey undertook interviews in 37 high schools and collected 1,735 completed questionnaires. This survey was designed to examine two main things among upper high school students (17 to 19 years): (1) attitudes toward voting in their first elections, and (2) party choice if an election were held in the near future. Although this survey has a number of limitations such as limited information about the classrooms interviewed (i.e. no teacher was interviewed), and students' reports of their parents past voting behaviour, it remains one of the very few surveys dealing directly with youth party preferences in Czech Republic. Such data is missing in the CIVED (1999) and ICCS (2009) data sets.

Czech high school students'survey

Data used in Chapter 5 come from a representative sample of 1,953 high school students from 85 schools. These data were gathered in May 2016 by the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Thematically, this survey focused on rather general political attitudes. The main advantage of these data is in the high number of respondents and the fact that students' civic teachers were also interviewed too. These data facilitate the estimation of classroom peer and teacher effects vis-à-vis individual student characteristics. Advantage of that is taken in Chapter 5 which focuses on the link between classroom political discussions and youths' sense of internal political efficacy: a key determinant of all forms of political behaviour and knowledge.

Data-based research strategy

One could argue that a dissertation that examined one of the above survey data sets in detail, rather than some elements from all data sets discussed above, would have been a better approach to the study of young Czechs political attitudes. In essence, here the choice is between implementing a focussed study of a single topic (e.g. propensity to vote) in a single country, or presenting a broader thematic study of youth political attitudes that is grounded in a broader literature. There are two reasons for adopting the second broader research strategy.

First, given the substantive importance of youth politics for understanding political change, it makes sense to follow the second more eclectic approach where the strengths of a variety of data sets are used to address widespread concerns that youth disengagement with politics is undermining democratic systems of government. Second, there is currently (2016) little survey-based research on the political attitudes and behaviour of Czech youths, and there is a need to present in a single study showing (a) what is currently known and (b) how this fits with the international research literature.

7. Why multilevel analysis?

Within this chapter the term "multilevel" has been used to introduce the conceptual logic of the modelling analyses presented in later chapters. Here the goal of this short sub-section is to discuss the necessity of multilevel, or hierarchical, models in a statistical sense. In this dissertation, hypothesis testing employs an extension of the linear (ordinary least squares, OLS) and generalised linear models (GLM, e.g. logit, and multinomial) where students, families and schools/classrooms are modelled simultaneously in a common (multilevel) framework. These multi-equation models are hierarchical because students are nested in families and schools/classrooms.

Consequently, in this dissertation there is an integrated theory-data-analysis strategy linking a generic theory (Coleman's boat) of youth politics, the hierarchal structure of the survey data analysed, and the data modelling estimators employed to analyse the multilevel data and test micro-macro causal mechanisms. It is important to stress with regard to Figures 3 and 4 presented earlier that the dynamics of reciprocal causation are set to one side in this dissertation to ensure the data models can be estimated. Therefore, non-recursive statistical models (with instrumental variables and two/three stage OLS estimators) are not presented or tested in this dissertation.

At the risk of repetition, the use of multilevel models in this study is grounded in both theory and data. Individuals interact with social context (groups) to which they belong and simultaneously these groups are influenced by the individuals by which are those groups consisted. This yields a hierarchical system of social relations where individuals are nested within groups. Variables can be defined on any level of the hierarchy which also offer us an opportunity to analyse relationship between variables on all levels. In case of this dissertation are individuals always pupils and those groups primarily schools and potentially classrooms. The sampling procedure was always following: 1) taking sample of school and then 2) taking a sample of pupils which usually means selecting classroom within school. This means that pupils are nested within classroom which is nested within schools.

In this dissertation there is frequent discussion about "contextual" variables which usually refer to variables constructed at classroom or school level. According to Hox et al. (2010) these aggregated (classroom) variables are in strict sense "structural" because they are constructed from variables at a lower (individual) level of aggregation. One example is the mean classroom socio-economic status (SES) explanatory variable used in Chapter 4. This was constructed by estimating the average (family-based) SES of all students in a class. As Hox et al. (2010) note: in the past, multilevel problems led into (dis)aggregation of all variables on one level which was followed by series of separate regression models. However, such approach is inappropriate and leads to two kinds of problems: 1) statistical and 2) conceptual.

First, the two main statistical problems were (a) loss of information through aggregation and (b) spurious modelling results caused by the disaggregation of variables. Second, the key conceptual problem is the *ecological inference fallacy* where using aggregate level statistics (e.g. constituency level election results and census data) to "explain" individual-level (voting) behaviour most often leads to invalid inferences. In other words, correlations evident at the aggregate level are often not observed at the individual – in fact, opposite relationships are frequently encountered (for more details see, Hox et al. 2010, King 1997).

All the individual data used in this dissertation come from paper and pencil interviewing (PAPI) undertaken in classrooms during ordinary school days. It is important to highlight that the youth samples are not the result of random sampling from the total population of Czech students. The schools (and classrooms) were selected on the basis of random stratified sampling. This strategy of initially sampling on the basis of higher level units is a standard one in academic survey research and is used in household and international surveys where the first samples selected are families and countries respectively. This sampling strategy has a very important consequence: the individual data are not completely independent, but there is a pattern (known technically as 'intra-class correlation') which has to be taken into account. Two randomly selected pupils from the same classroom are likely to be more similar to each other than two pupils randomly selected from two different schools because of the selection process.

8. Structure of the dissertation

This thesis is composed of six chapters that explore different facets of young Czechs' political attitudes and behaviour. The following paragraphs present an outline of the structure of each chapter in terms of the main dependent and independent variables. Details of the survey data and models estimated are given in each chapter. It is important from the outset to highlight that the first chapter deals with theoretical issues and the following five chapters present the results of modelling the determinants of a range of Czech youths' political attitudes. For this reason, Chapter 1 deals with general theoretical and methodological issues and the five empirical chapters focus on specific theories and technical issues related to the questions examined and data sets used.

Chapter 1 summarises the development and impact of the political socialization stream of research in political science. Traditionally this has been the subfield in political science that has explored most of the political attitudes and behaviour of children and adolescents. By the late 1970s research into political socialisation ceased because of inconsistent findings that were seen to be based on faulty causal inferences. For example, the fact that parents and children in the same household shared the same political attitudes does not prove that children learn politics from their parents. It could be that both parents and children learn their politics from a third common source, e.g. the community in which they reside. In sum, Chapter 1 provides a literature review of the youth politics topic: the key general theme of this dissertation.

In the first of the empirical chapters, Chapter 2 examines the determinants of youth attitudes towards electoral participation in their first national election. Using insights from Albert Bandura's (1977) influential theory of 'social learning' and James H. Fowler's (2005) 'small world'

a model of youth voter turnout based on imitation of parental example is presented. This chapter builds on the work of Bhatti and Hansen (2012) who demonstrated that voter turnout among young first time voters living at home with their parents is equivalent to adults in their mid-thirties. In other words, the conventional view in political science that youth turnout is the lowest of all cohorts is not always true. Combining these theoretical and empirical results to a study of youth turnout, this chapter tests the hypothesis that the strongest determinant of attitudes toward turnout is parents' record of voting. The data used in the analysis come from a representative survey of Czech high school students aged 17 to 19 years that was fielded in 2012.

Chapter 3 continues the theme of elections and voting and presents an examination of the determinant of the party preferences of Czech youth. In this chapter the focus is on the influence of two key channels of political socialization, i.e. the family and school, and on the party preferences of young (pre- or first time) voters in the Czech Republic. Similar to Chapter 2 use is made of a youth (high school students aged 17 to 19 years) survey data fielded in 2012. This chapter focuses on the left-right ideology basis for making party choices because this is core cleavage in Czech party competition, and explores which Czech adolescents would in a future election vote for right-wing, left-wing and 'other' parties. Previous work suggests that parents and schools both have an independent effect on individual's party choices: and this is a key theme explored in this chapter.

Chapter 4 extends the study of youth political attitudes by examining the determinants of three dependent variables (a) likelihood of turning out to vote in the future, (b) willingness to engage in non-electoral participatory activities, and (c) level of political knowledge. More specifically, this chapter examines if students from poorer families, indicated by socio-economic status (SES), gain from the experience of attending classes with students from wealthy families. More formally there is a test of the 'compensation' and 'acceleration' effects hypotheses developed by David E. Campbell (2008). Here the two key contextual variables examined are (a) open classroom climate, and (b) differences in SES in a classroom. Here use is made of the Czech wave of the ICCS (2009) study which has both a large number of theoretical important questions and number of respondents (n>4000).

Chapter 5 explores a factor that could be considered causally prior to willingness to political participation examined in Chapter 4: sense of internal political efficacy. This chapter aims to contribute to a greater understanding of how schools may help to influence the trend of growing political inequality partly analysed already in Chapter 4. Bandura's social cognitive learning theory provides a theoretical framework for explaining the role of classroom political discussions on youths' sense of political efficacy. Political discussion is understood as a

vicarious experience and classmates are a resource. Using data from the Czech High School Survey conducted in May 2016 (with 1,953 students aged 16 to 20 years and 85 civics teachers), the chapter provides insight into how classroom discussions may help to enhance sense of internal political efficacy, which is crucial for subsequent political engagement. Similarly to Chapter 4, the two key contextual variables examined are (a) open classroom climate, and (b) average political knowledge in a classroom. Chapter 5 also tests the 'compensation' and 'acceleration' hypotheses. Concretely, this chapter analyses if students with low SES benefit from political discussion in open classroom climate or classes with highly knowledgeable students.

Czech youths' social attitudes also have important political consequences, and this is the general theme explored in Chapter 6. Here there is a study of youth prejudices towards minorities where there is a focus on a gender gap in attitudes. This research is important because prejudice and intolerance are contrary to the core democratic principles of protecting minorities and ensuring they are not subject to discrimination. This chapter explores Czech youth prejudice to a wide range of twenty-one minority groups using a nationally representative survey conducted among high school students (15 to 20 years) fielded in the spring of 2015. Two main questions are examined in this chapter: (a) do Czech schools influence attitudes towards minorities? and (b) why are there gender differences in attitudes to some minorities?

In the final chapter, an overview of the main results from each of the five empirical chapters is presented, and this is used to explore their implications for the future study of youth politics. The relative importance of individual, family and school effects is discussed in term of the debate about youths voluntarily "tuning out" of politics because of lack of personal motivation, or being "left out" because the current political system does not offer young people the menu of party choice that encourages them to participate. Here there is also discussion of different channels of participation, i.e. electoral and non-electoral forms of participation. It could be, as Dalton and Welzel (2014) have argued, that youth (and adult) political participation is not declining, but changing.

Conclusion

One could argue that this chapter of youth political attitudes and behaviour in the Czech Republic is in danger of falling foul of the old adage that "[a]ll this contains much that is obviously true, and much that is relevant; unfortunately, what is obviously true is not relevant, and what is relevant is not obviously true."[3] What is known and "obviously true" is that youth turnout is lower than previous generations, and young Czechs' interest and knowledge of politics is also low, and these age-based patterns are "relevant" to understanding current Czech politics. However, with regard to the future what is "obviously true" and "relevant" of Czech youth politics currently may not be a good predictor of how Czech society and politics may evolve in the future.

As the events surrounding the Velvet Revolution of late 1989 demonstrate, external factors and social context also play a key role in determining political change highlighting that knowledge of well-known facts may be of little help in understanding what is relevant for understanding major change. Few scholars predicted key events such as the Prague Spring (1968), the fall of communism (1989), and the Arab-Spring (2010). Such failures demonstrate that any study of youth politics must be critically aware of the limits of scholarly understanding and the inferences that may be drawn from statistical analyses of survey data.

Consequently, this dissertation has the modest goal of aiding understanding of youth political attitudes without any pretence to being a systematic or definitive study of a vast field of inquiry. What this scholarly study does aim to do is to show how various theories and models of youth politics developed elsewhere have application to Czech youth whose parental socialisation and schooling reflect (1) a unique and turbulent twentieth century history, and (2) a stratified educational system.

Moreover, testing influential theories of youth politics in the Czech context has the benefit for the international political science community of contributing to scholarly knowledge of how the context of youth socialisation in homes and schools matters. For this reason, the focus on placing Czech youths in their appropriate context represents one way in which this dissertation aims to make a contribution, however modest, to the political science discipline's understanding of youth and their unique contribution to political change.

---

[3] This quote is often inaccurately attributed to Winston Churchill. In fact, Churchill quoted Arthur J. Balfour (British Prime Minister, July 1902 to December 1905) who used the following phrase in his book *Great Contemporaries* (London & New York, 1937, p. 250, last reprinted 1990): "[...] there were some things that were true, and some things that were trite; but what was true was trite, and what was not trite was not true [...]".

CHAPTER 1: Theoretical Perspectives and Approaches in Political Socialization Research

Introduction

Research whose main interest lays in analysing political attitudes and behaviour of youth is popularly known as "political socialization". The problematic part starts when we want to define what does political socialization really mean. In its broadest sense, political socialization is a lifelong process. From the early work of sociologists, psychologists and philosophers it has been consistently argued that the attitudes, beliefs, values, norms and behaviour we learn in childhood persist and influence later views and behaviour. The comprehensive nature of the socialization processes, of which political socialization is one element, is evident in a 'standard' textbook definition:

> We will define political socialization quite loosely as the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as citizen with that system. Such a definition encompasses a wide range of approaches and theories without commitment to any one in particular (Greenberg 2009: 3).

The very general nature of socialization concept comes at a cost: there is no single 'theory'. Within the political socialization subfield of political science, there is perhaps an even more eclectic approach to this process than the quotation above shows. In effect, political socialization theory and research methods have been borrowed from diverse disciplines such as psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology and psychoanalysis.

For example one of the key findings from the classic political socialization literature is that if both parents share same political preference, it is highly probable that their children will have that same political identification (Jennings and Niemi 1968; Tedin 1974). From a 'common sense' perspective this makes sense: a child learns its values from its parents. Often this consistency in political attitudes within the family has been attributed to 'family socialization.' There is strong reason to think that the origins of this attitudinal consistency are not simple as common sense suggests. Social scientists have argued that common intra-family attitudes can be the product of three, or perhaps more, distinct causal mechanisms (Christakis and Fowler 2009).

First, *induction* effects occur where the political attitudes of one dominant person such as an 'opinion leader' cause others to have the same attitudes. Here a politically engaged parent may persuade their partner and children to vote in election and support a specific party, for example (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). Second, *homophily* effects highlight the importance of having the same political attitudes for couple formation where like-minded people tend to prefer living together

and their children are exposed to consistent political messages leading to intra-family consistency (Huber and Malhotra 2013). Third, *confounding effects* refer to the community based processes where individual family members all experience the same context effects such as high political participation and partisanship because the district within which they live is an active one and the influence of 'friends and neighbours' is strong (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995). The impact of the media may also be considered a confounding effect where all family members are influenced by election campaign messages.

The central point here is to highlight that demonstrating consistent political attitudes and behaviour among family members is only the start of the research process because it is rarely a simple task to explain such attitudinal consistency because of the problem of 'observational equivalence': two or more distinct causal mechanisms can have the same manifest effects and additional information is required to determine what is really happening.

The goal of this chapter is to provide an insight into the development and impact of the political socialization stream of research in political science which is the key theme of the whole dissertation. The motivation of this chapter is to a) give an overview of political socialization research literature and b) demonstrate problematic points of this research area which also highlight the weakness of models presented in this dissertation.

Some developmental psychologists, most notably Judith Rich Harris (1995), have argued using null hypothesis reasoning that there is little empirical evidence demonstrating parental influence on their children's subsequent attitudes and behaviour as adolescents and adults. Most studies of parental influence are fundamentally flawed. For example, parent's and children's shared genetic background is rarely included in models estimated. In short, the intuitive belief that parents must influence their children's development in all areas including politics has weak or no empirical support. The current empirical evidence (with failure to reject the null hypothesis of no parental effects) allows one to conclude that "political socialisation" does not exist as the scientific case in its favour remains unproven. Few developmental psychologists or political scientists subscribe to this extreme view. Notwithstanding the merits of this scientific debate, what is clear is that the label "political socialisation" has become widely used in research into youth politics over the last half century. In this chapter, the traditional label of "political socialisation" will be employed for practical purposes because the term is widely known and understood.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first section starts with discussing the term socialization and proceeds with the overview of political socialization research to this day. Here, the history of this field is briefly outlined and the main areas of study are presented, stressing the

major theoretical and empirical controversies. In the second part, the appropriateness of three main survey designs for the study of political socialization is discussed and critical overview of studies which used panel data for analysing political socialization is provided.

1. Political Socialization Research Overview

Political socialization does not have a definitive meaning and consequently there are a variety of definitions of political socialization. Within the social sciences the conceptualization, often not the subject of explicit theorizing, is evident in the works of such diverse theorists as Cooley (1956), Piaget (1975), Bourdieu (2000), Berger and Luckmann (1966), Kohlberg (1981) and Harris (1995).

Within political science there is also a long list of political socialization scholars. Early researchers would include Hyman (1959), Dawson (1966), and Greenstein (1965). Within a decade of Hyman's (1959) seminal book on political socialization there were criticisms of published research by Dennis (1968) and Marsh (1971) who argued for more theoretical and operational rigor. This issue remains a feature of current political socialization.

The diverse concepts of political socialization usually fall into two broad categories. The first type could be represented by Langton (1969:4) who defined political socialization as a "way how society transmits its political culture from generation to generation." The second perspective emphasizes an individual's personal growth in which the person is forming their own values and personal identity (Sears 1975: 95). This broad division of conceptualizing political socialization fits into larger debates about the nature of socialization within the discipline of sociology and has resulted in some ambiguity and confusion regarding the importance of socialization.

Given the diverse roots of political socialization scholarship, it is not surprising that the origins of the sub-discipline are debated. Some authors such as Niemi and Hepburn (1995) state that political socialization research developed from political behaviour research interest undertaken in the late 1950s. That is probably mainly because the term "political socialization" originates in Hyman's (1959) eponymous work. It may be argued that the innovative design and influential findings from the 'Columbia Studies' fielded in the 1940s represent the first survey based attempts at political socialization research, even though he has not explicitly stated that it is a political socialization research (Berelson et al. 1954).

The direction of political socialization research has gone through specific phases. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the main focus was ideology and childhood socialization believing that parents are the most important agent. Later, political socialization scholars emphasized proximate (rather than distal) effects such as the impact of media messages. In addition, the focus moved

away from studying childhood to adolescence: the latter being considered another phase in citizens' political development.

Political socialization research experienced a golden era in 1970s; and thereafter interest in the topic declined rapidly. Niemi and Hepburn (1995: 1) concluded that by the end of the 1970s political socialization research had "died a premature death." The reason might be that the researchers felt that there is not much more to analyse. There is an irony here because during the 1980s new statistical methods and models were developed allowing political socialization researchers to analyse change over time in innovative ways (Singer and Willet 2003).

For almost next three decades relatively little political socialization research was published; and this situation began to change around 2010 (note, Gordon and Taft 2011; Abendschön 2013) when motivation to retest hypotheses and findings from early studies by using new statistical methods emerged.

Apart from the recent panel studies, several experiments were conducted to examine classic causal hypotheses. These experiments usually measured short term effects of school or media and led to the conclusion that civic classes (Pasek et al.2008) or exposure to certain media programs have an effect on adolescents' political values (Paluck and Green 2009). Such studies are very important because they contribute to the large debate which originates in 1960s about civic education and agenda setting having a vast impact on democratic development in society. Student-Parent Socialization Study (1965; 1973; 1982; and 1997) has been widely used for this purpose because it allows combining data from students, parents and schools in a long-term period. As usual these data come from the USA.

Belgian Youth Survey (2006; 2008; and 2011) represents one of the few recent panel surveys of adolescents outside the U.S. Researchers visited over 60 schools and gathered more than 6 thousands of respondents in the first wave. Being one of the few European studies, this survey is of high importance as it provides an opportunity to test hypotheses in multiparty environment with a weak party attachment and different political history and culture than the U.S. There have been a lot of publications based on this data recently. The authors are mostly Marc Hooghe, Ellen Quintelier or Ruth Dassonneville who focus primarily on school effects on youth political attitudes and behaviour.

Another youth panel survey comes from Sweden where scholars from Örebro University focus on inequality, political communication and political participation of young people. The researchers are part of the Youth and Society organization which is led by professor Erik Amnå.

Political socialization research, both in its early phases and the most recent forms, revolves around a set of key issues. These are summarized in the following part, stressing that even after decades of research many of them remain unresolved.

Rise and Development of Political Attitudes

It is not very surprising that citizens do not experience a massive shift of their political opinions and preferences when they become eligible to vote after reaching their eighteenth birthday. One does not change from a politically apathetic teenager to an actively engaged citizen overnight simply because of becoming an adult. Encouragement to figure out the process of becoming *homo politicus* comes with the debate over low turnout among young cohort which started decades prior to the early political socialization studies of the 1950s (e.g. Tingsten 1937).

Systematic research of political socialization starts in the 1960s. Scholars realized that even children under the age of six years are capable of expressing feelings about political parties (Greenstein 1965). The fact that children were able to respond to questions regarding politics were interpreted as a start of future party identification. It became obvious that even very young children are confronted with politics and are able to perceive it. Those findings encouraged research in this area even more.

Early political socialization scholars argued that early socialization has the biggest impact on citizens' political learning over the life cycle (e.g. Campbell 1960; Greenstein 1965; Sears 1975). Here the goal has been to see if specific patterns of early political socialization have long term consequences leading some individuals to become highly active citizens and others to be politically apathetic (Dennis 1968: 99). Within the classic political socialization research, it was hypothesized that early adoption of political attitudes and values results in higher persistence due to a strong imprinting process.

Democratic states usually provide civic courses that are supposed to give their young citizens crucial information about political and electoral system which might also stimulate their civic engagement but primarily give them the information about political and electoral process.

As is evident from the development curve approach, a major debate within the field has been over the persistence of political values and attitudes. Political socialization research has been largely based on the influential assumption that what individuals learn in childhood persists through life.

Do the Attitudes Persist?

Sears (1975: 127) highlights that the question of attitude persistence from early socialization through adulthood "has been of anxious concern to virtually all who have written in this area." There were several attempts by Campbell (1960) and Converse (1966) in the United States and Butler and Stokes (1969) in Britain to prove attitude persistence using a retrospective question where adults were asked to report their attitudes as adolescents. Use of this retrospective method was criticized because respondents are known to be unreliable in reconstructing earlier attitudes (Jaspers et al. 2009).

However, the persistence of political learning from early childhood through the life-cycles is still questioned. The opposing hypothesis claims that individuals adjust their views and behaviour to the actual situation. To illustrate this theoretical controversy, Donald Green and his colleagues (Green et al. 2002) favour the "persistence" hypothesis where they are convinced that party identification persists similarly to religious identity. Their argument is that studies favouring the "openness" hypothesis suffer from measurement error; and if you control for it, issues positions will show no effect on party identification. In contrast, Abramowitz and Sanders (1998) explain the increasing correlation between ideology and partisanship by arguing that individuals simply adjust their partisanship according to their ideological values. Even Campbell (1960) who over the long-term supports the persistence hypothesis admitted more than half a century ago that "if the pressure is intense enough, a stable partisan identification may actually be changed".

Later research by Niemi and Jennings (1991) revealed that partisanship is relatively stable; however, it cannot be assumed that it persists. There are other factors that influence partisanship such as the economic situation, the behaviour of political leaders, implemented policy, scandals, etc. At this point it is worth noting that most political socialization research was undertaken in the U.S. during a period when partisanship was both strong and stable with a unique form of electoral competition based on the dominance of two large parties.

Political Socialization as a Means of Transmission of Political Attitudes

Subject to much discussion from the start was also the issue of "the function of political socialization" (Almond and Coleman 1960: 27), i.e. whether it contributes more to the intergenerational continuity or rather discontinuity. Political socialization thus does not inevitably result in continuity but may also contribute to considerable gaps between generations, as was symptomatic of the 1960s, the dramatic period of western history. Within this context, taking generation effects in account makes some sense as the student generations of the 1950s and 1960s were very different in terms of political activism and behaviour. If generation effects are

important, this undermines the importance of the family socialization of children. Each new generation may learn some attitudes and values from their parents but most of their political outlook has its origins in peer group and the media. If this was not true, we would observe children as a perfect replication of their parents, but this is not happening.

From this perspective, political socialization would be the study of how each generation invents its own attitudes and values: inter-generational transmission processes are of less importance. If one accepts this 'generational' criticism this implies that the study of the political socialization using a parent-child survey research methodology is inappropriate because each generation is unique. Consequently, a 'cohort-centric' approach where specific generations are studied separately is a more valid basis for exploring political attitudes and behaviour.

Within the socialization perspective, the transmission process is carried out through socialization agents, among which family, school and media are regarded as crucial. Not surprisingly, family is given priority in most of the political socialization literature (Lesthaeghe and Moors 2001; Whiteley 1999).

Being a socialization agent entails not only similarity to the person who is the subject of socialization in correlation terms, but above all having a real impact on adolescent or child. As in any behaviour research, both direct and indirect effects are likely to be operating in the process of political socialization. A direct effect occurs when the activity of parents influence adolescent's behaviour because they work as a role model (McFarland and Thomas. 2006). An example of direct influence can be the political engagement of parents (Nesbit 2012). Children are more likely to politically participate if their parents participate in elections (Martikainen et al. 2005) or in politics in general (Plutzer 2002). Indirect influence happens if parents talk and discuss politics with children. Children from families with frequent political discussion are more likely to be politically active later in life (Schmid 2012). Political agents are discussed in more detail in the following subchapter.

Political Socialization Agents

Originally, there have been a huge debate about the question of which agent is the most important. In most of the political socialization literature, the family is considered the most important factor influencing attitude and behaviour of young people (Langton 1969; Dawson and Prewitt 1968; Bhatti and Hansen 2012). Parents are usually seen as the most influential socialization agent because they spend most of the time with their children and parents' role is to guide offspring's behaviour, through direct and indirect action. From the research point of view the congruence between parents and their children stand for one of the first significant findings.

Recent research has shown that young first-time voters who live at home or with others are more likely to vote, suggesting that socialization and social network effects are critically important in explaining turnout (Bhatti and Hansen 2012). In concordance with Fieldhouse and Cutts (2012) their argument is that youth voting turnout is dependent on whether they moved away from their parents' home or not, although it is strongly conditional on the parental turnout. They argue that parental turnout influences the young adult's turnout and those who still live with their parents vote more often than those who live on their own. These studies imply that context matters and attitudes alone do not explain political behaviour among young adults.

It has been suggested that families have an impact on generalized trust and civic participation (Chan and Elder 2001). If parents are democrats, their children are more likely to be democrats too. They will be more likely to adopt democratic values and accept democratic decision-making procedures (Quintelier et al. 2007).

School as the second important socialization environment involves two important agents – teachers and peers. Teachers are responsible for transferring knowledge and also developing the cognitive skills of pupils. They also initiate discussions about politics, society and public issues like tolerance towards immigrants and homosexuals. Although teachers are supposed to educate youth about politics and public issues, they do not always have the capacities, means or motivation to transform pupils into politically engaged citizens. Apart from teachers' abilities, this can be caused by pupils' apathy about politics.

Jennings and Niemi (1968) point out that one should not underestimate the role of educational environment. They analysed high school seniors and their parents and came up with a conclusion that:

> […] it is nevertheless clear that any model of socialization which rests on assumptions of pervasive currents of parent to child value transmissions of the types examined here is in serious need of modification […] The data suggest that with respect to a range of other attitude objects the correspondents vary from at best moderate support to virtually no support.

Other scholars indicate significant and meaningful effect of school and curriculum on high school students' political knowledge and behaviour too (Hooghe and Stolle 2003; Niemi and Junn 1998, Yates and Youniss 1999). The reason for different results might be that educational style and curriculums have changed since 1970s and it is not so much about memorizing rather about discussion and interaction activities. Moreover it is not just about changes in teaching style and curriculums but also open-classroom climate, option to visit school councils and participate in youth parliaments have positive effect on political knowledge and future political behaviour (Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

There is large literature (i.e. Rosenstone and Hansen 2003; Verba and Nie 1972) that documents a positive relationship between level of educational and electoral participation. Most studies implicitly assume that education somehow causes participation. However, even though the average turnout is declining, general levels of education have increased. Verba et al. (2003: 13) note that "education is in fact the strongest predictor of political activity". In most studies education is the strongest predictor of political participation even when other socio-economic factors are taken in consideration (Shields and Goidel 1997).

There are basically two broadly accepted theories explaining why education is such a strong predictor. Firstly, the civic education theory is based on the idea that education provides skills necessary to become politically engaged and also the knowledge to understand democratic principles (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003). People with higher education participate at higher rates because their schooling provided them with the "skills people need to understand the abstract subject of politics, to follow the political campaign, and to research and evaluate the issues and candidates" (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980: 136). In other words, higher education reduces the material and cognitive costs of participation. The second approach asserts that the schooling system socializes people into individuals that support voting turnout because of its promotion of political efficacy, interest in politics or civic duty (Campbell et al. 1960).

The education system operates as an important channel of political socialization, with college attendance viewed as being especially significant source of political learning. However, Highton (2009) argues that education, which is usually seen as a proxy for cognitive ability, is really a proxy for pre-college socialization. Consequently, the correlation between education and political sophistication might be spurious and attention should shift to exploring if, and how, socialization processes determine an individual's level of political sophistication.

But it is not just teachers that young people meet at school. Classmates are omnipresent and they are constantly interacting with each other. Young people develop their attitudes through discussion with peers (Verba et al. 1995). Some scholars (Campbell 2008; Hess 2009) report the effects of an open classroom climate on political engagement. Political discussion among peers leads to increased political participation, in part because these discussions function as a mechanism for becoming recruited (Klofstad 2011).

Within psychology there has been the controversy about the research evidence concerning parents influence over their children's development. Harris (1995) has shown that the empirical evidence of a 'parental effect' on how children turn out as adults is not strong, and in many cases inconsistent. The key implication here is that the main channel of political socialization is not the family, but children's peer group. Consequently, Harris (1995) has proposed that a 'group' rather

than 'family' socialization model would offer a better explanatory framework for children's development.

Apart from scholars who are convinced that political attitudes and values are products of environment and socialization agents there are also experts who explain personal attitudes and participation mainly by genetic factors. The argument is that we have been born with some predispositions for certain political attitudes and they influence one's political behaviour more than the environment and context they live in (Alford et al. 2005; Harris 1995; Ksiazkiewicz et al. 2016).

Alford et al. (2005) compared the political attitudes and preferences between monozygotic and dizygotic twins. According to this study, party identification is primarily a product of socialization that is what children learn from their parents and learning experiences in childhood. However they explicitly state that:

> [a] political match between parents and children should not be taken to be the result of a socialization process […] just as political mismatches between parent and child should not be taken as evidence against a role for genetics. Parent–child mismatches are distinctly possible given the uncertainties of meiosis […] and the possibility for occasional errors in the transcription and translation of genes (Alford et al. 2005: 164).

New research done by Ksiazkiewicz et al. (2016) using twin couples showed that that the personality traits that are responsible for political interest, efficacy and ideology (need for cognition and need for cognitive closure) are heritable and are linked primarily, perhaps solely, because of shared genetic influences.

Although scholars usually find socialization agents as more influential than other variables like genetic disposition, it seems that the theory of political socialization does not rest on such firm grounds as is usually perceived. There is still no convincing conclusion what really matters in building and persisting political values, attitudes and partisanship. Contrary to the classical studies that were oftentimes motivated to find out which socialization agent is the most influential, this has changed rapidly and nobody is asking such question lately. Even though scholars analyse separate effects of socialization agents, it would be very naive to search for only one main socialization agent.

2. Data Design in Political Socialization Research

As has been noted above, literature is not consistent in its conclusions regarding basic hypotheses of political socialization. The diverse findings can be caused by use of different assumptions, methods and data. If we follow the persisting political socialization mainstream research and assume that socialization does exist and matters, we should ask how to test related hypothesis.

There are basically three ways how to undertake political socialization research: 1) cross-sectional, 2) (quasi)experimental and 3) panel survey. The following part very briefly summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the cross-sectional and quasi-experimental design demonstrating the reason for which they are used very rarely in political socialization research. This should help to understand several limitations which will conclusions in this dissertation have. Consequently, since the panel data design is becoming most frequently used it will be described in more detail.

Cross-sectional survey data

Even though cross-sectional data are relatively easy to gather and for most of the political behaviour analysis sufficient, this approach is not very popular in political socialization research. First and foremost, the concept of political socialization implies research questions that are longitudinal in nature. Be it the development of political attitudes in time or parental influence on children, analysing a state at a certain time within the cross-sectional design is very limiting.

The cross-sectional approach offers no means of studying the progress of individual political socialization and is not able to disentangle the effect of age, cohort and time period. Observed age differences thus cannot be unequivocally attributed to aging, since political trust, party attachment or preferences could have been influenced by the actual political situation or political and social circumstances at the time individual was born and growing up.

The key problem with cross-sectional data is that they do not provide any evidence on causality, which is at the core of most political socialization research. Since main cross-sectional relationships have long been established, the real focus is on explaining causal mechanism behind them. For example if we see high rate of voting turnout among youth in families with certain characteristics, with cross-sectional type of data we will never be able to find out why this is happening. Is it because of one of those characteristics of family; or school they visit? Is it because they live in the same city? Is it genetics? These major problems were clear very soon and that is the reason why scholars have been working primarily with panel data since 1960s and political socialization studies using cross-sectional type of data are relatively rare.

This conclusion is not very encouraging for studying political socialization in the Czech Republic where only cross-sectional data were available at the time this dissertation has been written. Being aware of mentioned major limitations I am still convinced that if we take the shortage of youth political attitudes studies in the Czech context into account there is still something interesting and important which can be told by using the cross-sectional type of data even though we can hardly talk about causality.

(Quasi)Experiments

Secondly, it is possible to use (quasi)experimental design, which has potential to solve the causal inference problem by controlling and setting conditions. We identify an independent variable and control other variables in order to see if subsequent manipulation of the independent variable under the controlled conditions produces change in the dependent variable. If this is the case, we can usually declare causal relationship.

Even though (quasi)experiments are powerful tools in capturing causality, they also have a number of features that make them less attractive option for political socialization researcher. As political socialization is effectively a lifelong process, the main disadvantage to using (quasi)experiments is their short-term orientation. (Quasi)experiments could be useful in analysing short-term effects or media effects but it is virtually impossible to undertake an experiment in order to analyse long-term effect like value transmission between generations or value persistence because. The key strength of experiment, studying events in controlled conditions, cannot be maintained over longer periods. It would be necessary to follow people for many years.

A typical weak point of (quasi)experimental design is that they are not representative. The manipulation uses natural settings and planned repetitions with different subject populations and experimental circumstances. (Quasi)experiments are also usually criticized for their validity problems. Experiment is internally valid as long as we are certain that the outcome was caused by the independent variable. If we consider experiment with two randomly assigned groups where in the first one students attended civics lessons and in the second one they did not, and we look for the level of political knowledge which was the same before giving the civics lessons but is higher in the first group after attendance of the civics lessons, we can assume that the higher level of political knowledge is promoted by attending civics lessons. However, internal validity suffers if a certain type of individuals drop out or refuses to participate. We call it differential attrition. That would happen if for example bad students dropped out of the whole school and thus also from the experiment.

External validity is threatened by certain groups not being included in the experiment. For example if university educated parents refused participation of their children, we would miss students with a specific family background. Random sampling methods are usually used to make sure that participants from diverse settings are included in order to keep results externally valid. In the example situation described above, this could means sampling individuals from different cities in order to make sure that effects of civics lessons are not characteristics only of some

cities. Finally, the usual pre-test and post-test design can produce changes in experimental subjects solely by means of measurement taking place prior to manipulation.

Panel survey approaches to the study of political socialization

As both cross-sectional and experimental design, despite their advantages, do not often suit the purposes of political socialization research, panel studies are commonly employed. The basic condition for panel is that respondents are measured repeatedly in at least two waves. Panel data provide opportunities to describe trajectories of development over the life course and examine the patterns of causal relationships over a longer period; they allow effective comparison in time, so one could investigate the speed, tendency and occasions of political socialization development.

Panel data enable to study regularity and extent of change across defined groups and focus on different life experience. Panel data has an advantage in dealing with potential problems regarding temporal instability and unit heterogeneity (Halaby 2004). The same units are observed at different times in panel surveys and most of unobserved variables remain stable so we could rule them out as a possible explanation of response differences (Blossfeld et al. 2009: 15).

With panel data, researchers are able to find out whether respondent achieves what he presumed in previous waves. For example, in the first wave interviewer can ask if respondent is planning to become a party member next year. Consequently, in the following wave, it is possible to check if the respondent actually joined a political party and analyse the reasons why the respondent has (not) became a party member and why he has (not) chosen a specific political party.

Panel data fits the need of political socialization scholars to follow development of attitudes and values over long periods of time and examine the timing and strength of socialization effects during the lifecycle. Multiple measurement occasions allow describing trajectories of various characteristics, such as cyclical development of political literacy, which tends to be higher before elections when voters obtain information about politics in a greater extent than in periods between elections. However, it is not possible to capture whole dynamics of socialization even with panel data that are in reality a series of cross-section data.

Despite its popularity in the field of political socialization research, panel data also suffer from several issues. Blossfeld et al. (2009:16) describe "causation-as-consequential-manipulation" problem which denotes the situation when the intervention itself will quasi-automatically lead to an outcome. Because the same subjects are repeatedly interviewed, panel conditioning can occur, that is responses given in one wave are influenced by those given in the previous waves (Trivellato and Ruspini1999).

Though the major advantage of panel design is the opportunity to tap causal mechanisms, this may not always be achieved. Cox (1992) noted that a causal relationship between X and Y must be seen as a product of a process developed by a certain mechanism. Considering causation as a generative process, we should realize that the role of time does not lay just in providing effect order but also include the intervals between cause and effect. In other words, the cause needs time to generate an effect. For example, if mother starts telling the child a list of Czech presidents, it will take some time before the child will know names of all the Czech presidents. The interval depends on a certain occasions and effects and can be very short or very long but either zero or infinite (Kelly and McGrath 1988; Blossfeld et al. 2009).

The crucial aspect of panel study closely linked to the quality of resulting data is the issue of attrition. It is highly important not to underestimate communication with respondents in order to achieve as high retention rate as possible. Low retention rate may result in bias and even seriously threaten validity of the whole research. On the other hand, the risk of high attrition rates imposes high demands for perfect planning and organization that make the research usually very expensive and time consuming. This may be the reason why there are very few panel surveys in the Czech Republic.

Examples of Longitudinal Political Socialization Studies

There have been numerous influential publications in the political social sub-field within political science, e.g. Jennings Niemi (1974), Plutzer (2002), Quintelier et. al (2007), Fieldhouse and Cutts (2012) and since panel data design seems to be the most suitable and used approach in analysing political socialization hypotheses this section provides few examples of how panel data can be used in political socialization research.

One of the first influential studies using panel data was Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet's (1944) 'The People's Choice' which explored the nature of voting in the US Presidential Election of 1940 and highlighted (a) the importance of family socialization, (b) electoral choices are made within a social context, (c) individuals' social networks tend to be homogeneous in terms of political attitudes and (d) the mass media tends to reinforce pre-existing attitudinal biases. These results highlighted the sociological nature of voting and led Berelson et al. (1954) and his team in their next large voting study to map out an individual's voting intentions over the course of a political campaign using a panel survey design.

Berelson et al.'s (1954) 'Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign' primarily used data from a four wave panel study conducted in Elmira during the 1948 presidential elections. They also gathered data from the local press and candidates' speeches, and

observed the activities of local party organizations in order to be able to analyse the effect of media on a voting decision.

An influential panel survey was fielded by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center (SRC) and Center for Political Studies (CPS) and has been the subject of numerous published studies, e.g. Healy and Malhotra 2013; Jennings et al. 2009. The Youth-Parent Socialization Study consisting of four waves: 1965 (N=1669), 1973, 1982, and 1997 (N=935) was a dedicated longitudinal study of parent-child political socialization that consisted of interviews with a national sample of high school seniors.

The key value of these panel data is that it is possible to trace three generations across a three-decade time span. The original questionnaire focused on attitudes related to civil liberties, religious orientations, political trust, political engagement and partisanship. During the first three waves interviews were conducted with at least one parent in order to be able to analyse the responses of parent-child dyads. For the four waves the SRC-CPS research team managed to gather 636 pairs consisting of parents from the first wave (Generations 1) and their offspring (Generation 2).

Jennings et al. (2009), using also Michigan's Survey Research Center data, examined interpersonal trust in the USA over a three decade period and showed that the decline in trust during 1970s and 1990s occurred mainly within the youngest cohort. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents, aged 17 years old, agreed that most people can be trusted in 1965. Three decades later, in 1997, only one third of the children of these respondents shared such a trusting outlook while their parents retained their trusting outlook. Such findings have been used by scholars who support the 'Generation X' explanation for the decline in trust and social and political participation. Jennings et al. (2009) also showed that there are strong age and life cycle effects for trust and political and social engagement. These findings reveal that scholars have to be very careful when making inferences about trends in cohort effects using cross-sectional data. This is because the assumptions that life cycle effects are constant are not always valid (Hooghe 2004: 39).

An important channel of political socialization is the education system where college attendance is viewed as being especially important source of political learning. In order to test this assumption, Highton (2009) analysed if there are differences in political sophistication between those who attended college and those who has not using the four-wave panel Youth-parent Socialization Study data. He focused on examining the attitudes of adolescent respondents before and after they attended college to observe the impact of education on their level of

political sophistication. Highton (2009: 1573) concluded that education is a proxy for pre-college socialization and the correlation between education and political knowledge is spurious.

Valentino and Sears (1998) analysed the influence of political campaign, using a (three-wave) panel study. They observed pre-adults and their parents during and after the 1980 presidential campaign. Their conclusion implies that adolescents exposed to higher levels of political communication experience the largest socialization gains. Moreover, Valentino and Sears (1998: 127) conclude that "the socializing effects of political communication are limited to the campaign season." This chapter provides evidence that some of the assumptions that have been made on basis of cross-sectional studies show up as spurious because correlation does not mean causation; and socialization is a broad process where scholars are not able to statistically control for all potential confounding variables and effects.

Discussion and Conclusion

Political socialization research has produced many findings which, though still enjoying widespread acceptance, may be in the light of more recent studies no longer relevant or could be a product of a spurious variable. Firstly, it is usually uncritically accepted that family is still the most influential socializing environment for developing political attitudes and preferences even though there are studies that show contradictory results. This may divert the attention from studying effects of other socialization agents. Secondly, researchers tend to defend basis of their research by accepting that attitudes and preferences learned in early childhood are relatively stable and they persist. Consequently, it is usually assumed that early adoption of political attitudes and values results in their higher persistence. Thirdly, some scholars tend to assume that the aging effect make a great difference in the magnitude of attitudinal change, thus likely underestimating the potential for attitudinal change in adulthood. Finally, the importance of generation effects is often overlooked which may result in the false impression of socialization as a process contributing exclusively to intergenerational continuity.

Matters are even more complicated because some evidence supports the claim that socialization agents are not that relevant as was assumed in the past and genetics or contextual effects may play the key role in developing individual's attitudes and preferences.

Such controversies underscore an important characteristic of socialization research literature: it is often interdisciplinary in nature, and this is reflected in the diverse origins of the concept of socialization. Even though political socialization research ran for more than 60 years, it seems that there is apparently no convincing conclusion about almost any of political socialization hypothesis.

There are diverse views on the primary cause of one's political attitudes and political participation which could be summarized as contextual, genetic or cause of socialization agents and environment.

Causal mechanism is ideally analysed by (quasi)experiments, however they are not suitable for testing most of the political socialization hypotheses. Panel data design is already a mainstream data design in political science research. Panel data research design requires repeated measures of political attitudes among members of the same observed group (family, friends, colleagues etc.). Moreover, information about the context or community in which the individual and their family live can be equally crucial. The trouble which is political socialization research in the long-term facing is the fact that there is no convincing answer to almost any research question. This crucial issue is caused by several causes.

Firstly, political socialization is due to its interdisciplinarity and abstention of real theory very vague term for almost anything which fit into definition of "…(p)rocess by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as citizen with that system" (Greenberg 2009: 3). Secondly, genetics proved to be relevant factor for political socialization research. The problem here is that to rule out genetic factors we would need lots of twin couples which some of them would be monozygotic and some of them dizygotic (i.e. Ksiazkiewicz et al. 2016).

Thirdly, political socialization is a process and as such there are too many possible factors (e.g. social environment, cultural determinants, socialization agents, and genetics) which can be hardly ever controlled for at one time. Most of the scholars agree that political socialization should be seen as an everyday process from other personal development mechanisms. Does it mean we should stop researching political socialization? Probably no, however we should tone down conclusions and not exaggerate partial findings.

I am using political socialization research literature as a basis for my analysis; however I am reluctant to talk about my results in terms of political socialization and causation. First reason is that political socialization research seems to be mainly a popular label for analysing youth political attitudes and behaviour which however is not firmly grounded in theory because there is no single theory and clear definition of political socialization. Additionally, the high level of interconnection between agents, environments, genetics and other influences of personal characteristics cause that it is almost impossible to control for all possible variables. Second reason is due to the data nature which is in all chapters cross-sectional. Here it is not possible to talk about any causal effects. Models in this dissertation will be analysed and findings interpreted rather in terms of social learning by imitation and contagion in terms of correlation rather than

causation. In the next chapter, the intuitive notion that parents act as examples to their children is used to test an imitation theory and model of youth turnout.

CHAPTER 2: Attitude towards Voting Turnout: Parental Example as a Motivation?

Introduction

The opening chapter of empirical part of this dissertation starts with analysing probably most evident consequence of youth attitudes which is voting turnout. Within the classic studies of voting the Columbia and Michigan research teams found that electoral participation and party choice is most strongly determined by the family. Election campaigns and party policy positions had less impact. This classic research highlighted the importance of political socialisation within the family (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954; Campbell et al. 1960; Butler and Stokes 1975). Subsequent research has shown that electoral participation and the social context created by friends and peers is also critically important (Blais and Carty 1990; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980).

This chapter looks at the parental example of electoral participation in instilling positive attitudes toward turnout in future elections in teenage children still living at home. This first time voter segment of the electorate is important because many scholars think that electoral behaviour in a young voters' first election sets an example for life (Jennings and Niemi 1974; Franklin 2004). A similar argument is made about party attachment and vote choice. It is not clear that this 'imprinting' is equally important for all young voters. With respect to turnout, Bhatti and Hansen (2012: 384) show that turnout is relatively high for first time voters (aged 18 to 21 years) and then falls dramatically when these first time voters leave their parents' home and live independently. If these young voters happen to move in with flat mates who also vote then it seems this 'example' motivates turnout in subsequent elections (Bhatti and Hansen 2013).

The key point here is that when young adults live with their parents they vote at a higher rate than when they live independently. This pattern suggests that parents can, and often do, exert a strong influence on their adult children's decision to vote when (a) their parents go voting, and (b) when the adult children live at home (Bhatti and Hansen 2012: 386). The three main explanations for this parental effect are (1) genetics through the inheritance of personality traits that are conducive to turnout, (2) political socialisation within the family, and (3) social learning through imitation. The genetic explanation is important because it suggests that the correlations observed between parents' and children's turnout may be due to 'nature' rather than 'nurture'. The family socialisation explanation emphasises the importance of shared values that are

transmitted across the generations. In contrast, the social learning or imitation explanation contends that individuals learn and copy what influential others do.

Exploring genetic effects is limited to special types of studies, often involving twins, where the inheritance factor can be explicitly taken into account. In survey based research, genetic factors are rarely explored. One key limitation of the socialisation explanation is that it is not easy to demonstrate causally that children do in fact learn the values and behaviours of their parents. Often it is hard to move beyond the correlation based observation that parents and their children report similar political attitudes and behaviour. In the absence of dedicated longitudinal household panel surveys it is difficult to be certain that parents do influence their children independently of a common genetic heritage. One advantage of the social learning explanation is that it emphasises the importance of parental example where there is no assumption that parents actively teach their political attitudes and values to their children. All that is argued is that adolescents living with their parents may know if their parents voted in the past, and this information will be positively correlated with the teenagers' attitudes toward turnout in the future. The only social learning mechanism assumed to be present is children's observation of their parents' behaviour.

This chapter explores the determinants of attitudes toward voter turnout among Czech high school students aged 17 to 19 years old in the autumn of 2012. These students are strategically important because they were on the cusp of becoming first time voters in national (presidential) elections held in February 2013. In this national survey of adolescents, fielded in September 2012, a large number (n=1,735) of high school student were interviewed in school class rooms, and all were still living at home with their parents. In this survey of future first-time voters, students reported two key pieces of information about (1) their own attitudes toward voting in a future election, and (2) their parents' past turnout behaviour.

This student survey is valuable in facilitating the study of the determinants of turnout intentions close to first time voting. There are very few examples of similar survey research in Europe over the last decade. However, this survey can only provide limited information about parents' actual voting behaviour, the impact of peers and the school environment because all these effects are reported by the student and not directly measured. The purpose of this chapter is to explore, within these data limitations, Bhatti and Hansen's (2012) finding (based on official electoral data from Denmark) that living with participatory parents promotes turnout attitudes in their adolescent children. This 'parental example effect' is compared with students' own motivation to turnout to vote as measured by political interest, knowledge and having political discussions with others, and having a collective values orientation (or sense of civic duty).

The Czech Republic, as a case study, provides important insights into how youth turnout in a multiparty democracy that has existed for a single generation. The current cohort of Czech youth voters is the first to grow up in a competitive multiparty system; however, they are influenced by parents and grandparents who were socialised under communism. In this study, the intergenerational aspect of the communist legacy is examined in terms of perceived parental example. Evidence of a parental effect on youth attitudes toward turnout in a post-communist context contributes to the literatures on youth turnout, political socialisation and the study of long term trends in democratic transition processes.

The argument presented in this chapter is structure as follows. The first section argues that the Czech case study presented in this chapter is important for understanding why young first time voters are much more likely to turnout if they live with their parents. Section two presents the modelling results and discussion, and the final section has some concluding comments.

Motivation for this Study

This chapter examines attitudes toward turnout among 17 to 19 year olds who were born in the Czech Republic between 1993 and 1995. This subgroup is important for two reasons. First, these are some of the first citizens to be socialised under the post-communist Czech multiparty political system. Second, this young cohort was on the cusp of voting in its first presidential election (February 2013) which occurred a few months after the survey fieldwork (September 2012) and a general election (October 2013) which occurred a year later. Consequently, this study of the political attitudes of Czech high school students provides a picture of how these first-time voters within a democratic state that is less than a generation old view electoral politics and more specifically electoral participation.

1. Voting Turnout within Political Socialisation Research Framework

One common approach to the study of the political attitudes of adolescents and children is through the political socialisation framework. Here it is assumed that turnout is determined by broad social forces, norms and practices. At the system level, political states must ensure their survival through the promotion of a political culture that supports the states' institutions and way of doing things (Almond and Verba 1963). At the individual level, citizens must somehow acquire the beliefs and practices that support the political state within which they live (Jennings and Niemi 1974). Within the Czech Republic, political socialisation under the liberal democratic multiparty system has only been in place since 1990 (and more formally 1993 with the formation

of the current Czech state with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia). Consequently, the 17 to 19 year cohort examined in this chapter represents some of the early members of the post-communist democracy generation whose only experience of communism is second-hand.

There have been many studies of political attitudes and their development in post-communist states, such as the Czech Republic, during the 1990s where the goal was to see how easily democratic norms and practices became established (Pop-Eleches and Tucker 2012). In the following decade, international scholarly interest in the political socialisation of post-communist states waned with 9/11 and its consequences. Thereafter, researchers examined real-world attempts to create new democratic states in Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite the undoubted differences between post-communist and post 9/11 democracies the key puzzle for political scientists is the same: how is it possible to grow a functioning liberal democratic multiparty state through the creation of effective political institutions and citizen attitudes supportive of a new regime.

The political socialisation stream of research that emerged after Herbert Hyman's (1959) inaugural study of 'Political Socialization' have all been based on the assumption that adult political attitudes and behaviour have their origins in childhood and the family. In most of the political socialisation literature, the family is often considered to be the most important factor influencing the attitudes and behaviours of young people (Schmid 2012). Hyman (1959: 61) emphasised this point by arguing that "foremost among agencies of socialisation into politics is the family."

The transfer of political attitudes and behaviour across generations is often explained using a two-step process: (a) children observe and create an image of their parents, and (b) children become persuaded to adhere to this parental image. Westholm (1999: 547), using Swedish panel survey data, concluded that although "the potential for parental influence is typically great. Much of that potential goes unrealised, however, as a result of poor perception." Moreover, Westholm (1998: 548) warns that using survey evidence from youths alone is likely to "overestimate the strength of the process of [parental] influence […] conceal variation in that process as well as conditions most important for its realization." More will be said on these points later.

Do parents really matter?

Settle (2011: 240) has argued that:

> For 50 years, the dominant explanation for political socialization has focused on families, schools, and extracurricular activities […] However, the socialization literature simply does not take into account the potential role of adolescents' social networks.

Within political science, the Michigan Voter Model has been influential in promoting the importance of parental influence on their political attitudes and behaviour of children. With the growing use of mass survey techniques, individual level political socialisation research grew rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s with the emergence of household panel surveys that examined the attitudes and behaviours of (grandparents,) parents and children (Jennings and Niemi 1974; Sears 1975). Political socialisation research declined sharply in the late 1980s for two main reasons: (a) there was not a strong theory to guide a proliferation of empirical studies leading to inconsistent results, and (b) the mechanisms resulting in the transmission of attitudes and behaviour were not sufficiently well understood (Marsh 1971: 453-65).

Later, Judith Rich Harris (2000) argued that there is little evidence in developmental psychology research to show that parents do in fact shape their children's personalities and behaviour. Showing, using survey data, that parents who vote regularly tend to have children who subsequently become consistent voters leaves open the question as to why this is the case. This correlation may be due to socialisation or it could be due to the 'voting' genes they inherited from their parents (Fowler and Dawes 2008).

The main point here is that unless one knows what inherited factors a child brings to the social context of voting, it is impossible to know the impact of parents, peers and schools on a young voter's propensity to vote. Early research by Jennings and Niemi (1968, 1974) found great variation in the similarity of attitudes between parents and children indicating that parental influence has limited scope. This suggests that Harris's (1995) 'Group Socialization Theory of Development', which emphasises peer effects, may be important in extending current understanding of how children learn to vote. One of the most famous long term political socialisation studies undertaken with students from Bennington College, Vermont, USA in the 1930s revealed two things: (1) the important influence that a reference group present in late adolescence has on motivating political attitude change away from the views associated with the students' parents, and (2) the subsequent persistence of attitudes learned in college across the life cycle (Alwin et al. 1991).

Social learning effects

There are two key problems with the 'political socialisation' explanation. First, there is no single theory of socialisation, and some of these rival theories are inconsistent. Second, most political socialisation theories take a dynamic process based perspective which makes them inappropriate for use with static cross-sectional survey data. Consequently, some scholars such as M. Kent Jennings have avoided using the term socialisation and adopted the term 'transmission' instead.

Here the transmission of political attitudes within families has been explained using Albert Bandura's (1977) influential Social Learning Theory (e.g. Jennings et al. 2009; Fieldhouse and Cutts 2012).

To simplify, Bandura's social learning model may be summarised as follows: [EXPOSURE] → Attention + Retention + Motivation → [REPRODUCTION]. Adolescents who are exposed to the example of their parents going to the polls frequently during childhood notice this behaviour, remember it, and later thinking about the parental example motivates them to want to go voting themselves just like their parents. Therefore, the 'teaching' role attributed to parents in the socialisation explanation is replaced by an 'exemplary' one. This difference is crucial because the social learning explanation implies that once young adults leave home the direct positive parental example for turnout disappears and one would expect turnout of young voters to fall. This is exactly what Bhatti and Hansen (2012) show in their research for Denmark. A similar decline in turnout among young people after leaving the family home is observed in other countries such as Italy (Tuorto 2014).

Of course, parental attributes, other than providing an example of going to the polls, such as being active in their community should also be important and positively associated with a greater propensity to turnout among their adolescent children (Cicognani et al. 2012). In addition, family attributes such as having frequent political discussions should also be similarly positively correlated with electoral participation among (future) first time voters living with their parents (Verba et al. 2003; Schmid 2012).

A social learning explanation of the positive correlation between parental turnout and their adult children's' propensity to vote is more parsimonious than a generic socialisation account. This is because there is no assumption that parents teach or persuade their children to vote: a process that is never directly observed in survey research. All that is required in a social learning account of parental influence on their adult children's turnout is that these offspring know if their parents voted.1 Cross-sectional survey data where high school students report their own propensity to turnout and their own estimations of their parents past record of turnout provide valuable information of what motivates voting among young people within the framework of Bandura's (1977) Social Learning Theory.

One plausible counter-argument is that solidarity or reciprocity effects in the household are the main motivation for adolescent turnout rather than parental example (note, Franklin 2004: 20-23). Here the idea is that collective feelings of solidarity and reciprocity among family members motivate young voters to accompany other adult family members to the polling station. This solidarity and reciprocity effect may persist when the young adult leaves the parental home.

Unfortunately, in the survey dataset used there are no questions that could be used to test the solidarity and reciprocity explanations.

In this chapter, the parental example explanation is favoured for theoretical reasons outlined above. Moreover, the context of the student survey interview should also be taken into account. The adolescent respondents were interviewed in a school setting away from direct parental influence where the students were free to report about willingness to turnout in the future in an anonymous manner. In this classroom based interview context the influence of family solidarity and reciprocity effects on attitudes toward turnout is likely to be attenuated. This is because the proximate cues of family traditions such as going to the polls together or checking if members voted are absent. Here attitudes toward turnout are expressed among other students and not parents as would occur in a household panel survey interview.

Linking social learning and imitation within the family

Applying Bandura's social learning theory to the inter-generational transmission of turnout via parental example being observed by their children requires outlining a causal mechanism. Within the social explanations of turnout literature, James H. Fowler's (2005) 'small world' account based on a contagion mechanism has been influential (note also Fieldhouse et al. 2016). If one person, such as a parent, decides to vote this has an influence on family and friends. Using an agent based simulation model combined with parameter values derived from a social network survey of voters fielded by Huckfeldt and Sprague (1995), Fowler (2005) shows that one person's decision to vote increases aggregate turnout by 4 votes.

Although, Fowler's (2005) "small world" model of turnout does not refer to voting contagion effects within families the abstract nature of the model suggests that it may be legitimately used for this purpose. The core assumption here is that adolescents' reports of parents having voted frequently will be strongly correlated with willingness to vote in the future where a process of imitation is said to be present. This is the logic underpinning H.1 presented below.

Taking inspiration from Fowler's (2005) work, the effectiveness of an 'example' or social learning mechanism within the family context is seen in this chapter to depend on (1) the frequency of political discussion in the family, (2) degree of parental influence over their children, (3) the quality of the relationships between the parents and children, (4) number of children in the family – more children implies a greater parental effect for the overall electorate, (5) the close household (or proximity) relationships in a household (note, Jennings et al. 2009).

Parental example as a motivation for youth turnout

Fortunately, within the survey of Czech high school students examined in this chapter many of these explanatory variables have been measured. As noted above, Fowler's (2005) turnout model is based on a dynamic model of social networks of friends, and so modifications to his causal factors are required to take into account static survey data exploring the family based nature of future first time voters who still live with their parents. Within this chapter of the individual, family and school determinants of Czech high school students' attitudes toward turnout a single hypothesis will be examined. This hypothesis derives from the key element of the social contagion mechanism developed by Fowler (2005) and matches with patterns noted in previous research (e.g. Jennings et al. 2009).

> H.1: Adolescents' propensity to vote is higher where both parents past turnout rate is higher.

H.1 directly captures the parental example effect where a youth is more likely to think they will vote in a future election if they have seen both of their parents voting in previous elections. The expectation here, from social learning theory, is that children have a tendency to imitate their parents. With regard to the influence of the family it is expected that adolescents' with politically active parents are more likely to turnout. This expectation refers to the positive impact of parents' involvement in politics through party membership and various forms of non-electoral participation. In addition, it is expected that adult children living in wealthier families will express a greater propensity to vote. This expectation is based on earlier work which shows that families with high socio-economic status are more likely to create an environment characterised by frequent political discussions and parents acting as role models who enhance adolescents' future political activity (note, Zuckerman 2005).

School effects

Group socialisation theories, as noted above, highlight the importance of peers over families in shaping a child's development (Harris 1995). For students, school is the primary location for group socialisation. In this study, school effects are not measured in a comprehensive manner as the study design did not include a teacher questionnaire. Here the goal is a more modest one: to control for potential school effects with no pretence to have captured all aspects of how schools influence students' political development.

In this chapter, the impact of school context on high school students' attitudes toward future turnout is seen to operate through two distinct channels. The first refers to the school as an institution of education where students are given instruction so that they develop specific cognitive skills. In this respect, compulsory civics education classes plus developing a high level of functional proficiency in the "3Rs" (i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic) provide final year Czech high school students with the basic skills for accessing and understanding political messages available in the media and elsewhere.

In addition to the institutional channel of influence there are also likely to be important peer group effects where high school students learn about politics from their classmates. Young people develop their attitudes through discussion with peers. Some scholars such as Campbell (2008) report the effects of an open classroom climate on political engagement. Political discussion among peers leads to increased political participation, in part because these discussions function as a mechanism for becoming recruited. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that school can influence the political engagement and political participation of students through both teachers and peers. In this chapter, two school-level expectations will be explored. First, adolescents attending schools that give students greater skills useful for voting are more likely to exhibit positive attitudes toward future electoral participation. Second, adolescents attending schools that are more politically engaged, as indicated by mean levels of interest, are more likely to turnout. On the basis of previous research and theoretical expectations the following hypothesis is tested.

H.2: The average interest at school is associated with adolescent's higher propensity to vote.

The first of these school effects expectations refers to the 'institutional' quality of a school. Within this chapter school quality is measured using official Czech government data regarding the number of pupils in a specific high school that pass the final state examinations for graduation. This state exam is comparable across all Czech schools, as it is the same for all test takers. There are three compulsory exams: mathematics, a foreign language such as English, and the Czech language. Here use is made of the Czech language test results. This is because these test scores are seen to reflect cognitive abilities that are most likely to be responsible for political participation. In this respect, Verba et al. (1995) found that verbal abilities are positively linked to various indicators of political participation including voting turnout. Politics is about meaning and it is reasonable to think that verbal abilities are required to understand political debates and public affairs. A mean centred index was constructed which is the percentage difference between

a specific school and the country mean pass rate in the final state examination in the Czech language in 2012.

The second school effects expectation which has been formalized as H.2 explores 'peer effects' through the average level of interest in politics in each school. This aggregate level measure provides a measure of the degree to which politics forms part of the daily conversation of students. Here the expectation is that higher mean levels of interest in politics among students in a specific school the greater will be the propensity to turnout to vote by a student attending a particular school. This is because an environment characterised by higher levels of political interest and discussions are assumed to act as motivation on high school students to participate in elections. It is important to stress here that there is a low correlation (r=.25) between level of interest in politics at the individual and (mean) school levels. This low association indicates that there is heterogeneity in political interest in schools rather than homogeneous schools composed of students with low or high levels of interest. In sum, this school effect is important because it helps test the strength of the parental example effect by controlling for the impact of high levels of political interest in schools motivating future turnout.

Finally, it is important to highlight that in the Czech case, evidence of school and peer effects on turnout should be examined with care due to the possibility of selection bias. This is because parents play a strong role in selecting the high schools attended by Czech students as attendance at an academically oriented 'gymnasium' is necessary for successful entrance to university. Consequently, there is a selection bias in school attended that reflects parents' own socio-economic background and aspirations for their teenage children. In the Czech Republic there is a high level of educational endogamy with regard to university attendance (Simonová 2009).

2. Individual Motivation for Turnout

Blais (2000) in his comparative study of "who votes?", using Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) data which included the Czech Republic, showed that age, education, religiosity, being married and having a higher income are all important determinants of turnout among adults. With adolescents, who are future first time voters, many of these factors are not relevant in explaining variations in attitudes toward turnout. This is because there is little variation in age, education level (all are completing high school in this study of Czech students); religiosity (the Czech Republic is a highly secular society where about 10% attend church services on a monthly basis); none are yet married or have incomes independent of their parents.

Consequently, other attitudinal factors must be important in shaping attitudes to turnout among adolescents. For younger voters the key determinant of propensity to vote is likely to be motivation. Here the impact of political interest, level of political knowledge, participation in political discussions, and impact of moral values on turnout have all been found to have significant positive effects in previous studies. The expectation regarding the impact of individual motivation may be expressed in the following expectation that is composed of three interrelated elements. The decision to turnout will be shaped by (a) interest, (b) knowledge, and (c) discussion of politics: all are expected to have a positive association with adolescents' attitudes to turnout.

It is important to offer the caveat here that survey based attitudinal explanations of turnout are primarily correlational, rather than causal, in nature. This is because the positive association between interest, discussion and knowledge of politics and propensity to vote may all be caused by some unobserved factor. More technically, there is an endogeneity problem between propensity to vote and motivational factors and education. In the past, family and peer socialisation effects were considered to be the causal origins of many political attitudes and behaviour (note, Tedin 1974; Peterson 2006). In this study, there is no assumption of socialisation being an unobserved common causal factor, and the central relationship of interest is a report of past parental turnout and future propensity to vote in the minds of high school students. The causal mechanism underpinning this positive correlation is children following the example of their parents as predicted by the theoretical account of turnout presented above.

Decades of empirical research indicates that interest in politics is strongly associated with turnout. Among adults, it is known that level of political discussion can be an important correlate of turnout where talking about politics motivates going to the polls because political issues are seen to be important. Other research shows that children who are reared in families with higher levels of social interaction and political discussions are more likely to turnout to vote (Andolina et al. 2003). Within Fowler's (2005) turnout model higher levels of discussion increases the likelihood that the turnout example of one person (a parent) will have an impact on others (children) because this information will be more salient.

The link between willingness to vote and political interest is important for this study because political interest is seen to reflect a parenting style than encourages children to become engaged in public affairs (note, Shani 2009). From this perspective, turnout and political interest should not be highly correlated, and this is indeed the case ($r=.37$, $p\leq.001$).

Within the political knowledge literature a consistent finding is a positive relationship between being informed and turnout (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996: 226-227). While it is plausible to argue that a high school student who is knowledgeable about politics is more likely to

go voting in a future election because being informed may be taken as evidence of motivation. However, as with all the motivation variables it is difficult to be certain if higher levels of political knowledge motivates turnout. Fortunately, a natural experiment in Copenhagen, Denmark found that knowledge does cause higher turnout suggesting that there is a direct causal relationship (Lassen 2005).

In this study, Czech high school students' were asked to correctly identify (by writing down the party name) fifteen parties from their logos. This could be considered evidence of 'declarative knowledge' that is factual political information students knew. Alternatively, this political knowledge quiz could be interpreted as a 'procedural knowledge' task demonstrating that students have the political skills necessary to know how to vote, i.e. choose the correct party. All party logo questions were coded as being correct, or not, and these data were used to estimate a two-parameter logistic Item Response Theory (2pl IRT) model yielding estimates of each students latent political knowledge where (a) the relative difficulty of logo questions, and (b) the extent to which the logo question can discriminate between two students of equal ability was used. This is more appropriate than having a summated rating scale where all knowledge questions are (unrealistically) assumed to be the same.

One of the most consistent correlates of turnout is a person's sense of civic duty where electoral participation is the morally right thing to do. Being a good citizen means that a person has a duty to vote. In Britain, Canada and the United States more than 8-in-10 citizens have reported in surveys that voting is a duty: and thus voting has a strong ethical or moral component (Blais 2000; Blais and Achen 2010). The problem with 'civic duty' explanations of turnout is that they result in 'a person votes because they believe it is the right thing to do.' This of course leaves open the question of why a person thinks voting is a duty. Consequently, there is a need to have a measure of a person's value orientation toward the collective good that does not refer directly to turnout in order to avoid the potential endogeneity of civic duty and turnout being both influenced by a third unobserved factor.

One influential measure of an individual's collectivist orientation is Schwartz's (1994: 25) latent 'self-transcendence' motivation. This is measured with multiple indicators for two aspects of self-transcendence: 'benevolence' which is the motivation to enhance the welfare of others and 'universalism' which is the desire to understanding others. The final expectation is that students with a strong value orientation that emphasizes a collectivist motivation for behaviour will be more likely to say they will vote in the future. The main idea here is that adolescents who are oriented toward thinking and acting for the welfare others are more likely to vote because this is an internal 'moral' motivation (Haidt and Kesebir 2010). Here the motivation for turnout is

purely collectivist in nature where there self- or group-interest concerns are absent. This explanation is important in controlling for the possibility that willingness to vote is based on a student's value orientations rather than parental example as outlined in H.1 earlier.

3. Data, Analysis and Discussion

The data used in this chapter, as noted earlier, come from a representative survey of Czech high school students, aged 17 to 19 years, fielded in the Czech Republic in September 2012. Sampling units and schools were selected using a quota sampled based on geographic location (NUTS2 level) and type of school. Pupils were asked to fill in the questionnaire during class time. Completed questionnaires were collected from 1,735 respondents attending 37 schools.

It was highlighted earlier that use of a youth survey to model parental influence is problematic for two main reasons. First, adolescents may report a higher level of consistency between their views and those of their parents than is really the case. Second, the actual variation in parental example effects is likely to be under estimated and the conditions where it matters are not properly specified. Taking Westholm's (1999: 546-548) warnings seriously, this chapter tests a minimal "perceptual effects" model where student respondents were not directly asked to report about their own and their parent's party preferences, ideological or policy positions. The two turnout questions asked were not linked in any obvious way.

In the Czech student survey respondents were first asked if they were likely to vote if there were an election tomorrow, and later in the interview they were asked to report if they remember their parents' voting in previous Czech general elections. Here the potential for assimilation effects was kept to a minimum because reports of personal and parental behaviours were kept separate. It is important to stress again that what is being tested in this chapter is youth awareness of the parental example of voting. Westholm (1999) highlights that while "perceptual pathways" are strong they are not always present because youths have selective attention: if politics is unimportant for the student then parental example effects will be minimal, regardless of their parents' actual turnout behaviour.

Modelling strategy

The hierarchically structured data were analysed using multilevel logistic regression with a random intercepts estimator. Level-1 units are students and level-2 units are the schools that the high school students attended. The dependent variable is high schools students' reported propensity to turnout to vote in a future election. See the appendix for details of the survey questions used. The multilevel regression modelling results are presented in the following order.

First, there is a model exploring the family and school context effects of adolescent turnout. Second, the individual level determinants of turnout are introduced to demonstrate the impact of each high school students' own motivational attributes contributes towards propensity to vote. Finally, there is an integrated parental, school and individual level model.

To briefly summarize. The first hypothesis (H.1) presented earlier in the first section, highlights how parental influence is expected to influence adolescents' attitudes toward turnout. Here the strong correlation between student turnout attitudes and recall of past parental turnout is interpreted as a key observable implication of social learning through the imitation mechanism outlined in Fowler's (2005) small-world model of turnout. The main objective of this chapter is to see if the parental example of turnout and average interest at school are significant determinants of high school students' attitudes toward turnout when account is taken of (a) family characteristics, (b) peer and school influences, and (v) individual motivation. The second hypothesis (H.2) assumes that highly interested classmates are a resource supportive of imitation effects.

Table 2.1, Multilevel logit modelling results of the determinants of Czech adolescents' attitudes toward electoral participation

Models	*Variables*	*Family Model*	*School Model*	*Family + School Model*	*Individual Model*	*Combined Model*
Parental effects	Socio Economic Status (SES, level):					
	Medium	1.07		.97		.90
	High	1.35		1.15		.90
	Parents are politically active (yes/no)	1.47		1.52 *		1.24
	Parents past turnout (level):					
	One often & one rarely	2.56 ***		2.47 ***		2.29 **
	Both voted often in past	4.65 ***		4.45 ***		4.30 ***
School and peer effects	Quality of school		1.04 ***	1.03 *		1.02
	Mean interest in politics at school		5.77 ***	2.93 *		1.05
Individual level determinants	Political interest (level):					
	Quite interested				2.12 ***	1.97
	Very interested				5.35 ***	3.79
	Political knowledge scale				1.44 ***	1.38 **
	Political discussion (level):					
	Sometimes				1.65 ***	1.29
	Often				2.82 ***	2.25
	Collective value orientation				1.28 **	1.27 *
	Sex (male)				1.15	1.27
	Intercept	.74	.09 ***	.10 *	.19 ***	.11
	School variance	.02	≤.01	≤.001	.04	≤.001
Measures of goodness of fit	AIC	1265	2092	1233	1866	1134
	BIC	1305	2114	1279	1910	1209
	Log likelihood	-624	-1042	-608	-925	-552
	LR test (χ^2)	.15	.03	2.74	1.49	99.73
	LR test (p-value)	.35	.43	≤.001	.11	≤.001
	N	1,166	1,694	1,152	1,714	1,152

***p ≤ .001; ** p ≤ .01; *p ≤ .05. Note that coefficients are odds ratios. The reference categories in the models are: SES (low), politically active member of household (none), parents' turnout (both never), sex (female), political interest (none), discussion about politics (rarely or never). The first LR test on the left examines a random intercept model vs. model without random intercepts. Note the LR test $\chi 2$ statistics refers in the family model column to a comparison between a model without and with a random intercepts parameter, and thereafter to differences between consecutive pairs of models.

Parental influence on adolescent turnout

The multilevel regression modelling results presented in Table 2.1 show support for H.1 where the example of past parental turnout has a strong positive association with Czech high school students' attitudes toward turnout. The effect is consistent across all of the models reported in Table 2.1. The modelling results show that if neither parent voted in the past (according to the student respondent) the probability of turnout is 47%. However, the probability of adolescent turnout rises to 70% if at least one parent voted frequently in the past, and increases further to 81% if both parents have turned out to vote regularly. In contrast, there is little support for (a) level of parental political activism, and (b) the family resources expectation that level of family wealth having a strong positive impact on students' attitudes toward turnout. In short, the parental example of turnout has a significant influence on young first time voters' propensity to vote as predicted in H.1.

School and peer effects

Many of the social theories of turnout highlight the importance of social networks and institutional contexts. The expectation that institutional features of the school attended by a student (which is indicated by the quality of education received as measured by mean-centred results from standard state examinations) only shows significant ($p \leq .05$) effects in the level-2 models presented in Table 2.1. The same is true for peer effects as measured by average interest in politics in the school the student attends. When the family, school and individual motivation models are put together in the final combined effects model neither institution nor peer effects are statistically significant, which leads to rejection of H.2. The limited school and peer effects observed undoubtedly reflect the constrained variance of schools ($n=37$) in contrast to parent and individual level effects ($n=1,735$). Therefore, the school and peer effects observed in this chapter may be diminished due to factors such as selection bias where, as noted earlier, Czech parents choose their children's high school very carefully and this sorting process results in clustering based on social status and wealth.

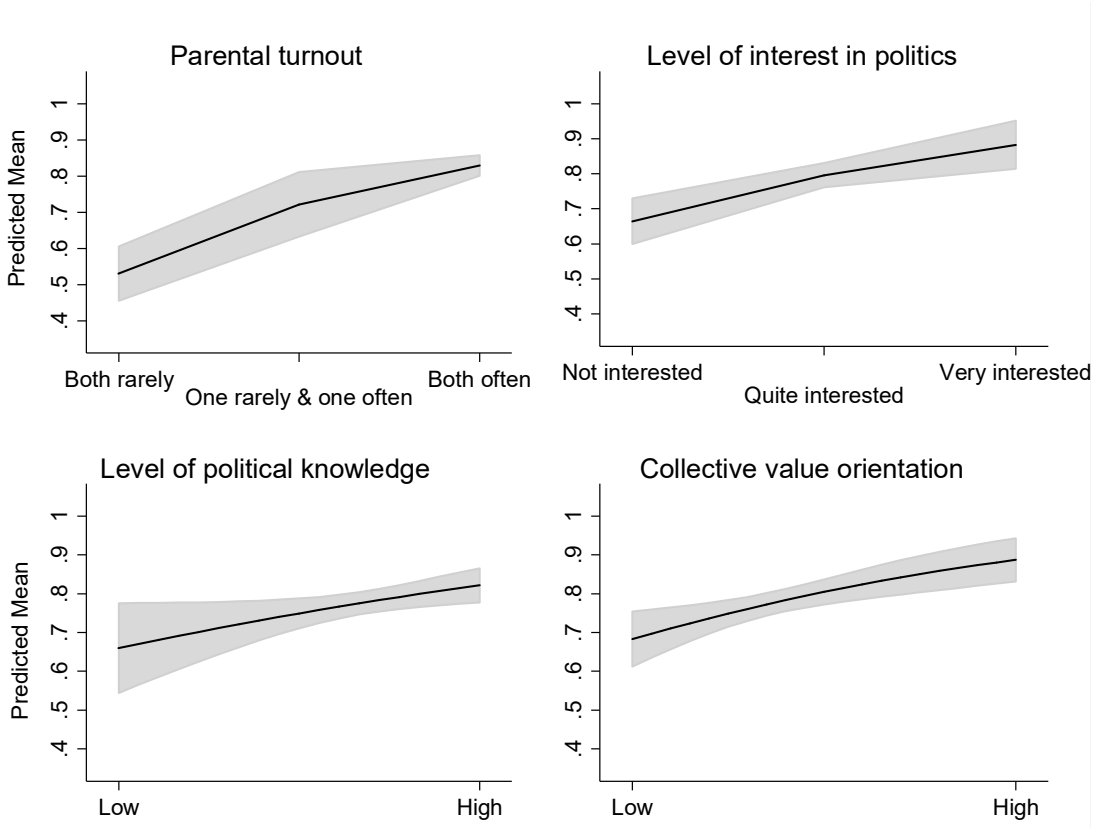
Individual characteristics: personal motivations for turnout

Finally, the literature exploring adult turnout highlights the importance of individual level motivations. The expectation that there should be positive associations between interest, discussion and knowledge of politics are evident in both the individual and combined models reported in Table 2.1. The models estimated reveal that the probability of having a positive attitude toward turnout is 56% if a Czech high school student expresses no interest in politics at

all, and this increases to 74% for those who are "quite interested" and rises further to 87% for adolescents who are by their own admission "very interested" in politics. As expected, having discussions about politics increases the propensity to vote. If students never discuss politics their probability to vote is 56% and it rises to 68% if they discuss politics sometimes, and grows further to 79% if they discuss politics "often or very often." Similar powerful motivation effects are observed for political knowledge. The probability of voting increases from 58% if a student has no knowledge of Czech party symbols or logos, and this increases to 87% if the young respondent knows all of them.

The impact of having a sense of 'civic duty' or more specifically a 'collective value orientation', as indicated by Schwartz's (1992) influential Theory of Human Values with regard to having a 'self-transcendent' motivation, is also important in explaining propensity to voting. This operationalisation of having a civic duty to vote has the merit of keeping intention to vote and attitudes toward turnout separate during the survey interview thereby avoiding bias such as the social desirability effect. Finally, Table 2.1 shows that sex differences in propensity to turnout to vote are not significant. This indicates that differences in attitudes to voting among Czech male and female high school students may be largely explained in terms of motivational differences (additional modelling not reported supports this conclusion).

Figure 2.1, Comparison of parental and motivation effects for Czech high school students' attitudes toward turnout



Source: Czech High School Student Survey, September 2012. Note that the grey shading refers to the 95% confidence intervals. The mean probability of turnout estimates are based on holding all other explanatory variables at their mean values and varying the values of the specific explanatory variable examined. Estimates are based on the final 'combined model' reported in Table 2.1.

Combined model

The key result from the combined model in the final column on the far right of Table 2.1 is the significant parental example of voting. More concretely, these model results show that the odds for a Czech student where both parents turned out to vote in the past is 4.3 times larger than a fellow students where both parents did not participate in any previous election. This specific result combined with insights from Bhatti and Hansen's (2012) research that shows turnout among young people who have 'left-the-nest' falls dramatically and indicates that the parental example is proximate and interpersonal in nature.[4] This means that many young citizens will only

[4] The experience of lowering the age for voting to 16 years in Austria from 2007 reveals that turnout is higher for 16-17 year olds still attending high school and living with parents than for 18 to 21 year olds. An experiment in Norway

vote if they are in a familial or social milieu where they can personally witness other voters going to the polls. This is an important finding because it highlights the interpersonal exemplary aspects of the decision to go voting on Election Day. In sum, adolescents are (a) especially susceptible to social learning (parental example) effects, and (b) in the early part of their voting careers a key determinant of turnout is parental example.

One important implication here is that this parental effect does not depend on socialisation, or explicitly teaching children and adolescents how to vote, but depends instead on the more modest achievement of simply setting an example. This is an important line of reasoning that requires future research because it shows that parental influence on children's development does not require demonstrating socialisation effects that are very difficult to convincingly show with purely observational studies such as cross-sectional surveys. The social learning account of youth turnout proposes that the key causal pathways are (a) the family and (b) social networks, the latter being at the heart of Fowler's (2005) small world explanation of voting.

It is of course important not to over emphasise the importance of parental example for adolescents' expressed willingness to vote. There are other important factors. Adolescents are also strongly shaped by their own personal interests and convictions. The results in Table 2.1 reveal that another strong effect is interest in politics where an adolescent who is very interested in politics is almost four times higher odds to have positive attitudes towards future turnout than a fellow student who has no interest in politics. If one considers how lower interest in politics might be compensated for by a strong parental turnout effect or that high interest in politics by an adolescent may overcome electoral apathy in their parents, one immediately sees how the interaction of individual motivation and social learning effects may combine to produce complex voter turnout patterns among different subgroups of youth voters.

In short, there is strong reason to think that adolescent voters are a heterogeneous subgroup whose attitudes and behaviour are strong influenced by contextual and motivational factors. This finding matches with Plutzer's (2002: 54) research which shows that turnout by young people in their first election is shaped by "parental socioeconomic and political resources." This chapter contributes to the study of youth turnout by showing that when control is made of parental resources the impact of parental example remains important. Youth heterogeneity fits with Plutzer's (2002) more general point that beyond a first election becoming a habitual voter has its origins in non-parental sources of turnout: characteristics that vary across individuals depending on motivation and context.

---

in 2011 for local elections found that turnout of 58% among 16-17 year olds was lower than the average for all voters (63%) and higher for 18-21 year olds (46%).

Conclusion

This chapter contributes to existing research by looking at the impact of household context on attitudes toward future turnout by focussing on the young person themselves. Here the idea that parents might influence propensity to vote is based entirely on young people's perception that their parents voted in the past. Here the key point is that a 'young voter centred' account depends critically on showing first time voters recognise the turnout example of others. This perspective is different from Bhatti and Hansen (2012) and Fieldhouse and Cutts (2012) who could not test a parental example effect because individual level attitudinal data was unavailable.

In sum, the results presented by Fieldhouse and Cutts (2012) and the present chapter complement each other by showing that (a) the "companion effect" may have its origins in a parental example that the first time voter recognises and acts upon as the social learning theory of Bandura (1977) suggests and (b) the parental example is transmitted via imitation or contagion process outlined by Fowler (2005). The Czech case study presented in this chapter is important for two reasons.

First, it shows that the first democratic cohort to be raised completely within a competitive multiparty system is strongly determined by their parents' turnout history. This suggests that initial attitudes toward voting in elections by first time voters in democracies that are a generation old have a strong family basis. Whether this parental effect is socialisation or imitation requires further more detailed research. An alternative explanation developed in Franklin (2004) is that a sense of family solidarity or reciprocity could also motivate the observed positive attitudes toward future turnout reported in this study.

Second, the Czech case study reveals that students who intended to vote for the first time were most strongly influenced in their attitudes to turnout by parental example. This finding extends the official behavioural data results of Bhatti and Hansen (2012) in Denmark that did not compare the individual motivation and contextual determinants of turnout among young people.

It is important to stress that this chapter has examined the determinants of *attitudes to turnout*, and not turnout that has been observed or verified. This is an important data limitation of this study. It is likely that the students' survey responses contain misreporting because of social desirability or pressure effects. The problem of misreporting in self-reported propensity to vote can result in regression models having (a) biased and inconsistent parameters, and (b) incorrect standard errors leading to invalid inferences and conclusions (Katz and Katz 2010: 816). In this chapter it has not been possible to correct for misreporting because the determinants of such

survey response behaviour in a youth sample are not currently well understood. In short, the parental example effects reported here should be replicated and validated in future research.[5]

Third, according to the results presented in this chapter the peer effect captured by average political interest at school does not seem to be an important predictor of youths' attitude towards turnout. This may be explained by the fact that political discussions are measured only as a general frequency at the individual level. However, the peer resource effect may be mediated through classroom political discussions which could not be tested due to data limitations. The role of political discussion and a classmate resource effect will be tested later in Chapter 5.

One of the important implications of the results presented in this chapter, plus the results from Bhatti and Hansen (2012) and others, is that the Blais (2000) hypothesis that "the lower the voting age, the lower the turnout" is only true when young (first time) voters do not live with their parents. If Denmark reduced the age of voting to 16 years for example, one would expect that this youngest cohort of voters to have turnout rates similar to those in their mid-to-late thirties (see also endnote 2). Low turnout is only evident for those young voters aged 19 to 25 years or so living away from home for the first time with their peers while attending university or working at their first job.

More generally, a parental example rather than a socialisation explanation has been explored in this chapter because the Czech high school survey data used has no evidence showing that parents teach their children to go voting. This is true not only for all cross-sectional student survey such as the International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS: 1971, 1999, 2009, 2016), but also many household and panel surveys where there are (a) no direct measures of parents teaching their children to vote and (b) no account is taken of common genetic factors resulting in similar personality traits among all family members that shape propensity to vote. To date, political socialisation studies based on households or repeated interviews with the same children most often fail to convincingly demonstrate that the correlation between parental political behaviour and their children attitudes and actions is primarily a product of socialisation.

A more parsimonious explanation, which matches better with the limits of survey based studies of youth voting, is that young voters' attitudes to turnout are influenced by their parents' example of turning out to vote. This less ambitious explanation has the merit of highlighting productive channels of future research such as examining in greater detail heterogeneity in

[5] The positive correlation between parental and children turnout could be due to shared genetic predispositions. If this is true, then the social learning explanation will reflect this inheritance effect: a factor that is not measured in most surveys of adolescents' political attitudes. Consequently, care is required in specifying the motivations for why children might be influenced by their parents' observed behaviour. The fact that there is a big drop-off in turnout among young people when they leave home suggests that the absence of 'exemplar' parents above and beyond common genetic predispositions toward turnout is important.

turnout among young voters on the basis of living at home or in households where their co-residents do vote. A key issue here is if social contagion, or imitation, effects are evident among young voters' family and peers who use social media such as Facebook. Such research would reveal if the imitation basis for turnout among voters depends on proximate face-to-fact interactions rather than virtual distal daily relationships.

Knowing that contemporary Czech youths are influenced by parental example to go to the polls, the next obvious question is if parents' partisan preferences have an impact on the vote intentions of their adolescent children. Such a two-step perspective because the decision to turn out to vote is strongly linked with motivation to support a specific party. In other words, if youth express a willingness to go to the polls they are likely to strong party preferences. The key question explored in the next chapter (which uses the same survey data set as this chapter) is if parental influence also has some measurable impact on Czech youths expressed party preferences?

CHAPTER 3: What are the Voting Preferences of Contemporary Czech Youth?

Introduction

The Czech Republic can be characterized as a post-communist country with limited democratic experience, combined with low trust in politicians, political parties and political institutions in general. The first cohort of young people who were born after the fall of the communist regime gained the right to vote and the opportunity to influence what is happening in politics in this country quite recently. They grew up in a completely different political climate than their parents' generation, and it is therefore crucially important that studies of voting behaviour will not neglect analysis of circumstances and predictors of political participation of this age cohort determining the development of democratic society in post-communist country like Czech Republic. Despite this, voting preferences of young people in the Czech Republic has not attracted much attention yet and research on this subject is just beginning. The reason for this research deficit is mainly the lack of data that would allow analysis.

As in the previous chapter, the data used in this chapter comes from a representative survey of high school students in their final two years of study, which was fielded in the Czech Republic in September 2012. This quota sample survey takes into account two key factors: geographic location and type of attended school. Pupils were asked to fill in the questionnaire during classes resulting in 1,735 completed questionnaires from 37 schools. These hierarchically structured data (i.e. students placed in schools) are analysed by using a multilevel multinomial logistic regression models with random intercepts. Here the first level units are pupils and the second level is composed of schools.

The dependent variable is high school students' party preferences. Various political parties were explicitly offered in the questionnaire; however, they are for analysis purposes coded ideologically into three categories: left-wing, right-wing, and others. This categorization is necessarily simplistic, but sufficient for analysis. To date most studies of party identification and preferences of youth were undertaken in the USA or in the United Kingdom. These two countries differ from the Czech Republic in a number of important respects. Firstly, we observe long-term bipartism or recent limited pluralism in the American and British cases. In the Czech Republic, there is multipartism which inevitably complicates the analysis because the number of cases for modelling can be too low to generate robust results. Since left-right has long been an

important cleavage in party competition in Czech politics, it makes sense to simply the analyses by considering 'party blocs' on the left and right.

In some cases it can be difficult to assign political parties to their ideology families, thus parties are sorted on the basis of research done by Linek and Lyons (2013). Their analysis is based on data from post-election surveys (2002, 2006 and 2010) and their study is one of the most detailed analysis of voting behaviour in the Czech Republic. The operationalization is introduced in second part of this chapter.

In this chapter, the multinomial multilevel regression modelling proceeds by first exploring the family and school context effects of adolescent voting preference. Thereafter is continued with the individual level determinants of voting preference to test the impact of each high school students' own motivational attributes contributing towards the probability of expressing left-wing party preference. Finally, combined model that integrates parental, school and individual level variables is constructed in order to compare the relative effects of theses environments.

Motivation of this Chapter

Although there is no uniform or universally accepted theory of political socialization, we may say that there is the shared assumption that the political values and opinions of individuals are formed during adolescence. Research in this area often concludes that personal values and attitudes are shaped during childhood and youth. This chapter builds on this approach, assuming that the political views of young people are largely shaped by the influence of parents, peers and teachers due to proximity and frequent contact.

At this point it is important to note that it is often very difficult to obtain better information other than that related to individual adolescents; however, information about parents, school environment and peers is also critically important. Unfortunately, such valuable information is often lacking no specialized youth panel surveys exist in the Czech Republic, where parents are also interviewed. Such panel surveys allow attitudinal and behavioural measures of both parents and their adolescent children to be obtained independently. Consequently, the goal of this chapter is to analyse Czech youth party preferences within the limits of survey data based on self-reported information about the individual, family and school contexts.

Similarly to Chapter 2, this chapter will also use arguments about social learning and social imitation to help explain youth party preferences. Even though we have to be less ambitious because of working with reported information about parents and cannot test for causality, the advantage is that the social imitation approach emphasizes the importance of imitation without the assumption that parents and children share the same values. It means that adolescents living

with parents can know whether and whom their parents voted and it may have a positive relationship with their attitude toward voting preferences in the future. However, if adolescent is convinced about party preference which is not true it may not be such an issue because adolescent will form its preference based on assumed parents' preference anyway and the true parents' party preference is less important because we are interested in "imitation effect" rather than in effect of shared values on party preferences. In short, it is much more important what adolescent think is true preference rather what the truth actually is.

As noted above, this chapter aims to map out the predictors of voting preferences of young people in the Czech Republic. Findings from previous work on political socialization and voting behaviour are the starting point from which potential predictors of voting preferences of youth identified. It will be focused in particular, on what are the relative strengths of the two most prominent effects of socialization environment, i.e. family and school. Within this chapter the following three hypotheses will be tested.

H.1: The right-wing electoral preferences of parents are associated with right-wing electoral preference in their adolescent children.
H.2: Adolescents with higher socio-economic status will prefer right-wing parties.
H.3: The average values of ideological self-placement of classmates affect the electoral preferences of adolescents.

The first hypothesis is directly related to the imitation effects, examined earlier in Chapter 2, where the expressed voting intentions of parents are observed by their high school aged children. The premise here is that children will tend to imitate their parents, and this is a powerful form of social learning (Bandura 1977). H.2 is closely related to the class-voting theory, where is assumed that adolescents reflect the social status of family in which they live in their preferences. The third hypothesis alludes to the importance of peers (classmates) with whom adolescents are in daily contact.

1. Family Environment and Political Preferences

The development of political attitudes, values and patterns of participation among people is being studied by political scientists, psychologists and sociologists since the 50s of the 20th century (e.g. Greenstein 1960; Davies 1965). It seems that one of the first studies talking about capturing something like socialization effects in political matters is research done by Berelson et al. (1954) from Chicago University. This study of presidential campaign demonstrate that groups which people expected to have an influence on voting preference such as labour unions, parties and

media actually had no effect, however family was considered as a core group that shapes political preferences.

Despite this early finding, more than 50 years of research has not helped to establish consensus which socialization environment is dominant in shaping political preferences of young people. Most authors, however, concluded that the greatest importance in the process of political socialization has family and school (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Amna 2012; Hooghe and Boonen 2014). In addition to his own personality and value system which is caused at least partly by genetics, individuals also shape their views on politics and political parties within family and school.

As was mentioned also in Chapter 1, one of the basic findings is that family environment has crucial influence on value orientation of individual (Nesbit 2012; Schmid 2012), however political values does not equal party preference. Party preferences differ from political values significantly.

Connell (1972) states that while the median correlation coefficient for positions on political issues is usually observed around the value of 0.2, party preferences between generations are highly consistent and correlate typically around 0.6. For example Jennings and Niemi (1968) in their study of high school students found a strong positive relationship between electoral preferences between parents and children, while other political attitudes and value orientation has not shown strongly convincing association. As was shown in Chapter 2 young people do imitate parents' behaviour at least in case of voting turnout. Here the situation is little bit more complicated because in contrast to party preference voting turnout can be easily observed. Furthermore, information about personal voting turnout is not considered to be as intimate information such as political party preference.

One of the first detailed study analysing party identification of adolescents is *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools* written by Jennings and Niemi (1974). Their research based on two waves (1965-1973) shown high correlation between party identification of parents and their children. One may argue that there is big difference between party identification and voting. This is theoretically valid argument, however (1) we know that party identification and voting choice used to be practically the same in U.S at that time; (2) there is very low rate of partisanship in the Czech Republic. Additionally (3) according to Jennings and Niemi (1974) the strongest predictor of voting preference of children was the simple information which party their parents vote. The implication here is that children need to know or think they know which party their parents voted and then they can decide whether they will follow their example or not.

The imitation hypothesis is in concordance with Achen (2002) who interprets the similarity of party preferences by rational choice perspective: children learn most about their future by observing their parents and accordingly they also create or modify their party preference. There has been discussion if fathers are more important than mother or vice versa. Unsurprisingly even these questions remain unresolved. At the beginning of political socialization research, fathers were considered to be more successful in transferring their political values to children than mothers (Campbell et al. 1960; Coffé and Voorpostel 2010; Hooghe and Dassonneville 2013), however there are also studies that oppose the dominant role of father and argue that mother may be more important because they spend more time with children than fathers (Coffé and Voorpostel 2010). We may also consider that the role of women in families also has changed since 1950s and some findings from early political socialization studies may not be valid anymore.

Although most of the political socialization research originates in the 1970s, the newer research (e.g. Fieldhouse and Cutts 2012) point to the vital role of parents in creating political orientation of young people. Hypothesis about acquiring parents' party identification was confirmed by several other studies. According to Lewis-Beck there is 75% chance that children will vote the same party as parents if they are identified voters of the same political party (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008).

While it is generally accepted that offspring resemble their parents in their electoral preferences and attitudes, there is still controversy about the cause of this consistency. Influence of family environment on adolescent can be both direct and indirect. In the first case, the parents actively instil their children certain attitudes and values and spur them to certain behaviour, the latter means acting as a role model without being motivated by the ambition of influencing their children (McFarland et al. 2006).

Due to poor data availability, current research does not usually impose a strong emphasis on the direct influence of parents, but they rather focus on the context of family environment. The aim is to determine how family characteristics affect the party identification and political attitudes (e.g. Beck and Jennings 1991; Luskin, McIver and Carmines 1989). It is worth noting that the level of agreement between parents and their children differ according to whether we focus on political attitudes or party preference.

To shortly recap. From the previous political socialization literature is evident that family environment is very important, but the (dis)similarity of attitudes between family members alone does not explain the voting preferences of young people, because even if adolescents have different political attitudes and values than their parents, they often prefer the same political party.

School Environment and Political Preferences

Similarly, as in the case of family environment socializing influence of school may have various forms. Civic courses whose effect is often studied in U.S. environment are compulsory in the Czech high school system. Additionally, interest in politics, social issues and political debate may be encouraged in courses like geography or history. It is important to note that teachers play crucial role in the process of political learning. They influence the behaviour and perception of values of students, both actively (by explanations, orders, etc.) and passively, i.e. by acting as a role model (Spousta 1996: 100).

In the 1970s and 1980s, researchers were rather sceptical about the possibility of influencing political attitudes and preferences of children by setting civic courses. Most studies up to 1970s who had focused on this topic have found only a very few and very weak effects of education on political attitudes and party preferences of pupils (Galston 2001).

Since 1990s several scholars (i.e. Hooghe and Quintelier 2014) have returned to the topic of school as a socialization factor and their findings were more optimistic. They suggest that participation in civic courses, intensity of political discussions at school, the number of discussed political topics, all had a statistically significant effect on political knowledge and desire to participate in elections (Niemi and Junno 1998). However, the evidence presented reveals a smaller effect with regard to voting preferences.

Langton and Jennings (1968) who studied the effect of education on political orientation of American high school students have come to the conclusion that there is no reason to believe that the teaching in any way affect pupils' political attitudes and party preferences. Additionally, observed differences in political orientation among those who decided to go to college and those who did not, were evident already before young people started to study. These results suggest that differences in political attitudes and preferences arose earlier than during the studies.

Importance of schools as socialization factor has been questioned by Highton (2009). He used data from a panel survey in which were young people surveyed before entering college and then after their graduation. Differences in the level of political awareness which were observed after graduation were also present at the time before they started their studies. Therefore we may argue that the school effect on gaining political knowledge is minimal (if any) and differences in political knowledge are needed to be explained by other variables.

Courses and teachers are not the only factor at school that have potential influence on formation of political values, attitudes and behaviour of individuals. Pupils are in daily contact with their peers. They exchange views at certain topics during classes as well as during breaks and thus may have an effect on each other's value system and formation of political attitudes and

party preferences. Jennings and Niemi (1974) confirm that schoolmates play an important role in shaping political attitudes. Their research has shown that classmates are closer to each other in attitudinal issues than peers from different schools even when the family of origin is kept constant.

The peer effect was not found to have a statistically significant effect ($p \geq .05$) in Chapter 2 and the big question addressed here is why we should expect that school can affect individual's political preference? Czech schooling system is strongly apolitical because there is a fear of being accused of spreading propaganda (COV 2012). This is probably heritage of the communist past in which decisive majority of teachers were educated and want to avoid. There are probably two main factors which may explain potential effects of school environment. Firstly, Czech education system is highly stratified and for that reason type of schools or specific schools may work as a place where we find children from similar family background. If this is true then the school itself would not have any effect on building political preferences of youth but show only selection effect. Secondly, school courses and/or political discussion with peers may have effect on political knowledge and political values and attitudes of pupils which help them to formulate their voting preference. Moreover they may express their sympathies towards politicians and/or political parties they may possibly discuss during either school breaks or debates in classes.

2. Data, Analysis and Discussion

Dataset used in this chapter is the same as in the previous chapter and for this reason it will not be described here in a great detail (for more information see Chapter 2). However, there are several specific data limitations concerning party preference analysis which should be reader aware of. Even though the whole dataset consist of 1735 filled questionnaires the sample size drops rapidly in a final model. The reason here is that we are working only with those who did not reject their participation in prospective elections and simultaneously expressed voting preference. Additionally, the descriptive statistics shows that many young people do not understand the concept of "left" and "right" in politics. Pupils were surveyed by providing self-filling paper questionnaires. Party preference was derived from a list of parties that was offered to respondents which consisted of 12 parties plus "other" and "none" option. For this reason priming effect cannot be fully denied either.

Political socialization studies often use data which were not obtained only from children, but also from parents. In the survey, which is the basis of the following analysis, we are limited to adolescents' responses only. This entails limits on the possibilities for studying and interpreting

the predictors of electoral preferences of young people. However more suitable data of Czech environment are not available, yet.

Some variables required respondents to report information about their parents. The most problematic is reported voting preference of parents. One may argue that reported preferences are not reliable (Boonen et al. 2016), however only about one third of respondents provided this information and rest indicated that they "do not know". This may mean that only those who were quite certain about their parents' preference indicated it.

Ambition of this chapter is, within mentioned data limitations, explore if young peoples' motivation for voting preference is given primarily by influence of parental example. Another potential explanation taken in to consideration in this chapter that may influence voting preference of youth are socio-economic status, school environment or ideological values.

Three possible explanations of parental effect on voting turnout of youth in the previous chapter were suggested: (1) genetics through the inheritance of personality traits, (2) socialization within the family, and (3) social learning through imitation.

The genetic explanation is important in case of voting turnout, however it is much less probable in case of party preference. One may argue that people are born with predispositions for certain political values and attitudes, but even if this is true, it cannot convincingly explain party preference. Here it is assumed that it is more likely that children talk to parents about politics or hear their opinions and preferences and that make them form their attitudes and preferences. If the explanation of adolescent's electoral preference by family socialization is not convincing, then we should look for alternative explanations.

Similarly as in the case of voting turnout, the "teaching" role attributed to parents is replaced by an "exemplary" one. The advantage of imitation assumption is that it does not *a priori* assume that parents somehow actively persuade children for preference of concrete political party. This difference is important because it does not necessarily assume anything more than a fact that (1) children know (or are convinced that they know) the voting preference of their parents and (2) are willing to follow their example. We may argue that if they know the preference and intentionally do prefer different political party than parents the parental effect is also present, but such hypothesis cannot be tested with available dataset.

Variables

Independent variables are chosen on a basis on the findings of existing socialization studies. The independent variables can be divided into groups related to (1) family background, (2) school

environment, and (3) the variables that describe its individual characteristics which cannot be unambiguously assigned to either of these two environments.

Family background variables included in the models characterize the family context of the pupil, whose background can be expected to form their own political preferences. It is the party preferences of parents and the socio-economic status of the family that can give the adolescent class base, which is reflected in his electoral preference. Previous studies of voting behaviour in the Czech Republic shown that class voting is still present and doesn't weaken (e.g. Smith and Matějů 2011; Linek and Lyons 2013). We can expect a link between socio-economic status and electoral preferences of children because socio-economic status is derived from reported information about respondent's parents. This relationship can nevertheless be expected on the basis of the theory of intergenerational transfer of party preferences - a young person can take the electoral preferences of their parents without having formed their basis of class affiliation.

Operationalization

The dependent variable is the party preference. Respondents were asked "Which party would you vote if there were elections tomorrow and you would be eligible to vote?" and offered a list of various political parties which were for analysis purposes coded into three categories: left, right, and others. This categorization is simplistic, but necessary for analysis. In the environment with long history of bipartism like in United States or United Kingdom the situation is somewhat easier than in case of countries with party pluralism. In the Czech Republic we observe multipartism which necessarily complicates the analysis. For practical reasons (it is not possible to work with various parties, because some of the parties contained very few observations) and for reasons of clarity of analysis was chosen categorization following the principle of class vote, which has long been a major cleavage of Czech politics (Linek and Lyons 2013). Analysis will focus mainly on the difference between left-wing and right-wing preferences, where we can expect the greatest differences in effects of individual independent variables.

Although deciding which political parties fall into the left and which into the right political spectrum can be often an ambiguous thing, parties in this chapter are sorted on the basis of research done by Linek and Lyons (2013). As a left-wing parties are coded: Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM), Party of Civic Rights – Zeman's people (SPOZ), Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD); the right-wing: Civic Democratic Party (ODS), TOP 09, Free Citizens Party (SSO); and among "other" parties are included Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL), Workers' Party of Social Justice (DSSS), Pirates, Greens, Public Affairs (VV) and Liberal Democratic Party (Lidem). Not coding KDU-ČSL as

right-wing party may seem to be surprising, because KDU-ČSL can be considered as a right-wing conservative party which defends traditional values and benefits for families. However, according to Linek and Lyons (2013), support of KDU-ČSL is not dependent on class-specific conditions but their support rest inevitably on those who regularly attend church services.

Family context

Family background variables included in the model pupil characterize the family environment which is expected to form political preferences or give information necessary for preference imitation. (1) It is the *parents' electoral preferences* which are possibly responsible for party preference and (2) *socio-economic status of the family*, which can be reflected in youth party preference. Previous studies focusing on voting behaviour in the Czech Republic showed that class voting is still very important phenomenon helping scholars to explain voting behaviour (e.g. Smith and Matějů 2011; Linek and Lyons 2013). Because the socio-economic status of a young person is derived from the household the adolescent lives in, we can expect that the link between socio-economic status and party preferences of the child will be present. This correlation can be also predicted on the basis of the intergenerational transfer of party preferences theory. Adolescent can inherit the parents' party's preferences without developing it on a basis of their class affiliation separately.

The *family socio-economic status* is operationalized as an occupational group of the father. Socio-economic status has five ordinal values (1. unskilled manual workers, 2. skilled manual workers, entrepreneurs, 3. non-manual workers, 4. senior and middle management staff, 5. highly qualified staff). This operationalization is far from being ideal because only few variables are available. However, for example the mother's occupation, number of books at home or educational aspirations which are often used as a socio-economic status proxy variable are missing in the dataset.

Voting preferences of parents were captured by the question: "When selected persons participated in the last Chamber of Deputies elections who did they vote for?" This variable has been coded identically as the dependent variable: "left", "right" and "others" with a small difference in coding the "don't know" option. Inclusion of this value into the analysis has both empirical and theoretical reasons. In the analysed file, only a third of surveyed adolescents said that they are aware of which party their parents' voted for. From the intergenerational transmission preferences viewpoint is important not only how parents vote, but especially if adolescents are aware of that choice. Basing it on a fact that simple finding whether adolescents are aware of which party their parents vote affects the preferences of offspring (Jennings and Niemi 1974), no matter if the reported parents' preference is in consonance with reality or not.

Although it is likely that adolescents will follow their parents' preferences, it is also possible that on the other hand they will want to distinguish themselves and they will lean towards the opposite side of the political spectrum. It would be difficult to include each parent's party preference into the model separately because they are highly correlated. For this reason, variable *consistency of parental preference* was created. This newly developed variable combines the parents' preferences and awareness as follows: (0) both parents voted left, (1) one parent chooses left, (2) does not know how parents voted; Both selects "other parties"; one voted left and one voted right, (3) one parent chooses right, (4) both parents voted right-wing party.

School context

The model also includes variables that reflect the school environment. This is essentially a *type of attended school*. We can talk about three basic types of high schools in the Czech Republic. The first of them is gymnasium whose mission is to prepare students for university studies. It is therefore not surprising that study of Kleňhová and Vojtěch states that "practically all gymnasium graduates apply for enrolment at the university immediately after finishing high school and the vast majority of them is accepted" (Kleňhová, Vojtěch 2011: 10).

In contrast, in second type of schools, secondary technical schools (SOŠ), is not further university study *a priori* assumed, but not impossible. According to the study mentioned above 37% of secondary technical school students leave to the labour market immediately after graduating. The third option of secondary education in the Czech Republic represent vocational schools (SOU), whose graduates receive either a certificate of apprenticeship, which is not sufficient for a university education, or they graduate by taking the maturita (graduation) exam which allows them applying to university, but it must be noted that their continuation to university is highly unlikely.

From previous research is evident that there is a high level of educational intergenerational transmission in the Czech Republic. We observe high correlation between the parents' level of education and type of high school adolescent attends with prevailing effect of the parent with higher educational level (Simonová 2009). This in effect means that in some specific schools, or at least the types of schools meet classmates from families with similar socio-economic status. Descendants of university-educated parents are also more likely to have higher educational aspirations and therefore also a greater tendency to attend gymnasium.

It is evident that the school as a socializing environment has to be seen in relation to the family background because these two environments are closely related. The differences between pupils of different schools should be first cleaned from the family effect. Even in the case of

observed independent school influence the question to what extent is it a mediating influence of families on political preferences, attitudes and values of young people remains.

We can determine whether the school environment has an effect independent on the family background by controlling for the family variables. It may be the case that school environment will appear to be neither statistically significant nor powerful because the effect will be absorbed by the family context variables. This can be expected for at least two reasons: (1) the close relationship between high school selection, further education and in effect future socio-economic status allows us to believe that the attended type of high school develops young people's tendency for class voting. Given the importance of high school selection and their specifics, we may expect that the type of school will show differences according to party preferences. It is expected that gymnasium's students will exhibit more positive preference towards right-wing parties and on contrary SOU students will prefer leftist political parties. This expectation can also so be based on the assumption (2) that adolescents meet in schools with peers who possess a similar family background and thus their attitudes and beliefs which they bring from home will strengthen the "school" influence. High school students spend most of the day together, chatting together during breaks, discussing topics in class and have the potential to create ideological climate. The influence of peers is thus represented in the analysis by variable named *ideology at the school*, which is operationalized as an average self-ranking on the left-right scale at the school level. Higher average self-ranking on the ideological scale is expected to increase the chance of preferring right-wing party. If we will observe statistically significant effect of school environment even when controlling for the family context variables, we would have an indication that the schools effect is not only due to school selection.

Individual characteristics

Individual characteristics of the adolescent in relation to its electoral preferences are represented by the *self-placement on a left-right scale*. Linek and Lyons (2013: 152) found out that left-right self-placement is even "the most important predictor of voting preference of ČSSD, KSČM and ODS". Its position in the ideological space indicated respondents in response to the question: "In connection with the politics we often talk about left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 1 means the left and 9 means the right?"

Finally, socio-demographic characteristics of *sex* and *electoral support for right-wing parties in the 2010 elections* in the municipality in which the respondent lives are used. In the case of sex it was suggested that women used to be more likely to vote right-wing party than men (Linek and Lyons 2013: 102-125). Support for right-wing parties in the village stand for a context variable which

captures the environment in which the adolescent lives. That variable is used primarily as a control because previous research (Gallego et al. 2014) indicates that the place of residence influences the voting behaviour. It was found that when the Labour party supporter moves to a district with a Conservatives superiority it will increase the individual's likelihood of voting for Conservative Party. The inclusion of this variable will allow to at least partially control for the influences of the environment in which the adolescent with her family lives.

Analysis

The analysis uses only those respondents who answered the question whether they would come to vote, if there were elections to low chamber tomorrow "definitely yes" or "rather yes" (N= 1070). This would mean approximately 62% voter turnout. It is important to emphasize that this is declared participation and real turnout would be different because the youngest age group of voters shows the lowest voter turnout in the long term and far below mentioned 62% (note Figure 1).

Data are analysed by using multinomial regression model with random intercept. The hierarchy in the data is taken into account due to both methodological and substantive reasons. From a methodological point of view hierarchical model reflects the fact that students are not selected independently but are part of a whole higher level, i.e. schools. From a substantive point of view random intercept takes into account an extent to which differences in voting preferences of students are dependent on a particular school they attend. Because the pupils within the same school together in frequent contact share the same teachers and thus the same content and teaching style, it can be expected that this shared context will shape their party preferences in the same direction.

Bivariate analysis is performed first in order to determine the independent effects of variables. Construction of the model itself is then derived from several basic steps by taking into account three blocks of variables gradually. The first block of variables is the student's family background which also includes the contextual variable electoral support for right-wing parties in the town. The second block contains variables that describe the impact of the school environment. The sex of the respondent and self-classification on a left-right scale are included in the third block.

Descriptive statistics suggest that no political party had dominant support among young people aged 17-19 in the autumn of 2012. Among the respondents who did not rule out its potential participation in elections, would won ODS, followed by TOP 09, ČSSD and Pirates. However, these parties would obtain a very balanced share of votes where the difference in

support between first and fourth place is only 2 percentage points. Extreme parties KSČM and DSSS, would comfortably get into the Chamber of Deputies with a profit of more than 6%, which rank them to the fifth and sixth place among the young voters.

These results compared with the electoral model representative for all residents in the Czech Republic at the time of data collection at schools are shown in Table 3.1. The big difference is obvious for the Pirates, who won the young 15% support but the adult population preference is lower than 1%. Pirates, similarly to TOP 09 (16% versus 9%), have a long-term success especially among young people, so the result is not surprising. We can observe the opposite phenomenon with the KSČM, which enjoys 21% support in the population, but they would receive only less than 7% among young people.

Table 3.1, Comparison of representative sample of adult population (CVVM, September 2012) and youth survey party preferences (per cent)

	17−19 years, September 2012	*CVVM, 18+, September 2012*	*Difference youth minus adults*
ODS	17	21	-4
TOP 09	16	9	+7
ČSSD	16	32	-16
PIRÁTI	15	1	+14
KSČM	7	21	-14
DSSS	6	NA	NA
KDU-ČSL	6	6	0
SZ	5	2	+3
VV	5	NA	NA
Others	9	10	-1
Number of observations	1070	501	

Source: High school survey and CVVM, September 2012. ČR. Note: category "others" contains all parties which shown support lower than 1 %.

Descriptive statistics confirm the expectation that the students' party preferences vary according to the type of school attended. Left-wing parties would vote 35% of pupils SOU, but only 24% of SOŠ pupils and 20% of pupils attending gymnasium. In contrast, the right-wing preference was expressed by 50% gymnasiums' students compared to 41% of SOŠ pupils and 28% of students attending SOU. The following analysis will complement the findings in terms of whether these differences according to the type of school are independent of the family background.

3. Results

The model including only random intercept of schools show that the probability of right-wing parties' preference varies according to the particular school (estimated random effect variance of school is statistically significant at the .05 level). This variance will also be tried to explain by using a second-level variables i.e. those which characterize the school environment. The option that the variability at school level will drop significantly even with the inclusion of non-school variables cannot be rejected either, because the insertion of individual predictors may result in a decrease in residual variability not only on the first but also the second level. If even then the second level dispersion persist, it is likely that the party preferences of students are shaped by factors not included in the model, such as teacher's influence or teaching content.

Table 3.2, Party preferences of adolescents 2012 (multilevel multinomial logistic regression)

	Variables	Family	School	Individual	Family and school	Combined model
Right-wing party preference						
Family context	Socio-economic status:					
	(2) skilled manual workers,	1.07			.87	.79
	(3) non-manual workers	1.07			.89	.85
	(4) senior and middle	1.16			1.08	1.04
	(5) highly qualified staff	1.27			1.87	1.15
	Consistency of parental preference					
	(1) One left	2.97 *			2.94 *	2.60 *
	(2) Non consistent/others/don't	12.72 ***			12.69 ***	10.75 ***
	(3) One right	62.10 ***			53.92 ***	36.46 ***
	(4) Both right	76.24 ***			69.71 ***	48.70 ***
	Right-wing party support in town	1.24 †			1.09	1.11
School context	Type of school					
	(2) Technical school (SOŠ)		1.33		1.62	1.66
	(3) Gymnasium		1.44		2.02	2.07
	Ideology at school		1.77 ***		1.69 **	1.29 *
Individual level	Sex (woman)			.96		.99
	Ideology (left-right)			1.78 ***		1.51 ***
Intercept		.13 ***	1. 40	.09 ***	.09 ***	.01 ***

	Variables	Family		School		Individual		Family and school		Combined model	
Others											
Family context	Socio-economic status:										
	(2) skilled manual workers,	.79						.75		.75	
	(3) non-manual workers	.87						.84		.82	
	(4) senior and middle	.90						.88		.87	
	(5) highly qualified staff	1.04						1.04		1.15	
	Consistency of parental preference										
	(1) One left	1.92						1.82		1.68	
	(2) Non consistent/others/don't	8.86	***					8.65	***	7.63	***
	(3) One right	22.67	***					21.29	***	17.12	***
	(4) Both right	14.81	***					14.03	***	10.76	***
	Right-wing party support in town	1.21						1.21		1.23	
School context	Type of school										
	(2) Technical school (SOŠ)			1.34				1.61		1.74	
	(3) Gymnasium			1.20				2.04		2.19	
	Ideology at school			1.33	†			1.14		1.26	
Individual level	Sex (woman)					.86				.83	
	Ideology (left-right)					1.38	***			1.26	***
Intercept		.23	***	1.13		.30	***	.15	***	.05	***
	School variance	.19		.01		.08		≤.001		≤.001	
Measures of	AIC	1949		2255		2134		1940		1876	
goodness of fit	BIC	2052		2299		2169		2073		2027	
	Log likelihood	-954		-1118		-1060		-943		-907	
	McFadden pseudo R^2	.12		.03		.06		.13		.15	
	N	1,009		1,070		1,057		1,009		998	

***p ≤ .001; ** p ≤ .01; *p ≤ .05; †p≤.10. Note that coefficients are relative risk ratios and the reference category is left-wing party preference. . The reference categories in the models are: SES (unskilled manual workers), Consistency of parental preference (both left-wing party), type of school (vocational school, SOU), sex (female). The variables 'ideology at school', 'ideology' and right-wing party support were standardized.

Family

Bivariate analysis showed statistically significant relationship between the party preferences and students' socio-economic status. The chances that student will prefer right-wing party rather than left-wing party increase with family socio-economic status. Perceived electoral preferences of parents were confirmed to be very strong predictor too. Parents' right-wing electoral preferences compared to left-wing party preference increase the chance of leaning adolescent more to the right than to the left. This outcome reflects the assumption that children follow the electoral preferences of their parents. We also see that the increasing support of the right-wing parties in the town lead to a greater likelihood of preferring the right-wing parties among youth ($p \leq .10$).

Statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable is also present in case of parents' electoral preferences and the variable electoral support in town in a multivariate analysis. The effect of socio-economic status which usually serves as the main independent variable for testing class vote disappears. While adult citizens may, in accordance with the class voting theory suggest that their voting preferences are formed on the background of interest related to its own socio-economic status, young people may just simply take the existing electoral patterns from their parents. Influence of socio-economic status on party preferences of young people is not in this interpretation direct, but is probably realized through parental preference.

An interesting result is that the variability at school level lost its significance after inclusion of variables of family context. This suggests that characteristics that are responsible for variance at the school level are associated with a family environment and therefore the differences between the schools reflect the different student's family backgrounds who attend these schools. Validity of this assumption will be tested in the next steps of analysis.

School

On a basis of bivariate analysis type of school and ideological climate can be considered as statistically significant correlates of youth party preferences. SOU pupils exhibit lower probability of preferring the right-wing party to the left-wing party than pupils attending gymnasium. Also growing right-wing orientation in the school system increases the chances of preferring the right-wing to the left-wing parties or others.

When both variables enter the model at the same time, the relationship between the type of school and the dependent variable weakness and the effect of the ideology at school takes over. Type of school basically proves to be correlate of the ideological climate at school. The relationship between political climate at school and individual's preferences can be a reflection of various mechanisms. First, one could speculate that classmates influence each other in their

preferences by their interaction with each other at school and/or outside the school. Secondly, that relationship may be caused because pupils in one school are taught by the same teachers, are influenced by the same style and content of teaching and the relationship is spurious correlation.

Ideological orientation

Self-classification on a left-right scale has emerged as a significant predictor of party preferences of adolescents. Inclination to the right on the ideological spectrum reinforces chances of preferring right-wing versus left-wing parties, and the same situation applies to other parties. When this variable enters the model with random intercept the school level variation persists. In this respect, the findings differ from other analysis working with the adult population, since individual characteristics usually tend to be the strongest predictor of both turnout and voter preference (the classic example of identification with the party). On the contrary, sex shows no statistically significant relationship with youth party preferences.

Family and school

The previous steps of the analysis pointed to the existence of relationships between the three presented blocks of variables. Now we will look at the effects of variables representing different contexts if they enter the model at the same time. Based on the weakened relationship after the inclusion of subsequent blocks of variables, we can conclude that the factor operates indirectly through variables standing further in the causal chain.

The model which works with the blocks of family and school predictors lose statistical significance only in case of right-wing support in the community in which adolescent lives which was already on the edge of statistical significance ($p \leq .10$). If the influence of family background was implemented primarily through the school, the strength of the electoral preferences of parents would drop. This result, however, can be seen only in a very limited extent, the electoral preferences of parents are only slightly lower than in the model where the independent variables consist of only the family context. The effect of parents' electoral preference implemented through school choice is therefore relatively weak and retains the strong direct influence. Significant independent effect of the ideological climate in the school suggests that adolescents are in their preference really influenced by classmates or any other aspect of the school environment.

Although no common scale is present, in comparison the family environment effect appears to be stronger than the school influence. The result of likelihood ratio test suggests that the

model working only with family variables is appropriate to extend with variables capturing the school environment. However, school characteristics are not critically important for improving the quality of the model.

Combined model

In the final model, which combines all of the variables mentioned above, are statistically significant factors associated with adolescents' party preference: parents electoral preference, ideology at school and self-placement on a left-right scale. Insertion of individual's ideological orientation results in a decrease of strength of parents' electoral preferences effect. This variable, however, still remains a strong predictor of adolescents' party preference. Again, this confirms previous findings that claim that the family has a significant impact on party preferences of adolescents. The effect of parents probably works both direct and indirect way, in the latter case partly by choice of the type of school, but also by influencing the ideological orientation of the child.

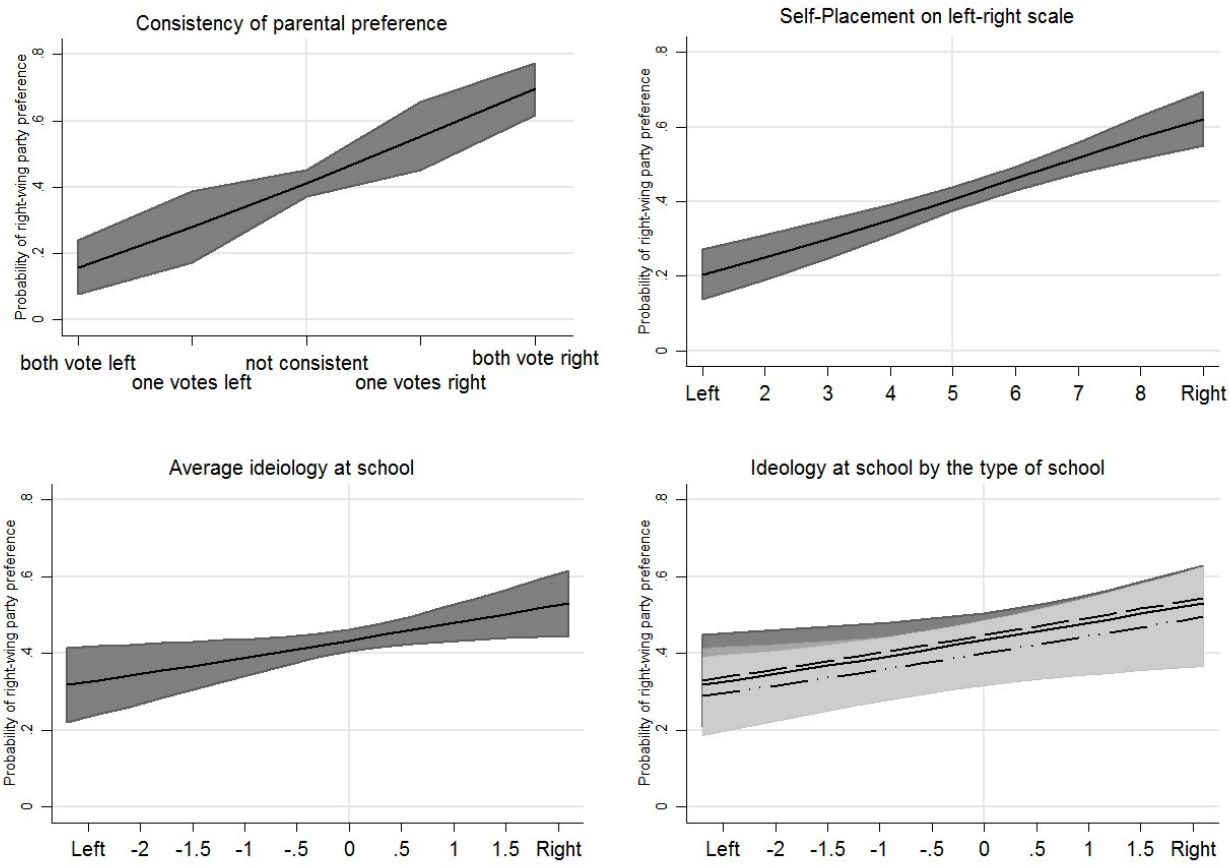
The results of presented models imply that the school environment influences party preference independently on the family (and the observed relationship is not only a manifestation of selection on the basis of family background), but only in a limited extent. The fact that variability at the school level is not too strong and explainable already by family characteristics suggests that the influence of the school does not necessarily lay in the content of teaching and active pursuit of political discussion at school, but rather acts as an environment where are accumulated young people from a similar family environment and their interaction enhances preference, which they bring from outside the school environment.

Class voting theory was the starting point for finding links between the type of school and preferences of students, because the type of high school largely determines future educational and professional paths. However, the direct impact of the attended type of high school was not revealed in the later stages of analysis. Likewise, a direct relationship between parental status and party preferences of their children cannot be convincingly confirmed. It is very likely due to the fact that the influence of this variable in the model absorbed the effect of variable voting preferences of parents, which reflects the class vote. Adolescents in a situation where they have not developed their socio-economic interests yet follows the party choice of parents and imitates them. This finding is with consonance with Achen (2002).

Predicted probabilities for consistency of parental party choice, self-placement on an ideology scale and average ideology at school are shown below in Figure 3.1. The figure shows that parental preference and self-placement on left-right scale have great and very similar effect

on propensity to vote right-wing party. The results and margins are discussed in more detail in following subchapter.

Figure 3.1, Comparison of parental preferences, left-right self-placement, average self-placement at school effects on probabilities of Czech high school students' right-wing party preference



Source: Czech High School Student Survey, September 2012. Note that the grey shading refers to the 95% confidence intervals. The mean probability of right-wing party preference estimates are based on holding all other explanatory variables at their mean values and varying the values of the specific explanatory variable examined. Estimates are based on the final 'combined model' reported in Table 3.2.

4. Discussion

Three hypotheses were put forward at the beginning of this chapter. The first hypothesis that the right-wing party preferences of young people are associated with the right-wing electoral preferences of their parents has been confirmed. The model shows that youth party preferences are strongly linked to (a) the electoral preferences of their parents, and (b) the homogeneity of parental preferences. If both parents voted for a leftist party in past elections then the adolescent has a 16% probability to express a preference for a right-wing party. In cases where at least one

parent voted for right-wing party, while the second voted for left-wing one, the Czech youths have a 55% likelihood of voting for a right-wing party. If an adolescent is convinced that both parents support a right-wing party then the probability of expressing a right-wing party preference rises to 70%.

The second hypothesis claimed that Czech youth preferences for right-wing parties are related to the adolescent's socio-economic status or family background. This relationship was statistically significant only in the bivariate analysis. Once other variables were included into the model such as the electoral preferences of parents, which are closely linked to socio-economic status, socio-economic status lost its statistical significance, and its impact is probably masked by the strength of the parents' voting preferences of variable. Moreover, the expectation that adolescents' left-right orientation is related to party preference was also confirmed. If the adolescent ranked themselves on the very left, their probability for expressing a right-wing party preference was 20%. The probability of supporting a right-wing party doubled for those youths who placed themselves in the middle of the ideological spectrum, and increased to 62% for those who identified themselves as being rightist on the left-right self-placement scale.

The third hypothesis suggesting that the mean ideological self-placement classmates are associated with the electoral preferences of adolescents was confirmed. Furthermore, it was shown that this relationship is likely to absorb the type of school effect. The results however, should be like the whole research of political socialization, viewed in the context of family and school being highly interdependent environments and it is almost impossible to distinguish the net effect of each environment separately within the available data. These results suggest that the party preferences of adolescents are open to the influences of the family and school contexts.

The socializing role of school can be best characterized as a place where the pupils' basis for party preference are fostered and empowered. We can think of two channels of indirect influence of the family through the school environment. First, school is influential because it is a place where pupils meet and where peer groups develop their political attitudes and preferences. Second, type of school plays a key role because it shapes the ideological environment in which student spend much of their day. Differences in schools motivate students to consider their current and future socio-economic status and hence articulate their own class interests. Although school characteristics are not fully predisposed by the family and the school is not only a family channel, the indirect impact of the family through the school was sufficient to statistically explain the effect of the school context. The school has an impact on party preferences, which in principle does not exceed the effect of class composition.

School environment seem to be a factor that concentrates the family influences and its socializing influence is derived from what the students bring from home. These conclusions could tempt one to conclude that there is no political discussion among pupils and between pupils and teachers in schools. However, due to data limitations it is not possible to conclusively conclude that debates about politics in schools do not have a significant impact on youth party preferences. It seems more reasonable to conclude that school environments reinforce family background effects and associated class interests. The results of the analysis presented here resonate with Highton's (2009) conclusions that there is no strong reason to believe that education has an independent influence on the formation of party preferences.

The analyses presented in this chapter have several limits which should be highlighted. Since the analysis is based on declared vote intentions, the dependent variable is best understood as an attitude rather than recalled voting behaviour, for example. The causal interpretation of the key association between the dependent variable (youth party preference) and parents' voting preferences may be challenged. This is because adolescents may not actually know the real preferences of their parents and may have reflected their own party preferences when answering these questions. In defence of the approach adopted in this chapter, more than half of the students responded that they do not know the electoral preferences of their parents suggesting most students answered the survey questions sincerely. Moreover, there is a moderately strong relationship (Cramer's V = 0.29) between the socio-economic status of the family and parents' preferences as reported by their adolescent children. This suggests that adolescent reports of their parent's party preferences are unlikely to be random guesses, but are based on real evidence with some measurement error.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that party preferences originate in the family environment and school effects are limited in the Czech Republic. However, it would incorrect to conclude that schools have no impact at all on students and that civic education classes are not important. The results of the analysis presented here do not justify such conclusions. Schools weak influence on party preference may be attributed to an apolitical school environment, and is not possible with the available information to decide if a greater emphasis on political education would strengthen the school effect or not. Moreover, this is a normative question where many would argue that the aim of civic education is not about developing youths' party preferences.

A practical benefit of this chapter is that it shows the possibility of using the type of school as a proxy of social class research political positions and orientations of young people if other

variables are not available. The type of high school largely represents the pre-selection of those who will reach higher education in a future and who will not. This is in consonance with previous literature highlighting high level of educational stratification in the Czech Republic.

Use of the "type of school" variable has a potential to explain the patterns of political and electoral behaviour better than is possible with just a variable highest reached educational level. As indicated earlier in the empirical part of this chapter, pupils attending gymnasium will be much more similar to university educated individual than students of technical (SOŠ) or vocational schools (SOU). This is not only due to the family environment, where wealth differences originate, but may also reflect how high school students are influenced by the specific (type of) school attended.

The similarity of gymnasium pupils to university educated citizens is shaped by higher family socio-economic status, and this is reflected in the youths' expressed party preferences. About half of the gymnasium pupils preferred right-wing parties, and only one fifth stated they would vote for a left-wing party, and support for the Communist Party (KSČM) was also minimal (≤2%). This, however, is not the case of vocational school (SOU) students who tend to come from low socio-economic backgrounds with less educated parents. Here left-wing parties are supported by a third of those which indicated that would come to vote. What is even more interesting is that close to one-in-ten SOU students expressed support for KSČM.

Finally, the results presented in this chapter have shown the importance of peer effect measured by the average ideological self-placement. This indicates that what pupils discuss in class and with whom they talk about politics matters. This is an important finding when taken together with the results of Chapter 2. In sum, the previous two chapters show that parental example motivates turnout and peer influence shapes party preferences. The following chapter builds on the findings of this chapter by investigating in greater detail how Czech youth's classmates influence political development. In Chapter 4 the role of classroom composition and open classroom climate on attitudes towards voting turnout, non-electoral political participation and political knowledge will explored.

CHAPTER 4: The Impact of Classroom Socio-economic Composition Effect on Czech Youth's Political Knowledge and Engagement

Introduction

Earlier in Chapters 2 and 3 it was shown that there are great differences in political attitudes depending on type of school youth attend. It has also been argued that it is probably not a school effect itself but rather consequence of educational and socio-economical stratification which in result group children into three types of school according to their family background. In Chapters 4 to 6 more attention will be given to the school environment. The reason is that schools provide efficient way how to influence youths' civic competencies and attitudes.

There is a large foreign literature showing a positive relationship between the level of education and political knowledge, voting turnout and political participation (Converse 1972; Putnam 2000). However, the younger generations of Europeans show much greater levels of inequalities in electoral participation on the basis of level of educational than the older generations (Abendschön et al. 2014). This is puzzling because general levels of education have increased in Europe and America over the last half century.

Thomas Piketty (2014) suggests the increase in social and political inequalities may lead to more extreme politics. Educational inequalities and political disengagement are in the long term seen as a danger for many democratic societies. Educational inequalities are sometimes seen to be connected with democratic legitimacy because young and lower educated people are not engaged in politics. Education and particularly civic education (Eurydice 2012; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012) is often seen as a treatment for such issues. Eidhof et al. (2014: 3) suggest that schools are thought "to be able to increase the overall quality of citizenship competence in a population and provide more equality of civic opportunity."

Policymakers have an excellent opportunity to influence civic education in their country by changing curricula or other civic education setups in order to diminish the inequality gaps. The crucial question is what can schools do? First, schools should provide citizenship competencies to young citizens. Secondly, schools should diminish the pre-existing inequalities among young citizens that are caused by different socio-economic background. How this can be reached is a puzzle.

Campbell (2008: 437) suggests that "an open classroom climate at school can partially compensate for the disadvantages of young people with low socio-economic status." Previous literature focusing on academic achievement scores suggests that classroom composition matters too because being surrounded and interact with classmates with higher Socio-Economic Status (SES) or positive cognitive abilities has positive effect on individuals' scores and attitudes.

A key goal of this chapter is to test if socio-economic classroom composition matters for developing political knowledge and positive attitudes towards electoral and political participation. Another objective of this chapter is to analyse if open classroom climate and classroom composition have a similar impact on the likelihood of young people's political knowledge and attitudes toward political participation. The final aim of this chapter is to analyse if classroom climate and/or classroom socio-economic composition can compensate for the disadvantages of pupils from families with low socio-economic status.

If the classroom compositional effect is evident this would be important because it would imply that students attending affluent classrooms benefit more from influences of their classmates' socio-economic background than students attending less affluent schools. A positive compositional effect would mean that gaps in political knowledge and attitudes towards electoral and political participation between students with low and high socio-economic background may be diminished by producing mixed schools where students from both higher and lower SES families will interact. On contrary decision leading to division of schools for low and high-SES children could lead to the extreme politics as Piketty (2014) suggests and in result weaken the democratic legitimacy. The Czech secondary education system is characterised by being relatively highly stratified as is the case in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Switzerland (Buchmann and Park 2009). In these differentiated education systems parents play a strong role in selecting which type of secondary school their children will attend as a preparation of university or the job market[6]. The Czech case represents a system where parents are motivated to transfer their educational and occupational advantages to their children. Participation in university education increased in the Czech Republic from 16% to 55% between 1991 and 2010; however, about one third of those who complete secondary school are not eligible to apply to go to university. This evidence points to a competitive educational system that is strongly stratified on the basis of parental or family background and wealth.

This chapter will examine if there are both compensation and acceleration effects for political knowledge and willingness to (a) vote in future elections or (b) participate in non-

[6] For more detail about Czech educational system see subchapter "Impact of the Czech educational system" in Introduction.

electoral political activities. The interaction of whether a student comes from a low or high-SES family, average SES of pupils in a classroom, and the presence of an open classroom climate determine if wealth differences have positive or negative effects on citizen competence. Sections 1 to 3 outline previous research on why classroom effects on student performance in schools matters. Section 4 presents the data and methods used for the models reported, and this is followed in the penultimate section by a discussion of the model results. The concluding section presents some general remarks and policy implications.

1. Political Knowledge, Participation and Schools

Studies consistently show that voting turnout and political participation are linked with the individual resources. As resources are defined and used: levels of education, occupation, income, political knowledge (Solt 2008; Castillo et al. 2015). The relationship between resources and political participation in combination with growing socio-economic stratification can become serious threat for democratic legitimacy. This is because as the gap in resources widens differences in political participation grow and government representativeness and responsiveness weakens (Levinson 2010; Castillo et al. 2015).

Political knowledge as well as electoral and political participation are positively associated with individuals' socio-economic background. This finding has been consistently observed in many studies from different countries (e.g. Marien et al. 2010; Schlozman et al. 2012; Solt 2010).

Galston (2007) notes that people in the highest income quintile are five times more likely to engage in politics than those from the lowest quintile. Simultaneously, citizens with similar socio-economic status exhibit similar level of political engagement (Nie et al. 1969). Socio-economic background does not only refer to income, but also for level of education. Level of reached education is also consistently reported to be a predictor of political knowledge, voting turnout, and non-electoral political participation (Brady et al. 1995; Owen et al. 2011).

A high correlation between income and level of education may lead to the conclusion that these two indicators are substitutable. However, a high level of education does not only mean a higher likelihood of obtaining well-paid job, but may also indicate higher cognitive abilities (i.e. intelligence) which leads to a higher capacity for understanding politics, searching for information, and being politically knowledgeable in general (Schlozman et al. 2012). The same logic applies to students who for obvious reasons do not have a job and their process of education has not finished yet. The positive effect of higher socio-economic background on political knowledge, attitudes towards electoral and political knowledge has been demonstrated by several scholars (Hattie 2009; Campbell 2008).

Scholars and policymakers look for both causes and solutions of political inequalities. Educational system and particularly schools are often seen as the usual suspects because of their educational and socialization role. It is no surprise that citizens do not become automatically politically knowledgeable, efficient and engaged once they become eligible to vote. Hooghe and Dassonneville (2013) report that the link between education (e.g. type of school attended) and political participation is already evident when a pupil is attending school. This phenomenon has been observed in intergenerational educational transmission processes and is evident cross-nationally (Schlozman et al. 2012). It is clear that the type of secondary school attended helps determine in great extent our future level of political knowledge, participation and political engagement.

2. Classroom Effects on Citizenship Competencies

Research of school effects began with work by Langton and Jennings (1968) who were unable to confirm that attendance at civic courses had a positive effect on political knowledge because of the impact of many other interconnected influences. This used to be generally accepted fact until Niemi and Junn (1998) found evidence that schools, civics instruction, and discussion of current events in the classroom are positively related to political knowledge. As noted above, political knowledge is in turn a predictor of other citizenship activities such as political participation and engagement (Carpini and Keeter, 1996). This is a crucial finding because it demonstrates that what happens in the classroom is important and can make a difference in promoting effective citizenship. The key question in civic education research is what produces positive effects in making youths more active and effective citizens.

Torney-Purta et al. (1975) and Niemi and Junn (1998) reported a positive effect of classroom discussion on political knowledge score in America's National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) civics exams. However, the causal mechanism linking classroom discussions and political knowledge remained unclear because only a simple question on the frequency of political discussion in classrooms was asked. More recently, research based on survey data from the Civic Education Study (CIVED, 1999) and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS, 2009) projects have also reported positive effects for political discussions in the classroom on political knowledge (Torney-Purta 2001, 2002; Torney-Purta and Richardson 2005). Political discussion in the classroom increases youth's political knowledge, and as Campbell (2008: 440) puts it "some of that knowledge entails the people and issues at play in the politics of the day, but it also includes a deeper understanding of fundamental democratic principles and practices".

School effects and civic education

Research on the link between school effects and having competent citizens tend to employ two main arguments. First, the role of schools is to provide students with knowledge which is seen as vital for becoming a critical and engaged citizen. Pupils should learn about how the political system works, and about the importance of political participation (Quintelier 2010; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). Second, schools also play a key exemplary role where students can experience democracy. This means that students can take part in decision making process about certain issues at school, i.e. the class timetable, class and school rules, use of learning materials, etc., and have the opportunity to participate in school parliaments or contribute to publishing a school magazine, etc. Schulz et al. (2008: 38) note that:

> [t]he possibility of establishing and experiencing relationships and behaviours based on openness, mutual respect, and respect for diversity, as well as the possibility of giving and asserting one's own opinion and points of view, allow students to practice a democratic lifestyle, to begin exercising their own autonomy, and to develop a sense of self-efficacy.

In a nutshell, civic learning is seen to be both the learning of political facts plus a learning experience in a micro-democracy. In this manner several studies have focused on how classroom climate matters in promoting civic knowledge or other civic competences (Quintelier and Hooghe 2012; Martens and Gainous 2012).

Open classroom climate

Scholars have focused primarily on political knowledge; however, attitudes towards political participation are no less important. Scholars have realized that schools should not only foster political knowledge within youths, but pupils should also become more active and confident in political matters. This integrated civics education strategy was the subject of several studies (Campbell 2008; Gimpel et al. 2003; Niemi et al. 2000). Such work tested the idea that having an open classroom climate may have a positive impact on youth's political engagement. Campbell (2008: 444) suggests that discussing important political issues can help youths to (a) "develop a familiarity with the political landscape, including the institutions, processes, positions, and personalities that shape its contours" , and (b) make young people become more comfortable with politics in order to develop what Youniss et al. (1997) call a "civic identity".

In sum, political discussions and an open classroom climate should foster the development of a civic identity that leads to frequent political engagement (Campbell 2008). Several authors propose that voter turnout as one of the forms of political participation is often motivated by solidarity with one's political community (Knack and Kropf 1998; Schlozman et al. 1995; Campbell 2006). Moreover, Campbell (2008) indicates that "political discussion in the classroom

leads young people to think of themselves as future participants in the form of political expression that is subject to the strongest normative expectations, specifically voting."

It has been suggested that the interaction between peers and teachers is important for developing and practicing skills and abilities related to life in democratic society: and dealing with situations such as having discussions with people who have different opinions and participating in collective decision-making processes (Korkmaz and Gümüşeli 2013). This can be particularly well reached by political discussions during civic or history classes. In this vein, Campbell (2007, 2008) suggests that discussions which occur in an open classroom climate have a positive effect on citizenship competencies.

Having an open classroom climate has recently become a key theme in research on classroom and school effects. The 'open classroom' concept indicates the degree to which students (1) feel free to discuss political and social issues freely and openly and (2) feel safe in expressing their own opinions on controversial topics. A positive effect of an open classroom climate on political knowledge and attitudes toward future electoral and political participation has been observed in several studies (e.g. Campbell 2008; Geboers et al. 2013; Isac et al. 2014; Torney-Purta 2010; Alivernini and Manganelli, 2011).

Political discussions within schools can also increase the likelihood of becoming a habitual voter. This is because students start to feel engaged and become confident in their understanding of politics (Campbell 2008). Political discussions can also promote greater openness to political engagement (Claes et al. 2012) and political efficacy (Martens and Gainous 2012).

It has been argued that Campbell (2008) presented inconclusive evidence for the effect of open classroom climate on political knowledge and attitudes towards political participation. In this respect, Collado et al. (2015) noted that apart from class composition itself other potentially important mechanisms may be present. For example, the average level of inequality (e.g. SES) in a classroom has been found to be strongly correlated with having an open classroom climate. Specifically, an open classroom climate is more likely to occur in a classroom with a higher average SES. These results indicate that both mean classroom SES differences or SES heterogeneity and open classroom climate variables should be examined together in order to answer two important questions. First, does classroom composition have an independent effect on political knowledge? Second, is classroom composition linked with attitudes towards political participation?

Family wealth and classroom composition effects

The idea that pupils' socio-economic background and other individual characteristics of classmates matter is not new. The influential Coleman Report (1966) indicated that pupils' achievement was strongly influenced by their classmates' education background in America half a century ago. Henderson et al. (1978) reported that student performance increased nonlinearly with mean classroom IQ score. Although these studies are rather old, their results indicate that family wealth, or SES, and prior achievement scores aggregated either at the classroom or school levels do affect individuals' achievement. These studies motivated comparative and cross-time research on peer effects that yielded inconclusive results (Thrupp et al. 2002; Vigdor and Nechyda 2007). Although classroom compositional effects have often been studied in terms of students' achievement in mathematics and language tests, where the results of these studies are mixed, there is relatively little research on political knowledge or attitudes (Van Ewijk and Sleegers 2010; Schwartz 2012).

Classroom and peer effects

Classroom composition effects research focusses on how peers influence individuals often through social comparison mechanisms. Eisenkopf (2010) found that having fellow pupils with high scores in mathematics decreased motivation. However, having learning partners with an interest in puzzles increased the test performance. In contrast, Hoxby and Weingarth (2005) report, higher achieving peers have a positive influence on their classmates. They also note that too much diversity in classroom composition may hamper the learning process. High diversity may impair the learning environment because it becomes difficult target each students' needs.

Peer effects explanations build on the fact that students from high-SES families are more motivated, able, and engaged. When such students share the same classroom, discuss and work together they may also learn more from each other. Simultaneously, a classroom composed of high-SES students will set higher standards that will push all students (regardless of SES) to work harder. If teachers see that students in their classrooms possess high levels of motivation, engagement, and cognitive skills, these teachers will be more motivated to demand more of their students.

Peer effects are also considered very important in regard to social outcomes such as drinking alcohol, smoking, and church attendance (Huisman et al. 2012; Dahl et al. 2012). Sacerdote (2014) note that the impact of peer effects on social outcomes are even greater than for academic achievement scores. This research suggests that classroom composition may have a potentially greater effect on political attitudes than on political knowledge.

Cognitive skills and classroom effects

Eidhof et al. (2014) study of the impact of language and mathematics skills and classroom composition effects on citizenship attitudes found only a weak positive association. In fact, at the classroom level higher mean cognitive ability was associated with lower levels of political knowledge. This surprising result was explained as resulting from higher ability students putting more instrumental emphasis on academic success, and college entry, than concentrating on the topics dealt with a civics education class.

Eidhof et al. (2014: 15) also report that "particularly low language ability students appear to have higher citizenship knowledge when surrounded by classroom peers of which some have higher language ability and others display a level of language ability similar to their own." This classroom composition effect was only found for language skills and not mathematics. This difference was explained as showing that peer effect mechanisms may be linked with language use which is related to activities such as political discussions in classes.

This chapter also had two other important findings. First, high achieving peers have a positive effect on their classmates' academic scores. Second, classroom compositions with students with similar characteristics lead to higher achievement because the learning environment adapts better to the composition of the majority in a class. This suggests that students with lower SES are less well catered for in classrooms where they are a minority. However, if low-SES students are more numerous they are more likely to have classes that cater to their specific needs and wants.

Family SES and classroom effects

Isac et al. (2014) reported a positive effect of average student family wealth, or SES, on civic knowledge using ICCS (2009) survey data from 31 countries including the Czech Republic. The insight that a students' family background has an impact on a pupils learning civic education skills in school was originally proposed by Allport (1954) who found that heterogeneous classrooms were more likely to facilitate discussions on controversial issues, which if debated could result in higher levels of political knowledge. However, homogenous classrooms could foster an effective learning process because of the effects of a shared value system (Ledoux et al. 2011; Isac et al. 2011).

Willms (2010) makes the important point that average SES in a classroom or school may be an indicator of more than peer effects. For example, schools composed mainly of children from rich families may have better teachers and educational resources. This is because wealthier parents can provide financial support to the school plus home resources for individual learning.

Furthermore, wealthier families are more likely to have a home environment that stimulates pupil's cognitive development.

Schools and classroom effects

Students from wealthier families are also more likely to attend better equipped schools which can also afford to employ better teachers. This may be important particularly in countries with (a) differentiated or "tracked" educational systems, (b) strong segregation in the school system according to neighbourhood factors, and (c) the advantages of private over public schooling. Although a majority of Czech schools are public there are differences in their quality. Consequently, parents often try to get places for their children in better schools. This phenomenon known as "school tourism" occurs when one or both parents report their permanent place of residence at a place that falls into the catchment area of a school they wish to send their child. School tourism is becoming more frequent in the Czech Republic as competition for attendance at good school increases. This is likely to increase educational stratification as children from richer families dominate in schools that have a reputation for academic excellence.

Compensation or acceleration?

Previous studies have shown that higher socio-economic status or wealth is associated with higher levels of political engagement and knowledge (Converse 1972). There is also evidence showing that this positive association is also valid for children from wealthier families (Gimpel et al. 2003). This implies that children coming from low-SES families are less likely to have high levels of political knowledge and civic engagement or be willing to go voting.

Langton and Jennings (1968) argued that effective civic education at school has the potential to compensate for the civic disadvantages faced by students with low-SES family background. Campbell (2008) found in the American context that an open classroom climate can have a 'compensation effect' for civic knowledge and appreciation of political conflict. Research on performance in language and mathematics tests has also found evidence of compensation effects (Vandenberghe 2002; Schneeweis and Winter-Ebmer, 2007).

Alternatively, it is possible to find an 'acceleration effect' which is that the classroom effect exacerbates the differences between high and low-SES students' citizen competencies (Campbell, 2008). In other words, children from wealthier families will benefit more from an open classroom climate in a class of high-SES pupils than students from low-SES families. This acceleration effect occurs because high-SES students are more likely to have some familiarity with politics

from family discussions, and consequently are more likely to be encouraged by teachers to participate in political discussion in class.

3. Data, Methods and Variables

The basic idea behind the compensation hypothesis is that classroom climate and socio-economic class composition have to be interacted with the individual socio-economic status because the effect of classroom climate may work differently for children coming from families with low and high social status. If a positive relationship is observed for the interaction term that would evidence for an acceleration hypothesis. In contrast, a negative interaction term would favour the compensation hypothesis.

This chapter uses the Czech dataset from International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) 2009 conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) which offers an opportunity to analyse citizenship competencies of 8th graders. Hypotheses are tested in three separate three-level models where pupils are nested in classes which are in turn nested in schools. Data are weighted by official total student weights prepared by IDEA (Schulz et al. 2011).

The three dependent variables used in this chapter are (1) student's scores in the ICCS political knowledge test, (2) willingness to vote in future elections, and (3) willingness to participate in political activities beyond voting in the future. Table 8.3 in Appendix provides an overview of all variables included in the models reported later in Table 4.1. All variables have been centred to have arithmetic mean and standard deviation of 1 to take account of differences within each classroom and school context examined. To summarise, the goals of this chapter are to test the following eight hypotheses.

H.1 Socio-economic classroom composition and level of political knowledge have a positive association.
H.2 Socio-economic classroom composition and electoral participation exhibit a positive relationship.
H.3 There is a positive link between socio-economic classroom composition and propensity to engage in political participation.
H.4 An open classroom climate is positively correlated with political knowledge.
H.5 An open classroom climate has a positive association with electoral participation.
H.6 An open classroom climate has a positive relationship with non-electoral participation.
H.7 Socio-economic classroom composition can compensate for the disadvantages of pupils coming from families with low socio-economic status.
H.8 An open classroom climate can compensate for the disadvantages of pupils from families with low socio-economic status.

In answering the question of how family wealth and classroom effect shape the citizen competence of students, the valid and reliable measurement of family wealth, or SES, is an important task. In previous research the measurement of students' socio-economic background has not been consistent. SES has often been measured with five indicators: 1) parents' level of education, 2) parents' occupation, 3) number of books at home, 4) educational aspirations of the student, or 5) a combination of the foregoing indicators. These indicators tend to be highly correlated and often which one is used makes little substantive difference in the models estimated. Parent's education and occupation refer directly to socio-economic status which is sources of material goods, money, power, friendship networks, educational opportunities, and time for political engagement (Oakes and Rossi 2003). However, Hooghe and Dassonville (2013) report that these indicators are not reliable and suggest it is better to use alternative measures such as a pupil's educational aspirations because this information is more reliable indicator of SES. The 'number of books at home' question is commonly used although it is not clear what the number reported (if accurate) really measures. Interpretation of what this question measures varies from such things as an indicator of cultural capital (Campbell 2008; Castillo et al. 2015) to being a proxy for SES (Quintelier and Hooghe 2013). Consequently, an SES score was estimated using Confirmatory Factor Analysis using the four indicators discussed above (Cronbach alpha = .65). In this chapter SES is understood as indicator of resources possessed by the student and her parents.

Finally, similarly to Campbell (2008) students' perceptions of an open classroom climate are also included in all models estimated. This is necessary in order to take into account the possibility that students from the same classroom may differ in their assessments of the degree of political discussion present. More politically engaged pupils are more likely to think there is a higher level of discussion and openness in the classroom than all others. One may argue that using the same indicators on both levels may result in collinearity. In Czech sample the correlation between both perception variables is not high (r= .38) and is therefore not a problem for model estimation.

4. Results and Discussion

The modelling results presented in Table 4.1 show that a Czech students' SES is a positive and statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) predictor of political knowledge, future turnout, and non-electoral participation. Average SES at the classroom level is the strongest predictor of political knowledge, and is also one of the strongest determinants of future electoral participation.

Average SES in the classroom level has no effect on future (non-electoral) political participation which is best predicted by current engagement with civic organizations.

Table 4.1 also reveals that an open classroom climate measured at the individual level has a positive effect on political knowledge and future electoral participation. The effect of an open classroom climate measured at classroom level remains a significant effect ($p \leq .05$) only in case of willingness to vote in future elections.

One of the questions addressed by Campbell (2008) was if an open classroom climate can help compensate children who come from a disadvantaged family background. With regard to this question the results from the Czech sample of the ICCS 2009 survey are mixed. Similar to Campbell's (2008) analysis of earlier American CIVED 1999 data, no evidence for a compensation effect was observed for political knowledge for Czech students. Turning now to participating in future elections, the second model presented in the centre of Table 4.1, does show evidence of a compensation effect. Low-SES students benefit from an open classroom climate when considering participation in future elections; however, coming from a low-SES family does not matter so much for political knowledge and non-electoral participation.

The results presented in Table 4.1 also show that the compensation hypothesis is confirmed in the case of political knowledge and future electoral participation. As noted above, a negative interaction coefficient between pupil SES score and average classroom wealth level implies that students coming from low-SES families with high-SES classmates tend to exhibit (1) higher political knowledge, and (2) more positive attitude towards voting in future elections.

Table 4.1, Models of the determinants of student's citizen competence skills

Explanatory variables	*Political knowledge*	*Electoral participation*	*Political participation*
Individual and family characteristics			
Sex (female)	.07 ***	-.02	-.04 *
SES	.21 ***	.20 ***	.06 *
News consumption	.12 ***	.14 ***	.07 ***
Parents' political interest	.06 ***	.25 ***	.11 ***
Political discussion outside school	.01	.07 ***	.13 ***
Participation in civic organizations	-.11 ***	.01	.15 ***
Perception of open classroom climate	.08 ***	.06 ***	.03
Classroom level variables			
Open classroom climate	.02	.08 ***	.02
Classroom SES	.36 ***	.20 ***	.01
Classroom SES inequality	-.06 *	-.04 *	-.01
SES*Open classroom climate	.03	-.04 **	-.02
SES*Classroom SES	-.05 **	-.03 *	-.03
School level variables			
School autonomy	-.01	-.01	-.01
Student-teacher ratio	-.01	-.01	-.02
Constant	.10 *	.18 ***	.86 ***
Observations	4,261	4,261	4,261
Groups (classes)	225	225	225
Model fit statistics			
AIC(null model)	223	236	242
AIC(full model)	214	219	233
BIC(null model)	223	236	242
BIC(full model)	214	220	233
ll (null model)	-111	-118	-121
ll (full model)	-107	-110	-117
ICC (null model)	.24	.15	.09
ICC (full model)	.12	.08	.08
Bryk/Raudenbush R^2 level 1 (full model)	.08	.16	.09
Bryk/Raudenbush R^2 level 2 (full model)	.60	.55	.19
Residual-variance level 1 (null model)	.73	.85	.91
Residual-variance level 2 (null model)	.23	.15	.09
Residual-variance level 1 (full model)	.66	.72	.82
Residual-variance level 2 (full model)	.09	.07	.08

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. Source: ICCS (2009), Czech wave. Note models estimates are based on ordinary least squares (OLS) multilevel regression models. All variables have been mean centred to aid interpretation.

Table 4.2 shows that pupils' SES and greater levels of SES inequality in Czech classrooms have important consequences. This leads us to the final empirical question explored in this chapter: what is the effect of classroom SES inequalities and individual SES together on observed levels of political knowledge?

Table 4.2, Variation in mean political knowledge by classroom inequality and SES

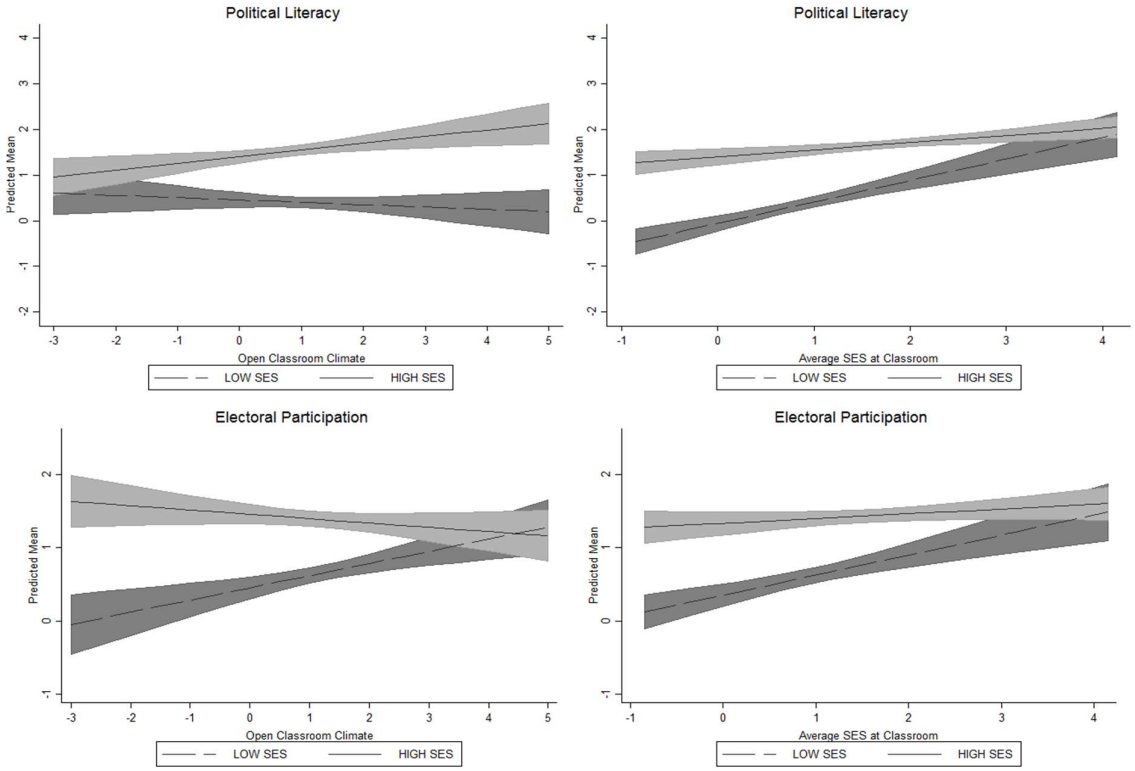
Combinations of inequality and wealth	*Mean political knowledge score*	*N*
Low inequality and low SES	0.68	711
Low inequality and medium SES	0.82	295
Low inequality and high SES	**1.62**	54
Medium inequality and low SES	0.79	282
Medium inequality and medium SES	0.86	1,346
Medium inequality and high SES	**1.69**	524
High inequality and low SES	0.57	58
High inequality and medium SES	0.85	508
High inequality and high SES	**1.41**	483
Total sample	1.00	4,261

Note: Classrooms were divided in three groups according to mean and standard deviation estimates for SES in the classroom. Three groups were created for mean SES scores for the classroom (low SES <25 %; medium SES > 25 % and < 75 %; high SES >75 %). Three groups were also defined where 'inequality' is measured as the standard deviation of the SES scores in a classroom: low SD <25 %; medium SD > 25 % and < 75 %; high SD >75 %.

An exploration of nine combinations of inequality and SES and their associated mean level of political knowledge are shown in Table 4.2. This table reveals that the lowest mean score for political knowledge is observed for classes with low SES and high inequality. However, Czech students coming from high-SES families did best in the ICCS political knowledge test if the prevailing levels of classroom inequality were low or medium. In short, it seems lower inequalities in classrooms tend to promote higher political knowledge and a greater willingness to vote in future elections among Czech students. Diversity of SES backgrounds in a classroom promotes citizen competence to a point, and thereafter diversity makes matters worse.

A graphical illustration of some of the main interaction effects reported in Table 4.1 is presented in Figure 4.1. In the top left corner, the impact of a more open classroom climate on political knowledge for students from low and high SES backgrounds has polarising effects. An open classroom climate has stronger effect on knowledge of pupils from high-SES families and weaker effect for low-SES students. The top right graph of Figure 4.1 shows that the impact of average SES of pupils in a classroom has a convergence effect. Here the political knowledge scores for low and high-SES students converge as the average SES in the classroom increases.

Figure 4.1, Impact of open classroom climate on political knowledge and electoral participation in terms of level of SES



Note: Estimates based on the model estimates presented in Table 4.1.

Turing now to electoral participation, the graph in the bottom left of Figure 4.1 shows that an open classroom climate has a weaker effect on the willingness of pupils from high-SES families to go voting and has substantially stronger impact on low-SES students. The graph on the bottom right of Figure 4.1 shows a convergence effect where high and low-SES pupils' willingness to go to the polls in the future has the same positive effect. As the mean SES in the classroom increases positive attitudes towards electoral participation also grow.

Overall, the patterns in Figure 4.1 reveal three compensation effects: (1) the interaction between an open classroom climate and students coming from low-SES families for political knowledge (graph on bottom left); (2) the interaction between mean SES in the classroom and pupils with relatively low-SES background on political knowledge (graph on top right); and (3) the interaction between mean classroom SES and the family background of students on willingness to vote in future elections (graph on bottom right). Figure 4.1 also shows one acceleration effect for the interaction between an open classroom climate and individual SES where differences in political knowledge between pupils coming from low and high-SES families grow wider (the graph on top right).

Conclusion

Previous studies have consistently shown that school and classroom environment play a crucial role in acquiring knowledge and shaping students' attitudes towards politics and their role in society. Although inequality in civic competencies is an important topic for policymakers and politicians, there are few studies dealing with this issue. The main ambition of this chapter has been to analyse if inequality among pupils in a classroom, defined as mean SES heterogeneity, has an influence on youth political knowledge and attitudes towards electoral and political participation. This is important because it can help answer the question: how is it possible to reverse the trend of a widening political engagement gap in many democratic societies? In the introductory section, it was argued that what the schools may play a key role in answering this question.

The results of this chapter show that class composition matters a lot for Czech students with regard to political knowledge and willingness to vote in future elections. However, caution is required in interpreting the results presented in this chapter. This is because the results are correlational rather than causal because of the limits of the ICCS 2009 cross-sectional survey data used. It is also important to keep in mind that Czech pupils with wealthier parents are more likely to select better schools: a pattern that exists in many countries. Here the classroom effect is likely to reflect a variety of things: peer, teacher and school effects. Keeping these caveats in mind this chapter nonetheless presents some important findings. A pupil from low-SES family attending a classroom consisting of peers with higher SES background tends ceteris paribus to have higher political knowledge and having more positive attitudes towards voting turnout in adulthood. However, this difference in SES in the classroom effect has weak effects on attitudes towards (a) joining a party or (b) helping a party candidate in the future elections.

Hoxby and Weingarth (2005) report high achieving peers have a positive influence on less talented classmates. However, they also note that too much diversity in peer composition may hamper the learning process. This is because diversity may impair the learning environment from targeting students' needs when these needs are too broad to be dealt with effectively with limited resources. These findings seem to be valid also in the Czech case. The results presented in Table 4.1 show that greater SES equality in classrooms is associated with higher political knowledge and greater willingness to go to the polls in future elections.

In sum, these results imply that fears about educational stratification undermining democratic legitimacy due to the growing gap in political participation and knowledge may be well founded. Schools evidently stand for an environment which doesn't help to diminish this phenomenon because it seems that attending classroom with higher-SES peers (or better schools)

results in higher levels of political knowledge and engagement. This means that literate and engaged citizens may become more literate and engaged in a virtuous cycle. Conversely, a vicious cycle may also appear in classrooms composed mostly of less wealthy or poorer pupils.

As highlighted in the text, the situation changes when a pupil with low SES joins a class with high-SES peers. This is because both classroom composition and an open classroom climate can compensate for the low SES. However, as noted above, a classroom that has too high diversity in SES backgrounds among its pupils does not help low-SES students in terms of political knowledge and engagement. Policies that involve streaming students into different types of classrooms according to their abilities or on a basis of educational transformation (meaning when university educated parents force their children to attend gymnasium) foster widening the gap of political engagement stratification.

The aim of this chapter is not to offer policy solutions, but to show that SES based classroom composition effects may be partly guilty for the political engagement stratification and designing classrooms full of gifted individuals on one side and disadvantaged students on the other side may lead to additional widening of the differences in political engagement. Putting low-SES pupils into classrooms of high-SES students may help to compensate for the disadvantages of coming from a less wealthy home; however, if the classroom is too diverse in its SES background this will not benefit the low-SES students.

The clustering of students with similar SES backgrounds in the same schools and classrooms is a consequence of parental ambitions. Although SES is connected with knowledge the correlation is not very strong ($r= .35$, $p\leq.05$). The next chapter will build on the insights discovered in this chapter by looking at classroom composition effects from a different perspective. In Chapter 5 highly knowledgeable classmates will be considered as a resource which may be beneficial for low SES pupils who do not feel confident about politics. Chapter 5 also focuses on the more concrete role of classes in enhancing poorer pupil's sense of political efficacy through political discussions. Here the general goal is to ascertain if Czech high schools currently play a reducing political inequality where students from poorer families gain from being schooled with peers from families with greater wealth and resources.

CHAPTER 5: Political Inequality among Czech Youth: How Do Classroom Discussions Foster a Sense of Internal Political Efficacy?

Introduction

The previous chapter explored the connection between level of political engagement and student's socio-economic background. Previous research and the results presented in earlier chapters of this dissertation suggest that political inequalities are shaped by socio-economic inequalities. Chapter 4 focused on a potential way how schools may lower political inequalities. Main interests of previous chapter have been in specific characteristics that are generally understood as crucial for democratic citizens (political knowledge; electoral participation; and political participation). Ambition of this chapter is to go one step further and analyse the connection between (a) specific school activities such as political discussion in class and (b) youths' sense of internal political efficacy. Sense of efficacy is fundamentally important because this attitude or belief is known to strongly influence turnout, party choice and level of political knowledge or literacy.

Parents and the family environment have the greatest impact on the development of political behaviour, but schools and specifically civic education also represent a vital way of (a) providing young people with civic knowledge, (b) awakening their interest in politics, and (c) explaining the importance of political participation in a representative democracy. Teachers' teaching styles vary, but classroom discussion is usually seen as an important element which helps students to think about themselves as future voters and contribute to establishing what Youniss et al. (1997) call "civic identity".

Previous scholarly work and the results presented in Chapter 4 have highlighted the importance of class-based political discussions on student's level of political knowledge and their willingness to go to the polls in the future. Both knowledge and participation are two of the core goals of many national systems of civic education. Although acquiring civic knowledge is important, citizens in a democracy are primarily expected to participate in the electoral process and a high level of political or civic knowledge is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for political participation. Political participation requires individuals to believe that they have the ability to influence politics. This concept termed internal political efficacy is a core theme in the scholarly study of political attitudes and behaviour.

In this chapter use is made of Bandura's social cognitive learning theory as a theoretical framework for explaining varying levels of sense of political efficacy among Czech youth. Bandura (1997) applied his self-efficacy concept also to politics. Perceived self-efficacy is a product of social learning. Bandura introduces four sources of self-efficacy: (1) one's own performance attainments, (2) vicarious experience of others' performances, (3) verbal persuasion, and (4) one's own physiological states. One's own performance attainments are the most influential however they are not always suitable for youth primarily because of not reaching legal age for most of the legal political activities. In that case adolescents have to "infer their capabilities from vicarious and symbolic sources of efficacy information" (Bandura 1982: 128). In this regard Bandura (1977) stresses the quality of interaction between individual and environment. Environments provide opportunities such as possibility to engage, challenges, stimulation, and response for engaging in actions that is meant to be the crucial condition for self-efficacy development. In this chapter the main focus is on school as an environment and political discussions as vicarious experience which offer opportunity to engage, observe others action, and be challenged or stimulated either by teacher's or peers' opinions.

A positive relationship between the frequency of political discussion and a sense of internal political efficacy is well grounded in the literature (Schulz 2005: 14); however, less research has been done on how the quality of political discussions influences internal political efficacy. Several studies (Campbell 2008; Geboers et al. 2013) suggest that the classroom climate in which these discussions occur may be important for developing civic competencies and political efficacy among youth.

The main ambition of this chapter is to investigate two questions: (1) do classroom political discussions contribute to a higher level of political efficacy among youth? and (2) do classroom discussions also have the potential to compensate for political inequalities by strengthening low-SES students' sense of political efficacy resulting in increased political equality?

This chapter uses data gathered by the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in April 2016, and is based on a representative sample of 1,953 students (aged 16 to 20 years) and 85 teachers from a similar number of high schools. This chapter is structured as follows. The first section outlines the motivation for analysing political efficacy among youth. Section 2 outlines previous research on the political efficacy and how the classroom environment fosters youth political development. Section 3 presents the data and variables used for the model reported, and this is followed in the penultimate section by a discussion of the model results. The concluding section presents some general remarks and policy implications.

1. Political Inequality among Youth

Educational stratification studies suggest that young people originating in families with high SES exhibit a much higher chance of attending gymnasiums and consequently attend university than their peers from disadvantaged families. These structural socio-economic differences also extend into the political sphere where youth from disadvantaged families are much less likely to be politically knowledgeable and engaged. Some studies have already shown in that SES has an impact on youths' opportunities to engage in politics. The differences in political engagement are, however, also readily observable across the generations. Youth in contemporary Europe show much greater levels of inequalities in electoral participation on the basis of educational and socio-economic than older generations; here the question of future democratic development emerges as a key substantive question (Abendschön et al., 2014). One channel for reducing political inequality may be the education system, and more specifically high schools. This was already shown in Chapter 4 where classroom SES composition appeared to be predictor for political knowledge and attitude towards electoral participation.

It is important here to emphasize that young people are a heterogeneous group. The resources (education, time, money, knowledge, and information) needed for political participation are unevenly distributed. Citizens possessing more resources are more likely to discuss politics at home, participate in politics, and are as a result better represented in political institutions than those with low socio-economic status (Verba et al. 1995; Gilens 2012). In contrast, citizens with low SES are least satisfied with their life and with democracy, and are also underrepresented in politics.

The two main civic tasks are for all schools the same and may be summarised as (a) make youth more politically knowledgeable and engaged, and (b) lower the political inequality gap among youth. In the latter case, the goal is to see if it is possible for schools to compensate for deficits in parental socialization that occur primarily evident among low SES students. Young citizens, who have a weak sense of internal political efficacy, often exhibit two characteristics: (1) they abstain from voting or (2) they support radical anti-system populist parties because they view participation in the current system as ineffective.

The fact that the school choice in the Czech Republic is heavily determined by family SES leads to a situation where youth with high SES are mostly concentrated in academically oriented high schools (i.e. gymnasiums) and those with low SES attend vocational secondary schools (for more see Introduction). This is important also in analysing effects of political discussions on political efficacy because as social cognitive learning theory suggests it is critically important with whom the discussions occur. The school selection determined by SES implies that youth from

gymnasiums may experience qualitatively better discussions simply because of the class composition.

2. Political Efficacy and its Roots

The "sense of political efficacy" concept has its roots in Campbell et al.'s (1954) study The Voter Decides. The authors defined the political efficacy as "… the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."

The history and motivation of this concept is interesting. Although political efficacy was understood from the start as the opposite to political alienation, the main focus has not been on the concept of a sense of political efficacy itself (i.e. as a dependent variable). The concept was originally developed to help explaining voting turnout (Balch 1974; Campbell et. al. 1954). Originally, political efficacy was measured as scale with four items. However, there were debates and doubts about the consistency of this summated rating scale.

Later work found that two pairs of these questions work differently and sense of political efficacy is likely to by multi-dimensional construct. One pair of questions appeared to be positively correlated with political participation but negatively or not at all with political trust. The second pair of questions correlated with political interest, participation, knowledge and political trust. According to this the first pair of questions refers to the perceived limits and abilities of individual's activities but not to limits of such activity. These items relate to confidence in personal abilities regardless political situation. In this manner, Philip Converse (1972: 334) suggested to label these two components as "personal feelings of political competence" and "trust in system responsiveness" which became known as "internal" and "external" sense of political efficacy. In this chapter, the main interest is in the determinants of Czech youths' sense of internal political efficacy (hereafter labelled simply as "political efficacy").

3. Social Cognitive Learning Theory as a Theoretical Framework

Political efficacy is connected with confidence that the individual can take action to change things in society which one finds wrong or undesirable. People are not born with a feeling of political efficacy. A sense of political efficacy is developed throughout life. Acquisition of political efficacy during childhood and adolescence is usually understood as highly important for developing citizens who will become active and will participate in politics in adulthood. The promotion and

encouragement of political efficacy of the underprivileged at an early age may help to diminish political inequality (Beaumont 2011).

Bandura's social cognitive learning theory provides theoretical support for better understanding of the relationship between political discussion and political efficacy. Bandura (1997: 483) describes the concept of self-efficacy in politics as "belief that one can produce effects through political action". In this manner, Balch (1974: 5) notes that "psychologists have amassed substantial evidence that attitudes follow behaviour, as well as precede it".

According to the cognitive learning theory individuals use various resources which enhance the process of self-efficacy. This personal development involves primarily mastery, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion, and physiological or affective states (Bandura 1997). Mastering experiences is very important because that is one of the main sources of self-efficacy. However only limited numbers of youth have an opportunity to gain political experience because they are not eligible to vote or stand as a candidate. They are much more likely to be influenced by vicarious experiences and verbal persuasion which come mostly from parents. Most visible examples may be attending demonstrations, political meetings or accompanying parents to the voting polls. Bandura (1989: 1179) states that:

> [t]he capability for intentional and purposive action is rooted in symbolic activity. Future events cannot be causes of current motivation and action. However, by being represented cognitively in the present, foreseeable future events are converted into current motivators and regulators of behaviour.

This is important because it suggests that political discussions represent such symbolic activity that can shape future civic and political activity by helping youth imagining their future political engagement. The logic here is that what you are aware and believe about politics affects if you will politically participate in the future.

Most important factors of Bandura's theory that connects political discussion and political efficacy are (1) vicarious capability and (2) self-reflective capability. Political discussion is great example of vicarious experience because it allows adolescents to learn more about political engagement without actual engagement. To make this discussion more concrete, let's take an example of political discussion about voting. Adolescents are provided information about the importance, process and consequences of voting without actually taking part in such activity. Additionally, discussion on such topic helps them expand their view of political engagement opportunities. The emergence of a self-reflective capability may thus lead to the development of political efficacy. Previous studies have shown that discussing political event is better prediction of political participation than mere exposure to the news (Shah et al. 2009). The reason is that youth process political information during discussions differently than during media exposure.

Discussions help them to make sense of what's happening in politics and help them to develop interpretations of the events.

Adolescents can experience discussions at home, with friends or at school. These contexts represent the environment component of Bandura's theory. We know from previous research that more educated and politically active parents discuss politics with their children more often. With schools is the situation less clear. For obvious reasons schools have limited options how to provide mastery or vicarious experience to their students. Political discussion is one of the few exceptions which stand for vital vicarious experience. They are especially important in case of youth because it is relatively easy way how schools may enhance adolescents' sense of political competence. Teachers are aware of that and political discussions are very often used during civic courses. In following part is the family and school context discussed in more detail.

How does context matter?

One big unresolved question in political science is the role which families and schools play in developing (a) interest in politics, and (b) propensity toward future political participation. These two concepts are both very closely connected to political efficacy. The family is generally understood as the main socialisation agent for the political development of youth. However, the family may also be the locus for observed political inequalities.

There is one important distinction between family and school contexts. Individuals cannot choose family they will be born into and be raised. In this respect, youths are exposed to information (or the lack thereof) that they do not freely choose. However, the choice of high school attended is determined by the family. In the Czech Republic, the high school (gymnasium, etc.) attended is selected by parents. School selection is often determined by highly educated parents' desire to ensure their children get the best possible education and attend university. Here school attended reflects parents' preferences and SES. Through selection effects Czech youths are likely to experience systematically different school and classroom context effects. For example, some students will be members of classrooms composed of highly motivated peers engaging in political discussions or other forms of political activity, and will learn to become a participative citizen through a process of social learning. Additionally, we may assume that classroom discussions that occur among predominantly highly knowledgeable students are of higher quality and therefore represent better resource for enhancing political efficacy.

Compensation and acceleration classroom effects

The role of the classroom and school is important, and several studies, including Chapter 4, show that schools can have a positive effect on the political knowledge, interest in politics, and the political attitudes of youth more generally (Campbell 2008; Torney-Purta et al. 2002; Andolina et al. 2003). Additionally, there are also studies that suggest that school environment may have a compensation effect in terms of the development of political attitudes where poorer less able students benefit from interacting with wealthier better informed peers (Campbell 2008).The modelling results presented earlier in Chapter 4 came to similar conclusions.

This chapter will investigate the effects of classroom political discussions on youths' sense of political efficacy while simultaneously controlling for mediating parental and family effects. This linking of the classroom environment and youths' attitudes, abilities and confidence is inspired by previous literature and uses the same logic as presented in Chapter 4. Two causal mechanisms will be tested: (1) the impact of open classroom climate of efficacy, and (2) how classroom composition shapes individual students' sense of being able to understand politics. As was suggested earlier, these two mechanisms are likely to work differently for students coming from different family (wealth and knowledge) backgrounds.

Specifically, it is hypothesised that adolescents originating in disadvantaged families should benefit more from an open classroom climate or classroom composition more than those coming from high SES families. This results in a 'compensating effect' as discussed earlier in Chapter 4. Alternatively, it is possible to find an 'acceleration effect' where the classroom exacerbates the differences between students from families with high and low socio-economic status. This means that students with high SES will benefit more from civic classes than students from poorer families. This acceleration effect may occur because students with high SES are more likely to be familiar with politics from family discussions, and consequently are more likely to be encouraged by teachers to participate in political discussion in class.

In this chapter, two potential compensation and acceleration effects connected with class political discussions are measured. Individual SES is interacted with two classroom-level variables: (1) open classroom climate (a classroom climate effect) and (2) average political knowledge in class (a peer resource effect). These mechanisms are expected to operate in similar manner to the models for political knowledge and attitudes towards electoral and political participation presented earlier in Chapter 4. In contrast to Chapter 4, classroom composition operationalized in terms of average political knowledge and not wealth (i.e. the SES of a student's family) in this chapter.

4. Classroom Political Discussions: Frequency and Quality

Richardson (2003) using the US wave from the IEA Civic Education study notes that political discussion is a good predictor of level of political efficacy among American high school students. Here, frequency of political discussions with peers, parents and teachers is shown to be an even stronger predictor of efficacy than civic knowledge. Classroom discussions may also have an impact on individual's sense of political efficacy by operating through two channels: teachers and peers. According to previous research students' level of political knowledge and interest is influenced by both attributes of teachers and peers. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that parent and peer characteristics may also directly influence students' self-reported level of political efficacy.

The two main characteristics of political discussion examined in this paper are frequency and quality. The expected effect of discussion frequency is straightforward: the more often students discuss politics the greater the level of political efficacy. Political discussions have consistently shown strong effects on (internal) political efficacy. However, the direction of causality is unclear. Torney-Purta et al. (1975) and Niemi and Junn (1998) found a positive association between frequency of classroom discussion and political knowledge score in America's National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) civics exams. However, since only frequency of political discussion was asked, the reason for the association between more classroom discussion and higher political knowledge could not be explained in a causal way. On one hand, it is plausible that frequent political discussions enhance self-confidence in politics. However, discussing politics probably require certain minimum levels of self-confidence, or political efficacy. Therefore, Schulz (2005) suggests that the relationship between internal efficacy and political discussion should be understood as a reciprocal one.

Classroom discussions as vicarious experience

Political discussions at school occur usually during civic education classes. Teachers play an important role as moderators and peers as discussants. Discussions in civic classes largely entail discussion between teacher and students (Cuban 1991; Wilen and White 1991). Classroom discussions differ from conversations in everyday life. In most classes there are discussions initiated by teacher who poses a question where one student answers and all other in the class observe the interaction. In everyday life, conversations occur between two or more people where all are free to participate.

The main difference between peer discussion outside the school and in the classroom is that you do not choose your classmates, but you can choose your friends. Friends outside school

present in this manner safe place where adolescents are not that much exposed to potential criticism of their opinions. The reason is that friendship outside school is usually based on egalitarian principles, but classes have hierarchical relationships that are based on personal characteristics valued by the group (Wentzel 1999: 63). Some students may be concerned about presenting their own views and be exposed to potential conflict because this may turn into personal conflict and for this reason they prefer to remain silent (Phelps and Weaver 1999; Brice 2002).

Classroom discussions can become counter-productive too. Some adolescents may not like political deliberations and forcing them either to actively or passively participate in them may lead to increased aversion to politics. Hess and Posselt (2001) noted that even though students participating in their research were convinced that discussing was a useful skill which they should acquire in high school, they were very negative towards the idea of having discussions as part of their grade. This fact points to the possibility that classroom discussions may provide unwanted tension which undermines a student's sense of political efficacy.

In this regard, Korkmaz and Gümüşeli (2013) reported that teachers are important for ensuring the quality of political discussions. Teachers have the potential to initiate and moderate discussions on a topic they choose. It is also teachers who decide how often and how much time will be dedicated to political discussions. There are some teachers who are very confident in their role as a moderator, and who also believe that political discussions among students are very important. Conversely, there are other teachers who do not consider political discussion during classes to be appropriate because schools are primarily places of preparation for the world of work or university study.

What has attracted attention recently is the impact of open classroom climate which is a product of both teacher and classmates. The open classroom concept indicates the degree to which students (1) feel free to discuss political and social issues freely and openly and (2) feel safe in expressing their own opinions on controversial topics. Campbell (2007, 2008) suggests that discussions occurring in an open classroom climate have a positive effect on citizenship competencies. This may be also due to lowering the tension which some students perceive negatively.

Campbell (2008: 440) has stressed that school discussions in an open classroom climate help develop "a deeper understanding of fundamental democratic principles and practices". He also suggests that political discussions in open classroom climate lead students to think about themselves as future voters. The positive influence of an open classroom climate was confirmed by several other studies which has primarily analysed political knowledge and willingness to vote

(Geboers et al. 2013; Isac et al. 2014; Alivernini and Manganelli 2011). Other studies indicate that political discussions may also promote greater openness to political engagement (Claes et al. 2012) and sense of political efficacy (Martens and Gainous 2012). The positive effect of open classroom climate on political efficacy is expected also in this chapter.

However, it is not only teacher who influences political discussions at class. The discussions are also crucially dependent on the classroom composition. Classmates are omnipresent and the quality of discussion may be given by the knowledge and competencies of peers which operates as a resource. The idea is that if a student discusses politics with friends who are knowledgeable then such discussions this will have a stronger impact on her sense of political efficacy than if she is surrounded by politically alienated classmates. The literature proposes two primary mechanisms through which the classroom composition may influences pupils' political efficacy (Van Ewijk, Sleegers 2010; Williams 2010).

Firstly, more knowledgeable and motivated students discussing politics together allow that they will learn from each other, set higher standards of the discussion and qualitatively better discussion will have a stronger effect on individual's self-confidence in politics. This is originally Bandura's argument. His theory suggests that the core features of human agency are intentionality, forethought, self-reactiveness, and self-reflectiveness (Bandura 2001). According to Bandura self-reflection is meant to be the most central. The process of comparing one's knowledge to others leads to evaluation of self-effectiveness of actions and adjusting their own behaviour to aim at a higher level of competence.

Secondly, class consisting mostly from highly knowledgeable students may also encourage teachers to choose topics and adapt their role in discussions according to students' characteristics. More knowledgeable students can be considered more likely to get more from discussions on more detailed and complicated issues that would not be understandable for students that possess low level of political knowledge and only simple discussions on basic topics make sense to be discussed. Additionally, more knowledgeable students do not require that a teacher intervene in their discussions as much and as often as would be in case of less knowledgeable students. This is also supported by Richardson's (2003: 174) finding because in her qualitative research students most often indicated that if they knew and understood more about politics they would have more to contribute to the substance of the discussion.

5. Data and Indicators

The schools involved in the research reported in this chapter were selected using a random sampling method to ensure representativeness by type of high school (i.e. academic, technical and vocational), NUTS2 region level, and the size of the municipality where the school was located. The data in this chapter are consequently weighted in order to ensure the sample is representative of the prevailing high school pupil population. The post-stratification weights were prepared on a basis of the official number of students in the 2013/2014 school year provided by Czech Statistical Office.

Two PAPI questionnaires were implemented. The first was a questionnaire for students who completed it independently during a single period of a civics education class. The second questionnaire was completed (often simultaneously) by the civics education teacher. The teacher respondents taught the specific class sampled from this cohort's start of high school studies in case of first graders, and for at least eighteen months in case of older students. Taking insights from Bandura's theory and previous research this chapter will test the following four hypotheses:

H.1: More frequent political discussions with parents are positively associated with students' having a higher level of internal political efficacy.
H.2: More frequent class political discussions are linked with a higher level of internal political efficacy.
H.3: The level of political knowledge in a classroom influences students' internal political efficacy through the compensation effect.
H.4: An open classroom climate promotes students' internal political efficacy through the compensation effect.

In the following paragraphs there is an explanation of which variables are used in the model estimated and what was the logic for including them. The question wording and descriptive statistics for all used variables are presented in Table 8.4 in appendix.

Family and individual characteristics

The dependent variable is a student's sense of internal political efficacy. This variable is a summated rating scale consisting of four questions that come from the ICCS 2009 questionnaire with some minor modifications for use with an adolescent sample.

Since the objective is to test the classroom effects taking proper account of the impact of a students' family SES is important for ensuring a properly specified model. In this chapter, socio-economic status has been operationalised in a similar manner to that reported in Chapter 4. SES is operationalized as an index of five indicators: 1) parents' level of education, 2) parents' occupation, 3) number of books in the student's home, and 4) the educational aspirations of the

student (for discussion about SES indicators see Chapter 4.4). The SES score was estimated using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (Cronbach alpha = .65).

Political knowledge is an important predictor of political efficacy (Reichert 2016). In this chapter, political knowledge is measured by the success in answering five factual knowledge questions related to Czech politics. The variable political knowledge was estimated using an Item Response Theory (two-part logistic item response theory, 2pl IRT) model where knowledge is assumed to be a latent trait and differences between students and in the difficulty of the knowledge questions asked are taken into account in estimating a knowledge score. As political communication research suggest highly knowledgeable individuals are more capable of linking issues covered in a discussion with other potential activities, it is thus expected that greater political knowledge will be linked with higher sense of political efficacy.

Political discussions

The frequency of political discussion is measured in three distinct environments. Firstly, political discussion with parents is captured by question: "How often have you discussed politics with your mother/father during last year (12 months)?" The same question was asked about a pupil's mother and father separately. The responses for parents were combined afterwards, and the highest value of political discussion (from either the mother or father) was used. Secondly, political discussions with friends outside school were taken into account using an almost identically worded question ("friends" instead of "mother/father") and the same response options. Thirdly, political discussions on the internet about school affairs were included in the model to capture the frequency of online discussions. Internet discussions either on blogs, under articles or primarily on social networks are popular options among youth and offer them the advantages of relative anonymity and absence of potential tension expected during class discussions.

Fourthly, the main attention here is given to classroom environment and concretely classroom discussions. Frequency of political discussions during civics classes was measured using the question asked to teachers. They were supposed to indicate "how often do they have discussed politics during civics lessons with the particular class?" The teacher's response was then assigned to all students from the specific class. It is expected that parents and peers will have stronger effect on youths' political efficacy than classroom discussions. The reason is that parents and peers outside the school are more likely to serve as models as suggested by the vicarious element in Bandura's (1977) social learning theory.

Classroom political discussions as a resource

It was also suggested above that we should look critically on the assumption that the frequency of political discussions is crucial. Here it is argued that while the frequency of classroom discussions is important, the quality of these debates is also very important in explaining differences in political efficacy among students. The quality of classroom discussion is measured using evaluations of both teachers and students.

Here it is argued that effective (or quality) classroom discussion needs to be both informative and enjoyable in order to provide useful information that captures the students' attention. The level of how much each individual likes political discussions was measured using responses to the direct question: "How much do you like political discussions during civics classes?" These responses were dichotomized. If respondent indicated that she "does not like them at all" or "doesn't like them" the variable was coded as 0. If the answer was "like them" or "very like them" it was coded 1. Educational studies suggest that making lessons more enjoyable for children is important because such lessons make them keep attention and students in result learn more. This however is not exactly our case because our dependent variable is not an achievement score. The assumption here is that if students find political discussions enjoyable it may produce more positive relation towards politics, enhance their understanding and as a consequence they will feel more self-confident for participation in politics.

According to social cognitive theory if adolescents think that the discussion about politics is irrelevant to their experience they are likely to think that their abilities are not adequate or believe that politics does not fit to their personal interests and goals. That would lead to lower political efficacy. Additionally, the level of how much each individual likes political discussions may also indicate the degree of comfort felt about speaking out in class. As previous research suggests the level of comfort varies but is often generally related to perceived openness of the partner(s). Meaning that students do not like debates with discussants who hold especially strong opinions because such interlocutors are not judged to be open to hearing others (opposing) views (Richardson 2003: 178).

The second important element was captured by answers to following question: "Talking about the political discussions during civics classes, do you usually hear any new interesting or useful information or opinions?" If the respondent replied that "definitely no" or "rather no" the variable was coded as 0. The "rather yes" and "definitely yes" answers were coded as 1. Here the logic is that political discussions should not be only about meaningless talk but they are supposed to provide students interesting and new opinions which will challenge their opinions or make them form their own opinions and attitudes as social cognitive learning theory suggests. Effective

political discussion should provide a variety of influential ideas that will enhance students' political efficacy. However, we may observe the opposite which means that hearing interesting or useful information will have negative effect on political efficacy. This may be caused by the fact that students who have low level of political efficacy and political knowledge are more likely to consider any opinion or information they hear during discussions to be interesting and useful.

According to Bandura (1994) the creation of a stimulating learning environment is heavily dependent on teachers' abilities and self-efficacy. Teachers with high self-efficacy about their teaching abilities can better motivate their students and enhance their cognitive development. Classroom discussions itself are also dependent on a teacher, thus it is necessary to involve some measures of the teachers' quality. Three direct measures were teacher's confidence in using discussions during civics classes, a teacher's experience in teaching civics, and if a teacher has received any extra training in civics regarding her competencies in topics or teaching styles in civics. Both the teacher and peers are responsible for providing a classroom climate which will be open to discussing controversial topics where no pupil is afraid to express an opinion. For this reason, Campbell (2008) included in the models reported mean both individual and classroom perceptions of an open classroom climate.

Apart from the teacher, peers are the most important element regarding quality of the political discussion in classroom. It is reasonable to assume that discussions which involve highly knowledgeable discussants may have a stronger impact on a pupil's level of political efficacy. One reason is that teachers can have discussions on more demanding topics and adopt a more sophisticated style of discussion if the classroom consists of highly politically knowledgeable students. It would be a problem to have discussions about contemporary politics if students have little knowledge or no opinions. A second reason is connected with political learning. Having more knowledgeable and engaged classmates may have impact on individual's own thinking about politics. This is in concordance with Bandura's theory where peers work as a resource. This may be particularly important in the case of students who come from disadvantaged (low SES) families where parents are cynical, demotivated and alienated. If such students discuss politics in classes with highly knowledgeable classmates, then classroom political discussions may compensate for a deficit in family socialization.

To summarise, the basic idea behind the compensation and acceleration effects is that the effect of classroom climate may work differently for children coming from rich and poor families. There are two interactions in the model. Student's individual SES is interacted with (1) open classroom climate and (2) average political knowledge in class. The assumption is that students with low SES can benefit more from open classroom climate (classroom climate effect)

and being surrounded by highly knowledgeable students (peer resource effect) because the classroom discussions may compensate for missing family socialization. Consequently, if there is a negative interaction coefficient in the model estimated this reveals a compensation effect, while a positive interaction parameter indicates an acceleration effect.

6. Results

We start with descriptive statistics and proceed to the regression model. The SES explanatory variable is divided into quintiles in the descriptive statistics: a common approach used to wealth and income variables and their relationship with other individual or group characteristics. Youth coming from the two lowest socio-economic quintiles exhibit on average by 30% lower sense of political efficacy and are by 29% less knowledgeable about politics than young people with higher SES.

Turning now to political discussions, it seems that Czech youth coming from low SES families discuss politics less frequently. This finding applies to discussions with parents where "never" discusses politics with mother or father 45% of low SES youth vs 22% of high SES, and friends ("never" 38% of low SES youth vs 16% of high SES), but not classroom discussions where we observe a negligible difference in frequency of political discussions between students from different family backgrounds. Only "occasionally" is politics discussed during civic classes in 23% cases (23% low SES vs 24% high SES). This is an interesting finding because we would expect that high SES students that mostly attend gymnasiums will be exposed to classroom discussion more often than those attending vocational schools.

There are differences in how youth perceive classroom discussions. Youth with low SES like classroom political discussions less than their peers with higher SES. More than three-in-five (62%) of students reported they do "not like at all" or "don't like" classroom discussions came from low SES backgrounds, while close to two-in-five (37%) high SES students made the same responses. Low SES students also usually attend classes with less knowledgeable classmates (classroom mean knowledge score 0.68 vs 1.33). However, there are little differences in students' evaluations of class discussions being interesting and informative by SES.

These descriptive statistics suggest that Czech youth from different family backgrounds (indicated by SES) are exposed equally often to political discussions in classrooms. Additionally, all students find classroom discussions similarly useful. This is important because it suggests that the frequency of political discussions during classes probably does not make much difference in shaping pupils' political efficacy. This also suggests that it is the quality of classroom discussions

which may be the key difference between students reporting high and low levels of political efficacy.

Turning now to the connection between political discussion and youth sense of political efficacy, attention will be given to the potential compensation effects of classroom climate on students coming from low SES families. A multilevel OLS regression with random intercepts was used to estimate the model parameters because of the hierarchical nature of the data where students are nested in schools (where there is one classroom per school). All variables are weighted and standardized to have a mean and standard deviation of one.

Initially, we are interested in how the second level (classroom) variables have been successful in reducing residual variance at the school level in explaining the degree of sense of political efficacy. When comparing the full model with null model we observe an 88% decrease in the portion of unexplained variance at the second level (from 0.0357 to 0.0043). Additional fit model statistics are presented at the bottom of Table 5.1.

Family and individual characteristics

Table 5.1 highlights that the frequency of political discussions with parents and friends are the strongest predictors of Czech students' level political efficacy. Political discussions on the internet are also positive statistically significant ($p \geq .05$) predictor of political efficacy. SES loses its statistical significance ($p \leq .05$) with inclusion of other individual level characteristics into the model. Political knowledge and frequency of political discussion with parents and friends are both important and statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) predictors of sense of political efficacy. Interestingly, even when we include variables controlling for political knowledge, family background, and school environment, there is still a statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) gender gap for sense of political efficacy.

Table 5.1, Determinants of internal political efficacy among Czech high school students

Levels of analysis, indicators and interactions	Coef.	P>|z|	Std. Err.
Individual and family characteristics			
Sex (girl)	-.14	***	(.02)
Socio-economic status (SES, ISEI)	.01		(.04)
Frequency of political discussions with parents	.16	***	(.03)
Frequency of political discussions with friends	.26	***	(.03)
Frequency of political discussions on the internet	.04	*	(.02)
Political knowledge	.16	***	(.02)
Open classroom climate	-.04		(.03)
Classroom and teacher's characteristics			
Open classroom climate (classroom average)	-.03		(.03)
Frequency of political discussions during civics classes	-03		(.02)
Political knowledge (classroom average)	≤.01		(.03)
Like classroom discussions about politics (no/yes)	.22	***	(.03)
Learn something new or interesting from the classroom discussions	-.07	**	(.03)
Teacher is confident in using political discussions during civics classes	.01		(.02)
Teacher's experience in teaching civics (years)	-.01		(.02)
Teacher's extra training in civics education (no/yes)	≤.01		(.03)
Compensation or acceleration effect interaction			
Student SES*open classroom climate (classroom climate effect)	.03		(.02)
Student SES*mean level of knowledge in class (peer resource effect)	-.05	*	(.02)
Constant	.49	***	(.07)
Number of observations	1477		
Number of schools	80		
Model fit statistics			
AIC (null model)	4168		
AIC (full model)	3506		
BIC (null model)	4184		
BIC (full model)	3617		
ll (null model)	-2081		
ll (full model)	-1732		
ICC (null model)	.04		
ICC (full model)	.01		
Bryk/Raudenbush R^2 level 1 (full model)	.34		
Bryk/Raudenbush R^2 level 2 (full model)	.98		
Residual-variance level 1 (null model)	.97		
Residual-variance level 2 (null model)	.04		
Residual-variance level 1 (full model)	.66		
Residual-variance level 2 (full model)	<.01		

Source: Czech High School Survey (2016), *** p≤.001, ** p≤.01, * p≤.05. Note that all variables have been mean-centred to have an arithmetic mean and a standard deviation of one and estimated are based on OLS multilevel model with random intercepts. Reduced number of schools and respondents in a model are due to listwise deletion because of missing data of either students or teachers.

Classroom environment

Looking at the classroom-level variables we see that frequency of political discussions does not have statistically significant effects ($p \leq .05$), a finding that reinforces the pattern noted earlier for the descriptive statistics. None of the three direct measures of teacher's qualification appear to be statistically significant. Although, the effect is not very strong, open classroom climate appears to be negatively associated with Czech students' level of (internal) political efficacy. Average political knowledge in the classroom loses its statistically significant effect ($p \leq .05$) when interactions are included in the final model reported in final column on the right of Table 5.1.

What seems to be important is whether students like the classroom discussions. The modelling results show that reported enjoyment from the political discussions in classroom is positively linked with political efficacy. This may be due to the fact that enjoyment of political discussion enhances political efficacy and those who are highly efficacious enjoy political discussions more than the others. Alternatively, individuals with low political efficacy do not like the discussions because they consider them irrelevant.

Contrary to expectations, students that reported learning something new or hear interesting opinions in classroom discussions have lower levels of political efficacy. One may suggest that these students may consider most of the heard information new and interesting due to their low level of political knowledge. However, this is probably not truth because the correlation between hearing something new or interesting in classroom discussions and political knowledge is close to zero. In concordance with Bandura's theory this would suggest that although these adolescents usually here something new and interesting they are still convinced that politics is either irrelevant to their personal interests and goals or they lack the confidence that their abilities to change things in politics are adequate.

Compensation or acceleration?

A key question for policymakers who are interested in diminishing political inequalities in society is whether classroom political discussions are important? These results indicate that disadvantaged youth taking part in political discussions with classmates who have a high level of political knowledge have higher levels of political efficacy than poorer students who are not members of mixed knowledge (and wealth) classrooms. This peer resource effect may, as argued above, contribute to a general process of reducing political inequality in society.

Conversely, discussions in an open classroom climate among students coming from high and low SES families do not indicate statistically significant effect ($p \leq .05$). These results from Czech high school students interviewed in 2016 contrast with Campbell (2008) who found a

compensation effect where an open classroom climate increased American students' (surveyed in 1999 as part of CIVED a forerunner of ICCS) appreciation of conflict and boosted their propensity to vote.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, attention was given to a factor that could be considered causally prior to willingness to go voting; that is sense of political efficacy. Using Bandura's social cognitive learning theory this chapter focused on the link between students self-reported level of political efficacy and political discussions. Political discussions are understood as vicarious experience which offer opportunity to engage, observe others action, and be challenged or stimulated by others' opinions. In line with Bandura's theory, political discussion as a vicarious experience allows adolescents to learn about political participation without actual engagement and foster their sense of political efficacy. This is important because it may help to develop positive attitude and confidence necessary for political engagement before they reach legal age for actual electoral participation. Results of this chapter are in consonance with theoretical expectation suggesting that individual's sense of political efficacy is tightly connected with political knowledge, and political discussions with parents and friends. This means that the first hypothesis predicting that more frequent political discussions with parents is positively associated with a higher level of internal political efficacy is confirmed.

The classroom level variables provide interesting insight into how classroom political discussions help to enhance sense of political efficacy. Firstly, the frequency of classroom discussions may not be as important as we used to think. The second hypothesis predicting greater internal political efficacy when there are more frequent political discussions is rejected. It seems that the quality of discussion is of much bigger importance here. Although teachers' extra curriculum training, years of experience, and confidence in using discussions as a mean of teaching civics are not important elements in explaining students sense of political efficacy.

What is more important for students' political efficacy is if they enjoy the classroom discussions or not. Some students may prefer to remain silent during classroom discussions because they want to avoid potential conflicts. Linking this finding with Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, the enjoyment from classroom discussions is low because confronting one's opinions against others is in conflict with personal goals. This is supported by a strong effect of frequent peer discussions about politics because friends outside school present in this manner safe place for them. Friendship outside school is usually based on egalitarian relationships and they are not endangered by potential conflict. Classroom discussions can in such case become

counter-productive because these students who don't like political discussions may build negative attitude towards politics which is based on confronting various opinions.

The multilevel modelling results suggest that those who usually hear some interesting information or opinions during classroom discussions are less likely to feel politically efficacious. This may be the case because individuals with lower political knowledge are more likely to hear something new. According to Bandura's social learning theory students compare their abilities with others and realizing that they are less knowledgeable and being less able may discourage them from further engagement with political discussions or behaviour such as demonstrating or protesting.

These results suggest that for fostering development of youth's sense of political efficacy is not crucial the frequency of political discussions at school but rather their quality in terms of discussants and extent to which discussions are enjoyed by students. However, raising new interesting topics in order to make discussions more enjoyable may not provide as positive result as one could have assumed. It seems that the strength of political discussions is not in their informative role but rather as an activity of vicarious experience. The crucial question for those primarily interested in policymaking is what should schools or teachers do to diminish political inequalities? The compensation peer resource effect (H.3) was confirmed. This means that discussing politics in classroom with peers who are on average highly politically knowledgeable has a bigger impact on student with low SES than those from a high SES family. This suggests that being assigned to classes for talented students may have a positive impact on the political development of youth from disadvantaged backgrounds. Conversely, having an open classroom climate does not seem to have an effect in case of political efficacy. This means that H.4 is rejected.

Findings of this Chapter and Chapters 3 and 4 that class composition matters for political attitudes, political knowledge and sense of political efficacy is very important and suggests that classroom environment may also play important role in shaping other civic attitudes. Next chapter is turning to a broader issue of attitudes towards minorities. High level of multiculturalism in many established democracies (e.g. USA, UK, Germany, France etc.) and massive number of refugees from middle east which in combination with racially motivated attacks, terrorist attacks and great medialization of so called "refugee crisis" leads to rising fear and anger among citizens. This fear and anger have been lately used as an instrument of several populist movements and parties. All these circumstances result in empirically observable rising intolerance and prejudice and it is possible that such negative feelings in society can have disastrous consequences for democracy. The question which final empirical chapter of this

dissertation seek to answer is what are the determinants of prejudice of Czech youth? And does the school matter in this sense?

CHAPTER 6: Gender Differences among Czech Youth in Prejudice towards Minorities

Introduction

Public prejudice against minorities is an important issue in the Czech Republic. The European Commission in late 2015 continued infringement proceedings against the Czech Republic for three reasons: discrimination against Roma in education, the social exclusion of Roma in housing, and failure to compensate Romani women for forced sterilisations between 1966 and 2012. During 2015 there were a number of anti-migrant demonstrations in Prague and other cities where attendance was in the hundreds and there often rival anti-racism events. Public opinion polls fielded during 2015 consistently showed high levels of prejudice against Roma and migrants.

In 2013, Amnesty International criticised the Czech government for having no laws to deal effectively with homophobic and transphobic attacks. In a unique pan-European survey of the LGBT population commissioned by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 2012, 60% of the Czech respondents stated that "expressions of hatred and aversion" were rare, while 37% said they were widespread (FRA 2014, online data analyser). In terms of the European average, Czech society is relatively tolerant. A survey of the general Czech population in June 2014 showed that 75% support registered partnerships for gay people, and 45% agreed that gay couples should be allowed to adopt children from orphanages. More generally, there is an important gender difference in attitudes where women were more positive towards gays and lesbians than men; and support for gay rights increased with level of education and fell with age (CVVM 2014). This is the national context in which Czech youth attitudes towards minorities has been formed.

In order to properly understand youth attitudes of prejudice it is important to explore in a comparative manner attitudes to a broad range of minorities. In this chapter, Czech youth attitudes to 21 minorities will be examined within a common explanatory framework. It is surprising that Gordon H. Allport (1954) in his seminal study on the nature of prejudice did not consider gender differences in prejudice. Later, Marilynn B. Brewer's (1979, 1999) influential chapters dealing with the intergroup bias aspect of competition between groups in society also did not explicitly explore differences in attitudes based on gender. This chapter aims to address this gap in previous research with special reference to youth.

The argument presented is structured as follows. Section 1 presents three social theories explaining why there are gendered attitudes to minorities. Section 2 outlines three explanations,

i.e. tolerance, social contact, and climate of opinion that will be used as key control variables in this study. Section 3 discusses potentially important family and school context effects for youth expression of prejudice, and Section 4 summarises the main predictions for the models tested. Section 5 shows why the Czech Republic is a pertinent case study of prejudice towards minorities. Section 6 presents the modelling results and this is followed by some concluding remarks.

1. Theoretical Explanations of Gender Differences in Prejudice

In order to explain gender differences in prejudice among youth it is important first to present a definition of prejudice. Gordon W. Allport (1954: 8-10), a founding figure in the psychological study of intergroup relations defined prejudice in the following manner:

> An aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities of that group […] it is antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalisation.

Operationalising this definition in survey research means assuming that prejudice has four key characteristics: (1) it is a negative social attitude, (2) it is based on perceptions of group membership, (3) an individual is ascribed the negative characteristics of their group, and (4) negative attitudes are not subject to verification. As prejudice is a simplified view of social reality, it is often viewed synonymously with negative stereotypes and with emotions (Bogardus 1950: 286; Fiske et al. 2002).

The classic literature on the origins of prejudice at the individual level pointed to four main causes: frustration, aggression, hatred and anxiety, and control of sexual relations between dominant and minority groups. The four main reasons given for the psychological functions of prejudice for a person are (a) simplification of social complexity, (b) provision of meaning for social situations whose origins are often poorly understood, (c) allocation of social status roles and relative prestige in society, and (d) providing an individual with a sense of belongingness and desire for affiliation with social groups. Much of the early research on prejudice adhered to a 'personality type' perspective. Today research on the origins of prejudice emphasises that minority groups have emotionally charged meaning for members of dominant groups (Tapias et al. 2007, Fiske et al. 2013). This suggests that prejudice may have unconscious foundations and this leads to biased attitudes and behaviour.

The focus of the following paragraphs is on contemporary social theories of prejudice and how they may be used to explain gender differences. However, first some remarks toward a

theory of the 21 dependent variables is required to make sense of many regression modelling results presented later.

A Theory of the Latent Dependent Variables

The answers to a set of 21 questions asking about positive or negative attitudes towards a broad range of minorities may be considered as evidence of (a) an underlying level of general prejudice or (b) different related facets of prejudice. The second perspective is more realistic because previous research shows that the level of prejudice varies towards different groups. In this chapter, it is argued that negative attitudes toward 21 minority groups may be summarised into less than a handful of underlying dimensions using a statistical data reduction technique such as Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA).

Taking insights from previous work on the impact of stereotypes and emotions on prejudice minorities are evaluated along two primary dimensions: (1) warmth, or whether the group is friendly, trustworthy or sincere; and (2) competence, or whether the group is skilful and capable (Fiske et al. 2002: 878-880). These stereotype based ratings are associated and in turn linked with one of four emotions: pity, pride, envy and disgust. This approach to prejudice yields a two-by-two (2x2) typology of minorities who differ in terms of low/high warmth and low/high competence (see bottom part of Figure 6.4, Fiske 2011: 3).

1. Subordinate, non-competitive groups such as the old, retired and handicapped (mental and physical) will elicit a positive stereotype of 'high warmth' among the youth and will simultaneously provoke a negative stereotype of 'low competence'. The elderly and handicapped will be pitied by the youth.
2. Members of the professions and successful entrepreneurs will prompt 'high warmth' and 'high competence' stereotypes yielding pride among the youth. In this study, there are no data for these in-groups and will not be examined.
3. For competitive out-groups such as the Vietnamese and foreigners from Eastern and Western Europe, the positive stereotype of 'high competence' in business and academic studies will co-exist with a negative stereotype of 'low warmth' provoking envy among the youth.
4. Minorities that are not seen to contribute to society in a positive way will elicit the negative stereotypes of both 'low warmth' and 'low competence'. Consequently, the homeless, drug addicts, gays and lesbians will be viewed with disgust by the youth.

These four different combinations of the warm and competence stereotypes generate specific intergroup emotions or prejudices, i.e. pity, pride, envy and disgust, which are oriented directed towards minorities in a society. Later social neuroscience work has shown that these four emotional bases for prejudice toward minorities are linked with heightened activity in the human brain's medial prefrontal cortex (mPFC) (Fiske 2011: 19-21). The mPFC part of the brain learns

"associations between context, locations, events, and corresponding adaptive responses, particularly emotional responses. Thus, the ubiquitous involvement of mPFC in both memory and decision making may be due to the fact that almost all such tasks entail the ability to recall the best action or emotional response to specific events in a particular place and time" (Euston et al. 2012: 1057).

This theoretical and empirical linking of the content of stereotypes, emotions and prejudice provides a means of seeing youth prejudice towards a broad range of minority group within a single explanatory framework. The 2x2 typology may be constructed from the factor scores derived from an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) on attitudes towards the 21 minority groups and will be used later to interpret the regression modelling results later. For this reason the following hypothesis will be tested in the empirical part of this chapter.

> H.1: Attitudes to each minority are different; however, it is possible to classify prejudice towards minorities into a small number of types.

The remaining part of this section will present three social science theories predicting gender differences in prejudice: the key explanatory variable examined in this chapter.

Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

There are many theories and explanations of prejudice. One of the most influential today is Social Dominance Theory (SDT). It focuses on how social groups maintain social hierarchies (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). According to SDT, group-based inequalities are maintained through three primary intergroup behaviours: (1) institutional discrimination, (2) aggregated individual discrimination, and (3) behavioural asymmetry. SDT proposes that widely shared cultural ideologies, or legitimizing myths, provide the moral and intellectual justification for these three intergroup behaviours.

Within SDT there are two functional types of legitimizing myths: (a) hierarchy-enhancing and (b) hierarchy-attenuating. Hierarchy-enhancing ideologies such as racism or meritocracy contribute to greater levels of group-based inequality. In contrast, hierarchy-attenuating ideologies such as anarchism and feminism contribute to greater levels of group-based equality. SDT assumes that all social categories are hierarchical and argues that prejudice is partly motivated by the desire to acquire more resources for one's own group and to be prepared for intergroup competition. Muzafer Sherif's (1966) conflict theory of intergroup relations and Hubert M. Blalock's (1967) power threat hypothesis also predicted greater prejudice when there is greater competition for scarce resources. In short, SDT predicts that those who value a system

of hierarchy will want to see their own group succeed and will be prejudiced against all who are seen as competitors.

According to SDT, individuals support either of these two ideologies based in part on their psychological orientation toward dominance and their support for unequal group relations. This psychological difference between individuals is known as Social Dominance Orientation or SDO (Pratto et al. 1994). People who are higher on SDO tend to endorse hierarchy enhancing ideologies, and people who are lower on SDO tend to endorse hierarchy-reducing ideologies. Previous research has shown that males hold more hierarchical attitudes such as supporting ethnic prejudice and right wing political parties compared to women (Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Sidanius et al. 1991).

Men's greater desire and ability to dominate others has been supported by the finding that men exhibit stronger social group preferences, desire hierarchical relationships, and are more oriented toward ranking groups (Nosek et al. 2007, Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo 1994, Eisler and Loye 1983). Men's greater engagement in intergroup competition and social dominance orientation has therefore been used to predict gender differences in attitudes of prejudice toward minorities. All of this leads to the question: what is the source of the gender gap observed?

The gender gap is linked with differences in cognitive complexity where women have a nuanced view of groups in society and make greater use of information about social contexts when making social judgements such as evaluations of minorities. Women's greater cognitive complexity may stem from their lower social status vis-à-vis men because females use greater knowledge to compensate for less power (Foels and Reid 2010). In short, SDO is strongly associated with differences in cognitive complexity where women are less likely to express less prejudiced attitudes because they have a more sophisticated egalitarian view of society where all are considered to be equal. Consequently, the SDO personality trait aspect of SDT predicts gender differences in prejudice for those groups that are viewed as being subject to persistent discrimination such as black Africans, all sexual and dependent minorities, the homeless and Roma.

Theory of Gendered Prejudice (TGP)

The Theory of Gendered Prejudice TGP argues that prejudiced attitudes and behaviour are influenced by an individual's gender (McDonald et al. 2011). As prejudice is partly based on a motivation to acquire more resources, status, and power for one's own group (Sidanius and Veniegas 2000), men are theorised to have the greatest desire and ability to express negative intergroup attitudes (Nosek et al. 2007; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). This is because both evolution

and social status has favoured men, in terms of sexual and reproductive behaviours and physical advantages (Trivers 1972). Therefore, the TGP argues that the underlying motivations for expressing prejudiced attitudes and behaviour differ for men and women.

McDonald et al. (2011) proposed that men are driven by aggression against and dominance over others. In contrast, women's prejudices are more likely to be characterised by wariness and fearfulness, particularly of outgroup men. A recent meta-analysis found that men do engage in more prejudice than women; however, this statistical research was unable to determine the source of this gender difference (Dozo et al. 2014). The meta-analysis was unable to show if gender differences in prejudice was due to (a) more aggression among men or (b) greater conformity to gender stereotypes among women.

The logic of TGP implies that females will show more prejudiced attitudes than males to groups that are considered threatening such as refugees and asylum seekers, Muslims, homeless, convicted felons, drug addicts, and Roma. This is because many of these minorities are sometimes associated with young men who are more likely to engage in violence and criminal behaviour that is considered to be threatening by women of all ages (Archer 2006). This fits with a more general observation that males are more likely to use violence (Archer 2004).

Gender Role Beliefs (GRB)

An alternative approach contends that gender differences in prejudice are a result of gender role beliefs. Gender roles are reflected in the stereotypes people hold about the behaviours men and women can and should do. Gender roles may be defined as "expectations about what is appropriate for each sex" (Weiten 1997: 325). Given that in most industrialised societies men are stereotyped to be dominant and assertive, these beliefs may begin to be accepted, internalised, and provide a standard against which to regulate behaviour (Wood et al. 1997, Wood and Eagly 2012). For women, social roles revolve around nurture and care for others such that they are expected to internalise self-concepts of compassion and behave in a more communal fashion (Wood et al. 1997). Gender role beliefs and self-concepts therefore have the capacity to influence the differences we see in men's and women's behaviour.

The GRB explanation of gender differences in prejudice suggest that females will express lower prejudice to groups that have disabilities and the old and retired. These groups will elicit low prejudice from females because their limitations have their origins in nature rather than the individual or society. In contrast, females will express high prejudice toward prostitutes of all types because these minorities had rejected the dominant gender roles forbidding the sale of

sexual services. On the basis of these theoretical and empirical expectations the following hypothesis will be tested in this chapter.

H.2: Gender differences in youth attitudes to minorities are pervasive.

2. Tolerance, Social Contact, and Climate of Opinion

The focus of this chapter is explaining gender differences in prejudice among youth. To ensure that the models of youth prejudice are properly specified and do not suffer from omitted variable bias it is important to include all key explanatory factors. Previous research on prejudice has shown a number of key factors such as (a) tolerant attitudes, (b) contact with minorities, and (c) having a positive climate of opinion towards minorities in schools reduces negative attitudes towards minorities. In this chapter these standard explanations will be used as 'controls'.

Higher tolerance and lower prejudice

One of the most attitudes linked with prejudice is tolerance. Tolerance reflects a conscious choice not to interfere in the lives of other people, such as minorities, whose attitudes and behaviour are disapproved. Tolerance is defined in terms of non-action and involves the positive acceptance of social diversity and individual differences. Tolerance may be viewed negatively when it is linked with indifference and avoidance of disliked individual and groups. The positive aspect of tolerance should have a negative association with prejudice. As tolerance may be viewed as the absence of prejudice this suggests an endogeneity problem were both attitudes refer to the same non-negative orientation towards minorities. Tolerance and prejudice are nonetheless different. This is because it is conceptually possible to express both prejudiced and tolerant attitudes (Gibson 2006: 25-27; Noll et al. 2010: 46-47).

This chapter's scales for tolerance and prejudice are significantly correlated with higher prejudice being associated with lower tolerance ($r = .45$, $p \leq .001$). However, these two scales are independent, because only 21% of their variance is shared. There is overlap between attitudes of prejudice and tolerance, however, they do refer to distinct attitudes to minorities. In this chapter, a tolerance scale based on a willingness to accept minorities as classmates and tolerating homosexual as a mayor, Muslim as a neighbour and wearing symbols of faith in school, see appendix for details, is used to predict that tolerant Czech youths will express positive attitudes towards all minorities. Here tolerance is seen to be causally prior to prejudice because the former, as operationalised in this chapter, refers to a general latent orientation and the latter concrete views to a specific minority (Noll et al. 2010: 49).

Greater contact with minorities and lower prejudice

One of the influential explanations of prejudice is Contact Theory which predicts that greater social contact with minorities increases tolerance (Allport 1954; McLaren 2003). Later research stressed the importance of the context and intensity of contact with minorities (Dustmann et al. 2004, Pettigrew and Tropp 2011: 117). For example, increased contact with disabled children has been found to reduce prejudice (Antonak 1981, Diamond and Carpenter 2000, Favazza et al. 2000). A similar finding has been found for greater contact with Roma (Váradi 2014). Comparative research in the European context has shown that type of minority matters where the prejudice reducing effects of contact with minorities depends critically on whether the minority is 'stigmatised' (e.g. homosexuals) or culturally different (e.g. Asians) as the former suffer greater intolerance (Vala and Costa-Lopes 2010). In this chapter, higher levels of contact with a minority are expected to have a positive link with lower prejudice. In the Czech High School Survey (2015) social contact was measured using a self-reported question where the student indicated if they personally knew one or more people from the 21 minorities examined. For details see appendix.

Positive climate of opinion in schools and lower prejudice

In theory public schools promote pluralism in democratic society. Unfortunately, prejudice attitudes contribute to problematic intergroup relations in public school settings. Moreover, teachers are often unprepared to work with the diversity of class, linguistic groups, sexual orientation, and other sociocultural backgrounds present in their classrooms. The role of schools and peer pressure in promoting tolerance and reducing prejudice has been emphasised in previous research on attitudes towards sexual minorities (Teney and Subramanian 2010). In the Czech Republic, as noted in the introduction, the public education system has been criticised for its unequal treatment of Roma children who are disproportionally represented in schools for pupils with learning disabilities. Additionally, there is also big controversial debate about law prescribing inclusion of mentally handicapped children into regular classes. A positive climate of opinion in schools is operationalised in this research as the share of pupils with positive attitudes toward the minority being examined. See appendix for details. It is expected in the models estimated in this chapter that a positive climate of opinion in schools will be positively correlated with lower prejudice.

3. Family and School Context Effects

The motivation to express prejudice has been found to be an independent negative attitude from personality traits such as SDO discussed earlier. The Motivation to Express Prejudice (MEP) research highlights the importance of 'internal' and 'external' motivations (Forscher and Devine 2014). The former refers to prejudice originating in the individual (e.g. homosexuality is a sin) and the latter in a social context (e.g. there should be tolerance of all sexual minorities).

In social contexts, such as classrooms the expression of prejudiced attitudes is subject to sanctions where the internal and external motivations to express prejudiced attitudes are strongly associated. In other words, low prejudiced youth in unprejudiced social contexts are unlikely to publicly express negative attitudes towards minorities. However, highly opinionated pupils may express negative views regardless of the social context. In social contexts where the likelihood of being rebuked or sanctioned is low then students with antipathies towards minorities will be more motivated to express their negative views. Finally, it is also important to note that some social contexts may motivate a normally tolerant person to express negative views toward specific minorities. For example many religious communities oppose homosexuality and rebuke those to express toleration for gays and lesbians.

The MEP research highlights the importance of context. In this study, there are two contexts: (1) the family home with parents and (2) the school with fellow peers. The expectation tested in this chapter is that positive attitudes towards minorities within schools and homes will be associated with lower levels of expressed prejudice among students. This positive context effect will be reflected in higher parental education at both the student and school levels, and in the number of pupils who express positive attitudes towards minorities in a school. In addition, gender equity in a school may also have important effects where being a girl in a classroom composed mainly of females may create social pressure to (a) conform to the attitudes of the group in the weakly opinionated or (b) reject the prevailing opinion among those with strong attitudes. These theoretical considerations yield the following hypothesis.

> H.3: Positive attitude towards minorities within school is associated with lower levels of expressed prejudice.

4. Empirical Expectations: Individual and Context

It is important to highlight two important points regarding the study of gender differences in prejudice among youth. First, it is assumed that theoretical accounts of gender differences among adults, i.e. aged 18 years plus, have application to youth aged 15 to 20 years. Here some caution is required as gender identity may not have reached maturation until an individual has left secondary school and consequently attitudes towards minorities based on sexual orientation may not have crystallised. Second, unlike adult cross-sectional surveys such as the European Values Survey the youth respondents examined in this chapter are living in two social contexts, i.e. fulltime residence in a family with parents and fulltime attendance at high school. It is reasonable to expect that both contexts will have important mediating effects on youth attitudes toward minorities and should be controlled for when exploring gender differences in prejudice towards minorities.

In this chapter the focus is on the gendered self-concepts and if gender role beliefs have led to the internalisation of responses to prejudice. It is hypothesised, in line with Ratcliff et al. (2006) that the females will demonstrate a greater internal motivation to respond without prejudice, and this would influence the relationship between gender and prejudice in the models estimated. For external motivations, such as school context, as noted earlier, two results are anticipated. Firstly, females might express greater external (context based) pressures to behave in a communal and egalitarian manner. Second, males might also feel greater external motivations to respond without prejudice as a result of community standards and political correctness. As the social climate demands that people should not be aggressive, violent, or prejudiced in a school or classroom setting, males may be more sensitive to such social pressures to respond without prejudice. This social pressure, however, may not be sufficient to motivate an internalisation of equality or more positive attitudes.

In fact, men may place value on opposing political correctness which may have the consequence of motivating men to express their prejudice (Forscher and Devine 2014). It was therefore hypothesised that males should demonstrate an internalisation of endorsing prejudice. A masculine self-concept, an orientation toward ranking groups, and a desire for hierarchical relationships demonstrates that male greater engagement in prejudice may be a direct result of their internal motivation to express prejudice. External pressure to engage in prejudice may also be higher for men (Bem 1974; Eisler and Loye 1983; Nosek et al. 2007). All of the theoretical expectations outlined above may be summarised in the following five points that relate to contextual and individual level effects.

- Higher levels of tolerance will show a positive association with lower levels of prejudice towards all minority groups.
- Reported social contact with minorities will show a positive relationship with lower levels of prejudice towards all minority groups.
- Attitudes toward each minority will be different, although it should be possible to classify minorities into a small number of types (H.1).
- Gender differences in prejudice towards minorities will differ systemically across groups for the theoretical reasons outlined above and summarised in Figure 6.1 (H.2).
- A warmer climate of opinion towards minorities in schools will be positively linked with lower levels of prejudice towards all minority groups (H.3).

Figure 6.1, Expected differences in tolerance among the youth on the basis of gender

Types of minorities	*Specific minority groups*	*Expected difference in tolerance level for females vs. males*	*Theoretical reasons*	*Confirmed**
Outsider minorities	Refugees, asylum seekers	Lower among women	SDT-, TGP-	No
	East Europeans	Zero, no difference	GRB+, TGP-	Yes
	West Europeans	Zero	GRB+, TGP-	Yes
	Vietnamese	Zero	GRB+, TGP-	No
	Black Africans	Higher among women	GRB+, SDT-	Yes
	Muslims	Lower	GRB-, TGP-	No
	Christians	Zero	GRB+, TGP-	Yes
	Other religions	Zero	GRB+, TGP-	Yes
Sexual minorities	Gays	Higher among women	GRB+, SDT+	Yes
	Lesbians	Zero	GRB-, SDT+	Yes
	Transsexuals	Higher	GRB+, SDT-	Yes
Dependent minorities	Mental disability	Higher	GRB+, SDT+	Yes
	Physical disability	Higher	GRB+, SDT+	Yes
	Old, retired	Higher	GRB+, SDT+	Yes
Social minorities	Homeless	Zero	GRB+, TGP-	No
	Convicted felons	Lower	TGP-	Yes
	Drug addicts	Lower	TGP-	Yes
	Female prostitutes	Lower	GRB-	Yes
	Male prostitutes	Lower	GRB-	No
	Roma	Zero	GRB-, TGP+	No
	Unemployed	Zero	GRB-, TGP+	Yes

Source: author Note that the ordering of the response options in the dependent variables follows a high to low prejudice or equivalently a low to high tolerance logic. For consistency with the regression models the concept of tolerance will be used. Gendered tolerance attitudes are classified as high or low is defined in terms of the expressed views of females. Type of group is based on the results of a principal components analysis that classified the groups in the clusters shown. Group refers to the minority examined in the youth survey. Higher prejudice among females in contrast to males refers to increasingly negative attitudes toward a group and is indicated by a negative parameter in Table 1. In contrast, lower prejudice reflects positive attitudes towards minorities or tolerance. Reasons refer to the theoretical basis for the predicted level of prejudice. Examples of East Europeans given in the youth survey were Russians and Ukrainians, and examples of West Europeans were British and Germans. This explicit mentioning of specific nationalities may have primed respondents to use particular considerations when formulating answers to these East and West based minorities. Mention of more than one theoretical reason indicates that reinforcing effects (e.g. GRB+, SDT+) or cancelling (e.g. GRB+, SDT-) effects.[7]

[7] Legend of explanations: Gender Roles Beliefs (GRB): Females feel more compassion to minorities that should be nurtured and cared for and so will exhibit lower levels of prejudice than males. Otherwise those minorities who

Figure 6.1 summarises the theoretically expected differences on the basis of gender for all twenty minority groups. The column on the far right of this figure will be used later to see how well the theoretical expectations match with empirical observations and hence show how useful the theories reviewed are for explaining gender based differences in prejudice at the individual, family and school levels.

5. Country Specifics and Youth Survey Data

Having outlined some theoretically-based expectations for expecting to observe gender-based differences in attitudes towards minorities among Czech youth, it is now important to present and clarify (a) the specifics of national case study used in this chapter which were not described in Introduction Chapter, (b) to describe the nature of the nationally representative survey data used for modelling results presented later, and (c) outline the modelling strategy used to test the theoretically derived expectations presented in Figure 6.1. In the following section there is discussion of the modelling results where there is a focus on gender differences and school effects.

The Czech context

Czech society is a useful example of post-communist state with a specific history and experience of migration and multiculturalism. The original Czechoslovak state (1918-1993) was multicultural in nature that had a wide range of linguistic and ethnic groupings such as Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Roma and Poles. Consequently, with independence following the First World War the issue of tolerance of minorities was crucially important for political stability. Some have debated the success of Czechoslovak state in creating equality among all ethnic and linguistic (Heimann 2010: 20-86, 321-324). What is clear is that following the Second World War there was a mass deportation of about 3 million ethnic Germans. Thereafter, the communist regime attempted to deal with limited success with integration of the Roma and the independence aspirations of Slovaks.

Currently, at least one-in-twenty residents in the Czech Republic are minorities or migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers). Various statistical sources indicate that Czech society has perhaps two hundred thousand Ukrainians and also has a significant number of Roma (300,000),

---

reject gender role norms will elicit higher prejudice. Social Dominance Theory (SDT): Males have a greater desire to maintain dominant/subordinate intergroup relations and will be more prejudiced than females who have greater sense of fairness. Theory of Gendered Prejudice (TGP): Females will be more fearful of violence from (male) minorities and so will be more prejudiced than males. * Note that the predictive success rate is 71% (15/21)

Slovaks (100,000) and Vietnamese (90,000). More precise estimates are unavailable as many migrants are unregistered and do not complete census returns. Public attitudes toward minorities are generally positive with the exception of the Roma. The survey evidence reveals that a majority of Czechs dislike the Roma and do not support special social welfare, employment and education policies to deal with persistent inequalities in jobs, education and healthcare.

From 2015 with the arrival of large numbers of migrants into the Europe (including refugees and asylum seekers) public attitudes towards migration especially from various wars in Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq have hardened. Survey research suggests fear and antipathy of migrants associated by country of origin with Islam. In contrast, with other minorities the number of migrants from majority Muslim countries is very small and mentioned asylum seekers use Czech Republic primarily as a transit country on their way to Germany or Scandinavia.

In exploring the attitudes of prejudice of Czech youth in 2015 it is important to have some sense of the trends in prejudice towards a broad range of 15 minorities among their parents for a prolonged period. The survey results shown in Table 6.1 refer to trends in not wanting specific minority groups as neighbours. This question is a shortened version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and may be considered a measure of intergroup prejudice. Most of the trends in Table are stably indicating that the level of prejudice or tolerance remained constant between 2003 and 2016 revealing that Czech adult attitudes are best characterised by stability.

Table 6.1 does show some important changes in adults prejudices where there has been a strong decline in prejudice towards gays, i.e. 42% did not want homosexuals as neighbours in 2003, by 2016 this number had fallen by half to 21%. This table also reveals increases in prejudices toward four minorities, i.e. the mentally ill, non-whites, foreigners, and those with different religious beliefs. The survey evidence in Table 6.1 is important because, as we will see later, the high and low patterns in prejudice of Czech adults are also strongly evidence among Czech high school students. This suggests that there is an intergenerational component to prejudice.

Table 6.1, Trend in prejudice towards minorities among Czech adults, 2003-2016 (per cent)

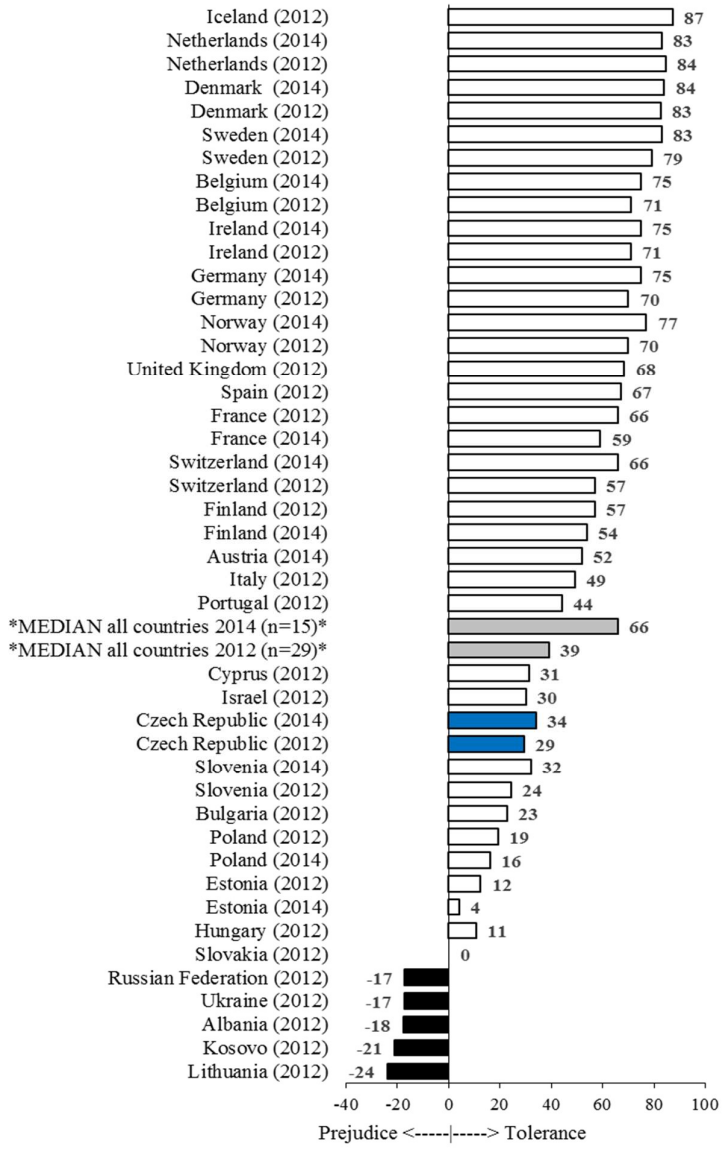
Minorities not wanted as neighbours	*Mar 2003*	*Mar 2005*	*Mar 2007*	*Mar 2009*	*Mar 2010*	*Mar 2011*	*Mar 2012*	*Mar 2014*	*Feb 2015*	*Feb 2016*	*Median*	*Trend in prejudice*
People addicted to drugs*	85	87	87	85	86	89	86	89	91	88	87	Same
People with a criminal past*	78	77	77	79	75	80	74	81	76	74	77	Same
People addicted to alcohol	-	-	81	78	79	79	78	78	78	74	78	Same
Mentally ill people	-	-	51	53	60	63	63	67	70	68	63	Increase
People of different skin colour*	24	22	24	25	31	32	31	38	38	36	31	Increase
Foreigners living in the Czech Republic	31	21	-	22	23	25	23	25	31	33	25	Increase
People with different religious beliefs	8	7	6	6	11	11	9	11	20	23	10	Increase
People with a homosexual orientation*	42	34	29	27	25	26	23	25	23	21	26	Decline
Smokers	-	-	19	16	17	17	16	18	18	17	17	Same
Rich people	16	16	10	12	12	13	12	13	10	10	12	Same
Poor people	7	8	6	6	8	9	8	10	6	7	8	Same
Physically handicapped people*	-	-	4	6	7	7	8	7	6	7	7	Same
People with different political beliefs	6	4	4	3	5	6	5	4	4	5	5	Same
Old people*	6	3	3	4	6	5	7	6	5	4	5	Same
Young people	8	9	4	3	5	5	5	6	5	4	5	Same

Source: Institute for Public Opinion (CVVM), The Czech Academy of Sciences, 'Our Society' omnibus Monthly survey series, 2003-2016. * Minorities also included in the Czech High School Survey (2015).Question text: "The next question will concern human coexistence. In the list that you have before you are listed different groups of people. Could you please all those who would not like to have as neighbours?"
Note: estimates based on national quota sample surveys with face-to-face interviews of adults (aged 15 years +) with average sample sizes of 1000 respondents. Columns labels refer to month and year, e.g. III/03 is March 2003. Percentage estimates refer to not wanting the minority as a neighbour, i.e. an indicator of prejudice. Trend in prejudice based on final poll (Feb 2016) estimate being higher or lower than the median value for the 2003-2016 period where differences of less than ±3% due to sampling error are considered to refer to no change.

Turning now to question of 'typicality', are Czechs more or less prejudiced than people from other parts of Europe? This is not an easy question to answer because prejudice has many facets (in this chapter we examine 21 minorities) and comparable data are scarce. Fortunately, the European Social Survey (ESS) has asked respondents aged 15 years or more in most European countries if they agree or disagree that gays and lesbians should be free to live life as they wish? This question may be interpreted as a general indicator of prejudice in a society. Moreover, as will be seen later, attitudes towards sexual minorities are broadly representative of Czech youths attitudes to all minorities examined in this chapter. Using data from the two most recent waves of ESS in 2012 and 2014 the results shown in Figure 6.2 reveal that a net majority of Czech adults

(aged 15 years+) are tolerant towards gays and lesbians. However, Czech society is slightly below the median level of tolerance in all European countries surveyed in 2012 and 2014. This comparative evidence indicates that prejudice is an important issue in Czech society, and that the lessons learned from a Czech case study should have application elsewhere in Europe.

Figure 6.2, Comparison of net attitudes of tolerance/prejudice towards gays and lesbians among adults in Europe, 2012-2014 (per cent)



Source: European Social Surveys, 2012 and 2014. ESS 2014, B26-27. "Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements … Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish." Response options were (1) Agree strongly, (2) Agree, (3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4) Disagree, (5) Disagree strongly, (6) Refusal, (7) Don't know, (8) No answer. Note that the estimates are net scores (agree minus disagree) weighted by lack of opinionation indicated by neutral, don't know, no answer and refused responses. Negative net scores indicate (black bars) indicate a majority are prejudiced. Not all ESS (2014) data is currently available [May 2016].

In short, a Czech case study of youth attitudes towards minority groups is useful because many of the issues relating to prejudice and tolerance have general application to many EU member states. Moreover, the minority question has been an important and controversial part of Czech public discourse for decades, and this has been reflected in debates about how attitudes towards minorities are dealt with in schools. Public debates regarding the Roma, migrants from counties associated with Islam, and fears of terrorist attacks similar to those experience in other European cities makes understanding youth attitudes towards minorities important for ensuring current and future social and political stability.

Czech High School Survey (2015)

There were no large cross-national surveys of attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers in a time when this dissertation was written, and there was little detailed survey research on youth attitudes towards minorities. The survey data used in this chapter are unique in the range of attitudes to minority questions asked to Czech high school students within the school setting. The survey of Czech high school students was commissioned by a large Czech NGO, called 'People in Need' that undertakes humanitarian aid, development and human rights programmes in 28 countries.

The fieldwork was undertaken in April 2015 with a representative quota sample of 44 schools yielding completed paper questionnaires from 1,103 students aged 15 to 20 years. Only one classroom per school was interviewed making classroom and school effects in this chapter coterminous. Details of all questions used in the analyses reported in this chapter are given in the appendix.

This chapter which is based on self-reported positive/negative attitudes towards minority groups may be criticised for measuring 'expressed' versus 'revealed' perceptions of minorities. It is possible that respondents answered the prejudice questions in a socially desirable manner. This is a weakness of all survey based research. However, there are reasons to think that such social desirability effects did not strongly influence attitude measurement. All the respondents were given a self-completed the paper questionnaire and so there was social pressure to answer in a desirable during a face-to-face interview. The students were free to express themselves honestly as all questionnaires were anonymised and this fact was highlighted when the questionnaire was introduced to the participating classrooms.

6. Discussion of Modelling Results

Youth prejudice toward a broad range of minority groups was operationalised in the Czech High School Survey (2015) with following short question: "What is your relationship to the following groups?" The response options were (1) very negative, (2) rather negative, (3) neutral, don't know, (4) rather positive, and (5) very positive. Here negative attitudes are interpreted as evidence of prejudice. This is the logic of the results presented in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.3 below. The basic logic of the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) multilevel regression modelling results outlined later in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 in the following linear equation.

$$\text{Prejudice towards a minority} = \text{intercept} + b_1\text{Gender} + b_2\text{Individual attitudes} + b_3\text{Family context} + b_4\text{School context} + b_5\text{Community context} + b_6\text{Interaction effects} + \text{error}$$

This model is estimated for all 21 minorities because the summary statistics show that it is not sensible to estimate fewer models on the four minority group types because of heterogeneity in responses. Details of all explanatory variables are given in the appendix. The key explanatory variable is gender (female=1) which is expected to exhibit contrasting b1 parameter values across all minority groups in line the theoretical expectations presented earlier in Figure 6.1. Individual attitudes in the equation above refer to tolerance and social contact indicators where it is expected the b2 parameter will be positive and significant ($p \leq .05$) in all models estimated.

Parental influence is indicated by university education in the students' home where parents with more schooling are predicted to instil more tolerant attitudes in their children, and hence the b3 parameter should be positive in all models. The influence of school context on pupils' attitudes toward minorities is envisaged as operating through three channels: (1) average parents' education in the school, (2) proportion of students with tolerant attitudes in the respondents' school, and (3) proportion of females in the students' school. The school influence parameter (b4) is expected to be positive for all three school context channels. The community context within which the youth respondent lives is operationalised in terms of the size of the community where larger urban centres are expected to be more tolerant yielding a positive b5 parameter for all models estimated. Finally, the interaction effects parameter (b5) indicates a positive climate of opinion towards minorities in school where there is lots of discussion, and once again a positive relationship is expected for all models estimated.

Profile of minority groups and types

An overview of gender differences in Czech high school students' attitudes towards all 21 minorities is shown in Table 6.2 in terms of five summary statistics. The modal (or most frequent) answers by gender for all minorities shows mainly neutral to positive views for outsider and sexual minority groups, positive attitudes towards dependent minorities, and a generally negative orientation toward social minorities. Table 6.2 also shows that there are gender differences for seven minorities where difference is defined as being at least a one point in the positive/negative relationship minority scale.

In line with previous research, females tended to be less prejudiced with exception of male and female prostitutes. It is important not to over-emphasise female low prejudice as the differences refer to male positions that were most often neutral. This raises the more general point that all respondents expressed neither positive nor negative attitudes for more than a quarter (29%) of all minorities examined. It could be that for these minorities the participating pupils were considering these minorities for the first time when completing the questionnaire.

The interpolated median positions of the male and female high school students towards each of the minority groups and types are shown graphically in Figure 6.3. Interpolated medians are used because the Likert type response options are ordinal level and are less influenced than the arithmetic mean to outliers. For many minorities females are more tolerant; however, there are gender differences in attitudes towards gays, transsexuals, Roma, and female prostitutes. In the latter case, males are less prejudiced than females.

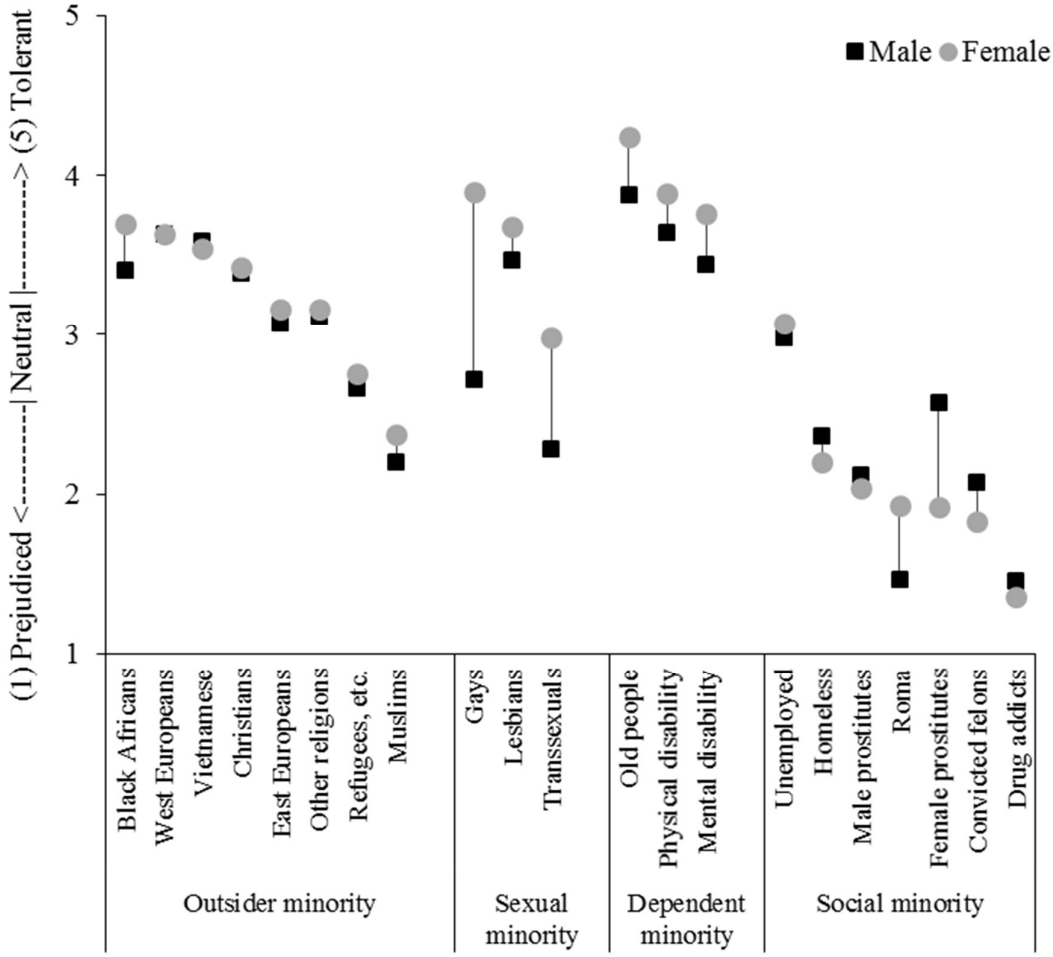
Table 6.2, Gender differences in prejudice among Czech youths toward minority groups

Type of minority and subgroups	*Gender*	*PA*	*IM*	*AM*	*SD*	*Modal response*	*Diff*	*Direction of female prejudice*
OUTSIDER MINORITIES								
East Europeans	Male	0.40	3.07	3.00	1.05	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.44	3.16	3.14	0.99	Neutral/dk		
Refugees, etc.	Male	0.37	2.66	2.57	1.06	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.46	2.75	2.71	0.97	Neutral/dk		
West Europeans	Male	0.46	3.63	3.56	1.02	Rather positive	No	
	Female	0.47	3.63	3.60	0.96	Rather positive		
Other religions	Male	0.45	3.12	3.10	1.04	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.55	3.16	3.20	0.93	Neutral/dk		
Black Africans	Male	0.41	3.41	3.34	1.06	Neutral/dk	Yes	Less
	Female	0.53	3.70	3.64	0.92	Rather positive		
Vietnamese	Male	0.39	3.59	3.36	1.12	Rather positive	No	
	Female	0.41	3.54	3.31	1.09	Rather positive		
Christians	Male	0.34	3.39	3.37	1.15	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.42	3.43	3.47	1.04	Neutral/dk		
Muslims	Male	0.34	2.20	2.25	1.10	Very negative	Yes	Less
	Female	0.45	2.37	2.33	0.99	Neutral/dk		
SEXUAL MINORITIES								
Gays	Male	0.24	2.72	2.64	1.21	Neutral/dk	Yes	Less
	Female	0.41	3.90	3.80	1.06	Rather positive		
Transsexuals	Male	0.28	2.28	2.21	1.09	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.47	2.98	2.95	0.98	Neutral/dk		
Lesbians	Male	0.34	3.47	3.44	1.16	Neutral/dk	Yes	Less
	Female	0.37	3.68	3.60	1.10	Rather positive		
DEPENDENT MINORITIES								
Physical disability	Male	0.51	3.64	3.57	0.95	Rather positive	No	
	Female	0.53	3.89	3.80	0.91	Rather positive		
Mental disability	Male	0.43	3.44	3.37	1.01	Rather positive	No	
	Female	0.48	3.76	3.65	0.97	Rather positive		
Old age	Male	0.43	3.88	3.74	1.05	Rather positive	No	
	Female	0.56	4.24	4.11	0.94	Rather positive		
SOCIAL MINORITIES								
Prostitutes (female)	Male	0.38	2.57	2.54	1.11	Neutral/dk	Yes	More
	Female	0.50	1.92	2.00	0.93	Very negative		
Drug addicts	Male	0.59	1.46	1.83	1.04	Very negative	No	
	Female	0.69	1.36	1.62	0.88	Very negative		
Convicted felons	Male	0.46	2.07	2.15	0.98	Rather negative	No	
	Female	0.57	1.83	1.91	0.86	Rather negative		
Prostitutes (male)	Male	0.33	2.12	2.09	0.98	Neutral/dk	Yes	More
	Female	0.43	2.04	2.07	0.94	Very negative		
Homeless	Male	0.53	2.36	2.46	0.89	Rather negative	No	
	Female	0.63	2.20	2.31	0.80	Rather negative		
Roma	Male	0.61	1.47	1.79	1.00	Very negative	Yes	Less
	Female	0.49	1.93	2.09	1.04	Rather negative		
Unemployed	Male	0.45	2.98	2.96	0.95	Neutral/dk	No	
	Female	0.41	3.07	3.07	0.99	Neutral/dk		

Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,103 (respondents aged 15 to 20 years in 44 schools). Legend: PA=Perceptual Agreement, IM=Interpolated Median, AM=Arithmetic Mean, SD=Standard Deviation, Diff=Difference between males and females by at least one point on the 5-point prejudice scale based on modal responses. Don't know (dk) responses were placed with the neutral group to indicate low opinionation. Direction of female prejudice indicates if females are relatively more prejudiced than males.

Figure 6.3 reveals that there is most tolerance for old people and most prejudice toward drug addicts. The gender differences in prejudice for sexual and dependent minorities where females are more tolerant, but not for social and outsider minorities fits with the expectations from the theories presented earlier and summarised in Table 6.2. The large gender difference for gays among Czech high school students' matches with similar differences observed among adults in a survey conducted in June 2014 where women were consistently more tolerant in their attitudes to homosexuals than men (CVVM 2014). These common gender differences among adults and youths towards gays especially suggests a differential pattern of social change whose origins, as Table 6.1 reveals, go back to the early 2000s.

Figure 6.3, Gender differences in attitudes toward minorities among Czech youths, 2015



Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,103. Note estimates are interpolated median scores of male and female respondents to the question "What is your relationship to the following groups?" The response options were (1) Very negative, (2) Rather negative, (3) Neutral, don't know, (4) Rather positive, and (5) Very positive. Here negative attitudes are interpreted as evidence of prejudice and positive attitudes as an indication of being tolerant. Estimates are in descending order of tolerance (or ascending prejudice) for females within each type of minority based on the classification shown in Table 6.2.

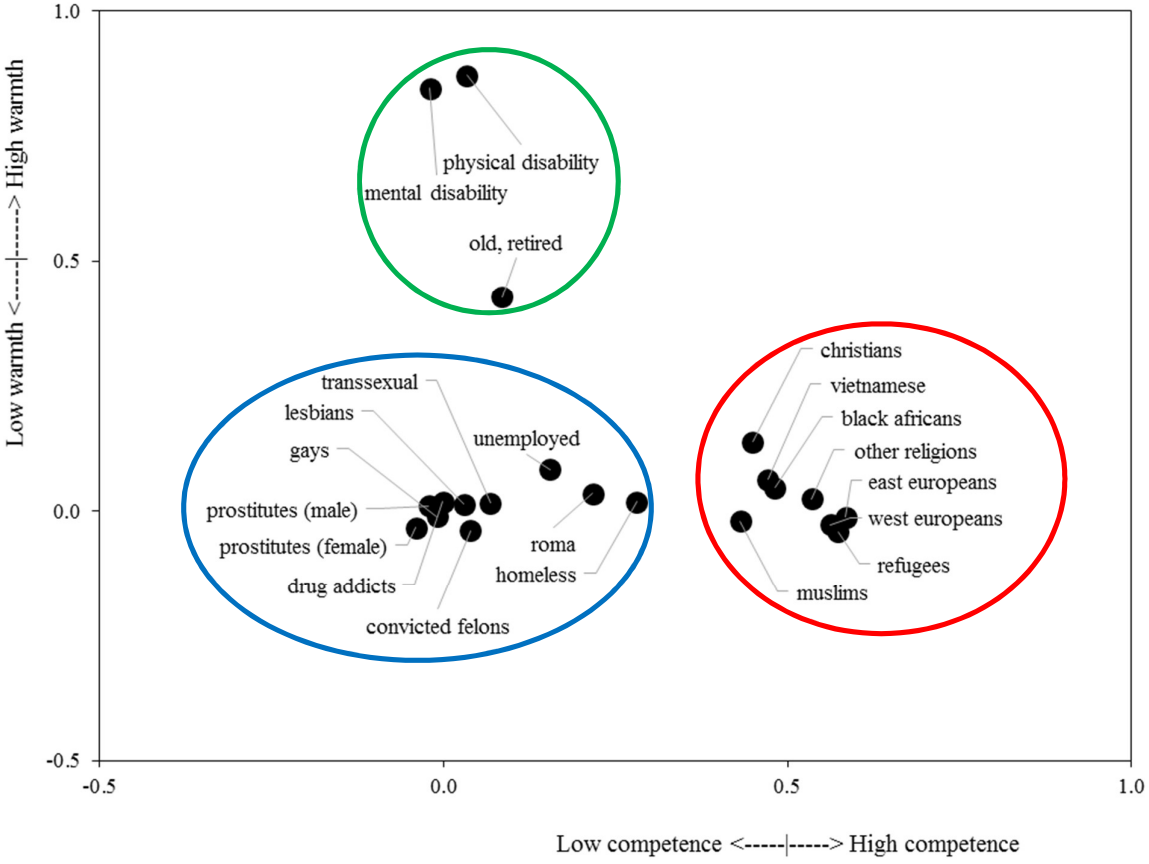
When considering gender differences in prejudice it is also important to consider if there is consensus in attitudes towards all the minority groups among the two genders. This information is given in the Perceptual Agreement (PA) statistic reported earlier in Table 6.2. This consensus in attitude statistic was estimated using a procedure described in van der Eijk (2001). The main pattern in the PA statistics in Table 6.2 is that females have generally higher levels of consensus in their attitudes towards minorities than males with the notable exceptions of the Roma and unemployed. This gender difference is important because it shows that some of the variation in prejudice may be due to females having more fixed views, as a group, than males where there is more homogeneity in attitudes. Some caution is warranted here as Table 6.2 above revealed much neutral attitudes towards minorities where the higher consensus observed for females may reflect a survey response style of (a) selecting middle answers in the absence of strong attitudes or (b) social desirability effects in being unwilling to express negative attitudes.

Exploratory Factor Analysis of prejudice towards minorities

Is prejudice towards all minority groups the same or does the type of minority group matter? As noted above, work by Fiske et al. (2002) on differences in stereotypes framed onto two perceptual dimensions: 'warmth' indicating a group is not seen to be a threat, and 'competence' or success suggests minority groups are viewed differently. As noted earlier, this research found a 2x2 typology where attitudes towards minorities could be classified into four types: (1) pity toward old people and disabled [high warmth & low competence], (2) pride toward in-groups [high warmth & high competence], (3) envy toward successful Vietnamese business owners in the Czech context for example [low warmth & high competence], and (4) disgust for drug addicts, prostitutes, homeless, and sexual minorities [low warmth & low competence].

An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of the attitudes expressed by Czech youths to 21 minorities examined in this chapter yields and four factor solution that reflects the general nature of the minorities, i.e. outsiders, sexual, dependent and social. This EFA reveals that youth attitudes to minorities are differentiated and may be classified in a similar manner to Fiske et al. (2002: 881) as discussed in the theory section earlier. In the Czech High School Survey (2015) no successful 'in-groups' such as the professions (law, medicine, etc.) were examined and so this part of the attitudinal map is empty.

Figure 6.4, A mapping of Czech youths' orientations towards minorities, 2015



Dimensions of prejudice	*Low-status, incompetent*	*High-status, competent*
Friend-warm (friendly, trustworthy)	Disabled people, elderly (dependent minorities)	Middle class people, Czechs (in-group majority)
Foe-cold (hostile, exploitative)	Gays, drug addicts, homeless (sexual and social minorities)	Foreigners, refugees, Muslims (outsider minorities)

Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,103; Fiske (2011: 3). Note that the estimates are based on the exploratory factor analysis results using the 'outsider' and 'social' factor scores to represent Fiske et al. (2002, 2011) warmth and competence dimensions respectively. The green circle indicates high warmth and low competence for the dependent minority groups [paternalism] and contains the dependent minority group as defined by the EFA results discussed in the text. The red circle refers to outsider minorities who have low warmth and a medium level of competence [moderate envy] and contains the outsider minority group. The blue circle refers to sexual and social minorities that elicit both low warmth and competence [disgust] and includes both sexual and social minority groups.

Using the factor loadings for the 'outsider' and 'social' minority dimensions because these refer most directly in substantive meaning to competence and warmth dimensions the pattern observed is similar to that presented in Fiske et al. (2002: 885, 886, 892). These results are important in showing that there is patterning to youth attitudes toward minorities which reflects both the type of minority (Table 6.2) that reflect emotions of pity, moderate envy and contempt (Figure 6.4). The middle position of the old and retired on the competence and warmth

dimensions of Figure 6.4 matches with the least prejudiced score for this minority shown earlier in Figure 6.3.

GSEM multilevel modelling results

The classification of the Czech youths' attitudes or stereotypical views of minorities shown in Figure 6.4 shows there is structure in how minorities are perceived and evaluated. Nonetheless, it is prudent to model all 21 minorities separately as the evidence presented in Tables 6.2 and Figure 6.4 reveal important differences in attitudes of prejudice toward specific minorities. The strategy here is to use the EFA classification of four groups to present the OLS regression modelling results. The error terms of all models have been correlated to capture general prejudiced patterns of answering and for this reason a GSEM modelling approach has been adopted as highlighted earlier. In all the models estimated the tolerance, social contact and positive climate of opinion towards minorities have significant positive effects for the reasons outlined earlier.

(1) Outsider minorities: The determinants of lower levels of prejudice towards for those outsider minorities who come mainly from outside the Czech Republic are as predicted strongly and significantly ($p \leq .05$) positively associated with being tolerant, having contact with a minority and being a student in a school with a positive climate of opinion toward minorities. Table 6.3 also reveals that there are strong gender difference effects that are positive for black Africans and negative for Vietnamese. The former effect was predicted in Table 6.1 and the latter was not. Table 6.3 also shows that the family context also matters for lower levels of prejudice towards West Europeans, other religious, Vietnamese, Christian and Muslim minorities. Having more educated parents is associated with greater tolerance to some, but not all, outsiders. Overall, of the eight outsider minorities five of the predicted gender difference effects are observed in Table 6.3. The expectation that Czech female students would have more prejudice towards refugees and Muslims because of fears of violence and threats to their gender role beliefs (i.e. gender equality) was not observed.

Table 6.3, Models of prejudice among Czech youths toward outsider minorities

Models & explanatory variables	*East European*	*Refugees, etc.*	*West European*	*Other religions*	*Black Africans*	*Vietnamese*	*Christians*	*Muslims*
Gender:								
Females vs males	.04	.01	-.01	.02	.11***	-.07*	.01	-.01
Individual level attributes:								
Age (15-20 years)	-.08**	-.03	-.02	.01	-.04	-.01	-.04	.01
Tolerance scale	.18***	.26***	.11***	.21***	.24***	.18***	.09**	.24***
Knows member of minority	.21***	.09**	.20***	.21***	.21***	.16***	.23***	.16***
Talks frequently about	-.01	-.03	.01	-.01	.03	.04	-.11**	-.12***
Family context:								
Parental education	<.01	.03	.05†	.13***	.05	.08*	.07*	.07*
School context:								
Proportion of females at school	-.03	-.02	<.01	-.02	-.06†	.01	<.01	-.01
Share of pupils with positive attitude towards the	.16***	.19***	.17***	.12**	.18***	.24***	.13***	.19***
Mean parental education	.01	.06†	.07†	.05	<.01	<.01	.02	.05
Community context:								
Size of community of residence	-.01	.01	<.01	.04	.04	<.01	-.03	<.01
Interaction effect:								
Talk about minorities*peers with positive attitude	.03	.02	.05	.04	.04†	-.03	.04	-.01
Intercept	.50***	.42***	.36***	.19**	.21**	.37***	.59***	.44***
Change in Log-likelihood	79	99	122	143	133	82	86	85
AIC null model	3096	3103	3088	3096	3096	3098	3095	3099
BIC null model	3101	3107	3094	3101	3101	3103	3100	3104
AIC full model	2961	2928	2867	2835	2855	2958	2948	2954
BIC full model	3026	2993	2932	2900	2920	3022	3013	3018
Adjusted R^2	.13	.17	.20	.23	.22	.14	.15	.14

Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,092. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1. Note parameters estimated with a Generalised Structural Equation Model (GSEM). This is an OLS multilevel model with random effects where students are nested within 44 schools (with one classroom per school). GSEM allows the errors in all models to be correlated as the answers to each minority group are likely to be linked due to a general underlying level of prejudice or tolerance.

(2) Sexual and dependent minorities: These two minorities are similar in that females exhibit more tolerance than males as shown in the top row of Table 6.4. This result matches both with previous research and trends in Czech attitudes towards minorities presented earlier in Table 6.2 (Gash 1993, Antonak and Harth 1994, Vignes et al. 2009). The gender differences observed for sexual and dependent minorities are important. This is because these positive coefficients reveal that the emotions of disgust and pity that underpin low and high warmth to these minorities

work differently among males and females. This suggests that Fiske et al.'s (2002) theory linking negative stereotypes, emotions and prejudice may have an important, but unrecognised, gender component.

Table 6.4, Models of prejudice among Czech youths towards sexual and dependent minorities

	Sexual minorities			*Dependent minorities*		
Models & explanatory variables	*Gays*	*Transsexuals*	*Lesbians*	*Mentally handicapped*	*Physically handicapped*	*Old, retired*
Gender:						
Females vs males	.33***	.24***	.02	.09**	.06†	.12***
Individual level attributes:						
Age (15-20 years)	-.01	<.01	-.03	.02	.03	-.05†
Tolerance scale	.20***	.20***	.16***	.28***	.27***	.16***
Knows member of minority	.16***	.14***	.19***	.09***	.12***	.09***
Talks frequently about minorities	.04	.06†	.15***	-.08**	-.03	-.08*
Family context:						
Parental education	<.01	-.05†	-.02	<.01	<.01	.03
School context:						
Proportion of females at school	-.13***	-.14***	-.06†	-0.03	.01	<.01
Share of pupils with positive attitude towards the minority	.28***	.28***	.23***	.12***	.11***	.14***
Mean parental education	.01	.03	.02	-0.02	.01	.02
Community context:						
Size of community of residence	.05*	.01	.07**	.01	.02	-.05
Interaction effect:						
Talk about minorities*peers with positive attitude	.01	-.01	-.03	.04†	.03†	.03
	.08	.25***	.29***	.47***	.36***	.60***
Change in Log-likelihood	274	142	98	86	100	70
AIC null model	3098	3099	3098	3098	3097	3106
BIC null model	3103	3104	3102	3103	3102	3111
AIC full model	2575	2840	2927	2950	2920	2990
BIC full model	2640	2905	2992	3015	2986	3055
Adjusted R^2	.40	.23	.16	.15	.17	.12

Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,092. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1. Note parameters estimated with a Generalised Structural Equation Model (GSEM). This is an OLS multilevel model with random effects where students are nested within 44 schools (with one classroom per school). GSEM allows the errors in all models to be correlated as the answers to each minority group are likely to be linked due to a general underlying level of prejudice or tolerance.

Evidence for a gender difference in tolerance for gays and transsexuals and not lesbians matches with the theoretical prediction made in the centre of Figure 6.1. The GRB and SDT theories predict that females do not see gays and transsexuals as infringing on gender norms or

being a potential physical threat. In contrast, lesbians from the female perspective do go against prevailing gender role beliefs. The theoretical predictions for gender differences for the elderly and the physical and mentally handicapped reflect gender role beliefs of compassion (and emotions of pity) toward three vulnerable non-threatening groups.

With attitudes towards sexual minorities there is an important school effect where schools with higher proportions of females are more prejudiced. This context effect is not observed for any other minority. One explanation of this specific school effect is that the pressure to conform to gender role norms (GRB) is higher in schools where there are more girls; however, this pressure to conform which may be a legacy of past prejudices is superseded by a general trend of increased tolerance. The community context effects for gays and lesbians, evident in the bottom of Table 6.4, reflect that sexual minorities are more visible in larger Czech cities.

(3) Social minorities: This group of minorities is linked with negative stereotype of low warmth and competence, as shown earlier in Figure 6.4, and elicit an emotion of disgust among members of the in-group majority. The expectations for gender differences in attitudes toward social minorities, presented in Table 6.2, is for higher prejudice among females for groups that are considered dangerous, i.e. convicted felons and drug addicts, or do not conform to gender role beliefs, i.e. prostitutes. These expectations are confirmed in negative parameters for gender shown in Table 6.5.

The prediction that the homeless and Roma minorities would exhibit no gender differences in prejudice is not observed in Table 6.5. Czech female high school students in 2015 were more prejudiced toward the homeless than their male counterparts but less prejudiced toward the Roma. The zero difference predictions were based on the view that fears about security (TGP) and adhering to a caring and nurturing gender role (GRB) would balance out. This is not the case. Fear of homeless (males) violence outweighs a desire to help this socially isolated minority. In contrast, the motivation to see that Roma children are cared for (GRB) and treated fairly (SDT) in school and society offsets fear of Roma violence (TGP).

Table 6.5, Models of prejudice among Czech youths toward social minorities

Models & explanatory variables	*Female prostitutes*	*Drug addicts*	*Convicted felons*	*Male prostitutes*	*Homeless*	*Roma*	*Unemployed*
Gender:							
Females vs males	-.22***	-.07*	-.10**	-.02	-.09*	.09**	.02
Individual level attributes:							
Age (15-20 years)	.01	-.01	.03	.01	-.01	<.01	-.01
Tolerance scale	.07*	.04	.07*	.14***	.20***	.21***	.08**
Knows member of minority	.09***	.14***	.12***	.04†	.09**	.10***	.15***
Talks frequently about minorities	.04	.07†	<.01	.03	.06†	-.12**	-.03
Family context:							
Parental education	.07*	.10**	.08*	.01	.04	-.02	-.01
School context:							
Proportion of females at school	.06†	.02	.02	.01	.04	-.04	-.01
Share of pupils with positive attitude	.17***	.23***	.20***	.16***	.30***	.37***	.12**
Mean parental education	.01	-.02	<.01	.02	.03	.08*	-.01
Community context:							
Size of community of residence	.03	.01	<.01	.04	<.01	-.06*	-.02
Interaction effect:							
Talk about minorities*peers with positive attitude	.05*	-.04	.02	.02	-.05†	-.05†	.03
Intercept	.62***	.52***	.56***	.54***	.38***	.43***	.69***
Change in Log-likelihood	83	48	58	37	58	131	27
AIC null model	3093	3100	3091	3102	3096	3102	3102
BIC null model	3098	3105	3096	3107	3101	3107	3107
AIC full model	2951	3029	3000	3053	3003	2863	3072
BIC full model	3016	3094	3065	3118	3068	2927	3137
Adjusted R^2	.14	.07	.10	.06	.09	.21	.05

Source: Czech High School Survey (2015), n=1,092. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1. Note parameters estimated with a Generalised Structural Equation Model (GSEM). This is an OLS multilevel model with random effects where students are nested within 44 schools (with one classroom per school). GSEM allows the errors in all models to be correlated as the answers to each minority group are likely to be linked due to a general underlying level of prejudice or tolerance.

Overall, the predictive success of GRB, SDT and TGP to explain gender differences is 71%, as shown in the final column of Figure 6.1, where 15 out of the 21 expectations were observed in the modelling results presented in Tables 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5. With a broad range of minorities the limits of current social theories of intergroup prejudice is apparent as there are often contrasting (or opposite) theoretical expectations. Here the specificities of a society matter. This is because the strength of competing views such as sense of fairness (TGP) and fear (SDT) or emotions such as pity and disgust (note Figure 6.4) are context and time specific as shown in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2. Despite this caveat, the fact that there are consistent systematic gender differences in

prejudice towards minorities even when control is made for tolerance, social contact and having a positive climate of opinion suggests that the emotional foundations of females' responses to minorities may have pre-conscious foundations in the mPFR part of the brain (Fiske 2011; Lodge and Taber 2013). This insight suggests that future social neuroscience research should focus on exploring gender differences in emotions linked to prejudice.

Conclusion

The results presented in this analysis of differences in prejudice among youths within family and school contexts are important for five reasons. First, the findings replicate previous work demonstrating the consistent positive effects of attitudes of tolerance and social contact for lower levels of prejudice towards all types of minorities. Second, this chapter has examined prejudiced attitudes across a much broader range of groups than has been presented in most previous research. A factor analysis of Czech students' attitudes in 2015 towards minorities suggests that it is possible to classify minorities into a small number of types (H.1. confirmed). Third, this chapter has gone beyond previous work by exploring the prejudiced attitudes of youth and its gender basis. Fourth, controlling for the effects of family and school context there are significant patterns in prejudice towards minorities based on gender (H.2 confirmed). Fifth, this chapter highlights that having a positive climate of opinion in schools promotes greater tolerance among pupils (H.3 confirmed). Finally, although females may be generally less prejudiced than males, this chapter has shown that young women can be more prejudiced when it comes to specific groups due to their perceived threat to women's safety in public places.

Policy implications

Gender differences in prejudice highlights that educational programmes whose objective is to promote greater inclusiveness and tolerance in society among the voters of the future should adopt a more gender conscious approach. In practice what this might mean is a more careful selection of classroom materials. For example, if females are predisposed for biological and social reasons to view certain minorities in terms of likelihood of violence, e.g. homeless men or drug addicts loitering in public parks, and young Muslim men's involvement in terrorism as highlighted in the media, then information regarding the homeless, drug addicts and Muslims should directly address such fears. Highlighting, through personal life stories, that the homeless and Muslims are no more prone to violence than the general population could change female negative perceptions of specific groups. In addition, the introduction of members of minority groups to students in classrooms has the potential to reduce female fears through direct

supervised contact: here greater tolerance might be reinforced through the social contact and positive climate of opinions mechanisms discussed earlier.

Limits of the analysis

This chapter which is based on self-reported positive/negative attitudes towards minority groups may be criticised for measuring explicit attitudes towards minorities. It is possible that respondents may have answered some of the prejudice questions in a socially desirable manner. This is a weakness of all survey based research. Future work should measure both explicit and implicit attitudes toward a broad range of minorities using an experimental approach. Comparison of the results for implicit and explicit prejudice attitudes could be used to cross-validate the explicit attitudes towards minorities measured in mass surveys.

Some caution is also required in interpreting the prejudice data coming from a youth sample because of their lack of life experience. It may be unreasonable to expect that 15 to 20 year old high school students, especially those from smaller urban centres, will have considered their relationship with for examples transsexuals, male prostitutes, and black Africans. In Czech society these minority groups are small and have low salience, and it is possible the student respondents gave answers from the 'top-of-the-head' on the basis of whatever considerations came most easily to their minds perhaps leading to biased responses.

Future research

Having demonstrated in this chapter that there is a gender difference in prejudice among older youth, this raises the question of when this dissimilarity emerges. Consequently, future work should examine the prejudice attitudes of children as young as ten to see if the gender difference emerges during adolescence. One possibility here is that the theoretical insights from SDT, GRB and TGP theories have application earlier in the life cycle. Here account would have to be taken of children and adolescents limited familiarity with some minorities. Alternatively, gender differences in prejudice have biological origins and are present from birth. At present there is no definitive answer to this nature versus nurture question.

As noted above, future research on prejudiced attitudes among youths and children would profit examining in a comparative manner differences in explicit and implicit attitudes of prejudice. It might be that social desirability or gender role beliefs are masking negative attitudes towards minorities. Here it is important to distinguish between actual attitudes from perceptions of what are the most appropriate answers: an issue that might be of greater importance in school contexts that promote tolerance of differences. Finally, the explanatory framework used in the

chapter is based on insights from theories that might be considered deductively weak and perhaps rather ad-hoc in nature. Consequently, there is scope in future theoretical work to construct a more integrated account of gender differences in attitudes such as prejudice.

CONCLUSION

Young people are often seen in conventional accounts of political behaviour or public opinion research as a subset of the general population. However, they are in fact a specific group with particular needs and concerns. This group is unique because it has not yet had the chance to vote, and for this reason may not be strongly motivated to think about politics. This dissertation has concentrated on contemporary Czech youths' political attitudes, and more specifically the reasons why some young people are more likely to vote, prefer a specific political party, have higher political knowledge or sense of political efficacy than others, and are prejudiced against some minority groups but not others. In five empirical chapters, this dissertation has presented a set of studies that encompass a set of independent, but interconnected topics. Building on previous work in the youth politics and political socialization literatures, the aim of this dissertation has been to explore if individual, family and school characteristics matter in explaining the political attitudes of contemporary Czech youth, and some reasons as to why social context matters for understanding adolescents' views of public affairs.

This dissertation may be criticised for adopting a 'top-down' perspective on youth politics where a specific formal model of democracy has been imposed on youth respondents in types of questions used in the five empirical chapters. It is true that this study has emphasised the role turnout which is undoubtedly only a part of the menu of choices for political participation available to contemporary Czech youth. In defence, of the survey-based approach adopted this dissertation has also explored non-electoral participation, sense of internal political efficacy, tolerance of minorities, and the determinants of political knowledge. In other words, this dissertation has adopted a broader concept of the 'political' where the impact of the context in which youths live has also been explicitly taken into account.

A more 'bottom-up' perspective allowing adolescents to describe politics in a manner that is meaningful to them is not necessarily incompatible with a survey-based methodology. Here the key is how the survey responses are conceptualised and analysed. For example, youth attitudes to politics are not viewed in terms of the false dichotomy of participation versus apathy where the focus is on going to the polls on Election Day. It is important to understand the individual and contextual reasons as to why contemporary Czech youths are not interested in voting, and why perhaps they prefer to create their own political activism that is not based on behaviour sanctioned by the state. Here one must be open-minded to defining the palette of choices from which youths are willing to choose. For this reason, the theory, methodology and empirical analyses presented in this dissertation have been as broad ranging as the available survey data allow.

In this concluding chapter the train of argument has the following order. Section 1 will highlight some key methodological issues that constrain the conclusions that may be drawn from the modelling results presented in this dissertation. Section 2 highlights some of the key lessons that may be taken from this study of contemporary Czech youths' political attitudes, and this is followed by Section 3 by a discussion of some of the implications of this dissertation for Czech politics with a special emphasis on the role of schools. Section 4 will discuss some of the theoretical issues associated with conceptualising youth political attitudes in the context of family, school and community. In the final section, there are some concluding comments.

1. Methodological issues

The first chapter highlighted some of the main limitations of the research presented in this dissertation. A key starting point was theory: there is no single commonly accepted theory of political socialization. Even if we accept Greenberg's (2009: 3) working definition that "socialization is a process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as citizen with that system" there are still problems. For example, Harris (1995) and Ksiazkiewicz et al. (2016) suggest there is not enough evidence to conclusively prove that political socialization occurs because the contribution of shared inherited genetic factors have never been included in political socialization studies.

Consequently, the shared beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of parents and their offspring may be due to a shared genetic background that is incorrectly attributed to be evidence of parents instructing their children. In many classic political socialization surveys and studies the correlation in attitudes between parents and their children was assumed to be evidence of socialization effects. Currently, the relative contributions of 'nature' and 'nurture' to children and adolescents learning political attitudes and behaviour are unknown. Although political socialization research literature is a key basis on which is this dissertation based, it is prudent not to talk about my results in terms of political socialization. A similar position was adopted by Jennings (1968, 1974) in his influential work on youth political attitudes and behaviour where the term "political transmission" was used instead of the more value laden "political socialization" term. The key reason for not using the term "political socialization" is that cross-sectional and panel survey data are unable to show the direction of causality in the correlations in attitudes observed between parents and children. This is a fundamentally important point that requires some elaboration.

First, the strong interconnections between shared genetics, context effects such as family wealth, and individual attributes such as left-wing orientation make it very difficult (and possibly impossible) to determine the explanatory power of each of these factors. Second, in this dissertation all chapters use cross-sectional survey data. The core problem with using such data is that they do not provide any direct evidence on causality because they are 'snap shots', or momentary photos, of society: the dynamics of social interaction and process of change are absent. As political socialization is a process, it is not possible to capture such dynamic effects with 'static' cross-sectional data. In this dissertation, the correlation between parents and adolescents is maximally interpreted as evidence supportive of 'imitation' as outlined in Chapter 2. Here the term 'imitation' refers to Albert Bandura's (1977) influential theory and model of social learning. More often, the similarities between peers in classrooms or between parents and youth can be seen only in terms of correlation, not causation.

Third, even the correlations have its limits with data used in this dissertation. Parental variables are derived from reported answers because only youth were interviewed and such answers may be of questionable reliability. The associations between parental attitudes and adolescents' preferences may be challenged because adolescents may not actually know the real attitudes of their parents and the answers given by the youths may be their own attitudes and not those of their parents. In other words, there may be projection (or more specifically 'assimilation') effects: an effect well-known in voters' placement of themselves and political parties on policy scales (Merrill, Grofman and Adams 2001). In the absence of any better data in the Czech Republic the cross-sectional data is used with caution to explore the nature of youth political attitudes within the context of the family and school.

Fourth, some dependent variables (i.e. party preferences, turnout, and non-electoral participation) are behavioural; however, since the population are young people which are too young for institutional political participation these variables have to be understood as attitudinal in nature. This is because their real political behaviour would very likely differ from their reported intentions. For these four reasons all relationships examined in this dissertation should be understood as the results of exploratory modelling where further data gathering and additional modelling is required to examine in greater detail the causal mechanism outlined in this study. Having outlined some of the main limits in the results presented in Chapters 2 to 6 of this dissertation, it is now appropriate to highlight what has been learned from the models presented and how these findings fit with the research literature.

2. What has been learned?

This dissertation has presented modelling results from a broad range of political attitudes and behaviour where there has been a specific emphasis on the importance of social context as represented by Czech youths' family of origin and classroom of instruction and peer interaction. It makes sense in this concluding chapter to bring all of the individual chapter results together and see what has been learned. In answering the question 'what have we learned?' the strategy is to proceed in two steps. First, there will be an overview of the specific lessons learned in each of the five empirical chapters. Second, an attempt will be made to draw some general lessons by exploring some of the common findings evident in two or more chapters.

Specific lessons learned

The first chapter was primarily a literature review and main implications for youth research are given by the list of potential limitations which we have dealt with in the starting part of this chapter. Second chapter focused on the household context on attitudes toward prospective voting turnout. The core idea presented was that parents influence youth propensity to vote by their example which was measured by young people's perception that their parents voted in the past. This research was different from previous literature which lacked attitudinal data (Bhatti and Hansen 2012; Fieldhouse and Cutts 2012). The findings of previous literature and the Chapter 2 are complementary and show that the companion effect has its roots in parental example which works in expectations with social learning theory. Chapter 2 suggests that the parental example is transmitted to young people via an imitation process (Bandura 1977; Fowler 2005). In contrast, the importance of peer effects, operationalised as classmates' average political interest, was not to be a strong determinant of propensity to vote.

Chapter 3 extended Chapter 2 by looking at the party preferences of those who have not ruled out their potential voting participation. Here the results were very similar because parental example was also found to be the strongest predictor of youth party preference. What is important are the differences between types of school. The differences between types of schools and youth with different level of socio-economic background were not statistically significant in modelling results but were evident in descriptive statistics. The explanation is that parental example absorbed those effects. Due to high level of education stratification, strong education transmission and high correlation between parental education and socio-economic status were effects of those variables suppressed by the reported parental behaviour and attitudes. However if we look at the descriptive statistics according to type of schools it quickly becomes evident that we are witnessing strong political stratification too.

Gymnasium pupils exhibit high level of positive attitude towards voting turnout (75%) and much higher willingness of right-wing party preference (50%) with avoiding communist party (1.5% KSČM preference). The story in SOUs is dramatically different because the positive attitude towards voting turnout can be observed much less frequently (53% would vote) and about 9% of those who would come to vote would prefer the successor of previous regime's ruling party. Results suggest that the school environment somehow empowers the family effects; however the idea of blaming schools for such attitudes is not well grounded. It seems that the first Czech democratic cohort's political attitudes towards voting turnout and political preference are greatly influenced by their parents' turnout history and party preferences.

This suggests strong household effects and family basis for these two political attitudes. However as was outlined in Chapter 1 it cannot be due to data limitations said whether these parental or family effects are products of political socialisation or imitation. Franklin's (2004) explanation of turnout, which is based on family reciprocity and solidarity as a main motivation for voting turnout and similar party preference, cannot be denied either.

Chapters 2 and 3 revealed that young people who intended to vote for the first time were most strongly influenced in their attitudes to turnout and party preference by their parental example. These results partly extend the Bhatti and Hansen (2012) findings from Denmark who however did not compare the individual motivation and contextual determinants and focused on voting turnout only.

The results of Chapter 4 suggest that socio-economic classroom composition matters for Czech students with regard to political knowledge and willingness to vote in future elections but not for attitudes towards joining a party or helping party candidates in the future. A pupil from poorer family attending a classroom consisting of peers with higher socio-economic background tend to have higher political knowledge and having more positive attitudes towards voting turnout in adulthood. However, this difference in SES in the classroom effect on attitudes towards joining party or helping party candidates in the future has weak effects.

The results presented in Chapter 4 imply that fears about educational stratification undermining democratic legitimacy due to growing political inequality may be correct. These results suggest that school environment does not effectively help to diminish the political inequalities which are rooted in education and socio-economic stratification because attending classroom with peers possessing higher average socio-economic background lead to higher level of political knowledge and willingness to vote in a future. These results imply that the school environment empowers the inequalities that are grounded in pupils' socio-economic background and knowledgeable and engaged youth become more knowledgeable and engaged and on

contrary visiting classrooms with pupils from poorer families may result in even less positive attitude towards voting and politics in general. The important finding here is that the open-classroom climate and classroom composition may have potential to compensate for lower socio-economic status. This means that when a pupil with low socio-economic status attends classroom with high average socio-economic status it has a positive effect on her political knowledge and propensity to vote. However, as the analysis shown, a classroom that shows too high socio-economic diversity among its pupils does not help disadvantaged pupils in terms of political knowledge and attitude towards future electoral participation.

Later in Chapter 5 attention shifted to the determinants of internal political efficacy among contemporary Czech youth. Feelings of political efficacy are known to the causally prior to all forms of political interest, knowledge and participation. By understanding what shapes youth's belief in their own ability to understanding Czech politics much can be learned about the foundations of current and future electoral democracy. The theory and discussion outline in Chapter 5 focused on the link between students' sense of political efficacy and political discussions.

Drawing inspiration from Bandura's influential social learning theory political discussions were understood as vicarious experiences which offer adolescents the opportunity to learn about political participation without the burdens or responsibility of actual engagement. The results of the analyses presented in Chapter 5 suggest that contemporary Czech youths' sense of political efficacy is tightly connected with political knowledge, and political discussions with parents and friends.

A key consideration in this chapter was the impact of classroom effects on individual student's reported level of internal political efficacy. Contrary to expectations, the frequency of classroom discussions is not so important. The quality of classroom debates matters more. This finding is both surprising and important. This is because it implies that the qualifications of Czech civics education teachers as measured in terms of practical criteria such as extra curriculum training, years of experience, and confidence in using discussions as a mean of teaching are not so important in explaining variation in Czech student's sense of political efficacy.

In both Chapters 4 and 5, classroom composition was found to be most important for youth coming from low socio-economic status families. Discussing politics with classmates who have higher than average levels of politically knowledgeable has a bigger impact on students from poorer families than those from families with high socio-economic status. However, contrary to expectations an open classroom climate does not seem to matter in providing a similar compensating effect for poorer pupils' sense of internal political efficacy.

What seems to be important for students' confidence in their ability to understand politics is enjoyment of classroom discussions. Some students may not like adversarial classroom discussions because interpersonal confrontation may be distressing. This interpretation is supported by a strong positive effect of frequent peer discussions about politics with friends outside school on sense of political efficacy. Friendships outside of school are based on consensus rather than competition or conflict. Finally, the results presented in Chapter 5 imply that for fostering youth's sense of political efficacy depends more on the quality rather than the quantity of classroom discussions of political affairs. Here classroom effects are not primarily informational in nature. The main influence of class debates is the opportunity these interactions offer for gaining vicarious experience.

The final chapter dealt with the important question of Czech youth attitudes towards minorities. The results presented in Chapter 6 show differences in predictors of negative attitude towards 21 minority groups. Results confirmed positive effect of tolerance and social contact for lower levels of prejudice towards all types of minorities. As in the Chapter 4 and 5 was the classroom climate found to be important. The positive climate of opinion in schools promotes greater tolerance among pupils. What is important and worth further research is the gender basis of attitudes toward minorities. Although girls are often found to be more tolerant and less prejudice than boys, this is not valid in all cases. Chapter 6 has shown that young women can be more prejudiced towards specific minority groups than boys.

General lessons learned

An overview of all twenty hypotheses examined in this dissertation is presented in Table 7.1. Here we can see mixed results where some of the expected relationships were observed (n=11), and others (n=7) were not. In two cases, the hypotheses were partially confirmed reflecting the presence of compensating effects. Overall, these meta results reveal that the impact of parental attitudes, behaviour and wealth on youth attitudes is critically important in explaining difference in political attitudes among contemporary Czech youth. For example, parental example has a positive association with turnout, party choice, and sense of political efficacy. Observed school effects are mixed. There is a positive association between open classroom climate and willingness to turn out to vote, a negative link with political knowledge, and a statistically non-significant impact on sense of internal political efficacy.

Some of these results reported in Table 7.1, when taken altogether, are puzzling. For example, in Chapter 3 we found that adolescents tend have the right-wing party preferences of parents; however, parental wealth (i.e. high SES) is not linked with rightist party choices. One

would expect that rich parents would espouse interests that would lead their adolescent child to prefer a right-wing party, but it seems the parental example is a stronger effect. Perhaps Czech youths' lack of knowledge, sense of efficacy or interest in politics weakens the wealth and party choice connection: a pattern observed in the open classroom effects explored in Chapters 4 and 5. Overall, the summary of results presented in Table 7.1 shows that the context-effects theory and multilevel methodology outlined in Chapter 1 was a reasonable research strategy.

A more detailed overview of the modelling results presented in Chapter 2 to 6 is given in Table 7.2 where all of the explanatory variables used have been classified into individual, family, community, and school environment variables. In this table, it is immediately apparent that the effects of specific independent variables are often inconsistent. For example, we saw in Chapter 4 that being female has a positive association with higher levels of political knowledge (which contrasts with the relationship evident for adult women) and a negative link with participation. This contrast is puzzling because higher knowledge is often linked with greater levels of political participation as shown in Chapter 2. Later Chapters 4, 5 and 6 revealed that there is an important gender gap in Czech youth politics. Specifically, there are differences in attitudes to non-electoral participation and confidence in politics that are likely to increase the inequality between Czech men and women in the future. Moreover, attitudes towards minorities have a gender dimension where females exhibit greater tolerance toward gay men and higher prejudice towards convicted felons, drug dealers and the homeless. In sum, contemporary Czech youth attitudes to politics are complex and vary considerably from topic to topic.

Most of the individual-level effects shown in the top part of Table 7.2 fit with expectations. For example, being knowledgeable and having a collectivist outlook is associated with greater propensity to vote, and being an avid consumer of news has positive links with knowledge, turnout and political participation beyond elections. The central part of Table 7.2 shows the importance of family effects. Here we see that family wealth (or resources) is associated with greater knowledge and willingness to engage in electoral and non-electoral participation as shown in Chapter 4. Another positive family effect relate to link between political discussion with parents and sense of political efficacy outlined in Chapter 5. This suggests that family effects are primarily associated with high SES households that are interested in politics: patterns mainly evident in Chapters 4 and 5.

Although this dissertation has tested only two community-level effects, as shown at the bottom of Table 7.2, residing in large urban or small rural areas appears to have some impact on Czech youth attitudes toward minorities suggesting that the general social context has an impact on social (rather than overtly political) attitudes: a topic that requires further research where there

are growing concerns about homelessness and migrants. Contrary, right-wing party support in town does not seem to have direct impact on youth´s party preferences.

The bottom part of Table 7.2 also shows that the school environment has a positive impact on turnout and support for right-wing parties. Here the school context appears to reflect institutions composed of students coming from high SES families as shown in Chapters 3 and 4. The importance of wealth and open classroom environment for knowledge and political participation is clearly evident in the results for Chapter 4. Chapter 5 reveals the importance of quality rather than frequency of class political discussions. Liking political discussions and exposure to political debates in a class composed of knowledgeable classmates has a positive effect on individual's sense of political efficacy. In sum, the general impression from Table 7.2 is that there are limited school effects where it appears that family background of Czech students is critically important especially when one keeps in mind that parents often select their children's high school.

Table 7.1, Overview of the main hypotheses and results examined in this dissertation

Chapters	*Hypotheses (x20)*	*Results*
2	Adolescents' propensity to vote is higher where both parents past turnout rate are higher.	☑
2	The average interest at school is associated with adolescent's higher propensity to vote.	☒
3	The right-wing electoral preference of parents is associated with right-wing electoral preference of adolescents.	☑
3	Adolescents with higher socio-economic status will prefer right-wing parties.	☒ *
3	The average values of ideological self-placement of classmates affect the electoral preferences of adolescents.	☑
4	Socio-economic classroom composition positively relates to political knowledge.	☑
4	Socio-economic classroom composition relates to positive attitudes towards electoral participation.	☑
4	Socio-economic classroom composition relates to positive attitudes towards political participation.	☒
4	Open classroom climate positively relates to political knowledge.	☒
4	Open classroom climate has a positive association with electoral participation.	☑
4	Open classroom climate has a positive association with non-electoral participation.	☒
4	Socio-economic classroom composition can compensate for the disadvantages of pupils from families with low socio-economic status.	☑ ? **
4	Open classroom climate can compensate for the disadvantages of pupils from families with low socio-economic status.	☑ ? ***
5	More frequent political discussions with parents are positively associated with students' having a higher level of internal political efficacy.	☑
5	More frequent class political discussions are linked with a higher level of internal political efficacy.	☒
5	The level of political knowledge in a classroom influences students' internal political efficacy through the compensation effect.	☑
5	An open classroom climate promotes students' internal political efficacy through the compensation effect.	☒
6	Attitudes to each minority are different; however, it is possible to classify prejudice towards minorities into a small number of types.	☑
6	Gender differences in youth attitudes to minorities are pervasive.	☑
6	Positive attitude towards minorities within school is associated with lower levels of expressed prejudice.	☑

Source: Results from Chapters 2-6.
Note that the ☑ symbol denotes a hypothesis that was confirmed, the ☒ symbol a disconfirmed hypothesis, and the ☑ ? symbol refers to a partly confirmed hypothesis.
* Socio-economic status lost its statistical significance, because its impact is probably overtaken by the voting preferences of parents' variable.
** Partly confirmed: socio-economic classroom composition can compensate for lower levels of political knowledge and antipathy towards electoral participation.
*** Partly confirmed: open classroom climate can compensate for negative attitudes towards electoral participation.

Table 7.2, Summary of modelling results reported in this dissertation

Chapters:	*2*	*3*	*4*			*5*	*6*
Dependent and explanatory variables	*Turnout*	*Right-wing*	*Knowledge*	*Turnout*	*Participation*	*Sense of internal political efficacy*	*Minorities*
Individual characteristics							
Sex (female)	ns	ns	P	ns	N	N	gs
Political interest	ns	/	/	/	/	/	/
Political knowledge	P	/	/	/	/	P	/
Collective value orientation	P	/	/	/	/	/	/
Political discussion frequency	ns	/	ns	P	P	P	/
Ideology (left-right)	/	P	/	/	/	/	/
News consumption	/	/	P	P	P	/	/
Participation in civic organizations	/	/	N	ns	P	/	/
Perception of open classroom climate	/	/	P	P	ns	ns	/
Age (15-20 years)	/	/	/	/	/	/	ns
Tolerance	/	/	/	/	/	/	P
Knows member of minority	/	/	/	/	/	/	P
Talks frequently about minorities	/	/	/	/	/	/	gs
Family context							
Socio-economic status (SES)	ns	ns	P	P	P	ns	/
Parents' political activity	ns	/	/	/	/	/	/
Parents' past turnout	P	/	/	/	/	/	/
Parental vote choice (left-right)	/	P	/	/	/	/	/
Parents' education	/	/	/	/	/	/	gs
Parents' political interest	/	/	P	P	P		/
School environment							
Type of school (gymnasium)	ns	ns	/	/	/	/	/
Ideology at school (left-right)	/	P	/	/	/	/	/
Mean interest in politics at school	ns	/	/	/	/	/	/
Open classroom climate	/	/	ns	P	ns	ns	/
Classroom SES (central tendency, mean)	/	/	P	P	ns	/	/
Classroom SES (variation, std. dev)	/	/	N	N	ns	/	/
SES*Open classroom climate	/	/	ns	N	ns	ns	/
SES*Classroom SES	/	/	N	N	ns	/	/
School autonomy	/	/	ns	ns	ns	/	/
Student-teacher ratio	/	/	ns	ns	ns	/	/
Frequency of political discussions during civics classes	/	/	/	/	/	ns	/
Political knowledge (classroom average)	/	/	/	/	/	ns	/
Like classroom discussions about politics	/	/	/	/	/	P	/
Learn something new or interesting from the classroom discussions	/	/	/	/	/	N	/
Teacher´s confidence	/	/	/	/	/	ns	/
Teacher's experience in teaching civics	/	/	/	/	/	ns	/
Teacher's extra training in civics education	/	/	/	/	/	ns	/
Student SES*average level of political knowledge in classroom	/	/	/	/	/	N	/
Proportion of females at school	/	/	/	/	/	/	gs
Share positive towards a minority	/	/	/	/	/	/	P
Mean parental education	/	/	/	/	/	/	ns
Community effects							
Right-wing party support in town	/	ns	/	/	/	/	/
Size of community of residence	/	/	/	/	/	/	gs

Source: Modelling results from Chapters 2-6.

Note that 'P' denotes a positive effect, 'N' a negative one, 'ns' a statistically non-significant ($p \leq .10$) effect, 'gs' a group specific effect, '/' indicates the variables was not used in the particular chapter. The dependent variables 'right-wing', 'left-wing', KSCM refers to election preferences and 'knowledge' refers to knowledge of public affairs.

3. Some Reflections on Policy Implications

The aim of this sub-section is to present some general remarks arising from the results presented in this dissertation and how they might inform policy makers. Quite obviously the conclusions of this dissertation are based on a set of youth surveys and do not represent the diverse experience of social change in contemporary Czech society. Some criticism could also be made about "arguing beyond the data". Two replies may be made to these two concerns.

First, the representative nature of the youth samples used in this dissertation do allow some general comments to be presented with the purpose of contributing to greater understanding of trends in contemporary youth politics in the Czech Republic. Second, the results of careful scientific analyses should be made available to interested public stakeholders in the debate about youth politics and the future of Czech democracy. Failure to present what is known, and equally what is currently unknown, about contemporary youth politics is to undermine the utility of public funding for social science research.

This dissertation started with the point that young adolescent citizens are different from other older age cohorts in terms of the nature and pattern of their political attitudes and engagement. Many of the 'negative' trends in turnout, party membership, civic engagement, trust in institutions, and political knowledge, etc. are often attributed to young people's disengagement in politics (O' Toole et al. 2003; Whiteley 2011). The goal of this dissertation has been to study the determinants of some of these trends by focussing on the youth cohort, and provide some answers as to why some adolescents ignore public affairs. Two important general themes have emerged from this dissertation. First, Czech youth are not homogenous group in terms of family background, schools attended and communities. Second, there are significant differences among young people in terms of their individual attitudes towards political participation and minorities.

Equally important this dissertation has shown that Czech youth attitudes towards politics are affected by both family and school environments. Political attitudes of youth seem to be very much affected by parental example because parental decision whether to turnout or not and which party to prefer were found to be the strongest predictors of both attitudes of youth. However, if youth were simply copying the example of their parents we would not (a) observe such a rapid decline in voter turnout, and (b) see significant differences in political attitudes across the generations. Such general trends suggest that what happens in Czech schools matters.

Various chapters in this dissertation have shown that it is very important with whom pupils share classes and classroom discussions. This is particularly important in the case of reducing prejudice, being affected by peer opinions of party preference or improving political knowledge because of advantage of being surrounded by pupils with higher socio-economic status. Another

reason is that what on first look may seem as a school or educational influence is in fact mostly selection effect. Pupils visiting the same type of school are more similar to each other than those from different type of schools. This is not anything else than situation where education replicates socio-economic inequalities and make things worse in politics.

Differences in school context and their consequences

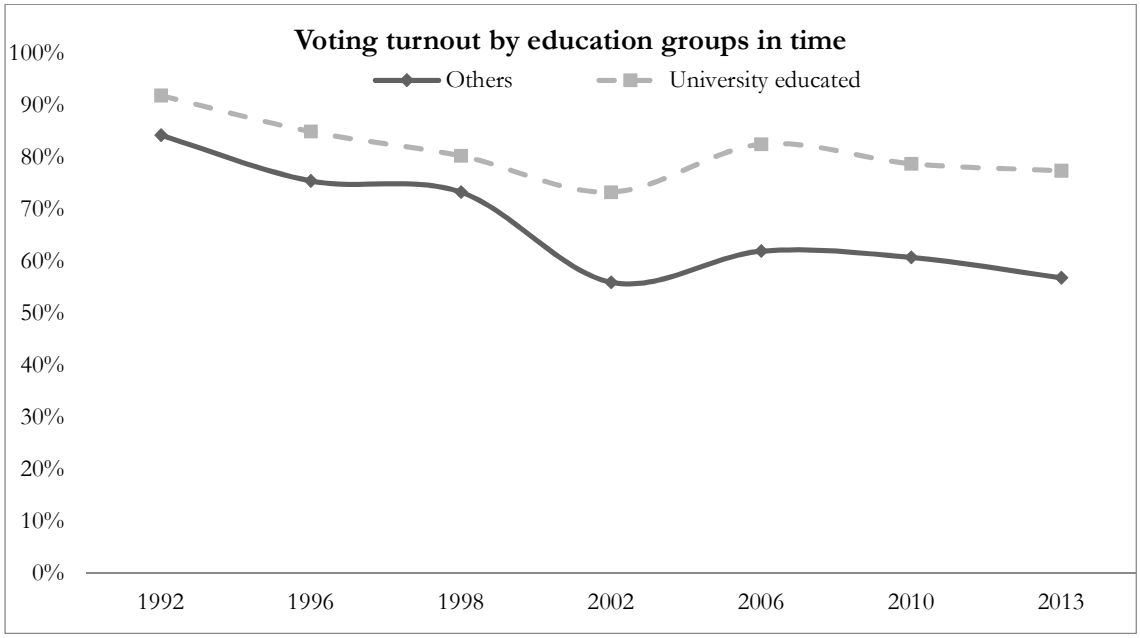
In the Czech Republic there are three basic types of high schools (in descending order of academic reputation) gymnasiums, technical schools (SOŠ), and vocational schools (SOU). Gymnasiums are primarily attended by children of highly educated parents with higher socio-economic status. It is therefore not surprising that gymnasium students have higher levels of political knowledge, willingness to participate in politics and are much less likely to vote leftist and communist party in particular. On contrary it is very difficult to find a child of university educated parents in a low status vocational school (SOU). This type of school is mostly attended by those whose parents have reached maximally a high school diploma (maturita) level of education and usually not even that.

It is known from previous studies, citizens who are less educated and have lower socio-economic status are also less likely to vote, have lower level of political knowledge and show much higher likelihood of preferring extreme parties. Unsurprisingly, these tendencies can be already observed among youth visiting vocational schools (SOU). True, such differences are primarily given by family background and discussed parental example, but described selection procedure empowers these differences which has already been evident because of family background. For this reason is with available data much more difficult to distinguish between family and school effects. Type of visited school, socio-economic status or alternatively parents' education have not been found to have statistically significant effects on attitudes towards voting turnout and party preference in final models (note Table 7.1) only because the parental examples are much stronger than family background which however determine these parental political attitudes and behaviour.

The school selection effect is potentially very dangerous for democratic development because it may widen the political inequality gap. Rising share of university educated people in country is evident in statistical yearbooks but the voting turnout still declines. What may have been less evident until now is that the turnout rate is also influenced by the difference between citizens who don't possess university degree. Figure 7.1 shows there are differences between voting turnout of university educated voters and all others. This figure reveals that the difference doubled in 2002 and is still slightly growing. This effect would be very likely much stronger in

other types of elections than in presented Parliamentary elections. This does not only mean that voting turnout of lower educated people is lower but what is also alarming is the growing underrepresentation of lower educated people in parliament. If the results of this dissertation are correct this trend will probably continue and we will witness growing political inequalities with its consequences in a future.

Figure 7.1, Voting turnout by education in all Czech general elections



Source: CVVM surveys and Czech electoral studies. Note: 1992 (N=745), 1996 (N= 1071), 1998 (N= 1856), 2002 (N= 861), 2006 (N= 1759), 2010 (N= 1622), 2013 (N= 1479). Weighted according to election results.

The big question is how policymakers and politicians can stop such trend of growing political inequalities. This study does not have an ambition to be basis of any education reform; however findings of this dissertation may be helpful in answering such question. One of the important findings is that classroom composition may have potential to reduce political inequalities because according to modelling results in Chapters 4 the socio-economic classroom composition can compensate youth from disadvantaged families to increase their political literacy and decision whether to go or not to go to vote. Consequently, Chapter 5 revealed that classroom composition defined in terms of the level of political knowledge also matters. This is because youth from low SES families benefit from political discussions with highly knowledgeable classmates more than those coming from high SES families. In short, there is a compensation effect where political inequality is reduced.

One of the steps which may help in diminishing the political inequality is avoiding school tracking based on SES which is partly responsible for present inequalities among youth by type of

attended schools. It is evident that higher willingness to participate in politics, higher level of political literacy, lower tendency to vote for extreme parties and higher political tolerance is present among pupils visiting gymnasium rather than two other types of schools. The worst situation is at vocational schools (SOU). This dissertation has shown that what happens and among who it happens in classrooms does make difference. Although school environment may have potential for reducing political inequalities, the main finding that family characteristics shown up being the most powerful predictors of voting turnout and party preference remains. However, the family effect seems to be much weaker in other spheres such as political prejudice.

4. Theory of youth politics

Within the study of youth politics there is no definitive theory of how adolescents become active citizens. Most often models of turnout and party choice developed for adults are used to explain the attitudes of adolescents. This approach is limited because young voters in many cases are ineligible to vote because they have not reached the legal age for voting and so the motivations for electoral participation are in many senses theoretical (something that will happen one day in the future). Moreover, there are strong reasons to think (as outlined above) that the youth cohort is qualitatively different from all other older voters.

Another influential approach to youth politics has focussed on the process of political socialization where children and adolescents are assumed to learn about politics from their parents in the home, teachers and peers in school, and neighbours in the local community. The political socialisation approach is both a plausible and intuitive explanation of how new citizens are created in the family, school and community contexts. However, the political socialisation account of how parents pass on their political attitudes and behaviour to their children is fundamentally flawed for a number of reasons discussed earlier in this dissertation. The central problem is that the survey evidence used to show parents influencing their children are correlational in nature where the common attitudes of adults and children in a household are assumed to be evidence of socialization effects.

Direct evidence of the process where parents teach their children about politics is absent. In addition, the common genetic background of family members is also ignored in most of the political socialization studies. The omission of a common genetics component ignores the possibility that the observed positive correlations between parents and their children may be due to shared personality traits, etc. Another aspect of this common background variable problem is that families living in specific types of communities might be influenced by such communities,

and this is also another rival explanation of positive correlations in parents' and children's' attitudes.

In the absence of direct (replicable) evidence of parental effects one must conclude, like Judith Rich Harris (1995), that there are not parental socialization effects and perhaps peer-based socialisation model is a better explanation. More concretely, if tests of the parental socialization theory fail to reject the null hypothesis (i.e. no effects) because they have never been correctly tested (to take account of genetic and community effects), then support for the political socialization model of youth politics should perhaps be abandoned. This is because this theory cannot be fully tested as full-time monitoring of a household plus genetic testing would be required. Such extensive research is both ethically questionable and impractical because of prohibitive cost.

Application of the Coleman micro-macro theory to youth politics

Within this dissertation an alternative theory was proposed in Chapter 1. Here the causal inference problems associated with demonstrating that parents influence their children are set to one side. A more modest, and perhaps productive, approach is to adopt a contextual perspective. In other words, take advantage of the fact that we definitely know that most adolescents grow up in families, attend local schools, and socialise with friends and neighbours in their local community. The Coleman micro-macro (boat) model provided an explanatory framework for conceptualising how the adolescent is influenced by their family, school and community context. Here the key theoretical insight was that the strength of context effects depends on the individual. This implies that individual characteristics (demographic and attitudinal) mediate macro-level context effects.

All chapters in this dissertation have used a multilevel modelling strategy where account has been taken of the family, school and community contexts within which Czech high school students live and study. The mediated contextual approach of the Coleman micro-macro model presented in section 5 of Figure 4 in Chapter 1 (see especially Figure 4) is perhaps most evident in Chapters 4 and 5. In these chapters, the impact of (a) open classroom environment, (b) background wealth (family SES) or (c) average political knowledge of students on attitudes to all forms of political participation, having knowledge of politics and sense of internal political efficacy were explored. These chapters revealed that the impact of these contextual factors was indeed mediated by individual student characteristics, as the Coleman micro-macro model predicts, where poorer students did worse than their richer classmates in acquiring political knowledge, propensity to participate in politics and sense of political efficacy.

In theoretical terms, these results are important because they show that the study of youth politics using a micro-macro explanatory framework combined with a multilevel modelling strategy is a productive approach. The political socialisation account of the determinants of youth political attitudes and behaviour depends on the strong (and untestable) assumption that parents teach their children about politics. In contrast, the theoretical foundations of this chapter are more parsimonious in assuming that the family, school and community contexts play some role in shaping Czech youths' political attitudes. The precise mechanisms through which context matters for particular types of Czech youths were outlined in Chapters 2 to 6.

In sum, applying the Coleman micro-macro general explanatory to study of the determinants of youth political attitudes in a case study such as the Czech Republic has the merit of outlining future fruitful avenues of research. For example, it was emphasised in Chapter 1 that how the individual attitudes and behaviour of youth aggregate to yield the national patterns observed (for example in ICCS 2009 data) is currently unknown. Treating all adolescents as being same, as is typically done in mass survey research, ignores the differential contribution of individuals to the national youth patterns observed.

Towards a theory of youth politics

The Coleman micro-macro approach to youth politics might be criticised for generating a proliferation of causal mechanism based explanations of the determinants of youth political attitudes and behaviour. This dissertation has demonstrated four general patterns that could be considered the foundations for future theoretical work. First, there is stratified political participation among Czech youths where those from wealthy and knowledgeable backgrounds have the highest propensity to participate in politics. Second, future Czech voters who go to the polls are likely to play a leading role in articulating desired policy goals that may have an increasingly right-wing hue. Third, Czech youths are best characterised by pluralism in their attitudes and preferences and level of political knowledge or expertise. Fourth, Czech political parties (and movements) appear to be increasingly unable to articulate the views and concerns of succeeding generations of adolescents and young voters. In sum, Czech youths are not a homogeneous mass but composed of distinct subgroups that differ in their levels of political sophistication (i.e. interest, knowledge, sense of efficacy and understanding of politics).

These four patterns suggest that the development of what might be called a 'Multiple Adolescent Publics' (MAP) model of youth politics might be a useful next step. The two key insights of the MAP model, derived from the empirical work undertaken in this dissertation, is that adolescents are stratified into (1) inattentive, (2) concerned, and (3) activist groups who vary

systematically in their levels of commitment to voting in the future, participation in civic affairs, knowledge and interest in politics, and support for democratic norms such as tolerance. In addition, young people adhere to a plurality of views reflecting their own opinions and the impact of family, school and community contexts.

However, it is also important to take account of (a) adolescents not having opinions because of their disinterest in politics and / or lack of experience, and (b) the division between issues and non-issues where all youths may not view specific topics as being issues for which they have developed policy positions and preferences. In other words, any theory of youth politics must allow adolescents not to have opinions or issue preferences because these are the characteristics shared by many adolescents. Here the impact of family, school and community context effects to 'lift out' apathetic and apolitical youths represents an important line of future theoretical and empirical work. Here theoretical work will be crucially important in identifying general mechanisms that explain why, for example, an open classroom environment has a positive effect on turnout and no significant effects on becoming informed or engaging in non-electoral political activities or promoting a greater sense of internal political efficacy (as shown in Chapters 4 and 5).

In summary, the adoption of a contextual account of youth politics side steps the sterility of debates about whether political socialization takes place or can be measured. What is clear is that declines in young voter participation, interest and knowledge of politics rests on individual and contextual foundations: the key to understanding why these trends exist (and what, if anything, might be done to reverse them) depends crucially on placing youths in their proper context. All attempts to develop a MAP model of youth politics will also depend on dealing with a range of thorny methodological issues.

5. Concluding comments

This dissertation has argued that the key strands of the existing literature on youth politics is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it imposes an unnecessarily narrow view of adolescents who are either destined to become model citizens or not. In reality, the youth fall along a continuum of political sophistication (i.e. interest, knowledge and understanding) where a more differentiated view of the next generation of voters is more appropriate. Second, political participation has been viewed too narrowly where the focus has been on (attitudes to) turnout in elections suggesting the next generation will be uniformly apathetic and alienated in nature. This is untrue, as not all youths are the same. Third, youths have distinct political attitudes and

preferences that are at variance with those of their parents suggesting that relying on a family socialization account of political development is too static in conception.

In sum, a broader more nuanced view of youth politics is required where the context in which their attitudes are formed is crucially important. A new model or theory of youth politics should take the perspective of adolescents rather than applying models of political behaviour to a younger generation on the assumption that all voters, young or old, are essentially the same. Concern about secular declines in turnout among succeeding generations of young voters has typically focussed on deficiencies in the 'next generation' of electors. A more holistic account, as adopted in this dissertation using Coleman's micro-macro explanatory framework, highlights that a key determinant of declining turnout, etc. is the family, school and community contexts in which youths live.

A focus on declining participation in the formal aspects of politics such as elections risks, as some scholars have noted, viewing political change in overly negative terms. What may be occurring among succeeding generations of voters is a change rather than a decline in democratic governance. Here the distinction between "tuning out" and being "left out" is critical for understanding the individual motivations and contextual incentives for civic and political engagement. Understanding youth politics in the manner shown in this dissertation it is hoped will make a modest contribution to greater knowledge of (a) how contemporary Czech citizens are created, and (b) the general nature of political change across the generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abendschön, S. 2013. *Growing into Politics: Contexts and Timing of Political Socialisation*. Colchester, UK: European Consortium for Political Research Press.

Abendschön, S., Schäfer, A., and S. Rossteutscher. 2014. Young people's political participation in Europe – the rise of political inequality? *Paper presented at the Youth, Politics and Society conference*, Leuven, Belgium.

Abramowitz, A., Saunders, K. 1998. Ideological Realignment in the U.S. Electorate. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(3): 634–652.

Achen, C. H. 2002. Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification. *Political Behavior* 24(2).

Achen, C. H., and W. Phillips Shively. 1995. *Cross-Level Inference*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Aldrich, J.H., J.M. Montgomery, and W. Wood. 2011. Turnout as a Habit. *Political Behavior*, 33(4):535-563.

Alford, J. R., C. L. Funk, and J. R. Hibbing. 2005. Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted? *American Political Science Review*, 99(2): 153–167.

Alivernini, F., and S. Manganelli. 2011. Is There a Relationship between Openness in Classroom Discussion and Students' Knowledge in Civic and Citizenship Education? *Procedia- Social and Behavioral Sciences* (15): 3441–3445. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2011.04.315.

Allport, G. W. 1954. *The nature of prejudice*. Oxford, England: Addison-Wesley.

Almond, G. A, and J. S. Coleman. 1960. *The politics of the developing areas*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Almond, G., and S. Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes in Five Western Democracies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Alwin, D.F., R.L. Cohen, and T.M. Newcomb. 1991. *Political Attitudes over the Life Span. The Bennington Women after Fifty Years*. Madison, WN: University of Wisconsin Press.

Amnå, E. 2012. How is civic engagement developed over time? Emerging answers from a multidisciplinary field. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3): 611−627.

Andolina, M. W., and K. Jenkins. 2003. Habits from Home, Lessons from School: Influences on Youth Civic Engagement. *Political Science and Politics*, 36(2): 275–80.

Antonak, R. 1981. Prediction of attitudes towards disabled persons: a multivariate analysis. *Journal of General Psychology*, 104(1): 119-123. doi: 10.1080/00221309.1981.9921026.

Antonak, R. F., and R. Harth. 1994. Psychometric analysis and revision of the mental retardation attitude inventory. *Intellectual disability*, 32(4): 272–280.

Archer, J. 2004. Sex differences in aggression in real-world settings: a meta-analytic review. *Review of General Psychology*, 8(4): 291–322. doi: 10.1037/1089-2680.8.4.291.

Archer, J. 2006. Testosterone and human aggression: an evaluation of the challenge hypothesis. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, 30(3): 319–345. doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.51.9.909.

Balch, George. 1974. Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept "Sense of Political Efficacy". *Political Methodology*, 1(2): 1-43.

Bandura, A. 1977. *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press.

Bandura, A. 1989. Human Agency in Social Cognitive Theory. *American Psychologist*, 44(9): 1175-1184.

Bandura, A. 1994. Self-efficacy. In V. S. Ramachaudran (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of human behaviour*, pp. 71-81. New York: Academic Press.

Bandura, A. 1982. Self-Efficacy Mechanism in Human Agency. *American Psychologist*, (37):122-47.

Bandura, A. 1997. *Self-efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. New York: Freeman and Company.

Bandura, A. 2001. Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, (52): 1-26.

Beaumont, E. 2011. Promoting Political Agency, Addressing Political Inequality: A Multilevel Model of Internal Political Efficacy. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1): 216–231. doi:10.1017/S0022381610000976.

Beck, P. A., and M. K. Jennings. 1991. Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations. *The Journal of Politics*, 53(3): 742–763.

Bem, S. L. 1974. The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 42(2): 155-162. doi: 10.1037/h0036215.

Berelson B., Lazarsfeld, P. F., and W. Mcphee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berger, P. and T. Luckmann. 1966. *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Bhatti, Y., and K. M. Hansen. 2012. Leaving the Nest and the Social Act of Voting: Turnout among First-Time Voters. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 22(4): 380–406.

Bhatti, Y., and K. M. Hansen. 2013. The Effect of Co-residence on Turnout. *Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux, France, September 4-7*. (Available at: http://ecpr.eu/filestore/paperproposal/5486a5e4-de1f-48da-83d5-3e01c2bf85c6.pdf)

Blais, A., and C.H. Achen. 2010. Taking Civic Duty Seriously: Political Theory and Voter Turnout. (Unpublished manuscript available at: http://www.princeton.edu/csdp/events/Achen031110/Achen031110.pdf)

Blais, A., and D. Rubenson. 2013. The Source of Turnout Decline: New Values or New Contexts?. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(1): 95-117.

Blais, A. 2007. Turnout in Elections. In: R. J. Dalton, and H. D. Klingemann (eds) *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Blais. A. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh, NJ: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Blalock, H. M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Blossfeld, H. P., Schneider, T., and J. Doll. 2009. Methodological Advantages of Panel Studies: Designing the New National Educational Panel Study (NEPS) in Germany. *Journal for Educational Research,* (1): 10–32.

Bogardus, E. M. 1950. Stereotypes versus sociotypes. *Sociology and Social Research*, (34): 286-291.

Bourdieu, P. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Brewer, M. B. 1979. In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86(2): 307-324. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.86.2.307.

Brewer, M. B. 1999. The psychology of prejudice: ingroup love and outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3): 429-444. doi: 10.1111/0022-4537.00126

Bronfenbrenner, U. 1979. *The Ecology of Human Development*. Harvard University Press.

Buchmann, C., and H. Park. 2009. Stratification and the Formation of Expectations in Highly Differentiated Educational Systems. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 27: 245–67.

Butler, D. and D. Stokes. (1969). *Political Change in Britain. The Evolution of Electoral Change in Britain*. London: Macmillan.

Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E. and D. E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Campbell, A., Gurin, G., and W. E. Miller. 1954. *The Voter Decides*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company.

Campbell, D. E. 2006. *Why we vote: How schools and communities shape our civic life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Campbell, D. E. 2007. Sticking Together: Classroom Diversity and Civic Education. *American Politics Research*, 35(1): 57–78. doi:10.1177/1532673X06294503.

Campbell, D. E. 2008. Voice in the Classroom: How an Open Classroom Climate Fosters Political Engagement among Adolescents. *Political Behavior*, (30): 437–454. doi:10.1007/s11109-008-9063-z.

Carpini, D., and S. Keeter. 1996. *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Castillo, J. C., Miranda, D., Bonhomme, M., Cox, C., and M. Bascopé. 2015. Mitigating the political participation gap from the school: the roles of civic knowledge and classroom climate. *Journal of Youth Studies*,18(1).

Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. 2012. *Stranické preference a volební model v září 2012*. (Available at: http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a6886/f3/pv120920.pdf)

Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. 2014. *Postoje veřejnosti k právům homosexuálů – červen 2014*. Press Release, June 11. (Available at http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a7261/f3/ ov140711b.pdf)

Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. 2016. *Tolerance k vybraným skupinám obyvatel – březen 2016*. Press Release, April 11. (Available at http://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c1/a7540/f3/ ov160411.pdf)

Cicognani, E., Zani, B., Fournier, B., Gavray, C. and M. Born. 2012. Gender Differences in Youths' Political Engagement and Participation. The Role of Parents and of Adolescents Social and Civic Participation. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3): 561–76.

Claes, E., Hooghe M., and S. Marien. 2012. A Two-Year Panel Study among Belgian Late Adolescents on the Impact of School Environment Characteristics on Political Trust. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 24(2): 208–224. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edr031.

Coffé, H. and M. Voorposetel. 2010. Young people, parents and radical right voting. The Case of the Swiss People's Party. *Electoral Studies*, 29(3): 435–443.

Coffé, H. and T. Van der Lippe. 2010. Citizenship Norms in Eastern Europe. *Social Indicators Research*, 96(3): 479-496. doi:10.1007/s11205-009-9488-8.

Coleman, J. S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Harvard, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press.

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, J., Mood, A. M., and F. D. Weinfeld. 1966. *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, DC.

Collado, D., Lomosa, C., and I. Nicaisec. 2015. The effects of classroom socioeconomic composition on student's civic knowledge in Chile. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 26(3): 415–440. doi: 10.1080/09243453.2014.966725.

Connell, R. W. 1972. Political Socialization in the American Family: The Evidence Re-Examined. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(3).

Converse, P. E. 1966. The Concept of a Normal Vote. In: Campbell, A., Miller, W., and D. Stokes. *Elections and the Political Order*, pp. 9–39. New York: Wiley,

Converse, P. E. 1972. Change in the American Electorate. In: Campbell, A., and P. E. Converse (Eds.) *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, pp. 263–337. New York: Russell Sage.

Cooley, C. H. 1956. *Social Organization*. Transaction Publishers.

Cox, D. 1992. Causality: Some Statistical Aspects. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 155(2): 291–301.

Crick, B. 1998. Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools. *Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship*. London: Home Office, UK.

Cutts, D., Fieldhouse, E., and P. John. 2009. Is Voting Habit Forming? The Longitudinal Impact of a GOTV Campaign in the UK. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 19(3): 251-263.

Dahl, G. B., Løken, K. V., and M. Mogstad. 2012. Peer effects in program participation. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper*. Cambridge, MA.

Dalton, R. J. 2008. Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation. *Political Studies*, (56): 76–98. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x.

Dalton, R. J. and C. Welzel. 2014. *The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, J. C. 1965. The Family's Role in Political Socialization. In: *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 361(1): 10–19.

Dawson, R. E. 1966. Political Socialization. In: Robinson, J. A., *Pollitical Science Annual*, pp. 2–7. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Dawson, R. E., and K. Prewitt. 1968. *Political Socialization*. Boston: Little Brown.

Delli Carpini, M.X., and S. Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dennis, J. 1968. Major Problems of Political Socialization Research. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 12(1): 85–114.

Diamond, K. E., and C. Carpenter. 2000. The influence of pre-school programs on children's sensitivity to the needs of others. *Journal of Early Intervention*, 23(2): 81-91. doi: 10.1177/105381510002300203.

Dozo, N., Vanman, E. J., and A. Iyer. 2014. A meta-analysis of gender differences in prejudice. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Dustman, C., F. Fabbri, and I. Preston. 2004. Ethnic concentration, prejudice and racial harassment towards minorities in the UK. *CReAM Discussion Paper*, CDP No 05/04. (Available at http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/14319/1/14319.pdf)

Eccles J.S., and B.L. Barber. 1999. Student council, volunteering, basketball, or marching band: What kind of extracurricular involvement matters? *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 14(1):10–43.

Edwards, K. 2007. From Deficit to Disenfranchisement: Reframing Youth Electoral Participation. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10(5): 539-555.

Egmond, van M. 2003. *Rain Falls on All of Us, But Some Manage to Get More Wet than Others. Political Context and Electoral Participation*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: ICS Ph.D. dissertation series.

Eidhof, B. B. F., Geert, T.M., Dam, T., Dijkstra, A. B., and H. G. van de Werfhorst. 2014. Inequalities in Youth Citizenship Knowledge and Attitudes: Does Cognitive Classroom Composition Matter? *AMCIS Working Paper*.

Eijk, van der C. 2001. Measuring agreement in ordered rating scales. *Quality and Quantity*, 35(3): 325-341. doi: 10.1023/A:1010374114305.

Eisenkopf, G. 2010. Peer effects, motivation, and learning. *Economics of Education Review*, 29(3): 364-374.

Eisler, R., and D. Loye. 1983. The "failure" of liberalism: A reassessment of ideology from a new feminine-masculine perspective. *Political Psychology*, 4(2): 375-391.

Euston, D. R., Gruber, A. J., and B. L. McNaughton. 2012. The role of medial prefrontal cortex in memory and decision making. *Neuron Review*, 76(6): 1057-1070. doi:10.1016/j.neuron.2012.12.00.

Favazza, P. C., Phillipsen, L. and P. Kumar. 2000. Measuring and promoting acceptance of young children with disabilities. *Exceptional Children*, 66(4): 491-508. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-0658.2000.93-14.

Fieldhouse, E., and D. Cutts. 2012. The Companion Effect: Household and Local Context and the Turnout of Young People. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(3): 856–869.

Fieldhouse, E., Lessard-Phillips, L. and B. Edmonds. 2016. Cascade or echo chamber? A complex agent-based simulation of voter turnout. *Party Politics*, 22(1):241-56.

Fieldhouse, E., Tranmer, M. and A. Russel. 2007. Something about young people or something about elections? Electoral participation of young people in Europe: evidence from a

multilevel analysis of the European Social Survey. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(6): 797–822.

Fiske, S. T. 2011. *Envy Up, Scorn Down: How Status Divides Us*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Fiske, S.T. Cuddy, L., Glick, P. and J. Ju. 2002. A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6): 878–902. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878.

Foels, R. and L. D. Reid. 2010. Gender differences in social dominance orientation: the role of cognitive complexity. *Sex Roles*, 62(9-10): 684–692. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9775-5.

Forscher, P. S., and P. G. Devine. 2015. The motivation to express prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(5): 791-812. doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000030.

Fowler, J. H. 2005. Turnout in a Small World, In: Zuckerman, A. S. (ed.) *The Social Logic of Politics*, pp. 269-87. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fowler, J.H. and C. T. Dawes. 2008. Two Genes Predict Voter Turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 70(3): 579-594.

FRA, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2014. *European Union Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Survey. Main Results*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. (Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-eu-lgbt-survey-main-results_tk3113640enc_1.pdf)

Franklin, M. N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gallego, A., Buscha, F., Sturgis, P., and D. Oberski. 2014. Places and Preferences: A Longitudinal Analysis of Self-Selection and Contextual Effects. *British Journal of Political Science*.

Galston, W. A. 2001. Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education. *Annual Review of Political Science*, (4): 217−234.

Galston, W. A. 2007. Civic Knowledge, Civic Education, and Civic Engagement: A Summary of Recent Research. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 30: 623–642. doi:10.1080/01900690701215888.

Gash, H. 1993. A constructivist attempt to change attitudes towards children with special needs. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 8(2): 106-125. doi: 10.1080/0885625930080203.

Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal, W., and G. Ten Dam. 2013. Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review*, (9):158-173.

Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., and R. Shachar. 2003. Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3): 540-550.

Gibson, J. L. 2006. Enigmas of intolerance: fifty years after Stouffer's communism, conformity, and civil liberties. *Perspectives on Politics*, (4): 21–34. doi: 10.1017/S153759270606004X.

Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gimpel, J. G., Lay, J. C., and J. E. Schuknecht. 2003. *Cultivating democracy: Civic environments and political socialization in America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Gordon, H., and J. Taft. 2011. Rethinking Youth Political Socialization: Teenage Activists Talk Back. *Youth and Society*, 43(4): 1499–1527.

Goulard, H. 2016. Britain's youth voted Remain. *Politico.* (Available at: http://www.politico.eu/article/britains-youth-voted-remain-leave-eu-brexit-referendum-stats)

Green, D. P, Palmquist, B., and E. Schickler. 2002. *Partisan hearts and minds political parties and the social identities of voters*. London: Yale University Press.

Green, D. P., and R. Shachar. 2000. Habit Formation and Political Behaviour: Evidence of Consuetude in Voter Turnout. *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(4): 561-573.

Greenberg, E. S. 2009. *Political socialization*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.

Greenstein, F. 1960. The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority. *American Political Science Review*, (54): 934–943.
Greenstein, F. 1965. *Children and politics,*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Haidt, J., and S. Kesebir. 2010. *Morality.'* In: Fiske, S., Gilbert, D., Lindzey, G. *Handbook of Social Psychology*, pp. 797-832. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Halaby, C. 2004. Panel Models in Sociological Research: Theory into Practice. *Annual review of sociology*, (30): 507.
Harris, J. R. 1995: Where Is the Child's Environment? A Group Socialization Theory of Development. *Psychological Review*, 102(3): 458–489.
Harris, J. R. 2000. The Outcome of Parenting: What Do We Really Know? (Commentary on Lykken), *Journal of Personality*, 68(3): 625-37.
Hattie, J. A. C. 2009. *Visible Learning: A Synthesis of over 800 Meta-analyses Relating to Achievement*. London: Routledge.
Healy, A., and N. Malhotra. 2013. Childhood socialization and political attitudes: Evidence from a natural experiment. *Journal of Politics*, 75(4): 1023–1037.
Hedström, P. 2006. *Dissecting the Social: On the Principles of Analytical Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hedström, P., and R. Swedberg. 1998. Social mechanisms: An introductory essay. In: P. Hedström and R. Swedberg (Eds.) *Social mechanisms: An analytical approach to social theory*, pp. 1-31. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Heimann, M. 2010. *Czechoslovakia. The state that failed*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
Henderson, V., Mieszkowski, P., and Y. Sauvageau. 1978. Peer group effects and educational production functions. *Journal of Public Economics*, 10(1): 97-106.
Henn M., Weinstein M., and S. Forrest. 2005. Uninterested Youth? Young People's Attitudes towards Party Politics in Britain. *Political Studies*, (53): 556–578.
Hess, D. E. 2009. *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*. New York: Routledge.
Hess, D., and J. Posselt. 2001. *How students experience and learn from discussing controversial public issues in secondary social studies*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Seattle, Washington.
Highton, B. 2009. Revisiting the Relationship between Educational Attainment and Political Sophistication. *Journal of Politics*, 71(4): 1564-1576.
Hooghe M., and J. Boonen. 2016. Youth engagement in politics: generational differences and participation inequalities. In: Thijssen P., Siongers J., Haers J., Van Laer J., Mels S. (eds.). *Political Engagement of the Young in Europe*, pp. 13-28. Routledge Abingdon/New York.
Hooghe, M., D. Stolle. 2003. Life-cycle and Cohort differences in the Socialisation Effect of Voluntary Participation. *European Political Science*, 3(2): 49-56.
Hooghe, M. 2014. Defining political participation: How to pinpoint an elusive target? *Acta Politica*, 49(3): 338-341.
Hooghe, M., and J. Boonen. 2014. The Intergenerational Transmission of Voting Intentions in a Multiparty Setting: An Analysis of Voting Intentions and Political Discussion Among 15-year Old Adolescents and their Parents in Belgium. *Youth & Society*, 20(10): 1−23.
Hooghe, M., and E. Quintelier. 2014. Political participation in European countries: The effect of authoritarian rule, corruption, lack of good governance and economic downturn. *Comparative European Politics*, 12(2): 209–232.
Hooghe, M. and R. Dassonneville. 2013. Voters and Candidates of the Future: The Intention of Electoral Participation among Adolescents in 22 European Countries. *Young*, 21(1): 1–28. doi:10.1177/1103308812467664.
Hooghe, M. 2004. Political Socialization and the Future of Politics. *Acta Politica*, 39(4): 331–341.
Hoskins, B. 2009. Monitoring active citizenship in the European Union: The process, the results and initial explanations. CAMDO, 1, 1–16. doi:10.3280/CAD2009-001008.

Hox, J. J., Moerbeek, M., and R. Van de Schoot. 2010. *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*. Routledge.

Hoxby, C. M., and G. Weingarth. 2005. Taking Race Out of the Equation: School Reassignment and the Structure of Peer Effects. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper*, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA.

Huber, G., and N. Malhotra. 2013. *Dimensions of Political Homophily: Isolating Choice Homophily along Political Characteristics*. Institution for Social and Policy Studies Yale University.

Huckfeldt, R., and J. Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Huisman, C., Van de Werfhorst, H. G., and K. Monshouwer. 2012. Adolescent Tobacco Use in the Netherlands: Social Background, Education and School Organization. *Youth and Society*, (44): 567-586.

Hyman, H. H. 1959. *Political Socialization. A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Chan, C., G., and G. H. Elder. 2001. Family Influences on the Social Participation of Youth: The effects of Parental Social Involvement and Farming. *Rural Sociology*, 66(1): 22-42.

Christakis, N., and J. Fowler. 2009. *Connected: the surprising power of our social networks and how they shape our lives*. New York: Little, Brown and Co.

Inglehart, R. 1997. *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. 2004. *Islam, Gender, Culture, and Democracy: Findings from the World Values Survey and the European Values Survey*. International Studies in Social Science. Ontario: de Sitter Publications.

Isac, M. M., Maslowski, R., and G. Van der Werf. 2011. Effective civic education: An educational effectiveness model for explaining students' civic knowledge. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 22: 313–333. doi:10.1080/09243453.2011.571542

Isac, M. M., Maslowski, R., Creemers, B., and G. van der Werf. 2014. The contribution of schooling to secondary-school students' citizenship outcomes across countries. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 25(1): 29-63.

Jaspers, E., Lubbers, M., and N. De Graaf. 2009. Measuring Once Twice: An Evaluation of Recalling Attitudes in Survey Research. *European Sociological Review*, 25(3): 287–301.

Jennings, K., and R. Niemi. 1968. The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child. *The American Political Science Review* 62(1): 169–184.

Jennings, K. and R. Niemi. 1974. *The political character of adolescence: the influence of families and schools*. Princeton University Press.

Jennings, K., Stoker, L. and J. Bowers. 2009. Politics across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(3): 782–799.

Jones, E. E., and V.A. Harris. 1967. The attribution of attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 3(1): 1–24.

Kahne, J. and E. Middaugh. 2008. Democracy for some: The civic opportunity gap in high school. *Circle working paper 59*. (Available at: http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP59Kahne.pdf)

Katz, E., and P. F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal influence; the part played by people in the flow of mass communications.* New York: Free Press.

Katz, J.N., and G. Katz. 2010. Correcting for Survey Misreports Using Auxiliary Information with an Application to Estimating Turnout. *American Political Science Review*, 54(3): 815-835.

Kelly, J., and J. E. Mcgrath. 1988. *On time and method.* Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.

King, G. 1997. *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

King, G., Keohane, R. O., and S. Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kite, M. E., and B. E. Whitley. 1996. Sex differences in attitudes toward homosexual persons, behaviors, and civil rights. A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22(4): 336-353. doi: 10.1177/0146167296224002.

Kleňhová, M., and J. Vojtěch. 2007. *Úspěšnost absolventů středních škol ve vysokoškolském studiu, předčasné odchody ze vzdělávání*. Praha: NÚOV. (Available online: http://www.nuov.cz/uploads/Vzdelavani_a_TP/VS_predcasne_odchody_2011_pro_www.pdf)

Klofstad, C. A. 2011. *Civic Talk Peers, Politics, and the Future of Democracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Knack, S., and M. E. Kropf. 1998. For shame! the effect of community cooperative context on the probability of voting. *Political Psychology*, 19(3): 585–599.

Kohlberg, L., 1981. *The philosophy of moral development: moral stages and the idea of justice*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Korkmaz, H. E., and A. I. Gümüşeli. 2013. Development of the Democratic Education Environment Scale. *International Journal of Educational Sciences*, 5(1): 82–98.

Ksiazkiewicz, A., Ludeke, S., and R. Krueger. 2016. The Role of Cognitive Style in the Link Between Genes and Political Ideology. *Political Psychology*. doi:10.1111/pops.12318.

Kuran, T. 1995. *Private Truth, Public Lies. The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

Langton, K. P. 1969. *Political socialization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Langton, K. P., and M. K. Jennings. 1968. Political socialization and the high school civics curriculum in the United States. *American Political Science Review*, 62(3): 852–867.

Lassen, D. D. 2005. The Effect of Information on Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Natural Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(1): 103–18.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet. 1944. *The people's choice: how the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York: Duell - Sloan and Pearce.

Ledoux, G., Geijsel, F., Reumerman, R., and G. Ten Dam. 2011. Citizenship competences of students in The Netherlands. *Pedagogische Studien*, 88(1): 3–23.

Lesthaeghe, R., and G. Moors. 2001. Life Course Transitions and Value Orientations: Selection and Adaption.Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Levinson, M. 2010. The Civic Empowerment Gap: Defining the Problem and Locating Solutions. In: Sherrod, L. R., Torney-Purta, J., and C. A. Flanagan (Eds.) *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (pp.331–361). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Lewis-Beck, M. S., H. Norpoth, W. G. Jacoby and H. F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Linek, L., and Lyons, P. 2013. *Dočasná stabilita? Volební podpora politických stran v České republice v letech 1990–2010*. Praha: SLON.

Listhaug, O., and L. Grønflaten. 2007. Civic Decline? Trends in Political Involvement and Participation in Norway, 1965–2001. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2): 272-299.

Lodge, M., and C. S. Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Luskin, R. C., Mciver, J. P., and E. G. Carmines. 1989. Issues and the transmission of partisanship. *American Journal of Political Science*, 33(2): 440–458.

Marien, S., Hooghe, M., and E. Quintelier. 2010. Inequalities in Non-institutionalised Forms of Political Participation: A Multi-level Analysis of 25 Countries. *Political Studies*, 58(1): 187–213. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00801.x.

Marsh, D. 1971. Political Socialization: The Implicit Assumptions Questioned. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1(4): 453-65.

Marsh, D., O´Toole, T., and S. Jones. 2007. *Young People and Politics in the UK. Apathy or Alienation?* Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Martens, A. M., and J. Gainous. 2012. Civic Education and Democratic Capacity: How Do Teachers Teach and What Works? *Social Science Quarterly*, (94): 956–976. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6237.2012.00864.x.

Martikainen, P., Martikainen, T., and H. Wass. 2005. The Effect of Socioeconomic Factors on Voter Turnout in Finland: A register-based study of 2.9 million 28 voters. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44(5): 645-669.

Matějů, P., and M. L. Smith. 2009. The Perceived Value of Education and Educational Aspirations in the Czech Republic: Changes in the Determination of Educational Aspirations between 1989 and 2003. *Comparative Education Review*, 53 (1): 13–39.

Matějů, P., Simonova, N., and B. Řeháková. 2007. Structural Growth of Inequality in Access to Higher Education in the Czech Republic. In: Shavit Y., R. Arum, and A.Gamoran (eds). *Stratification in Higher Education: A Comparative Study*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

McDonald, M., Navarrete, M., and J. Sidanius. 2011. Developing a theory of gendered prejudice: An evolutionary and social dominance perspective. In: Kramer, R. M., Leonardelli, G. J., and R. W. Livingston (Eds.) *Social Cognition, Social Identity, and Intergroup Relations: A Festschrift in Honor of Marilynn B. Brewer*, pp. 189-220. Psychology Press Festschrift Series. Taylor and Francis.

Mcfarland, D. A., and R. J. Thomas. 2006. Bowling Young: How Youth Voluntary Associations Influence Adult Political Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3): 401–425.

McLaren, L. M. 2003. Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe. Contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of minorities. *Social Forces*, 81(3): 909-936. doi: 10.1353/sof.2003.0038.

Merrill, S., Grofman, B., and J. Adams. 2001. Assimilation and contrast effects in voter projections of party locations: Evidence from Norway, France, and the USA. *European Journal of Political Research*, 40(2): 199–221.

Nesbit, R. 2012. The Influence of Family and Household Members on Individual Volunteer Choices. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*.

Nie, N. H., Powell, B. G., and K. Prewitt. 1969. Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships. *The American Political Science Review*, (63): 361–378.

Niemi, R., and J. Junn. 1998. *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Niemi, R., and K. Jennings. 1991. Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35(4): 970–988.

Niemi, R., and M. Hepburn. 1995. The Rebirth of Political Socialization. *Perspectives on Political Science Perspectives on Political Science*, 24(1): 7–16.

Niemi, R., Hepburn, M. A., and C. Chapman. 2000. Community service by high school students: A cure for civic ills? *Political Behavior*, 22(1): 45–69.

Noll, van der J., Poppe, E., and M. Verkuyten. 2010. Political tolerance and prejudice: differential reactions toward Muslims in the Netherlands. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(1): 46–56. doi: 10.1080/01973530903540067.

Norris, P. 2002. *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge University Press.

Nosek, B. A., Smyth, F. L., Hansen, J. J., Devos, T., Lindner, N. M., Ranganath, K. A., and A. G. Greenwald. 2007. Pervasiveness and correlates of implicit attitudes and stereotypes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18(1): 36-88.

O' Toole, T., M. Lister , D. Marsh, S. Jones and A. McDonagh. 2003. Tuning Out or Left Out? Participation and Non-participation among Young People. *Contemporary Politics*, 9(1): 45-61.

Oakes, J. M., and P. H. Rossi. 2003. The measurement of SES in health research: Current practice and steps toward a new approach. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56(4): 769.

Owen, D., Soule, S., and R. Chalif. 2011. Civic Education and Knowledge of Government and Politics. *Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science*

Association, Seattle, Washington. (Retrieved from: http://www.civiced.org/pdfs/Civic%20Education%20and%20Knowledge%20of%20Government%20and%20Politics.pdf)

Paluck, E. L., and D. Green. 2009. Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda. *American Political Science Review*, (103): 622–644.

Pasek, J., Feldman, L., Romer, D., and K. H. Jamieson. 2008. Schools as Incubators of Democratic Participation: Building Long-Term Political Efficacy with Civic Education. *Applied Developmental Science*, 12(1): 26–37.

Peterson, B. E. 2006. Generativity and Successful Parenting: An Analysis of Young Adult Outcomes,' *Journal of Personality*, 74(3): 847–69.

Pettigrew T. F., and L. R. Tropp. 2011. *When Groups Meet: The Dynamics of Intergroup Contact*. New York: Psychology Press.

Piaget, J. 1975. *The origins of intelligence in children*. New York: International Universities Press.

Piketty, T. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Plutzer, E. 2002. Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1): 41-56.

Pop-Eleches, G., and J. Tucker. 2012. Post-Communist Legacies and Political Behavior and Attitude. *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 20(2): 157-66.

Putnam, R. D. 2000. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Quintelier, E. 2010. The Effect of Schools on Political Participation: A Multilevel Logistic Analysis. *Research Papers in Education*, 25(2): 137–154. doi:10.1080/02671520802524810.

Quintelier, E., and M. Hooghe. 2012. Discussing Politics at School. Does an Open Classroom Climate Contribute to the Willingness to Participate in Political Life? *Paper presented at the Conference Transformations of the State location*, Oxford, May 11.

Quintelier, E., and M. Hooghe. 2013. The Impact of Socio-economic Status on Political Participation. In Kyriakos N. D. (Ed.) *Democracy in Transition – Political Participation in the European Union*, pp. 273–289. New York: Springer.

Quintelier, E., Hooghe, M. and G. Badescu. 2007. *Parental Influence on Adolescents' Political Participation : A Comparison of Belgian, Canadian and Romanian Survey Data*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Political Socialisation Örebro Universitet.

Ratcliff, J. J., Lassiter, G. D., Markman, K. D., and C. J. Snyder. 2006. Gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbian s: The role of motivation to respond without prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(10): 1325-1338. doi: 10.1177/0146167206290213.

Reichert, Frank. 2016. How Internal Political Efficacy Translates Political Knowledge Into Political Participation. *Europe´s Journal of Psychology*, 12(2): 221–241. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v12i2.1095.

Rhodes, A. 2016. Young people – if you're so upset by the outcome of the EU referendum, then why didn't you get out and vote? *The Independent 2016*. (Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/eu-referendum-brexit-young-people-upset-by-the-outcome-of-the-eu-referendum-why-didnt-you-vote-a7105396.html)

Richardson, W. 2003. Connecting Political Discussion to Civic Engagement: The Role of Civic Knowledge, Efficacy and Context for Adolescents. Doctoral Dissertation (PhD). College Park: University of Maryland.

Rosenstone, S. J., and J. M. Hansen. 2003. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. NewYork: Longman.

Ross, L. 1977. The intuitive psychologist and his shortcomings: Distortions in the attribution process. In: Berkowitz. L. (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology,* pp. 173-220. New York: Academic Press.

Ross, L., and R.E. Nisbett. 2011. *The Person and the Situation: Perspectives of Social Psychology*. London: Pinter and Martin.

Rotariu, T., and M. Comşa. 2004. *Alegerile Generale 2004: O Perspectivă Sociologică*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Russell, A. 2005. Political parties as vehicles of political engagement. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58(3): 555-569. DOI:10.1093/pa/gsi051.

Sacerdote, B. 2014. Experimental and quasi-experimental analysis of peer effects: Two steps forward? *Annual Review of Economics*, 6(2): 53-72.

Sayer, D. 2000. *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*. Princeton University Press.

Sears, D. 1975. Political Socialization. In: Greenstein, F., and N. Polsby (eds) *Handbook of Political Science*, pp. 93-153. Reading: MA: Addison-Wesley.

Settle, J., Bond, R., and J. Levitt. 2011. The Social Origins of Adult Political Behavior. *American Politics Research*, 39(2): 239–63.

Shah, D. V., McLeod, J. M., and Lee, N. J. 2009. Communication competence as a foundation for civic competence: Processes of socialization into citizenship. *Political Communication*, (26): 102-117. doi:10.1080/10584600802710384.

Shani, D. 2009. *Origins of Political Interest*. PhD dissertation submitted to the Department of Politics, Princeton University, New Jersey, USA. (Available at: http://gradworks.umi.com/33/78/3378025.html)

Sherif, M. 1966. *In common predicament: social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Boston: Houghton-Miflin.

Shields, T. G., and R. K. Goidel. 1997. Participation Rates, Socioeconomic Class Biases, and Congressional Elections: A Crossvalidation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(2): 683–91.

Schlozman, K. L., Verba, S., and H. E. Brady. 1995. Participation's not a paradox: The view from American activists. *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(1): 1–36.

Schlozman, K. L., Verba, S., and H. E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schmid, C. 2012. The Value 'Social Responsibility' as a Motivating Factor for Adolescents' Readiness to Participate in Different Types of Political Actions, and Its Socialization in Parent and Peer Contexts. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3): 533–47.

Schneeweis, N., and R. Winter-Ebmer. 2005. *Peer Effects in Austrian Schools*. Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.

Schulz, W., Ainley, J., and J. Fraillon. (Eds.). 2011. *ICCS 2009 technical report*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: IEA.

Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., and B. Losito (Eds.). 2010. *ICCS 2009 international report: Civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among lower secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Schulz, W., Fraillon, J., Ainley, J., Losito, B., and D. Kerr. 2008. *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study: Assessment framework*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Schulz, Wolfram. 2005. *Political Efficacy and Expected Participation among Lower and Upper Secondary Students. A comparative analysis with data from the IEA Civic Education Study*. Paper prepared for the ECPR General Conference in Budapest, 8 - 10 September 2005.

Schwartz, H. 2012. Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland. In: Kahlenberg, R. D. (Ed.) *The future of school integration: Socioeconomic diversity as an education reform strategy*. New York, NY: Century Foundation.

Schwartz, S. 1994. Are there Universal Aspects in the Content and Structure of Values? *Journal of Social Issues*, 50(4): 19-45.

Sidanius, J., Cling, B. J., and Pratto, F. 1991. Ranking and linking behaviour as a function of sex and gender: An exploration of alternative explanations. *Journal of Social Issues* 47: 131-149.

Sidanius, J., F. Pratto and L. Bobo. 1994. Social dominance orientation and the political psychology of gender: A case of invariance? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67(6): 998-1011.

Sidanius, J., and F. Pratto. 1999. *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sidanius, J., and R. C. Veniegas. 2000. *Gender and race discrimination: The interactive nature of disadvantage Reducing prejudice and discrimination*. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Simonová, N. 2009. Shifts in the Intergenerational Transmission of Education in a Historical Perspective in the Czech Republic. *Czech Sociological Review*, 45(2): 291–313.

Singer, J. and Willett, J. 2003. *Applied longitudinal data analysis: modeling change and event occurrence*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, M. L., and P. Matějů. 2011. Restratifikace české politiky. Vývoj třídně podmíněného volebního chování v České republice v letech 1992–2010. *Sociologický časopis*, 1(47): 33–60.

Solt, F. 2008. Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1): 48–60. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00298.x.

Solt, F. 2010. Does Economic Inequality Depress Electoral Participation? Testing the Schattschneider Hypothesis. *Political Behavior*, 32: 285–301. doi:10.1007/s11109-010-9106-0.

Soukup, P. 2010. *Národní zpráva z Mezinárodní studie občanské výchovy*. Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání.

Spousta, V. 1996. *Metody a formy výchovy ve volném čase*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Straková, J., and D. Greger. 2013. Faktory ovlivňující přechod žáků 5. ročníků na osmileté gymnázium. *Orbis Scholae*, 7(3): 73–85.

Stoker, L., and M. K. Jennings. 2006. *Aging, Generations, and the Development of Partisan Polarization in the United States*. Institute of Governmental Studies. UC Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies.

Szczerbiak, A. 2001. The Polish Peasant Party: A Mass Party in Postcommunist Eastern Europe? *East European Politics and Societies*, 15: 554- 588.

Tapias, M. P., Glaser, J., Keltner, D., Vasquez, K., and T. Wickens. 2007. Emotion and prejudice: specific emotions toward outgroups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 10(1): 27-39. doi: 10.1177/1368430207071338.

Tedin, L. K. 1974. The Influence of Parents on the Political Attitudes of Adolescents, *American Political Science Review*, 68(4): 1579–1592.

Teney, C., and S. V. Subramanian. 2010. Attitudes towards homosexuals among youth in multi-ethnic Brussels. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 63(3): 151-173. doi: 10.1177/1069397109357136.

The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement. 2012. *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.

Thijssen, P., Siongers, J., Van Laer, J., Haers, J., and S. Mels. 2016. *Political Engagement of the Young in Europe. Youth in the crucible*. New York: Routledge.

Thrupp, M., Lauder, H., and T. Robinson. 2002. School composition and peer effects. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 37: 483–504.

Tileagă, C. 2012. Communism and the meaning of social memory: Towards a critical-interpretative approach. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioural Science*, 46(4):475–492.

Tingsten, H. 1937. *Political Behavior*. London: King.

Torney, J., Oppenheim, A. N., and R. Farnen. 1975. *Civic education in ten countries: An empirical study*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Torney-Purta, J. 2002. The School's Role in Developing Civic Engagement: A Study of Adolescents in Twenty-eight Countries. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4): 203–212.

Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann R. H., Oswald H., and W. Schulz. 2001. *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen.* Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Torney-Purta, J., Richardson, W. K., and C. H. Barber. 2005. Teachers' educational experience and confidence in relation to students' civic knowledge across countries. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1: 32–57.

Trivellato, U., and E. Ruspini. 1999. Issues in the Design and Analysis of Panel Studies: A Cursory Review. Longitudinal Analysis: A Bridge between Quantitative and Qualitative Social Research. *Quality and Quantity*, (33): 3.

Trivers, R. L. 1972. Parental investment and sexual selection. In B. Campbell (Ed.), *Sexual selection and the descent of man*, pp. 136-179. Chicago: Aldine.

Tuorto, D. 2014. Transition of Adulthood and Turnout. Some Unexpected Implications from the Italian Case. *Societá Mutamento Politica*, 5(10): 193-216.

Vala J., and R. Costa-Lopes. 2010. Youth attitudes toward difference and diversity: a cross-national analysis. *Análise Social*, 65(195): 255-275.

Valentino, N. A, and D. O. Sears. 1998. Event-Driven Political Communication and the Preadult Socialization of Partisanship. *Political Behavior*, 20(2): 127–154.

Van Ewijk, R., and P. Sleegers. 2010. The effect of peer socioeconomic status on student achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Research Review*, (5): 134–150. doi:10.1016/j. edurev.2010.02.001.

Vandenberghe, V. 2002. Evaluating the magnitude and the stakes of peer effects analysing science and math achievement across OECD. *Applied Economics*, (34): 1283–1290. doi:10.1080/00036840110094446.

Váradi, L. 2014. *Youths Trapped in Prejudice. Hungarian Adolescents' Attitudes towards the Roma*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer.

Verba, S. and N. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper and Row.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. Lehman, and H. E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K., Lehman, Burns, N., and A. S. Zuckerman. 2003. Family Ties: Understanding the Intergenerational Transmission of Participation,' In A. S. Zuckerman (ed.) *The Social Logic of Politics*, pp. 95-114. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Vigdor, J., and T. Nechyba. 2007. Peer effects in North Carolina public schools. In Peterson, P.E., Woßmann, L. (Eds.) Schools and the Equal Opportunity Problem. MIT Press.

Vignes, C., Godeau, E., Sentenac, M., Coley, N., Grandjean, H. and C. Arnaud. 2009. Determinants of student's attitudes towards peers with disabilities. *Developmental Medicine & Child Neurology*, 51(6): 473-479. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8749.2009.03286.x.

Vowles, J. 2010. Electoral System Change, Generations, Competitiveness and Turnout in New Zealand, 1963-2005. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(4): 875-895.

Westholm, A. 1999. The Perceptual Pathway: Tracing the Mechanisms of Political Value Transfer across Generations. *Political Psychology* 20(3): 525-551.

Whiteley, P. 1999. The origins of social capital. In: Van Deth, J. (eds.), *Social Capital and European Democracy*. London: Routledge, pp. 25-44.

Whiteley, P. 2011. Is the party over? The decline of party activism and membership across the democratic world. *Party Politics*, (17): 21–44.

Whitely, P. 2005. Citizenship education longitudinal study second literature review. *Research Report No. 631*. Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research.

Willms, J. D. 2010. *School composition and contextual effects on student outcomes*. Teachers College Record, 112, 1008–1037.

Wolfinger, R.E. and S. J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
Wood, W., Christensen, P. N., Hebl, M. R., and H. Rothgerber. 1997. Conformity to sex-typed norms, affect, and the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, (73): 523–535. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.73.3.523.
Wood, W., and D.T. Neal. 2007. A New Look at Habits and the Habit-Goal Interface. *Psychological Review*, 114(4): 843-863.
Wood, W., and A. H., Eagly. 2012. Biosocial construction of sex differences and similarities in behavior. In: Zanna, M. P., and J. M. Olson (Eds.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 55-124. San Diego Academic Press.
Yates, M., and J. Youniss. 1999. Roots of Civic Identity. *International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth*. Cambridge University Press.
Youniss, J., and P. Levine. 2009. *Engaging Young People in Civic Life*. Vanderbilt University Press.
Youniss, J., McLellan, J. A., and M. Yates. 1997. What we know about engendering civic identity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(5): 620–631.
Zuckerman, A. S. 2005. *The Social Logic of Politics: Personal Networks as Contexts for Political Behavior*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

APPENDICES

1. Appendix CHAPTER 2

Voting turnout (dependent variable):
Question text: "If there were elections tomorrow, would you go to vote? Please answer as if you currently had the right to vote." The response options were (1) definitely yes, (2) probably yes, (3) probably not, (4) definitely not, and (5) don't know. These answers were recoded into a dummy variable: [0] "would not vote" (3+4) and [1] "would vote" (1+2).

Socio-Economic Status (SES) of family:
SES is measured using father's occupation coded into an ordinal scale: (1) unskilled and skilled manual worker; (2) white collar employee and middle management, and (3) professionals, senior management and businessmen. There is no information about mother's occupation. Please note that there is a significant gender gap in pay in the Czech Republic and so it is more appropriate to measure family SES using paternal occupation.

Political activity of the family
Question text: "Is anyone from your household politically active, i.e. is a party member, city representative, mayor, volunteer or supporter of a political party, a regular participant in demonstrations, an initiator of protest actions/petitions, a trade union member, etc.?" The response options were (1) yes, (2) no, and (3) don't know.

Parents' (reported) turnout history
Question text: "Please indicated how often the following people go to the polls." The response options were (1) always, (2) most of the time, (3) occasionally, (4) rarely, and (5) don't know. The answers to this battery of questions were coded as follows: (1) mother and father "never" or "rarely" vote; (2) either parent "rarely" or "never" goes voting; (3) either parent "mostly" or "always" vote; and (3) both mother and father "mostly" or "always" go voting. This operationalisation distinguishes between families with contrasting levels and patterns of turnout.

Quality of school
The relative quality of Czech high schools is estimated using the pass rates in standard state examinations that are published annually for each school. The pass rate varies considerably across schools and represents one means of looking at school effects. In this chapter the results for the Czech language exam are used. Verba et al. (1995) report that language abilities are positively correlated with political participation. Pass rates in the Czech language examination for each school were mean centred on the basis of the national average.

Interest in politics
Question text: "How interested are you in politics?" The response options were (1) very interested, (2) somewhat interested, (3) not interested, (4) not at all interested, and (5) don't know. The interest in politics in a student's school is the mean score for all students interviewed in a specific school that included two classrooms.

Sex
Blais (2000) suggests that women show higher rates of voting turnout because of sex specific beliefs and values.

Level of political knowledge
Students were asked to write down the name of a political party that matched with a specific logo. Students were asked to do this task for a set of 15 logos where the name of the party and other identifying text was removed. The answers were coded into a dummy variable with '1' indicating a correct answer and zero for other responses. These data were used to estimate political knowledge scale scores using the theta estimate from a two-parameter IRT model.

Level of political discussion with others
Question text: "How often do you discuss politics with others?" The response options were (1) very often, (2) often, (3) sometimes, (4) rarely, (5) never, and (6) don't know. This variable was recoded into three categories: (1) "never" and "rarely"; (2) "sometimes", and (3) "often" and "very often."

Collective value orientation and duty to vote
The moral, or civic duty, of voting is measured using five items from the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) developed by Shalom Schwartz. Here self-transcendence (i.e. Universalism and Benevolence) stand for values that emphasise concern for the welfare and interests of others. Self-transcendence involves the "enhancement of others and transcendence of selfish interests" (Schwartz 1994: 25). For the PVQ items, respondents read short descriptions of a person: "How much like you is this person?" The response options were a 6-point scale ranging from (1) "not like me at all" to (6) "very much like me". The universalism and benevolence scales were constructed from the following five items.

(a) Universalism:
- "It is important to him that every person in the world be treated equally. He wants justice for everybody, even for people he doesn't know."
- "It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them." and
- "He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him."

(b) Benevolence:
- "It is very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for other people."
- "It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him."

Using Haidt and Kesebir's (2010) definition of a moral system as reflecting the suppression of selfishness, self-transcendent values are defined here as being "moral". It is expected that individuals with higher scores in moral values tend to have a higher propensity to vote.

Table 8.1, Summary statistics for variables in models used in Chapter 2

Variable labels	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Intend to vote (dependent variable)	1,728	0.67	0.47	0.0	1.0
Parental effects					
Socio Economic Status (father's SES: low, medium or high)	1,597	1.91	0.76	1.0	3.0
Parents are politically active (yes/no)	1,720	0.15	0.36	0.0	1.0
Parents past turnout (Both rarely, mixed, both often)	1,270	2.53	0.79	1.0	3.0
School and peer effects					
Quality of school (mean centred)	1,703	0.32	5.55	-1.2	12.9
Mean interest in politics at school	1,735	1.78	0.18	1.4	2.2
Individual level determinants					
Political knowledge	1,735	0.02	0.86	-1.3	2.8
Political interest (none, quite interested, very interested)	1,728	1.76	0.66	1.0	3.0
Political discussion (never, sometimes, often)	1,728	2.19	0.78	1.0	3.0
Collective value orientation (summated rating scale)	1,732	4.66	0.74	2.3	6.0
Sex (male)	1,706	0.42	0.49	0.0	1.0

Source: Czech High School Student Survey, September 2012. Note that the 37 schools kindly agreed to participate in this study.

2. Appendix CHAPTER 3

Party preference (dependent variable):
Question text: "Which party would you vote if there were elections tomorrow and you would be eligible to vote?." Answers were given by ticking party from closed list. These answers were recoded into categorical variable: (2) "right wing party"; (3) "other parties"; and (4) "left-wing party."

Socio-Economic Status (SES) of family:
SES is measured using father's occupation coded into an ordinal scale: (1) unskilled manual workers, (2) skilled manual workers, entrepreneurs, (3) non-manual workers, (4) senior and middle management staff, (5) highly qualified staff. There is no information about mother's occupation. Please note that there is a significant gender gap in pay in the Czech Republic and so it is more appropriate to measure family SES using paternal occupation.

Consistency of parental preference:
Parents´ electoral preferences were taken from question: "When selected persons participated in the last Chamber of Deputies elections who did they vote for?" The *Consistency of parental preference* variable combined the parents' preferences and awareness as follows: (0) both parents voted left, (1) one parent chooses left, (2) does not know how parents voted; Both selects "other parties"; one voted left and one voted right, (3) one parent chooses right, (4) both parents voted right-wing party.

Self-placement on a left-right
Question text: "In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?"

Ideology at the school is operationalized as an average self-ranking on the left-right scale at the school level.

Right-wing party support in town is operationalized as electoral support for right-wing parties in the 2010 elections in the municipality in which the respondent live.

Type of school
There are basically three types of high schools in the Czech Republic: (1) gymnasium, (2) secondary technical schools, and (3) vocational schools.

Table 8.2, Summary statistics for variables in models used in Chapter 3

Variable labels	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Party preference (dependent variable)	1,070	2.82	0.80	2	4
Right-wing party	459				
Other parties	343				
Left-wing party	268				
Parental effects					
Socio-economic status	1,009	3.25	1.14	1	5
Consistency of parental preference	1,070	2.14	1.08	0	4
School and peer effects					
Type of school	1,070	1.84	0.63	1	3
Ideology at school	1,070	25.05	12.87	0	75
Individual level determinants					
Sex (female)	1,057	1.53	0.50	1	2
Ideology (left-right)	673	5.81	2.18	1	9
Community effects					
Right-wing party support in town	1,070	-1.79	13.97	-33	25

3. Appendix CHAPTER 4

Table 8.3a, Overview of all variables in models used in Chapter 4

Measure	*Items*	*Response options*
Political knowledge	National civic knowledge scale based on the 79 adjudicated international cognitive test items and provides nationally comparable results for students' civic knowledge.	
Electoral participation (reversely recoded)	*Listed below are different ways adults can take an active part in political life. When you are an adult, what do you think you will do?* Vote in <local elections> Vote in <national elections> Get information about candidates before voting in an election	(1) I will certainly do this; (2) I will probably do this; (3) I will probably not do this; (4) I will certainly not do this
Political participation (reversely recoded)	*Listed below are different ways adults can take an active part in political life. When you are an adult, what do you think you will do?* Help a candidate or party during an election campaign Join a political party Join a trade union Stand as a candidate in <local elections>	(1) I will certainly do this; (2) I will probably do this; (3) I will probably not do this; (4) I will certainly not do this

Sex	Are you a girl or a boy?	(1) girl; (0) boy
Socio-economic status (SES)	Derived from a question that asked students how many books they had in their homes.	(0) 0 to 10 books; (1) 11 to 25 books; (2) 26 to 100 books; (3) 101 to 200 books; (4) 201 to 500 books; (5) More than 500 books.
	The index for highest educational level of parental education (HISCED) corresponded to the higher ISCED level of either parent.	(0) No completion of ISCED 2; (1) Completion of ISCED 2 (lower secondary); (2) Completion of ISCED 3 (upper secondary); (3) Completion of ISCED 4 (non-tertiary post-secondary) or ISCED 5B (vocational tertiary); (5) Completion of ISCED 5A (theoretically oriented tertiary) or ISCED 6 (post-graduate).
	Highest occupational status of both parents	What is your mother's or <female guardian>'s main job? What is your father's or <male guardian>'s main <job>?
	Which of the following <levels of education> do you expect to complete?	(1) I do not expect to finish ISCED 2; (2) ISCED 2; (3) ISCED 3 (4) ISCED 4 or 5B; (5) ISCED 5A or 6.
Political discussion outside school	*How often are you involved in each of the following activities outside of school?*	
	Talking with your parent(s) about political or social issues	(1) Never or hardly ever; (2) Monthly (at least once a month); (3) Weekly (at least once a week); (4) Daily or almost daily
	Talking with friends about political and social issues	
	Talking with your parent(s) about what is happening in other countries	
	Talking with friends about what is happening in other countries	
Participation in civic organizations	*Have you ever been involved in activities of any of the following organisations, clubs, or groups?*	
	Youth organisation affiliated with a political party or union	(1) Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months; (2) Yes, I have done this but more than a year ago; (3) No, I have never done this
	Environmental organisation	
	Human rights organisation	
	A voluntary group doing something to help the community	
	An organisation collecting money for a social cause	
	A cultural organisation based on ethnicity	
	A group of young people campaigning for an issue	

News consumption	*How often are you involved in each of the following activities outside of school?* Watching television to inform yourself about national and international news Reading the newspaper to inform yourself about national and international news Using the internet to inform yourself about national and international news	(1) Never or hardly ever; (2) Monthly (at least once a month); (3) Weekly (at least once a week); (4) Daily or almost daily
Parents´ political interest	Reported parental interest in political and social issues	(0) Not interested at all; (1) Not very interested; (2) Quite interested; (3) Very interested.
Open classroom climate	*When discussing political and social issues during regular lessons, how often do the following things happen?* Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds Teachers encourage students to express their opinions Students bring up current political events for discussion in class Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class	(1) Never; (2) Rarely; (3) Sometimes; (4) Often
Open classroom climate (classroom level)	Average score of open classroom discussion at classroom level	
SES classroom level	Average score of SES at classroom level	
Classroom SES inequality	Variation of SES at classroom level (measured by standard deviation)	
School autonomy	*Principals' perceptions of school autonomy in:* Curriculum planning Choice and use of textbooks Appointing teachers Dismissing teachers Establishing student assessment policies Determining the content of in-service professional development programs for teachers Teacher appraisal Budget allocations within the school Extra-curricular activities Student admittance policies Establishing teachers' salaries	(1) Full autonomy; (2) Quite a lot of autonomy; (3) Little autonomy; (4) No autonomy
Teacher-student ratio	Teacher-student ratio at school	

Table 8.3b, Descriptive statistics of variables before standardizing in models used in Chapter 4

Variable labels	Obs.	Min.	Max.
Political knowledge (dependent variable)	4,261	-4.44	5.37
Electoral participation (dependent variable)	4,261	-0.87	2.51
Political participation (dependent variable)	4,261	-2.66	4.61
Parental effects			
Socio-economic status	4,261	-2.20	3.93
Parents´ political interest	4,261	-1.30	2.78
School and peer effects			
Open classroom climate (classroom average)	4,261	-3.04	4.99
SES classroom level	4,261	-0.71	4.39
Classroom SES inequality	4,261	-2.05	3.66
School autonomy	4,261	-0.80	2.87
Teacher-student ratio	4,261	0.77	6.20
Political discussion outside school	4,261	-0.22	4.91
Participation in civic organizations	4,261	-1.60	6.14
Individual level determinants			
Sex	4,261	0.08	2.08
Open classroom climate	4,261	-3.11	4.64
News consumption	4,261	-0.89	3.03

4. Appendix CHAPTER 5

Table 8.4a, Overview of all variables in model used in Chapter 5

Measure	*Items*	*Response options*
Sense of internal political efficacy	I know more about politics than most people my age. When political issues or problems are being discussed, I always have something to say. I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country. I have the competencies to take an active role in a group that is focused on civic or political issues.	(1) definitely disagree; (2) rather disagree; (3) rather agree; (4) definitely agree
Political knowledge	The current government of the Czech Republic is composed of a coalition of three political parties. The EU currently consists of 27 member states. Members of regional councils are selected through regional elections. System of electing members of the Chamber of Deputies is proportional. Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia began on February 25 1968.	(1) true; (2) false; (3) don't know
Sex	Are you a girl or a boy?	(1) girl; (0) boy

	How many books do you have at home? Please try to estimate the number to which you have free access (1 meter equals approximately 50 books)	(0) 0 to 10 books; (1) 11 to 25 books; (2) 26 to 100 books; (3) 101 to 200 books; (4) 201 to 500 books; (5) More than 500 books.
Socio-economic status	The index for highest educational level of parental education corresponded to the higher ISCED level of either parent.	(0) No completion of ISCED 2; (1) Completion of ISCED 2 (lower secondary); (2) Completion of ISCED 3 (upper secondary); (3) Completion of ISCED 4 (non-tertiary post-secondary) or ISCED 5B (vocational tertiary); (5) Completion of ISCED 5A (theoretically oriented tertiary) or ISCED 6 (post-graduate).
	Highest occupational status of both parents (ISCO08)	What is your mother's or <female guardian>'s main job? What is your father's or <male guardian>'s main <job>?
	Which of the following <levels of education> do you expect to complete?	(1) I do not expect to finish ISCED 2; (2) ISCED 2; (3) ISCED 3 (4) ISCED 4 or 5B; (5) ISCED 5A or 6.
Political discussion with parents	How often have you discussed politics with your mother during last year (12 months)? How often have you discussed politics with your father during last year (12 months)?	(1) never; (2) few times per year; (3) few times per month, (4) few times per week; (5) daily or nearly daily
Political discussion with friends	How often have you discussed politics with your friends outside school during last year (12 months)?	(1) never; (2) few times per year; (3) few times per month, (4) few times per week; (5) daily or nearly daily
Political discussion on the internet	Maybe you have tried to influence or discuss what is going on at your school. Have you discussed school affairs on the internet during last year (12 months)?	(1) no; (2) once; (3) twice; (4) more than twice
Like classroom discussions about politics	How much do you like political discussions during civics classes?	(1) does not like them at all; (2) doesn't like them; (3) like them; (4) like them very much.
Learn something new or interesting from the classroom discussions	Talking about the political discussions during civics classes, do you usually hear any new interesting or useful information or opinions?	(1) definitely no; (2) rather no; (3) rather yes; (4) definitely yes

Open classroom climate	*When discussing political and social issues during regular lessons, how often do the following things happen?* Students are able to disagree openly with their teachers Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds Teachers encourage students to express their opinions Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class	(1) never; (2) rarely; (3) sometimes; (4) often
	TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE	
Teacher's experience in teaching civics	How many years have you been teaching civics (this year included)?	*Open ended*
Teacher's extra training in Civics	Have you attended any activities for improving your professional skills related to teaching civics (such as trainings, workshops, courses)?	*Open ended*
Teacher´s confidence in discussions	How confident do you feel when using these teaching methods and approaches? "Classroom discussions"	(1) not very confident; (2) rather not confident; (3) rather confident; (4) very confident
Frequency of political discussions during civics classes	How often have you discussed politics during civics lessons with the particular class?	(1) never; (2) sometimes; (3) often, (4) very often

Table 8.4b, Descriptive statistics of all variables in model used in Chapter 5

Variable labels	*Min.*	*Max.*
Sense of internal political efficacy (dependent variable)	-0.77	3.68
Parental effects		
Socio-economic status	-1.47	2.99
Frequency of political discussions with parents	-0.20	3.88
School and peer effects		
Frequency of political discussions with friends	-0.20	3.64
Frequency of political discussions on the internet	0.42	3.40
Frequency of political discussions during civics classes	0.34	2.51
Open classroom climate (classroom average)	-1.56	3.15
Political knowledge (classroom average)	-1.36	3.50
Teacher is confident in using political discussions during civics classes	-3.03	1.25
Teacher's experience in teaching civics (years)	-0.59	3.19
Teacher's extra training in civics (no/yes)	-0.39	1.72
Individual level determinants		
Sex (female)	-0.05	1.95
Open classroom climate	-2.13	2.51
Political knowledge	-0.23	3.73
Like classroom discussions about politics (no/yes)	0.04	2.04
Learn something new or interesting from the classroom discussions	-0.26	1.79

Note: All variables have been mean-centred to have an arithmetic mean and standard deviation of one.

5. Appendix CHAPTER 6

Prejudice (dependent variable) "What is your relationship to the following groups?" The response options were (1) Very negative, (2) Rather negative, (3) Neutral, don't know, (4) Rather positive, and (5) Very positive.

Age (15-20 years) stands for control variable and also to test to what extent attitude toward minorities varies according to age group.

Gender stands for major predictor variable.

Tolerance scale is sum of answers on questions relating to liberalism and tolerance of respondent. The two questions were: Q1: "In what extent do you agree with following statements: 1. I would not mind to have a Muslim as my neighbour; 2. Believers should not where symbols of their faith (such as kippah, scarfs etc.) into the school; 3. I would mind if our mayor was a homosexual." With possible answers from "completely agree" to "completely disagree". And Q2: "Some schoolmates do not like when peers with some special needs or with specific origin attend the same class. Some pupils do not mind. How would you personally mind having schoolmate who…1. has some learning disorder; 2. is mentally or physically handicapped; 3. is son or daughter of foreigners/immigrants". With possible answers from "would mind a lot" to "would not mind at all". The Cronbach alpha of this six item index is 0.69.

Social contact
In the questionnaire respondents were given a table which consist of 21 minority groups and they were asked to indicate if they "know at least one person from given groups. If person knows a member of a group it is coded as 1 in opposite situation 0.

The variable *Talks frequently about groups with friends* is dichotomized because respondents could only indicate whether they do (1) talk frequently about given minority groups with friends or not (0). It is expected that the discussion of minority groups with friends will have either positive or negative effect on one's attitude towards specific minority group depending on a level of tolerance towards the specific minority group in class which is in this case understood as a share of schoolmates with positive attitude towards given minority group.

Parental education
As we know from previous studies higher education and socio-economic level is correlated with social liberalism and tolerance. It is therefore justifiable to expect that children from university educated families are more liberal and tolerant. Parents' education is dichotomized. 1 is coded if at least one from the family has university degree.

Proportion of females at school is calculated as share of girls in classroom. It is used as a control variable if the gender effects are not partly influenced by prevailing share of one gender in classroom.

Share of people with positive attitude towards minority group at school
We may expect that people shape their attitude towards minorities differently according to school climate they share. Since the schoolmates are omnipresent, we assume that they communicate and interact with each other and we might expect that if high share of schoolmates are positive towards certain group, respondent will be also more likely to be positive. Variable is operationalized as a share of people who responded that they have either very positive or rather positive attitude towards given minority.

Mean parental education at school level

Average level of parents' education at school level is used to capture situations where a school context of children with highly educated parents and probably with high social status have an independent effect in promoting more tolerant atmosphere which is accompanied by higher level of education.

Size of community of residence

The size of hometown is used as contextual variable which reflects conservativeness o the place respondents live. We can presume that living in a small town or town with high share of religious people will result in less positive attitude towards certain minorities – mainly sexual and religious minorities. Size of hometown is operationalized as dichotomous variable (size of town less (0) and more (1) than 100 thousands of inhabitants. The variable is taken from the 2011 Czech census data.

Table 8.5, Descriptive statistics of variables before standardizing in models used in Chapter 6

Variables	Attitude towards minorities (1-4)		Knows member of minority (0-1)		Talks frequently about minorities (0-1)		Share of pupils with positive attitude towards the minority (0-1)	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Homeless	2.38	0.84	0.24	0.43	0.19	0.40	0.38	0.13
Unemployed	3.01	0.97	0.71	0.46	0.16	0.36	0.69	0.08
Convicted felons	2.02	0.92	0.21	0.41	0.11	0.31	0.28	0.12
Drug addicts	1.72	0.96	0.51	0.25	0.29	0.45	0.20	0.09
Prostitutes (female)	2.24	1.04	0.10	0.31	0.19	0.39	0.42	0.13
Prostitutes (male)	2.08	0.97	0.03	0.18	0.09	0.29	0.40	0.10
Refugees	2.64	1.02	0.12	0.33	0.11	0.31	0.58	0.13
Roma	1.96	1.03	0.65	0.48	0.48	0.50	0.24	0.14
East Europeans	3.08	1.02	0.53	0.50	0.17	0.37	0.73	0.10
West Europeans	3.59	0.98	0.44	0.50	0.13	0.33	0.90	0.10
Vietnamese	3.33	1.10	0.73	0.44	0.23	0.42	0.76	0.10
Black Africans	3.50	0.99	0.32	0.46	0.15	0.36	0.88	0.09
Gays	3.27	1.27	0.60	0.50	0.21	0.41	0.75	0.17
Lesbians	3.53	1.30	0.56	0.50	0.20	0.40	0.84	0.10
Transsexuals	2.62	1.09	0.17	0.37	0.10	0.30	0.61	0.14
Muslims	2.30	1.04	0.12	0.32	0.24	0.43	0.45	0.12
Christians	3.42	1.09	0.71	0.45	0.12	0.32	0.83	0.08
Other religions	3.16	0.98	0.21	0.41	0.10	0.31	0.82	0.10
Mental disability	3.52	1.00	0.62	0.49	0.13	0.34	0.86	0.08
Physical disability	3.70	0.93	0.57	0.50	0.09	0.29	0.91	0.07
Old age	3.93	1.01	0.95	0.21	0.21	0.41	0.90	0.08
							Mean	**SD**
Mean parental education							2.07	0.40
Size of community of residence							2.83	1.40
Parental education							2.04	0.75
Proportion of females in classroom							0.54	0.27
Gender (female)							1.54	0.50
Age (15-20)							17.64	1.28
Tolerance scale (1-5)								
I would not mind to have a Muslim as my neighbour.							2.70	1.39
Believers should not where symbols of their faith (such as kippah, scarfs etc.) into the school							3.31	1.37
I would mind if our mayor was a homosexual.							3.83	1.28
How would you personally mind having schoolmate who… (1) has some learning disorder.							3.30	0.77
... (2) is mentally or physically handicapped.							3.30	0,83
.... (3) is son or daughter of foreigners/immigrants.							3.42	0.77

Declaration

Pat Lyons, BA, MA, Ph.D.
Department of Political Sociology
Institute of Sociology, v.v.i.
Czech Academy of Sciences
Jilská 1
110 00 Praha 1
CZECH REPUBLIC

Phone: (420) 210 310 204
Email: pat.lyons@soc.cas.cz

January 5 2017

To whom it may concern

I declare that the article entitled "Parental Example as a Motivation for Turnout among Youths" published online in the *Political Studies* journal (doi: 10.1177/0032321716644614) is primarily the work of Mgr. Aleš Kudrnáč. He undertook all of the data modelling and analysis write-up. My contribution to this impacted journal article (Web of Science: 1.156) was purely linguistic relating to English language grammar and style.

Inclusion of this article in in the Ph.D. dissertation work of Mgr. Aleš Kudrnáč to be submitted on January 9 2017 to the Department of Politics and European Studies, Philosophy Faculty, Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic is entirely appropriate. In sum, the dissertation chapter based on the article described above is wholly the academic work of Mgr. Aleš Kudrnáč.

Yours sincerely,

Pat Lyons, BA, MA, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
Czech Household Panel Survey, 2015-2018
http://www.promenyceskespolecnosti.cz