Dutch adolescents’ democratic values

First results of a panel study on democratic values and educational careers (ADKS)

Paula Thijs

Seventh Annual Conference on Citizenship Education
University of Roehampton
27th September
Background
Background
The project

• Adolescentenpanel Democratische Kernwaarden en Schoolloopbanen (ADKS)

• A longitudinal panel study on democratic core values and educational careers

• Interdisciplinary study:
  • Sociology: dr. Frank Wanders, prof. dr. Herman van de Werfhorst
  • Political science: Laura Mulder, Msc., Maria Kranendonk, Msc. and prof. dr. Tom van der Meer
  • Educational sciences: prof. dr. Geert ten Dam

• In collaboration with ministries, ProDemos and The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)
Aim of the project

Insight into:

• The longitudinal development of adolescents’ support for the core values of the democratic rule of law

• The socialization process and its actors (schools, parents, peers)

• Socioeconomic and -cultural inequalities across the educational career

*Focus*: vertical democratic values and democratic dilemmas
The data collection

• Yearly survey of Dutch adolescents in secondary education for 4-6 years

• Stratified sample of Dutch municipalities

• All secondary schools within these municipalities, all educational tracks/levels

• All 1st grade classes

• Digital questionnaire

• Simplified and shorter questionnaire for students in the lowest level of vocational education (‘praktijkonderwijs’) 

• Active consent of parents

• First wave: Oct 2018 and June 2019 among 1st graders (12-13 years old)
Facts and pictures

• 49 schools (out of 137 schools, response rate: 35.8%)
• 241 classrooms
• 100 tablets
• 6 suitcases
• 12 student-assistants
• 56.2% of the parents returned the form
• 2529 1st graders (response rate: 45.9%)
First results

• Results based on 2500 1st graders

• Data weighted

• Support for democratic values

• Political interest and efficacy

• Differences between students
Support for different government types

In the Netherlands, laws should be made by...

- Elected representatives
- All Dutch citizens
- Experts
- One strong leader
- Big companies
- Religious leaders

Legend:
- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly
- Don't know
## Support for different government types – by educational track

**Deviation from the mean in %-points**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Elected representatives</th>
<th>All Dutch citizens</th>
<th>Experts</th>
<th>One strong leader</th>
<th>Big companies</th>
<th>Religious leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower vocational</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo-basis</td>
<td>-21.6</td>
<td>-17.5</td>
<td>-10.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo-basis/kader</td>
<td>-9.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo-kader</td>
<td>-14.1</td>
<td>-7.3</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Upper vocational</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo-gl</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
<td>-6.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo-tl/mavo</td>
<td>-5.1</td>
<td>-7.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo/havo</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theoretical/academic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havo</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havo/vwo</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-5.0</td>
<td>-5.9</td>
<td>-3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vwo (vwo/atheneum/gymnasium)</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
<td>-14.9</td>
<td>-6.3</td>
<td>-6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vmbo/havo/vwo</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-5.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trust in politicians and officials
Trust in politicians and officials – by educational track
Intention to vote

Voter turnout in national elections:

2017: 81.9%
2012: 74.6%

By educational track:

Lower vocational: 65%
General/academic: 90%
Citizenship

Speak out against laws
Stand up against injustice
Be active in neighbourhood
Support other people
Abide by the law
Do voluntary work
Vote

Vocational tracks:
More: voluntary work, work hard
Less: voting, abiding by the law, critical citizenship

Academic track:
More: critical citizenship, abiding by the law, supporting other people
Decision-making

Take a look at this picture. Imagine that people have to decide about a law. The majority (67%) is in favor of this law and a minority (33%) is against this law.

Who should decide?

- The majority should decide
- The majority and minority should solve it together
- The majority should do what the minority wants
Different conditions (variant 51/49%)
Decision-making – by educational track

Who should decide:

- The majority should decide
- The majority and minority should solve it together
- The majority should do what the minority wants

vmbo
vmbo/havo
havo
havo/vwo
vwo

The majority should decide: 100%
The majority and minority should solve it together: 20%
The majority should do what the minority wants: 0%
Mark Rutte wants to introduce new rules for the Netherlands. According to the judges, these rules are against the Dutch law. What should Mark Rutte do?

- Rutte should listen to the judge and change his rules
- Rutte doesn’t have to listen to the judges and is free to introduce his rules
- Don’t know

Vocational: 83%
Academic: 94%
Trias politica II

Should Rutte fire the judges?

Vocational: 87%
Academic: 97%
Equal rights

• 80% (strongly) agrees that people should have equal rights and duties in the Netherlands

• Equal rights for different groups?
Equal rights

*When a majority wants to restrict voting rights for a certain group, should the judge prevent this?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes (prevent)</th>
<th>No (not prevent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women <em>not</em> allowed to vote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuals <em>not</em> allowed to vote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only people who are born in NL allowed to vote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only people who have knowledge of politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only rich people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only people who believe in God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Freedom of speech

• 86% (strongly) agrees that everyone should be allowed to say what he/she wants
• Also limits to the freedom of speech:
  
  *In a talkshow on TV, should someone be allowed to...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Vocational</th>
<th>Academic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criticize the government</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say that elections should be abolished</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make jokes about culture or religion</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say that immigrants should not be allowed to vote</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say that only the higher educated should be allowed to vote</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbally abuse other people</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for violent action</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Democratic dilemma’s

Adapt to Dutch culture
Smaller gap between poor and rich
Safety
Rules of God
Laws good for many people
Get what I want
Say what you think

Keep own culture
Larger gap between poor and rich
Privacy
Rules of the country
Laws good for myself
Comply to the rules
Not hurting anyone
Political interest, efficacy and knowledge

• Interest in societal issues, not so much in politics
• Most interest in crime, climate and terrorism, somewhat less in poverty and refugees
• Low levels of internal political efficacy, higher levels of external efficacy
• Students talk little about politics with parents, teachers and peers
• Students named on average 2,2 political parties
• Again, differences between educational tracks
Conclusion: the good, the bad and the ugly

• Quite some support for democracy and its institutions
• And for consensus decision-making, the separation of powers, and values of equal rights and freedom of speech
• But also depending on specific conditions or groups

• Low trust in politicians, little political interest, knowledge, and efficacy

• Differences between students already present at the start of secondary education
• Especially by educational track
Future questions

• Relationship between democratic values and political interest, knowledge, and efficacy
• Socialization process: which actors contribute to the development of democratic values and to what extent?
• Development of differences between groups across the educational career
• What is the role of the school? Can schools compensate for inequalities?
• More in-depth knowledge about decisions students make in specific situations, using qualitative research
Thank you!

Coming soon: report about the first results
(Authors: Paula Thijs, Frank Wanders, Laura Mulder, Maria Kranendonk, Sander Kunst, Tom van der Meer, Herman van de Werfhorst, Floris Vermeulen & Geert ten Dam)

www.adks.nl

info@adks.nl
p.e.thijs@uva.nl