Young people's ideas of what it means to be a good citizen

The role of empathy, volunteering and parental styles

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Young people's ideas of what it means to be a good citizen:
The role of empathy, volunteering and parental styles
A mixed method research

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A thesis for a Ph.D.-degree in Education

This work is dedicated to
my dear husband Jóhannes and our wonderful children
Jón Magnús, Árný and Margrét.

"If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants."

Isaac Newton, 1676

Summary

An essential element in supporting young people in developing their citizenship is giving them opportunities to be active participants in society and helping them to understand the value of such participation (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Yates & Youniss, 1999). At the turn of the century, a discussion on young people's diminishing societal interest (Damon, 2001; Putnam, 2000), civic knowledge (Kahne & Sporte, 2008), interest in politics and elections (Galston, 2001; Milner, 2002) and care for community well-being (Pryor, Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Korn, 2007) became widespread. Theoretical discourse on young people's diminishing civic engagement and increasing individualistic traits grew at the same time (Malahy, Rubinlicht, & Kaiser, 2009; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Brashears, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Smith, Christoffersen, Davidson, & Herzog, 2011; Twenge & Foster, 2010). Based on this, the focus of studies in the field has been directed towards mapping young people's participation patterns.

Recent findings on civic engagement do confirm that young people want to participate in civic life but they want to relate to it in their own way (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Hooghe, Oser, & Marien, 2016). Their engagement does not appear to be as regular as before and changes in participation forms are visible. Decreasing voter turnout has been widely addressed and political party membership has declined as well (Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Donovan, Lopez, & Sagoff, 2005; Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014). Some also choose to be standbys as monitorial citizens (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Hustinx, Meijs, Handy, & Cnaan, 2012).

At the same time, young people have become more drawn to non-institutionalized (Hooghe et al., 2016) and alternative forms of participation (Kahne, Middaugh, & Allen, 2015) such as more critical forms (Norris, 2011) and different community based projects instead of institution or duty based civic behaviors (Copeland, 2014; Dalton, 2008; Flanagan, 2013; Martin, 2012; Raney & Berdahl, 2009; Shulman & Levine, 2012; Sloam, 2013; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011).

Different social movement oriented engagement forms such as volunteering have also become more apparent. In a large longitudinal

research (1976-2008), young Americans reported increasing rates of volunteering (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). According to the United States Department of Labor (2016), volunteering rates for young people have been unchanged for a while; among 16-24 year olds in the United States around 22% of population volunteered yearly from 2010 to 2015.

Episodic volunteering based on independent short term projects has also become quite popular (Hustinx, 2010; Taylor, Mallinson, & Bloch, 2008; Wilson, 2012). However, as there is a great deal of variation in volunteering rates between countries, attention has also been brought to the importance of cultural context and how people's participation meanings can vary depending on culture (Hart & Sulik, 2014).

New digital tools have also become new loci for civic action (Verger, 2012). As an example, social media like Facebook and Twitter provide opportunities for political practices (Frame & Brachotte, 2016) and people's statuses and arguments there on news links have become important elements of public political discussion. Furthermore, social media have become an important link in humanitarian assistance and in advocating for human rights (Zimmerman, 2012). They bring citizens closer to global issues (Parham & Allen, 2015) and provide instruments for activists to protest or present political messages (Zuckerman, 2015). These newer participation means have become more accepted with time but yet questions are raised if participation in these platforms fits within the definitions of civic participation (Frame & Brachotte, 2016).

Scholars have addressed some of the aforementioned changes and argued that they might be rooted in civic value changes in advanced democracies (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Dalton, 2008), as well as changing citizenship concepts (Norris, 2011). Young people choose self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010; Welzel, 2013) and highlight increasingly individual freedom and therefore loose and more informal engagement networks (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Young people's political participation and civic orientation are thought to be embedded in these newer norms (Blais, Young, & Lapp, 2000; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013) and life goals (Twenge et al., 2012), leading to an expanding group of young people choosing the newer civic engagement forms (Hooghe & Oser, 2015). By so doing, they are reshaping how politics take place (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Kahne et al., 2015; Schulz, Ainlay, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006).

The aim of the study is therefore to explore young people's views on good citizenship by using a mixed method approach. First, by addressing if young people's empathy levels at the age of 14 and 18 vary depending on their volunteering participation and the perceived parental styles of their parents. Second, by examining the structure and determinants of young people's views on good citizenship at the age of 14 and 18; to examine if they vary depending on their empathy level, volunteering participation and perceived parental style. The question of whether empathy has a role in the relationship between parental styles and views on good citizenship will also be explored. A survey was used to respond to these first two aims. Third, by exploring individual patterns of young people's views on good citizenship by interviewing some of the young people who answered the survey.

In the light of studies suggesting that civic participation patterns are changing as well as the emphasis of prominent policy focus (European Commission, 2015; Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs (IWGYP), 2013; Mycock & Tonge, 2014) around the world on the importance of strengthening young people's citizenship, it is important to examine which factors relate to young people's views on good citizenship. The findings might be helpful in guiding how young people's active participation could best be promoted.

The dissertation contributes to the literature in several important ways. First, by addressing the relationship between parental styles and young people's views on the importance of civic participation as an element of good citizenship, as little notice has been given to this in the literature. Second, it will add to literature on young people's empathy, especially in relation to views on civic engagement. Third, by examining own participation experiences as well as parents' experiences of volunteering in relation to young people's views on good citizenship. Fourth, by adding to the literature in Iceland since research on young people's volunteering is uncommon. This is especially important as the subject is emphasized in educational policy in Iceland and around the Western world. Fifth, by using a mixed method study design as mixed methodology is not common in this field of study (Gudjohnsen & Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). Such research can provide rich and comprehensive insight on specific research subjects (Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013). Sixth, by using international measures for Icelandic participants, which gives the options of comparing data.

This mixed method doctoral study is part of a larger research project: *Young people's civic engagement in a democratic society*

(Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). Participants are 1042 young individuals (14 and 18 years old) in three different areas of Iceland. In addition, 21 out of the 1042 participants were randomly chosen to be interviewed to further deepen the findings. The findings were analyzed with the aim of gaining knowledge of what young people consider the most important elements in good citizenship. To do that, *A Good citizen model* is used, which is an adapted version of Adalbjarnardottir's *Civic awareness and engagement model* (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008).

Findings in the quantitative part of the study supply important information about the young people's vision on good citizenship. First, their focus related to civic engagement was more on social movement-related actions such as protecting the environment, participating in activities to benefit people in the community and advocating for human rights – and less on discussing politics and joining political parties. They still found voting an important element of being a good citizen. Second, parental styles (support and supervision) seemed to have an important role both for enhancing young people's empathy as well as their positive views on conventional participation like voting and social movement-related participation like volunteering. This provides additional value to empathy in the context of good citizenship. Third, empathy, both affective and cognitive, appeared to be important for the young people's conventional and social movement-related participation. Fourth, volunteering experiences seemed to encourage the young people's more positive views on both conventional and social movement-related participation. Those who had parents who volunteer were more likely to have positive views on social movement-related participation. Fifth, some important findings emerged related to the young people's age, gender and socioeconomic status (SES).

The main findings from the in-depth interviews revolved around the young people connecting good citizenship to *being an active participant* both in the near and far environment. They found citizens' right to vote important but at the same time many of them expressed vagueness when it came to their own intention to vote. They also found societal participation to be well-suited for young people to practice their good citizenship. They were concerned as well for the importance of citizens to be able to have a voice and stand up for what they believe in. At the same time they stressed the importance of authorities listening to young people's ideas and attitudes. The need for more participation opportunities for young people was also of great concern for them.

Participants connected *civic aims* of good citizenship both to benefits for the society as well as for participants themselves. They talked about aims of having an effect on important issues insociety, both in relation to civic rights as well as responsibilities. Their discussion on political participation was within the context of civic rights while they mainly applied civic responsibilities to different societal participation such as volunteering. They also had a prominent focus on the aim to enhance wellbeing and livelihood both in their own communities and societies as well as in the global world. Another aim they emphasized was to ensure equality for everyone. Participants also connected aims of good citizenship to promoting personal growth by learning new things, enjoying being able to contribute to other people in their near or far environment as well as by enriching your civic awareness.

The young people's approach towards practicing good citizenship appeared closely attached to *values*. They found both honesty and trust essential elements of good citizenship and found those values especially important in politics, citizens' relationships as well as in citizens' and authorities' communcation. They emphasized as well that good citizens need to show care, kindness, empathy and respect. This pertained both to when they talked about societal participation as well as political. While discussing own value judgement, they rooted their values mostly to their parents' upbringing as well as to experiences in life such as participating in volunteering.

This dissertation sheds light on elements related to young people's views on good citizenship. The first main finding highlights the importance of a quality parent-child relationship for young people's empathy as well as for their views on good citizenship. Parents can, by being supportive and by supervising their children as well as by strengthening their empathy, encourage their childrens' positive views on the importance of being an active citizen. The second main finding is that volunteering participation is an important experience for young people and supports their positive views on active citizenship, which is an important element in encouraging their political and societal participation. The findings emphasize how essential it is from a societal perspective to offer civic opportunities to the younger generations as the engagement of all age groups matters to enrich more solidarity among citizens. Furthermore, it is meaningful to young people themselves to be able to participate, share their voice and have an effect as their views and emphasis on societal issues sometimes differ from the views of older generations.

The third main finding was how much emphasis young people put on values as elements of good citizenship. They connect values both to civic actions and aims; values like honesty and trust, care, kindness, empathy, and respect. The conclusions of these findings are that values have a significant role in supporting young people as good citizens by strengthening their morality, judgement and reasoning.

The findings of the study contribute to the mission that societies around the world must work with young people on the vision of democracy and encourage authorities, policy makers, schools, social movements and parents to strengthen young people's empathic and civic views and skills as well as their civic values. The importance of supporting young people and supervising them also emerged as well as the need to give them different civic opportunites such as in volunteering from a young age. By doing that an important foundation can be laid for their role as good citizens.

Samantekt (Summary in Icelandic)

Mikilvægur þáttur þess að styðja við borgaravitund ungs fólks er að gefa þeim tækifæri til virkrar borgaralegrar þátttöku í samfélaginu og efla skilning þeirra á mikilvægi hennar (Sherrod o.fl., 2010; Yates og Youniss, 1999). Upp úr aldamótunum 2000 fór að bera á áhyggjum manna af minnkandi áhuga ungs fólks á málefnum samfélagsins (Damon, 2001; Putnam, 2000), pólitík og kosningum (Galston, 2001; Milner, 2002) og því að hlúa að samfélagslegri velferð (Pryor o.fl., 2007). Auk þess var rætt um að dregið hefði úr borgaralegri þekkingu ungmenna (Kahne og Sporte, 2008). Á sama tíma jókst fræðileg umræða um minnkandi borgaralega þátttöku ungs fólks og aukna sjálfhverfu þess (Malahy o.fl., 2009; McPherson o.fl., 2006; Putnam, 2000; Smith o.fl., 2011; Twenge og Foster, 2010). Áhersla í rannsóknum á borgaravitund ungs fólks beindist í framhaldinu einkum að því að skoða borgaraleg þátttökumynstur hjá ungu fólki.

Niðurstöður nýlegra rannsókna á borgaralegri þátttöku ungs fólks gefa til kynna að ungmenni vilji vera þátttakendur í samfélaginu en að þau vilji fara sínar eigin leiðir til að gera það (Bennett og Segerberg, 2013; Hooghe o.fl., 2016). Þátttaka þeirra virðist ekki eins regluleg og hjá eldri kynslóðum og auk þess má greina breytingar í þátttökuformi unga fólksins. Sjónir manna hafa beinst að minnkandi kosningaþátttöku og skráningu í stjórnmálaflokka (Blais og Rubenson, 2013; Bolzendahl og Coffé, 2013; Donovan o.fl., 2005; Hardarson og Onnudottir, 2015). Auk þess virðist sem færst hafi í aukana hjá ungmennum að fylgjast með samfélagslegri umræðu og þátttöku úr fjarska en láta til sín taka ef málefni höfða sérstaklega til þeirra (Amnå og Ekman, 2015; Hustinx o.fl., 2012).

Unga fólkið sækist jafnframt meira en áður eftir að taka þátt í óformlegri samfélagsverkefnum utan stofnana (Hooghe o.fl., 2016; Kahne o.fl., 2015), ýmsum tímabundnum samfélagsverkefnum (Norris, 2011) þar sem áherslan beinist fremur að ákveðnum málefnum en að skyldurækni eða formlegri aðild að félagasamtökum og stofnunum (Copeland, 2014; Dalton, 2008; Flanagan, 2013; Martin, 2012; Raney og Berdahl, 2009; Shulman og Levine, 2012; Sloam, 2013; Stolle og Hooghe, 2011).

Þátttaka ungs fólks í ýmsum samfélagsverkefnum sem tengjast félagslegum hreyfingum hefur einnig orðið meira áberandi í þjóðfélaginu á

síðustu áratugum. Sérstaklega má nefna sjálfboðaliðastarf í þessu sambandi en niðurstöður í fjölmennri bandarískri langtímarannsókn (1976-2008) sýna meðal annars að ungt fólk tekur í æ ríkara mæli þátt í slíku starfi (Twenge o.fl., 2012). Tímabundin sjálfboðaliðastörf sem tengjast sjálfstæðum afmörkuðum verkefnum hafa jafnframt rutt sér til rúms (Hustinx, 2010; Taylor o.fl., 2008; Wilson, 2012). Þó virðist töluverður munur vera á sjálfboðaliðaþátttöku ungs fólks milli landa. Í ljósi þess hefur verið lögð sífellt meiri áhersla á mikilvægi þess að setja umræðuna um borgaralega þátttöku ungs fólks í menningarlegt samhengi enda skilningur fólks milli menningarheima oft misjafn (Hart og Sulik, 2014).

Stafræn tækni hefur einnig rutt sér til rúms og skapað ný tækifæri fyrir ungt fólk til borgaralegrar þátttöku (Verger, 2012). Sem dæmi má nefna að samfélagsmiðlar eins og Facebook og Twitter hafa opnað möguleika til pólitískrar þátttöku (Frame og Brachotte, 2016) og ummæli fólks þar og rökræður meðal annars um fréttir hafa orðið hluti af pólitískri umræðu borgara. Samfélagsmiðlar hafa jafnframt orðið vettvangur til að koma á framfæri pólitískum skilaboðum eða mótmælum vegna málefna í samfélaginu (Zuckerman, 2015). Þar hafa borgarar meðal annars vakið athygli á alvarlegum mannréttindabrotum (Zimmerman, 2012) og þannig fært almenning nær alheimsviðburðum (Parham og Allen, 2015). Stafræn þátttaka hefur á undanförnum árum orðið viðurkenndara þátttökuform en þó eru enn vissar efasemdir uppi um að hve miklu leyti þátttaka á slíkum vettvangi falli innan skilgreininga á borgaralegri þátttöku (Frame og Brachotte, 2016).

Í fræðilegri umræðu hefur verið fjallað nokkuð um fyrrnefndar breytingar á borgaralegu þátttökumynstri. Því hefur meðal annars verið haldið fram að þær eigi rætur sínar að rekja til breytinga á borgaralegum um í þróuðum lýðræðissamfélögum (Bennett og Segerberg, 2013; Dalton, 2008) sem og í breytingum sem orðið hafa á borgaravitundarhugtakinu og inntaki þess (Norris, 2011). Bent hefur verið á að ungt fólk leggi í auknum mæli áherslu á einstaklingsgildi eins og sjálfstjáningu (e. self-expression values) (Inglehart og Welzel, 2010; Welzel, 2013), aukið frelsi og sjálfsákvörðunarrétt og velji sér því fremur lausbundnari og óhátíðlegri þátttöku- og samskiptaform (Bennett og Segerberg, 2013). Þessi viðmið og gildi og þær breytingar sem greina má á lífsmarkmiðum yngri kynslóða (Twenge o.fl., 2012) eru taldar tengjast borgaravitund ungs fólks og vali þeirra á hinum nýju borgaralegu þátttökuformum (Hooghe og Oser, 2015). Með því hefur unga fólkið endurmótað landslag borgaralegrar þátttöku (Amnå og Ekman, 2015; Inglehart og Welzel, 2005; Kahne et al., 2015; Schulz, o.fl., 2010; Zukin o.fl., 2006).

Markmið doktorsrannsóknarinnar er að kanna viðhorf ungs fólks til þess hvað það þýði að vera góður borgari. Í fyrsta lagi með því að skoða hvort uppeldishættir foreldra og eigin þátttaka í sjálfboðaliðastarfi skipti máli fyrir samkennd ungs fólks. Í öðru lagi með því að skoða hvort samkennd ungs fólks, uppeldishættir foreldra og eigin sjálfboðaliðaþátttaka skipti máli fyrir viðhorf ungs fólks til þess hvað það merki að vera góður borgari. Jafnframt var skoðað hvort samkennd miðlar sambandi milli uppeldishátta foreldra og viðhorfa ungs fólks til þess að vera góður borgari. Spurningalisti var notaður til að bregðast við fyrstu tveimur markmiðum rannsóknarinnar. Í þriðja lagi með því að kanna nánar viðhorf ungs fólks til þess hvað það merki í þeirra huga að vera góður borgari. Þetta var gert með því að taka viðtöl við hluta þátttakenda í spurningakönnuninni.

Í ljósi rannsókna sem gefa til kynna að borgaralegt þátttökumynstur ungs fólks sé að breytast og byggi að nokkru leyti á stefnumótun þjóða þar sem lögð er áhersla á að styrkja borgaravitund ungs fólks (European Commission, 2015; Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs (IWGYP), 2013; Mycock og Tonge, 2014) – er mikilvægt að skoða hvaða þættir tengjast viðhorfum ungs fólks til þess að vera góður borgari. Niðurstöður gætu verið leiðbeinandi um hvernig best mæti hlúa að borgaravitund ungs fólks og virkri borgaralegri þátttöku.

Fræðilegt framlag doktorsrannsóknarinnar er þýðingarmikið. Í fyrsta lagi er sjónum beint að sambandi uppeldishátta og viðhorfa ungs fólks til þess að vera góður borgari en það hefur lítið verið skoðað í rannsóknum til þessa. Í öðru lagi er rannsóknin framlag til rannsókna sem skoða beint og óbeint samband samkenndar ungs fólks og viðhorfa þeirra til virkrar borgaralegrar þátttöku. Í þriðja lagi með því að skoða þátttöku ungmenna og þátttöku foreldra í sjálfboðaliðastarfi í tengslum við viðhorf ungs fólks til þess að vera góður borgari. Í fjórða lagi með því að skoða sjálfboðaliðaþátttöku ungs fólks á Íslandi þar sem sjálfboðaliðastarf á Íslandi hefur einkum verið rannsakað hjá fullorðnum. Þetta er sérstaklega mikilvægt þar sem mikil áhersla er lögð á að efla borgaravitund og borgaralega þátttöku ungmenna í menntastefnu Íslands og víða í vestrænum heimi. Í fimmta lagi, með því að nota blandaða aðferðafræði, þar sem slíkt er ekki algengt á þessu fræðasviði (Gudjohnsen og Adalbjarnardottir, 2011) og með því skapast tækifæri til þess að fá heildrænni og dýpri sýn á viðfangsefni rannsóknarinnar (Venkatesh, Brown og Bala, 2013). Í sjötta lagi með því að nota alþjóðlegar mælingar sem gefur möguleika á að bera saman niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar við niðurstöður annarra.

Doktorsrannsóknin sem byggir á blandaðri aðferðafræði er hluti af stærra rannsóknarverkefni: *Borgaraleg þátttaka ungs fólks í lýðræðislegu samfélagi* (Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). Þátttakendur eru 1042 ungir einstaklingar (14 og 18 ára gamlir) frá þremur mismunandi svæðum á Íslandi. Til að dýpka niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar voru auk þess valdir af handahófi í djúpviðtöl, 21 einstaklingur af 1042 þátttakendum sem svöruðu spurningalistanum. Niðurstöður voru greindar með það að markmiði að auka skilning á hvað ungt fólk telji mikilvægastu þætti þess að vera góður borgari. Til þess var notað *Líkan um góðan borgara* en það byggir á Borgaravitundarlíkani Sigrúnar Aðalbjarnardóttur (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008) sem aðlagað var að því að skilja sýn ungs fólks á því hvað er að vera góður borgari.

Niðurstöður megindlega hluta rannsóknarinnar gefa mikilvægar upplýsingar um sýn ungs fólks á það hvað felst í því að vera góður borgari. Í fyrsta lagi beindist áhersla ungmenna einkum að þátttöku í félagslegum hreyfingum, svo sem sjálfboðaliðastarfi við að vernda umhverfið, hlúa að velferð samborgara og berjast fyrir mannréttindum. Þau lögðu minni áherslu á umræður um pólitísk málefni eða að skrá sig í pólitíska flokka. Unga fólkið taldi þó mikilvægan þátt þess að vera góður borgari að kjósa. Í öðru lagi kom í ljós að uppeldishættir sem felast í stuðningi og eftirliti foreldra hafa mikilvægu hlutverki að gegna bæði við að efla samkennd ungs fólks en einnig jákvæð viðhorf til virkrar borgaralegrar þátttöku sem þáttur í að vera góður borgari. Í þriðja lagi sýndu niðurstöður að því hærri samkennd (tilfinningaleg og vitsmunaleg) sem unga fólkið hafði, þeim mun líklegri voru þau til að hafa jákvæð viðhorf til mikivægis borgaralegrar þátttöku, bæði pólitískrar og í félagslegum hreyfingum. Í fjórða lagi voru þau ungmenni sem höfðu reynslu af sjálfboðaliðastarfi líklegri til að hafa jákvæð viðhorf til virkrar borgaralegrar þátttöku, bæði pólitískrar og í félagslegum hreyfingum. Þau ungmenni sem áttu foreldra sem taka þátt í sjálfboðaliðastarfi voru líklegri til að hafa jákvæð viðhorf til þátttöku í félagslegum hreyfingum. Í fimmta lagi komu fram ýmsar áhugaverðar niðurstöður um aldur, kyn og félags- og efnahagslega stöðu unga fólksins.

Meginniðurstöður djúpviðtalanna gáfu til kynna að ungmennin tengdu það að vera góður borgari við að vera virkur *þátttakandi*, bæði í nær- og fjærumhverfi. Þau töldu rétt borgarans til að kjósa mikilvægan en mörg þeirra voru óviss um hvort þau ætluðu að nýta eigin kosningarétt. Þau töldu þátttöku í félagslegum hreyfingum góða leið fyrir ungt fólk til þess að þroska borgaravitund sína og þátttöku. Þau lögðu einnig áherslu á að borgarar hefðu rödd og gætu barist fyrir sannfæringu sinni. Í því sambandi ræddu þau mikilvægi þess að yfirvöld hlustuðu á hugmyndir og viðhorf

ungs fólks. Þau lögðu jafnframt áherslu á þörfina fyrir að auka þátttökutækifæri og möguleika ungs fólks til þess að taka þátt á borgaralegum vettvangi.

Þátttakendur tengdu markmið þess að vera góður borgari bæði við samfélagslegan hag og persónulegan hag þeirra sem leggja sitt af mörkum til samfélagsins. Ungmennin nefndu að borgaraleg markmið hins góða borgara tengist bæði því að nýta borgaraleg réttindum annars vegar og jafnframt að sinna borgaralegum skyldum hins vegar. Markmið með pólitískri þátttöku tengdu þau fremur við réttindi en markmið með þátttöku í félagslegum hreyfingum meira við borgaralegar skyldur. Sérstaka áherslu lögðu þau á markmið hins góða borgara að hafa áhrif með rödd sinni á mikilvæg samfélagsleg mál. Megináherslur þeirra beindust einkum að því að bæta velferð samborgara og vinna að jafnrétti þeirra í samfélagi þjóðanna. Ungmenning tengdu markmið með virkri borgaralegri þátttöku jafnframt við persónulegan hag þátttakenda sjálfra. Það að leggja sitt af mörkum veitti hinum virka borgara ánægju og aukna þekkingu auk þess sem að með því að geta hjálpað öðru fólki í nær- og fjærumhverfi víkkaði borgarinn sjóndeildarhring sinn.

Áberandi áhersla í niðurstöðum var að unga fólkið tengdi það að vera góður borgari jafnframt við ýmis konar gildi. Þau töldu heiðarleika og traust vera meginstoðir þess að vera góður borgari. Þau töluðu sérstaklega um mikilvægi þessara gilda í samskiptum borgaranna, í pólitísku starfi og í samskiptum yfirvalda og borgaranna. Jafnframt nefndu þau að góður borgari þyrfti að sýna umhyggju, góðmennsku, samkennd og virðingu. Eigið gildismat sitt tengdu ungmennin oftast við uppeldi sitt í foreldrahúsum en jafnframt vísuðu þau oft til þess að hafa tileinkað sér ákveðin gildi í kjölfar reynslu af margs konar starfi eins og sjálfboðaliðastarfi.

Ritgerð þessi varpar ljósi á þætti sem tengjast viðhorfum ungs fólks til þess hvað það merki að vera góður borgari. Fyrsta meginniðurstaða rannsóknarinnar leggur áherslu á mikilvægi góðra uppeldishátta fyrir samkennd ungs fólks og borgaraleg viðhorf. Með því að foreldrar styðji börn sín og hafi eftirlit með þeim geti foreldrar styrkt samkennd barna sinna og ýtt undir jákvæð viðhorf þeirra til mikilvægis þess að vera virkur þátttakandi í borgaralegu lífi. Önnur meginniðurstaðan leggur áherslu á að sjálfboðaliðastarf geti gefið ungmennum mikilvæga reynslu sem getur stutt við jákvæð viðhorf þeirra til þess að vera góður borgari í samfélaginu og hvatt þau til virkrar borgaralegrar þátttöku. Af niðurstöðunum má annars vegar draga þá ályktun að þátttakan sé mikilvæg frá þjóðfélagslegu sjónarmiði þar sem þátttaka allra aldurshópa eykur samstöðu og sátt í

samfélaginu. Hins vegar að borgaraleg þátttaka eins og sjálfboðaliðavinna gegna mikilvægu hlutverki fyrir unga fólkið sjálft þar sem þau tengja þátttökuna einnig persónulegum hag en jafnframt hlutverki sínu sem borgara í samfélaginu. Þriðja meginniðurstaðan snýr að því hversu mikla áherslu unga fólkið lagði á borgaraleg gildi og tengdi þau bæði við borgaralega þátttöku og markmið hennar; gildi eins og heiðarleika og traust, umhyggju, góðsemi, samkennd og virðingu. Draga má þær ályktanir að gildi hafi mikilvægu hlutverki að gegna í að styðja ungt fólk í borgaralegu hlutverki sínu með því byggja upp siðferði þeirra, dómgreind og rökhyggju.

Niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar styðja við mikilvægi þess að þjóðfélög um allan heim vinni með ungu fólki að því að efla lýðræðishugsjónina og að yfirvöld á hverjum tíma, stefnumótunaraðilar, félagslegar hreyfingar, skólastofnanir og foreldrar styrki samkennd, borgaraleg viðhorf, hæfni og gildi barna og ungmenna. Fram kemur nauðsyn þess að styðja ungt fólk og leiðbeina þeim og að þeim séu sköpuð margvísleg tækifæri til borgaralegrar þátttöku, svo sem með sjálfboðaliðavinnu frá unga aldri. Þannig megi undirbúa þau fyrir hlutverk sitt sem borgari í þjóðfélaginu og leggja mikilvægan grunn að virkri borgaralegri þátttöku þeirra í lýðræðislegu samfélagi.

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Being part of Sigrún's research center *Challenges Facing Children and Young People* during my studies has been an informative experience.

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Prologue

 Issues involving young people have been of both personal and professional interest to me for a long time. As a teenager, I was lucky to be involved in a unique social studies class in school. It was scheduled once a week for two hours and dealt with diverse political agendas and lecturers came to introduce either their political parties, social movements or organizations. The school´s principal administered the class and at that time I was not fully aware of the innovation and ambition that characterized this class – but I remember enjoying it tremendously and looking forward to it every week. Open discussions and a democratic atmosphere characterized these class hours. It was my first memory and experience of being a citizen - expressing civic opinions and paticipating in debates and it has followed me ever since.

 After graduating as a lawyer and during my work for the state where young people´s difficult circumstances were common, my sense of justice grew as well as interest in community reformation.

 During my six years of residence in the United States, I got introduced to a different kind of volunteering. I was fascinated by the large amount of people willing to engage to improve the lives of others. I also experienced the enjoyment of serving, the resulting social bonding and the values associated with volunteering.

 Later on I started participating in Icelandic politics, driven by enthusiasm for social justice and wanting to contribute to the wellbeing of society. My main interest was always directed towards young people´s issues.

 I got the valuable opportunity to learn more about young people by attending a Ph.D. program at the School of Education and through working with my supervisor Dr. Sigrún Aðalbjarnardóttir at the Centre for Research into Challenges Facing Children and Young People. Being able to participate in her study *Civic awareness of young people in a democratic society* was my good fortune.

 From here grew my interest in studying which factors contribute to the citizenship views of young people. I am convinced that young people's civic engagement is paramount both for themselves as well as society and furthermore that their voice and contributions need to be guided by values and moral principles.

1 Introduction

The time period when young people are transitioning into adulthood is significant in multiple ways. It is time of development in interpersonal and societal contexts (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Commitments are expanding both in terms of education as well as work and young people also face at this time several risk factors and stressful moments in planning their future. Conversely, this transition stage can bring positive outcomes, such as school achievements, enjoyable relationships, improved skills in moral reasoning as well as increased opportunites to undertake meaningful, prosocial activities (Hart & Kirshner, 2009). In addition, each time period throughout world's history provides its own challenges. Some of the multiple civic matters young people of this century's first quarter are facing are concerns over environmental issues, terrorism and the harmful side effects of modern technology. The increasing mobility and autonomy of the pre-adulthood years gives young people the opportunity to start addressing civic matters and become more active as participants in society.

In the Western world there has been an ongoing discussion over the past three decades about citizens becoming disconnected from society and people losing faith in government and public officials (Commission of the European Communities, 2009; Dalton, 2008; Uslaner, 2002). Consequently, discussion about the importance of encouraging young people's civic engagement has become more prevalent. In the light of studies that indicate diminishing interest of young people in societal issues (Damon, 2001; Putnam, 2000), conflict between self-interest and social obligations (Hoffman, 2001), less civic knowledge (Galston, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008) and less care for community well-being (Pryor et al., 2007) an increasing concern and discussion have developed around the world on what this might mean for democracy, democratic values and engagement. This situation has indeed appeared in decreasing political party membership and dropping voting rates (Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Donovan et al., 2005; Flanagan, 2009; Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014; Martin, 2012).

The discussion on changing patterns in young people's civic engagement has led to a stronger emphasis on promoting their civic awareness and engagement (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; European Council,

2010; Haste, 2006; OECD, 2011; Youniss, 2011) as an active participation on behalf of the citizens is one of the cornerstones of democracy (Damon, 2001). Scholars have theorized how young people's entry into the civic world can best be prepared and what civic means can be offered to them as steps towards good citizenship (Youniss et al.,2002). This view is built on the vision of a strong and active community where citizens jointly develop social capital and search for civic solutions and carry them forward (Blunkett, 2003; Putnam, 2000) to make the community a better place (Stoker, 2004). Public and academic attention has been drawn to the potential of volunteering as a civic means to enhance general interest of young people and to promote their competence in addressing diverse societal issues (Metz, 2013).

Conversely, several others have claimed that alternative non-electoral forms of engagement are gaining ground (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). As an example, young people appear to be reshaping how politics are taking place (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Zukin et al., 2006) by using more critical forms of participation (Norris, 2011) such as boycotting certain products, signing petitions (Sloam, 2014), expressing opinions through social media (e.g. Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Colemen & Rowe, 2005; Flanagan, Levine & Settersten, 2009) and peaceful protesting and demonstrations (Dalton, 2008). With new digital tools, the manifestation of civic action has changed (Verger, 2012) and social media like Facebook and Twitter provide opportunities for political practices (Frame & Brachotte, 2016). Forwarding news links on social media has become an important element of public political discussion as well as people's statuses and arguments such as on Facebook and Twitter. Blogging has also become an important part of political discussion especially during campaigns (Hindman, 2009; Pole, 2010). Selfies are for example used to get closer to voters, especially the young ones (Haleva-Amir, 2016; Strandberg, 2013; Stromer-Galley, 2014). "Participatory storytelling" has also become popular among young people, such as young immigrants, as a way to voice their opinions on matters that they find important in their close or global environment (Zimmerman, 2012). The media has brought closer to citizens global issues like violation of human rights; slavery practiced by famous brand manufacturers becomes more easily known through the help of the internet (Parham & Allen, 2015). Furthermore, social media and digital tools have increasingly been used as instruments for activists to protest or present political messages such as was done in the Arab Spring that began in the year of 2010 (Zuckerman, 2015). Yet questions are still raised if participation in these platforms fits within the

definitions of political participation and if it has the same social meaning as, for example, voting (Frame & Brachotte, 2016).

In recent years the attention of governments, scholars, media, and the public has been drawn to different social movement-oriented forms and volunteering (Anheier & Salamon, 1999; Flanagan, 2013; Hustinx et al., 2012; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011; Zukin et al., 2006) as they contribute significantly to society and have been thought to make it easier for the public citizen to engage in the community (Youniss, 2011). Volunteering norms have become well established globally and the young generations are no exeption in that matter (Jennings og Stoker, 2004). Their emphasis is more on different community based projects instead of institution related ones (Copeland, 2014; Dalton, 2008; Flanagan, 2013; Martin, 2012; Raney & Berdahl, 2009; Shulman & Levine, 2012; Sloam, 2013). This changing pattern has been especially apparent in the Scandinavian countries (Dalton & Welzel, 2015) where young people are active partcipants in volunteering while their overall civic participation has declined in electoral participation (Hooghe & Oser, 2015).

In theoretical discourse, the grounds for aforementioned changes in participatory patterns have been rooted in civic value changes in advanced democracies (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Dalton, 2008, 2013) as well as changing citizenship concepts (Norris, 2011). Similarly, young people appear to choose self-expressive values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010; Welzel, 2013) and highlight increasingly individual freedom and therefore choose informal and more loose networks for their civic participation (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Volunteering is more often limited in time and revolves around specific projects and events that are not connected to a voluntary organization (Skirstad & Hanstad, 2013). However, it is worth noting that in spite of an expanding group of young people who value broader citizenship norms (e.g. non organizational community and volunteering projects, digital advocacy) they still appear to consider traditional participation forms important (e.g. voting) (Hooghe & Oser, 2015) and the more loose engagement forms are practiced alongside with the organizational volunteering (Grassman & Svedberg, 2013).

Citizenship and an active participation on behalf of the citizens is one of the cornerstones of democracy (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Damon, 2001; Haste, 2006). Therefore, and in the light of changes in civic participation patterns, it is essential to get to know and understand better the young generations' viewpoints towards citizenship. International calls for citizenship education and public response to the signs of decreased civic

interest and political engagement have also led to changes in policy making in Iceland. The terms citizenship awareness and volunteering were first mentioned as part of Icelandic educational policy in the Life-Skill Curriculum at elementary school level in 2007. A year later the Compulsory School Act No. 91/2008 and Upper Secondary Education Act No. 92/2008 took effect, in which a clear emphasis was placed on the importance of promoting students' civic awareness and engagement. The current Icelandic National Curriculum for all school stages up until university, preschool (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for preschools, 2012), compulsory schools (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school general section, 2011; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school with subjects areas, 2013) and upper secondary school (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for upper secondary school, 2012) – is based on six fundamental pillars. One of those six pillars is *Democracy and human rights*, which emphasizes the importance of giving students opportunities to engage in society (e.g. by volunteering) and participate in social life, sports or organised volunteer work. It is important to continue this agenda by contributing to research in this field. The focus of this study is to explore young people's views on the importance of civic participation for good citizenship – by focusing on the relationship of those views with parental styles, empathy, own volunteering and parental volunteering.

The dissertation is divided into nine main chapters, with the first being this chapter, the introduction. The second features definitions of concepts and the relationship between concepts. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework. The fourth formulates the aims of the study and research questions. The fifth chapter presents the methods of the study. Chapter six introduces the main quantitative results and chapter seven the main findings from the in-depth interviews. In chapter eight findings are discussed and in chapter nine conclusions and implications are made.

2 Definitions of concepts

2.1 Citizenship

The Citizenship concept refers to civic knowledge, understanding and values as well as people's engagement in society (Davies, 2006). The meaning of it has evolved through the years (Haste & Hogan, 2006) and a growing emphasis has been put on the multiple reference of the term (Banks, 2009; Kubow, Grossman, & Ninomiya, 2012). The traditional definition has been directed from being only restricted to people's political opinions and behaviors, for example on voting and being members of political parties (Kubow et al., 2012) – to key elements of citizenship such as rights and responsibilities, belonging and direct participation in the community, such as community service and volunteering (Flanagan, 2013; Lister, 2007; Yates & Youniss, 1999). Rooted in the relationships they form with other people in their environment, they construct their civic attitudes and identities through different engagement in daily life. Different issues that matter personally to the citizens such as values, human rights, morality, civic responsibilities and practice are now part of the citizenship discussion (Giddens, 1998; Haste, 2006). Social and emotional skills have also been mentioned in this context as well as skills of how to deal with various tasks that they encounter in the present and the future (see e.g. Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Selman & Kwok, 2010).

Kubow and her colleges (2012) are among the scholars addressing the multiple elements of the citizenship concept; personal, social, spatial and temporal dimensions. The *personal dimension* refers to organized and critical thinking; ability to solve problems in a responsible, non violent way whether it is in the near or far community; multicultural understanding and skills; the will to protect the environment, defend human rights and be an active participant at local, national and international levels. The *social dimension* points to the fact that personal characteristics are not sufficient to become a multidimensional citizen. Citizens need to be actively involved in social life and public affairs and be able to work with others in a cooperative way and practice good relationships in a diverse environment and circumstances. The *spatial dimension* refers to the fact that the world is becoming increasingly interdependent, for example due to changes in technology, communications and immigration. Citizens are therefore

becoming part of many overlapping communities; local, regional, national and multinational. Therefore the spatial dimension emphasizes the citizens' skills and multiple roles in living and working together at many levels, geographically or culturally. The *temporal dimension* refers to the need for citizens to use knowledge from the past when solving contemporary problems and keep the future in mind at the same time. The interaction of furthermentioned elements is an essential part of multidimensional citizenship along with interaction between different domains in a citizen's life such as home, school, local, regional, national and global societies. The dimensional interaction makes it important for the citizen to adapt different skills.

Other terms that are used in the discussion of citizenship and refer to similar understandings are *civic engagement, civic participation* and *civic awareness*. Civic engagement has similarly to the citizenship term been used to describe civic attitudes and behavior (Scholl, 2015) and the effort of having an effect towards positive change in the society (Haste & Bermudez, 2016).

Civic awareness is another term used for "the understanding of what it means to be a citizen with the civic rights, obligations and responsibilities that follow" (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007, p. 40). Civic involvement and civic participation are terms also used to describe civic activity. In this study the citizenship term is frequently used when discussing good citizenship and the term civic participation or just participation is used when referring to political and societal participation.

Plato and Aristotle were both in agreement that a good person is above all a good citizen and good citizenship has been referred to conceptions of the good society. Among various definitions of *good citizenship* are Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) where three visions of good citizenship are explained: (i) the personally responsible citizen who for example acts responsibly in their environment, obeys law, recycles, picks up litter, gives blood, (ii) the participatory citizen who is an active participant in civic and social affairs at local, regional, national and global levels and (iii) the justice oriented citizen who emphasizes matters of injustice and the root causes of problems. They might for example advocate for human rights or be a critical voice in society.

The good citizenship measure used in this study arrives from the IEA civic education study (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002) and focuses on measuring how important according to the young people active civic participation is as an element of good citizenship.

It defines the good adult citizen as someone who is politically active in conventional forms of participation (votes, participates in politics, follows political issues in the media, engages in political discussion, knows about the country's history) or engages in social movement-related forms (aiming for example at the defense of human rights or environmental protection). These definitions will be the basis of the discussion on conventional and social movement-related participation in the dissertation. According to that, on the one hand the conventional participation refers to civic participation such as electoral participation, engagement in political discussion and political parties´ commitments. On the other hand the social movement-related participation refers to various kinds of volunteering, social movement participation, civic education projects, environmental protection and advocacy for different human rights. The in-depth interviews of the study widen this viewpoint by asking the young people about their views on good citizenship. The term *active citizenship* has also been used in a similar way as good citizenship and it does unlike the term *citizenship* assume certain levels of civic participation (Ebner, 2009).

2.2   Empathy

Empathy is an important concept in developmental and social psychology (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990; Strayer, 1987) and is considered an essential component of moral development. Some scholars have conceptualized empathy as a cognitive ability (see e.g. Borke, 1971; Deutsch & Madle, 1975; Hogan, 1969;) while others have considered empathy as an affective construct (see e.g., Batson, 1987; Bryant, 1982; Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972; Miller & Eisenberg, 1988). The cognitive ability involves understanding the feelings of another person and it can include simple associations or more complicated perspective-taking procedures (thoughts, feelings, perceptions and intentions) (Hogan, 1969). The affective element is the capacity to feel with others, the substitutional experience of emotions consistent with others (Bryant, 1982; De Wied et al., 2007).

Hoffman (1975, 2000) is among the few theorists who have set forth a model describing empathic development, both affective as well as cognitive processes. Some have emphasized the need for another model, focusing on a more detailed interaction of cognitive and affective aspects of empathy as well as contextualizing it with personality development

(Radenovic, 2011) that is partly rooted in relationships and people's understanding on self and others.

Empathy is therefore frequently discussed in relation to terms like prosocial thinking and behavior for the benefit of others and society (Batson, 1991,1998; Davis, 1996; Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989).

In this study, I will be using the definition of empathy put forth by Cohen and Strayer (1996, p. 523) which defines empathy "as the understanding and sharing in another's emotional state or context". This orientation was adopted because it allows for a focus on both affective empathy as well as cognitive empathy. This is the definition used for the empathy measure used in this study, Basic empathy scale-BES (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006).

2.3 Parental styles

Each theory on parenting emphasizes parents' essential role in promoting their children's growth. Children's experiences of parental styles refer to the parental attitudes and behaviors towards children that create the emotional climate of the family (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Research has suggested that different parental styles are related to children's social- and emotional development (e.g. Baumrind, 1971; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Parke & Buriel, 1998).

The theoretical discussion on parental style is most consistently associated with Baumrind's (1967; 1971) pioneer work. In her original work, Baumrind (1967) divided parental styles into three major categories—authoritarian, authoritative and indulgent. According to Baumrind, the authoritarian parental style constitutes parents who are not warm or responsive to their children but attempt to shape and control them by being harsh and strict. They value obedience as a virtue and favor punitive, forceful methods. This moderates the child's own expressions as the parents indicate that the children should rely on the parent´s positions. Authoritative parents are on the other hand flexible and responsive to their children's needs but still place reasonable demands. Being warm and supportive, they also present clear standards for their children´s behavior and share reasoning behind their discipline. They explain their own perspective as adults but encourage at the same time their children´s expression and recognize their individual interests and opinions. Indulgent parents are responsive and warm but lack well defined goals. They impose few rules, limits and restrictions on their children, allow self-regulation and play a passive parental role. In 1983, the fourth parental style, Neglectful

Parental, believed to have the most negative consequences, was added by Maccoby's and Martin's revision (1983) to Baumrind's conceptual work. Neglectful parents are described as being emotionally detached and unsupportive to their children. They are neither responsive or demanding and do not provide discipline or guidance.

Lamborn and her colleagues (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) developed a measure of parental styles based on Baumrind's work (1971) and on the Maccoby and Martin (1983) revision of her work. They based it on the above outlined fourfold typology of parental style using the interactive effects of the parental dimensions of support and control. This measure will be used in this study.

2.4 Volunteering

The definition of volunteering varies to some extent between countries and settings (Merrill, 2006). Just as with the citizenship concept, the definition of volunteering has broadened and new subjects been annexed (Hrafnsdottir, Jonsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2015; Rochester, Paine, Howlett & Zimmer, 2010). However most definitions have a common thread and define volunteering as:

(i)   a prosocial or altruistic behavior (Musick & Wilson, 2008) toward a person who is not a member of one's family (Cnaan, Handy, & Wadsworth, 1996; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Penner, 2002; Verduzco, 2010) or in the form of advocacy opting for social change and to achieve a collective good (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

(ii) non obligatory (Cnaan et al., 1996; Penner, 2002), although there are some exceptions such as voluntary work as part of service learning and community service projects that are part of required school curriculum (United Nations, 2011).

(iii) not being motivated by financial reward (Snyder & Omoto, 2008; Cnaan et al., 1996), although small reimbursements for expenses related to services are quite common (Merrill, 2006).

(iv) a long term relationship, meaning that those who have already engaged in volunteering are more likely than others to continue their participation in the future (Cnaan et al., 1996; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Penner 2002). Newer participation forms are though often limited in time and reciprocity (Rochester et al., 2012; Hrafnsdottir et al., 2015).

(v)   a formal or informal setting. The majority of volunteers (around 85%; Independent Sector, 1999) volunteer as members within a formal setting or organizational setting, such as the Red Cross (Cnaan et al., 1996; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Penner 2002). The informal volunteering setting reaches from 'one-on-one' helping to projects based on loose networks (Hooghe et al., 2016; Kahne et al., 2015), that have recently become increasingly common, where topical issues, either local or global, are being dealt with.

The United Nations identifies at least four different categories of volunteering that are common around the world; mutual aid or self-help; philanthropy or service to others; participation or civic engagement; and advocacy or campaigning (United Nations, 2001).

Due to a lack of special definition for young people's volunteering, Gudjohnsen and Adalbjarnardottir (2011; pp. 97-98) proposed the following definition: "Young people's volunteering involves unpaid work effort in the benefit of fellow citizens that is not connected to the volunteer. It can be operated individually or within volunteering associations (e.g. The Red Cross) or institutions (e.g. schools) either in the service of local, regional or global communities. The volunteering work can be the initiative of the volunteer or a part of an education". This definition and understanding of young people's volunteering will be used in this thesis.

3   Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this study connects several fields of study; sociology, psychology and pedagogy. In this chapter, I will discuss the study's epistemology, continuing with introducing different theoretical perspectives.

3.1   Epistemology

This study's epistemology is based on constructivism, both individual cognitive processes as well as social constructivism.

Constructive developmental theorie,s with the pioneering work of Piaget (1932, 1965), place an emphasis on learning as a process in which the learner is active in creating his or her own learning by gradually integrating new knowledge with prior knowledge and understanding in interaction with his or her environment. Constructivism is also a theory about the pedagogical value of active learning (Arbind, 2012). Children actively form their knowledge by continuingly constructing information, reconstructing perspectives and relating them to their own actions (Haste & Bermudez, 2016; Hoffman, 2000).

Social constructivism applies general constructivism into a social setting. The origins of the term social constructivism can be attributed to Vygotsky (1978). Like Piaget, 1 emphasized the importance of the individual's interaction with his or her own world (or experiences) but also explained how knowledge is co-created in interaction with other individuals within a specific cultural context (Vygotsky, 1978). Groups therefore construct knowledge for each other and add to the experience, understanding and shared meanings. In the book *The Social Construction of Reality,* Berger and Luckmann (1967) influenced by Alfred Schutz (1899–1959) and Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), explained people's primary and secondary socialization:

> The individual… is not born a member of society. He… becomes a member of society. In the life of every individual… there is a temporal sequence, in the course of which he is inducted into participation in the social dialectic (p. 129) … By 'successful

socialization' we mean the establishment of a high degree of
symmetry between objective and subjective reality (p. 163)

For the citizen to constuct his or her world is therefore not only an
internal cognition process but also takes place within "a framework of
multiple and parallel interactions situated in a social, cultural and historical
context" (Haste, 2004, p. 415). Young people's experiences in a wide sense
such as in youth organizations, in volunteering, in civic education projects
and political participation, help them construct their civic identity (Youniss,
McLellan, Yates, 1997). By being introduced to different social problems
the young people's self is being negotiated through the interplay of
psychological, social, cultural and moral processes. The complex mixture of
various values, beliefs, actions and "possible selves" constructs their civic
identity (Haste & Bermudez, 2016, p. 17) helping them to prepare for
active citizenship.

Today's world may be defined as the world of constructs. Both
cognitive and social processes are involved in people's knowledge
construction and expansion through the process of reflecting on and
sharing their own and others' experiences and ideas.

In short, from a social constructivist perspective, meaning occurs during
socially negotiated processes that are historically and culturally relevant,
including narratives, discourses, and civic experiences that can ultimately
lead to civic action (Haste & Bermudez, 2016; Ljungberg, 2008).

In this study, the important elements of social constructivism, context
and culture will be used to understand what fosters young people's
understanding of good citizenship and what experiences encourage active
citizenship (Haste, 2004).

3.2   Adolescents within the ecological system

Adolescence has been described as an important developmental time
when individuals begin their journey searching for who they are and for
their context in the society (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). This time period is
characterized by three major changes: (i) biological changes in puberty and
posterior stages of physical growth period (ii) cognitive changes defined by
increased skills in abstract thinking and (iii) social changes as preparing for
adulthood (see e.g. Arnett, 2004).

Classic theories of human development (e.g. Piaget 1972; Erikson,
1950; Loevinger, 1966; Sullivan, 1953) also depict adolescence as a time

when young people develop their personal, social and civic identity. The civic identity is defined as "an allegiance to a systematic set of moral and political beliefs" (Damon, 2001, p. 127) and those beliefs form a personal ideology to which the young person commits and builds his or her view of the community. Between early- and late-adolescent years, key psychological dimensions crystallize and tend to remain stable throughout the course of adult life (Fischer & Schaffer 1993; Kirkpatrick-Johnson et al. 1998; Mortimer, Finch, & Kumka, 1982; Mortimer, Pimentel, Ryu, Nash, & Lee, 1996). According to developmental psychologists, political attitudes are taking form at this age (see e.g. Flanagan, 2013; Rosenberg, 1988) even though the foundation of a good citizenship starts being built early in life (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Flanagan (2013, p. 2) explains that during these years "young people are forming concepts about topics such as democracy, authority, self-determination, laws, liberty, loyalty, collective action, social trust and the common good that are highly relevant to politics; that these understandings vary by an adolescent's age and experiences; and that during the adolescent years, young people are developing identities, dispositions and values that are logically consistent with their political theories".

3.2.1   The basis of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory

Bronfenbrenner´s (1979, 2005) ecological theory of human development examines person-context interrelatedness. In the bioecological model, development is defined as the phenomenon of continuity and change in the biopsychological characteristics of human beings, both as individuals and as groups. The phenomenon extends over the life course. The theoretical background of his theory lies strongly in the work of Kurt Lewin (1935) and Lev Vygotsky (1962). Bronfenbrenner's model was during his lifetime in constant renewal. It includes four main systems, micro-, meso-, exo-, macro, which each serve a role in supporting and guiding human growth as well as a time factor also playing a role in the theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989). The most proximal system to young people is the microsystem, which includes individuals and their direct and recurring interaction and activity patterns with family, school and societal institutions. The mesosystem consists of the interaction of individuals and settings of the microsystem with the potential of influencing development. The exosystem refers to settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but they can have indirect influence on development. Finally, in chronosystem time plays a role as well as timing (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). This applies to all the other systems and

relates both to the development of the developing individual as well as to different activities and interactions they engage in. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a reasonably regular basis over extended periods of time.

Over time Bronfenbrenner increasingly emphasized the importance of the *proximal processes* of the theory, indicating that development varies systematically as a joint function of the characteristics of the *developing person* and of the *environment,* the nature of the *developmental outcomes* under consideration and the social continuities and changes occurring over *time* through the life course and the historical period during which the person has lived (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). He also stressed increasingly the importance of personal elements (Bronfenbrenner, 2001, 2005) and the *personal characteristics* (*demand*: e.g. age, gender color; *resource:* past experiences, cognitive, social and material resources such as caring parents, educational opportunities; *force*: e.g. motivation, temparament) that people bring into social situations (Bronfenbrenner, 1995) (See Figure 1. Bronfenbrenner´s Bioecological model of human development).

Figure 1. Bronfenbrenner´s Bioecological Model of Human Development.

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model of Human Development
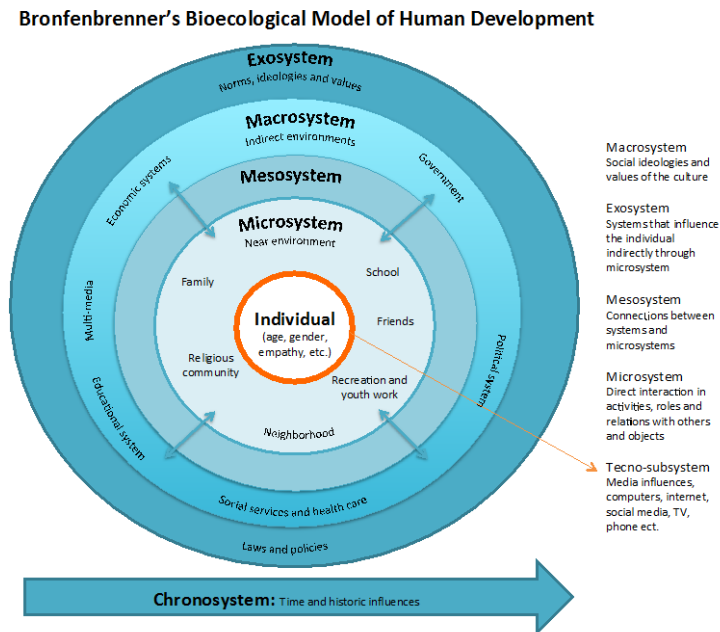
The participants in this study are young people. The years of pre-adulthood are years when young people are seeking to understand themselves in relation to others. Young people's civic involvement can therefore be one mechanism to promote their political and social awareness and strengthen their sense of social responsibility and agency (Youniss et al., 1997). Each of Bronfenbrenner´s systems play a significant role in civic development and the theory matches well to describe the different circumstances in which young people learn and develop (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005). The model will be used in this study to support the discussion of interacting and interdependent systems in young people´s lives. Family plays a big role (McIntosh, Hart, & Youniss, 2007). Other systems like schools (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Melchior & Bailis, 2002), youth organizations (Hart & Kirshner, 2009) and peer groups (Zaff, Malanchuk, Michelsen, & Eccles, 2003) can also be influential. As children grow up, other sources become available to them, including social movements and volunteering participation.

Several interacting systems will be of particular interest in this study. Firstly, the parent-adolescent interaction – as research has suggested that parenting continues to predict aspects of psychosocial well-being even into young adulthood (Fraley & Davis, 1997; Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck & Duckett, 1996). Secondly, the volunteering-adolescent interaction – that is how the experiences in volunteering serve as an adapter between them as individual citizens and the community with its value traditions (Youniss, 2011). Thirdly, the young individual's interaction with the model's systems will be viewed with the focus of examining the important elements related to their citizenship. Research findings have suggested that the experiences of the developing young person is partially determined by the beliefs, values and personalities of the parents and partially by the socialization beliefs, controls and cultural support (Cairns, Elder, & Costello, 1996).

3.2.2   Parenting and civic engagement

Each theory on parenting emphasizes parents' essential role in promoting their children's growth. Parental styles refer to the parental attitudes and behaviors towards children that create the emotional climate of the family (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Research has suggested that different parental styles are related to children's social- and emotional development (Baumrind, 1971; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Parke & Buriel, 1998).

As discussed in chapter 2.3 the theoretical discussion on parental style is most consistently associated with Baumrind's (1967; 1971) pioneer work. Research based on her theory indicates that children from authoritative families fare better than their peers who are from authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful families in various fields, and competence, psychosocial development, and school achievement have been discussed in that context (e.g. Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005; Baumrind, 1991; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Lamborn et al, 1991; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Overly controlling parents are on the other hand associated with negative developmental outcomes but the degree of negativity is related to the harshness of the control (Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002; Hoffman, 2000; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rollins & Thomas, 1979).

Using the above classification of parental styles, Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir (2005) shows similar findings on the relationships between parental styles and adolescents' various wellbeing factors in her longitudinal study in Iceland (age 14-22). The adolescents were more likely to be socially competent, including being more able to differentiate and coordinate various social perspectives by putting themselves in other people's shoes if their parents use authoritative parental style (Adalbjarnardottir, 2005). They were also more likely to have positive self-esteem and to be less depressed than other adolescents (Adalbjarnardottir & Gardarsdottir, 2004a, 2004b), more likely to show greater educational achievement (10th grade) and to have completed upper secondary school at the age of 22 (Blondal & Adalbjarnardottir, 2009, 2014) as well as less likely to participate in binge drinking and to use illegal substances (Adalbjarnardottir & Hafsteinsson, 2001).

Warm and supportive parent-child relationships have theoretically been related to secure attachment relationships and viewed as an important resource to positive developmental outcomes (emotional sensitivity, perspective taking and prosocial behaviors) (Barnett, 1987; Baumrind, 1971; de Wolf & van IJzendoorn, 1997). Research findings have also suggested that poor parental supervision is related to children's lower empathy-levels (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006; measured by BES) especially lower affective empathy-levels. Results also suggest that parents who discuss public affairs with their adolescent can have a positive influence on their civic development (McIntosh et al., 2007). Being encouraged by family to participate has also been found to be important for young people's volunteering participation (Caputo, 2009; Hustinx, 2005).

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In addition, the importance of growing up with clear values, good character, and moral integrity has also been emphasized as being part of developing good citizenship (Kirschenbaum, 1995).

The study aims at examining further parent-child relationships by using the measurement of Steinberg, Lamborn and colleagues (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) with the focus on the relationship between parental styles and views on good citizenship.

3.2.3   Parenting and values

Literature on empathy in relation to parenting is scarce. During the 1960s and 1970s social learning and developmental theorists adapted some of the earlier theories on altruism, perspective taking and empathy and applied them to the process of how parents serve an important role in their children's life by internalizing their values and norms through the process of socialitazion (Hoffman, 1970).

Colby and Damon (1992) studied later adults' caring behavior often discussed in relation to empathy and suggested that moral values were integrated into persons' self-concept as a result of social influences. Berkowitz and Grych (1998) also dealt with this subject and identified four foundational components of children's moral development (social orientation, self-control, compliance, self-esteem) and four central aspects of moral functioning (empathy, conscience, moral reasoning, altruism). They explained that parents are instrumental in influencing their childrens' moral development including their empathy.

Baumrind's (1980) authoritative parental styles have also been related to childrens' important elements of morality including social sensitivity. Parental warmth, support and guidance and responsiveness to the child's needs were related to children's socio-moral development (Baumrind, 1980; Eisenberg, 1995). Parent-child interactions and discussion were thought to be especially important as well as parents expressing support during discussion of moral issues. Consequently, empathy has been considered an important skill in people's communications (Goleman, 2000). Those who empathize with others are also more likely than others to be willing to assist their fellow citizens (Hastings, Zahn-Waxler, Robinson, Usher & Bridges, 2000).

Baumrind (1971) and later others (Boyes & Allen, 1993) also found that authoritative parenting related to childrens' social responsibility. In addition, the nature of family relationships has been found an important factor in predicting sustained service participation (Hart & Fegley 1995).

Empathy and values like social responsibility and trust are values that have been related to prosocial activity and civic participation. Studies have indicated that young people that practice active citizenship often come from families where there has been focus on the importance of values (Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanove, 1998; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Oliner & Oliner, 1998). Several studies have indicated that the quality of family relationships is important in predicting sustained service participation (Clary & Miller 1986; Hart & Fegley 1995).

Studies have also examined parents' social influences in this context and their findings have pointed to adolescent-parent value congruence (Grusec & Hastings, 2015; Pancer & Pratt, 1999). The values of being kind and caring stood out among the most important values in this relation. Furthermore their findings suggested that parents act in association with other socializing agents in young people's lives such as schools, recreational clubs and churches (Pancer & Pratt, 1999; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Darling and Steinberg (1993) draw attention to the complexity of direct and indirect relationships through which parental styles, practices and values affect young people's socialization outcomes.

By using the measurement of Lamborn and her colleagues (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), this study will examine if there is a relationship between young people's perception of parental styles and their empathy, as well as their views on good citizenship (with or without empathy mediating the relationship).

3.3 The role of empathy as human concern for others – prosocial behavior and good citizenship

Youth has been defined as a crucial time period for prosocial development (Erikson, 1963). In emerging adulthood prosocial behavior begins to unfold because of emerging interpersonal relationships, cognitive and emotional development and changes in social context (Carlo, Allen, & Buhman, 1999). Prosocial behaviors stand for actions intended to benefit others of which volunteering and helping behavior are good examples (Batson & Powell, 2003; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006).

Empathy has been called a main building block for prosocial behavior and actions meant to benefit others and society (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989). Hoffman (2000) as well discusses how empathy plays a vital role in prosocial moral reasoning that accompanies people's behavior when they experience someone in need. In the past two decades, research on the development of moral judgment has served to greatly expand our

understanding of moral reasoning (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987; Kohlberg, 1976; Rest, 1983, 1986). Most of the available studies have focused on one aspect of morality, that of prohibition- or justice-oriented reasoning. From this theoretical perspective, laws, rules, authorities, and formal obligations are prominent concerns which dominate the reasoning about conflicts (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979). Because individuals make moral decisions based on something other than "justice", researchers have begun investigations to chart the development and internal structures of Eisenberg-Berg's "prosocial moral reasoning". This type of moral reasoning refers to contexts where rules, laws, and obligations are minimal, but where an individual must choose between satisfying one's own personal needs and desires or those of another individual. In brief, prosocial moral reasoning involves situations where the primary cost of helping another is personal. However, failing to do so does not result in committing a transgression or violating an authority, rule, or law.

Empathy as an other-oriented induced emotion is also presumed to foster positive social behaviors and inhibit aggressive behaviors, as those who experience empathic emotion are motivated to reduce the distress of others (Batson, 1991; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Murphy, Shepard, Eisenberg, Fabes, & Guthrie, 1999).

Empathy has been studied and conceptualised as a complex phenomenon that contains various affective, cognitive, physiological and behavioral processes. Empathy is, for example, considered to be a building block in creating prosocial attitudes and behavior for the benefit of others and society (Batson, 1991,1998; Davis, 1994; Eisenberg, & Mussen, 1989). Empathy has also been "an important concept in contemporary development, social, personality, and clinical psychology" (Eisenberg, 1990, p. 3). I will now discuss theories of empathy in relation to prosocial behavior and civic participation.

People may behave prosocially for altruistic, egoistic or for other-oriented reasons as well as due to practical concern reasons (Boxer, Tisak, & Goldstein, 2004). Philosophers have for centuries discussed the roots of prosocial behavior, mainly the egoistic versus altruistic origins (Eisenberg et al., 2006). Mencius (372-289 BCE), arguably the best known Chinese philosopher since Confucius, believed that all human beings share an inborn goodness that either can be cultivated through education and self-discipline or wasted through neglect and negative influences (Flanagan & Williams, 2010). Mencius emphasized the importance of nurturing four sprouts; concern for others, sense of shame, sense of humility and sense

of right and wrong. By doing that, people would grow into virtuous individuals, sufficient to care and show compassionate behavior to other people (Van Norden, 2007).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, various philosophers (e.g. Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham & John Stuart) were spokesmen of altruism as a consequence of social surroundings. Their approach generated the egocentric perceptions of altruism. These theories were later developed further and it was stated that altruistic behaviors are not originated towards the welfare of others, but rather to gain benefits for oneself, to improve one's social image (Haski-Leventhal, 2009), to avoid the discomfort of witnessing other people's bad situations and the guilt of not answering a call of need (Batson, 1991). At the beginning of the 20th century, Sigmund (1930) continued the discussion, viewing altruism from the egoistic point of view. Early research has also led to the identification of a number of key prerequisites for altruistic behavior, including empathy (Lowe & Richey, 1973; Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967).

The discussion of egocentrism versus altruism is still evolving, especially in social (Batson & Powell, 2003) and evolutionary psychology (Konner, 2002), but has changed somewhat during the 20th century. Altruism is commonly seen as empathy in action (Benard, 2004). Some claim that pure altruism does not exist and that a helping act always has an element of being meaningful for the helper as well (Smith, 1981, 2000). Clary, Snyder, and Stukas (1996) agree with this and argue for mixed motives, consisting of concern for others and for the self. It has at the same time been claimed that if a helping behavior is beneficial for both, then it would not be altruism but cooperation (Monroe, 1996, 2001). Others have hypothesized that the egocentric approach to volunteering ignores the volunteer´s emotional means of the service (Haski-Leventhal, 2009).

The discussion of altruism and egoism has been closely knit to the discussion of prosocial behavior and volunteering motives (see e.g. Batson, Ahmad & Stocks, 2011; Carlo, Hausmann, Christiansen, & Randall, 2003; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001). Furthermore, Batson (2010) examined the motivation for helping and the question of altruism's existence in humans. He has argued that a likely source for altruistic helping is empathic concern, meaning an other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of someone in need. Penner (2002) also reported that active volunteers scored significantly higher than non-volunteers on the *Prosocial personality battery measure*; other-oriented empathy (tendency to feel

empathy and concern for others), helpfulness dimensions and religiosity measure. Other studies have indicated a relationship between empathic concern such as feeling concerned for people less fortunate and volunteering (Einolf, 2008). Yet another study (Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010) described how feelings of obligation to care for people in need mediates the relationship between empathy and volunteering.

Despite considerable improvement in understanding of empathy more research is needed to provide a more detailed picture of the mechanisms involved in empathic development; to better understand how empathic understanding and emotional reactions manifest and to examine what experiences are useful and how they contribute to empathy development (Radenovic, 2011).

Studies on young people's empathy in general are scarce. Empathy has been examined in relation to bullyism (see e.g. Ang & Goh, 2010; Joliffee & Farrington, 2011) and there are also some studies which focus on specific subjects such as exploring medical student's empathy levels (see e. g. Chen, Kirshenbaum, Yan, Kirshenbaum, & Aseltine, 2012; Newton et al., 2008). However, recent studies (Konrath, O'Brien, & Hsing, 2011) have explored young people's empathy and suggested that young people today do not appear as empathetic as previous generations. Other studies support that young people born in the 1980s-1990s are more likely to show tendencies of narcissism (Twenge et al., 2012), individualism (Twenge, 2006) and materialism (Buckingham & Tingstad, 2014; Schor, 2004) than young people in earlier cohorts. These are useful signs as these traits are negatively related to empathy and prosocial behaviors (Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2006). These signs of cohort effects in empathy need to be taken seriously but at the same time it is important to study this further before reading too much into it.

There is also a lack of studies looking into the role of empathy or related matters in relation to citizenship. The findings of a study (Carlo, McGinley, Hayes, Batenhorst, & Wilkinson, 2007) which explored the relationship between parental styles, sympathy and prosocial behaviors among adolescents in a US highschool, supported a relationship between parental styles and prosocial behaviors. However no relationship was indicated between parental styles and sympathy. Wilhelm and Bekkers (2010) examined the relationship between empathy and volunteering. They found that even though there was not a direct relationship, there was an indirect relationship between empathy and volunteering when people showed care through their volunteering.

In this study, the role of empathy will be examined in relation to young people's views on civic engagement to see if empathy is an important skill in this sense. By using the measurement of Basic empathy scale (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006), this study will examine if there is a relationship between both cognitive and affective empathy on the one hand and good citizenship on the other hand. The study should therefore contribute to the aformentioned gap in the literature as well as add to a recent field of study on emotions in relation to collective participation (Cicognani & Zani, 2015).

3.3.1   Empathy measures

As mentioned earlier (see chapter 2.2) some scholars have conceptualized empathy as a cognitive ability (competence to understand the emotions of another or more complex perspective-taking processes) (see e.g. Borke, 1971; Deutsch & Madle, 1975; Hogan, 1969;) while others have considered empathy as an affective construct (capacity to experience the emotions of another) (see e.g., Batson, 1987; Bryant, 1982; Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972; Miller & Eisenberg, 1988). Furthermore, scholars have not been unanimous on whether empathy is simply a manifestation of sympathy (Hoffman, 1984), or whether people empathize to reduce their own reaction to another's situation (e.g., Batson & Coke, 1981). Davis (1983) has stated that empathy in its rawest form can be seen as the tendency to react to other people's observed experiences. Davis's (1983) *Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)* and Jolliffe's and Farrington's (2006) *Basic Empathy scale* are multidimensional and measure both cognitive and affective empathy. The IRI scale measures four different empathy elements, empathic concern (EC) (emotional component), perspective taking (PT) (cognitive component), the Fantasy subscale (FS) (tendencies to imagine other people's points of view) and the Personal Distress (PD) (people's tendencies to identify imaginatively more self-oriented feelings of distress during others' misfortunes). According to Jolliffe and Farrington (2006), the *Basic Empathy Scale* (BES) was designed to overcome the shortcomings of existing scales, including the IRI scale which they claimed equated sympathy with empathy. Comparison of the BES and IRI scale showed their similarities as well as distinctions (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). The authors of the BES claim that the advantages of this scale lie in that no positive relationships were found between the scale's measure and measures of social desirability. In other words, they argue that the responses to the BES were not influenced by the adolescent's desire to appear more empathic than they actually were. The BES, which is based on the following empathy

definition of Cohen and Strayer (1996, p. 523): "The understanding and sharing in another's emotional state or context", is used to measure empathy level in this study.

3.4   Good citizenship

In this chapter I will discuss theories related to citizenship. Citizenship refers to people´s political opinions and behaviors as well as to community service and volunteering (Yates & Youniss, 1999). There is not a single definition of the term "good citizen" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a), but a common understanding refers to being an active member of the community. A good citizen can be someone who is an active participant in conventional civic actions; for example by voting, obeying the law, participating in politics or policy making. The term good citizen can also refer to people who care about the welfare of others and participate in volunteering and social movements (social movement citizenship) (Sirianni, 2009). Several different elements and theoretical perspectives (Ebner, 2009) have been used to explain young people's citizenship and civic engagement such as theories about learning, development, political engagement, and identity (Hollander & Burak, 2009). What is distinctive is how the civic engagement and citizenship term is relatively more broadly defined for young people compared to adults (Youniss et al., 2002). Scholars have indeed warned against focusing only in research on young people's attitudes on "adult political concepts" (Crick, 1999, p. 342).

The following are examples of theoretical perspectives common in the literature:

(i)   The active citizen assumes to have a role in the society and strives to balance civic rights and civic responsibilities (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007). What makes the meaning of active citizenship confusing is that the rights of the citizen are commonly well defined in legislation while responsibilities are not. In addition, people may have different understandings of citizens' responsibilities. The civic rights are, for example, the right to participate in political, social and economic processes and examples of civic responsibilities are civic engagement, to obey laws and and to honor the rights of other citizens (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Bagnall, 2010).

(ii)   Active *citizenship develops through social and political participation* (de Weerd, Gemmeke, Rigter & van Rij, 2005). The participation can either be formal or non-formal, individual and/or collective. Through the participation experiences people develop knowledge, skills and

values (Bagnall, 2010; Barnett & Coate, 2005). Active citizenship is also believed to offer people opportunities to act on and realize their understandings of different community issues and social situations (Jackson, 2012). Active citizenship has accordingly been described as the development of becoming a *responsible citizen* and a leader, concerned with the world's economy, social justice and sustainable living (Hargreaves, 2011).

(iii) Emerging adulthood has been described as a period of an exploration of one's own identity. An important part of such exploration is to develop views towards civic matters (Arnett, 2006). Active citizenship has been related to personal and community identity building (Bagnall, 2010; Lister, 2002; Youniss & Yates, 1997) and has been portrayed as an interaction between identity, social status, culture, sense of belonging and institutional operation (Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999). Defining yourself as member of a group, community, society or the global world can be part of motivating people in collective action (Cicognani & Zani, 2015; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Different experiences in adolescence can be means of exploring identity. Studies have, for example, indicated that media is an important factor as you search for your identity (Arnett, 1995; Lonsdale & North, 2011). It is also increasingly important to look to social media in this sense, as young people spend a considerable part of the day using social media like Facebook, Snapchat and other internet resources (Jacobsen & Forste, 2011).

(iv) *The philosophy of communitarian theory* has been related to citizenship by advocating for citizen´s responsibilities in society. Communitarianism originates from the 20th century and emphasizes the role of the community in providing shared concepts of good and socially inducing normative behavior of individuals (Etzioni, 2011). The theory links community engagement causally to the process of citizenship as well as identifying community action as a core element of *social capital* development (Haste, 2010). Social capital refers to the importance of interpersonal trust, reciprocity and social networks for the actors in the society (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993) and it has been considered among the collective benefits of civic participation such as volunteering (Putnam, 2000). Worries at the beginning of the century about young people's declining electoral participation induced more emphasis on the need for strengthening the social foundation of the participation, with the aim of contributing more to civic society (Dekker, 2002). A newer angle in the discussion of social

capital is the potential of new technology. Different instruments such as social media are thought to increase social capital by connecting people, building trust in relationships and by introducing networks and discussing social issues – and by that creating opportunities for various civic involvement (de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012). Social capital is also considered an important factor in participation continuity (Cicognani & Zani, 2015).

(v) Active citizenship has been linked with *the viewpoint of lifelong learning* as knowledge encourages the citizens to fulfill their civic duties, show concern towards fellow citizens and find ways to participate in the community. It also encourages the citizen to advocate for change and better existing systems and government policies (Barnett & Coate, 2005; Hargreaves, 2011; Zepke, 2013). The lifelong learners raise questions, advocate for human rights and seek to change social and political systems by having a voice and questioning existing ideologies and systems (Aldenmyr, Wigg, & Olson, 2012; Haste, 2010).

Many of these perspectives draw attention to the opportunities that active citizenship can create in developing social relationships, reciprocity, trust and social belonging (Brannan, John, & Stoker, 2006) and how this contribution to society encourages social capital growth (Bagnall, 2010; Putnam, 2000).

In the western world there has been an increasing emphasis on strengthening young people's citizenship among educational scholars and policy makers alike (see e.g. European Commission, 2015; European Council 2010; IWGYP, 2013; OECD 2011; Mycock & Tonge, 2014). I will now discuss the situation in the field of young people's civic participation. Two types of civic participation will mainly be discussed; political participation and volunteering as well as mentioning new forms and patterns in youth civic engagement.

3.4.1 Young people's political participation patterns

Researchers' spotlight has been pointed in the direction of young people's political participation as policy on youth issues reflect increasing emphasis on their active participation as citizens. For example, one of the main aims of *The European Union Youth Strategy 2010-2018* is to encourage young people's civic engagement (European Commission, 2015) and similar trends can be seen both in the United States and other parts of the

western world (Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Putnam, 2000; Schulz et al., 2010).

Considerable concern in modern society has been directed at the diminishing membership of political parties and trade unions, dropping voting rates, growing volatility and increasing dissatisfaction towards organizations (Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Dalton, 2013; Donovan et al., 2005; Flanagan, 2009; Hajnal & Lee, 2011; Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014; Klingemann, 2015; van Biezen, Mair, & Poguntke, 2012). This trend has been most striking among young people (see e.g. Norris, 2011; Schulz et al., 2010; Sherrod et al., 2010; Wattenberg, 2003).

Furthermore, trust in political parties and national government has been declining and has happened across age, party, gender, occupation, family income and race (Norris, 2011; Martin, 2012). There has also been a rising tendency of citizens presenting themselves as independent towards electoral politics (from 35% in early 2000s to 45% in 2010-2011; Obama, 2006). Signs of weaker relationships to civic organizations have emerged as well (Dalton, 2013; Macedo, Alex-Assensoh, & Berry, 2005). Cognitive mobilization has at the same time been reinforcing, meaning that a greater focus is on looking closely into political issues as well as reviewing candidates that are running for candidacy (Dalton, 2013).

This has led to an ongoing discussion for decades on what this might mean for democratic societies and what the appropriate response should be. Some have stressed that young people are politically disadvantaged in comparison to other groups; because of age limits for voting but furthermore because they may lack necessary civic skills and financial resources (Scholl, 2015). Responce to this has been growing opportunities in recreations for young people. Examples of such opportunities are different nonpolitical, interest driven activities in communities such as participation in sports or religious groups which offer young people opportunities to develop transferable skills (Flanagan & Levine, 2010). In Europe, sports clubs are the most popular participation form (28%), then youth organisations (7%) but trade unions and political parties are among uncommon involvement forms (4%) (Schulz et al., 2010; Commision of the European Communities, 2009). The activities can even be through online gaming where young people can practise skills that can be transferred and used in the broader society. Such non-political activities that young people engage in can build bridges to civic and sometimes political participation and increase the likelihood that they volunteer in their community,

contribute to charity, participate in expressive activities or work with others on community issues (Cohen & Kahne, 2012).

Educational systems and policy makers have especially responded and tried to address those concerns by offering civic education as part of school curriculum (Brown, Corrigan, & D'Allessandro, 2012; Pasek, Feldman, Romer & Jamieson, 2008; Sherrod et al., 2010; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a). Different models of citizenship education have been reviewed in studies. The conclusion is that models focusing mainly on civic knowledge are not adequate and it is emphasized that learning also needs to occur through praxis (Haste, 2004). Preferably the youth activities should be community oriented as literature has supported that the more connection participation has to service, political activity, and public performance, the more likely it is for action to be related to long-term political action (McFarland & Reuben, 2006). Different voluntary projecs both within and outside of school such as student councils and service clubs are, for example, important in this context. However, attention has also been brought to the importance of other extracurricular clubs such as arts clubs (drama, debate, music) as places where young people connect as members of political as well as leisure communities (Brabazon, 2002; Harris, 2004). Findings (Kuhn & Weinberger 2005) have also indicated that leadership experiences in clubs and interest driven activities such as in sports and religious groups can have relevance in a political context later in life through transferable skills (Flanagan & Levine, 2010).

In the newer models of civic education, definitions of civic participation have also been extended partly to respond to the changing needs of young citizens in the modern technical world (Bennett, Wells, & Rank, 2009) and partly to reflect changes in purposes of civic education (Carretero et al., 2016). The focus is now more on "Civic education through new media, student engagement in critical deliberation of controversial issues, and how historical narratives and concepts are used in the construction of civic identity" (Carretero et al., 2016, p. 295). The involvement of education and schooling therefore plays an important role in encouraging young people's civic engagement (Bovens & Wille, 2008) and provides their political literacy (Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Levinson, 2010). From 2001 to 2010 college students' civic participation in the US doubled (Sander & Putnam, 2010) which has lead to enhancement of citizenship skills (Levine, 2013; Lewis, 2014). The downside is that those students come from higher socio economic families which can result in a growing participatory gap between well-educated and less-well-educated young people. Research has suggested though that civic education and institutions devoted to youth

engagement (such as AmeriCorps) can be particularly effective in enhancing the participation of young people from deprived backgrounds (Flanagan, Finlay, Gallay, & Kim, 2012).

Political participation has been defined in many different ways. One is that by being politically active individuals or groups emphasize having their voice heard and impacting on societal issues (Allen & Light, 2015). A broader definition of politics categorizes engagement into electoral activities (voting, campaign), activism (protest, boycotting, petitions), civic activities (charity, community service) and lifestyle politics (vegetarianism, awareness raising, boycotting) (Kahne et al., 2015). The engagement patterns therefore evolved from being less occupied with traditional dutiful civic activities such as voting to being more focused on "lifestyle politics: social activism, volunteering and political consumerism" (Bennett, Wells, & Rank, 2009, p. 107). Those alternative engagement forms such as environmental advocacy, civic participation and discussion through new technology forms (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Haste, 2009) and other informal civic participation forms have become the leading patterns (see e.g. Flanagan, 2013; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011).

The aforementioned factors contribute to the changing nature of young people's democratic political actions and these changes have for the last decade been a prominent theme of academics and policy makers around the world. De Groot & Veugelers (2015) have for example pointed out that democracy as a political system is under constant construction. This calls for a positive view on democratic practices from time to time and it also points out that it is an "intrinsically value-laden enterprise" (p.12). They also emphasized a culture within democracies that aims for respect and equity as well as highlighting an ethos directed at co-constructing multipolar societies. This viewpoint on democracy has been called a 'thicker conception of democracy' (de Groot & Veugelers, 2015).

Studies suggest that the younger generations do have a certain amount of political interest and motivation (Amnå & Zetterberg, 2010) as well as their own voice and ways of engaging in politics even though some of the participation styles may have altered (Gaiser, Gille, & de Rijke, 2009; Sloam, 2014). A prominent focus is on issue-based politics (Loader, Vromen, & Xenos, 2014) as young people "want to deal with common concerns concretely and personally rather than abstractly and ideologically" (Bang, 2005, p. 168). However, some have pointed out that these forms of participation often are more demanding of citizens' resources and are therefore more likely to exclude the younger

generations, the less highly educated and the less well-off: "Nearly all can vote and most do. But very few citizens can (or do) file a lawsuit, make requests under a Freedom of Information Act, attend an Environmental Impact Review hearing, or attend local planning meetings" (Dalton, Cain, & Scarrow, 2003, p. 262).

Sometimes young people's interest leads them to civic action but in other instances they choose to be standby as monitorial citizens until they perceive that they are needed (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Amnå & Zetterberg, 2010; Hustinx et al., 2012). Through that they are reshaping how politics takes place (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Kahne et al., 2015; Schulz et al., 2010; Zukin et al., 2006).

Young people are more likely than the general population to address political issues directly by participating in protesting or demonstrations, boycotting products, or signing petitions (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Sloam, 2014). Different participation projects in local government are also common venues for youth participation (Bang, 2005; Youniss & Levine, 2009). Frequently these tasks are issue based and the aim is to advocate for a certain cause.

While addressing those civic issues, they frequently take advantage of new technology such as the internet and social media which have become a vital part of people's everyday life (Eurostat, 2013, 2014). In Europe the group with the highest internet use is young people (16-24) and Iceland has the highest score of daily users (Eurostat, 2013). Research focus has therefore increasingly been directed at these new sources for civic practices, both the opportunities as well as challenges that the digital age brings for youth (Bakker & Vreese, 2011; Verger, 2012). Even though most citizens up to the year 2007 used the internet mostly to stay informed, there is a recent visible trend that the internet may be beginning to have an effect on young people's political activity and daily life (Jensen, 2013). Part of citizens' political discourse is now in the form of statuses and arguments on social media such as on Facebook and Twitter and this has increased exposure to news and political content as links can easily been shared there to a large group of people (Frame & Brachotte, 2016; Thorson, 2014). This gives them the opportunity to express their attitudes as well as their personality to a wide variety of people with different political stances (Papacharissi, 2012). This could possibly motivate their civic activity as well as help them to develop their political self (Ostman, 2012) and foster political expression and participation processes.

When the relationship between social media use and political engagement has been examined, variations have emerged. Many discuss the overall positive contributions of the internet for civic engagement and democracy especially for young people as they are more likely to be active online than older generations and they have the necessary ability to do so (see e.g. de Zúñiga, 2015; de Zúñiga, Molyneux & Zheng, 2014; Jensen, 2013; Kahne et al., 2015; Saglie & Vabo, 2009; Xenos, Vromen & Loader, 2014; Zhang, Seltzer, & Bichard, 2013). There are also signs of online activity contributing to higher enagagement rates (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; de Zúñiga, Molyneux & Zheng, 2014) and the involvement has been found to matter beyond time and place, predicting future online and offline political participation (Ekström & Östman, 2013). Others have reported weak or none relationship (Baumgartner & Morris, 2009; Dimitrova & Bystrom, 2013). Further research is therefore needed in this field of study.

Furthermore, social media and digital tools are increasingly used as instruments for activists to protest or present political messages and the Arab Spring that began in the year of 2010 is a good example of that (Zuckerman, 2015). "Participatory storytelling" is another popular way young people use to voice their opinions on societal matters that they find important in their close or global environment (Zimmerman, 2012, p. 39). Social media has therefore brought some global issues closer to citizens; such as violation of human rights in other parts of the world and slavery practiced by famous brand manufacturers (Parham & Allen, 2015). This is important as research has indeed suggested that young people are more likely to vote if they are using the new digital forms of civic engagement (Kahne & Middaugh, 2012).

These new sources illustrate how young people increasingly construct social (and political) biographies and their own sense of community in the modern world (Castells, 2000). When young people do get civically or politically engaged, they are increasingly involved in personally meaningful causes guided by their own lifestyles and shifting social networks, including "local volunteerism, consumer activism, support for issues and causes (environment, human rights), participation in various transnational protest activities" (Bennett, 2007, p. 64). Research has indeed supported the idea that the internet is helpful for voters to communicate with politicians in an easier way (Dimitrova, Shehata, Strömbäck, & Nord, 2014; Linders, 2012) and that politicians use these new instruments as well to get closer to voters, especially the young ones by sending them messages, advertising on Facebook and sending them selfies (Haleva-Amir, 2016; Strandberg,

2013; Stromer-Galley, 2014) as well as through blogging (Pole, 2010). Some have pointed out that politicians', candidates' and parties' use of the internet must not be overestimated. Some consider this evolution a step backwards as the new media has personalized politics (Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014) and thereby diminished the visibility of value based political ideology (Morozov, 2009; Shulman, 2009). Other researchers have also pointed out that those new digital tools mainly supplement the political discussion that already exists in other forms of media, campaigning and civic participation (Jensen, 2013; Yates, Kirby, & Lockley, 2014).

The positive aspects of these changes are that young people continue to be committed to democracy and democratic engagement and that in these nonelectoral, noninstitutionalized forms of politics the gender and age gaps are reduced or even reversed (Sloam, 2014). The negative consequences of these changes relate to the question of equality — as voting is already heavily structured by citizens' socio-economic status and levels of educational attainment.

Similar to numerous other countries there are certain signs of decreasing electoral participation in Iceland and the inclination is even stronger as there has traditionally been a strong conventional participation both there (See table 1) as well as in all Scandinavia (Hooghe & Oser, 2015).

Table 1. Voting participation by age in elections for congress.

	18-24 years	25-29 years	30 years and older
Year 2013	83%	88%	94%
Year 2007	76,1%	87%	95%
Year 1983	90%	93%	94%

Source: Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014

Table 1 shows that the difference in voting rates in Iceland between age groups during the time period from 1983 to 2013 has increased substantially. Two things stand out from this research. Firstly that the voting rates in the lower age groups have decreased and secondly that the difference between the groups in each time period increased as well, from 3% and 1% in the year of 1983 to 5% and 6% in the year 2013. Even though voters' turnout in Iceland is still relatively high compared to most other countries (Hardarson & Kristinsson, 2006), new statistics on young people's election participation (Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014) give a clear message that electoral patterns in Iceland are changing just as in Scandinavian countries where voting rates have also traditionally been high (Dalton & Welzel, 2015). At the same time, both in Scandinavia as well as in other countries of Europe and in America, young people have become more drawn to non-institutionalized (Hooghe, Oser, & Marien, 2016) and alternative forms of participation (Kahne et al., 2015) such as more critical forms (Norris, 2011) and different community based projects instead of institution or duty based civic behaviors (Copeland, 2014; Dalton, 2008; Flanagan, 2013; Martin, 2012; Raney & Berdahl, 2009; Shulman & Levine, 2012; Sloam, 2013; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011).

An Icelandic study *Young people's civic engagement in a democratic society (*Adalbjarnardottir, 2011) that this dissertation is part of, explored young people's conceptualization of being a good citizen. Findings indicated that young people consider civic values an important element of good citizenship. Almost all of them found very or somewhat important to show people respect (96.3%), be honest (94.7%), help fellow citizens in their community (society) (92,2%) and obey the law (91.6%). A large majority of them also considered very or somewhat important to put oneself in someone else's position (85.7%) and to participate in activities to benefit people in the community (society) (78%). The participants

considered working a lot a less important element in good citizenship (44.1%).

Scholars have addressed some of the aforementioned changes and argued that they might be rooted in civic value changes in advanced democracies (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Dalton, 2008) as well as changing citizenship concepts (Norris, 2011). Young people highlight increasingly individual freedom (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Copeland, 2014) and choose self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010; Welzel, 2013) and therefore loose and more informal engagement networks (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). It has been argued that young people's political participation and civic orientation are embedded in these newer norms (Blais, Young, & Lapp, 2000; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013) and changes in life goals (Twenge et al., 2012).

Despite literature on changes in civic norms and attitudes there is little evidence yet whether total civic action is on the rise or not. What is clear, however, is that an expanding group of young people values broader citizenship norms and chooses the newer civic engagement forms (Hooghe & Oser, 2015). By so doing they are reshaping how politics takes place (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Kahne et al., 2015; Schulz et al., 2010; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina et al., 2006).

Citizenship norms today more closely reflect the changing life experiences of young people than overarching collective (e.g. class) interests (Furlong, 2009; Marsh, 2007). Therefore, young people's experiences of the state — in particular, public institutions and public services that support their transition to adulthood — have a major bearing on how they conceptualize citizenship and politics. Some have also argued that the importance of social norms has been overlooked and this has to be kept in mind when civic engagement is being promoted (Shulman & Levine, 2012).

In spite of previous discussion it has been argued that increased engagement in nonelectoral politics do not make up for the decrease in electoral engagement like voting as it removes the important pressure on politicians to listen to young people's voices and prioritize youth issues among other important topics (Sloam, 2014).

3.4.2 Volunteering as active citizenship

Volunteering and active citizenship have been of increasing interest in various fields of study. In this chapter, volunteering will be discussed. A

historic overview will be given, theoretical perspective discussed, and benefit of volunteering.

3.4.2.1 Historical overview

In pre-industrialized societies there used to be a strong tradition of mutual help in communities and there still is in many third world nations (Gillette, 1999). Even though industrialization decreased the tradition of mutual helping, it resurfaced regularly especially during wars and financial crisis. America has a long and rich tradition of volunteering and emphasis on young people's engagement (Tocqueville, 2000) and as early as 1916 commissioners believed that the way to teach civics was to open opportunities to engage in the community so that people would feel for civic ideals (Schachter, 1998). In the 1920s and 1930s voluntary service spread and throughout the late 1940s and 1950s young volunteers became more prominent. Many national volunteer movements were formed and during the 1960s long term volunteering, to help out in the developing countries, was established as well. All through the 1960s and 1970s, young people's involvement in society increased, especially as political action advocating for civil rights and fighting against war (Youniss & McIntosh, 2009).

However, it was not until the beginning of the 1980s, that a widespread political support and encouragement was received from the federal government in America with resulting evolution in volunteering as well as with volunteer programs established in schools and colleges (Clemmitt, 2012). The main goals of these service programs were to encourage young people to contribute to their communities in order to address common needs (Frumkin & Jastrzab, 2010; Salamon, Sokolowski & Anheier, 2000). Among the incentives were the controversial discussion in the media, stating that young people were becoming more materialistic and self-absorbed and focusing more on making money than helping in the community (Frumkin & Jastrzab, 2010). Service learning became common as a "teaching and learning strategy that integrates meaningful community service with instruction and reflection to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities" (e-Learning Clearinghouse, n.d.). The civic experience was intended to benefit both the students and the community (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Maccio & Voorhies, 2012). This policy evolved by time and youth volunteer service became common not only in the US but worldwide (Clemmitt, 2012).

Icelandic social movements were first established in the 19th century, mainly for officials. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th

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century they developed into public social movements which relied on volunteers and were based on democratic values (Hrafnsdottir, 2006a). Reviewing the Icelandic history of social movements (Hrafnsdottir & Kristmundsson, 2008) there appeared to be an absence of opportunities for young people to be active participants. Social movements oriented specifically towards young people were though gradually established during the course of the 20th century: The Icelandic Youth Association (UMFÍ) in 1907, The Scout Movement in 1911, The Abstinence Association in Schools in 1932 and in 1961 the International youth trading program (AUS) which offered young people opportunities to travel abroad to volunteer. The Icelandic Red Cross has only recently started to offer programs particularily designed for young people (Ministry of Education, 2003). Social movements and volunteers have had a substantial influence on the Icelandic welfare system by providing generous attention, time, money and service towards different social and health services (Hrafnsdottir, 2006b; Kristmundsson & Hrafnsdottir, 2013).

3.4.2.2 *Theoretical perspective and benefit of volunteering*

Researchers within psychology and sociology have dealt with volunteering from several different angles as well as with the question of how to link young people's volunteering to broader civic awareness. The tradition of prosocial behavior has been applied (e.g. Marta & Pozzi, 2008; Metz, 2013; Omoto & Snyder, 2010; Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, & Piliavin, 1995) as well as altruistic behavior (see e.g. Musick, & Wilson, 2008; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998; Staub, 2003; Wilson, 2000; Youniss & Yates, 1999). Some research findings have indicated a relationship between prosocial behaviors and empathy, including altruistic behaviors (Carlo et al., 2003; Eisenberg et al., 2001; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Few studies on this relationship have been conducted but some have supported a relationship between empathy, volunteering and charitable work (Bekkers, 2005; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Research findings have also indicated that dispositions of other-oriented empathy (prosocial thoughts and feelings) and helpfulness (Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger & Freifeld, 1995) are positively related to volunteering.

Volunteering has also been related to theories of moral and citizenship awareness (see e.g. Haste & Hogan 2006; Youniss & Yates, 1997). The significance has been on opening their eyes towards poverty and inequality of certain societal groups as valuable sources of reciprocity can form by the interaction and bonding within the social movements (Amadeo et al., 2002; Torney-Purta, Richardson & Barber 2004). It has also

been indicated that young people benefit from being able to get in direct proximity with several issues like homelessness, mental disabilities and environmental concerns; as well as being able to reflect on it as it encourages future volunteering (Youniss & Yates, 1997; Smith, 1994). Furthermore it is considered valuable in terms of social capital – for individuals of socially dissimilar groups to connect (de Souza Briggs, 2003; Colley, Boetzelen, Hoskins, & Parveva 2007; Haste, 2010).

Life course theories (see e.g. Oesterle, Kirkpatrick-Johnson & Mortimer, 2004) as well as political perspectives (see e.g. Lister, 2003; Marquand, 2004) have also been used and related to volunteering. In addition, volunteering has increasingly been dealt with from an educational point of view (see e.g. Conrad & Hedin, 1991; Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997; Metz, 2013). In many places both in Europe as well as in America additional social education and community service (service learning) elements have been created for schools, to encourage young people to be active members of the community and get involved with voluntary and community projects (see e.g. Melchior, 1999; Melchior & Bailis, 2002; Torney-Purta, 2002).

The roots of encouraging young people's active citizenship seem in earlier research to be originated in the aim of preventing individuals and society from the risk of individuals not developing into active citizens who contribute to the society (Stenson & Factor, 1995; Lister, 2003). More recent emphasis has been directed to the importance of empowering citizens and offering them sense of responsibility and voluntary philanthropic activities in society (Clarke, 2005; Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001).

Findings of research where students' civic involvement (school, community, religious, political, volunteer/service) was examined in relation to their civic beliefs and reasoning, indicated that those who were active in manifold ways had a greater sense of responsibility and more respect for societal participation (Metzger & Smetana, 2009). Young people who serve as volunteers were also more likely to have a strong work ethic as they grow older and they are more likely both to volunteer and vote (Zaff & Michelsen, 2002). In addition, a positive relationship has been found between young people's volunteering and their various competences and skills; such as multicultural competence (Einfeld & Collins, 2008), stronger self-esteem and self-image (Taylor & Pancer, 2007; Yates & Youniss, 1998), converted personal and emotional perceptions as

well as more knowledge of the civic world (Haski-Leventhal & Bar-Gal, 2008).

Research has also indicated that youth's volunteering can increase the feeling of belonging to society (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999), which could theoretically reinforce them as responsible active participants in society and decrease the likelihood of isolation and alienation (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007). Volunteering has been said to provide benefits both to the volunteer (see e.g. Metz, 2013; Melchior & Bailis, 2002; Oesterie et al., 2004) and the society by encouraging a sense of community (Omoto & Snyder, 1990), increasing feelings of connectedness and offering participation opportunities in the democratic system (Youniss, 2011; Gudjohnsen & Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). It has been stated that by constructing volunteering programmes and social projects at relatively low cost, communities can build up their social capital and overcome the barriers of social end economic detachment (Brannan, John, & Stoker, 2006; Dekker & van den Broek, 1998; Putnam, 2000).

3.4.2.3 Paths to increase civic engagement

Although altruism appears to be a key element in helping and volunteering behavior, other factors such as structural elements e.g. planning the service ahead, training, long term factor, support during service, group discussion, reflection period after service and proper evaluation of the organization – are equally important (Melchior, 1999; Omoto & Snyder 1995; Penner, 2002; Pickeral, 2008; Tang, Choi, & Morrow-Howell, 2009; Youniss & Yates, 1996, 1997; Metz, 2013). Many programs are operated without securing key elements of effective service (Clemmit, 2012). The importance of intertwining ideology and discussion with the volunteering experience has been stressed by scholars as it has been related to the promotion of young people´s personal growth, civic awareness and identity (Youniss & Yates, 1999). By volunteering for a social movement or an organization, young people are being introduced to positive traditions rooted in values of a certain cause (Metz, 2013). The volunteer experience has thereby the potential of providing new awareness to young individuals (Youniss & Yates, 1997; Melchior, 1999) but without key structural elements and introducing the values of serving there is no guaranty (Long, 2002; Rhodes, 1997) that volunteering service as a single generic term can or should invariably carry positive effects on citizenship development (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b). Schools can build on this existing research in order to strengthen the civic curriculum to promote knowledge, interest, and habits of active citizenship (Youniss, 2011).

From the viewpoint of identity theories it is therefore vital that volunteer movements and organizations introduce their ideology so that volunteers become aware of it. If they relate to the ideology it can not only maximise the volunteer´s participation but the volunteer should adopt a volunteer role identity (Lee, Piliavin, & Call, 1999). Once new identity elements have been awakened, it can mark the young people´s future engagement (Penner, 2002; Youniss et al., 1997; Yates & Youniss, 1999). Research has also suggested that the more personal meaning it has for a person to volunteer for a certain cause, the more likely the individal is to keep engaging in a social movement for the cause (Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Volunteering participation can also give young people opportunities to express or strengthen their personal identity (Wilson, 2012) whether it is characterised by wanting to have influence by being a political activist, a helper either value driven or faith based or wanting to be a good citizen (Grönlund, 2010; Matsuba, Hart, & Atkins, 2007) driven by community based values of unity and solidarity.

This development has nationwide led to more awareness towards the need for establishing opportunities for young people to engage in the community (Clarke, 2005; Nava, 1984) both as part of school work (service learning) as well as other volunteering work.

3.4.2.4 Participation rates in volunteering

Different social movement oriented engagement forms such as volunteering have been on the rise compared to the conventional forms for the last two decades (Twenge et al., 2012). Episodic volunteering based on independent short term projects have especially become quite popular (Hustinx, 2010; Taylor et al., 2008; Wilson, 2012). There are no exact rates though of youth volunteering as figures vary from study to study depending on the definition of volunteering (Kirby, Kawashima-Ginsberg & Godsay, 2011). In the United States the youth volunteer rates have increased from being 10% in the 1970s to the rate of 33% in 2005 (Kirby et al., 2011) and 28% for the age of 16-18 and 19% for the age of 19-24 in 2009. Between 2009 and 2011 they reported an average national volunteer rate for volunteers aged 16-24 of 22,1% per year (Corporation for national and community service, 2013). In a national study on even younger volunteers, findings reported that 35% of 12th graders, 31% of 10th graders, and 27% of 8th graders volunteered one time or more often in the last month prior to being surveyed (Child Trends Databank, 2015). The same study informed that 33% (16-19) of high school seniors in America volunteered at least once a month during 2014 as well as 39% of

12th graders and 27% of eighth graders. The explanation for the average rise in participation in America has been related to increased opportunities to volunteer as a part of school work as well as through national organizations and institutions that plan and provide service opportunities (Wilson, 2012).

There is scarce database evidence on young people's volunteering in the Nordic countries. The statistics available also measure different types of participation making comparison more difficult. Databases available for the Nordic countries show that participation rates for young people's (15–29 year olds) volunteering for organizations in 2015 range from 18% to 27% (Gallup World Poll, 2015) and the proportion involved in work for voluntary or charitable organisations ranges from 35% to 51% (European Social Survey, 2012). The volunteering is most commonly connected with sports, recreational and educational activities, but less with social care and community issues such as in the United States (Grassman & Svedberg, 2013).

Study on young people's volunteering in Iceland is limited. The first published research findings on volunteering in Iceland are from 1997 where adult volunteering motives were examined (Juliusdottir & Sigurdardottir, 1997). Hrafnsdottir (2005) published her first study of a series of studies on adult volunteering in Iceland in 2005. Findings reported volunteering rates for individuals 18 years and older (30% of 18-24 year olds volunteered in the last 12 months; N=1500). In another study by Hrafnsdottir (2007) the youngest volunteers (18-24 year olds; N=827) mentioned personal reasons as their main motive for volunteering while the older age groups mentioned more frequently the motive to serve for a certain cause. Iceland's participation in cross-national and longitudinal surveys, such as the World Value Survey since 1981 (see http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/) and The European Values Study since 1984 (see http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/) do though provide valuable information of values and how citizens think about society from the age of 18 to 24 years old.

3.4.2.5 Volunteering opportunities

Internationally volunteering opportunites have escalated in the 21st century as national organizations targeted towards young people have offered different volunteering domains (Metz, 2013). Extracurricular clubs and social movements contribute valuable opportunities as well (Jennings, 2002; Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; Nolin, Chaney, Chapman, & Chandler, 1997). Scouts and the YMCA have throughout history been

especially important for youth in low-income areas where there are fewer opportunities to serve in the community (Pedersen & Seidman, 2005). Research has also supported a positive relationship between spirituality (Einolf, 2013) and faith-based organizations and volunteering (von Essen, Hustinx, Haers, & Mels, 2015).

Available opportunities derive also from schools and give children and young people chances to try out their civic learning in the real world (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000). The common term used for volunteering experiences as part of schoolwork is *service learning*. The meaning relates to strategies in teaching and learning that incorporate well organized community service to enrich civic learning and experience and strengthen communities (National Service-Learning Clearinghouse, n.d.). From the late 1980s interest in service learning and general volunteering increased in America, both in high schools and even middle and elementary school, with the aim of encouraging good citizenship (15% offered service learning) (Clemmitt, 2012). Many schools in the US now require service learning so that students gain as much hands on experience as possible, benefitting both the students as well as the community (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Maccio & Voorhies, 2012). Some schools have even required participation in community service (Chapman & Kleiner, 1999; Dundjerski & Gray, 1998). This has induced some academic discussion. Some have argued that in spite of service opportunities for young people, schools are still left with the challenge of finding a way to implement civic engagement learning into the students' personal civic life and create a more involved citizen (Halstead & Pike, 2006). In this context it has, for example, been emphasized that moral education has to accompany citizenship education as skills, knowledge, dispositions and values are all to be fostered (Halstead & Pike, 2006). Some have also claimed that mandating the service is contradictory to the free will element of volunteering (Stukas, Snyder & Clary, 1999) and have advised that great care should be taken when requiring people to volunteer (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Still others have pointed out that mandatory service appears to be a positive motivation for young people (Metz & Youniss, 2003, 2005).

Web-based platforms have also emerged (see e.g. European Youth Portal, The Centre for Volunteering, National Youth Agency, World Volunteer Web) and other non-organizational volunteering projects are new means in introducing different community projects and encouraging civic interest and volunteering (Grassman & Svedberg, 2013).

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3.4.2.6 Volunteers' motives

Volunteers' motivation has been studied to some extent but mostly with standardized questionnaires (Chacón, Pérez, Flores, & Vecina, 2011) as they are considered to play a role in encouraging volunteering. The perspectives taken on motives are usually either sociological or psychological and some have as well argued for a combination of those two (Musick & Wilson, 2008). The individual citizen's motivation to engage politically for example by having his or her voice heard and to seek for social change – often comes from a moral sensitivity which carries with it a sense of personal responsibility to act or at least to persuade someone else to do so. If we are to understand how to engage young people more effectively, for example, in the political process, we must understand how such motivations work, and how they relate to the larger questions of democracy's functioning (Haste & Hogan, 2006).

Several researchers have looked into the relation of age and volunteer motives (Haski-Leventhal, Ronel, York & Ben-David, 2008; Hrafnsdottir, 2006b; Omoto, Snyder & Martino, 2000). In an Icelandic study young people mentioned personal reasons as their main reason for participating while the older age group mentioned more frequently the motive to serve for a certain cause (Hrafnsdottir, 2007). Young volunteers have also been found to perform their service with less regularity than adult volunteers and do not tend to serve for the same cause as long as adults (Lopez & Barrios, 2007). The results of Ho, You and Fung (2012) revealed that with age both social and value motivation appear to increase as career motivation decreases. In a study exploring adult volunteer motives (Chacón et al., 2011) values were named as the most important motive. The value motive also coincides with other motives such as organizational commitment, personal growth, religion, social change or interest in the activity. Several researchers claim though that both young people and adults have similar motivations for volunteering (see e.g. Schondel & Boehm, 2000) but, because the value motives are more socially acceptable, people often emphasize those aims in discussion.

The theory of Watts and colleagues (Watts, Griffith, & Abdul–Adil, 1999) has at the same time suggested that spirituality in the form of belief in a higher power can play a supportive role for an individual and can provide the motivation to volunteer and become an advocate for change. This has been confirmed in several studies (Lam, 2002; McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Youniss & Yates, 1997; Wuthnow, 1991). Multiple research on young people´s volunteering within community and religious organizations have

found support for the engagement supporting future volunteering and civic engagement (Youniss et al., 1997; Flanagan & Faison, 2001).

Other researchers have pointed to educational and career oriented motives as extracurricular activities (sports and youth clubs) and community service has increasingly been considered a beneficial factor when applying for schools and jobs (Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Social networks can also be instrumental in motivating young people to volunteer (McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).

Sometimes youth volunteering motives are rooted in initial personal factors (Mowen & Sujan, 2005) but often they are a combination of several motivational factors, both personal and societal (Clary & Snyder, 1999; Handy et. al, 2010; Perpék, 2012; Yeung, 2004).

Penner (2002) has, in his discussion of the *Model of sustained volunteering*, warned against talking independently about the impact of motives on volunteering and emphasized how important it is to regard the relationship of motives with other elements of volunteering as well; such as personal beliefs, values, organizational practices and relationship with the organization.

In a recent Icelandic study, young people (aged 14-20) were asked about their motives for volunteering (Gudjohnsen & Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). The young people explained that their motives were either rooted in personal (more confidence, social competence, joy) or/and societal benefit (helpfulness, will to reform, increased civic awareness, civic engagement and sharing of knowledge and experience). Findings also reflected their views of connecting values (equality, equal rights, justice, empathy, helpfulness, will to reform, sense of responsibility, solidarity) strongly with their participation in volunteering work.

3.4.2.7 Future volunteers

The results of some research have indicated that civic participation experience is vital in building social solidarity in a community (Colley et al., 2007) as well as in encouraging future active citizenship (Astin et al., 2000; Hart, Donelly, Youniss & Atkins, 2007; Jennings, 2002). Findings have, for example, pointed to the benefit of young people's engagement experiences in social movements for their future participation and related it to the opportunities they had in practising their participation role (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Sustainability of volunteering has also been indicated to rest on organizational characteristics as well as personal motivation (Karr & Meijs, 2006). Surveys have found that 44 percent of

adult volunteers began to serve in adolescence and that people who volunteer at young age are twice as likely to volunteer as adults (Independent Sector, 2001; Wilson, 2012). Volunteering in adulthood has also been found to be related to a number of early life experiences, such as participating in student government and team sports as well (Hall, McKeown, & Roberts, 2001; Musik & Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2012; Youniss et al., 1997). Much research also shows that service involvement with community and religious organizations during youth increases the likelihood of future civic engagement (see e.g. Niemi & Junn, 1998; Raskoff & Sundeen, 1999). Verba and colleagues (1995) found active youth participants to be three to five times more likely to become members and leaders of voluntary organizations in adulthood.

It has equally been emphasized how important it is for volunteering to be interesting, challenging and meaningful (McLellan & Youniss, 2003). If the volunteer feels his contribution matters, he/she is more likely to continue his participation (Metz, 2013). The type of service can also affect whether a young person continues serving or not. Direct contact with the person receiving the service seems as well to encourage the volunteers plans to continue volunteering (Metz et al., 2003). Direct interaction with a recipient and the ability of the volunteer to work the service through, can also be a determining factor whether volunteering is meaningful for a young person or not. Studies have also demonstrated that the design and implementation of volunteering programs are important in this sense as well as for future participation (see e.g. Metz & Youniss, 2003).

Several studies based on theories of modeling and value internalization have looked into intergenerational transmission of volunteering. Findings supported a relationship between parental volunteering and children's volunteering later in life, especially for religious volunteering (see e.g. Bekkers, 2007; Caputo, 2009; Musik & Wilson, 2008; Wilson 2012).

3.5 Adalbjarnardottir's model of civic awareness and engagement

In understanding the young people's views of good citizenship in a broader sense, Adalbjarnardottir's (2008) model of civic awareness and engagement was used as a frame for this study (see Figure 2). The aim was to adapt and develop her model to young people's ideas of good citizenship. Adalbjarnardottir´s civic awareness and engagement model is based on her earlier work with Selman, a model on how adolescents make meaning of risk and relationships (Adalbjarnardottir, 2002; Selman &

Adalbjarnardottir, 2000) as well as a model on teacher professional development (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). The theoretical roots of the frameworks lie both in philosophy and psychology. Adalbjarnardottir draws on the philosophical tradition of phenomenology (Heidegger, 1962; Husserl, 1970) with an emphasis on hermeneutics (the study of ways to interpret human experience and place it into context). She also draws on theories of psychosocial development, with an emphasis on how a person constructs and reconstructs his/her knowledge and understanding of his/herself and her social, cultural and historical environment with increased age, development and experience (e.g., Kohlberg, 1976; Kohlberg, 1984; Piaget, 1932/1965; Selman, 1980; Vygotsky, 1978). Social constructivism (Tobias & Duffy, 2009) captures the integration of these traditions (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007) (see also further discussion on the concept of social constructivism in chapter 3.1) (e.g., Gergen, 2003; Schwandt, 2007; Shotter, 1993).

As seen in Figure 2, the model is shaped like a cone with a flat top and bottom. In the upper part of the model, the circle has three main elements: (1) The first one addresses *Knowledge and Understanding* of democratic systems, values and human rights. Examples are for example knowledge and understanding of poverty, violence and immigration. (2) The second one addresses own values, beliefs, and attitudes. The values can be ethical in nature, such as respect, care, trust, equality, and solidarity. (3) The third one addresses civic agency and action and explained how adolescents see themselves as active participants in their society. How can they for example have an effect in their community and what means do they use to aztualize it? These three elements are constructs that become integrated into the young person's *civic awareness and engagement* which are located in the middle of the circle. In analyzing young people's perspectives, Adalbjarnardottir uses thematic lenses to identify recurrent patterns both on an individual level and across individuals (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Underlying the upper circle is the developmental part of the model which will not be used as the dissertation is built on a cross sectional study.

Figure 2. Civic awareness and engagement model within a developmental framework (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008).
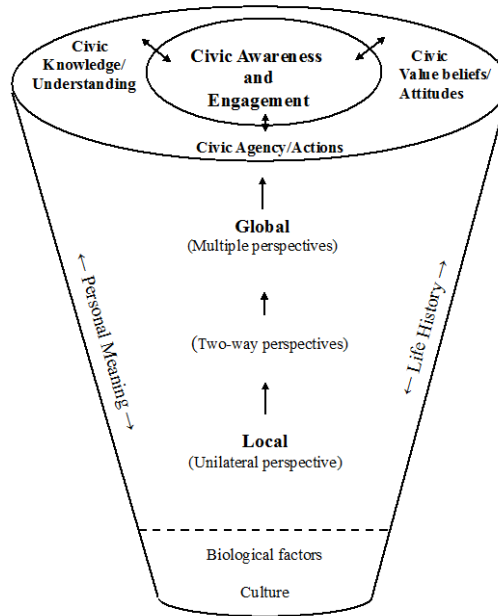
3.6   Gaps in existing literature

The scientific value of the study is based on contributing to the literature in several important ways:

(1) Policy makers (see e.g. European Commission, 2015; IWGYP, 2013; Mycock & Tonge, 2014) around the world have set a focus on the importance of strengthening young people's citizenship and consequently it is pressing to examine which factors are related to young people's views on good citizenship.

   a. By focusing on the relationship of parental styles using Baumrind's typology of parenting (Baumrind, 1971; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg, et al., 1994) and young people's views on the importance of social movement-related participation as an element of good citizenship. Little notice has been given to this in the literature.

   b. By examining parental styles and own volunteering in relation to the young people's affective and cognitive empathy as further research has been considered needed in the field (Carlo et al., 2007). Recent studies on empathy are few and further research is

needed especially in the light of findings (Konrath et al., 2011) that suggest that young people today do not appear as empathetic as previous generations. Using the Basic Empathy scale provides the possibility of analysing the relationships in more details by working with both cognitive and affective empathy. The study should therefore contribute to the aformentioned gap in the literature as well as add to a recent field of study on emotions in relation to collective participation (Cicognani & Zani, 2015).

c. By exploring empathy in relation to young people's views on civic participation as studies have indicated that values with which young people are raised are the foundation they build their civic views and ideas on (Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Youniss et al., 1997). Also by using an empathy scale (Basic Empathy scale; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006) in exploring the role of empathy in relation to young people's views on civic participation as according to our knowledge that is a novelty. In addition, by looking into the indirect relationship of parental styles and young people's views on good citizenship mediated by empathy.

d. By exploring individual values in the interviews as that has rarely been examined from the viewpoint of civic engagement (Zaff, Malanchuk & Eccles, 2008).

e. By further expanding research on the relationship between young people's volunteering and their views on good citizenship by examining this research subject with Icelandic participants.

(2) By adding to the research on volunteering in Iceland because literature for younger generations is limited in this field of study (Hrafnsdottir, 2005; Hrafnsdottir et al., 2015). This is especially pressing as new educational policy in Iceland has stressed the importance of encouraging adolescence civic engagement (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school general section, 2011; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school with subjects areas, 2013); The Icelandic national curriculum guide for preschools, 2012; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for upper secondary school, 2012).

(3) By the design of this mixed method study (Creswell & Clarc, 2011); by collecting and analyzing both quantitative (questionnaires) as well as qualitative data (interviews) the study should contribute to studies in this field, since mixed methodological studies are rare in this research area (Gudjohnsen & Adalbjarnardottir, 2011). The aim is not only to

receive the general patterns of the findings (quantitative approach) but also to obtain a deeper understanding by looking for individual patterns in the young people's views on good citizenship (qualitative data) (Adalbjarnardottir, 2002). This may prove to be valuable as scholars have stressed the importance of looking for both individual as well as general patterns in research (Adalbjarnardottir, 2002) and few studies have examined how individuals think of good citizenship in this comprehensive way (Metzger & Smetana, 2010).

3.7 Aims and research questions

3.7.1 Aims

The study has two main aims. The first is to examine both comprehensive and individual patterns of young people's views on good citizenship. The focus will be on (i) examining young people's empathy levels at the age of 14 and 18 to see if they vary depending on their own volunteering participation and their perceived parental styles, (ii) examining young people's views on good citizenship to see if they vary depending on participants' empathy levels, volunteering participation and perceived parental styles, (iii) exploring if empathy has a role in the relationship between parental styles and views on good citizenship. The fourth step is (iv) to gain a deeper knowledge and understanding on young people's views on good citizenship by interviewing some of the participants and seeking for their voice and views on what young people consider the most important elements of good citizenship.

The second aim is to adapt Adalbjarnardottir's *Civic awareness and engagement* model (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008) to understand young people's views on good citizenship (see the *Good Citizen Model* in Figure 6). Most models have been directed towards adult civic participation (see e.g. Omoto & Snyder, 1993, 2002) and researchers have pointed out the need for designing a model on young people's civic participation (Youniss, 2011). Accordingly, Adalbjarnardottir's model and its modification should be an important contribution to this field of study.

3.7.2 Research questions: Quantitative and qualitative data

In the light of the gap in the existing literature this study focuses on young people's views on civic participation with the following research questions in mind:

1. Are young people who perceive their parents' parental styles as supportive (involvement) and supervising (behavioral control) – more likely (i) to have higher empathy levels? (ii) to value people's conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of being a good citizen? (This question will be answered by findings from the survey).

2. Are young people who have higher empathy levels more likely to value conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of being a good citizen? (This question will be answered by findings from the survey).

3. Does empathy have a role in the relationship between parental styles (involvement, behavioral control) and young people's views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship? (This question will be answered by findings from the survey).

4. Are young people who have volunteered or have parents who have volunteered – more likely to (i) have higher empathy levels? (ii) value conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of being a good citizen? (This question will by answered by findings from the survey).

   The above research questions will be answered controlling for the young people's age, gender and their parents' SES.

5. What characterizes young people's views on good citizenship; civic aims, actions and values? (This question will be answered by findings from the interviews).

4   Methods

This mixed method study is part of a larger research project, *Young people's civic engagement in democratic society*, directed by Professor Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir (2011). This chapter introduces the participants of the study and outlines the research design, research process and measures, as well as explaining the data analysis. Ethical condsiderations and limitations of the study will also be addressed.

4.1   Research design

The research design chosen for the study is *mixed methods* as the aim was to obtain a broad understanding of young people's views on good citizenship. Mixed methods research has been called the third methodological dimension in research. Creswell and Clarks (2011, p. 5-6) describe that the mixed methods researcher "collects and analyzes ... both qualitative and quantitative data, based on research questions, mixes the two forms of data ... by combining them ... by having one build on the other, or embedding one within the other". This study's design within mixed methods is a sequential explanatory design (see Figure 3)(Creswell & Clark, 2011). It consists of two distinct phases: a quantitative part followed by a qualitative part. The quantitative data were collected and preanalyzed. The second phase was to collect the qualitative data taking into consideration the results from phase one (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003).

Figure 3. Mixed Method Research: Explanarory Design Procedure.
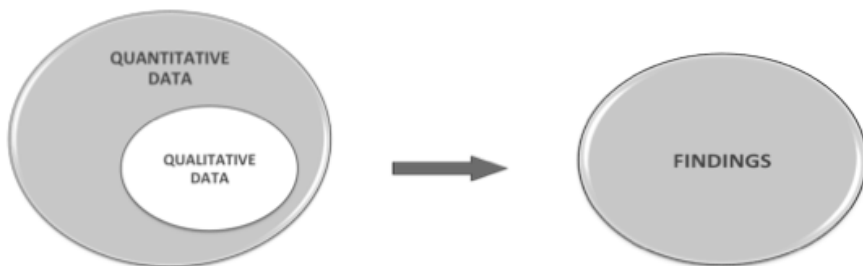
In the qualitative part of the study, the young people were asked to describe their understanding of being a good citizen (Creswell, 2007). The findings from the interviews will be used to further explain the results of the quantitative data (Creswell & Clark, 2013; Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998). The aim is not to replace either quantitative or qualitative methods, but rather to reinforce the benefits of each of them and minimize the faults allowing for a more robust analysis (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Green & Caracelli, 1997). Mixed method research is considered as having both advantages as well as disadvantages. It is thought to provide answers that quantitative or qualitative approaches cannot do by themselves and hopefully more evidence is obtained than either research could provide alone (Creswell, 2015; Woolley, 2009). The primary advantages of combining questionnaires and in-depth interviews include opportunities to explain the initial quantitative results in more depth (Creswell, 2015), that is combining statistical trends of the data with participants' stories and experiences. Using mixed method design is, however, considered to be challenging at times as it is directed towards the researcher who has to have "certain skills, time and resources for data collection and analysis" (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 13).

4.2 Research methods: Quantitative part

4.2.1 Participants

All together 1042 individuals participated in the study, 509 14 year olds (51% girls/49% boys) and 533 18 year olds (60% girls/40% boys) and they all answered the survey. They were enrolled in junior high school and college in three different areas of Iceland (see Table 3).

Table 2. Participants in the study

Participants Survey (n=1042) Interviews (n=21)	Survey 14 year olds (14 schools)	Interviews 14 year olds (14 schools)	Survey 18 year olds (6 schools)	Interviews 18 year olds (6 schools)
City	319	5	388	3
Towns on the countryside	113	3	79	2
Towns on the seaside	77	4	66	4
Total	509	12	533	9

The regional areas were chosen according to the precondition of having both a high school and a junior college in the area and to obtain a typical cross-section of the young people's residence. The city of Reykjavik was chosen and two rural areas, one in the northen part of the country and the other in the south part. One of the two rural areas is situated by the coast but both of them also serve agricultural areas. In Reykjavik, seven high schools and four junior colleges participated. In one of the rural areas, three high schools participated and one junior college and in the other rural area two high schools and one junior college. If there were many schools at each school level in the areas, the high schools were chosen with the aim of getting participants from different residential communities and junior colleges were chosen to present a diversity in school structures and ideology. In cases where schools had many classes in each grade, the classes for participating were chosen randomly.

In the survey participants were asked about their parents socioeconomic status (SES). There was a 87,4% response rate to the question asking about parents' education. The young people reported 54% of parents having a university degree and 34% an educational degree from high school or less education. Parents' occupations were grouped into three categories. More than half of the parents, 56%, were part of the highest rated occupation group such as officials, elected representatives, executives and specialists; 20% belonged to middle class such as technicians, office personnel and special trained staff; and 25% belonged to the lowest rated occupations such as salespeople, tradesmen, labourers, farmers, fishermen, machinists, etc.

Participants came from three different areas of Iceland. The majority of them lived in urban areas (68%) while there were also participants from both the countryside (18%) as well as coastal areas of Iceland (14%).

4.2.2 Procedure

The study was notified to The Icelandic Data Protection Authority in July 2009. Permission for the study was granted by the Ministry of Education in Iceland, the involved municipalities, principals and teachers in the participating schools. Letters describing the study were sent to parents and students to ask for their consent for participation. They were asked to contact the study's representative if they did not want to participate. Only one parent from the younger age group reported their child's non-participation.

In the first phase of the study a survey was designed. As this study is part of the research project on *Young people's civic awareness in a democratic society*, a part of that project's survey is used in this study. The design of the study was a co-operative venture of the employees of the *Research Centre: Challenges Facing Children and Young People,* including myself under the leadership of Dr. Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir.

The quantitative data were collected during the time period of October 2009 to January 2010. The self-report survey was administered both to 14 and 18 year old participants during school hours or after schooltime by trained data collectors working for the *Research Centre: Challenges Facing Children and Young People*, including the author of this dissertation. The young people were always informed of their right to refuse or discontinue their participation at any tme. They were also notified that all answers were strictly confidential.

Final participation in the younger age group was 79% and 60% in the older age group. Several reasons can explain students' absence from school at the day of process. Students in junior college have different schedules making it more difficult to them all at the same time. Some students might also have dropped out of school even though still being in school records – as secondary school dropout in Iceland is common at this age (Blondal, Jonasson, & Tannhauser, 2011). A virulent influenza outbreak might as well have been of impact, especially in one of the rural areas.

4.2.3   Measures

The measures used in the study will now be introduced but for a further overview see Appendix 1.

Basic Empathy Scale (BES). The Basic Empathy scale was developed by Jolliffe & Farrington (2006) after reviewing three existing scales: the Hogan Empathy Scale (Hogan, 1969) which was considered to measure cognitive empathy; the Questionnaire Measure of Emotional Empathy, considered to measure emotional empathy; and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1980), considered to measure both cognitive as well as emotional empathy. The BES was designed to respond to shortcomings in these scales.

The BES was chosen for this study as it measures both cognitive and affective empathy and as research has supported the validity of the BES to measure both types of empathy (Albiero, Marticardi, Speltri & Toso, 2009; D'Ambrosio, Olivier, Didon, & Besche, 2009; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006).

The BES consists of two different components of empathic responsiveness, (i) *Affective Empathy* (11 items, α = .85), measuring emotional correspondence with another person's emotions. An example of such questions is: "After being with a friend who is sad about something, I usually feel sad"; (ii) *Cognitive Empathy* (9 items, α = .79), measuring ability to understand another person's emotions. An example of such question is: "I can often understand how people are feeling even before they tell me". Participants were asked to respond to each item by rating their own agreement on a 4-point Likert-scale, ranging from 1 to 4 (1. *Strongly disagree*, 2. *Slightly disagree*, 3. *Slightly agree*, 4. *Strongly agree*). The BES *total score* consists of the sum of the 20 items of the scale*.* The BES was translated and adapted into Icelandic by the author of this dissertation, through the back-translation method, to ensure the semantic equivalence of the Icelandic and English versions.

IEA Good Citizen Scale. The *Good Citizen Scale* derives from the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) *Civic Education Study* (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). The scale was chosen as it is considered a robust scale which has been widely used in a variety of countries and gives the opportunity to compare data. It measures young people's opinions on the importance of certain actions for being a good citizen. The Good Citizen Scale consists of two factors, (i) *Conventional Citizenship* and (ii) *Social Movement-related Citizenship* which measure people's conceptions on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for 'good citizenship'. Participants were asked to rate items on citizenship behavior on a 4-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 to 4 (1. *is not important at all*, 2. *slightly unimportant*, 3. *slightly important*, 4. *very important*). The items were grouped into the two factors, to what extent people think it is important for an adult who is a good adult citizen to: 1) be active in social movement related forms of participation (partipates in activities to benefit people in the community/society, participates in a peaceful protest against law believed to be unjust, takes part in activities promoting human rights and takes part in activities to protect the environment: *social movement related citizenship*, α=.74); 2) be active in conventional forms of participation (joins a political party, votes in every election, follows political issues in the newspaper, on radio or on TV, shows respect for government representatives, engages in political discussions and knows about the country's history: *conventional citizenship,* α=.71) (Torney-Purta, et al., 2001).

Parental Styles Scales. The parental style measures used in the study derive from Lamborn and her colleagues (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) and are based on Baumrind's work (1971) and on the Maccoby and Martin (1983) revision of her work. The two scales measure young people's perceptions of their parents' parental styles: *Parental Involvement* and *Behavioral Control*. The *Parental Involvement Scale* (10 items, α = .75) measures the perceptions that young people have of their parents' affection, responsiveness and involvement. Examples of items are: "She/he encourages me to do my best in everything I try to accomplish"; "„I can count on her/him to help me if I have some kind of trouble"; "When she/he wants me to do something then she/he explains why". The possible answers were "mostly right" and "mostly wrong". *The Behavioral Control Scale* (3 items, α = .81) measures to what degree parents supervise their children by overseeing how they spend time outside home and who their friends are. Examples of items are: "How much do your parents really know where you go at night?"; "How much do your parents really know what you do in your spare time?". The possible answers were "they do not know", "they sometimes know", "they usually know". Three items were chosen out of the eight item *behavioral control scale* as some of the questions suited younger participants than those that took part in the study. Higher scores reflect more parental involvement and more behavioral control.

Own volunteering. The *Own Volunteering* was measured with a yes/no question asking if the young people participate or have participated in volunteering to help people.

Parents participation in volunteering. Parents' participation in volunteering was measured with a yes/no question asking if the mother or father participate in volunteering (e.g. parents' association, developmental/humanitarian aid, work for the Red Cross, church work).

Multi-segmented measure of the young people's volunteering participation. The measure consists of 11 yes/no questions asking if the young people participate or have participated in various civic participation activities: a) student council or similar activity in school, b) youth division for a political party, c) member working for the United Nations (e.g. Unicef), d) youth council, e) youth exchange program, f) organization that advocates something (e.g. human rights), g) volunteering, h) collecting money for a good cause, i) a multicultural group (e.g. with immigrants/disabled), j) rescue team k) youth work (e.g. scouts, youth work in a church or for a religious institution).

4.2.4 Analysis of the quantitative data

First, statistical analysis was used to provide some descriptive information from the data. Then the main and appropriate analysis used was linear regression analysis conducted to examine the relationship between variables in three different models seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Reseach models (1, 2, 3).
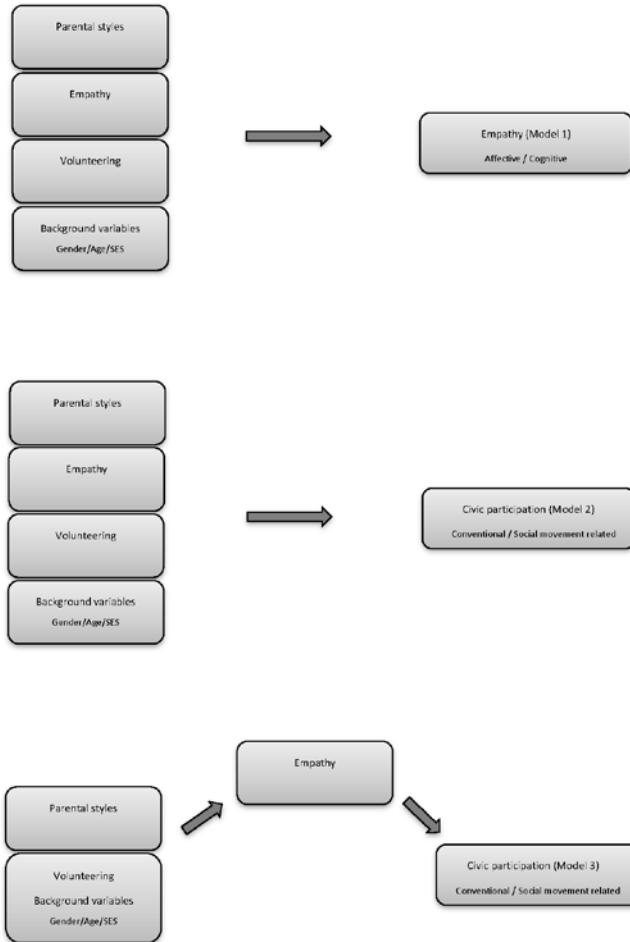
(1) Model 1 examines the relationship between parental styles (involvement, behavioral control), own volunteering, parents' volunteering and background dual variables (age, gender, SES) on the one hand – and

the young people's empathy level (total score, affective, cognitive) on the other hand.

(2) Model 2 examines the relationship between parental styles (involvement, behavioral control), empathy level (affective, cognitive), own volunteering, parents' volunteering, and background dual variables (age, gender, SES) on the one hand – and young people's views on the importance of social movement-related participation, such as volunteering (social-movement-related citizenship) and conventional participation, such as voting (conventional citizenship) for good citizenship on the other.

(3) Model 3 examines the relationship between parental styles (involvement, behavioral control) and young people's views on the importance of social movement related participation, such as volunteering (social-movement-related citizenship) and conventional participation, such as voting (conventional citizenship) mediated by empathy level (affective, cognitive) (controlling for own volunteering and background dual variables (age, gender, SES) (Field, 2009). As parents' volunteering was only significant in one instance in model 1 and 2, a decison was made not to include it in model 3.

Mediation occurs when the effect of an independent variable (X) on a dependent variable (Y) is transmitted via a mediator variable (M) (see Figure 5) (Imai, Keele, & Tingley, 2010; Muthén, 2011). In other words mediating variables are used to explain how or why two variables are related.

Figure 5. Mediation model.
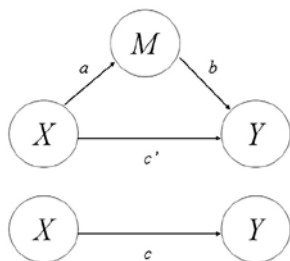
This mediation effect is also commonly referred to as the indirect effect of X on Y through M. Mediation models often involve parsing the total effect (c) of X on Y into a direct effect (c') and an indirect effect (a × b, or simply ab). These coefficients can be derived from fitting the following three equations to the data using linear regression: $M = i_1 + aX + e_M$ (1)

$$Y = i2 + c'X + bM + eY(2)$$

$$Y = i3 + cX + eY (3)$$

Figure 4 depicts these effects using simple path diagrams of the effect of X on Y both without and with M included in the model. In mediation analysis, attention focuses mostly on the indirect effect. The standardized regression coefficient between Parental styles (involvement and behavioral control) and Views on civic participation will be examined as well as the standardized coefficient between empathy and views on civic participation. Then standardized indirect effect is examined and significance tested by using bootstrapping procedures (Hayes, 2013). Unstandardized indirect effects were computed for each of 1000 bootstrapped samples, and the 95% confidence interval was computed by determining the indirect effects at the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles.

Pearson's correlations were computed between the parental styles variables (involvement, behavioral control) and own volunteering and parents' volunteering. Findings indicated a weak but significant correlation between *involvement* and *behavioral control* (r=.39, p < .001) and between *own volunteering* and *parents' volunteering* (r=.17, p < .001). This suggests that the measures are measuring different elements of parental styles as well as volunteering participation.

4.3   Method: Qualitative part

As noted earlier the method used in the second step of this mixed method reasearch was in-depth interviews. This method was well suited to answer research question 5 in the qualitative part of the study as the aim of it was to get a better understanding of young people's views on being a good citizen. A random sample was chosen and a semi-structured in-depth interview framework was prepared. The framework was a co-operative venture of the employees of the *Research Centre: Challenges Facing Children and Young People,* including myself under the leadership of Dr. Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir (See Appendix 2).

During the analysis process, to what extent and how the qualitative findings will explain and add insight to the quantitative findings will be interpreted.

4.3.1   Participants

Out of the 1042 participants who answered the survey, 28 participants were chosen for in-depth interviews. Seven of those individuals had either moved out of the country (3) with their families which was quite common at the time because of the financial crisis or were not able to participate (4). The participants were chosen randomly with the criteria to present both boys and girls, both 15 year olds and 18 year olds and from all residences (city, countryside, coast). In Table 4 there is an overview of the participants and their background with additional information on their aims to vote as well as their volunteering status. The reason for adding the last-mentioned information to the table is to provide an overview of the participants' political as well as societal participation. This is useful both when analysing the interviews as well as when data from the interviews and the survey are compared.

Table 3. Participants in the in-depth interviews; age, gender, participation in voting and volunteering

Participants pseudonyms	Age	Gender	Voting + voter − non-voter	Volunteering + volunteer − non-volunteer
Agnes	19	F	unsure	−
Anna	15	F	unsure	−
Birna	15	F	unsure	−
Bryndís	19	F	+	−
Daníel	19	M	−	+
Davíð	15	M	Unsure	−
Dóróthea	15	F	+	+
Elva	15	F	Unsure	−
Haraldur	15	M	+	−
Ívar	15	M	Unsure	−
Jóhannes	15	M	+	+
Karl	19	M	+	−
Kristín	19	F	+	+
Lovísa	19	F	+	−
Magnús	19	M	+	+
Margrét	15	F	+	+
Sigrún	19	F	+	−
Sigurður	15	M	Unsure	−
Svandís	19	F	+	−
Vilborg	15	F	+	+
Þórhallur	15	M	−	+

4.3.2   Procedure

The participants of the interviews (14 and 18 year old) as well as the parents of the 14 years olds were sent an information letter where the study was introduced and their approval for participation was requested.

This letter was followed up with a phone call a week later with both parents and the young people. They were informed again about the purpose of the study, methods, intended use of the interviews and the significance of participation. It was emphasized that their participation was very important but entirely voluntary and that full confidentiality would be ensured.

The interviews were taken with the young people during the time period of September to December 2010. I had the privilege of being part of collecting both the quantitative and qualitative data of the study. I found that process built up more insight into the research subject. I emphasized disciplined procedure through all stages, attention to detail and an open mind to all information.

4.3.2.1 Interviews

A half structured, open ended interview framework was designed to deepen the findings from the survey (See Appendix 2). According to research question 5, the aim was to elicit the young people's views and a deeper understanding of issues that the survey provides concerning what it means to be a good citizen. More precisely, the focus was on the young people's views on civic aims, actions and values. The main questions in the interview framework addressed the young people's views on democracy, citizenship, values and empathy, as well as their own civic engagement (see *The interview framework* in Appendix 2).

In spite of the framework, there was flexibility for new issues to emerge. All answers were followed up with open-ended questions (e.g. by asking "How", "Why is that", "Can you explain that a little better", "Why do you feel that is important?"). This was done to give the participants opportunities to provide their understanding of a phenomena: "they speak from meanings shaped by social interaction with others and from their own personal histories" (Creswell, 2011, 40). Therefore each interview developed differently.

Semi-structured interviews gave opportunities of gathering more knowledge on young people's views on good citizenship and deepening the quantitative findings. The interviews also gave the young people the chance to voice their views and beliefs in more detail, possibly leading the discussion in different directions. It was my aim that findings from the survey as well as the interviews would enrich and strengthen each other and lead to a more comprehensive understanding and knowledge of young people's views on being a good citizen.

The interviews took place in the young people's schools except for two interviews which took place in a classroom at the University of Iceland. Each interview lasted from 40 minutes to one hour. The interviews were recorded with the participants' permission but they were at the same time assured of the confidentiality of the interviews.

4.3.3 Analysis

4.3.3.1 Adalbjarnardottir's model

The main questions in the interview framework addressed the young people's views on citizenship, the different aims of civic participation and civic values. The young people were also asked about their own civic engagement. In analysing the in-depth interviews I used the *Good Citizen Model* (see Figure 6), an adapted version of Adalbjarnardottir's (2008) Civic awareness and engagement model (See Figure 2). The Good Citizen Model addresses the young people's views on being a good citizen; their views on *civic action*, *civic aims* and *civic values*. Two of three elements of Adalbjarnardottir's model were used, *Civic Values* (before: *Civic Value Beliefs/Attitudes)* and *Civic action (before: Civic Agency/Actions*). *Civic Aims* were then added to the model instead of civic knowledge/understanding.
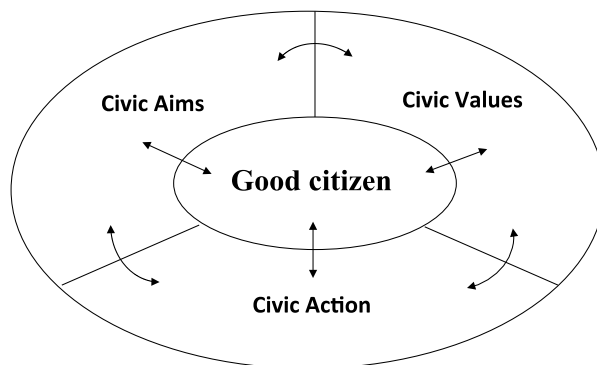
Figure 6. The Good Citizen Model

The young people were asked to explain their understanding on the 'bonus pater' good citizen but also their own attitudes and views on the elements of good citizenship.

4.3.3.2 Thematic analysis

The analysis process began with transcription of the interviews word-for-word both by myself and with some help from assistants who were trained

and familiar with the protocol. Braun and Clark (2006, p. 78; 2013) argue that thematic analysis should not only be used as a foundational method in qualitative analysis but be "a method in its own right ... Through its theoretical freedom thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data". Being in agreement with this assertion, I analyzed the interviews by using thematic analysis.

The first step was to read through the interviews over and over again. The second step was to code the interviews. While coding I kept in mind the *Good Citizen Model* as well as the theoretical background of the study (Boyatzis, 1998). For reliability reasons, a second coding process was performed. Then the codes were grouped together by marking them with different colors that each represented a certain label. Gradually patterns were formed and themes emerged that captured important factors in the interviews which helped answer research question 5. The third step was to work with the themes. A fair amount of time was put in grouping and regrouping themes and to guide that process the themes were mapped in tables. First, one table was made for every participant interviewed. All the tables were then compared to interrelate the themes. Through that procedure the sets of themes decreased and *main themes* as well as *subthemes* emerged. Those themes were now grouped in a table under each of the three issues in the *Good Citizen Model;* Civic aims, Civic actions and Civic values. The table also included information for which of the participants each theme emerged. Meaningful coding examples for each theme and subtheme, from every participant, were added to the table as well. This process helped me to discipline the analysis (See e.g. Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clark, 2006). Some of the quotes cross-referenced multiple themes. In Appendix 3, an *Interview Analysis Table* is presented with examples of codes.

This thematic analysis aimed at eliciting the young people's underlying ideas, assumptions, meanings, conceptualizations, and ideologies. The process involved interpretative work and "the analysis ... is not just description, but already theorized" (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 85). This focus is consistent with the social constructivist epistemology of the study.

4.4   Ethical considerations

In a social research setting many ethical considerations can arise. The first step in responding to that was informing the study to The Icelandic Data Protection Authority. Another important criterion for ethical integrity of a

study is the right of individuals to accept or decline their participation in a study (Bryman, 2012). As the participants in this study were young people it was especially important to show ethical caution related to the consent procedure and during the procedure of collecting data it was ensured that only those who agreed to the involvement participated. Those who participated were informed of the nature and purpose of the research both before answering the surveys as well as being interviewed. All interviewees were reminded that it was their own experience and understanding that mattered most for the study and that no right or wrong answers existed.

Creswell & Clark (2011) stress the importance of ensuring confidentiality in research and providing reciprocity to participants. Confidentiality means that data identifying the participants will not be disclosed. Anonymity is important for building trust between the researcher and the participants (Esterberg, 2002). In this research it was ensured that all identifying information was kept confidential. This applied equally to both quantitative and qualitative data. All participants in the survey were given numbers instead of their names and the residential towns and schools were given fictional names (Pomerantz, 2013). The same rules applied to the participants in the interviews but as qualitative methods such as interviews call for different ethical issues, precautions were made to protect the participants' privacy, such as by changing local conditions in the narrative if needed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Participants were informed of the data being recorded and transcribed and after that deleted.

As a researcher in this study, my role involves moral integrity, as well as sensitivity to academic and moral issues involved (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I made an effort to be aware of my own values and attitudes and carefully worked on preventing them from interfering with the study in any way. I was thankful to the participants of the study and strived to be as accurate as possible in analyzing the data and findings (Brinkmann, 2007).

5 Results of the survey

In this chapter I will present the findings from the quantitative data. First, I will discuss several descriptive findings of the data. Then, I will describe the findings from the linear regression models used in the study. Unless significant, interaction terms are not reported.

5.1 Civic participation

Own civic participation. In the survey participants were asked about their participation in various civic activities. As can be seen in Table 5, the young people have participated in different civic activities. The highest percentage of them had participated in fundraisings for a good cause, environment protection and youth work. One third of the participants had been on student councils and one fourth of them participated in volunteering. The other activites were much less frequent. Half of the young people (51%) participated in recreational activities which are often thought to encourage further participation in the society.

Table 4. Young people's own civic participation

Young people's civic participation	Total	Girls	Boys	Age: 14	Age: 18
Fundraising for a good cause	**74%**	63%	37%	50%	50%
Environment-protection	**58%**	62%	38%	48%	52%
Youth work	**53%**	68%	32%	53%	47%
Student council	**33%**	63%	37%	41%	59%
Peaceful protest	**30%**	57%	43%	45%	55%
Prevention work	**26%**	64%	36%	58%	42%
Volunteering	**22%**	68%	32%	61%	39%
Rescue team	**10%**	53%	47%	40%	60%
Multicultural participation	**8%**	59%	41%	39%	61%
Associations that advocate for a cause	**6%**	52%	48%	52%	48%
United nations associations	**6%**	71%	29%	70%	31%
Voicing opinion on social media	**27%**	54%	46%	39%	61%
Youth council	**9%**	50%	50%	50%	50%
Youth political participation	**4%**	44%	56%	46%	54%
Written newspaper article on societal matters	**3%**	68%	32%	45%	55%

Parents' volunteering. The participants were also asked about their parents volunteering. One fourth (25%) of the young people said their parents participated in volunteering. The most common examples of volunteering tasks were volunteering for the Red Cross, in parent associations, sport clubs, faith based organizations, rescue teams, development aids and several other social organizations/associations like Amnesty International, Lions, Unicef and ABC Child Development Center.

Table 6 and 7 give an overview of the young people's answers to the good citizenship measures in the survey. As mentioned in *Methods* (chapter 4) the *IEA good citizenship measure* consist of two constructs, *Conventional citizenship* and *Social movement-related citizenship*.

Table 5. Conventional citizenship (IEA)

An adult who is a good citizen…	Shows respect for government representatives	Joins a political party	Votes in every election	Engages in political discussion	Knows about the country's history	Follows political issues in the newspaper, on radio or on TV
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not important	7.2	32.1	11.6	18.7	16	13.5
Somewhat unimportant	20.1	51.9	25.9	48.1	37.4	31.6
Somewhat important	47.5	13.4	35.8	26.7	34.5	43.9
Very important	24.3	1.5	26.1	5.8	11.3	10.4

As can be seen in Table 6, participants considered some elements more important than others. In the conventional citizenship construct what they value most (very important or somewhat important) is showing respect for government representatives (71.8%) and voting in every election (61.9%). They do not seem to consider the other elements as important such as engaging in political discussion and joining a political party.

Table 6. Social movement-related citizenship (IEA)

An adult who is a good citizen…	Participation in activities to benefit people in the community (society)	Takes part in activities promoting human rights	Would participate in a peaceful protest against law believed to be unjust	Takes part in activities to protect the environment
	%	%	%	%
Not important	4.3	4.0	14.2	5.6
Somewhat unimportant	16.9	15.9	35	12.5
Somewhat important	54.9	41.7	38.6	42.2
Very important	23.1	37.6	11.4	39.2

As can be seen in Table 7, among the social movement-related civic actions they value most (very important or somewhat) are protecting the environment (81.4%), participating in activities to benefit people in the community (society) (78%) and promoting human rights (79.3%). Somewhat fewer of them thought it is important to participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust (50%).

5.2 Empathy

In this chapter I will introduce the findings of the young people's empathy level from the regression models. Relevant means (M) and standard deviations (SD) are presented as well.

5.2.1 Young people's empathy examined by age, gender, and SES

Table 8 presents the findings of a linear regression analysis which was conducted to examine young people's empathy; their *total empathy*, *affective empathy and cognitive empathy*. **Regression model 1** is presented in Table 8. The empathy means and standard deviations for age, gender, and SES are presented in Table 9.

As Table 8 shows participants' empathy varied by age and gender as well as by SES.

Table 7. Regression Model 1: Young people's empathy levels (linear regression).

Young people's empathy

Regression Model 1

	Total empathy	Affective empathy	Cognitive empathy
	B	B	B
Age			
0=14 years			
1=18 years	.85	1.02*	4.28**
Gender			
0=girls			
1=boys	-10.27***	-7,17***	-3.03***
SES			
Low (0) vs. medium (1)	.11	.27	-.25
Low (0) vs. high (1)	1.39*	.78*	.53 + (.051)
Parental style			
Involvement	13.48***	8.02***	4.62**
Behavioral control	3.15*	1.90 +(.05)	4.08***
Own volunteering	1.82***	1.12**	.64*
Parent's volunteering	.51	.14	.27
agexbeh	—	—	-5.07***
agexgender	2.85**	1.33*	1.34**
R2	.38	.41	.19
F	59.64***	68.78***	21.39***
N	880	896	922

*< .05 **<.01 ***<.001

First, the findings indicated that age was significantly related to empathy (see Table 8). As Table 9 shows, the 18 year olds were more likely than the 14 year olds to have higher empathy levels, suggesting that the older age group show more empathy than the younger age group. This applied to affective and cognitive empathy but not to total empathy.

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Table 8. Means and standard deviations: Empathy by gender, age and SES

	Empathy					
	Total empathy		Affective		Cognitive	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Age						
14 years	59.58	9.22	30.77	6.15	28.62	4.18
18 years	62.19	7.70	32.86	5.35	29.27	3.51
Gender						
Girls	64.81	6.83	34.86	4.34	30.15	3.27
Boys	55.77	7.78	27.87	5.13	27.36	4.00
SES						
Low	58.82	8.38	30.57	5.91	23.38	4.04
Medium	60.69	8.40	31.91	5.49	28.59	3.64
High	61.68	8.55	32.38	5.86	29.32	3.83

Second, as Table 8 (the regression model) and Table 9 show gender was significantly related to empathy, suggesting that girls are more likely than boys to show more empathy. This applied to total empathy, cognitive and affective empathy.

However there was a significant interaction between age and gender as seen in Table 8. A two-way ANOVA was used to examine the significant differences in means between the groups. The findings are presented in Table 10. The 18 year old boys were significantly more likely than the 14 year old boys to show more empathy and this applied to all empathy types. On the contrary, there was not a significant difference between the empathy level of 14 year old girls and 18 year old girls except for affective empathy: the 18 year old girls were more likely than the 14 year old girls to show more affective empathy.

Table 9. Empathy levels: Means, standard deviations and significant levels for gender, age and SES

	Total empathy		Affective empathy		Cognitive empathy	
	M	**SD**	**M**	**SD**	**M**	**SD**
14 year old						
Girls	64.60	7.34	34.33	4.67	30.27	3.51
Boys	53.43***	7.39	26.61***	4.94	26.69***	4.08
18 year old						
Girls	65.41	6.01	35.29	4.01	30.06	3.06
Boys	57.32***	7.41	29.16***	5.02	28.06***	3.79
Girls						
14	64.60	7.34	34.33	4.67	30.27	3.51
18	65.41	6.01	35.29	4.00	30.06*	3.06
Boys						
14	53.43	7.39	26.61	4.94	26.69	4.08
18	57.32***	7.41	29.16 ***	5.02	28.06***	3.79

*< .05 **<.01 ***<.001

Third, socio economic status was also partly related to empathy. As can be seen in Table 8, those who have the highest SES (category 3) were significantly more likely than the ones with low SES (category 1) to score higher on total and affective empathy levels. There was also a trend (p=.053) towards a relationship between SES and cognitive empathy. Thus, the results indicate that those with the highest SES compared to those with the lowest SES are more likely to have both higher total empathy and affective empathy, and there is also a similar trend with regard to cognitive empathy.

5.2.2 Young people's empathy examined by parental styles, own volunteering, and parental volunteering

The regression model presented in table 8 indicates the findings of a linear regression analysis which was conducted to examine parental styles, own volunteering, and parental volunteering in relation to the young people's empathy (*total score*, *affective*, *cognitive*).

The relationship between parental styles and young people's empathy

Research question nr. 1 asks if young people who experience their parents' parental styles to be more (a) supportive (involvement) and (b) supervising (behavioral control) are more likely to have higher empathy levels. The findings of the regression model seen in Table 8 indicate that there was a significant relationship between parental involvement and young people's empathy level: their total empathy, affective and cognitive empathy. The young people who perceived their parents supportive and willing to be involved in their tasks are therefore more likely to have higher empathy levels compared to those who perceived their parents not being as supportive.

There is also a significant relationship between the parents' behavioral control and young people's total empathy and cognitive empathy while affective empathy is approaching significance of $p < .05$ ($p = .051$). The young people who experienced their parent's using supervision in their parental practices, are therefore more likely than those who do not experience such parental styles to have higher total and cognitive empathy levels.

All of the above results emerged when controlling for gender, age, SES, own volunteering, and parents' volunteering.

A special interest was in examining whether there is an interaction between parental styles on the one hand and age, gender, and SES on the other. As shown in table 8, only one significant interaction was found, i.e. between age and behavioral control and in relation to cognitive empathy. In order to explore this, a two–way ANOVA was conducted with the behavioral control divided into three groups, 1 (25%) ,2 (50%) and 3 (25%): 1 with the least behavioral control and 3 the most. Unless significant, interactions terms are not reported. While for the 18 year olds there is no significant difference between the means of the groups, for the 14 year olds there is a significant difference between all the groups; Between group 1 (M=25.15, SD=4.86) and group 2 (M=27.50, SD=4.20), F(2,456)=20.62 p <.05; Between group 1 (M=25.15, SD=4.86) and group 3 (M=29.52, SD=3.82), F(2,456)=20.62 p <.001; Between group 2 (M=27.50, SD=4.20) and group 3 (M=29.52, SD=3.82), F(2,456)=20.62 p <.001.

These findings suggests that parents' supervision is more strongly related to the cognitive empathy level at age 14 than at age 18. The interaction is presented in Figure 7.
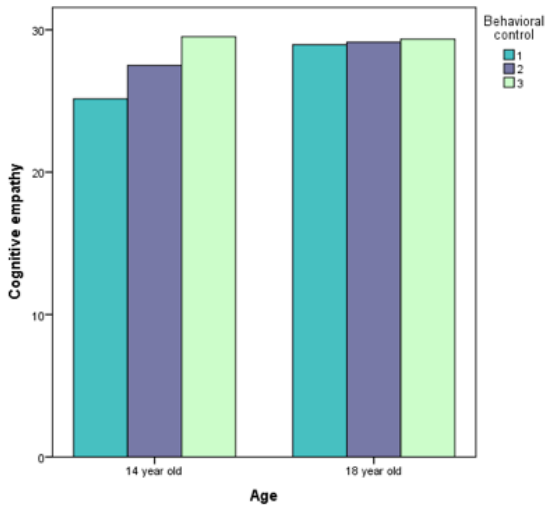
Figure 7. Cognitive empathy by age and behavioral control

(group1-25% least behavioral control, group2-50% medium behavioral control , group3-25% most behavioral control).

The relationship between own volunteering and young people's empathy

Research question nr. 4 asks whether young people who have volunteered themselves are more likely to have higher empathy levels. As seen in Table 8, the findings indicate a significant relationship between young people's volunteering participation and their empathy. Those who have volunteered are more likely than those who do not to express more *total empathy* (M= 62.80, SD=8.24 vs. M= 60.17, SD=8.58), *affective empathy* (M= 32.88, SD=5.40 vs. M= 31.27, SD=5.85), as well as *cognitive empathy* (M= 29.80, SD=3.90 vs. M= 28.79, SD=3.93). These results emerged even after controlling for the young people's perception of parental styles, parents' volunteering, gender, age and SES.

The relationship between parents' volunteering and young people's empathy

Research question nr. 4 asks whether young people who have parents who volunteer are more likely to have higher empathy levels. As seen in table 8, the findings do not indicate a significant relationship between parents' volunteering participation and the young people's empathy (total, affective, cognitive).

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5.3 Good citizenship

In this chapter I will introduce the findings of a linear regression analysis which was conducted to examine the young people's views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship. The findings for **Regression model 2** are presented in Table 11. Table 12 presents the means and standard deviations for both conventional and social movement-related participation by age, gender, and SES.

5.3.1 Young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation examined by age, gender, and SES

As seen in Table 11, some of the young people's participation views vary by age, gender, and SES.

Table 10. Regression Model 2. Young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation by parental styles, own volunteering, parents' volunteering, gender, age and socioeconomic status (linear regression).

Regression Model 2	Young people's views on conventional participation	Young people's views on social movement-related participation
	B	B
Age		
0=14 years		
1=18 years	.69**	.47*
Gender		
0=girls		
1=boys	.03	-.11*
SES		
Low (0) vs. medium (1)	-.04	-.00
Low (0) vs. high (1)	.04	.10*
Empathy		
Cognitive	-.02*	.00
Affective	.01**	.03***
Parental style		
Involvement	.56*	.51*
Behavioral control	.054**	.58**
Volunteering		
Own volunteering	.17**	.12*
Parents' volunteering	.02	.09*
agexbeh	-.59*	-.60*
R²	.08	.20
F		19.72***
N	6.69***	881

*< .05 **<.01 ***<.001

First, as seen in Table 11 and Table 12 age was significantly related to both conventional and social movement-related participation views suggesting that the 18 year olds were more likely than the 14 year olds to have positive views on both conventional and social movement-related participation.

Second, as Table 11 shows, there is neither a significant relationship between gender nor SES with young people's views on the importance of conventional participation for good citizenship. However, as Table 11 and 12 show, girls were significantly more likely than boys to have positive views on the importance of social movement-related participation for good citizenship.

Table 11. Means and standard deviations for the young people's views on good citizenship.

	Views on conventional participation		Views on social movement-related participation	
	M	SD	M	SD
Gender				
Girls	2.33	.57	3.25	0.57
Boys	2.26	.67	2.88	0.71
Age				
14 years	2.22	.62	3.06	0.71
18 years	2.39	.59	3.11	0.61
SES				
Low	2.25	.62	2.95	.73
Medium	2.24	.59	3.06	.64
High	2.35	.61	3.16	.62

Third, as presented in Table 11, there was one significant difference between groups related to SES. As seen both in Table 11 and 12, those who had the highest SES compared to those with the lowest SES were more likely than the others to have positive views on social movement-related participation.

5.3.2 Young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation examined by parental styles, empathy, own volunteering, parents' volunteering, age, gender, and SES

Table 11 presents the relationships between parental styles, empathy (cognitive, affective), own volunteering and parents' volunteering in relation to young people's views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship.

The relationship between empathy and the young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation. Research question nr. 2 asks whether young people who have higher empathy levels are more likely to value conventional and social movement-related participation an important element of good citizenship. As Table 11 shows, the higher affective empathy the young people show the more likely they are to value the importance of conventional as well as social movement-related participation. On the contrary, their cognitive empathy is only related to their views on conventional participation which suggest that the higher their cognitive empathy is the more likely they are to view conventional participation an important element of good citizenship.

These findings emerged even when controlling for parental styles, own volunteering, parents' volunteering, age, gender, and SES.

The relationship between parental styles and the young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation. Research question nr. 1 asks whether young people who perceive their parents' parental styles as supportive (involvement) and supervising (behavioral control), are more likely to value people's conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of good citizenship. The findings seen in Table 11 support the idea that the young people who perceive their parents showing more support (cf. involvement) and supervision (cf. behavioral control) were more likely to value the importance of both conventional and social movement-related participation as elements of good citizenship than those who experience such parental styles to a less degree. These findings emerged when controlling for own volunteering, parent's volunteering, cognitive and affective empathy, gender, age and SES.

Of special interest was examining if there was any significant interaction between the parental styles and the young people's gender, age and SES in relation to the two variables, social-movement related and conventional participation. As shown in Table 11, the findings indicated only one significant interaction, namely between age and behavioral control in each case of the two participation variables. The findings indicate that for the 18 year olds there was no relationship between the degree of the parents' supervision (behavioral control) and their views on conventional or social movement-related participation. However, in the case of the 14 year olds the relationship was significant, both for conventional and social movement-related participation: (Conventional participation: group1 (M= 1.87, SD=.71) and group3 (M=2.27, SD=.62),

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F(2,485)=6.15, p <.01; group2 (M=2.13, SD=.57) and group 3 (M=2.27, SD=.62), F(2,485)=6.15, a trend towards significance, p=.054) (Social movement related participation: group1 (M= 2.51, SD=1.08) and 2 (M=2.91, SD=.69), F(2,490)=17.96, p <.05; group2 (M=2.91, SD=.69) and 3 (M=3.20, SD=.63), F(2,490)=17.96, p<.001; group1 (M= 2.51, SD=1.08) and group3 (M=3.20, SD=.63), F(2,490)=17.96, p <.001). These findings support that parents' supervision seems to have a more important role for the 14 year olds than the 18 year olds in supporting their positive views on conventional and social movement-related participation.

The relationship between own volunteering and young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation. Research question nr. 4 asks whether young people who have volunteered themselves are more likely to value conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of being a good citizen. As seen in Table 11, those who have volunteered are significantly more likely than those who have not volunteered to value the importance of both conventional and social movement-related participation. These findings emerged even after controlling for parental styles, affective and cognitive empathy, parents' volunteering, age, gender, and SES.

The relationship between parent's volunteering and young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation. Research question nr. 4 asks whether young people who have parents who have volunteered, are more likely to value conventional and social movement-related participation as an important element of being a good citizen. As seen in Table 11 there is a significant relationship between parents' volunteering and the young people's views on social movement-related participation. However whether or not parents had volunteered was not related to their views on conventional participation. These findings emerged even after controlling for parental styles, affective and cognitive empathy, own volunteering, age, gender, and SES.

5.4 Empathy as a mediator between parenting styles and young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation

Research question 3 asks if empathy has a role in the relationship between parental styles and young people's views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship. To address this, a mediation regression analysis was conducted

to examine if there is an indirect relationship (mediation effects) between parental styles and the young people's views on good citizenship through empathy. As regression Model 1, Table 8 indicated that parental styles contribute to young people's empathy, we wanted to understand this relationship better by examining if the young people who feel to a larger degree that their parents are supporting and they supervise them, and encourage their empathic reaction, are more likely to have positive views towards civic participation as part of being a good citizen.

Figure 8 depicts the the mediation model. As presented there, the elements examined are (1) parental styles (*involvement* and *behavioral control*), (2) Empathy (*affective* and *cognitive*), and (3) Good citizenship (*conventional* and *social movement-related participation*).
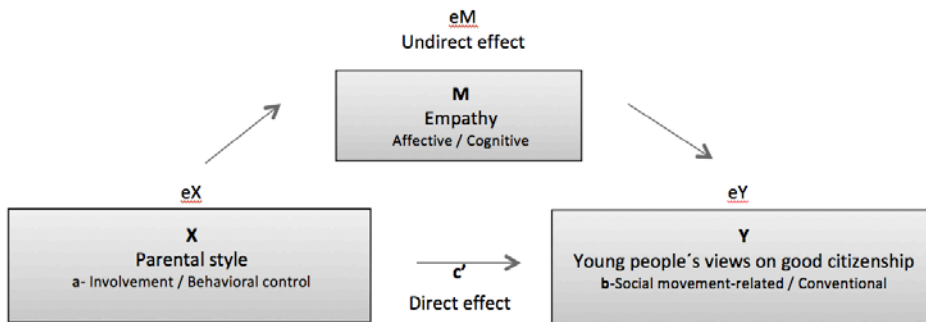
Figure 8. Mediation model.

Examining this relationship can add to the understanding of the importance of parental styles in nurturing young people's civic views and which parental practices contribute to their active citizenship. The results are reported in the next section.

5.4.1   Conventional participation

Table 13 presents the findings from the mediation regression analysis (Regression Model 3: Mediation). As can be seen in Table 13, the relationship of two different parental styles (involvement and behavioral

control) were examined in relation to the young people's views on the importance of conventional participation for good citizenship; with two different empathy variables (affective and cognitive) as mediators.

Parental involvement – cognitive empathy– conventional citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the first row of Table 13, columns 1 and 2. In addition to the significant direct effect between parental involvement and young people's views on conventional participation, there was a significant relationship between cognitive empathy and young people's views on conventional participation. The findings did not support an indirect effect between parental involvement and young people's views on conventional participation, which means that the relationship was not mediated by cognitive empathy according to bootstrapping procedures.

Table 12. Empathy as a mediation factor: Parental styles and good citizenship (linear regression, mediation model).

Regression model 3: Mediation

Young people's views towards civic participation

		M: Cognitive empathy			Y: Conventional participation			M: Affective empathy			Y: Conventional participation	
X: Parental involvement	a	5.90***	1.37	c'	.81**	.23	a	9.73***	1.75	c'	.72**	.23
M(PMI)		—	—	b	−.003	.005		—	—	b	.01**	
Constant	i1	24.15***	1.21	i2	1.54***	.23	i1	24.48***	1.55	i2	1.19***	.23
		R2=.17			R2=.05			R2=.41			R2=.06	
		F(6,932)=31.08, p=.000			F(7,931)=7.53, p=.000			F(6,907)=103.65, p=.000			F(7,906)=8.75, p=.000	
		Indirect effect: −.02						Indirect effect:.10 (sign)				

		M: Cognitive empathy			Y: Conventional participation			M: Affective empathy			Y: Conventional participation	
X: Behavioral control	a	2.67**	.68	c'	.33**	.12	a	3.87***	.89	c'	.31**	.12
M(PMI)		—	—	b	−.002	.005		—	—	b	.01**	.004
Constant	i1	26.91***	.67	i2	1.92***	.19	i1	29.50***	.87	i2	1.51***	.17
		R2=.16			R2=.05			R2=.40			R2=.06	
		F(6,933)=30.47, p=.000			F(7,932)=6.92, p=.000			F(6,908)=101,1, p=.000			F(7,907)=8.41, p=.000	
		Indirect effect:− 006.						Indirect effect:.04(sign)				

*< 0.05 **< 0.01 *** <0.001

Parental involvement – affective empathy – conventional citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the first row of Table 13, columns 3 and 4. In addition to the significant direct effect between parental involvement and the young people's views on conventional participation, there was a significant relationship between affective empathy and young people's views on conventional participation. The findings also supported indirect effect (.10) between parental involvement and young people's views on conventional participation. The relationship was mediated by affective empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

Behavioral control – cognitive empathy– conventional citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the second row of Table 13, columns 1 and 2. In addition to the significant direct effect between behavioral control and the young people's views on conventional participation, there was a significant relationship between cognitive empathy and young people's views on conventional participation. The findings did not support an indirect effect between behavioral control and young people's views on conventional participation which means the relationship was not mediated by cognitive empathy according to bootstrapping procedures

Behavioral control – affective empathy – conventional citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the second row of Table 13, columns 3 and 4. In addition to the significant direct effect between behavioral control and the young people's views on conventional participation, there was a significant relationship between affective empathy and young people's views on conventional participation. The findings also supported an indirect effect (.04) between behavioral control and young people's views on conventional citizenship. The relationship was mediated by affective empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

The aforementioned findings emphasize how important it is that parents nurture their children's empathy by being supportive and by supervising them, as it can increase the likelihood of more positive views towards active participation in the society.

5.4.2   Social movement-related participation

Table 14 presents the findings from the mediation regression analysis (Regression model 3: Mediation). As can be seen in Table 14, the

relationship of two different parental styles (involvement and behavioral control) were examined in relation to the young people's views on the importance of social movement-related participation for good citizenship; with two different empathy variables (affective and *cognitive*) as mediators.

Parental involvement – cognitive empathy – social movement related citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the first row of Table 14, columns 1 and 2. In addition to the significant direct effect between the parental involvement and the young people's views on social movement-related participation, there was a significant relationship between cognitive empathy and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The findings also supported an indirect effect (.15) between parental involvement and young people's views on social movement-related participation. This means that the relationship was mediated by cognitive empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

Table 13. Empathy as a mediation factor: Parental styles and good citizenship (linear regression, mediation model).

Young people's views on social movement-related participation

		M: Cognitive empathy			Y: Social movement related participation			M: Affective empathy			Y: Social movement related participation	
		Coeff.	SE		Coeff.	SE		Coeff.	SE		Coeff.	SE
X: Parental involvement	a	5.98***	1.36	c	1.20***	.23	a	9.51***	1.73	c	1.02***	.23
M(PMI)		—	—	b	.03***	.01		—	—	b	.03***	.004
Constant	i1	24.10***	1.21	i2	1.48***	.21	i1	24.69***	1.54	i2	1.18***	.23
		R2=.17			R2=.15			R2=.41			R2=.20	
		F(6,938)=31.0, p=.000			F(7,937)=24.2, p=.000			F(6,914)=104.91, p=.000			F(7,913)=31.96, p=.000	
		Indirect effect: .15 (sign)						Indirect effect: .30 (sign)				

		M: Cognitive empathy			Y: Social movement related participation			M: Affective empathy			Y: Social movement related participation	
X: Behavioral control	a	2.63**	.68	c'	.41**	.12	a	3.79***	.89	c'	.43***	.12
M(PMI)		—	—	b	.03***	.005		—	—	b	.03***	.004
Constant	i1	26.96***	.67	i2	1.99***	.19	i1	29.60***	.87	i2	1.64***	.17
		R=.16			R2=.15			R2=.40			R2=.19	
		F(7,938)=23.11 p=.000			F(6,938)=23.11, p=.000			F(6,915)=102.45, p=.000			F(7,914)=31.00, p=.000	
		Indirect effect: .07 (sign)						Indirect effect:.13 (sign)				

*< 0.05 **< 0.01 *** <0.001

Parental involvement – affective empathy – social movement related citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the first row of Table 14, columns 3 and 4. In addition to the significant direct effect between parental involvement and the young people's views on social movement-related participation, there was a significant relationship between affective empathy and young people's views on social movement-related citizenship. The findings also supported an indirect effect (.30) between parental involvement and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The relationship was mediated by affective empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

Behavioral control – cognitive empathy – social movement related citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the second row of Table 14, columns 1 and 2. In addition to the significant direct effect between behavioral control and the young people's views on social movement-related participation, there was a significant relationship between cognitive empathy and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The findings also supported an indirect effect (.07) between behavioral control and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The relationship was mediated by cognitive empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

Behavioral control – affective empathy – social movement related citizenship. Findings for this relationship can be seen in the second row of Table 14, the columns 3 and 4. In addition to the significant direct effect between behavioral control and the young people's views on social movement-related participation, there was a significant relationship between affective empathy and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The findings also supported an indirect effect (.13) between behavioral control and young people's views on social movement-related participation. The relationship was mediated by affective empathy and, according to bootstrapping procedures, it was statistically significant.

5.5   Summary

The quantitative survey data provides a number of interesting findings about the way young people think about civic society and what it means to

be a member of it. First, the findings supply important information about young people's vision of good citizenship. Engaging in political discussion and being members of political parties were not among the civic actions the young people emphasized but they still considered several conventional civic actions an important part of being a good citizen, such as showing respect for government representatives and voting in every election. Still, they seemed to consider alternative civic actions more important than the conventional ones. There was a clear message in the data about their emphasis on protecting the environment and participating in activities to benefit people in the community. They also highlighted the need for advocating human rights.

The young people reported some active participation in the community/society. Most of them had participated in fundraisings for a good cause, environmental protection and youth work. One third of the participants had participated in student councils and one fourth of them had volunteered.

Second, girls tended to have more positive views than boys on social movement-related engagement. The 18 year old participants were more likely than the 14 year olds to have positive views on both social movement-related and conventional participation. Overall, only in a few cases did the parents' SES relate significantly to the findings. These included the fact that the group with the highest SES compared to the group with the lowest SES was significantly more likely to have more positive views on social movement participation.

Third, several important findings on the young people's empathy level emerged. Girls were more likely than boys to show more empathy (total, affective, cognitive) whether 14 or 18 years old. The 18 year olds were also more likely than the 14 year olds to have higher affective and cognitive empathy. However, there was not a significant difference between total and cognitive empathy between 14- and 18 year old girls. The 18 year old girls were nonetheless more likely to have higher affective empathy than the 14 year olds. What also contributed to a greater likelihood of their higher empathy levels was perceiving parents' as supportive and involved in daily life as well as active in supervision. Parent's supervision was, however, more strongly related to the cognitive empathy level at age 14 than at age 18.

Fourth, parental styles were related to the young people's views on active citizenship (conventional and social movement-related). Those who perceived their parents' being supportive and involved in daily life as well

as active in supervising them were more likely to have positive views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship. However the findings indicate that parents' supervision contributes more at the age of 14 than at age 18 to the young people's views on conventional and social movement-related participation. However, supervision seemed to have a bigger role in the case of the 14 year olds than the 18 year olds in supporting their positive views on social movement-related and conventional participation.

In addition, the young people's volunteering experience was related to positive views on social movement-related and conventional civic action. On the contrary, their parents' volunteering only contributed to more positive views on social movement-related participation. Furthermore, the young people's affective empathy level related to their views on good citizenship: the higher the affective empathy level the more they considered social movement-related and conventional actions an important element of good citizenship. Also, the higher the young people's level of cognitive empathy, the more likely they were to have more positive views towards conventional participation.

Fifth, the findings supported indirect effect between parental styles (involvement and behavior control) and young people's views towards social movement related civic action. The relationship was mediated through young people's empathy (affective and cognitive) which provides additional value to studying empathy in the context of good citizenship. The indirect effect between parental involvement and behavior control and the young people's views towards conventional participation was on the other hand only supported when mediated through affective empathy.

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6   Findings: Young people's views of good citizenship

> The most important elements in being a good citizen [are the acts of] ... treating everyone well, thinking about the environment ... and helping other people out by volunteering ... [also if we do this] then we can be at peace with ourselves since I think we spend too much time thinking about other things. (Kristín, 19)

Those are the words of Kristín (19), who explained her vision of being a good citizen. Guided by the first aim of the interviews of gaining a deeper understanding of the young people's views on good citizenship – researchers asked participants to describe what in their mind characterizes a good citizen as well as to give examples in order to explain their views better. The second aim of the interviews was to explore the three issues of the *Good Citizen Model*, an adapted version of Adalbjarnardottir's model of Civic Awareness and Engagement model (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008) (see Figure 9).
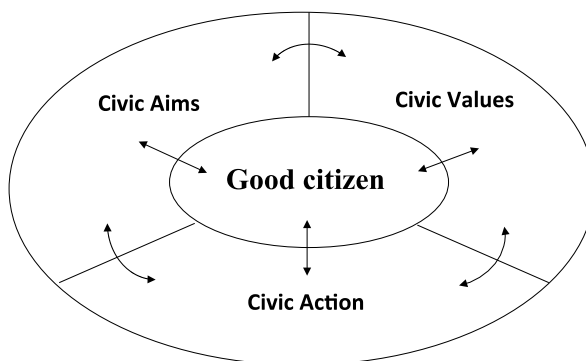
Figure 9. The Good Citizen Model. An adapted version of Adalbjarnardottir's civic awareness and engagement model (Adalbjarnardottir, 2008).

The Good Citizen Model embodies three main elements of good citizenship. The first, *Civic Aims*, focuses on how people envision the aims of good citizenship and in what context the aims are put. The second *Civic Values* focuses on what values, beliefs and attitudes people relate to being a good citizen. The third, *Civic Action*, focuses on what civic actions people relate to as essential elements of good citizenship.The interaction between the elements is addressed as well in the model.

Table 15 introduces the overview of the thematic analysis of the interviews by using *The Good Citizen Model*.

Table 14. Good citizenship Issues (civic action, aims and values) and themes

Civic Action	Civic Aims	Civic Values
• Societal participation (volunteering) • Political participation • Civic voice • Participation opportunities	• Use your right • Show responsibility • Wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizen • Enhancing equality • Promoting personal growth • Having an effect	• Honesty and trust • Care • Empathy • Kindness • Respect • Roots of values

As seen in the table there are three main issues in accordance with *The Good Citizen Model*. The issue *Civic Action* has three main themes; *Political participation*, *Societal participation (Volunteering)*, *Civic voice* and *Participation opportunities*. Six themes emerged for the issue of *Civic Aims*: *Use your right*, *Show responsibility*, *Wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizen*, *Enhancing equality*, *Promoting personal growth* and *Having effect*. The themes that emerged for the issue *Civic Values* were *Honesty and trust*, *Care*, *Empathy*, *Kindness*, *Respect* and *Roots of values*.

6.1 Civic action

> "A good citizen participates in society and its events ... it is our duty" (Vilborg, 15).

In this section the meaning the young people made of *civic actions* will be presented. All participants found being an active member of society an

essential part of being a good citizen. They discussed that "to become a good citizen you have to behave like one and be active in society" (Birna, 15). They found this active paraticipation the "the most important step in becoming a good citizen in the future" (Dóróthea, 15).

The young people discussed many different ways to practice good citizenship. Margrét's (15) understanding on practicing good citizenship is a good example of such views: "By being active … participating in volunteering ... helping people … and having an effect by voting in elections".

Table 15 shows the four main themes that emerged by analysing the young people's views; *Societal participation*, *Political participation*,*Civic voice* and *Participation opportunities.* They will now be discussed.

Table 15. Themes for the issue of Civic action

Issue	Civic action			
Themes	**Societal participation (Volunteering)**	**Political participation**	**Civic voice**	**Participation opportunities**

	• Volunteering in near environment (youth clubs; student and youth councils; mothers aid, soup kitchen; rescue teams; church youth work; volunteering for the Red Cross; mentoring disabled people; fundraisings; charity work; donating blood; environment protection).
	
	• Volunteering in far environment (in developing countries with humanitarian movements such as the Red Cross; educational services; health services; food supplies; environment protection)
		• Voting
		  o an important right
		  o less emphasis on the responsibility to vote
		  o variable interest in using the right (lack of knowledge, interest or agenda)
		
		• Presenting their voice and opinions
		
		• Protesting
		
		• Participate if it concerns themselves or if they want to advocate for something
			• Young people's input should be valued more (different and new ideas)
			
			• Authorities need to
			  o listen more to young people
			  o aknowledge their ideas and contributions
			
			• Young people want to have a voice in young people's issues (education; recreational issues; bullyism; drugs; public health issues; vandalism; youth policy)
				• Half of the participants found opportunities limited
				
				• Lack of forum for young people to introduce their voice and ideas
				
				• Participation opportunities need to be introduced better

6.1.1   Societal participation (Volunteering)

> "People volunteer to do something for others, to help out ... not
> because they want something for themselves ... unless maybe
> feeling good about helping" (Anna, 15).

The most common participation form mentioned by the young people was
different societal engagement forms. The participants felt volunteering is
an ideal participation form for young people. The projects they mentioned
were both volunteering in general as well as their own volunteering; both
in the near and far environment. Many emphasized that people should
participate in things that are offered in their near environment "such as
giving out food to people in need" (Lovísa, 19), "working with mothersaid
programs ... participating in youth work in churches, working with the Red
Cross, serving on rescue teams and mentoring disabled people" (Svandís,
19).

Many gave examples of participation in youth clubs as well as student
and youth councils. Some mentioned voluntary assistance for disabled
people, working with the Salvation Army, fundraising for a good cause and
participation in different charity associations "such as women's clubs ... as
they provide good things for the society" (Svandís, 19). They found such
volunteering experience important for young people as it helps them
practice being responsible for other people and their wellbeing. Daníel (19)
said, for example, that in the student council he strives to do a good job as
he "feels responsible for not letting down the students he represents".
Magnús (19) also found training children in sports good practice in "taking
on social responsibility". What was noticeable in their discussion was how
strongly the young people expressed how these participation options give
people opportunities to "become responsible citizens" (Jóhannes).

Another common participation field was rescue teams. The comments
on this social involvement reflected a good understanding of the civic
meaning of it. They described how the rescue team members risk their
own lives for others and by that make a "contribution to the society"
(Margrét, 15).

The participants also mentioned different humanitarian movements as
important forums for active citizenship as their projects open up
opportunities for citizens to partcipate and deal with "significant issues ...
[thinking] about others and showing that they care for other people"
(Birna, 15). Among these movements was the Red Cross which appeared
to be symbolically related to volunteering in their mind. Most of them

were knowledgeable about different participation projects of the Red Cross. They mentioned projects from their childhood such as Birna (15) who said she "held raffles and gave the proceedings to the Red Cross". She explained that she thinks people want to help by doing that, "think about others, show that they care". Svandís (19) spoke similarly and said that by volunteering people want to "help others when their situation is difficult".

Donating blood regularly was another project mentioned. Some participants were unsure if these kind of projects qualified as volunteering but expressed at the same time that in their mind it was an important civic action and it had been their own incentive which drove them to engage.

They also reached further while naming examples of participation forums. They, for example, mentioned participation tasks in the far environment such as in developing countries, helping with "educational services as well as food supplies" (Jóhannes, 15).

Participation in environment-protection was also repeatedly mentioned in relation to being a good citizen. This subject was more familiar to the young people than many of the other civic issues. They highlighted the urgency for citizens to take good care of the environment in the widest sense of the word by "behaving wisely, not to throw trash everywhere" (Davíð, 15) and by taking good care of vegetation, public property such as parks, and churches as "nobody wants to live where everything is ruined ... garbage everywhere [and] graffiti on all the walls" (Birna, 15). The reasoning they gave was that good citizens do not "make a mess and just expect the public workers to clean it up" (Svandís, 19). They found such behavior "a violation ... it is like you would go home and spit on your own floor" (Kristín, 19).

Nature was dear to many of them and many of these participants shared their concerns for the future. They found it crucial for citizens to be active in environmental protection for the sake of generations to come, "to use recycling centers" (Lovísa, 19) and "treat our environment well ... the environment we are going to live in for the years to come ... by doing that we are making things better for us and our children in the future" (Kristín, 19). Magnús (19) said that in Iceland citizens' role should be to protect natural resources, "if we sell it all for a short-term financial gain, we will have nothing in the future".

Also, what was a common theme through their discussion of civic participation was the emphasis on citizens' cooperation and how they found it a presumption in good societies, "it is like chess, you cannot play it alone ... everyone has to participate in a certain way so that things work"

(Sigrún, 19). They explained this emphasis by pointing out that citizens' cooperation is important as "then things go much better" (Agnes, 19) and it ensures more cohesion in societies and "makes the world better" (Dóróthea, 15). They furthermore described that when citizens work together by volunteering "they are trying to solve problems together and in that way improving their society" (Elva, 15).

6.1.2   Political participation

> "Voting is among people's most civic actions and … [by doing that you are] participating in the society and being active in it" (Magnús, 19).

Political participation was also mentioned as a practice of good citizenship. Most commonly the young people discussed voting in elections and there was a general agreement among them that voting is important both for society to preserve the democratic system as well as for the citizens themselves.

Some of the young people (40%) interviewed were eligible to vote. Most of them found their newly acquired electoral rights open opportunities for them to present their opinions and share their voice in society. Some embraced it and found it "very exciting to vote" (Bryndís, 19). Others were less enthusiastic and said they were unsure whether they would vote or not, referring to "little interest in politics" (Daníel, 19) or not being interested in having an impact as their opinions on society issues are not "strong enough" (Agnes, 19).

The younger ones all had positive views towards voting in general but the majority of them presented contrasting views towards their own future voting. They mentioned lack of knowledge about politics as an obstacle for doubting that they wanted to vote. Elva (15) said she "would not know why [to] choose one thing over the other, because I don't think about politics nor know that much about it" (Elva, 15). They also mentioned being detached and lacking interest and therefore they "would not mind giving [the rights to vote] to someone else"(Þórhallur, 15). Many of them mentioned that things are "pretty good just the way they are" (Anna, 15) and they were "content with things" (Haraldur, 15). Their lack of interest often seemed to reflect a lack of agenda to advocate for something. Those participants also stressed the importance of freedom, that people should not be obligated to participate in society (e.g. Ívar, 15, and Sigurdur, 15). Despite the above-mentioned attitudes, there were participants who expressed reservations that their attitudes might change

in the future when certain societal issues would become more relevant to them. Þórhallur (15) for example made a comment about his views towards voting possibly changing as he grew older: "When I start my own home, since by doing that you become more responsible ... and then I might want to vote for parties that take better care of my money".

A few of the younger ones,however, had positive views towards voting. Among them was Davíð (15) who wanted to be able to vote at the age of 16 and emphasized that young people are well qualified to do that: "People think we don't know what we want but in my mind we give it a lot of thought". He then shared his sense that young people's thinking has changed following the financial crisis: "They will be thinking differently than the kids born between 1990 and 1995. I think they will concentrate much more on what is better for others than themselves ... their ideas will focus more on the big picture". Vilborg (15) was another young particpant who already at this timepoint in her life expressed a strong will to participate actively in politics and work towards societal change. She said she "think[s] a lot about everything that happens around [her] ... and her experiences" and by being a member of her school council she has opportunities to work on and present "things I want to change in the community". She also shared clear future goals of engaging in politics: "I will for sure do that later on ... it might sound strange how much interest I have at this age ... I do not advertize it since politics is considered so boring nowadays".

Other political participation forms mentioned by the young people were protesting, writing articles in newspapers and expressing opinions in the media or publicly. Some argued that young people should participate in politics "rather than someone who has been there for 50 years and doesn't want to change anything" (Lovísa, 19). Karl (19) spoke in a similar way and said the young people should participate in society because "this is where they will be living for a long time and I find it desirable that they are part of having effect on who for example takes seats on boards in [companies and institutions]".

6.1.3   Civic Voice

> "It is important that everyone can share their voices so that people understand each other and can solve problems together" (Elva, 15).

Their focus was though mainly directed towards young people and the need for them to actively be able to present their voices. Most of them

expressed the view that their inputs are important to bring in new and different views to the civic discussion and even though it is "different from adults it does not necessarily have to be worse" (Anna, 15). Youth associations and public meetings were mentioned as optimal forums for young people to speak on behalf of the younger generations about important societal issues and thereby have an effect. Many participants seemed aware though of limitations in this matter. Kristín (19), for example, said that young people should have a stronger voice ... and affect issues such as teaching, drugs [and] bullyism" but she commented that "it should be in proportion with their age and development ... for example those who participate in peer mentoring have to introduce healthy and good views" (Kristín, 19).

Many also referred to respect in this context, that everyone should be allowed to "express themselves" (Haraldur, 15) and people should respect each others' opinions and ideas. They found it an essential civic ability "even when you feel they are wrong ... [you should] never humiliate others and express being better than them" (Sigrun, 19).

Complaints were common about authorities "not listening nearly enough to the young generations" (Vilborg, 15) and that adults do not "fully know what young people are thinking or what they want to do as they don't think quite the same way". They also felt that adults' demands towards young people need to be more consistent so they have a better sense of their role in society: "Sometimes adults treat young people like children but at the same time expect them to have an effect in society and behave like adults ... that is confusing" (Birna, 15).

Some of the participants furthermore stressed that, since young people are the future citizens, their input and voices are equally important. Daníel (19) discussed this matter in relation to the 2008 financial crisis in Iceland. He said that in his mind "people judge young people as kids who don't know anything and are spoiled ... we are not eligible to vote but still we are those who will be stuck with the [financial crisis] issues".

Many also stressed the importance of young people's political discussion. Bryndís (19) said, for example:

> Authorities need to speak with the young generation ... get them to say what they think and what they want ... as our opinion also matters ... we are the ones being left behind in the dirt [after the financial crisis] when the others are gone ... plus we also sense that older people do care what we think.

Davíð (15) talked about the need for more respect towards young people's voices and contributions but he also mentioned positive changes in the field:

> People don't listen nearly as much to young people as they should but there have been some changes trying to alter that. An example is Samfés [The Association for Youth Community Centers] where there now is a youth council for every youth community center [and] they can have an effect on the activities ... I think this will have a relevance in the future.

The participants named various fields where they thought young people's voices were especially important such as local issues, as well as matters that concern young people's daily life. Margrét (15), for example, said young people should discuss their opinions and have an effect on local issues such as matters of "neighborhoods and schools" as they are more aware of concerns related to young people's environment and what needs to be done. Jóhannes (15) added that young people should have an impact on "issues such as recreational facilities". Magnús (19) mentioned student unions in this context as an example where young people can decide on things in their surroundings, "we indeed do that in the student unions … that way we feel like being a part of our community ... and this might also strengthen your … social responsibility" (Magnús, 19). Margrét (15) gave an example from her own life: "When I was younger I was always so afraid of the teenagers in my neighborhood and without doubt there were others like me". She then described how she thought young people were best capable of enhancing these kinds of situations. Their focus was also on youth issues and that young people should have a say in the society about things that concern themselves such as bullying, drug prevention and youth vandalism. Birna (15) explained how she wants to "help juvenile delinquents ... decrease graffiti, youth crime and such matters". In her narrative it was clear that she had thought of the driving forces for such behaviors: "I find cases like that too many ... kids feel they need to be cool, have expensive clothes and things like that or else they are thought to be silly ... and I think they get insecure trying to fullfill those norms". Kristín (19) and Sigrun (19) found peer mentoring an excellent example of a field where young people should step in and Kristín (19) explained that "if teenagers come to school and share their experiences the kids would rather listen to them than adults". Elva (15) then pointed to the necessity of young people having an effect on regulations in society that concern themselves. She mentioned "*Youth policy rules*" as an example of such law:

Adults write law based on their thinking but if the young people would be consulted and they could present their ideas then the law would maybe suit us better ... then young people and adults could meet on common ground.

Sigrún (19) and Kristín (19) mentioned protesting as a preferable way for young people to have their voices heard and to have an effect in democratic society. Kristín (19) noted that protesting also gives young people the opportunity to express dissatisfaction with things in society: "I think our democracy is pretty good but if that changes, the citizens can work towards strengthening it again by protesting". Sigrun (19) said she wanted to have an effect on:

How money is provided to the educational and health care system … because if you educate the next generations you are strengthening the foundation of the society ... I feel like young people are not included in a societal discussion like that.

6.1.4 Participation opportunities

Since volunteering is not introduced to young people ... [and] information about volunteering is not shared with [young people] or they are asked to come and help – nobody thinks of participating ... if somebody would do that then I am sure lots of people would be willing to participate ... to help people and protect the environment for example (Lovísa, 19).

The young people all agreed on civic participation being a good way for young people to have a say in society and practice good citizenship. The participants were split though in their stance towards young people's opportunities to participate in society. Around half found the means limited, such as Dóróthea (15), who emphasized that opportunities are "fewer than they should be". Kristín (19) also discussed participation choices needing to be increased and said that there should be "a forum where young people could come and voice their opinions and be listened to". She deepened this thought by saying: "People talk about 'teenage problems' but 'teenage problems' are just young people's determination in discussing things they feel are important". This also applied to volunteering options according to those participants such as Ívar (15), who said he doesn't know of "any volunteering options", and Birna (15), who said that "the only volunteering opportunity for young people [she knows of] is charity work".

The other half of the young people felt there are enough participation opportunities and mentioned several existing ones. Vilborg (15) even found that "young people's opportunities to participate in society have increased" and named a recent amendment in Youth law as an example where municipalities were obligated to form youth councils where young people are asked about their opinions towards matters in their communities. She drew attention to this, pointing out that she was "not sure if this applies to everyone as only few get to be in the youth council for example". She therefore thought it would be good to offer a wider variety of participation options "especially for other people, not for me per se ... as other people's opinions matter and sometimes important inputs are overlooked". The present participation opportunities they mentioned were for example "volunteer[ing] for the church" (Haraldur, 15) and "volunteering for youth organizations and rescue teams" (Jóhannes, 15). Sigrun (19) thought young people have enough choices to volunteer but stated as well that "at [her] age people are not thinking about these things that much".

Most of the young people mentioned that the opportunities to participate have to be advertized better both to those who think there are too few and those who find them enough. Birna (15) criticized this and stated that she had "never seen an advertizement looking for volunteers" but she also added: "I might not be looking for them that much either". Kristín (19) stressed this as well by pointing to the need for more information for young people:

> I only know of the option to bring clothes to the Red Cross since that was introduced to me once in school when I was younger and I found it so exciting ... after that I always kept the clothes I was not using anymore to give them to the Red Cross.

Davíð (15) commented on this as well and said "the opportunities might be there ... I know some of my female schoolmates are volunteering for the Salvation Army ... but I think people don't see those chances well enough". Agnes (19) felt the same way: "The opportunities are there but I think they are not advertized enough ... there are plenty of young people who would want to go somewhere as volunteers after high school and do something good but ... people could be assisted a little bit in getting this information". Magnús (19) also found "plenty of opportunities for those who really want to participate ... [but] young people could maybe be encouraged a little bit [to be active]".

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Anna (15) said she had never had an introduction to volunteering in school or elsewhere and Vilborg (15) stressed the need for more discussion on volunteering in school similar to discussion of all kind of preventions "such as bullyism". Þórhallur (15) discussed the matter similarly saying that "[he] only once had an introduction to volunteering and it was from the Red Cross".

6.2   Civic aims

In this section the issue *Civic aims* will be discussed (see Figure 9). The young people were asked about good citizenship, aims of different civic engagement both in general as well as their own aims and about having an effect in society. Five main themes emerged for civic aims; Use you *rights; show responsibility; wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizen; enhancing equality; promoting personal growth; having effect.* These themes are presented in Table 17 and will now be discussed.

Table 16. Themes for the issue of Civic aims

Issue	Civic aims					
Themes	Use your rights	Show responsibility	Wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizens	Enhancing equality	Promoting personal growth	Having an effect
	• Rights to present your opinions and take a stance towards civic issues	• Contribute to society (e.g. participate in society by voting; volunteering; presenting your civic voice; advocating for civic issues; environment protection; follow law) • Be informed and look into societal issues • Be there for each other in the near and far environment	• In the near environment by participating in different community projects, improving society and helping others out • In the far environment by helping the less fortunate	• Help the less able/fortunate • Care about inequality and act on it • Solidarity - we are all one and come equal into the world • Equal opportunities for young people • Gender equality	• Learn new things • Enjoy civic participation • Get a different and wider view of things in life • Strengthens civic awareness and encourages further civic participation	• By protecting the environment (in hometowns; the nature) • In the near environment; on leisure opportunities and school • By advocating for essential improvements (community; society; world) • On authorities and policy making (governmental fundings; education; health care) • By advocating for human rights; animal rights; wellbeing of families; young people's healthy lifestyles (drugs, graffiti, vandalism) • By being a role model • By protesting • By introducing your opinions • Through music • Many called for more opportunities for young people to have an effect • Some found it not important for young people to have an effect because of young age; not responsible enough

6.2.1   Use your rights

"The right to vote is your way [as a citizen] of presenting what you want in society [but] it is [also] our responsibility to participate by voting ... to maintain a good society" (Bryndís, 19).

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One of the civic aims that the young people discussed was citizens' rights to present their opinions and societal ideas by, for example, voting, volunteering or speaking their mind publicly. They focused more on the right to participate when they spoke about voting compared to other civic engagement forms and pointed out that voting gives citizens important opportunities "to present … views on different issues" (Sigrún, 19). Many emphasized that young people "have [their] own ideas, [and] various needs for our life" (Birna, 15) and voting is "people's method to present their opinions" (Jóhannes, 15). Davíð (15) found it even necessary for young people to achieve the right to vote "younger, at the age of 16" as that would give them opportunities to have an effect in politics earlier in life.

6.2.2   Show responsibility

> "You are responsible for everything around you and for thinking about the society, being part of it and contributing to it … [as well as] being polite and showing respect" (Birna, 15).

A common thread in the young people's discussion was that with rights come responsibilities as well.

One of the things that characterized the young people's discussion about good citizenship was how firm they were on the importance of citizens' responsibilities. The sub-themes that emerged for responsibilities were:

Contribute to the society. The majority of participants mentioned that citizens are responsible for contributing to society in multiple ways and by that they are "trying to solve various problems [and] ... make the society a better place" (Elva, 15). They emphasized the need for citizens to attend to civic responsibility and do their share. Vilborg (15) said that "if you want to become part of the adult world ... you have to participate in society and the things that are going on there"

With their contribution to society "things would be much better ... [and] society would be more unified" (Kristín, 19). Many of the young people also mentioned the citizens' responsibility to "respect law" (e.g. Elva, 15; Haraldur, 15).

Some stressed that with the right of voting comes responsibility to attend the polling place and turn in a vote. These participants also said that by tending to societal duties, such as by voting and discussing political

issues, people keep society working by electing people to govern the country and offering their ideas to society to help "find solutions to make things work better in the society" (Agnes, 19). Furthermore they added that young people are responsible for introducing their points of view on civic issues. By participating in student councils, youth councils and different societal projects they could contribute and "make [the] community a better place to live in" (Margrét, 15).

Another civic issue the young people had their focus on was responsibility for environment protection. During the discussion of good citizenship, many of the participants mentioned the responsibility of being active in environment protection, respecting nature and public property such as parks, churches and vegetation. They were also attuned to the need to avoid "making a mess and throwing trash everywhere" (Margrét, 15) especially out of car windows "as it is such a violation ... it is like you would go home and spit on your own floor". That emphasized the need for everyone to do their share: "as good citizens could not mess things up and just expect the public workers to clean it up" (Svandís, 19). The citizens need to behave wisely and be aware of the environment to "take good care of our city ... as nobody wants to live in a city where everything is ruined ... garbage everywhere, graffiti on all the walls and where nobody dares to walk the streets" (Lovísa, 19).

Some of the young people also shared their concerns for the environment with the future in mind. Magnús (19) said, for example, that it is the role of citizens to protect the environment including the natural resources in Iceland. He said the people in Iceland "should have more control over [their] natural resources, not just sell them off ... if we sell all our natural resources for a short-term financial gain we will have nothing in the future". They said "The earth is a living thing ... and we need to ... treat our environment well ... the environment we are going to live in for the years to come ... by doing that we are making things better for us and our children in the future (Kristín, 19).

Be informed. Participants also mentioned citizens' responsibility to look into things, to be well informed about issues in the society. Many were especially concerned about people "look[ing] into matters before [they] vote ... as you naturally want decent people to be elected, [people] that are able to get things done". Vilborg (15) also touched on this and said "people need to read agendas and keep an eye on what the political parties are doing ... [that way you] consider all possibilities in elections and

can vote according to that". She then added: "If everyone would just vote for their aunts and uncles the society would not fare as well". The young people also talked about citizens' responsibility to be alert and "keep their eye on what is happening in society and the municipalities ... the more people are involved in things the better" (Vilborg, 15). Sigrun (19) also added that citizens need to share knowledge and take "responsibility for educat[ing] the next generations".

Be there for each other in the near and far environment. The young people discussed citizens' responsibility for being there for each other in a wide sense. Examples were often given from their near environment as many experienced their civic responsibilities beginning in their home, school and recreational communities. Davíð (14) said that he feels "responsible for myself, school, society, … helping others if they are in trouble, … caring about things, … participating and having an effect". Most of them also referred to responsibilities that consist in being "part of a family … participat[ing] and help[ing] out at home" (Magnús, 19). They found it would be unfair not to share the responsibility: "Mom and Dad cannot always be at full stretch, someone needs to help" (Jóhannes, 15). They also discussed being responsible for their family: Birna (15) explained that she takes on quite some "responsibilities towards [her] home and siblings" as her parents work a lot away from home and she feels responsible for "teaching [her siblings] how to behave and be good to everyone". Johannes also talked about babysitting his brother and feeling "responsible towards him". He, along with many of the others, explained that by being responsible they were also being role models: "If you would let someone else be responsible for your things, then you would not learn how to do them yourself and you could never teach them to others ... be a role model". Many also discussed responsibility and being role models for their friends and in the school community. Karl (19) said that by being responsible he wanted to be a "good role model ... for the younger ones ... so they behave well when they get older". Anna (15) discussed this as well: "I do not feel as responsible as an adult but I am responsible for my family, friends and school ... I feel responsible as a citizen in the school community". Examples they gave of responsibilities in their near environment were, for example, in school – responsibilities "towards other students and teachers" (Agnes, 19) and "helping other students out if they are in some kind of trouble" (Davíð, 14). Assistance in leisure activities and social movements was also mentioned. Magnús (19) described that in his coaching he practices a "whole lot of responsibility ... people need to show

responsibility or else something can go wrong ... if you are negligent and do not care". The young people also talked about responsibilities within social movements. Þórhallur (15) said that participation in social movements works well for young people to prepare them for the future and to give them opportunities to practise their ability by "tak[ing] on responsibility and hav[ing] a say in youth social activities ... like youth councils". Svandís (19) also discussed the responsibilities people have within social movements, for example, in "giving out food with the mothers aid associations, participating in the Red Cross, rescue teams, environmental protection programs and charities".

The young people also spoke of being responsible for the "the community, the nation [and] the global world" (Þórhallur, 15). They said most people "know [about their responsibility] deep down ... even though they are not responding to it" (Davíð, 15). They should "look out for other citizens" (Lovísa, 19) and "if you see something bad happen such as robbery ... you don't act like you don't see it, you assist people" (Davíð, 15). They highlighted that "if everyone would just think about themselves ... people in need would not be helped" (Sigrun, 19) but if people would on the other hand be responsible and do their "duty ... towards other people and the society … the society would be "a better place to live in" (Agnes, 19).

6.2.3   Wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizen

> "People volunteer to do something for others ... not because
> they want something for themselves ... unless maybe feeling
> good about helping" (Anna, 15).

The awareness of all citizens being part of one unity is strong in the young people's narratives. Their quotes such as "We are one community and live in it together" (Svandís, 19) reflected their understanding of being part of a community, society or the world and how serious they were in describing how that affects citizens' aims. According to the young people their aims are to care for the wellbeing of fellow citizens and ensure quality of life for all by helping them and, in that way, they help with "preserving a good society" (Sigrún, 19). Haraldur (15), for example, stressed the importance of helping and he stated that since we are all living in society together we "help each other out … [without it] things would not be as much fun".

They especially mentioned these aims when discussing volunteering and described how volunteering is organized in the interests of others and with the aim of helping. They emphasized the importance of reaching out

to people in need "when people's situation is bad" (Þórhallur, 15) and helping out "the less fortunate … it matters to help your neighbor … since he is not any different than the rest of us … we are all one" (Davíð, 15). They said that by helping each other out the whole "society benefits from it [since those who are active] help those who have less [and you] do something good for this world" (Jóhannes, 15) or "make the world better" (Dóróthea, 15). Even those who were less interested in and knowledgeable about volunteeering and other social movement participation nevertheless showed a positive attitude to the aim of helping by volunteering and said that, by doing that, you could "put yourself aside" (Daníel, 19).

They referred both to their near and far environment. They gave examples of how people practice good citizenship and help out in their near environment as "most people are more sensitive to their domestic environment" (Karl, 19). Svandís (19), who lives in a small municipality in the countryside, explained that people in her community help each other out with all kind of things. She said "It is great when people offer their help to keep the community going … when they are active and participate in activities that need to be done such as regarding school … [and by] volunteering in all kinds of social associations". They mentioned helping acts in social movements like rescue teams, Lions and the Red Cross where people "want to do something good in this world… because you care" (Birna, 15).

Many of the participants connected their general outlook on helping behavior to personal experiences in their own life. Magnús (19) said that by volunteering and helping others out, people "get a different view of things and opportunities to do something different … be good and treat people well". He put his experience of being bullied while growing up in context with volunteering aims: "If I would volunteer I would aim at treating people better than I was treated ... you know, rise above such crap [as bullying] ... [and develop] good communication". Karl (19), who saw volunteering as a way to "help others" and "improve the society", referred to his life experience as well: "When you lose your sibling, your outlook on life changes radically, you don't take life for granted anymore".

In the interviews, some of the approaches towards volunteering also had a global nature. Young people referred to helping "poor children in Africa" (Ívar, 15) and people in the developing countries to get "a better life ... [as] everyone should be able to enjoy a good life" (Jóhannes). Kristín (19), who regularly volunteers for the Red Cross sorting clothing to send

overseas, found it exciting to be able to participate and "a good way to help other people".

The young people also pointed out how the symbiotic element of volunteering provides opportunities for people to work in teams in order to solve matters in communities and societies as well as the world:

> A herd ... doesn't go any faster than the slowest sheep, why shouldn't those who travel a little faster help the others, then we can all go faster and then you are doing something you want others to do for you. (Sigrún, 19)

They found this support solidarity between citizens and pointed out that "everything works better in the society if we are work together" (Agnes, 19).

6.2.4 Enhancing equality

> "I believe everyone should be able to live a decent life" (Jóhannes, 15).

While discussing volunteering and the helping act of it the young people referred repeatedly to the importance of enhacing equality in the society. They emphasized that by volunteering you help "the less able" (Davíð, 15; Sigrun, 19), "your fellow citizens, they are not any different than we are ... we are all one society" (Daníel, 19). Jóhannes (15) said he finds it "so great that people volunteer ... at least for those who are worse off ... if nobody would do that the world would not be as good". Birna (15) agreed with this and emhasized that "there shouldn't be any privileged citizens, no one should be considered better than the others".

Bryndís (19) discussed this and said:

> [By volunteering you] show that others matter ... you are not alone in the world ... everyone ... is equal when born into this world ... [and] what matters is that people know that they are not less valuable because they live in an apartment building instead of a single family home.

Davíð (15) also addressed how participating in volunteering relates to equality: "There is so much inequality in the world ... people have to care about other people's situations … you cannot act like poor people do not exist ... without volunteering … we would probably have an even bigger social economic gap". He then explained his thoughts further by referring to experiences of inequality in the world: "People nowadays crave all kinds

of things they don't necessarily need … while others would do everything to get one exemplar of a thing others have five of".

Daníel (19) displayed similar thinking patterns when he talked about "helping your fellow citizen" by volunteering and placed an emphasis on equality by highlighting that "they are no different from us … we all belong to one society".

6.2.5   Promoting personal growth

> "I think [volunteering] is both rewarding for the volunteer and
> the people that are being helped as well" (Karl, 19).

While discussing the aims of different civic actions, many participants discussed the mutual benefit of volunteering and mentioned that participation is good for society and for the participant as well and explained the personal aims of participating such as learning different things, personal enjoyment and various forms of personal growth such as civic awareness and new views on different things.

They described that, by participating, they get opportunities to "grow and develop as a person and a citizen" (Magnús, 19).

Those who had a volunteering experience also mentioned personal aims by participating, such as getting opportunities of self-development. They described how participation can help people see their own life in a different light and enhance their gratitude for the good things around them. They mentioned several examples of paradigm shifts, such as Karl (19) who said volunteering "helps people to see how good their own life is" and Bryndís (19) said "that after helping other people out people view things from a different angle" and for herself it had strengthened her sense of thankfulness for her own good life and others around her.

There were many different examples of this in the young people's discussion. They described their participation as a certain experience you learn a whole lot from and where you can at the same time make a difference and contribute to other people's lives. Vilborg (15), for example, said about her volunteering and participation in a student council: **"**We both learned and experienced all kind of things … and [it gives you] a better understanding of democracy".

They also commented on the enjoyment of helping, how the aim of participating and helping makes the volunteer "feel good about helping" (Anna, 15) and "being able to share good things with people" (Birna, 15). Dóróthea (15) also said volunteering "gives you so much in return, so much

joy ... now we are going to collect money for kids in India ... I had no idea that their situation was so bad". Kristín (19) also described her volunteering with the Red Cross "rewarding ... it was so good to know that I was dressing a child out there in the world".

Others put their aims of participating in an even broader perspective. Jóhannes said that through charity work and other volunteering:

> You develop and see that there is something more to life than just yourself ... you learn about the other world where things are not always as good as here ... [and] you discover that there is something you can do [and] therefore you gladly want to help.

Magnús (19) felt in a similar way and said the volunteering participation "expands one's horizon [and that he] would rather want to have a good life experience and meet many people than have a fancy job". When talking about further participation, he said he was interested in volunteering abroad as it would give him opportunities at the same time to "see other countries and get to know other cultures … see how their life is, learn about other people's points of views … I think it strengthens people's awareness of the global world".

6.2.6   Having an effect

The majority of the participants (75%) found it important for the good citizen to have an effect in various ways and expressed which issues were most important in this context. They found the near environment a suitable forum for young people to have an effect on issues like education and leisure opportunities as well as by acting responsible. Karl (19) said he could have an effect by "behaving responsibly in school and being a role model for the younger ones at school" (Karl, 19). Some had mature ideas on how to make improvements in the community or society. Vilborg (15) said she gets so many ideas in her different societal projects that she has to write them down. She then added: "I am always thinking about different things that need to be improved" and described how she and her peers in the Scout movement and her soccer club had been struggling for better housing. She also mentioned she had been advocating for a women's basketball team in her municipality as "girls can be just as good at basketball as boys".

The ones with most political enthusiasm discussed the importance of securing a family's wellbeing as well as advocating for young people's issues such as education, student loans and housing. They found it also important to have an effect on how authorities handle power and referred to a lack of trust in that sense. The young people's ideas could affect important matters such as how funding is assigned to different subjects such as education, health care, and environmental issues. Around half of the participants also mentioned having an effect on environmental issues. Birna (15) said young people could have an effect by keeping their towns and cities clean and by not spraying graffiti on buildings.

Many of them remarked on how important they thought it was to have an effect on and advocate for people's human rights, animal rights and the wellbeing of families. Lovísa (19) said having an effect on people's equal rights to welfare services is at the top of her list: "The cost for elderly people and those who are ill should be lowered, so they could afford to buy necessary services" (Lovísa, 19).

Several of them mentioned that by participating in peer mentoring projects they could have an effect on young people's healthier lifestyles and named as examples preventions for drug abuse as well as graffiti and vandalism. More than half of them emphasized the effect young people can have by being good role models in their near environment: for their siblings, friends as well as schoolmates. They, for example, said that their civic experiences "have an impact on people who are not volunteering ... motivating them to participate", and described that after the participation experience they could teach others what they had learned.

They also emphasized that young people could have an effect by letting their voice be heard in different ways, such as by "fighting for affordable student loans" (Daníel, 19) or through music, like Kristín (19), who said she "want[s] to use music to have an effect on people's life in society as music can help people to work themselves through difficult situations".

There were some participants who thought young people should not have an effect at this time in their life. They gave several reasons. Firstly, because of their young age which meant that they were not ready to participate in civic life, either because they were not yet responsible enough and because their civic ideas were not fully shaped meaning that they had not yet adopted priorities and passion for certain things in society.

A few of them mentioned protesting as well and referred to having participated in protests among their schoolmates following the 2008 financial crisis.

Many of the young people also complained about not having enough opportunities to have an effect as adults often treat young people as if they are too young to have an effect. Some remarked though that young people in Iceland should consider themselves lucky as "they have more opportunities than most people elsewhere in the world" (Haraldur, 15).

6.3 Civic values

What was noticeable in the young people's narratives was how much they connected good citizenship to values. They discussed the values they found have an important role for good citizens but they also discussed the roots of their own values. Six themes emerged: responsibility, honesty and trust, care, empathy, kindness, respect, roots of values (See Table 18). They will now be discussed.

Table 17. Themes for the issue of Civic values

Issue	Civic values					
Themes	**Honesty and trust**	**Care**	**Empathy**	**Kindness**	**Respect**	**Roots of values**
	• Important in citizens' relationships and communication • The basis of good political citizenship	• Citizens' care for each other • The foundation of civic life, an essential part of living in a society together • Care equally for everyone • Be concerned about how other people feel and for their condition • Reciprocity	• Understand and sense when other people are going through difficult times; in the near and far environment • Encourages civic action	• Show kindness and try to make someone feel better • Kindness in volunteering • Make the world a better place	• The foundation of relationships and important to keep the society going • Mutuality • Treat all people well independent of their differences and status • Positive attitude (e.g. being polite)	• Parents • Experiences

6.3.1   Honesty and trust

> "People have to be able to trust each other [in society] ... [and] we need more honesty now after the financial crisis ... everybody can see that lying doesn't pay off" (Jóhannes, 15).

Many of the participants emphasized the importance of honesty and trust between people in the society. This was especially true when they talked about political citizenship as they were concerned about the lack of it in society. They stressed the importance of honesty in public discussion as "lies always come out in the end" (Vilborg, 15). They underlined how important it is for authorities to be honest as citizens do not trust corrupt government. They put this dialogue in context with the 2008 financial crisis in Iceland and stated that the "main lesson learned from the financial crisis [should have been] the necessity of honesty" (Jóhannes, 15).

Some of them brought up their own lack of trust of authorities and political parties and explained how it impacts on their intention to vote. Daníel (19) brought this up and said that he "could have used [his] right to vote there some day but [he] didn't because I find it pointless. ... [as he does not] think it matters what authorities are in office, what president we have ... [or] which of the political parties are good and which bad".

The young people also discussed their dislike for arguments and bad communications in politics and that they think those kind of things affect young people's trust of authorities, leading to less political participation in society. They found the negative public arguing of politicians "so unnecessary ... just silly" (Birna, 15) and stressed the need to find ways in politics to find common ground more often. These worries weigh on them as well as their perception of politicians not being "in good enough relations with their citizens ... they can not tell people what to do without being able to rationalize it for them really well".

6.3.2   Care

> "Citizens need to show ... that they care about other people [in the society] ... let them know that they are not alone in the world" (Bryndís, 19).

Those words describe well what most participants emphasized – the importance for citizens to care about each other. They stated that caring is the basis of civic life and that living in a society embodies caring for your fellow citizens. The young people stressed that "things would not work out if everyone would just think about themselves" (Margrét, 15). That citizens

should "treat [their] neighbor in the way [they] would like to be treated [them]self". Without the caring "people would not be living in a society – instead every person would just be on his own" (Davíð, 15).

Their understanding of being caring was that people found it concerned them that other people "feel bad" (Haraldur, 15) and want to "care for [their] situations" (Þórhallur, 15), "show love and care" towards them. In this relation they indicated the significance of caring equally for everyone "no matter whom you are" (Elva, 15) and they mentioned the importance of including those less fortunate among us. They also referred to reciprocity in this sense and explained that part of being caring to each other is "to understand things from other people's points of view [and] put yourself in their shoes" (Daníel, 19). Kristín (19) approached this in the widest sense by emphasizing how important it is for citizens to "care for everything in the environment whether it is alive or not".

6.3.3   Empathy

> "A good citizen must show empathy and understanding ... because then everyone feels better ... [and] there are always people who need help" (Agnes, 19).

Good citizenship was in the young peoples' minds closely related to empathy. They referred to several important ways in empathizing with people's conditions and feelings both when "it is someone close to you" (Dóróthea, 15) and "when it happens to people far away" (Agnes, 19). As the financial crisis in Iceland was affecting many citizens in Iceland at the time when the interviews were taken, many of the young people expressed their empathy towards people's difficulties in the society at the time. Bryndís (19) for example mentioned how important empathy is and the sense of solidarity between citizens, when people are going through difficult times:

> It is always really sad [and] ... you want to be able to take up the phone and say something or do something ... people's joy matters so much ... people are [for example] losing their apartments [due to the financial crisis] and many people say it is their own fault since they took a big loan but [the banks] should not have offered these loans. If I would be in that kind of situation I would want to sense that people cared.

Many of the young people expressed their empathy towards people "who feel bad" (Margrét, 15) or are "not doing well" (Þórhallur, 15) either in the near or the far environment. Daníel (19) said that "other people's

situations has an effect on me and I empathize with their emotions a lot". Dóróthea (15) said that "Other people's feelings affect [her] a lot and if I hear about their difficult situations I feel really bad and I want to help them … it is different when it is someone close to you but there are also lot of other people out there dealing with difficult circumstances". The young people said hearing about people's tough situations makes them feel "empathetic and sad" (Haraldur, 15; Svandís, 19). They mentioned different situations that made them feel sad or empathetic such as when they are watching news on TV and "you see that there has been a car accident, ... a tornado, ... war or terrorism or an incident where many people were killed ... you ... just feel for those people that are involved" (Svandís, 19). Lovísa (19) said she "always become[s] sad when [she] hear[s] about someone's difficult situation … it is different when it is someone close to you but still when I hear something on the news such as about earthquakes I become sad". Davíð (15) also mentioned people's wellbeing and empathizing with people whether it is "an earthquake in Haiti [or] my friend's grandpa who died the other day".

Lovísa (19) explained how empathizing with people encourages citizens to find ways to help by "asking what is wrong ... [and] by talking to people and trying to make them feel better". Kristín (19) said as well that when people are "being treated badly ... I feel bad and I always want to make things better ... I feel more can be done [to help] by people who have the power to do so". Jóhannes (15) said that through volunteering people often experience people's poor circumstances and "by seeing more and more of people who are hurting your thinking changes ... so that you want to help them". "Hearing about difficult things in the environment makes me get a certain feeling within me" (Jóhannes).

Magnús (19) confessed to "feeling weak when world events happen ... you are somehow alone and it is hard to get people to unite around something like that". Anna (15) also explained how hearing about other people's bad situations makes her "think how [she] would feel if this happened to [her] and [that she] hope[s] people will be helped".

The discussion of different global issues led many of them to share their thinking of gratitude and being "lucky" with their own conditions. About this, Vilborg (15) said:

> When I see on the news that some bad things happened in foreign countries, I always ... hope everything is going to work out for [citizens who experience difficult times] ... It is a wake up call about not everyone being as well off as yourself ... and we talk about how bad our situation is [here in Iceland]!"

6.3.4 Kindness

> "Being kind to everyone ... that is a good way [to do things in life]" (Margrét, 15).

Most of the young people talked about kindness as one of the main elements of good citizenship. They had firm ideas of why showing kindness is important for citizens. For example, they said that being a kind human being is "making someone feeling better" (Birna, 15), "do[ing] something for others" (Anna, 15) and "help[ing] those who cannot help themselves and doing it for nothing, just out of the goodness of your heart" (Davíð, 15).

The participants found the civic act of volunteering a good way for people to show "kindness and solidarity towards one another in society" (Kristín, 19).

Many found volunteering a positive effort on behalf of the citizens as people "share their kindness with other people" (Þórhallur, 15) and said that "it's great that people have such big and warm hearts" (Sigrún, 19). Svandís (19) even said that according to her volunteering is an act of "pure kindness" and Dóróthea (15) said that by sharing kindness in volunteering people "make the world a better place".

6.3.5 Respect

> "People need to show respect to other citizens … as society would not work if everyone is angry at each other" (Þórhallur, 15).

The young people found respect between citizens one of the main elements of good citizenship. According to Anna (15), the good citizen is someone who "respects everything and everyone around you, ... is just and ... contributes [to society]". The young people further explained that "the foundation of [citizens'] relationships ... is respecting other people" (Bryndís, 19). They found it especially important to show respect independent of people's differences or social status: "People need to show respect to everyone, from youngsters to senior citizens" (Davíð, 15) as well as "animals" (Elva, 15). Elva (15) also had her focus on the element of respect in citizens' relationships. She said that "respect and care are the most important things for people to meet each other ... [and that is why] respect keeps society going".

Furthermore participants found that respect should be directed towards "treating other people well" (Þórhallur, 15) such as by "letting

people talk without interrupting and showing them interest" (Daníel, 19) and by "hav[ing] a positive attitude towards everyone" (Kristín, 19). Part of that, and an issue many of them commented on, was showing respect by "being polite to one another in society" (Ívar, 15; Svandís, 19). Þórhallur (15) said that "being polite" is an essential part of people's interaction in society or "else there would be no mutuality in the communication". Lovísa (19), Ívar (15), and Anna (15) emphasized politeness as well and Agnes (19) gave an example from her school community: "In school it is important to be polite towards other students and teachers ... then everyone feels better".

6.3.6   Roots of values

6.3.6.1 *Parents*

During the interviews with the young people, they frequently referred to their parents and how much they had taught them about life. Many of the young people brought up how their parents had been instrumental in affecting their values such as caring for the wellbeing of others and respecting everyone equally. Magnús (19) was one of them and said his "upbringing was good and it ha[d] for sure affected [him]". Elva (15) as well discussed that her parents had been instrumental in teaching her good values, "that understanding, respect and caring are the most important things for people to meet each other". She found it the role of parents to prepare their children for life: "If people are going to have children then they are responsible for the socialisation of their children and that the children grow up to be independent citizens, responsible for following the law and understanding each others' roles". She also said:

> My parents have always been very good to me and taught me good values which then continued to develop ... being responsible for other people's wellbeing [and] ... for my own behavior [such as being] objective when I am participating in a group discussion ... by doing that I feel like I can ... encourage everyone to share their opinions ... we should all be able to voice our opinions ... [and we should] listen to our fellow citizens as well... so we understand each other and are able to solve problems together.

Frequently, they also talked about having learned and practiced values through their relationships with their parents. Many of them mentioned trust and how trust is of utmost importance in parent child relations, as well as the "foundation of all relationships" (Kristín, 19). They explained

having learned values through both good and difficult relationship experiences in their childhood. Kristín (19), who had a rather distant relationship with her father, said he "was never any good in communications and keeping up a close relationship" but through her friendship with her mother she had learned about the importance of trust. Svandís (19) said that her parents' involvement and advice had affected her values and helped her to adopt important moral values:

Svandís (19) said that her parents' involvement and advice had affected her values and helped her to learn valuable things:

> When I was growing up and if I said something immoral then [my parents] told me not to say it again, since it it was not right and I am thankful for this now but at that time it was maybe not that much fun.

6.3.6.2 Experiences

Sum of them discussed the fact that experiences such as volunteering can be important for people as things that you experience when you are younger "can change you forever" (Davíð, 15). Magnús (19) as well discussed that volunteering participation has a lot of value for young people and explained that he finds such experience much more valuable than material things. He also discussed the bullyism in his childhood that affected him greatly, both with regard to his view toward life and his values: "I often felt really bad, I was overweight when I was younger and I was teased a lot ... I don't want anyone to be treated like I was treated".

6.4 Summary: Young people's perspectives on being a good citizen

Various themes emerged within the three main issues of good citizenship: civic action, civic aims and civic values. The themes that emerged within civic action were: (1) **Civic action** (Political participation; Societal participation; Civic voice; Participation opportunities), (2) **Civic aims** (Use your right: Show responsibility; Wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizen; Enhacing equality; Promoting personal growth; Having effect) (3) **Young People's values** (Honesty and trust; Care; Empathy; Kindness; Respect; Root of values)

All participants found being an active member of society an essential part of being a good citizen. They emphasized that volunteering and

different social movement participation was a preferable way for young people to practice good citizenship and help other people out. All of the participants found voting an important element of good citizenship as well.

Around half of the young people expressed a slightly different attitude towards their own political participation, referring to not being ready for it because of their youth, lack of trust in the civic system, shortage of knowledge to build their political attitudes on or lack of interest to advocate for something. Others, however, were concerned about "democracy not [being] in action" as many of the young people are not actively involved in voting and other political participation. Participants also emphasized the need to listen more to young people's voices on societal matters. The participants were split in half in their stance towards participation opportunities. Some found them enough while others felt opportunities to be lacking. Almost all of them argued, however, that existing opportunities had to be introduced better to encourage young people's participation, for example, in volunteering.

They found more opportunities needed where they could engage in societal discussion and called for authorities' attention to their civic inputs.

The young people discussed different aims of good citizenship. They discussed the aim of using your rights to participate and have a say in society such as by voting. They referred to the responsibility of engaging in different civic matters and situations through life: such as by being there for each other in the near and far environment; engaging in civic issues such as by volunteering or engaging in environmental protection and by keeping well informed about issues in societies from time to time. The aim of helping and caring for the wellbeing and benefit of fellow citizens was dear to them. The subjects they discussed ranged from assisting someone in school who needs help to participating in volunteering in the global world. They were especially concerned for those less fortunate in the world and found it important to enhance equality and solidarity by reacting to it and by listening to and treating all citizens equally. They were also determined in their emphasis on young people being treated equally to adults as well as their efforts and contributions in the society. They explained wanting to stand up for what they believe in and get the opportunity to voice their opinions. Furthermore, they mentioned the civic aim of having an affect by being active and caring for other people in the near and far environment. Other aims repeatedly named had the common thread of personal growth. They found practicing good citizenship offered themselves several benefits, such as: enjoyment; rewarding feelings;

learning new things;idening their perspectives towards different societal things and the world; and increasing civic awareness and encouragement for future participation.

The young people's approach towards practicing good citizenship was founded by civic values. They explained citizens' need to care for each other, be kind and helpful and concerned about how other people feel and their condition. They stressed the idea of being empathic as well to people and that an important part of living in a society together is being sensitive towards people's conditions and situations and putting yourself in other people's shoes independent of who it is and where you live in the world.

They also discussed the importance of respect as well as honesty and trust in citizens' relationships as they found it the cornerstone to citizens' good life together in a community, society or the global world. They also found trust the building block upon which our whole society is based and pointed out that the absence of trust affects young people's incentive to vote and be part of the political system.

As the young people talked about the values they connect with good citizenship they frequently remarked on the roots of their own values and attitudes. The most common factors they mentioned were that their values are rooted in their parents' nurturing as well as in different life experiences.

6.5   The Ecological Good Citizen Model

By reviewing and connecting the findings from the survey and the interviews, a prominent focus on ecological elements in relation to the young people's views on good citizenship emerged. Those findings constituted the foundation of *The Ecological Good Citizen Model* presented in Figure 10. People seek understanding and knowledge of the world in their everyday life. The young people's various actions and experiences create and deepen knowledge and understanding that they can use to guide their thinking and behavior (Piaget, 1932/1965; Vygotsky, 1978). *The Ecological Good Citizen Model* depicts the different psychological, educational, and social elements related to the young people's environment that interact in the young people's lives and can contribute to their views on what it means to be a good citizen.

As Figure 10 shows, young people are located in the centre of the model. This refers to their age, gender, characteristics, views and behaviors as related to good citizenship.
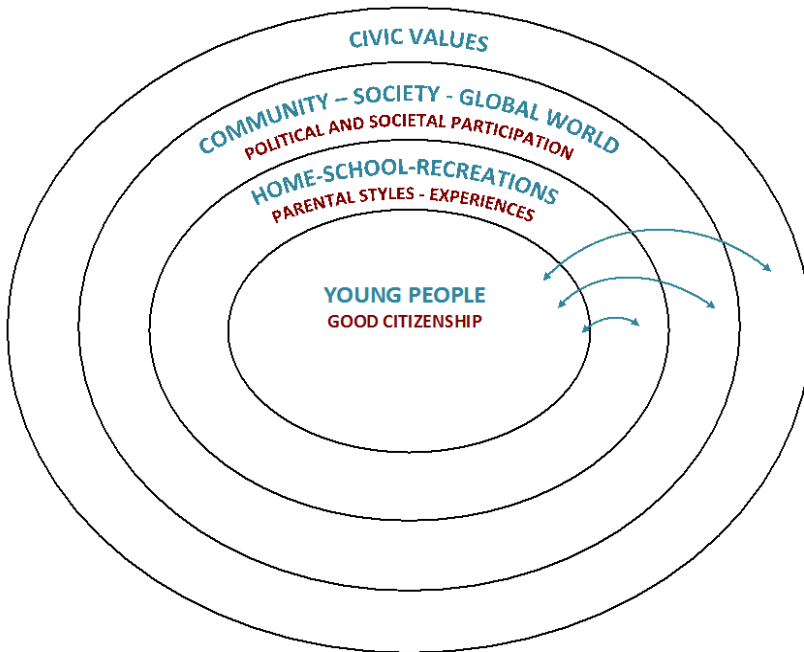
Figure 10. The Ecological Good Citizen Model.

The most proximal ecological system to young people is the microsystem, which includes individuals and their direct and recurring interaction and activity patterns with family, school and societal institutions (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). The layer HOME-SCHOOL-RECREATIONS next to the middle is the microsystem level. It refers to HOME and thereby in this study to parental styles (perceived *parental support and supervision*) but also to family in a wider sense as some of the participants in the interviews related their civic aims, values and participation to factors in their HOME, SCHOOL or RECREATIONS.

In the next layer COMMUNITY-SOCIETY-GLOBAL WORLD is an exosystem layer. The study findings support the fact that elements in these systems are related to young people's citizenship. Young people's educational systems as well as social- and political systems offer

opportunities for young people that can encourage and develop their active citizenship. Examples of such opportunities which can vary depending on countries and cultures are civic education, community recreational projects and volunteering offered to young people. Political systems offer such opportunities as well, but even within democratic systems they approach young people in different ways: some are open to young people voices and contributions as well as their newer civic participation forms while others are more conventional in style. There are signs in the findings that these different ways can be meaningful for young people's civic awareness and participation.

In the outmost layer, CIVIC VALUES encircle the other layers. Our findings support the idea that young people relate values to their citizenship and that their civic aims and participation is guided by those values.

The reciprocal arrows refer to the mesosystem in Bronfenbrenner's model and show how the systems relate to each other. Developmentalists (e.g. Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Lerner, 1991) have for example explained how environmental contexts such as children's home and the school environment are embedded in other contexts such as local communities, and the society at large, but people's knowledge construction and expansion can also be rooted in the process of reflecting on and sharing own and others' experiences and ideas.

7   Discussion

The pre-adult years are an important period in the life of young people, the years of constructing ideas and seeking context in the society (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Since democracy depends on citizens' civic action, recent changes in young people's civic patterns have led to more focus being placed on young people's civic participation forms and their views on societal matters (Amnå & Ekman, 2015; Flanagan, 2013; Sloam, 2014). There has also been an increased awareness about the need for paying more attention to young people's voice, including their perceptions of citizenship as well as examining the determinants of those views (Dalton, 2008; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

The broad context and aim of this dissertation is to contribute to this field of study. The mixed method design of the study offered the chance to use a wide angle lens in examining young people's views on good citizenship by obtaining a general pattern as well as by deepening the analysis by interviewing a group of participants who answered the survey. The theoretical perspective of ecology, phenomenology and the *Civic Awareness and Engagement model* supported a wide lens approach.

The main findings indicated that the young people generally had positive views towards active and responsible citizenship. Their civic emphasis and ideas were sometimes innovative, possibly being an example of transformation and young people's renewal of civic norms and values. One example is the young people's ideas of how participation can be conducted. Along with discussing traditional ways of engaging, they described newer civic participation forms such as the youth council forum in local communities, environmental protection and different civic educational projects. They also mentioned the use of the internet in this context and how it can be used for example when advocating against bullying. Another example is how young people value the need for them to step in as active citizens, want to use different new forms of engagement and even ask for more civic opportunities. Among the participants were also young people who, in general, had a positive view towards citizens' responsibility for being active, but however considered it unnecessary to participate such as in elections unless the prominent election issues appealed to themselves in one way or another. These signs of self

expression values (Welzel, 2013) were apparent. Frequently, they also seemed to lack a sense of purpose and self-efficacy to get civically involved. Some said that they could not think of anything to advocate for, had no ideas of civic improvements and doubted as well that they had the necessary ability to practice active citizenship.

With that said, their preference in civic participation was more characterised by wanting to volunteer and be part of different societal engagement. They liked opportunities such as youth and student councils but also defined different recreational and untraditional participation forms within the frame of civic participation (Cohen & Kahne, 2012). However, they still valued the importance of electoral rights and of having the democratic option of voting.

Furthermore, the findings underline the importance of different ecological elements in nurturing young people's good citizenship or, as seen in the *Ecological Good Citizen Model*, the home, school, recreations, community, society, global world and civic values all play a role in the young people's civic context.

In answering my research questions (RQ) in this chapter, I will simultaneously discuss findings from the survey and the interviews and integrate them as I place them into a theoretical context.

The structure of this discussion chapter is guided by the *The Ecological Good Citizen Model*) and involves three sections: the role of parents in nurturing civic views and values (HOME); the role of civic participation in nurturing civic views and values (COMMUNITY-SOCIETY-GLOBAL WORLD); the role of CIVIC VALUES. After dicussing the limitations and strengths of the study, conclusions will be drawn and final statements made.

7.1 The role of parents in nurturing civic views and values (HOME)

The first RQ of the study asked if young people who perceive their parents' parental styles as more supportive and supervising are more likely to have higher empathy levels, total, affective and cognitive. The findings indicated that parental support contributes to these types of young people's empathy. Being raised and supported by warm parents who support their children in doing their best and help them if something comes up seems to be a good way to promote young people's empathy. Also, parents' supervision related to both total empathy, affective empathy (tendency), and cognitive empathy. However, for cognitive empathy this relationship was found only in the case of the 14 year olds and not the 18 year olds.

This finding reflected the fact that the younger age group are more supervised behaviorally than the older age group.

The findings about empathy add to the literature on the importance of parental support and supervision for young people's empathy. Examining both affective as well as cognitive empathy in research is not common and it is a novelty as well to study affective and cognitive empathy in the context of good citizenship (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006).

The first RQ also asked if the young people who perceive their parents' parental styles as more supportive and supervising are more likely to value conventional and social movement-related participation an important element of being a good citizen. Findings indicated that those who characterized their parents as showing more support and encouragement and being willing to discuss things with their children were more likely to value the importance of civic participation as a key to being a good citizen. Parents' supervision was also important in this context. Participants who found their parents more supervising and better informed about where they spent their time outside of the home had more positive views both on the importance of social movement-related participation such as volunteering and conventional participation, such as voting. As parents' behavioral control has decreased by the time children are at the age of 18 and the young people's thinking has become more autonomous, parents' supervision has a greater role at the age of 14 in supporting their positive views on conventional and social movement-related participation.

These findings were also of further importance as they emerged even when controlling for the young people's own volunteering, which relates to their views towards civic participation/engagement, as well as their gender, age and parents' socioeconomic status.

The above findings emphasize the important role parents play in their childrens' lives, i.e. the significance of their support and supervision in nurturing their empathy and encouraging their understanding and positive views on being active participants in their societies. These parenting styles that are important characteristics of authoritative parental styles (Baumrind, 1971; Steinberg & Morris, 2001) are therefore of significant meaning for their good citizenship.

The second RQ dealt with empathy and whether it had a relevant meaning for young people's views on civic participation. The findings indicated that affective empathy matters for the young people's views on civic participation. Those who share other people's feelings and emotions such as sadness and concerns are more likely to consider social

movement-related participation, such as volunteering, and conventional participation, such as voting, an important element of being a good citizen. However, their cognitive empathy was only important in this sense for the young people's views on the importance of conventional participation for good citizenship. Those who understand fellow citizens' obstacles and challenges are therefore more likely to view conventional participation, such as participation in politics, an important element of good citizenship. Hence their cognitive empathy seems to encourage their positive views on the importance for citizens to step forward and be willing to participate in politics to advocate for civic issues. In general, these findings imply that fostering young people's affective and cognitive empathy might lay the foundation for their political and societal participation.

The third RQ asked if empathy had a role in mediating the relationship between parental styles and young people's views on conventional and social movement-related and participation. Findings indicated that parents' support and supervision have an important role in nurturing young people's affective empathy which then encourages more positive views on the importance of conventional and social movement-related participation for good citizenship. Findings also indicated that parent's support and supervision have an important role in nurturing young people's cognitive empathy but that only encouraged more positive views on social movement-related participation like volunteering. In general, it therefore appears that by nurturing affective empathy in their parental styles, parents can foster more positive views on social movement-related and conventional participation. Also by nurturing their cognitive empathy in their parental styles, they can foster more positive views on social movement-related participation. This is particularly noteworthy in the light of worries about young people's diminishing electoral participation (Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Hardarson & Onnudottir, 2014). Further research is needed to examine whether additional opportunities lie in the parenting role related to kindling young people's interest in electoral participation.

In their narratives, the young people also discussed the important role of their parents. They explained that some of their most valuable lessons in life derived from social interaction with their parents. They had taught them important skills and values: to care for the wellbeing of other people; to be honest; to respect everyone equally; to put yourself in other people's shoes; to listen to your fellow citizens; to understand each other better; to solve problems together and be responsible for personal actions. The young people also emphasized how important their parents' guidance was

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for them and emphasized that it had helped them to be able to take independent decisions as well as encourage them to voice their opinions in the society. They found such parental practices an integral part of preparing young people for their role as active citizens.

These findings support the main theoretical perspectives of authoritative parental styles which are considered to foster young people's autonomy and positive behaviors (Baumrind, 1971; Lamborn et al., 1991) as well as skills of putting yourself in other people's shoes (Adalbjarnardottir, 2005; Selman, 1980). The findings also support adolescent-parent value congruence (Grusec & Hastings, 2015).

7.2 The role of civic participation for civic views and values
(COMMUNITY-SOCIETY-GLOBAL WORLD)

As mentioned previously, the young people in the study considered active civic participation an important element of good citizenship. This was detectable both in the survey's findings as well as in the interviews. A majority of the participants found it somewhat or very important to participate in environmental protection, advocate for human rights, participate in activities to benefit people in the community/society, vote in every election, follow political issues in the news, and participate in peaceful protesting. Some of the participants connected solidarity to their understanding of the importance of active citizenship. They explained that in their mind citizens are members of a "bigger unity" – communities, societies or the global world – and carry a collective responsibility to engage.

In general, as both findings from the survey and interviews indicated, the young people found their civic participation an important part of good citizenship. They found it important to be able to have an influence by sharing their opinions and ideas but also by caring for the wellbeing of fellow citizens. Their attitudes towards social movement–related participation was more positive than towards political participation as commonly there was a lack of trust towards the political system. Volunteering especially was a participation form the young people valued.

7.2.1 Young people's own volunteering participation

7.2.1.1 The volunteers

The fourth RQ considers the meaning of own volunteering participation for young people's views on civic engagement. Approximately one fifth of the participants had personal experience of volunteering and they were more

likely than those who had not volunteered to value political and social movement-related participation as an important part of being a good citizen. The findings from the survey indicated that those who volunteer are more likely to show affective empathy and to have more positive views on both political and societal participation. These findings highlight what other studies have suggested that young people's volunteering experience is a meaningful way to prepare young people as future citizens (Wilson, 2012).

Furthermore, many of the young people's narratives supported these findings as well. The young people who had participated in some kind of civic projects described their participation as usually being small to begin with, such as holding raffles for humanitarian organizations, participating in fundraisings for a good cause in different community projects and youth work. They stressed that these projects had been meaningful to them and helped them practice social responsibility for other people's wellbeing and in that way prepared them as citizens. They explained that the challenges gradually evolved with age, making it easier to participate in different social movements such as rescue teams and organizations, get to be in charge of projects, advocate for human rights and act on environment threats. They considered different non-political participation forms ideal to practice their civic responsibility and to move towards an awareness of being part of and responsible for something larger than their immediate environment. Furthermore, they expressed how their experiences had encouraged them to further engage in society.

The young people's motives were mixed and had a reference to both sociological and psychological approaches (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Many of the participants described that by their civic participation they wanted to commit to society. There was also a general message in the interviews that by participating the young people wanted to enhance equality and improve the life conditions of those who are worse off and need assistance. Some brought up materialism commonly seen in youth culture in the western world (Buckingham & Tingstad, 2014; Schor, 2004), which they found works against the aims of citizens' equality. Their focus was commonly on different issues they were familiar with or had personal experience of.

Many of the young people mentioned the reciprocal characteristics of volunteering and brought attention to the personal growth that they thought arises from participating in societal projects. They mentioned progressive skills due to being part of solving problems as well as

developing and changing attitudes through volunteering experiences. They found the experiences especially valuable as they differed from their day-to-day reality. In their discussion, they also looked to the future, for example when they discussed their concern for the conservation of nature.

7.2.1.2 All participants in the interviews

All participants, both those who were volunteers and those who had not volunteered, mentioned volunteering most frequently in the interviews as an interesting and valuable way to contribute to society. Their understanding was in accordance with newer definitions on volunteering (Rochester et al., 2012) and involved different formal and unformal activities, either in a local or global environment, some limited in time. They also mentioned the reciprocal attribute of the participation. School-related volunteering was also a familiar forum for the young people. One third of the survey participants had participated in student and youth councils and in the interviews those who had such experience expressed it as both pleasurable and informative.

All but one participant found it their responsibility to contribute to society in one way or another and by that make society a better place for everyone to live in. Their understanding varied from finding it important to be responsible towards their family and friends, for school, for showing responsibility towards people by being polite and respectful and to contribute to their communities and the society in that way, to being responsible for participating in the student association at school, in society by volunteering, voting, protecting the environment and "making society a better place to live in". A common thread detected in their narratives was therefore that they experienced their responsibilities beginning at home, in school and in youth clubs. This is important as scholars have emphasized the importance of student civic engagement experiences for the construction of their citizenship (Carretero et al., 2016). This is important as well in the light of studies which have implied that young people's involvement in various extracurricular activities and civic experiences at school can predict future civic engagement (Hart et al., 2007).

A notable point from the interviews is how many of the participants reflect their civic identity in the values of voluntary organizations like the Red Cross. This is worth considering more closely, especially while keeping in mind their own call in the interviews for more civic participation opportunities at a younger age. By giving them more opportunities to engage in civic challenges of some sort they would get to experience themselves, different civic situations and the civic values attached,

supporting them in developing their own civic identity (Yates & Youniss, 1999).

Accordingly, an important conclusion from the above findings is that volunteering is a useful way for young people to connect with different issues in their environment. By participating in hands-on activities and societal challenges they can develop their civic values as well as their views on the importance of civic action. The findings emphasize, at the same time, how essential it is to implement young people's voices when engagement opportunities are being prepared through school or recreational clubs. It is of vital importance to honor different formal and informal ways of participation and provide young people with engagement opportunities that spark their interests, as tools to build a bridge to their good citizenship.

The fourth RQ also asked if parents' volunteering was important for young people's empathy levels as well as their views on civic participation. Findings showed that those who had parents who volunteer were more likely to view volunteering as an important element of good citizenship. This is in line with studies based on theories of modeling and value internalization that have supported a relationship between parental volunteering and children's volunteering later in life (Musik & Wilson, 2008; Wilson 2012). However, it did not matter for young people's empathy levels or views on the importance of political participation for good citizenship whether parents had participated in volunteering or not.

7.2.2 Young people's political participation

The young people's attitudes on political participation were somewhat different from their views on societal participation and overall they considered societal civic actions more important than political ones. Few found it important to engage in political discussion and very few considered it important to become a member of a political party. However, many still considered several conventional civic actions to be an integral part of being a good citizen, such as always voting in an election. This was supported both in the survey as well as the interviews.

The young people described voting from the perspective of rights rather than responsibilities. Almost all participants emphasized the importance of having electoral rights and the majority found it important for a good citizen to vote in every election. At the same time many expressed uncertainty about whether they wanted to use their electoral rights. Those participants referred to the importance of freedom in this

context, that political participation should be of one's own free choice, an optional right available to people if they cared about certain issues rather than something they were obligated to do. Some of the narratives showed signs of young people's self-expression values which studies have discussed as being increasingly common among young people (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010; Welzel, 2013).

These findings are consistent with theoretical discourse on young people's increasing emphasis on individual freedom (Copeland, 2014) and self-expression values (Welzel, 2013). The above issues need to be explored even further for a deeper understanding of contemporary participation forms as democratic societies depend heavily upon the political participation of all age groups.

Among the most common reasons given for not being interested in politics or political participation were lack of political knowledge, lack of trust towards the public system and politicians, lack of civic agency and young age. Some of these participants nevertheless placed emphasis on being able to voice their opinions on civic matters if they so wanted but they did not seem to find the electoral system well suited for that purpose. Furthermore, many of the participants did not appear to experience the electoral system as a way to have an influence in society and it did not seem to have a personal meaning for them either. The participation patterns described by the participants validate similar changes in citizenship norms, as findings in recent studies have suggested. According to those findings an increasing group of young people are taking on the role of being "monitorial citizens" (Amnå & Ekman, 2015).

However, it is important to notice that some of the young people were politically active and gave examples of dealing directly with issues in their communities by signing petitions and advocating for changes. This is in congruence with contemporary definitions of political participation practices (Sloam, 2014; Kahne et al., 2015). In addition, one of the key findings of this study is young people's appeal for more civic opportunities and respect for young people's civic voice – their ideas and opinions on different political matters. Participants' interest in having effect varied but many of them had clear goals of working towards reformation in either the near or far environment and these individuals called for more opportunities to do so as they wanted to take responsibility for their own life and the outer world. Most of the participants reasoned that authorities need to become more knowledgeable about the main political attitudes of "ordinary people" as that was presumed for being able to practice civic

administrative responsibility in a proper way. Many found as well that young people's contributions to the society tend to be overlooked. They suggested that the explanation might lie in the adults' way of seeing young people as children in one setting and adults in other. They found this led to confusion, as young people sense some ambivalent messages from adults on their civic role. They explained that in contrast to what many adults think, young people often want to participate in political discussion, introduce their opinions on different issues, which they state are often different from adults' views on things. They also considered it important for young people to get to react on matters that concern themselves such as education, recreational issues, bullyism, drug preventions, and issues in their local communities. It was evident that these issues had a personal meaning for them and they wanted to be able to express their views on them as well as be able to react on their concerns for different matters in the society.

To summarize the above findings, it is clear that an expanding group of young people see civic action as a combination of a complex set of participation forms. They are united in their views of political action, traditional as well as new expressive participation forms. They emphasize the importance of different volunteering participation forms that focus on enhancing people's wellbeing, human rights and environmental issues. In addition, they have also added newer loose formed, short term, sometimes school or recreational based civic projects to their participation pool.

7.3 The role of CIVIC VALUES

One of the major outcomes of this study is the finding that values seem to have a fundamental role in constructing young people's views on life and its tasks, including the importance of civic participation for good citizenship. The young people interviewed in the study described how important they thought civic values are for good citizenship.

7.3.1 Empathy and young people's views on good citizenship

Findings on empathy in the study derive both from the survey as well as the interviews and are of considerable interest in the field due to the scarcity of studies on young people's empathy in relation to citizenship.

As discussed in 8.1, findings from the survey support the importance of affective empathy levels for young people's views on civic participation, both societal and political. This pattern is also visible in the young people's

discussion about good citizenship. They explained how their empathy toward different societal circumstances encourages them to act on the dilemma and try to have an effect by improving people's conditions. They emphasized that "good citizens must show empathy" and that other people's situations and feelings should matter to fellow citizens whether or not it was someone close to them. As an example, one of the participants explained that experiencing or hearing about people's tough circumstances makes one feel "empathetic and sad". In addition, they found it important to encourage people to find ways to help by "asking what is wrong" and "trying to make things better". Volunteering was specifically mentioned in this context with the remarks that through volunteering people get an opportunity to act on the "feeling inside [them]" when they hear about difficult things in the environment, "people's poor circumstances" and try to put themselves in their position. They gave different examples from their near environment but expressed global thinking as well and remarked that difficult situations affected them whether they are happening in their community or not. Moreover, the more cognitive empathy participants had, the more likely they were to consider political participation as an important element of being a good citizen. It is especially noteworthy that affective and cognitive empathy both contribute to more positive views on the importance of political participation for good citizenship. This encourages the belief that an increased focus should be directed towards nurturing children's and young people's empathy.

7.3.2 Values and young people's views on good citizenship

The young people's approach towards practicing good citizenship was founded by civic values. In the interviews, most of the young people discussed how interwoven values are with civic life. They emphasized the need for citizens to be kind and helpful to each other, to be responsible towards people's circumstances and to treat people equally, independent of who they may be and where they lived. They explained how honoring these values constitutes an important part of living together in a society. Findings of the survey in Adalbjarnardottir's (2011) study which this dissertation is part of, showed as well that the young people relate good citizenship with values such as respect, honesty and helpfulness.

However, in the interviews the young people linked their emphasis on being responsible, kind, helpful and honoring equality – mainly to their discussion of societal participation while the young people focused more

on the exercise of rights when it came to political participation and were less aware of civic obligations. According to them the values of trust in citizens' relationships, honesty and respect were, on the other hand, more related to political citizenship as they described those values as the cornerstone of citizens' good life together in a community, society or the global world. They felt that the absence of those values affects young people's incentive to vote and be part of the political system. Their viewpoint is a warning sign for our society which it is important to respond to. The data collection for this study was performed following the financial crisis in 2008 which might explain the young people's obvious lack of trust towards government and adults in power. However it is clear that politicians and political parties must pay attention to these voices as well as experts who currently have taken over the governance of instrumental elements of executive power.

The young people related their values to different ecological elements: their home, school, leisure activities and to civic engagement. They explained that different life experiences related to those elements had been important for their values and relationship skills and "widening their viewpoint of life".

The above findings should encourage those who live and work with children and young people to focus on nurturing their empathy and civic values and thereby lay the foundation for their good citizenship.

7.4 Age, gender and socioeconomic status and young people's views on good citizenship

The results of the study revealed several interesting findings with respect to the relationship between the young people's age, gender, and SES and their empathy as well as their views on being a good citizen.

Concerning empathy, the findings showed that girls were more likely to have higher empathy levels than boys, cognitive as well as affective. As other findings of the study indicated that empathy is a contributing factor to young people's views on civic participation, it could benefit boys' good citizenship to focus more on fostering their empathy through parental practices as well as prosocial activities. Those who were older were also more likely than the younger participants to have developed higher empathy levels.

Concerning civic participation, girls experienced social movement-related participation to be more important elements of good citizenship than boys while gender did not matter for the views on conventional

citizenship. These findings are interesting while it should be kept in mind that girls' affective empathy levels were higher than boys' and empathy contributed to more positive views of societal participation. Similar findings on gender differences have emerged for volunteering (van Goethem, van Aken, Raaijmakers, Boom & de Castro, 2012; Metz & Youniss, 2003; Metzger & Smetana, 2009). In those studies, it was suggested that the reason for girls being more likely to volunteer than boys may be related to their gender identity as caring individuals.

The older participants were more likely than the younger to consider political participation important. This is in accordance with young people gaining the right to vote at the age of 18, but it also encourages parents, schools and policy makers to initiate discussion and working with civic values at a younger age, as well as offer them civic opportunities. The young people's views on social movement-related citizenship were similar for both 14 and 18 year olds, which might indicate that, for example, volunteering and envirionmental projects are optimal participation forms to foster from even a young age.

Those who had parents with the most education were more likely than those who had parents with the least education to have higher affective and cognitive empathy levels as well as more positive views towards social movement-related participation. That the difference only appears between those two groups instead of all three might derive from the fact that generally there are less SES differences in Iceland compared to other countries and Icelands' socio-economic profile is above OECD average (OECD, 2015). That the group with lowest SES is less likely to have postitive views towards civic participation might be attributed in the inequalities of this group's wellbeing compared to children from wealthier households (OECD, 2015) or households with higher levels of education. Other findings have recognized the importance of socio-economic factors for young people's civic development, such as poverty and lack of access to political systems (Zaff, Hart, Flanagan, Youniss & Levine, 2009).

8   Limitations and strengths of the study

The study has several limitations and strengths. Limitations of the study may first revolve around the complexity of the research design. This demands good coordination of data as well as sensitivity for the linkage of research elements between the quantitative data, which provided the general pattern, and the qualitative data, which provided a deeper insight into participants' views on good citizenship. Second, the measures used in the survey, such as the good citizenship, parental and empathy measures, all rely on the young people's self-report. Therefore their answers could be biased by social desirability. Third, the cross-sectional research design does not support evidence of causation but only that the study's findings are interpreted in terms of associations. Fourth, seven out of 28 participants chosen to be interviewed in the study were not part of the study as they had either moved out of the country or were not able to participate. These individuals might have added some new insight to the study or had more difficulties in explaining their views on good citizenship.

There are also several significant strengths of the study. First, the mixed method design has the potential to provide fuller and deeper understanding (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Noel, Ruth, Sue & Lynne, 2005) on the young people's views of what it means to be a good citizen and what importance they put on political and societal participation as elements of good citizenship. Second, the study uses carefully selected and strong measures that were discussed earlier: the *IEA Good Citizenship* construct (Torney-Purta et al., 1999); *the Basic Empathy Scale by* Jolliffe and Farrington (2006)*; a parental style measure by Steinberg, Lamborn and colleges* (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Although the measures rely on the young people's self-report, they have a robust theretical background and build on numerous large-scale comparative studies which give opportunities for meaningful international comparisons. As such, the study should serve as a contribution - both nationally and internationally. Third, there is the application and modification of Adalbjarnardottir's (2008) *Civic Awareness and Engagement Model* to explore young people's views on Good citizenship. *The Good Citizen Model* gives an overview of main issues that may help others in analysing young people's views on good citizenship. Fourth, the *Ecological Good Citizen Model* which emerged through findings from the interviews is another

strength. The young people repeatedly put their views in context with their near and far environment which became the foundation for the ecological model. Fifth, a strength is also how the study contributes to the literature in several important ways as discussed in chapter 6.3. Examples are how the study (1) focuses on the relationship between parental styles and young people's views on the importance of civic participation as elements of good citizenship, as little notice has been given to this in the literature, (2) explores empathy by using an empathy scale in relation to young people's views on civic participation as, according to our understanding, that is a novelty, (3) examines individual values in the interviews as that has rarely been examined from the viewpoint of civic engagement (Zaff et al., 2008), (4) expands research on the relationship between young people's volunteering and their views on good citizenship by examining this research subject with Icelandic participants as well as by adding to the research on younger generations volunteering as it is limited in this field of study (Hrafnsdottir, 2005; Hrafnsdottir et al., 2015).

9   Conclusions and final words

The main findings of this study indicate that young people find it important to be active citizens. Most of the young people had firm ideas of the good citizen's role in helping and caring for the well being of fellow citizen as well as ensuring equal living conditions for all. They emphasized their interest in sharing their civic voice and in political matters. Many were prepared to take on the role of active citizenship, even at young age. In the light of worries of declining civic interest and participation among young people, the aforementioned findings on young people's interest and intentions to contribute to the society are positive and important.

In the findings, there were signs of changing civic participation patterns, including more inclination towards societal participation than political, and it was apparent that young people's focus was more issue based and projects more loose shaped than duty filled (see e.g. Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Dalton, 2009; Gaiser, Gille, & de Rijke, 2009). However, they still valued many traditional engagement forms. The majority of participants found voting an important element of good citizenship but their outlook on their own participation in electoral politics varied and it is important to delve deeper into their arguments for that. There were concerns about a lack of trust in the relationship between young people and authorities as well as a lack of honesty in the political system. They found these values the basis for good citizenship and frequently related the decline in young people's electoral participation to those difficulties. The young people expressed their wishes for more respect for young people's voices and civic projects as well as public attention for their ideas and contributions. Some even concluded that young people's role in society needs to be structured as they get conflicting messages from adults on what is expected from them. Other elements of reasons they gave for being unsure or not willing to vote were young age, lack of civic knowledge or lack of interest in becoming civically involved.

It is important to respond to these concerns, and these aspects can all be dealt with within young people's ecological environments. Children live within a civic context and the contributors to their civic awareness and engagement are parents, school, recreational activities as well as different community and society elements. The young people's dissatisfaction with

the political system is a clear message to politicians and authorities on the need to emphasize good values and morality in their tasks as well as in communications with citizens. In addition, the young people's doubts about being politically active is an encouragement to policymakers, academics, parents, educators and others who work and live with young people to take on this challenge to actuate young people's civic interest both in the political and social domain. Furthermore, miscellaneous civic forums and equal opportunities for the younger generations to participate in the society and voice their opinions must be ensured to put their civic motivations in action.

The parental context and involvement in young people's development and socialization is important in this matter. Our findings indicate that parental practices have a central role in young people's views on civic engagement. In the years of adolescence and emerging adulthood, the parent-child relationships are in a transitional phase towards a more equal based landscape (Steinberg, 2001; Youniss, 1980). Opportunities related to strengthening young people's citizenship, lie therefore, among others in parents' input, prompt family discussions on societal matters, nurturing civic values and empathy, explaining political issues and civic aims, encouraging independent thinking and supporting the young people's civic actions. For parents in taking on this role of fostering their children's civic development, it should strengthen them to be aware of their own pedagogical vision – their values, aims, and parental styles (Ingudottir, 2015; Adalbjarnardottir, 2010).

The civic development context also reaches beyond the home (Granic, Dishion, & Hollenstein, 2003). Educational policy has in the western world increasingly been focusing on the importance of working with young people on the meaning of democracy and encouraging their civic awareness and engagement through formal and informal learning environments. An inclination in the direction of emphasizing active citizenship can, for example, be seen in Icelandic Educational Policy (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school general section, 2011; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school with subjects areas, 2013; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for preschools, 2012; The Icelandic national curriculum guide for upper secondary school, 2012) which encourages schools to work with students on democracy and human rights.

After compulsory school in Iceland, 95.2% of young people continue their education in upper secondary school (age 16-20) (Institute of

Economics, 2015). There education, which is mostly in the public sector, is free of charge except for minimum tuition fees and the cost of textbooks. In spite of high dropout rates per year (around 6-14%) (Institute of Economics, 2015) the students represent a diverse cross-section of young people in Iceland. This opens up the chance to reach through upper secondary schools to a large percentage of young people compared to other countries where more inequalities are present in the higher education system (Sloam, 2014). The aims in the Icelandic Educational Policy are to "develop systematically the knowledge, skills and attitudes that strengthen the individuals' future ability to be critical, active and competent participants in a society based on equality and democracy" (The Icelandic national curriculum guide for compulsory school general section, 2011, p. 5). However, more thorough ideas are needed on how to address this complex challenge. Should this be done by mandating service participation or should students' service participation be voluntary? This question will be left unanswered as it is outside the scope of this research but from a pedagogical stance the civic education approach has to ensure the necessary combination of conceptual understanding, cognitive and socio-emotional skills, inclination and value judgement for developing active citizenship (Carretero et al., 2016).

The young people in the study expressed positive views towards volunteering as a civic participation form. The findings indicated as well that the young people who volunteered were more likely than those who did not volunteer to have positive views towards civic participation. Volunteering, therefore, seems to be among the means important to offer to young people through schools, leisure activities and volunteering associations. At the same time, it is important to include as well the newer more informal engagement forms and make sure that young people have concurrently opportunities to reflect on their learning experiences and the values related to their civic projects. There are valuable volunteering opportunities in local government as well and important steps have already been taken in Iceland's Youth Act from 2007 by implementing youth councils. Through participation, young people are given the chance to have a voice in the near environment. We need to ensure more such opportunities for young people.

Guided with the importance of encouraging young people's active citizenship, a message of the findings is the need to focus more on young people's own civic voice. We need to learn from them what are the participation forms that they find meaningful and respect their newer civic approaches as much as the conventional ones. Simultaneously it is

important to rekindle electoral participation as one of the key instruments of democracy. People in young people's environments and society as a whole need to join forces to strengthen young people's critical understanding and personal meaning of civic action, aims and values. Furthermore, they need to support them on their civic passage through life by providing the neccesary channels and forums where they can nurture their citizenship.

It is our wish that the results of the study will drive decisions about policies, civic participation programs, and practices of civic engagement directed at young people.

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Appendix 1. Measures

Below is an overview of the three main measures used in the dissertation. Examples of items within each scale used to answer research questions 1-5 (see 4.2) are given as well.

The basic empathy scale (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006)

Jolliffe and Farrington (2006) designed the *Basic Empathy Scale* (BES) that is used in this study to examine the relationship between empathy and young people's behavior as well as to add a new multidimentional construct to the field. The scale is based on Cohen and Strayer´s (1996) definition of empathy and consists of two subscales detecting two different components of empathic responsiveness:

o   *Affective Empathy* (AE), 11 items, $\alpha = .85$, measuring emotional correspondence with another person's emotions. Examples from the scale are:

- ”After being with a friend who is sad about something, I usually feel sad“.

- “I don't become sad when I see other people crying”

o   *Cognitive Empathy* (CE), 9 items, $\alpha = .79$), measuring ability to understand another person's emotions. Examples from the scale are:

- ”I can often understand how people are feeling even before they tell me“

- “I have trouble figuring out when my friends are happy”

Each item asked the participants to rate on a 4-point Likert-scale, ranging from 1 to 4 (1. Strongly disagree, 2. Slightly disagree, 3. Slightly agree, 4. Strongly agree) their own agreement.

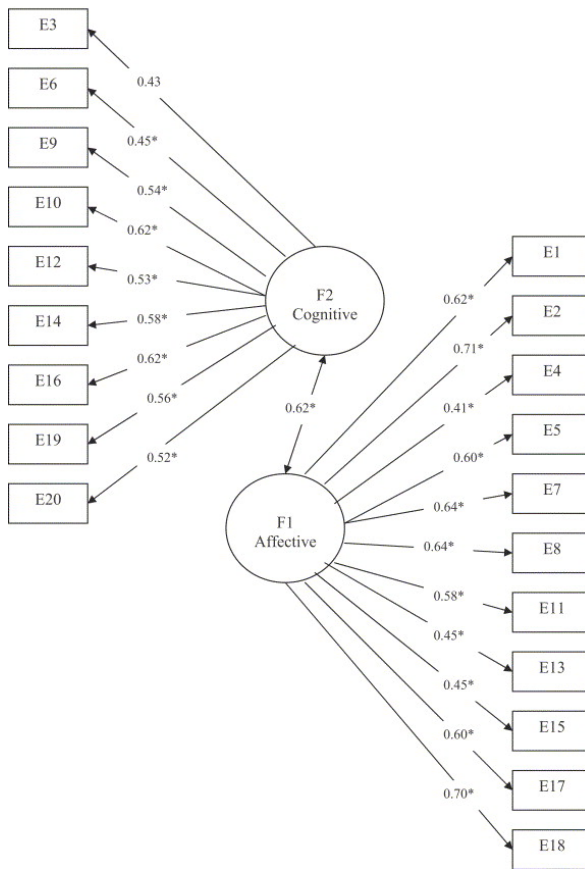Below, the two-factor confirmatory factor anlysis model can be seen.

Figure 11. The Basic Empathy Scale scoring key.

The IEA Good Citizenship scale

This measure derives from the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) *Civic Education Study* (Torney-Purta et al., 1999). It measures the young people's views of the importance of social movement-related and conventional citizenship for good citizenship. The measure has two sub-scales that measure how important young people consider *conventional citizenship* on one hand and *social movement related citizenship* on the other hand as elements of good citizenship (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

The good citizenship scale consists of two factors. The factors measure the importance of Conventional Citizenship and Social-movement-related Citizenship for being a good citizen. A "conventional" factor loading on items regarding the desirability of a citizen being politically active in conventional forms of participation (voting, parties, information) and a "social movement" factor loading on items indicating the desirability of having an active citizenship engaged with new forms of political participation as found in social movements aiming at the defense of human or civil rights, the environment, etc. (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

The Table 19 below outlines the items for the good citizenship scale.

Table 18. The Basic Empathy Scale scoring key.

CTCON: Importance of Conventional Citizenship	
An adult who is a good citizen . . .	
B2	votes in every election
B3	joins a political party
B6	knows about the country's history
B8	follows political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, or on TV
B10	shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials]
B12	engages in political discussions
CTSOC: Importance of Social-movement-related Citizenship	
An adult who is a good citizen . . .	
B5	would participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust
B9	participates in activities to benefit people in the community [society]
B11	takes part in activities promoting human rights
B13	takes part in activities to protect the environment

Note: Categories—not important, somewhat unimportant, somewhat important, very important.

Source: (Schulz & Sibberns, 2004).

Participants were asked to rate items on citizenship behavior on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 4 (1. Is not important at all, 2. Slightly unimportant, 3. Slightly important, 4. Very important). The items were grouped into two factors, to what extent you think it is important for an adult who is a good adult citizen to: 1) be active in social movement related forms of participation (partipates in activities to benefit people in the community/society, participates in a peaceful protest against law believed to be unjust, takes part in activities promoting human rights and takes part in activities to protect the environment; *social movement*

related citizenship, α=0.74) 2) to be active in conventional forms of participation (joins a political party, votes in every election, follows political issues in the newspaper, on radio or on TV, shows respect for government representatives, engages in political discussions and knows about the country's history; *conventional citizenship,* α=0.71).

Parental styles

Parental styles. The young people's perceptions of their parents' parental styles were measured using two scales *parental involvement* and *behavioral control* developed by Steinberg, Lamborn and their colleagues (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts & Dornbusch, 1994). The scale is based on Baumrind's (1971) parental typology theory on parental styles (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful) and on the revison of her work by Maccoby and Martin (1983).

o The *Parental involvement scale* (10 items, α = .75) measures the perceptions that the young people have of their parents' affection, responsiveness and involvement. Examples from the scale are:

- "She/he encourages me to do my best in everything I try to accomplish "
- "I can count on her/him to help me if I have some kind of trouble"

Possible answers were "mostly right" and "mostly wrong".

o The *Behavioral Control scale* (3 items, α = .81) measures to what degree parents supervise their children. Three items out of the eight-item supervision scale were chosen as the participants' ages in this study were higher than in Lamborn's and her colleagues' (1991) study. Examples from the scale are:

- "How much do your parents really know where you go at night?"
- „How much do your parents really know what you do in your spare time?"

The possible answers were "*they do not know*", "*they sometimes know*", "*they usually know*".

Higher scores reflect more parental involvement and behavioral control.

Appendix 2. Interview framework.

Introduction
- Introduce myself. Discuss confidentiality and anonymity; free to quit participation in the study whenever one chooses.
- Explain that the main aim is to seek for their ideas about good citizenship and ask them to give examples of their thinking. No "right" or "wrong" answers. (Remember to probe and ask for examples).

Background
- We will start with a few questions about yourself: Can you tell me about
  - yourself (school, interests, hobbies…)?
  - your parents?
  - siblings?
- People who live in your home?

Citizenship
- How would you describe your understanding of being a citizen?
- How would you describe your understanding of being a good citizen?
- Do you find it important? Why/why not?
- What views do you think are rooted in people's civic participation?
- Democracy.

Own civic engagement
- Do you have experiences of civic participation?
- If yes: how would you describe your experience?
- Do you think you will vote in the next election (presidential/municipal/parliamentary)?
- Do you participate in organized youth work or social movements outside of school?
- How would you describe your experience of that?
- Do you think it matters?
- What are your aims by participating? Do you think your participation has changed your attitudes, values or aims in any way?
- Organization of participation, training, instruction, discussion of aims/values.....
- Are your parents or someone you know active participants in the society? Why do you think they participate/or not?

- Do you think your participation will in any way effect your future civic participation?

Values
- Do you emphasize any values in your life?
- What do you think has affected your values in life?
- Is there something particular that has changed things in your life and affected your view towards life?
- What values do you think are rooted in people's civic engagement?

Conclusion
- Tell the participant that the interview will soon be over.
- Do you want to add anything to you answers?
- Recollect if there is anything still left to ask the participant.
- Restate confidentiality and anonymity.
- Thank the participant.

Appendix 3. Interview analysis table

Interview questions	Relationship to aims and RQs	Code
	RQ 5. What characterizes young people's views on good citizenship **a.** *Civic action* **b.** *Civic aims* **c.** *Civic values*	
Civic Action		
		Dóróthea: "The most important step in becoming a good citizen in the future is *being active* in society" **Karl**: "The good citizen is an *active* participant in the society … who fulfills ones's role, does well at work and in society"
How would you describe your understanding of being a citizen?	**RQ 5**	**Ívar**: "To be a *part of society*" **Elva**: "To be a citizen is to be *part of a society*, to be a participant … for example to respect older people and animals … be considerate of others … and be aware of the things that happen around us in daily life". **Margrét**: "To be *part of society*" **Jóhannes**: "A citizen is an *active participant* and is ready to contribute to society to have an effect". **Birna**:"To be concerned for people around you" **Bryndís**: "Citizens need to show … that they care about other people"
How would you describe your understanding of being a good citizen?	**RQ 5**	**The good citizen ….** **Sigrún**: "*Participates in society* … everyone has to participate in one way or the other or else it does not work properly" **Anna:** "*Respects* everything and everyone around, is just and wants to help and contribute to society". **Magnús**: "*Participates* in society and is ready to do things for the society. By that you are contributing to the society to help it work". **Dóróthea**: "*Obeys the law*". **Bryndís**: "Shows that others matter … you are not alone in the world … … everyone comes *equal* into the world ... everyone should be able to *participate* … I emphasize the

		importance of *respecting* other people and being considerate … I find it the basis for all relationships". **Daníel:** "*Helping* my neighbor, he is not any different from the rest of us … we are all part of the same unit". "Someone who helps other people, does his *duties*, such as paying taxes and participates in charity". **Kristín:** "*Treat everyone well* … independent of whom you are talking to". **Davíð:** "Shows other people *respect*". **Kristín:** "*Treats everyone well* … independent of whom you are talking to". **Jóhannes:** "Emphasizes citizens *honesty* and the importance of earning each others *trust*". **Haraldur:** "To be helpful … honest and *follow law*". **Agnes:** "A good citizen must show empathy and understanding … because then everyone feels better … [and] there are always people who need help". **Þórhallur:** "I find it very good if people are willing to share their kindness with other people through volunteering"
Citizenship and democracy	**RQ 5 a**	**Agnes (19)** "Everyone should be able to have a *voice* in the society and share their opinions and then [the citizens] can find solutions together" **Bryndís:** "Democracy is good as it gives everyone the opportunities to have an effect and therefore it ensures a certain equality". "There is need for certain changes related to our democracy, this wall between the government and the people has to be torn down". **Haraldur:** Democracy ensures that you have "more freedom … right to vote and express yourself". **Kristín:** "Democracy means that people can have a voice"
		Davíð: "I find the right to vote important … and I would want to be able to vote at the age 16". "I might vote myself, it depends … at least people need to turn in a blank vote, that is the minimum".

		Elva: "By voting you get to share your opinions on certain things and so have an effect on the authorities and thereby on law ... I don't think I will be voting when I become of age ... I would not know why I would be choosing on thing over the other as I do not think about politics that much".
		Jóhannes: "It is important to use your democratic right to vote".
		Magnús "Voting is your contribution".
		Sigrún: "Of course I will vote and present my voice".
Good citizenship When they discussed volunteering	**RQ 5 a**	**Birna: "**It's important when you offer your help for some function, such as at a charity function and don't necessarily get paid for it, but you do it anyway because you *care,* you want to *help* and all. "Help is so often needed, just like with the Red Cross. Helping out, doing good things and stuff like that. When I was younger I held raffles and gave the money to the Red Cross. It's not much of a volunteer work but I did it myself and I wanted to". "Volunteering ... [for example] for the church or the Red Cross, shows that somebody cares, it's often such important causes". "The Red Cross is after all an organization that just thinks about others and shows that they care for other people".
		Daníel: "Do something for others without getting paid". Brings up an example of volunteering work in Africa. Thinks it's noble because "you try to help others and set yourself aside"."Most people want to do something good in this world".
		Davíð: "Help those who cannot help themselves and do it for nothing, just out of the goodness of your heart. Unselfish people who want to contribute."
		Jóhannes: "Volunteering is one way of becoming a responsible citizen".
		Elva: Feels volunteering is important: "Then you're doing something good for the society and helping it to evolve". "People want "to contribute to making the country better and often people are

		curious and want to try something new, some are really interested and some people find quite a bit of happiness out of participating in volunteering work ... social enjoyment and being happy about doing the right thing". **Doróthea:** "Volunteering work is important to make the world a better place".
Own civic engagement		
Do you have experiences of some kind of civic engagement? How would you describe that experience?	**RQ 5 a**	Seven out of 21 participants have participated in volunteering. Most of them are positive about participating but some complain about lacking time, lacking opportunities in volunteering or lacking interest in voting and participating in politics. Some stress the importance of having the free choice of participating and emphasize that volunteering should not be an obligation.
Which ones?	**RQ 5 a**	Red Cross, mentoring for disabled children, rescue teams, student council, youth council, sports training, charity work in church communities, environmental protection.
Do you think you will vote in the next election? (presidential/municipal/parliamentary). Why, why not?	**RQ 5 a**	**Bryndís**: "I just became eligible to vote and it feels so great to be able to turn your vote in. You feel important somehow". **Karl:** "I have used my rights to vote ... I find it important". **Elva:** "By voting you get an opportunity to give your opinion on certain issues and have an effect on who is in charge". "I doubt that I will vote, I would never know why I would choose one thing over the other, I do not think about politics that much. **Þórhallur**. "I would not mind giving my right to vote to someone else".
Do you have experiences of some kind of civic engagement? When they discussed volunteering.	**RQ 5 a**	**Jóhannes** feels that volunteering work has made him more mature and increased his understanding: "You feel good after helping people ... you know, it makes you happy". "There is something more out there than just yourself ... one can help others, that it's not hard and you really get to know the other world where everything is not as good as it is in your own." **Bryndís:** "Show solidarity ... of

		course it does a lot for the community [and] for yourself, I think". **Kristín**: "It felt really good, to know that I was dressing a child out there somewhere". **Vilborg** feels that participation changed her views. "Yeah, for sure but mainly the youth council. Now for example I know much more about what democracy means and I am more involved in what is happening within the municipality"
Do you have experiences of some kind of civic engagement? Many discussed opportunities.	**RQ 5 a**	**Jóhannes:** "I think the opportunities are there but only a few things were introduced to me, the rescue team and different youth work". **Agnes:** "The opportunities exist but they need to be introduced". **Magnús:** "Young people have participation opportunities but they are not introduced well enough … plus they could be encouraged a little more to participate … we need to get some experience and ambition … and then you will for sure learn things". **Sigrún:** "I have never had an introduction to volunteering … I am interested in volunteering now after my friend suggested it, since he volunteers himself and I thought it was great but I would not have thought of it myself". "The opportunities to volunteer are there if you seek for them, but I don't feel like I have opportunities as a young person to protest about how things are done in the society, allocations toward key issues like health services and education in the government's budget bill". **Davíð**: "I feel like the opportunities are there but they have to be introduced to young people or else they will not know about them".
Do you participate in some kind of recreations, social movements outside of school or organized youth work?	**RQ 5 a**	The young people mentioned different sports, scouts, rescue teams, youth work in churches **Vilborg:** about the Scouts: "It is such a good experience to be a member, it helps you to become an independent person … we are working on having our facilities repaired and we have scheduled a meeting with the municipality".

Civic aims		
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5 b**	**Agnes**: *Helpfulness*: "Charity, to help those in need since there is always someone who needs help and if you can help them that is great". *Coopertion:* "Everything works better in society if we *work together*". *Wellbeing of fellow citizen* **Birna:** "Think about others and show that *we care*". **Davíð**: "It matters to help your neighbor … since he is not any different from the rest of us … *we are all one*" **Sigrún**: "Preserve a *good society*". **Bryndís:** "Show that others matter and, you know, you're not alone in the universe. You know, there are so many that live all by themselves but, you see we shouldn't just forget them ... everyone ... is equal when born into this world ... [and] what matters is that people know that they are not less valuable because they live in an apartment building instead of a single family home". " I find it very important to show r*espect* for others … and show *consideration ...* show that you *care about other people".* I feel at least that it's a ground rule in human interaction".
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example? When they discussed volunteering,	**RQ 5 b**	*Personal growth* **Vilborg:** "It's such a joy being able to help in such activities. You learn so much from it ... what constitutes democracy and stuff like that. You learn a lot by participating". **Elva:** "By participating people are trying to solve various problems [and] ... make the society a better place ... [but] enjoy it at the same time". **Daníel**: "Volunteering shapes opinions ... encourages young people to participate … fight for students' rights, register as members in political parties, run for candidacies … be members of boards and youth clubs".
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5b RQ 5 c**	*Responsibility* **Vilborg**: "people are responsible for *reading agendas and keeping an*

		eye on what the political parties are doing ... [that way you] consider all possibilities in elections and can *vote* according to that". **Margrét**: Participation in student councils, youth councils, preventions "just to make the community a better place to live in"
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5 b**	*Helping/ Wellbeing of fellow citizen* **Daníel:**"*Do something for others* without getting paid". Brings up volunteering work in Africa as an example. Feels that it's noble because "you try to *help others* and *set yourself aside*"."most people want to do something *good in this world*". **Vilborg**: She feels that her *participation* in a rescue team is "*very important for the society … good for you* and you can then teach others what you've learned … and as far as the *youth council* goes then just by being there and *presenting your opinions* you can do a whole lot, discussing things that are missing for example in the muncipality".
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5 b**	**Davíð**: "It is important to *care about things* … volunteering matters … *helping out those who are less fortunate* … it matters to help your neighbor … since he is not any different from the rest of us … we are all one … I am very sensitive for people's bad situations and that is one of the reasons for not having volunteered myself". **Elva:** "It is important … then you are *doing something good for the society".* **Ívar**: "Helping out and *doing something for others* without payment … being a better person … it matters of course … for example helping poor *children in Africa".*
When they spoke In general		
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5 b**	*Effect* **Birna:** "To have an effect, everyone should have an effect. I myself want to affect the society in a good way, for example, by making my town prettier. **Lovísa:** "Have an effect by taking good care of your city … nobody wants to live in a city where there is trash everywhere and graffiti on all

		the walls"
When they spoke about themselves		
Aims of civic engagement? Can you give an example?	**RQ 5 b**	**Anna** "Have an effect by my opinions and behavior in the society". **Vilborg**: "I think I can have an effect but maybe not all young people as they might for example not be on the student council". "The student council meetings should be more frequent so we could discuss more issues ... it is important to respect young people in the society as much as older people and they can have an effect just as well ". **Bryndís**: "Young people's voice matters as much as others ... I do not think there are many ways for young people to have an effect". **Magnús**: "Important for young people to have an effect on their local communities, be part of it ... It strengthens your social responsibilities towards the common good ... You are part of a society and should strive to contribute to it". **Margrét**: "I would prefer to have an effect on family issues and the school system". **Haraldur**: "I have no special interest in having an effect on anything in my environment ... I think everything around me is just fine". **Jóhannes**: "Young people should have an impact on their own issues such as recreational facilities in their local communities ... I have fought for same changes in my near community by collecting signatures on a petition and by talking to authorities". **Elva**: "You can have an effect by writing an article or by speaking on the radio". **Vilborg**: "Yes by being on the student council and talking to authorities".
Values		
Do you emphasize any values in your life?	**RQ 5 c**	**Daníel**: "It is important to show other people respect, I grew up with that ... it means for example to let people talk without interrupting and show them interest". **Elva**: "My parents have always been very good to me and taught me good values which then continued

		to develop ... to be responsible for other people's wellbeing [and] ... for my own behavior[such as being] objective when I am participating in a group discussion ... by doing that feel like I can ... encourage everyone to share their opinions ... we should all be able to voice our opinions ... [and we should] listen to our fellow citizens as well ... so we understand each other and are able to solve problems together".
What values do you think are rooted in people's civic engagement?		**Kristín:** "By helping others you show kindness and solidarity." **Sigrún**: "I think it's great that people have such big and warm hearts...." **Elva:** People want "to contribute to making the country better and are often curious and want to try something new, some are really interested and some people get quite a bit of happiness out of participating in volunteering work ... and enjoyment about doing the right thing". **Magnús**: "It expands one's horizon. I would rather want to have a good life experience and meet many people than have a fancy job". "You know, we are really well off here in Iceland ... I am curious to see other countries and get to know other cultures ... see how their life is, learn about other people's points of views ... I think it strengthens people's awareness of the global world". **Vilborg:** "There are people in the world that are not as lucky as we are in Iceland ... even though there do exist people here as well who live in bad circumstances ... and those bad living conditions need to be fixed". **Anna:** "help ... and I hope someone can help if I am not able to do it". **Birna**: "Try to make others ... feel better". **Kristín:** "To fix things if something is wrong or if someone feels bad".
Do you think your participation will in any way affect your future civic participation?	**RQ 5 a**	**Vilborg:** "I think I will volunteer in the future [as] we learned about and experienced all kind of things [in the volunteering] ... You have to participate in the society and the things that are going on there if you

		want to become part of the adult world".