Student Protest Likelihood and Civic Knowledge in Taiwan and Hong Kong

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A Thesis Submitted to

The Faculty of
The Elliott School of International Affairs
of The George Washington University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

January 10, 2020

Thesis directed by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In September 2019, millions of people joined climate strikes sparked by a Swedish 15-year-old, Greta Thunberg (Taylor, Watts & Bartlett, 2019). Hundreds of thousands of US protesters joined the student-organized, student-led 'March for Our Lives' gun control demonstration in March 2018 (Jamison, Heim, Aratani & Lang, 2018). High school students did not just join these protests, they were leaders. Reports have emerged of Hong Kong secondary students joining the city's 2019 protests, a sight that worries Chinese officials (Khan, Wang, & Yoon, 2019). These varied actions evoke a critical question: How do young people develop and emerge as activists?

In an increasingly interconnected world, individuals have a greater ability to access news stories and online content detailing the political struggles of those in other countries. Similarly, students today have greater ability to gain awareness of political debates occurring around them and more opportunities to join such activities. All over the world, students take up causes that are important to them. Of particular interest when examining student political behavior is the extent to which students become involved in actual protest behaviors, and the extent to which student tendency to be involved in protest differs from country to country. In particular, countries or areas undergoing processes of democratization provide environments for student activism that are very different from the environment in the United States. Hong Kong and Taiwan, given their relationships with mainland China, offer particularly interesting insights into student activism.

Spending most of their waking hours in school, and additional hours reading textbooks and completing assignments, students are naturally influenced by the

viewpoints presented through their education (Keating 2016; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). As budding citizens and political activists, some of the first introductions students receive to human rights issues, voting, and dissent are through the citizenship education that they receive in social studies or related courses (Kerr, Lines, Blenkinshop & Schagen 2002). To examine the relationships between citizenship education and potential protest behavior in Hong Kong and Taiwan, I pursue the following research questions: 1) Do students who rate themselves as more likely to participate in future protest perform better or worse in a test of civic knowledge? 2) Do social studies textbooks in Taiwan and Hong Kong portray protest behaviors positively, negatively, or neutrally? This thesis constructs a preliminary theoretical framework, identifies a need for this particular type of research, provides a brief overview of recent literature, and outlines the methodology for addressing the research questions through large-scale assessment data and content analysis. The thesis then provides the results from international large-scale assessment data and content analysis of textbooks.

The main findings suggest that for all participating systems in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), one of the leading cross-national assessments focused on civic and citizenship education, the higher scoring group of students tended to be the group that reported they would likely participate in protest activity in the future—this was true for both Hong Kong and Taiwan. However, in Hong Kong, more students indicated that they would probably not protest than any other answer choice, whereas in Taiwan, the most popular answer choice was that they would probably participate in protest. Content analysis revealed that the curriculum documents for both Hong Kong and Taiwan were silent on protest, but that the Taiwan textbook

contained 52 positive, 11 neutral, and 43 negative instances of protest-related words. In particular, these findings illustrate that Taiwanese students are receiving a fairly positive portrayal of protest from civic education. Students today experience unprecedented connectivity. They have greater opportunity to observe peers in other countries engaged in activism, and like Greta Thunberg, some of them will become catalysts, rallying their contemporaries. Global student activism has taken root and begun to grow. Understanding student activism in other countries is part of understanding this global trend.

Chapter 2: Literature

Theoretical Background

Civic education is not one size fits all. Rather, it is defined by a whole spectrum of influences, from social context down to individual classroom teachers. Carole Hahn's (1998) research in Denmark, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States led her to conclude that, "there is no one form of democracy and there is no one way of teaching for democracy" (p. 236). Hahn writes, "Wise people with deep commitments to democratic participation will continue to arrive at different answers as to what form of civic education is most appropriate for youth in their particular cultural context" (p. 236). In each country that she studied, Hahn found that civic education could shape political identities.

To compare students from different countries, it is useful to identify specific characteristics that students tend to exhibit, and to group those characteristics. Rubin (2011) presents a "Typology of Civic Identity," describing four different types of students: aware, empowered, complacent, and discouraged (p. 6). This typology categorizes students based on their experiences in life and their attitudes toward participation in civic life. Aware students have not experienced threats to their own citizenship rights, but they know that inequality exists and they are motivated to take action. Empowered students have learned about citizenship rights and seen their own rights compromised; they are motivated to seize those rights. Complacent students have not experienced threats to their own citizenship rights, and they conclude that most people enjoy those rights, so they are not motivated to take action. Discouraged students

have experienced rights violations first-hand, and feel they can do nothing to improve the situation.

In different countries, students, teachers, parents, and other community members may have different thoughts about the ideal student's civic attitude. For example, according to Rubin's typology, civic education should focus on evolving student civic identity toward more awareness and empowerment. However, most of her writings are focused on the US context. Research has consistently showed that the purposes and intentions of civic education differ greatly across systems (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, Agrusti & Friedman 2018). In other cultural contexts, moving students towards a more active role so that they may embody certain types of political behavior would not be a main goal of civic education.

In addition to value systems affecting the goal of civic education in different countries, characteristics of the social environment in certain countries or communities may also set students up for certain civic attitudes. Again illustrated in Rubin's (2011) field work, she observed how a research project in school had different effects on different groups of students. Fairly affluent students in one school chose a research project that focused on changing a school policy—and a new principal arriving during the project changed the school policy to align with the students' preference . The project confirmed for students that what is right actually plays out in life. From this, one can surmise that these students are more likely to fall into the categories of aware students or passive/complacent students. In contrast, students in an economically struggling area chose to research drugs—a topic that underscores the inequality present in their community. One can predict that those students were more likely to fall into the

empowered or discouraged categories. Having experienced injustice, they will choose to take action (empowered) or to give up (discouraged).

Again, Rubin focused on the US context. Wood (2014) studied citizenship education in New Zealand, and found that, "one-size-fits-all model of citizenship fails to account for the nuanced and diverse ways citizenship is practised [sic] in school communities" (p. 579). Wood showed that students having similar backgrounds and living within the same community can have different attitudes toward civic participation. Arguing for deeper understanding of student participation, Wood held that students draw on the sum of all of their experiences, cultural, social, and economic. In Wood's view, we should not be so quick to label students as belonging to only one category.

If different communities bring distinctive attitudes toward civic identity, and different environments shape students in divergent ways, examining patterns that show up across countries can provide new insights.[1] In their book, Dynamics of Contention, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) seek to explain the outbreak and development of protest episodes and other activities that fall into a broad category they term contentious politics. They describe their agenda as: "identifying contentious episodes or families of contentious episodes having some problematic feature," then "locating the processes within them that constitute or produce the problematic feature," and "searching out the crucial causal mechanisms within those processes" (p. 29). These mechanisms are central to the theory that McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly construct. The authors state, "…we aim to identify crucial causal mechanisms that recur in a wide variety of contention, but produce different aggregate outcomes depending on the initial conditions, combinations, and

[1] The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study is designed to examine patterns across countries, and in this thesis I seek to explore these issues more deeply.

sequences in which they occur" (p. 37). Similarly, my work is positioned to recognize that citizenship education is used in different ways across countries and cultures. It carries multiple purposes, orientations, and assumed outcomes. In particular, I seek to identify how citizenship education is used differently in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Not only is the link between citizenship education and protest in these areas understudied, understanding that link is also important for understanding their relationships with China.

The mechanisms or processes by which students receive cues from their civic education are parallel to the processes by which citizens receive cues from the community. Just as Beth Rubin theorizes that U.S. students' experiences can help explain their orientations toward political activity, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly posit that life in a particular community will shape political behavior:

> Every polity implicitly establishes a roster of those political actors that have rights to exist, to act, to make claims, and/or to draw routinely on government-controlled resources; it maps members and challengers. So doing, every polity also implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) broadcasts criteria for acceptable political organization, membership, identity, activity, and claim making. (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001, p. 146)

Recognizing that communities, and at a more macro level, countries have a major say in what is considered acceptable civic activity, one can expect that schools, as a micro unit of the community, will define acceptable civic activity as well. Governments use a variety of methods to signal appropriate behavior, including "laws, registers, surveillance, police practice, subsidies, organizations of public space, and repressive policies" (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001, p. 147). Schools, like governments, signal through the rules they set, the procedures they establish, the choices they make regarding use of video cameras, the duties and attitudes of school resource officers, the use of funding to promote certain classes or tests, the approval (or disapproval) of clubs or events, and the

application of discipline. Here I submit that education is another way for governments to show what kinds of activities are acceptable in society. And citizenship education is a conduit for signaling appropriate political behaviors.

Research Need

The theories discussed above give rise to areas of potential research. Hahn (1998) encourages more research into citizenship education in countries that are very different from the United States and Europe, stating, "Eastern societies based on Confucian values and African societies with strong communal values may envision democracy and education for democracy in ways that are quite distinct" p. 247). One of the additional questions that she poses for multiple systems is "Under what conditions do students identify with or resist dominant narratives of history and dominant messages about citizenship?" (Hahn, 2010, p. 17). In addition, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) admit that their volume stops short of a "well-developed analysis of variation in governments, regimes, and polities" and encourage more research that considers how governments play into the factors that lead to political activity (p. 344). With this project focused on civic attitudes in both Hong Kong and Taiwan, as compared to other nations and areas that participated in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), I seek to fill these gaps that Hahn, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly identified.

Recent Literature

Recent scholarly works on citizenship education in Hong Kong and Taiwan have come from a variety of perspectives. Some scholars focus on citizenship education more broadly, without a focus on protest. One study compares civic engagement orientations of Hong Kong-born youth studying in Hong Kong versus Mainland-born youth studying in

Hong Kong (Jackson, Kapai, Wang & Leung, 2017). This category also includes studies that seek to predict the future of education in a particular area. For example, Koh's (2018) study uses newspaper articles to glean insights about where Hong Kong's citizenship curriculum policy will move next. Other authors have examined global citizenship education in Taiwan and Hong Kong (Chong, 2015; Law, 2004). In addition, Cho and Kim (2013) find evidence to support the idea that student attitudes in Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are influenced by Confucian values, but the authors also report growing Western influence.

In terms of research at the intersection of education and protest, some researchers focus on the ways that activism shapes education, which is the opposite from the focus of this thesis. For example, Chang and McLaren (2018) write about undergraduate students at teachers' colleges and established teachers who were involved with the Umbrella Movement, and how that activist experience shaped their teaching methods. This category also includes pieces based on interviews with teachers who protested curricular changes in Taiwan (Hung, 2017; Hung, 2018). These individuals sought to shape the education scene through their personal political activism.

Turning more toward education's effects on protest, the literature includes pieces that approach teacher influence on student political activity from a more negative perspective (whether supporting that perspective or seeking to refute it). One particular study draws on teacher and student opinions of whether teachers in Hong Kong used the Liberal Studies curriculum to influence student protest behavior (Fung & Lui, 2017). Other pieces approach teacher influence from a more positive perspective. Ng (2009)

looks at how teacher beliefs, teaching methods, and student civic identity formation create active citizens in Hong Kong.

A group of studies examines the link between education and civic activity or protest specifically through the use of International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) studies, specifically the ICCS and its precursor, the International IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED). The ICCS is a cross-national assessment of citizenship knowledge, behaviors, and mindsets among 14-year-old students. Kennedy, Hahn, and Lee (2008), for example, compare CIVED data from Australia, the United States, and Hong Kong to conclude that student responses portray conceptions of citizenship that are much more complex than just "thin" or "thick". Zhu, Kuang, Kennedy, and Mok (2018) also take a comparative approach, investigating expected protest behavior data from students in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand in the context of their past experiences, and finding that past participation has a generally low effect, but that East Asian students are more similar to each other in their behaviors than they are to Southeast Asian students. Kuang and Kennedy (2018) focused on three groups defined as "outsiders," "moderates" and "active participators" in five Asian countries that participated in the ICCS, finding that "outsiders" generally had lower civic values scores. Another study using ICCS data finds Hong Kong secondary students to consistently support law abiding behavior at different ages (Kennedy & Chow, 2009). Furthermore, Lien (2014) uses ICCS data to find low institutional trust and low national identification among Taiwanese students. Though these studies provide interesting insights, they do not answer the research questions that are the focus of this thesis. Protest participation and civic knowledge have not been

widely linked in past research, however, as mentioned above, teaching methods and civic knowledge scores have been linked to actual and planned student civic activity. Given this past research, I see further examination of the relationship between activism/protest and civic knowledge to be a logical next step.

Through this thesis project, I contribute to the discussion around the effects of citizenship education on student protest in Hong Kong and Taiwan by focusing on the following research questions. 1) Do students who rate themselves as more likely to participate in future protest perform better or worse in a test of civic knowledge? 2) Do social studies textbooks in Taiwan and Hong Kong portray protest behaviors positively, negatively, or neutrally? Together these questions bring me to greater understanding of the bridge that students might cross to go from civic knowledge to civic action. To become actors, or activists, students must have an appropriate combination of understanding how their society works, grasping the tools that can be used to shape their society, and seeing themselves in the role of activist--both seeing the role as acceptable and seeing it as a viable way to create change. The first research question allows me to see which students expect to take part in peaceful protest in the future, and what civic education knowledge they bring with them. The second research question allows me to look into the educational material provided and taught to students in these two settings. As such, it helps to bring out the messages (some more subtle and some less) that students in Hong Kong and Taiwan have received about the ways they are encouraged (or not) to make change and the viability and acceptability of those ways.

Historical Background

As a first step to engaging with the research questions above, I explored historical developments in citizenship education in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Written works on the history of the education system in Hong Kong provide a window into the ways that citizenship education became both a symptom and a manifestation of an identity crisis there. Hong Kong's 1985 citizenship education guidelines failed to handle issues of Chinese national identity, but the 1996 guidelines did better by conceiving of citizenship as individual, communal, national and international (Lai & Byram, 2012). Hong Kong's educational system underwent major reform in 2000, and citizenship education then emphasized "individual morality and communal obligations and services" (Lai & Byram, 2012, p. 17). Lai and Byram's (2012) main characterization of the evolution of citizenship education is well summarized in the following:

> In short, there was no doubt that nationalistic and patriotic education would be the main focus of future civic education in schools in Hong Kong after 1997, but democracy, which was the main topic in the 1985's guidelines, was now of secondary importance in the new discourse of civic education for nationalistic, patriotic learning. (p. 18)

This characterization of more than thirty years of past changes in Hong Kong's education system would lead one to predict that Hong Kong students are receiving an education today that would orient them more toward the policies of the government of the People's Republic of China in Beijing.

The history of civic education in Taiwan seems to also show consistent evolution over time from more state control over ideas to less. Taiwanese civic education changed as the times changed. Wright (2012) explains how the Republic of China's flight to Taiwan in the 1940s was followed by autocratic rule as the Kuomintang attempted to keep the war alive and refused to accept the loss of the mainland. The government held

tight control over education and over activity in schools, and mainlanders dominated the education system due to a mandate that teaching be conducted in Mandarin Chinese. In the 1980s, a rival political party began to challenge the Kuomintang, and this slightly more permissive political environment played out in schools as well as the island began to democratize. In this case, the approach toward civic education seems at first to have been driven by a desire to preserve and defend a national identity born in the 1940s. As Taiwanese people felt less threat to that identity over time, there was less feeling of need to tightly control outside influence. Given this historical background, I expected Taiwanese students today to be receiving an education that still contains influence from the value systems that mainlanders brought over with them to Taiwan.

The histories of changes in the Hong Kong and Taiwan education systems can begin to provide a picture of how the national identities of these areas have shifted over time. Sense of identity has important relationships with both education and protest. Klandermans (2014) argues that, in order for a protest to develop, collective identity must become politicized (. One must identify to a certain extent with a nation in order to have an interest in creating change, but also must identify with a subgroup to have the highest chance of coming together to work for change (Klandermans, 2014). Klandermans supports his argument with cases from the Netherlands, Spain, South Africa, and the United States. In a somewhat contrasting piece, Karl-Dieter Opp (2012) conducted a three-panel survey in Leipzig and rural Saxony, Germany, from which he found small effects of identity on protest. Opp theorizes that individuals must not only identify with a group, but also have positive attitudes toward acting on behalf of the group. These studies

linking identity and protest focus mostly on the United States and Europe, but other authors have explored such concepts in Asia.

Past protest movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong are an excellent platform for exploring the link between identity and political action. Anson Au (2017) examines the Occupy Central protest movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower movement in Taiwan and argues that Occupy Central was less successful at its stated goals and divided people in Hong Kong while the Sunflower movement was more successful at its stated goals and united people in Taiwan. Au supports the idea that the success or failure of these movements depended in great part on the different senses of collective identity that the movements created. Occupy Central alienated older groups by identifying with the Tiananmen square protests from the past, while the Sunflower movement drew on a collective identity of democratization supported by years of "Taiwanization" (or a sense of moving away from a focus on mainland China and more toward a focus inward on Taiwan and its history and culture) (Au, 2017, p. 13). Though both movements sought to create a collective identity, it could be argued that the Occupy Central movement's alienation of older, more politically centrist people in Hong Kong created a major reduction in their motivation to act on their collective identity.

Identity seems to be linked to developing motivation among individuals to take civic action, and civic education seems to be linked to identity. Scholars have enumerated the ways that textbooks and curricula shape national identity (see, e.g., Brown, 2006; Dutceac Segesten, 2011; Williams & Bokhorst-Heng, 2016). Ya-chen Su (2006) writes that, from 1949 to the 1990s, Taiwanese social studies curriculum and textbooks have perpetuated the official government views of political issues. Su acknowledges that

Taiwanese textbook publishing has been decentralized in recent years and is no longer completely under government control. However, Su emphasizes that government influence over content is still very much alive. Chan and Ting (2012) find that, in Liberal Studies classrooms in Hong Kong, a negative view of youth prevails, focusing more on what is wrong with youth and less on where society is not serving youth. The researchers find that this tendency is most visible from teacher perspectives, also shows up to a lesser extent within textbooks, and an even lesser extent within curriculum documents. All of these conduits of civic education are possible places to look for further information about the relationship with civic action.

Given the histories of the Hong Kong education system and the Taiwan education system, I expected that curriculum and textbooks in use in Hong Kong and Taiwan today would portray protest and criticism of the government in a relatively negative light, illustrating the role that protest and critique might have in undermining social and political security, national well-being, and social/community cohesion. At the very least, I expected to see protest discouraged or depicted as an extreme behavior reserved only for extreme circumstances.

Chapter 3: Analytic Strategy

Overall Approach

This project uses a mixed methods design, combining both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The structure of the inquiry mirrors Creswell and Clark's (2018) explanatory sequential design. I begin with quantitative analysis on assessment and survey data, followed by content analysis on curriculum documents and a citizenship education textbook. Taking each stage of the methods separately, one after the other, allows me to find trends in the initial data analysis and further explore those patterns in the second phase.

Phase 1: Quantitative Analysis

I used data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a cross-national study of student civic knowledge and contextual factors such as the level and type of social support for civics, the structure of citizenship education, the culture of the institutions, and the methods of instruction. Every five years, the study tests and surveys students from countries around the world. I use the ICCS 2016 data to answer my first research question: 1) Do students who rate themselves as more likely to participate in future protest perform better or worse in a test of civic knowledge? ICCS 2016 covered 24 countries through a representative sample of eighth-year students (Carstens & Schulz, 2018). ICCS researchers administered the study with whole classrooms that were randomly selected from schools, which were themselves sampled from the group of all schools. The probability of any individual school being selected was not completely equal, but rather adjusted depending on the size of the school. In addition, the study selected a sample of teachers to survey from the total population of teachers teaching the

grade being studied. As Weber, Tieck, and Savasci (2018) explain, the complexity of the procedures for sampling and the fact that some individuals sampled chose not to complete the study both make the use of weights essential for analysis of ICCS 2016 data. In light of this sampling procedure, I used the IEA's recommended weights.

ICCS 2016 researchers recommend using the IEA's own "International Database Analyzer software" (IEA IDB Analyzer) in conjunction with SPSS or SAS because the software "seamlessly takes into account the sampling information and the multiple imputed civic knowledge scores to produce accurate statistical results" (Brese, 2018, p. 33). In order to ensure proper treatment of the data, I conducted initial analysis using the IEA IDB Analyzer to obtain summary data (including group sizes, means, and standard deviations) which then could be further analyzed. The IEA IDB Analyzer automatically uses the appropriate weights. In ICCS 2016, question 30 asks, "Would you take part in any of the following activities to express your opinion in the future?" and sub-item c) is "Take part in a peaceful march or rally" with answer choices "I would certainly do this," "I would probably do this," "I would probably not do this" and "I would certainly not do this" (Köhler, Weber, Brese, Schulz, and Carstens, 2018, p. 117). The ICCS 2016 data also contains plausible values representing student civic knowledge scores (Köhler, 2018). I examined responses to the peaceful march or rally item and civic knowledge scores for students in all of the countries of the study, with particular focus on responses from Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region (SAR).

Justifying the use of ANOVA. When analyzing ICCS 2016 data, I looked for patterns in the responses from Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR that differ from patterns that exist for other countries. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test is an

appropriate statistical test to use when attempting to determine whether there are significant differences among the means for different groups (Smalheiser, 2017). In this case, I looked at data from a country that participated in ICCS 2016 and compared the mean civic knowledge score (computed based on plausible values, as described above) for each group of students, those that certainly do not expect to take part in a peaceful march or rally in the future, those that probably do not expect to take part, those that probably expect to take part, and those that certainly expect to take part. Then I repeated this analysis for each country that took part in the study. I looked for patterns in the differences of means that show up for certain countries but not others. Using the results, I compared and contrasted the participating countries.

Weaver, Morales, Dunn, Godde, and Weaver (2017) discuss the assumptions under which an ANOVA test is most appropriate. The assumptions are as follows: the independent variable is categorical, and the dependent variable is numerical; the data are normally distributed; there are independent samples; the data has homogeneity; data is from a random sample; and the data has sphericity. In this case, the answers to the "peaceful march or rally" question will serve as the dependent variable with 4 categories, and the civic knowledge scores will serve as the independent variable. On the subject of normality, the "Encyclopedia of research design" indicates:

> One important element of the Central Limit Theorem states that when the sample size is large, the sampling distribution of the sample means will approach the normal curve even if the population distribution is not normal. This allows researchers to be less concerned about whether the population distributions follow a normal distribution or not. (Nicol, 2010, p. 931)

Summary statistics on the "peaceful march or rally" question from ICCS 2016 show that for all categories in all countries, 94 was the lowest number of respondents in any category (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement,

2016). Smalheiser (2017) counsels that a sample size of 20 or 30 is sufficient for an assumption of normality.

Moving on to the next assumption - the independence assumption holds in this case. One student's civic knowledge score should not affect another student's civic knowledge score. Similarly, one students responding "I would certainly do this" to the question about likelihood of participating in a peaceful march or rally in the future does not make any other student any more likely to respond in the same way. In addition, students were not able to give more than one answer to the questions. As discussed above, this study used a complex sampling procedure which included a level of random sampling. I used the IEA IDB Analyzer in order to ensure that weighting was performed properly.

Conducting ANOVA on the Summary Statistics. Initial output from the IEA IDB Analyzer for each country included counts, mean civic knowledge scores, and standard deviations for 4 groups with different expectations of future participation in a peaceful march or rally. SAS provides a macro that users can deploy in the software program to conduct ANOVA tests on summary data (SAS Institute, Inc.). David Larson (1992) explains how, in general, using a statistical program to create a substitute set of data based on summary statistics and then performing an ANOVA test on the substitute data produces the same outcome as running the ANOVA on the original dataset.[2] Next, for each ANOVA output that showed significant difference among means, it will be necessary to complete further analysis in order to determine which pairs of means have significant differences (Smalheiser, 2017).

Limitations of the ICCS Data

[2] See also Finstuen, Nichols, and Hoffman 1994; Gordon, 1973; and Rossi, 1987.

Hong Kong SAR did not have participation rates high enough to meet the standards of the ICCS 2016 study, and therefore the data from Hong Kong SAR must be understood in the context of its relative weakness (Carstens & Köhler, 2018). The smaller sample size makes the aggregate results of the Hong Kong students less likely to be representative of the larger population. However, this data can still provide valuable information about the experiences of Hong Kong citizenship education students and their evolving viewpoints. I considered the patterns that emerged from this data and further examined contextual factors in order to get a sense of trends. In addition to analyzing ICCS 2016 data, I also compiled civic education curricular materials from countries of interest to help understand the messages they might be sending. I considered these findings in relation to history and current-day political viewpoints.

Phase 2: Content Analysis of Curriculum Documents

I performed content analysis on curricular and instructional materials (Hsieh & Shannon, 2018). The unit of analysis was artifacts of two types: official curriculum documents from the governments of Hong Kong and Taiwan, respectively, and a social studies textbook from Taiwan that follows the curriculum guidelines and is approved by the government of Taiwan for use in middle school classrooms for 8th grade students.[3] The curriculum documents for Hong Kong and Taiwan, respectively, were freely available online from the issuing governments. The relevant curriculum document for Hong Kong that was in place at the time of ICCS 2016 was the 2002 Personal, Social, and Humanities Education Key Learning Area Curriculum Guide (Curriculum Development Council, 2002). The curriculum document in place in Taiwan at the time of ICCS 2016 was the 2014 Curriculum Guidelines of 12-Year Basic Education (Taiwan

[3] I planned to analyze a Hong Kong textbook as well, but was unable to obtain one.

Ministry of Education, 2014). It was important to analyze a textbook in addition to curriculum documents because there is a difference between the way a government mandates that a subject be taught (curriculum) and the way that the subject is intended to be communicated.

Without actually visiting 8th grade classrooms in Hong Kong and Taiwan, a good source of information about what is being taught can come from textbooks, which provide a state's official view of what it wants its citizens to know and do. The National Academy for Educational Research (國家教育研究院) maintains a textbook library which contains an online textbook catalog listing all textbooks approved for use in Taiwan (National Academy for Education Research, 2019). The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region provides a list of all textbooks approved for use in junior secondary schools (middle schools) in Hong Kong, in both English and Chinese (Education Bureau, 2019). Because the 2016 ICCS tested 14 year old students on their civic knowledge, the appropriate population of textbooks to be studied consists of 8th grade (middle school year 2) textbooks on civics and social studies.

Naturally these textbooks are printed and sold in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Hong Kong has a history of English Medium Instruction, and some schools in Hong Kong still use English as the medium of instruction, so many textbooks are available in both English and Chinese. However, Taiwan civics and social studies textbooks are only available in Mandarin Chinese. The government of Hong Kong began an "E-Textbook Market Development Scheme" in 2011, and increased its efforts to get schools to adopt approved e-textbooks in 2013 (Education Bureau, 2013). As a result, some approved e-

textbooks have been in use in Hong Kong in the past few years, and are available for purchase. In Taiwan, e-textbooks are not common.

These textbooks were not easily available. Neither Gelman Library's main collection nor the Global Resources Center contained such textbooks at the beginning of this project. They are not available for purchase on amazon.com and are not available in consortium libraries or through inter-library loan. However, I worked with the China studies librarian at Gelman Library, who communicated with the library's suppliers in Taiwan and Hong Kong to search for such textbooks.

Given time constraints, I planned to conduct content analysis on one textbook from Taiwan and one textbook from Hong Kong. There are six "Life and Society" textbooks on the Hong Kong Education Bureau's English list, five of which are in print and one of which is an e-book. The Chinese list has seven "Life and Society" textbooks--all of the ones on the English list plus an e-book version of one of the print books (thus there are two e-books on the Chinese list). I hoped to analyze the "Waza Life and Society" e-book in English. An examination of the tables of contents of the English version of this textbook and the Chinese version of this textbook showed that the two versions contain all of the same 29 modules in the same order (Waza Cultural Enterprises, Ltd., 2015). I also planned to analyze a textbook called "社會2下" or Society 2.2 (Jiang Xiaoting et al, 2013). Gelman Library was able to secure the Society 2.2 textbook from Taiwan; however, it was not able to secure a textbook from Hong Kong. Thus, I analyzed curriculum documents from both Taiwan and Hong Kong, but I only analyzed a textbook from Taiwan.

I conducted the content analysis coding process myself, which precluded issues of inter-rater reliability. I looked for the following words in the texts: agitate (煽惑), boycott (抵制, 杯葛), demonstration (示威, 遊行), dissent (異議, 異見), march (行進), movement (运动), occupy (佔據), protest (抗議), rally (集會), rebel (反叛, 造反), revolt (反抗, 叛逆), riot (暴動, 暴亂), sit in (抗議, 示威), strike (罷工), uprising (起義). In order to get as much information as possible from the texts, I allowed for the possibility of adding additional related terms as needed during the coding process, but I did not end up needing to add. I counted the number of times each term appears in the texts. Variants of one of the words listed above were coded in the same category as the original word (for example, "protested" is counted as an instance of "protest").

From there, I examined the text around each instance of the target words. The main purpose of examining the surrounding text was to determine the tone or attitude of the text toward social movements or demonstrations. It is important to get a sense of whether such political activity is presented positively, negatively, or neutrally to students. Protest-related words that showed up in the table of contents, a timeline, the index, or headers at the top of pages were coded as neutral because they were short references that did not leave opportunity to convey a positive or negative tone. Most of the protest-related words coded as negative showed up in narrative passages that described historical events, and the passages contained negative effects of the protest-related activity or event. Most of the protest-related instances coded positive were narrative passages that included positive effects of the protest-related activity or event.

Another purpose of examining the surrounding text was to help correct any errors in the original coding. For example, the word "march" could show up in a text and get

coded as relevant to this analysis, but upon further examination, it may turn out that word is used to describe soldiers marching into battle. Similarly, the word "occupy" could show up without having any relation to political activity. Below in the results section actual instances of such coding issues that showed up in this project are explained. From all of the isolated instances of positive, negative, or neutral portrayal of protest activity, I hoped to gain a sense of the general signal students were receiving about protest.

Chapter 4: Results

In this section I present the results of my analyses, beginning with results from examining ICCS data and then moving on to results from content analysis performed on two curriculum documents and one textbook. Together they indicate that students with high civic knowledge in Hong Kong and Taiwan rate themselves as likely to protest, and that the Society 2.2 textbook exposes Taiwanese students to an overall positive image of protest.

ICCS Data Results

For ICCS data, analysis included investigating the relationship between student civic knowledge scores and student self-reported likelihood of participation in a peaceful march or rally. Use of the IEA IDB Analyzer produced mean civic knowledge scores (based on plausible values) for each of the four groups of students in each country: those that reported they would certainly take part in such a protest, those that reported they would probably protest, those that indicated they would probably not protest, and those that answered certainly not.

Table 1
Average Scores and Number of Respondents for Each Protest Likelihood Group by Country

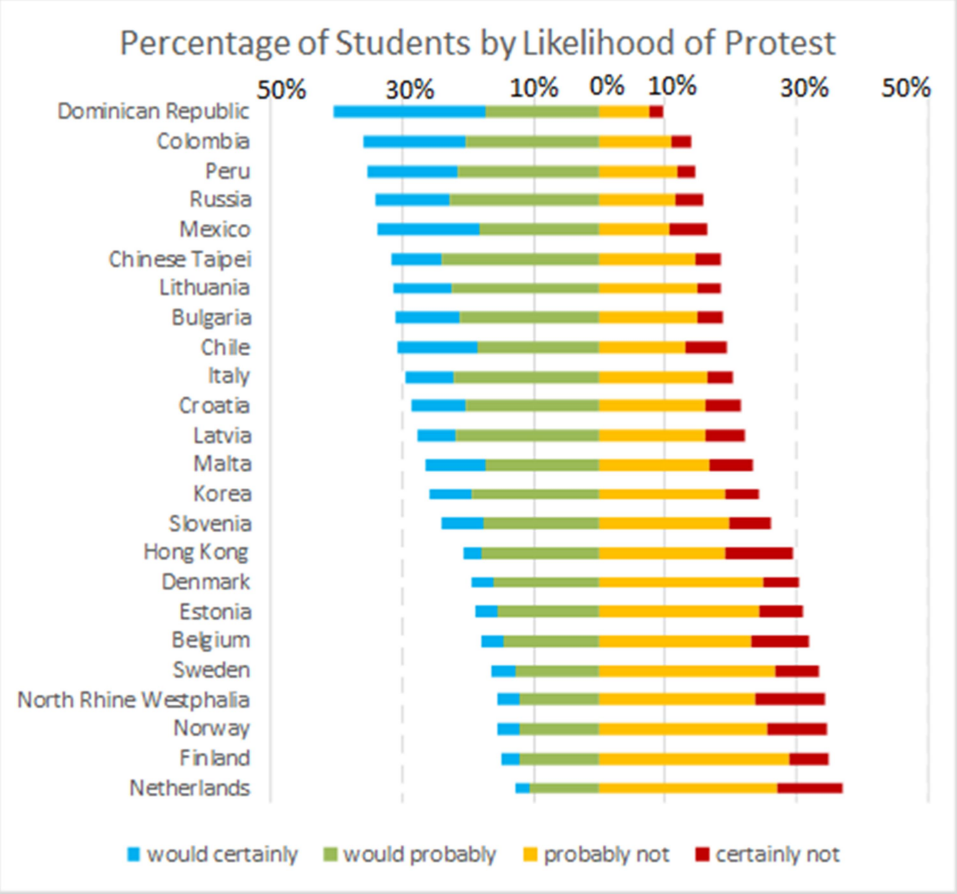
	would certainly		would probably		probably not		certainly not	
Country	mean	n size	Mean	n size	mean	n size	mean	n size
Denmark	600.86	388	599.13	1966	585.52	2859	571.66	642
Sweden	597.14	239	594.63	801	586.39	1636	550.12	414
Chinese Taipei	575.63	592	585.91	1896	580.71	1142	569.08	309
Finland	599.78	171	581.79	770	576.45	1781	563.15	397
Norway	554.59	410	572.81	1437	574.27	3056	549.65	1061
Korea	568.49	331	551.53	1015	548.63	978	544.62	259
Estonia	547.85	187	556.52	873	545.93	1361	532.22	390
Russian Federation	548.27	1616	548.53	3360	538.56	1718	539.57	512
Belgium	516.02	190	538.99	831	544.87	1350	528.54	507
Slovenia	534.16	358	538.57	958	534.54	1114	515.11	365
Croatia	528.99	602	534.92	1531	536.07	1260	518.60	407
Italy	523.77	491	535.10	1509	521.72	1098	496.75	289
Netherlands	498.51	123	525.60	570	531.06	1517	511.07	556
North Rhine Westphalia	522.63	94	523.82	329	520.23	676	514.66	307
Lithuania	522.96	584	524.07	1520	512.81	1145	499.78	311

Hong Kong SAR	497.20	144	529.18	923	516.24	969	498.64	522
Malta	492.14	648	500.05	1218	504.73	1180	479.69	474
Latvia	495.92	369	496.00	1317	494.44	1034	484.43	391
Bulgaria	493.61	549	504.16	1233	481.25	827	459.60	213
Colombia	489.39	1616	494.06	2108	481.42	1152	467.50	322
Chile	495.71	1182	487.43	1807	480.24	1298	465.73	632
Mexico	464.93	1622	474.09	1939	473.44	1103	468.93	630
Peru	435.24	1337	451.26	2098	451.65	1137	420.73	275
Dominican Republic	389.12	1419	403.46	1111	394.73	470	390.96	135

Among the 24 countries, there is quite a bit of variation in mean civic knowledge scores. The countries also show differences regarding which groups of students had the higher scores among groups along the scale of likelihood of protest. The IEA IDB Analyzer results also provided standard deviations and standard errors for the data. In addition, the IEA IDB Analyzer produced the number of students in each protest likelihood category for each country as well as the percentage of students that gave each response. Below is a graph showing the percentage of students giving each response for each country. Students answering that they would probably not or certainly not participate in a peaceful protest are represented on the right side of the figure, with students choosing “probably not” in yellow, and “certainly not” in red. Students answering that they would probably or would certainly participate in a peaceful protest are represented on the left side of the figure,

with students choosing “would probably” in green, and “would certainly” in blue. The countries are ordered with the highest left side percentages at the top (more likely to protest) and the highest right side percentages at the bottom (less likely to protest). One notices from the figure that the top few countries with the highest percentages of students reporting willingness to protest are in Latin America, and the bottom few countries with the lowest percentages of students reporting willingness to protest are in Northern Europe. Of the 24 entities, Chinese Taipei ranks as 6th highest for percentage of students likely to protest, and Hong Kong ranks 16th.

Figure 1



After obtaining summary statistics, the next step was to perform an ANOVA test on those summary statistics to compare mean scores among the different groups. P-values from

the SAS output for this ANOVA test on summary statistics appear in the table below, with countries arranged alphabetically.

Table 2
P-values of ANOVA Group Comparisons by Country[4]

Country	would certainly /would probably	would certainly/ probably not	would certainly/ certainly not	would probably/ probably not	would probably/ certainly not	probably not/ certainly not
Belgium	0.0004	<.0001	0.0679	0.0979	0.0213	0.0001
Bulgaria	0.0483	0.0311	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.0069
Chile	0.0178	<.0001	<.0001	0.0342	<.0001	0.0014
Chinese Taipei	0.0141	0.2591	0.2936	0.1186	0.002	0.0413
Colombia	0.0779	0.01	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.0059
Croatia	0.097	0.0543	0.0294	0.6835	<.0001	<.0001
Denmark	0.7325	0.0019	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	0.0005
Dominican Republic	<.0001	0.1728	0.792	0.0402	0.076	0.6171
Estonia	0.1713	0.7536	0.0255	0.0019	<.0001	0.0024
Finland	0.0094	0.0004	<.0001	0.1304	0.0002	0.0035
Hong Kong SAR	0.0006	0.0405	0.8833	0.0069	<.0001	0.0018

[4] Significant values at the 0.05 level are highlighted with light orange, highly significant values at the 0.001 level are highlighted with darker orange

Italy	0.0093	0.6533	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001
Korea	0.0048	0.001	0.0024	0.4944	0.2951	0.5452
Latvia	0.9866	0.7586	0.0465	0.6367	0.0116	0.0341
Lithuania	0.7752	0.0126	<.0001	0.0003	<.0001	0.0109
Malta	0.1046	0.0103	0.0401	0.2536	0.0002	<.0001
Mexico	0.0009	0.008	0.2996	0.8321	0.1711	0.2728
Netherlands	0.0026	0.0001	0.1639	0.2198	0.0071	<.0001
North Rhine Westphalia	0.8961	0.7813	0.3885	0.4954	0.1407	0.3016
Norway	0.0003	<.0001	0.3393	0.6059	<.0001	<.0001
Peru	<.0001	<.0001	0.0125	0.9022	<.0001	<.0001
Russian Federation	0.9153	0.0006	0.0349	<.0001	0.0202	0.8043
Slovenia	0.3642	0.9363	0.0011	0.2438	<.0001	<.0001
Sweden	0.7282	0.1144	<.0001	0.0523	<.0001	<.0001

As the table above illustrates, the ANOVA produced quite a few significant results at the 0.05 level (41) and even more highly significant results at the 0.001 level (52). The two areas of most interest to this study are Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR. Chinese Taipei had three ANOVA group comparisons that were significant at the 0.05 level, and three non-significant results. Hong Kong SAR had three ANOVA group comparisons that were significant at the 0.05 level and another two that were significant at the 0.001 level,

with only one non-significant result. However, as noted above, the ICCS smaller sample size for Hong Kong SAR makes the Hong Kong results less likely to be representative of the larger population. Other countries with larger ICCS sample sizes are more likely to produce results that are representative of the larger population in that country. For some of these countries (Bulgaria, Chile) all of the ANOVA group comparisons were significant at least at the 0.05 level. In addition to Hong Kong SAR, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, and Peru all had five out of six group comparisons turn out to be significant at least at the 0.05 level. For Hong Kong SAR, the group comparison that was not significant was between the student group that answered that they "would certainly" protest and the student group that answered that they would "certainly not" protest. For Chinese Taipei, the non-significant results were for the "would certainly" vs "probably not" comparison, the "would certainly" vs "certainly not" comparison, and the "would probably" vs "probably not" comparison. Only North Rhine Westphalia had zero significant ANOVA group comparisons.

Quite a lot of the ANOVA group comparison results were significant, but results were mixed for groups within countries. In addition, Table 1 shows that the score differences in different countries are not always in the same direction—in other words, sometimes highest scoring student group said that they would certainly participate in a protest, and other times they said they would certainly not. Given the complexity of these results, it makes sense to see if grouping differently results in new insights. In the table below, the four protest likelihood categories were simplified to two categories (by combining "would certainly" with "would probably" to create a group that would protest, and combining "probably not" with "certainly not" to create a group that would not

protest). When the difference among the two groups is significant, the higher scoring group is displayed in the far right column.

Table 3
Comparing Average Civic Knowledge Scores of Students that Would vs. Would Not Protest

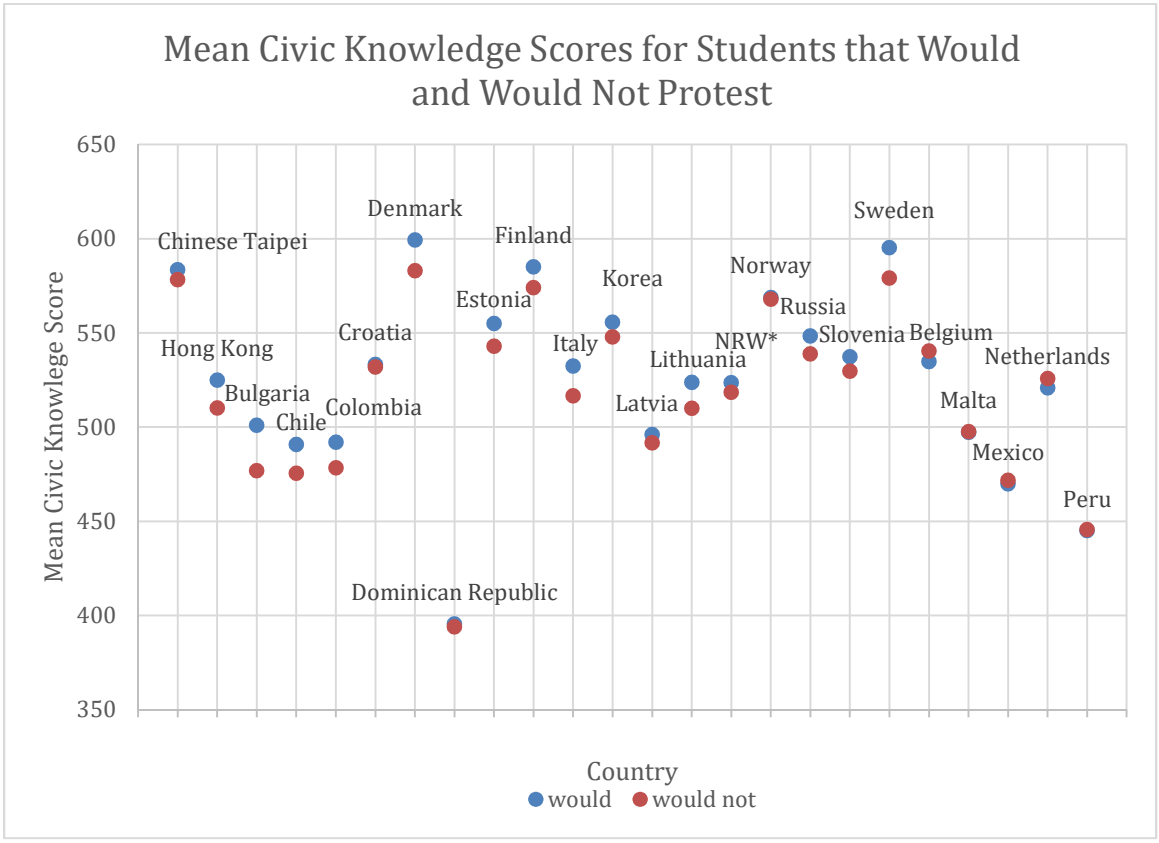
Country	Difference of mean scores	P-value	Significant at 0.05?	Higher scoring group
Belgium	-5.6938	0.0777	No	
Bulgaria	24.0956	0.0000	Yes	would
Chile	15.2198	<.0001	Yes	would
Chinese Taipei	5.2281	0.0726	No	
Colombia	13.6520	<.0001	Yes	would
Croatia	1.4392	0.5540	No	
Denmark	16.4362	<.0001	Yes	would
Dominican Republic	1.5288	0.6665	No	
Estonia	12.1172	0.0001	Yes	would
Finland	11.0373	0.0010	Yes	would
Hong Kong SAR	14.7843	0.0004	Yes	would
Italy	15.7978	<.0001	Yes	would
Korea	7.9153	0.0337	Yes	would

Latvia	4.2912	0.1325	No	
Lithuania	13.7332	<.0001	Yes	would
Malta	-0.2498	0.9412	No	
Mexico	-1.8787	0.4443	No	
Netherlands	-4.9016	0.2496	No	
North Rhine Westphalia	5.0642	0.2708	No	
Norway	0.8351	0.7516	No	
Peru	-0.6079	0.8299	No	
Russian Federation	9.6541	<.0001	Yes	would
Slovenia	7.6285	0.0104	Yes	would
Sweden	16.1375	<.0001	Yes	would

The table above clearly shows that, in all countries, when comparing civic knowledge scores of students that reported they would protest versus students that reported they would not protest, wherever the difference in mean scores was significant, the higher scoring group was the group that reported that they would protest. Note that the p-value for Chinese Taipei above is 0.0726, which is a bit above the 0.05 level set for significance. The p-value for Hong Kong SAR is 0.0004, which is well below the 0.001 level set for high significance. While the table above focuses on the differences in mean scores for the two groups and the p-values for those differences, the figure below reports

the mean scores for the two groups for each country. In the figure below, the countries are arranged along the horizontal axis with Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong first, then all other countries where students that would protest scored higher, then all countries where students that would not protest scored higher. Each country has one blue dot for the mean civic knowledge score of the group of students reporting they would protest and one red dot for the mean civic knowledge score of the group of students reporting they would not protest. The vertical axis measures civic knowledge scores and starts at a score of 350 in order to better display the differences among scores, as none of the mean scores in any country were below 390.

Figure 2



*NRW stands for North Rhine Westphalia

This figure graphically shows that the group of students reporting that they would protest scored higher on average than the group of students reporting that they would not protest in the majority of cases. The figure also shows that the countries where the "would not" group scored lower (Belgium, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, and Peru) had very small score differences between the two groups. For all five countries the difference was below six points, and two had a less than one point difference (Malta and Peru). As the graph shows, in both Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR, the student group that would protest scored higher than the student group that would not. Though Belgium, the Netherlands, and Malta were countries where the "would not" group scored lower, in most European countries this was not the case. In all other European countries, the student group that would protest scored higher. In Bulgaria, the "would protest" group scored more than 24 points higher on average than the "would not protest" group.

When comparing countries based on whether students reported that they would protest versus would not protest, it also makes sense to compare groups that gave a more certain answer versus a less certain one. In the table below, the four protest likelihood categories were again simplified to two categories, but this time by combining "would certainly" with "certainly not" to create a group that was more certain about their future protest behavior, and combining "would probably" with "probably not" to create a group that was less certain about their future protest behavior. When the difference among the two groups is significant, the higher scoring group is displayed in the far right column.

Table 4
Comparing Average Civic Knowledge Scores for "Certainly" vs. "Probably" Groups

Country	Difference of mean scores	P-value	Significant at 0.05?	Higher scoring group

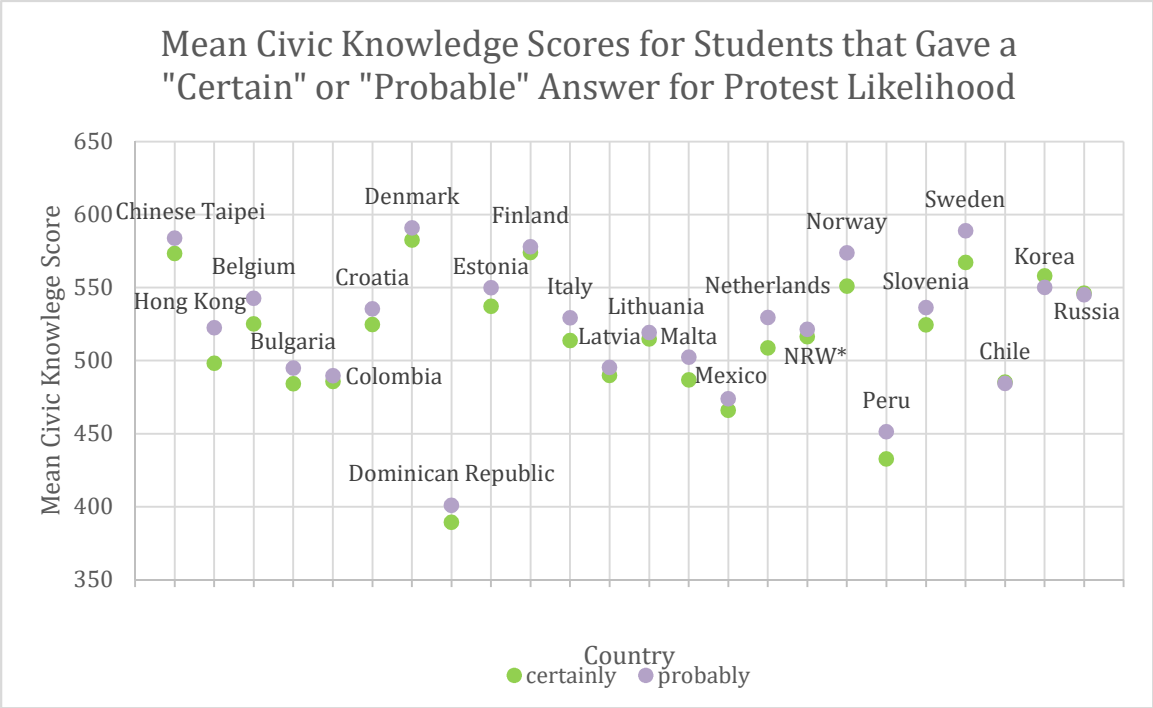
Belgium	-17.5095	<.0001	Yes	probably
Bulgaria	-10.8587	0.0173	Yes	probably
Chile	0.8442	0.7622	No	
Chinese Taipei	-10.5693	0.0025	Yes	probably
Colombia	-3.8434	0.1015	No	
Croatia	-10.6436	0.0002	Yes	probably
Denmark	-8.4059	0.0091	Yes	probably
Dominican Republic	-11.5802	<.0001	Yes	probably
Estonia	-12.7782	0.0009	Yes	probably
Finland	-3.8820	0.3075	No	
Hong Kong SAR	-24.2273	<.0001	Yes	probably
Italy	-15.7075	<.0001	Yes	probably
Korea	7.9046	0.0771	No	
Latvia	-5.3058	0.1153	No	
Lithuania	-4.3267	0.1682	No	
Malta	-15.4753	<.0001	Yes	probably
Mexico	-7.8017	0.0006	Yes	probably

Netherlands	-20.7746	<.0001	Yes	probably
North Rhine Westphalia	-4.8787	0.2905	No	
Norway	-22.7810	<.0001	Yes	probably
Peru	-18.6329	<.0001	Yes	probably
Russian Federation	1.0198	0.6324	No	
Slovenia	-11.8648	0.0007	Yes	probably
Sweden	-21.7710	<.0001	Yes	probably

The table above shows that in most countries the higher scoring group was the group that chose answers showing they were less certain about their future protest behavior. Note that the p-value for Chinese Taipei above is 0.0025, which is below the 0.05 level set for significance. The p-value for Hong Kong SAR is less than 0.0001, which is well below the 0.001 level set for high significance. In both Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR, the differences in mean scores between the more certain group of students and the less certain group of students was high enough that it is not likely to be due to chance. While the table above focuses on the differences in mean scores for the two groups and the p-values for those differences, the figure below reports the mean scores for the two groups for each country. In the figure below, the countries are arranged along the horizontal axis with Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong first, then all other countries where students that gave less certain answers on protest likelihood scored higher, then all countries where students that gave more certain answers about protest

likelihood scored higher. Each country has one purple dot for the mean civic knowledge score of the group of students reporting uncertainty about their future protest behavior and one green dot for the mean civic knowledge score of the group of students reporting certainty about their future protest behavior. The vertical axis measures civic knowledge scores and starts at a score of 350 in order to better display the differences among scores, as none of the mean scores in any country were below 389.

Figure 3



*NRW stands for North Rhine Westphalia

This figure graphically shows that the group of students reporting certainty about their future protest behavior scored lower on average than the group of students reporting uncertainty about their future protest behavior, in the majority of cases. The figure also shows that the countries where the certain group scored higher (Chile, South Korea, Russia) had very small score differences between the two groups. For all three countries the difference was below eight points with South Korea just below an eight point

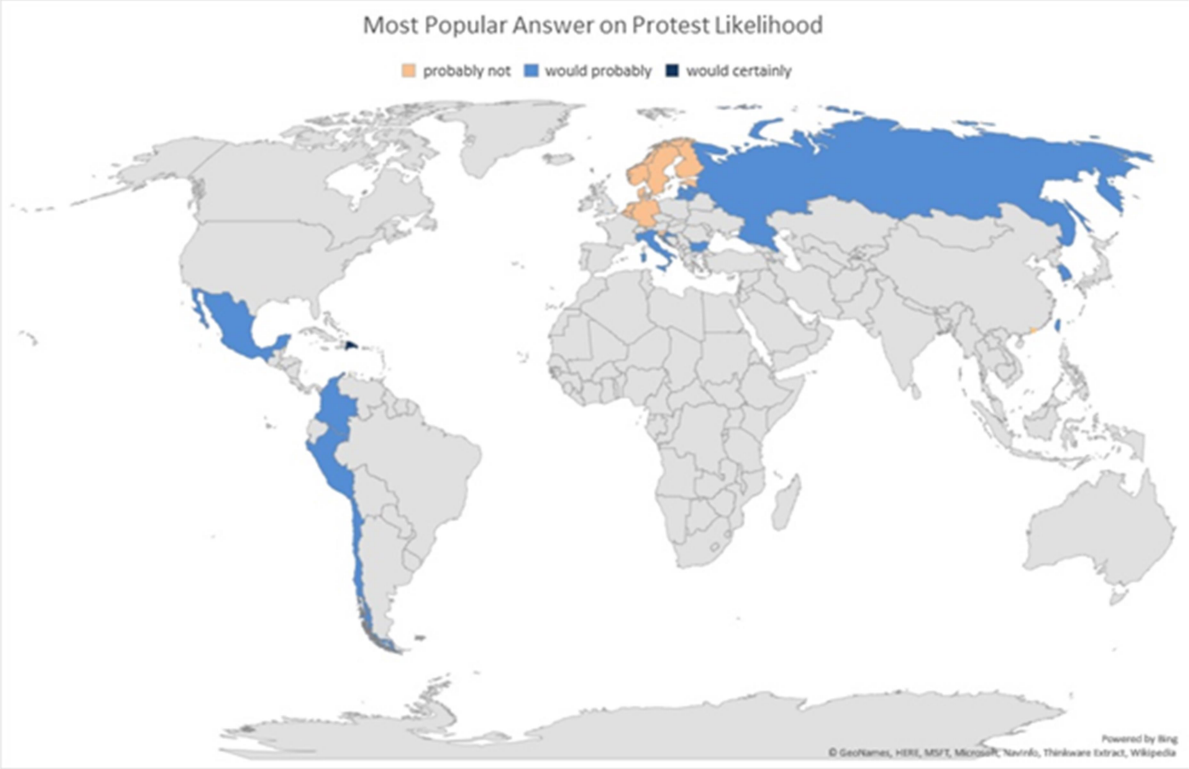
difference and Chile and Russia both close to a one point difference. In both Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong SAR, the group that gave less certain answers about their future protest behavior scored higher. The same was true for all the European countries except for Russia.

Another interesting phenomenon that becomes clear from the summary data above is that the majority of students do not always choose the same answer that the highest scoring students choose. One can see from looking at the first table that the highest mean score does not always correspond to the largest "n" size across the four answer choices. One can also tell by comparing the first table with the third and fourth tables that the same phenomenon occurs when the four groups are reconstituted as two groups (whether reconstituted as "would" vs "would not" or as "certainly" vs "probably"). Results for Chinese Taipei show that, of the four answer choices, the highest scoring group of students said that they would probably take part in a peaceful march or rally. Also for Chinese Taipei, "would probably" was the most popular answer choice for this question, chosen by the largest number of students. Interestingly, results for Hong Kong SAR show that, of the four answer choices, the highest scoring group of students chose "would probably," but the largest number of students chose "probably not."

Another way to scrutinize the most popular answer choices across countries is to plot them on a map. In the figure below, each country taking part in ICCS is highlighted with a color depending on which answer to the protest question was most popular among students participating in the study in that country. Where "probably not" was most popular, the country is orange. Where "would probably" was most popular, the country is

light blue, and where “would certainly” was most popular, the country is dark blue. None of the countries had students choosing “certainly not” as the most popular answer choice.

Figure 4



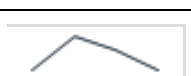
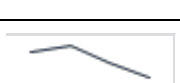
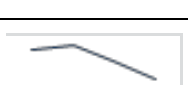
By looking at the most popular answer choice on a map, one sees that the countries which chose “probably not” are all concentrated in Europe, with most of them in Northern Europe. The exception is Hong Kong SAR, which is a small orange dot on the east coast of Asia. Outside of Europe, Hong Kong is the only region in this study where “probably not” was the most popular answer choice. Chinese Taipei shows up in dark blue, indicating that the most popular answer choice there was that students would probably participate in a peaceful march or rally.

Another way to investigate the civic knowledge score differences among groups and across countries is to look at the answer choices in order from highest average score to lowest for each country. The next table provides that information, with countries in

order from highest scoring country (including scores from all groups) to lowest scoring country. Chinese Taipei and Slovenia are both highlighted in orange because those are the only two areas that exhibited the following pattern: would probably, probably not, would certainly, certainly not, with the students answering "would probably" having the highest average civic knowledge scores and the students answering "certainly not" having the lowest average civic knowledge scores. Hong Kong SAR and the Dominican Republic are highlighted in red, because these two areas exhibited the pattern would probably, probably not, certainly not, would certainly, but the average civic knowledge scores of the last two groups, certainly not and would certainly, had extremely small score differences, less than two points in both cases. A look back at the second table shows that the differences between those two groups were not significant in either case. Also included to the right of the table below is a figure that shows the score patterns as a line for each country. The visual representation allows one to quickly get a sense of the many different score patterns and ones that appear more frequently than others. For example, the figure makes it easy to identify that quite a few countries have high scoring students that favor the middle two answer choices—the answer choices that are less committal. One can also see that in multiple countries higher scoring students expected themselves to be more likely to participate in protest in the future. Russia stands out on the chart as having the most unique pattern, dissimilar to all others. There is quite a bit of variation among the European countries here.

Table 5 Score Patterns for Each Country Figure 5

Country	Highest scoring group to lowest	Sparkline
Denmark	would certainly, would probably, probably not, certainly not	

Sweden	would certainly, would probably, probably not, certainly not	
Chinese Taipei	would probably, probably not, would certainly, certainly not	
Finland	would certainly, would probably, probably not, certainly not	
Norway	probably not, would probably, would certainly, certainly not	
Korea	would certainly, would probably, probably not, certainly not	
Estonia	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Russian Federation	would probably, would certainly, certainly not, probably not	
Belgium	probably not, would probably, certainly not, probably not	
Slovenia	would probably, probably not, would certainly, certainly not	
Croatia	probably not, would probably, would certainly, certainly not	
Italy	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Netherlands	probably not, would probably, certainly not, probably not	
North Rhine Westphalia	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Lithuania	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Hong Kong SAR	would probably, probably not, certainly not, would certainly	
Malta	probably not, would probably, would certainly, certainly not	
Latvia	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Bulgaria	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	
Colombia	would probably, would certainly, probably not, certainly not	

Chile	would certainly, would probably, probably not, certainly not	
Mexico	would probably, probably not, certainly not, would certainly	
Peru	probably not, would probably, would certainly, certainly not	
Dominican Republic	would probably, probably not, certainly not, would certainly	

Content Analysis Results

The content analysis included one Hong Kong curriculum document, one Taiwan curriculum document, and one Taiwan textbook. Content analysis of the Hong Kong curriculum document revealed two instances of the word "march," three instances of the word "movement," one instance of the word "occupy," and one instance of the word "rally." The two instances of the word "march" were not protest-related—they referred to the month of March in the year 2002. The three instances of the word "movement" were not protest-related either—one referred to physical movement and the other two referred to population movement. The instance of the word "occupy" was not protest related (it referred to occupying student time, not a protest occupation). The instance of the word "rally" was not protest related, but it was somewhat political, as it referred to rallying parent support for educational policies. The Hong Kong curriculum document contained no relevant references to protest-related words included in the search. This finding is consistent with another observation about the Hong Kong curriculum document—the document does not mandate specifics for the content to be taught, but rather looks at a broader picture.

Content analysis of the Taiwan curriculum document revealed five instances of the word "demonstration" and five instances of the word "movement." All five of the

instances of the word “demonstration” were not protest-related: they talked about either demonstrating learning outcomes or providing a demonstration of a finished product or service (a way for a student to show content mastery). None of the instances of the word “movement” were protest-related: they all talked about physical movement in the context of students with special needs. The Taiwan curriculum document contained no relevant references to protest-related words included in the analysis. This makes some sense because protest is likely to be something that students learn about as opposed to a way that students learn, and the Taiwan curriculum document focused on broader subjects, standards, and ways of delivering information as opposed to the detailed content to be taught.

The Taiwan textbook (titled Society 2.2) included the most instances of protest-related words of any document included in the content analysis. A summary table of the number and frequency of protest-related words in the text appears below.

Table 6
Number and Frequency of Protest-related Words in Society 2.2

Word	Total number of instances	Total number of protest-related instances	Average frequency of protest-related instances per page
煽惑 / agitate	0	0	0
抵制 / boycott	1	1	1
杯葛 / boycott	0	0	0
示威 / demonstration	1	1	1
遊行 / demonstration	4	2	1

異議 / dissent	0	0	0
異見 / dissent	0	0	0
行進 / march	3	0	0
運動 / movement	85	77	2.5
佔據 / occupy	0	0	0
抗議 / protest	4	4	1
集會 / rally	2	2	2
反叛 / rebel	0	0	0
造反 / rebel	4	4	1.33
反抗 / revolt	0	0	0
叛逆 / revolt	0	0	0
暴動 / riot	0	0	0
暴亂 / riot	0	0	0
罷工 / strike	1	1	1
起義 / uprising	14	14	1.75
	119	106	

As one can see from the table above, the most commonly used protest-related word in the textbook was “運動”/“movement,” which had 77 relevant mentions. This word made up about 73 percent of all instances of protest-related words found in the text. The second most commonly seen word was “起義”/“uprising,” which had 14 mentions or about 13 percent of all instances of protest-related words. Most words that showed up in the text appeared once per page, but a few appeared slightly more frequently per page. The word “運動”/“movement” had the highest frequency of appearance with 2.5 instances per page on average. In this textbook, most passages are self-contained on a single page, so the frequency per page can generally be used to gauge the frequency per passage.

All protest-related instances of the target words were also coded for general tone: did they show a view of protest behavior that was positive, negative, or neutral overall? Any instance of a target word that was not related to protest was, of course, not coded for tone. A summary table showing the results of coding for tone appears below.

Table 7
General Tone Used with Protest Words in Society 2.2

Word	Total number of positive mentions	Total number of negative mentions	Total number of neutral mentions
煽惑 / agitate	0	0	0
抵制 / boycott	1	0	0
杯葛 / boycott	0	0	0
示威 / demonstration	1	0	0

遊行 / demonstration	2	0	0
異議 / dissent	0	0	0
異見 / dissent	0	0	0
行進 / march	0	0	0
運動 / movement	34	9	34
佔據 / occupy	0	0	0
抗議 / protest	3	0	1
集會 / rally	2	0	0
反叛 / rebel	0	0	0
造反 / rebel	1	2	1
反抗 / revolt	0	0	0
叛逆 / revolt	0	0	0
暴動 / riot	0	0	0
暴亂 / riot	0	0	0
罷工 / strike	1	0	0
起義 / uprising	7	0	7
	52	11	43

As one can see from the table above, text with protest-related words most commonly treated the concept of protest with a general positive tone. Overall, about 49 percent of protest mentions were positive, about 41 percent of protest mentions were neutral, and about 10 percent of protest mentions were negative. When the text mentioned positive effects of a protest activity or event, that instance was coded as positive. For example, Society 2.2 includes a passage on the May Fourth Movement which reads, "During the May Fourth Movement, the Chinese people appreciated Wu Peifu's actions and he was considered a bold and patriotic soldier" (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 122). This passage is positive in tone because it relates that Wu Peifu's protests against the Chinese government were well-received. When the text mentioned negative effects of a protest activity or event, that instance was coded as negative. It is worth mentioning that two of the instances of the word "運動"/"movement" that are included here as having a negative tone were very strongly negative in tone. Those strongly negative instances described the Great Leap Forward movement, and one reads as follows: "In order to cater to the central government's policies, the localities created false reports on food production, causing misperception" (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 136).

The chapter of the textbook with the most mentions of protest-related words was unit 3, chapter 4, which is titled "民初的政治與文化" or "Politics and Culture in the Early Republic." A table showing the number of protest-related words found in each chapter appears below.

Table 8
Protest-related Words by Chapter in Society 2.2

Textbook section	Protest-related instances
table of contents	1
unit 1 chapter 1	0
unit 1 chapter 2	0
unit 1 chapter 3	0
unit 2 chapter 1	0
unit 2 chapter 2	0
unit 2 chapter 3	0
unit 3 chapter 1	2
unit 3 chapter 2	16
unit 3 chapter 3	14
unit 3 chapter 4	30
unit 3 chapter 5	3
unit 3 chapter 6	10
unit 4 chapter 1	0
unit 4 chapter 2	4

unit 4 chapter 3	0
unit 4 chapter 4	0
unit 4 chapter 5	0
unit 4 chapter 6	0
indexes/reference	26

As the table above shows, about 28 percent of protest-related words were found in unit 3, chapter 4. The section of the textbook with the second most instances of protest-related words was the section at the back of the book containing indexes and reference material, which contained 26 words, or 25 percent of the total. Of all the units in the textbook, unit 3 contained the most protest-related words, with 79 words, or 75 percent of the total. Unit 3 is titled “近代中國的劇變” or “Dramatic Changes in Modern China.” Every chapter in unit 3 contained protest-related words, while only one chapter in unit 4 contained protest-related words (unit 4 is titled “法律與生活” or “Law and Life”). Zero chapters in units 1 (about China’s regional geography) and 2 (about world geography) contained protest-related words.

Protest-related words showed up in quite a few different types of material presented in the textbook. The table below shows the number of protest-related words found in the text, separated out into seven categories based on the type of material in which the word appeared.

Table 9
Protest-related Words in Society 2.2 by Type of Material

Word	lesson description/ objectives	historical narrative	Timeline	biography	civic principles	exercise/ review questions	other
抵制 / boycott	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
示威 / demonstration	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
遊行 / demonstration	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
運動 / movement	8	40	10	9	0	4	6
抗議 / protest	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
集會 / Rally	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
造反 / Rebel	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
罷工 / Strike	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
起義 / uprising	0	7	5	1	0	0	1

Totals	**8**	**56**	**16**	**10**	**3**	**5**	**8**

As illustrated in the table above, protest-related words appeared most commonly as part of historical narrative in the text. Historical narratives held 56 instances of protest-related words, or 53 percent of the total. Timelines held the next highest number of instances of protest-related words, with 16 words (15 percent of the total). Biographies of famous people in history held the third highest number of instances of protest related words, with 10 instances (9 percent of the total). Note that the "other" category consists of protest-related words that showed up in the index or in a flow chart/concept map at the back of the book.

Many of the instances of protest-related words found in the text described historical protest movements or rebellions of different kinds. The following table shows the frequency with which the different historical movements showed up in the text.

Table 10
Protest-related Words in Society 2.2 by Historical Subject

	Word→									
Subject↓	抗議 protest	抵制 boycott	示威 demonst.	罷工 strike	起義 uprising	造反 rebel	遊行 demonst.	運動 movem.	集會 rally	Grand Total
Arrow Ship Incident	1									1
Chinese Cultural Renaissance								3		3
Constitutional Movement								3		3

Cultural Revolution						3		2		5
General							1	1	2	4
Great Leap Forward								5		5
Kominka								1		1
May Fourth	2	1	1	1				14		19
National Protection					1					1
New Culture								10		10
New Life								1		1
Protect the Constitution								5		5
Railway Rights Protection	1							2		3
Republican Revolutionary								9		9
Revive China Society					1					1
Self-improvement								17		17
Taiping Heavenly Kingdom								1		1

Taiwan Parliament Movement								1		1
Tiananmen Square							1			1
Tongmenghui					2					2
Wuchang Uprising					10					10
Wuxu Reform								2		2
Zhili-Anhui War						1				1
Grand Total	4	1	1	1	14	4	2	77	2	106

If the same word was used to describe different historical protest movements or rebellions, then those instances are listed as "multiple." If a word was not used to describe a historical movement, but rather to talk about the idea of protest in general, then those instances are listed as "general." Only four instances of protest-related words found in the text were used to discuss protest in general. Three of the general mentions were in a section of the textbook that discussed civic principles, including rights of speech and assembly. One of the general mentions was in a review question. The May Fourth Movement was the protest movement mentioned most often, followed by the Wuchang Uprising.

When looking at these different parts of history, it is important to note how the author's tone within the text portrays that part of history: whether positively, neutrally, or

negatively. The following table shows the overall treatment that the textbook gave to each protest movement or other instance of unrest.

Table 11
Treatment of Different Protest Movements in Society 2.2

Subject	Overall Tone
Arrow Ship Incident	neutral
Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement	neutral
Constitutional Movement	neutral
Cultural Revolution	negative
General	positive
Great Leap Forward	negative
Kominka Movement	negative
May Fourth Movement	positive
National Protection War	neutral
New Culture Movement	positive
New Life Movement	neutral
Protect the Constitution Movement	positive
Railway Rights Protection Movement	positive
Republican Revolutionary Movement	positive

Revive China Society	neutral
Self-improvement Movement	positive
Taiping Heavenly Kingdom	neutral
Taiwan Parliament Movement	neutral
Tiananmen Square Protests	positive
Tongmenghui	positive
Wuchang Uprising	positive
Wuxu Reform	negative
Zhili-Anhui War	positive

As illustrated in the table above, the textbook portrays the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward as strongly negative, and the Wuxu Reform (also known as the Hundred Days Reform) and the Kominka Movement as negative. For example, the biography of Mao Zedong near the end of Society 2.2 contains the following sentence, "In 1966, he launched the Cultural Revolution, causing the '10-year catastrophe' of Chinese culture" (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 221). The text treats the May Fourth Movement, the New Culture Movement, the Self-improvement Movement, and the Wuchang Uprising most positively. For example, in a passage about the New Culture Movement, the following sentence appears: "Under the efforts of these people, vernacular literature and new punctuation symbols became popular, which contributed to the spread and circulation of knowledge" (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 117).

Chapter 5: Discussion

Though neither the Taiwan curriculum document nor the Hong Kong curriculum document discussed above mentioned protest, the Hong Kong curriculum document did include the following sentence: "The school organizes whole-school or form-based seminars for parents to discuss school policies with them and to rally their support" (Curriculum Development Council, 2002, p. 146). This is a recognition of the interest that community members have in school policies, and the tendency for decisions about running a school to become political. Recognizing that parents tend to take a strong interest in their children's education, the Education Bureau encourages schools to avert dissent by winning parents over proactively. One of the earliest places that a student might experience real life political action is through community member responses to education policy. School, and civic education in particular, plays a leading role in shaping the political lives of students. The results detailed above from analysis of ICCS data and content analysis of the Society 2.2 textbook provide a view into the ways that school shaped students' attitudes toward protest behavior.

As the results from ICCS data analysis show, evidence points to a relationship between civic knowledge scores and self-reported likelihood of engaging in protest behavior. However, there is not enough evidence to suggest the nature of the relationship between civic knowledge and likelihood of taking action, like protest. it is possible that students that study harder, who have higher civic knowledge scores, might learn from their civic education to engage in political activity (or not to engage in political activity). It is also possible that students who are naturally more likely to engage in political activity have more real life experience with civic life, and thus score better. Or that

students who are naturally less likely to engage in political activity are more likely to stay at home indoors studying, leading to better scores. Though there are multiple possibilities, it is not necessary to define a causal link in order to glean insights about the relationship between civic knowledge and action. Below I review some of the findings that suggest a relationship between civic knowledge and action, and consider possible ways to characterize this relationship.

For the Taiwanese students in the ICCS study, the difference between mean scores for students that said they would engage in protest versus students who said they would not engage in protest was not significant (the average score difference was 5.22 points, with a p-value of 0.07). However, for the Hong Kong students the difference was significant with a p-value of 0.0004. Hong Kong students saying they would engage in protest scored 14.78 points higher on average. In all countries where the difference was significant, the higher scoring group was the group that said they would engage in protest. A possible explanation here is that saying that one would protest (either probably or certainly) is generally considered to be the "right" answer, and so higher scoring students choose it. Perhaps this "right" answer is one that is encouraged in textbooks or classrooms.

In all countries with significant results, when broken down into groups of students that gave a more certain answer versus a less certain answer, the higher scoring group of students was the group that answered with less certainty. This is true for the students taking part in ICCS 2016 in Taiwan and in Hong Kong. One possible explanation for this result is that students in Taiwan and Hong Kong are being taught not to go to extremes, and therefore they avoid answer choices such as "I would certainly do this" or "I would

certainly not do this." In Taiwan, the highest scoring students said that they would probably participate in a peaceful march or rally, and the highest number of students also said they would probably participate. The choice of "would probably" seems to indicate a preference for participation in protest activity, but also a preference for avoiding extremes.

For Hong Kong students taking part in the ICCS study, however, there is a more complicated result. The highest scoring student group was the group that said they would probably participate, but the largest number of students indicated they would probably not participate. The choice by the higher scoring students—who could be the ones that pay more attention in civics lessons, might indicate that "would probably" is the "right" answer in Hong Kong—that Hong Kong society considers protest to be an important part of civic life. However, the choice of the largest number of students is "probably not." If social norms in a place are pushing people in one direction, but they are acting in another way, one can surmise that society is being acted on by an outside force. Perhaps the reality is that most students in Hong Kong understand that protest will not be tolerated.

In addition to Hong Kong, "probably not" was also the most popular answer on the protest likelihood question for several European countries. However, the reasons behind being unlikely to protest for students in Europe and students in Hong Kong may have different roots. As discussed earlier, Rubin's typology takes into account students' past experiences in life. It could be that European students answering "probably not" in ICCS 2016 had not experienced threats to their own citizenship rights, and were not motivated to take action (i.e., what we might classify as complacent students). It could be that Hong Kong students answering "probably not" in ICCS 2016 have experienced

rights violations first-hand, and felt they could do nothing to improve the situation (i.e., discouraged students).

Students participating in ICCS 2016 took a test of civic knowledge and a survey on their attitudes, and each student brought a civic knowledge background to that test and survey. One of the ways each student's background was shaped prior to participating in the study was through civic education classes, or civic education lessons as part of other classes. Textbooks play a major role in imparting information and shaping attitudes toward that information for students learning civics. Results from the content analysis on the Taiwanese textbook Society 2.2 can provide a sense of what some Taiwanese students were learning before they took the ICCS assessment.

Table 6 shows that "movement" was the most common protest-related word found in Society 2.2. "Movement" shows up 85 times in the text, and 77 of those instances are protest-related. After "movement," the word included in this analysis that appeared second most frequently was "uprising," with 14 total mentions, all of them protest-related. "Movement" is a general word that can be used in many contexts to describe periods of political action with many different aims. That such a flexible word appears often in the text is unsurprising. What is more surprising is that Taiwanese students seem to be getting an overall positive view of protest from this textbook (see Table 7). When I began this project, I expected to find that students received a negative view of protest from textbooks and curricular material. This expectation came from looking at the history of tightly controlled education in Taiwan and the reorientation of Hong Kong education toward the mainland Chinese model. The results from content analysis of Society 2.2 show the opposite. Here, the generally positive treatment of

protest in the textbook matches with the results from ICCS 2016 assessment of Taiwanese students, where both the highest scoring group and the largest number of students stated that they would probably participate in a peaceful march or rally.

The Society 2.2 textbook spends a considerable amount of time on the period of China's history from the end of the last dynasty to the early years of communist rule. Also, the type of textbook material that most commonly contained mentions of protest was historical narrative (see Table 9). The Taiwanese government has reason to treat some parts of 20th century history more positively than others. The parts of history that are treated positively and negatively in Society 2.2 are not surprising, given that the textbook is meant for use in Taiwan.

In Society 2.2, the most positive treatment is afforded to the May Fourth Movement, the Wuchang Uprising, the New Culture Movement, and the Self-improvement Movement. According to Society 2.2, the May Fourth Movement "awakened the patriotic consciousness of all walks of life" (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 118). Given that the May Fourth Movement is widely considered to have been a spark for greater nationalism, it makes sense that the nationalist Republic of China government in Taiwan would approve textbooks that treat the movement positively. Society 2.2 indicates that the Wuchang Uprising was the catalyst for the success of the Xinhai Revolution, which established the Republic of China (Jiang et al, 2013). Linking the two, the textbook's positive treatment of the Wuchang Uprising makes sense. Society 2.2 describes the New Culture Movement rejecting imperial China and embracing sensible liberalization of thought in the early Republic of China (Jiang et al, 2013). The link between the New Culture Movement and the Republic of China naturally leads to

positive treatment of that period in history. The Self-improvement Movement, at the end of the last Chinese dynasty, also received overall positive treatment in Society 2.2. The textbook evaluates the movement as follows: “The lack of comprehensive plans and opposition from traditionalists made the reforms limited. Despite this, the technology and talents introduced at that time still helped China to modernize in the future” (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 94). Clearly, the treatment is not as positive as treatment of other historical events and periods discussed above.

In Society 2.2, the most negative treatment is afforded to the Cultural Revolution, the Great Leap Forward, and the Wuxu Reform. According to Society 2.2, the Cultural Revolution “destroyed traditional Chinese ethics and culture, caused social unrest and moral distortion, paused education and led to economic recession; it was a great catastrophe in Chinese history” (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 137). The textbook’s words on the Great Leap Forward are similarly harsh, stating that it “led to economic deterioration, coupled with food shortages and excessive labor, causing the tragedy of tens of millions of people dying of famine” (my translation) (Jiang et al, 2013, p. 136). The textbook portrays the Wuxu Reform as a last-ditch effort to save the Chinese imperialist system, which ended in a coup (Jiang et al, 2013,). As one can see from this textbook, students reading the material get the most positive view of parts of history that are ideologically aligned with the Republic of China and the most negative view of parts of history that are ideologically aligned with the communist party and the People’s Republic of China.

Through the varied treatment of protest-related events and periods in history, Taiwanese students receive a nuanced picture of protest from Society 2.2. Violent events

are not always treated negatively, and though peaceful events are generally treated neutrally or positively. The link between Taiwan's government and a revolutionary past likely influenced this textbook. Learning in an environment that accepts and lauds certain revolutionary movements of the past could lead students to be more willing to participate in protest themselves.

Examination of ICCS 2016 data and content analysis of a Taiwanese textbook have provided fruitful insights that have helped provide further understanding of civics education in Hong Kong and Taiwan as it relates to protest. One limitation of the ICCS data is that it produces information related to the types of protest behaviors that students theoretically see themselves carrying out in the future, as opposed to information about actual protest behaviors. Limitations of the content analysis included a) the inability to obtain a textbook from Hong Kong for analysis, b) the possibility that teachers may communicate the material in a way that is different from what the curriculum documents and textbook suggest, c) the chance that some students may not read the textbook at all, and d) the use of a single coder. As I conducted all of the coding myself, there was no opportunity to compare notes with another person and thus no opportunity to establish inter-rater reliability. A possible area of future research could be to study actual protest behavior through direct observation of these groups of students or through social media research.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the field through the three main gaps identified earlier. As noted in Chapter 1, Hahn encourages more study of citizenship education in societies with Confucian values, like Hong Kong and Taiwan. This study therefore adds to the considerable efforts in ICCS 2009 to begin to examine regional

differences in civic knowledge among Asian, European, and Latin American students. Examining citizenship attitudes among Taiwanese and Hong Kong students has shown a tendency to avoid extremes while still favoring participation in peaceful protest activity. Confucianism emphasizes finding the 'middle way' between yin and yang, as well as knowing your place in society and acting as expected. Students' tendency to temper their responses away from the extremes provides a clue as to how cultural background interacts with citizenship and citizenship education. Citizenship education can allow students to form ideals about what civic action should be taken, but cultural sensitivities and knowledge about the political climate in their area can lead students to question what they can achieve. McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly suggest a need for additional study of how governments are involved in political action, and Hahn encourages exploring what makes students either stay in line with or deviate from society's ideals of citizenship. This study contributes to both of those lines of inquiry. Accordingly, the content analysis showed that Taiwanese students are receiving some positive messages about protest from the textbook, but also a few negative messages, which likely allows some room for students to come to their own conclusions. Textbooks and curricular materials are one way that a government can influence student thinking about citizenship, but students receive messages about acceptable behaviors in so many other ways. Reading about the history of citizenship education in Hong Kong, its current educational practices, and its struggles to come to terms with a mainland Chinese concept of citizenship led me to hypothesize that Hong Kong would be a climate discouraging of student protest. However, the data showed that Hong Kong students overall saw themselves as somewhat likely to engage in peaceful protest activity. Like messages from the Taiwanese textbook, I see these data as

evidence that students receive mixed signals about the appropriateness of protest activity, and ultimately they make up their own minds.

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