

Adolescents' Civic Engagement: Concordant and Longitudinal Associations Among Civic Beliefs and Civic Involvement

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Associations between adolescent civic and organized activities (volunteering, standard political, social movement, school/community, religious) and civic beliefs (comprised of should, obligation, and respect judgments) were examined. Cross-sectional models ($N = 703$, $M_{\text{age}} = 15.87$) indicated domain specificity between adolescent civic beliefs and behaviors. Longitudinal models ($n = 219$, $M_{\text{age}} = 15.39$) indicated that adolescents' standard political beliefs predicted greater levels of standard political involvement one year later, and school/community activities predicted greater standard political beliefs a year later. Youth volunteering predicted lower standard political beliefs, and standard political involvement predicted lower community service beliefs one year later. Findings support the assessment of adolescent sociomoral civic beliefs and demonstrate how civic experiences and civic beliefs can mutually promote each other during adolescence.

Previous research, theory, and public discourse acknowledge that civic participation is crucial for improving democratic processes and enacting positive social change at local, national, and global levels (Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). A growing body of interdisciplinary research focuses on civic engagement during adolescence, finding that civic participation and related beliefs predict sustained engagement in adulthood, more democratic interactions with others, and enhanced well-being (Flanagan & Bundick, 2011; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; McFarland & Thomas, 2006). Moreover, developmental psychologists have acknowledged that explorations of youth civic development should not solely focus on adolescent civic behavior, but should also consider civic-related cognitions, such as values, attitudes, and beliefs (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Wray-Lake & Syvertsen, 2011). For instance, research has demonstrated the utility of assessing civic beliefs as a potentially important antecedent of adult forms of civic engagement (Metzger & Ferris, 2013). This research has operationalized youth civic beliefs as a combination of judgments assessing whether youth rate different forms of civic involvement as obligatory or morally worthy. Civic beliefs have been linked to adolescent engagement in civic and community activities in

domain-specific ways (Metzger & Smetana, 2009), leading scholars to argue that civic beliefs may be an important antecedent of adult civic behavior (Metzger & Smetana, 2010). However, previous research has relied largely on cross-sectional data, so the sequential association between youth civic beliefs and behavior is unclear. Elucidating the temporal sequencing among civic beliefs and behavior may inform theory on civic development and identify social-cognitive processes that contribute to engaged citizenship. Thus, this study builds on this previous work by examining longitudinal, bidirectional associations among youth engagement in civic and organized activities and civic beliefs.

Developmental researchers have stressed that civic engagement is a multifaceted construct comprised of behaviors, beliefs, values, and skills (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Zaff, Boyd, Li, Lerner, & Lerner, 2010). Multiple theories of civic development propose that simultaneously examining the various dimensions of youth civic engagement will help clarify the complex set of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral antecedents of adult civic involvement (Lerner, Wang, Champine, Warren, & Erickson, 2014; Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvertsen, 2016). Adopting a multidimensional approach to civic development may be especially important for research during childhood and adolescence. Legal restrictions (e.g., voting age laws) or other social and resource barriers (e.g., access to social movement opportunities) may prevent youth

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from participating in certain forms of civic behavior. However, adolescents nonetheless develop beliefs about active civic participation including whether such behavior is important, obligatory, and morally worthy (Metzger & Ferris, 2013). Examining the behavioral correlates of these civic beliefs will provide important insights into the ways in which civic experiences affect and potentially shape how youth conceptualize civic engagement, or, conversely, how civic beliefs guide youth to seek out opportunities for involvement. While multiple theories of civic development propose links between cognitive and behavioral elements of civic engagement (Lerner et al., 2014; Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009), few have examined how such associations unfold over time or explored whether behavior-belief links vary across different forms of civic involvement.

Empirical investigations into the social-cognitive dimensions of civic engagement during adolescence have explored adolescents' civic beliefs concerning the obligatory and morally worthy nature of civic action (Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Metzger, Oosterhoff, Palmer, & Ferris, 2014). Rooted in social domain theory, which posits that individuals reason about the social world from different domains of social knowledge (Turiel, 2006), this research has measured adolescent beliefs about different civic behaviors through multiple sociomoral judgments. For instance, adolescents have been asked whether people *ought to* or *should* engage in different civic behaviors (i.e., *should* judgments) as a means of assessing general support for engagement in the activity. This dimension of civic beliefs is also consistent with the work of political scientists who study individual's evaluation of "citizenship norms" or "*what people think people should do as good citizens*" (Dalton, 2008). According to moral development theory (Kahn, 1992; Kohlberg, 1971), it is also necessary to measure whether it is *wrong NOT to* engage in the activity to assess whether individuals view prosocial activities as obligatory (i.e., *obligation judgments*; Metzger & Ferris, 2013). Finally, according to moral philosophy (Williams, 1985), discretionary or prosocial actions are thought to be moral if they are "well thought of" or "worthy of praise." Adolescents' social-praiseworthiness has been found to be effectively captured by judgments of *respect* for different civic acts (i.e., *respect judgments*; Metzger et al., 2014; Metzger & Smetana, 2009).

Several studies have examined adolescents' beliefs (should, obligation, and respect judgments) concerning different forms of civic involvement. Civic behavior involves a wide array of both

political and nonpolitical activities, and research indicates that youth differentially conceptualize and distinguish between different types of civic activity. Adolescents apply different levels of should, obligation, and respect judgments to community service (e.g., volunteering), standard political (e.g., voting), and social movement involvement (e.g., protesting) (Metzger & Ferris, 2013). Adolescents also distinguish between these categories of civic involvement in their justifications (Metzger & Smetana, 2009). Thus, adolescents do not uniformly view civic involvement as obligatory or morally worthy but rather make nuanced distinctions in the way they evaluate civic action.

Heterogeneity in adolescents' civic reasoning is also evident within studies demonstrating links between youths' civic beliefs and behavior (Metzger & Smetana, 2009). This research utilized structural equation models and assessed adolescent civic beliefs about different forms of civic involvement using latent variables with should, obligation, and respect judgments as indicators. The resulting civic belief latent factors capture the overlapping variance across these judgments and represent adolescents' sociomoral *prioritization* of different civic activities. Structural models tested associations between these civic belief latent variables and adolescents' involvement in both civic activities (community service and political activities) and other organized activities (school and community clubs, religious activities, etc.). Interestingly, links between adolescents' civic beliefs and civic and organized activity involvement were found to be behavior-specific. That is, adolescents who were more involved in volunteer and service activities had greater civic beliefs of community service activities relative to youth who were less involved. Similarly, adolescents who were more involved in political activities endorsed greater civic beliefs concerning standard political and social movement activities relative to those less involved. These findings indicate that adolescents' civic experiences are associated with how they think about and prioritize the specific activities in which they are engaged; involvement in a specific form of civic behavior does generalize positive beliefs about all forms of civic involvement.

However, previous research was limited in several ways. First, previous research combined youth standard and social movement political behavior into a single measure rather than separating these disparate types of youth political involvement. Adolescents distinguish between social movement activities such as protesting from more mainstream,

standard forms of political involvement in both their civic judgments (Metzger & Ferris, 2013) and their views of civic actors engaged in standard or social movement involvement (Metzger, Syvertsen, Oosterhoof, Babskie, & Wray-Lake, 2016). Similarly, these two forms of political engagement have been distinguished in multiple other studies of youth civic involvement (e.g., Diemer & Rapa, 2016; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Thus, it will be important to explore whether such distinctions are also present within associations among adolescents' civic beliefs and behavior. Second, a primary weakness of previous research is that associations between adolescents' civic beliefs and civic behavior have utilized cross-sectional data. Thus, the temporal ordering of youths' civic beliefs and actual engagement in civic and community activity is unknown. For instance, adolescent civic beliefs may antecede participation (Metzger & Smetana, 2010). Adolescents who judge a particular type of civic engagement to be more obligatory and morally worthy may be motivated to seek out opportunities to engage in that particular activity in the future. This pattern would be consistent with a social-cognitive theory of moral behavior, which anticipates bidirectional and interactive associations between moral thought and moral actions (Bandura, 1991). Empirical findings also anticipate such links, as prosocial moral reasoning has been found to longitudinally predict adolescent prosocial behavior (Carlo, Mestre, Samper, Tur, & Armenta, 2010). Alternatively, engagement in different civic behaviors may inform civic beliefs about similar activities. For instance, adolescents who volunteer may gain unique insights into the importance of community service and the positive impact of such involvement (Flanagan, 2004). These insights may then increase youths' prioritization and evaluation of community service, which would be evidenced over time in higher levels of civic beliefs (represented by greater obligation and respect judgments). Such a developmental sequence would be consistent with previous research that has found that youth civic engagement is associated with other positive cognitive processes such as greater levels of social trust (Flanagan, Gill, & Galloway, 2005), and social-moral identity (Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997). Examining bidirectional, longitudinal associations will help to bolster civic development theory, as well as provide essential information for practitioners and public policymakers striving to positively impact youth civic engagement and community involvement.

The first aim of this study was to replicate and extend previous cross-sectional research findings

concerning associations between adolescents' civic beliefs and their engagement in different types of civic and community activities (Metzger & Smetana, 2009). Consistent with previous research, this study assessed adolescents' civic beliefs as latent factors indicated by different sociomoral judgments (should, obligation, and respect judgments). For adolescents' civic behavior, this study assessed engagement in political activities and community service. This study expanded upon previous work by separating adolescent social movement and standard political behavior, which had been combined into a single political behavior measure in previous studies examining links between youth civic beliefs and behavior. Similar to previous work, analyses also accounted for adolescent engagement in school and community clubs and religious organizations. While not explicitly civic activities, these forms of organized activity have been associated with adolescent volunteering and political development (Yates & Youniss, 1996; King, 2008; Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003). It was hypothesized that:

H₁: Volunteering behavior will be associated with civic beliefs regarding community service.

H₂: Standard political behavior will be associated with standard political civic beliefs.

H₃: Social movement involvement will be associated with social movement civic beliefs.

The second aim was to examine longitudinal associations among adolescents' civic beliefs and civic behaviors measured at a baseline assessment and 1 year later. By controlling for prior beliefs and behavior, this study sought to explore whether civic behavior leads to changes in civic beliefs and whether civic beliefs lead to changes in civic behavior. Although previous research does not provide clear expectations concerning the sequential ordering between adolescent civic behavior and civic beliefs, bidirectional domain-specific links between specific forms of civic participation and adolescents' judgments about similar types of civic activity over time were anticipated. It was hypothesized as follows:

H₄: Adolescent involvement in community service, standard political activities, and social movement behaviors will longitudinally predict civic beliefs regarding the same category of civic involvement (e.g., volunteer behavior

would predict change in community service civic beliefs).

H₅: Adolescent civic beliefs concerning community service, standard political activities, and social movement will longitudinally predict civic behavior in the same category of civic involvement (e.g., beliefs about standard political involvement will predict change in adolescent engagement in standard political activities).

METHOD

Participants

Data were drawn from two waves of the Youth Civic Development Project (YCDP; Oosterhoff, Ferris, & Metzger, 2014). Two high schools located in neighboring counties of the same mid-Atlantic state were involved in this research project. One school was located in a small, rural town in a community with a population of 7,000 within a county designated as "rural" by the most recent U.S. census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The other school was located in a midsized city with a population of 70,000. This midsized city represents the economic, commercial, and medical epicenter of the region. For both waves of data collection, students in Grades 9–12 were recruited from social studies classes. Approximately 34% of recruited students participated in the survey (across both schools and both waves of data collection). The YCDP used an open-enrollment procedure in which all youth enrolled in social studies courses at the time of data collection were allowed to participate regardless of whether they had participated in prior waves. A total of 703 adolescents participated at Wave 1, 841 adolescents participated at Wave 2, and 219 adolescents participated at both time points. A relatively equal number of participants attended school in the small, rural town (Wave 1 = 51.7%, Wave 2 = 47.8%) and midsized city across both waves (Wave 1 = 48.3%, Wave 2 = 52.2%). An examination of the published school reports indicated that the collected samples were consistent with the demographic characteristics of each school.

This study utilized cross-sectional data from the full Wave 1 sample and longitudinal data from youth who completed both Wave 1 and Wave 2. Table 1 displays demographic characteristics for sample separated by participation rate. Youth who participated in Wave 1 ($M_{\text{age}} = 15.87$, $SD = 1.28$, range = 13–20 years, 55.8% female) were primarily

White/Caucasian, earned at least "some A's" in school, and had parents who completed college. Youth who completed assessments at both waves ($M_{\text{age}} = 15.39$, $SD = .95$, range = 13–20 years, 58.3% female) were primarily Caucasian/White (92.1%), earned at least "some A's" in school (69.5%), attended high school in a small, rural town (64.4%), and had parents who completed college (mothers: 55.4%; fathers: 52.3%). Participants that completed both waves of the study were compared to those that only completed the study at Wave 1 ($n = 484$) and Wave 2 ($n = 622$) on all study variables and demographic characteristics (Table 1). Compared to students who only completed the survey at Wave 1, participants that completed both waves were slightly less involved in social movement activities. Compared to students who only completed the survey at Wave 2, participants that completed both waves reported that their fathers had a lower percentage of graduate or professional degrees. Longitudinal participants did not differ from cross-sectional participants on any other study variable, suggesting that these students were relatively reflective of their cohort in terms of organized and civic activity involvement, civic beliefs, and demographic characteristics.

Measures

Cronbach's alpha coefficients, means, and standard deviations for all measures at both waves are given in Table 1.

Civic Judgments

Civic involvement categories. Adolescents made a series of judgments about 13 adult-level civic behaviors assessed in previous research focusing on citizenship and civic engagement (e.g., Metzger & Ferris, 2013; Metzger & Smetana, 2009). Adolescents made judgments about four *community service* activities (i.e., volunteer for a fundraiser aiding victims of a natural disaster, volunteer to help disabled students at your school, volunteer to help the people in your community, volunteer to help feed the homeless), five *standard political* activities (i.e., keep up with current events and politics, join a political party, work on a political campaign, vote in a political election, know who their elected representatives and leaders are), and four *social movement* activities (i.e., write to a newspaper, magazine, blog, or website about a social or political issue, take part in a political protest or rally,

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Comparison Statistics for Longitudinal versus Cross-Sectional Cases

	Time 1 (N = 703)				Time 2 (N = 841)			
	Wave 1 Only (n = 484)		Wave 1 Longitudinal (n = 219)		Wave 2 Only (n = 622)		Wave 2 Longitudinal (n = 219)	
	M	SD	%	χ^2	M	SD	%	χ^2
Female			57.2	58.3	60.4	58.3	58.3	0.11
Race/ethnicity								5.90
- African American/Black			4.4	0.9	3.0	0.9	0.9	
- Asian American/Pacific Islander			2.7	1.4	2.3	1.4	1.4	
- White			84.9	92.1	86.4	92.1	92.1	
- Hispanic/Latino			2.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	
- Native American			1.0	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.5	
- Biracial/Multiple Ethnicities			4.7	4.2	6.9	4.2	4.2	
- Other			0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	
Grades in school								6.87
- Mostly A's			28.1	31.0	33.3	31.0	31.0	
- Some A's; some B's			39.7	38.5	43.0	38.5	38.5	
- Mostly B's			7.5	7.5	7.7	7.5	7.5	
- Some B's; some C's			17.3	18.3	11.4	18.3	18.3	
- Mostly C's			2.7	3.3	2.1	3.3	3.3	
- Some C's; some D's			4.1	1.4	2.6	1.4	1.4	
- Mostly D's or lower			0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Mothers' education								6.74
- Completed 8th grade			5.6	5.2	4.0	5.2	5.2	
- Completed high school			37.2	39.4	32.9	39.4	39.4	
- Completed college			38.3	40.9	43.1	40.9	40.9	
- Completed a graduate degree			19.0	14.5	20.0	14.5	14.5	
Fathers' education								10.74*
- Completed 8th grade			8.5	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.5	
- Completed high school			40.9	43.2	40.2	43.2	43.2	
- Completed college			29.7	37.5	31.4	37.5	37.5	
- Completed a graduate degree			20.8	14.8	24.2	14.8	14.8	
	α	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	t
Civic beliefs								
Community service								
Should	.86	3.87	0.95	3.81	0.94	3.90	0.88	0.95
Wrong	.94	2.72	1.32	2.61	1.30	2.71	1.29	1.23
Respect	.89	4.31	0.81	4.44	0.76	4.48	0.66	0.80
Standard political								
Should	.83	3.07	1.00	3.07	1.00	3.27	0.93	1.07
Wrong	.84	2.34	1.05	2.33	1.07	2.35	1.05	1.06
Respect	.88	3.05	0.94	3.13	0.95	3.34	0.94	0.95

TABLE 1 (Contd.)
Means, Standard Deviations, and Comparison Statistics for Longitudinal versus Cross-Sectional Cases

	α	M	SD	M	SD	t	α	M	SD	M	SD	t
Social movement												
Should	.67	2.80	0.81	2.75	0.84	0.63	.72	2.69	0.82	2.72	0.87	-0.46
Wrong	.70	1.92	0.79	1.81	0.72	1.55	.69	1.68	0.67	1.73	0.71	-0.68
Respect	.77	3.22	0.80	3.24	0.80	-0.18	.90	3.30	0.78	3.27	0.80	0.51
Civic and organized activities												
Volunteering	.79	2.25	1.00	2.18	0.90	0.75	.80	2.30	0.99	2.15	0.92	1.77
Standard political	.48	2.03	0.80	1.97	0.71	0.82	.44	1.99	0.73	2.03	0.76	-0.69
Social movement	.59	1.56	0.79	1.44	0.61	2.26*	.64	1.52	0.75	1.43	0.62	1.78
School/community	.71	2.31	0.86	2.34	0.80	-0.39	.71	2.27	0.77	2.26	0.80	0.11
Religious	.91	2.61	1.37	2.52	1.32	0.63	.90	2.55	1.28	2.33	1.28	1.88

Note.. α = Cronbach's alpha.
* $p < .05$.

work to change a law that they disagree with, distribute a petition for a cause).

Should judgments. Participants rated whether individuals “should” take part in each of the 13 civic involvement behaviors using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*doesn't matter*) to 5 (*definitely should*). Higher ratings indicated stronger beliefs that individuals should engage in each activity.

Obligation judgments (wrong). Similar to previous research (Metzger & Ferris, 2013; Metzger et al., 2014), youth reported whether it was wrong if individuals *did not* engage in the 13 civic involvement behaviors. Responses were scored using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all wrong*) to 5 (*very wrong*). Higher scores indicated strong beliefs that each activity is obligatory (i.e., wrong NOT to participate in).

Respect judgments. Participants rated the social-praiseworthiness of the 13 civic involvement behaviors by reporting whether they believed involvement in each civic activity was worthy of respect (e.g., “How much would you RESPECT someone who takes part in the following activities?”) using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*none at all*) to 5 (*a lot*). Higher scores indicated more respect/social-praiseworthiness of each civic activity.

Adolescent Civic and Organized Activity Involvement

Adolescents' civic and organized activity involvement was measured using 19 items adapted from previous research (e.g., Eccles et al., 2003; Ferris, Oosterhoff, & Metzger, 2014; Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Oosterhoff et al., 2014; Smetana & Metzger, 2005). Based on previous operationalizations of context-specific civic and organized activity participation (Metzger & Smetana, 2009), activity involvement was divided into six categories, including three standard political activities (e.g., *Take part in student council or hold school political positions*), two social movement activities (e.g., *Take part in a political protest or rally*), three religious activities (e.g., *Attend religious services*), three volunteer activities (e.g., *Work for charity to collect money for a social cause*), and five school/community activities (e.g., *Take part in computer, language, or academic club at school; Take part in a community club or group*). Due to low internal consistency for the school (α s = .35 and .41) and community (α s = .54 and .57) items across the two data collection waves and consistent with prior research (Oosterhoff, Ferris, Palmer &

Metzger, 2017), these categories were combined to form one scale representing school/community activities which had acceptable reliability (α s = .70 and .72) at both time points. Responses for all items were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*), with higher scores representing greater activity involvement in each area.

Procedure

Youth who obtained signed parental consent forms and provided adolescent assent completed questionnaires in social studies classrooms during their regularly scheduled class time. Members of the research team were present to answer participants' questions. Participating adolescents were eligible for randomly drawn cash prizes ranging in value from \$25 to \$100 at each participating high school.

Analytic Strategy

Structural equation modeling was used to examine associations among activity involvement and civic judgments. Mean scores for participation in standard political, social movement, religious, volunteer, and school/community activities were computed and included as observed variables. Mean scores for adolescents' should, wrong, and respect ratings were modeled as indicators of separate first-order latent variables representing youth civic beliefs for community service, standard political involvement, and social movement participation. First, a measurement model was tested to ensure each civic judgment (should, wrong, respect) loaded onto its respective latent variable for each civic activity (community service, standard political, social movement) for youth who completed the Wave 1 assessment ($N = 709$). A structural model was then used to examine cross-sectional associations between adolescent organized and civic behavior and latent variables representing civic beliefs using the full sample from Wave 1.

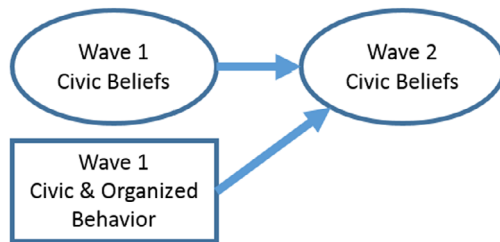
Next, the longitudinal sample ($n = 219$) was utilized to explore longitudinal associations among activity involvement and civic beliefs. An additional measurement model was used to test measurement invariance and ensure that the latent constructs had similar measurement qualities at Waves 1 and 2. Specifically, analyses tested whether latent factor loadings (i.e., metric invariance) and intercepts (i.e., scalar invariance) were invariant across Waves 1 and 2 (Little, 2013). First, a configural model in which factor loadings were freely estimated was statistically compared to a model in which factor

loadings were constrained to be equal across waves. In the next step, intercepts were constrained to be equal across waves. Consistent with current recommendations, we used a comparative fit index (CFI) difference of .01 or greater as evidence of substantive differences between the freely estimated and constrained models (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002; Little, 2013).

A series of structural models were then used to test cross-lagged associations among civic beliefs and behaviors. Although recommendations for sample sizes for structural equation modeling vary, a common convention is to have a sample size with at least 5 to 10 cases per estimated parameter (Kline, 2011). However, in this study, a full bidirectional model that included all possible autoregressive (i.e., stability coefficients) and cross-lagged associations for our five civic and organized activity variables and three civic belief latent variables at both waves would have included a large number of parameters well outside of this "rule-of-thumb" convention. So, this study utilized two separate structural models to examine longitudinal associations among civic beliefs and behavior (Figure 1). First, observed scores for Wave 1 organized activities (i.e., volunteer, religious, school/community, standard political, social movement) were entered into a model predicting Wave 2 civic belief latent variables (i.e., community service, standard political, social movement) controlling for Wave 1 civic beliefs. This model tested whether activity involvement at Wave 1 predicted change in civic beliefs from Wave 1 to Wave 2. In a second longitudinal model, bidirectional effects were tested with the civic belief latent variables measured at Wave 1 predicting activity involvement at Wave 2 controlling for activity involvement at Wave 1. This second model tested whether civic beliefs at Wave 1 predicted change in activity involvement from Wave 1 to Wave 2.

All models controlled for participants gender and age, parents' education, and school location. In all models, civic judgment residual error terms (should, wrong, and respect judgments) were allowed to covary with the corresponding judgment across civic community service, standard political, and social movement activities. Measures of engagement in civic and organized activities were also allowed to covary. Model fit was evaluated with standard metrics, and acceptable fit was indicated with a CFI $\geq .90$ and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) $\leq .08$ (Kline, 2011). All analyses were performed in Mplus version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2016) using maximum-likelihood estimation with robust standard errors.

Model 1: Wave 1 behavior predicting Wave 2 civic beliefs controlling for Wave 1 beliefs



Model 2: Wave 1 beliefs predicting Wave 2 civic beliefs controlling for Wave 1 Behavior

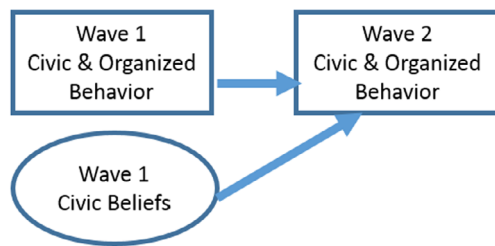


FIGURE 1 Overview of models examining longitudinal associations between beliefs and behavior. *Note.* All involvement behaviors were modeled as separate manifest (observed) variables, and civic beliefs were modeled as separate latent variables.

RESULTS

Bivariate correlations among civic and organized activities and civic beliefs at both waves are presented in Table 2. In general, several organized and civic activities were positively correlated with civic beliefs across both measurement waves.

Cross-Sectional Analyses

Measurement model. A measurement model was estimated which specified mean scores for should, wrong, and respect judgments for each civic activity as indicators for latent variables representing civic beliefs for community service, standard political, and social movement. Covariances were specified among all latent variables. The model provided a good fit to the data, $\chi^2/df = 1.96$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04. Standardized estimates for the factor loadings were all significant and ranged from .46 to .89, and covariances among the latent variables ranged from .39 to .70.

Structural model. Cross-sectional associations among adolescent civic and organized involvement and civic beliefs were examined controlling for demographic characteristics (participants' gender and age, parents' education, and school location). Activity involvement categories were examined as predictors of latent variables representing civic

beliefs for community service, standard political, and social movement and comprised of their respective should, obligation, and respect judgments (Table 3; $\chi^2/df = 3.58$, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .06). Adolescent girls endorsed more positive civic beliefs about community service and social movement activities relative to boys, and youth with more highly educated parents endorsed more positive civic beliefs about standard political involvement relative to youth with less educated parents. After accounting for adolescents' age, gender, school location, and parents' education, those who were more involved in religious activities and those who were more involved in volunteer activities had more positive civic beliefs about community service. Greater religious involvement and greater standard political involvement were associated with more positive civic beliefs about standard political involvement. Those who were more involved in volunteering, standard political activities, and social movement activities had significantly more positive civic beliefs about social movement, although the coefficient linking social movement activity and social movement beliefs was substantially larger than the other two parameters.

Longitudinal Analyses

Testing measurement invariance in adolescent civic beliefs. A measurement model testing factor

TABLE 2
Correlations Among Longitudinal Study Variables

	W1 Community Service Beliefs			W1 Standard Political Beliefs			W1 Social Movement Beliefs			W2 Community Service Beliefs			W2 Standard Political Beliefs			W2 Social Movement Beliefs			
	Sh	Wr	Res	Sh	Wr	Res	Sh	Wr	Res	Sh	Wr	Res	Sh	Wr	Res	Sh	Wr	Res	
Demographics																			
Age	-.05	.00	-.07	-.07	-.01	-.07	-.01	.00	-.05	-.01	-.02	-.01	.12	.08	.00	.04	-.05	-.03	
Gender	.36**	.33**	.37**	-.03	.02	.07	.08	.07	.17*	.36**	.27**	.29**	.03	-.01	.09	.04	-.01	.09	
Location	.04	.05	.03	.09	.20**	.12	-.01	.03	.02	.03	-.00	-.06	.11	.11	.10	-.01	.01	-.07	
Parents' education	.11	-.02	.15	.26**	.12	.21	.08	-.08	.09	.14*	.00	.11	.27**	.18**	.23**	.14	-.01	.16*	
W1 activity involvement																			
Volunteer	.30**	.19**	.35**	.14*	.04	.15*	.20**	.21**	.25**	.25**	.19**	.21**	.06	.07	.18**	.19**	.13*	.23**	
Standard political	.06	.06	.15	.50**	.38**	.43**	.27**	.18**	.27**	.04	-.06	-.01	.39**	.35**	.35**	.23**	.03	.25**	
Social movement	.12	.01	.12	.34**	.26**	.29**	.33**	.27**	.33**	.10	.04	.04	.21**	.25**	.21**	.30**	.16*	.24**	
Religious	.16*	.07	.25**	.29**	.15*	.27**	.10	.08	.22**	.14*	.13	.23**	.18**	.23**	.24**	.03	.05	.21**	
School/community	.13	.06	.19**	.25**	.10	.21**	.26**	.09	.21**	.14	.08	.13	.19**	.17*	.27**	.13	.07	.19**	
W2 activity involvement																			
Volunteer	.24**	.13	.25**	.06	-.02	.07	.12	.10	.21**	.38**	.33**	.29**	.06	.10	.13	.23*	.19**	.22**	
Standard political	.10	.08	.18**	.43**	.35**	.40**	.26**	.12	.27**	.21**	.07	.17*	.57**	.44**	.50**	.46**	.07	.39**	
Social movement	.06	-.03	.01	.28**	.22**	.26**	.25**	.15*	.19**	.12	.08	.06	.25**	.23**	.27**	.41**	.20**	.32**	
Religious	.14*	.15*	.21**	.19**	.17*	.20**	.08	.12	.15*	.23**	.21**	.24**	.27**	.27**	.25**	.16*	.20**	.24**	
School/community	.14*	.12	.17*	.20**	.13	.17*	.19**	.10	.18**	.27**	.16*	.22**	.26**	.21**	.30**	.25**	.13	.29**	

Note. Sh, should judgments; Wr, wrong judgments; Res, respect judgments.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

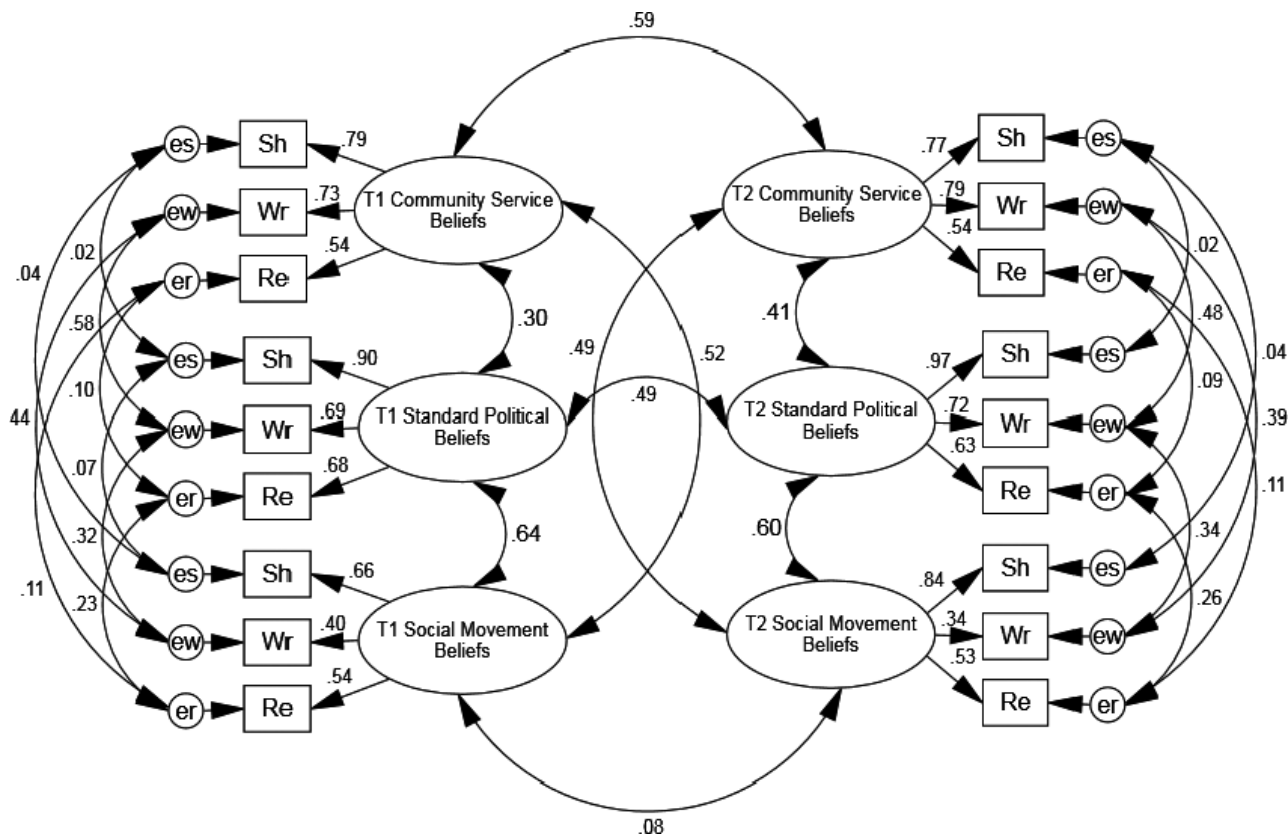


FIGURE 2 Measurement model for Wave 1 and Wave 2 civic beliefs ($n = 219$).
 Note. $\chi^2/df = 3.36$, comparative fit index (CFI) = .91, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .10.

loadings and covariances among the civic belief latent variables at Wave 1 and Wave 2 provided a marginally good fit to the data and is displayed in Figure 2 ($\chi^2/df = 3.36$, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .10). Metric and scalar invariance tests were used to examine whether factor loadings and intercepts differed across measurement wave. Analyses indicated that both the factor loadings ($\Delta CFI < .001$) and intercepts ($\Delta CFI = .003$) did not meaningfully vary across waves, which supported measurement invariance (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002).

Predicting activity involvement at Wave 2. A cross-lagged structural model was used to examine associations among civic belief latent variables at Wave 1 and organized and civic activity participation at Wave 2 including autoregressive paths for civic and organized activity involvement at Wave 1 (Table 4; $\chi^2/df = 2.38$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .08). All stability coefficients (autoregressive paths) linking civic and organized involvement to the same form of involvement at Wave 2 were positive and significant. Older teens had more positive civic beliefs about standard political involvement. Over and above the autoregressive coefficients and

demographic characteristics, more involvement in school/community activities at Wave 1 predicted greater involvement in volunteer activities at Wave 2. Greater religious involvement at Wave 1 predicted less social movement behavior at Wave 2. More positive beliefs about standard political activities at Wave 1 predicted more frequent involvement in standard political activities at Wave 2.

Predicting civic beliefs at Wave 2. A second cross-lagged structural model was used to examine associations among activity involvement at Wave 1 and civic beliefs at Wave 2 accounting for stability in civic beliefs (Table 5; $\chi^2/df = 2.23$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .08). All stability coefficients (autoregressive paths) linking civic beliefs to the same form of involvement at Wave 2 were positive and significant. Older adolescents had more positive civic beliefs about standard political activities. Over and above the stability associations, there were several cross-activity associations between youth civic beliefs at Wave 1 and their beliefs at Wave 2. More positive civic beliefs about community service and standard political activities at Wave 1 predicted more positive civic beliefs about social movement

TABLE 3
Standardized Estimates, Unstandardized Estimates, and Standard Errors for Cross-Sectional Structural Model (N = 703) With Civic and Organized Activity Involvement Predicting Civic Beliefs

	Community Service Beliefs			Standard Political Beliefs			Social Movement Beliefs		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Age	-.05	-.05	.04	.07	.07	.04	-.01	-.01	.04
Gender	.30***	.73	.10	.03	.07	.09	.15***	.35	.10
School	-.05	-.12	.09	.01	.04	.09	-.03	-.07	.10
Parents' education	-.03	-.04	.07	.12**	.19	.07	.00	.00	.07
Activity involvement									
Volunteering	.41***	.51	.06	-.03	-.04	.06	.12*	.14	.06
Standard political	.05	.07	.08	.46***	.74	.08	.18**	.27	.08
Social movement	-.04	-.07	.08	.09	.14	.08	.30***	.48	.09
Religious	.17***	.15	.04	.19***	.18	.04	.05	.05	.04
School/community	-.08	-.12	.07	.00	.00	.07	.00	.00	.08
R ²		.31			.35			.29	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; $p < .001$.

TABLE 4
Standardized Estimates, Unstandardized Estimates, and Standard Errors for Cross-Lagged Structural Model Predicting Wave 2 Civic and Organized Activity Involvement (n = 219)

	W2 Volunteering Behavior			W2 Standard Political Behavior			W2 Social Movement Behavior			W2 Religious Behavior			W2 School/Community Behavior		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Age	-.02	-.02	.05	.16**	.12	.04	.06	.04	.04	.03	.04	.07	.07	.05	.04
Gender	-.05	-.09	.11	-.01	-.02	.09	-.03	-.04	.08	-.10	.26	.14	-.06	-.10	.09
Parents' education	-.01	-.01	.08	.02	.02	.06	.09	.08	.05	-.05	-.09	.10	.04	.05	.06
School	.01	.01	.10	-.02	-.03	.08	.01	.01	.07	.02	.06	.13	.01	.02	.08
W1 civic beliefs															
Community service	.11	.10	.09	.10	.07	.07	-.09	-.05	.06	.15	.19	.11	.07	.06	.07
Standard political	-.11	-.10	.10	.29**	.21	.08	.11	.06	.07	.02	.02	.12	.06	.05	.07
Social movement	.03	.03	.12	-.12	-.09	.10	.04	.02	.08	-.08	-.10	.15	-.04	-.03	.09
W1 activity involvement															
Volunteering	.52**	.54	.07	.00	.00	.06	.09	.06	.05	-.03	-.04	.09	.07	.06	.06
Standard political	.07	.10	.10	.42**	.45	.08	.10	.09	.07	.01	.01	.13	-.06	-.07	.08
Social movement	-.10	-.15	.11	.11	.13	.09	.42**	.42	.08	-.02	-.05	.15	-.06	-.08	.09
Religious	-.03	-.02	.04	-.07	-.04	.03	-.13*	-.06	.03	.67**	.66	.05	.08	.05	.03
School/community	.17**	.19	.08	.06	.06	.07	.06	.04	.06	.09	.15	.11	.69**	.68	.06
R ²		.42			.44			.34			.51			.54	

Note. W1 = Wave 1; W2 = Wave 2. Gender coded 1 = male; 2 = female. School coded 1 = rural town; 2 = midsized city.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

activities at Wave 2. More positive civic beliefs about community service at Wave 1 predicted more positive civic beliefs about standard political activities at Wave 2. In contrast, more positive civic beliefs about social movement activities at Wave 1 predicted less positive civic beliefs about standard political activities at Wave 2. Similarly, greater engagement in standard political activities at Wave 1 predicted less positive civic beliefs about community service activities at Wave 2. Greater

involvement in school/community activities at Wave 1 predicted more positive civic beliefs about standard political activities at Wave 2. More involvement in volunteering at Wave 1 predicted less positive civic beliefs about standard political activities at Wave 2.

Sensitivity analyses. To test the robustness of our models, we reran the above models utilizing the full sample at both Wave 1 and Wave 2 and

TABLE 5
Standardized Estimates, Unstandardized Estimates, and Standard Errors for Cross-Lagged Structural Models Predicting Wave 2 Civic Beliefs ($n = 219$)

	W2 Community Service Beliefs			W2 Standard Political Beliefs			W2 Social Movement Beliefs		
	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Age	.04	.12	.14	.19**	.48	.14	.05	.09	.10
Gender	.09	.45	.31	-.05	-.26	.26	-.09	-.31	.23
Parents' education	.05	.18	.23	.03	.11	.19	.09	.20	.17
School	-.07	-.36	.30	-.01	-.03	.25	-.12	-.40	.22
W1 civic beliefs									
Community service	.92**	2.38	.61	.38**	.90	.26	.29*	.48	.18
Standard political	.19	.48	.29	.94**	2.49	.58	.28*	.46	.21
Social movement	-.10	-.27	.37	-.43**	-1.04	.39	.36*	.59	.28
W1 activity involvement									
Volunteering	-.06	-.18	.23	-.14*	-.38	.19	.05	.09	.15
Standard political	-.22*	-.81	.33	-.08	-.28	.28	-.07	-.16	.22
Social movement	.05	.23	.33	.05	.19	.29	.08	.22	.24
Religious	.04	.07	.12	-.06	-.11	.11	-.08	-.10	.09
School/community	.08	.28	.25	.18*	.55	.22	-.02	-.05	.17
R^2		.85			.83			.63	

Note. W1 = Wave 1; W2 = Wave 2. Gender coded 1 = male; 2 = female. School coded 1 = rural town; 2 = midsized city.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

utilized full information maximum likelihood estimation to account for missing data at both waves. The pattern of findings in both models was nearly identical to the reduced-sample models described above. Significant associations were perfectly replicated, although model fit was slightly reduced.

DISCUSSION

Political philosophers have long argued that democratic societies require an informed and involved populace (de Tocqueville, 1848/1969), leading researchers across disciplines to investigate the individual and contextual antecedents of adult civic participation (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). Much of this research has explored adolescence as a "training ground" for political and community engagement; research has consistently found that involvement in civic activities predicts adult involvement. However, less research has explored potential mechanisms which may explicate this association. Civic developmental researchers contend that civic engagement is a multifaceted construct entailing more than behavior but also including civic-relevant values, emotions, and cognitions (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Zaff et al., 2010). The current study explored the complex intersections between two important facets of youth civic engagement—civic beliefs and behaviors. Results replicated and extended previous

findings by demonstrating both cross-sectional and longitudinal domain-specific associations among adolescents' civic beliefs and behavior while also demonstrating potentially important cross-activity associations.

The initial cross-sectional model tested associations among civic beliefs and behaviors. Results were generally consistent with previous research and generally evidenced domain specificity, as adolescents' civic beliefs were robustly associated with similar types of behavior. That is, volunteering, standard political involvement, and social movement behaviors were associated with adolescents' civic beliefs (indicated by judgments of obligation and respect) concerning similar types of behaviors. Prior research has highlighted that youth distinguish between standard political (i.e., normative or mainstream engagement within the democratic political process) and social movement (i.e., political protests involve political activities aimed at changing or altering existing political systems, rules, or institutions) forms of participation within their civic judgments and justifications (Metzger & Ferris, 2013). Findings from this study extend prior research which combined measures of standard political and social movement involvement (Metzger & Smetana, 2009) by demonstrating that adolescents' civic beliefs and behaviors are more strongly associated within rather than across these forms of political behavior. These results contribute

to a body of evidence that suggests that standard political and social movement engagement may be connected to distinct developmental (Metzger & Ferris, 2013) and social-cognitive (Metzger et al., 2014) processes, and provide further evidence for distinguishing between these activities in future research.

In addition to replicating previous findings, a few additional significant associations were found in the cross-sectional model. Most notably, in the current study, youth engagement in religious activities was positively associated with civic beliefs concerning both community service and standard political involvement, and negatively associated with civic beliefs about social movement involvement. Previous research has found adolescent religiosity to be associated with increased volunteering (Bachman, Johnston, & O'Malley, 1993; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Youniss et al., 1997) and positive attitudes toward community service (Crystal & DeBell, 2002). Religious involvement is also thought to influence the development of one's political identity (Hardy, Pratt, Pancer, Olsen, & Lawford, 2011), and civic developmental theorists have argued that religious organizations may help to facilitate integration into adult activities including political involvement (Youniss et al., 2002). Thus, religious involvement may promote beliefs that political engagement is important and obligatory. Our findings that religious engagement was associated with adolescents' beliefs about standard political and social movement involvement in opposite directions lends further support for these being distinct types of political activities. This pattern potentially indicates that religiously involved youth have more favorable views of conventional or mainstream forms of involvement rather than forms of engagement aimed at social or political change. This explanation is furthered by the fact that religious involvement predicted reduced engagement in social movement activities 1 year later. Previous research has found that adolescent spirituality is associated with positive beliefs concerning standard political but not social movement involvement (Metzger et al., 2014), and religious attendance among adults is a consistently associated with increased voting behavior, a mainstream form of standard political involvement (Pew Research Center, 2006). However, religious affiliation has also been associated with engagement in social movements for some adults, especially protests over social and political issues believed to intersect directly with individual's religious beliefs (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001), and the Civil Rights

movement, an impactful and widespread example of social activism in the United States, was closely affiliated with religious organizations and beliefs (Harvey, 2016). Thus, future research should investigate potential heterogeneity among religious adolescents' political beliefs and behavior.

Although cross-sectional models support the belief that adolescents' civic beliefs are strongly linked with engagement in similar types of organized and civic activities, longitudinal analyses are needed to specify the sequential ordering of these associations. Results from this study indicated that there was a great deal of stability in adolescents' civic beliefs and behavior between the two measurement waves, and these sizable autoregressive effects accounted for a large amount of variance in Wave 2 outcomes. By itself, this is an interesting and important finding, as it hints at the possibility that adolescents' conceptualizations of different forms of civic involvement are fairly stable during adolescence. However, this substantial stability also could have been amplified by the relatively short period of time between waves (1 year). Previous research has found age differences in the mean levels of adolescent civic judgments between early, middle, and late adolescence (Metzger & Ferris, 2013). Potentially, a longer period of time between measurements would be necessary to identify greater rank order shifts in civic beliefs.

Nevertheless, multiple noteworthy and theoretically relevant cross-lagged effects emerged, pointing to important bidirectional associations between behaviors and beliefs across time. Adolescents' beliefs concerning standard political involvement at Wave 1 predicted greater engagement in standard political activities at Wave 2, indicating that adolescents who judged standard activities to be obligatory and worthy of social praise were more likely to pursue engagement in standard political activities a year later. Adolescents who prioritize political involvement may be more likely to seek out opportunities for political participation at their schools and in their communities. This finding provides potential evidence that adolescents' civic beliefs may constitute an important developmental antecedent of later political behavior (Metzger & Smetana, 2010). Adolescents' appraisals of political action as important and obligatory may carry forward and motivate political engagement in adulthood.

Longitudinal models also indicate that adolescents' civic experiences may lead to changes in the ways youth conceptualize civic engagement. However, rather than simply strengthening their beliefs concerning the types of civic engagement in which

they were engaged, the current study hints at the possibility that civic experiences in one domain may actually reduce adolescents' civic beliefs concerning other forms of civic involvement. Adolescents' engagement in standard political activities at Wave 1 predicted less positive civic beliefs about community service one year later, and, similarly, adolescents' engagement in volunteering activities at Wave 1 predicted less positive civic beliefs about standard political activities 1 year later. This distinction is consistent with social philosophers who have pointed to clear conceptual differences between political action in a democracy and the "helping" associated with community service (Walker, 2000). Walker (2000, 2002) argues that various political movements in America's history have sometimes recommended local community service as an alternative to active political involvement. Additionally, Walker (2002) points out how national survey data (The New Millennium Project) show no statistical relationship between volunteering and voting, which is "the most basic measure of political participation." Walker cautions that the education system's current focus on service learning has shifted attention away from facilitating political participation. Volunteering and political activities provide adolescents with distinct social experiences, but also entail different approaches to addressing social problems. Volunteering activities generally involve directly helping others or addressing community issues whereas school and community political activities involve solving problems through political process and planning. Volunteering may increase adolescents' appreciation for more direct or "hands-on" approaches to helping others, which may, over time, work to reduce the importance they place on political approaches. Volunteering opportunities also often supply youth with more immediate feedback and the opportunity to see the benefits of their efforts, which may also reduce the value they see in political action, where the effects may take a while to materialize. Similarly, political involvement may increase adolescents' awareness of the importance of collective political action to solve larger scale problems. Potentially, adolescents' understanding of the macrolevel social causes of individual problems may reduce their moral and social prioritization of community service, which these youth may view as having minimal impact on larger scale political and social problems.

The only behavior that was positively associated with civic beliefs at Wave 2 after controlling for Wave 1 civic beliefs was adolescents' school and

community club involvement, which predicted greater civic beliefs concerning standard political activities. Engagement in both school and community organized activities has been consistently linked to voting and other forms of conventional prosocial behavior in adulthood (Gardner, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008). Although not explicitly political in orientation, school and community clubs entail conventional forms of engagement comprised of youth focused on achieving a shared goal. School clubs are also organized and supervised within the school, which itself is a conventional institution. Experiences working with peers within a structured activity may strengthen adolescents' beliefs about the importance of collective efficacy, which in turn increases the importance youth place in standard, conventional forms of political behavior. Civic developmental theorists have argued that participation in school and community organizations leads youth to align their beliefs with those of the group (Flanagan, 2004).

The current findings also have relevance for developmental and social-cognitive development theories, more generally. Historically, research has found few links between sociomoral reasoning and behavior. However, much earlier research was conducted from a Kohlbergian moral development framework. Turiel and Smetana (1984) stressed that analyzing this relationship cannot be reduced to an examination of simple correlations between level of moral reasoning (e.g., Kohlbergian stage) and behaviors. Instead, researchers must pay attention to how individuals coordinate their judgments of complex issues, which may involve the interpretation of multifaceted situational contexts entailing multiple domains (Smetana, 2006). In the current study, adolescents' beliefs were assessed as a set of judgments concerning distinct types of civic behavior rather, and these beliefs were associated in domain-specific ways to the types of civic and community behaviors in which youth were engaged. This study provides further evidence for the intersection between sociomoral reasoning and behavior and highlights the importance of considering specificity when investigating such links.

Finally, while a central goal of the current study was to explore associations among adolescents' civic beliefs and behavior, it is also important to note that longitudinal models pointed to potentially important associations between different organized activities across time and between different civic beliefs across time. As noted above, religious activity predicted decreased engagement in social movement activities at Wave 2, which

potentially means that religious involvement reduces adolescents' desire to seek out forms of political activity aimed at changing the status quo. In addition, school and community club involvement predicted greater volunteering behavior at Wave 2, which is consistent with previous research that has found that extracurricular involvement predicted future volunteering (Zaff, Moore, Romano Papillo, & Williams, 2003). We also found several longitudinal associations among adolescents' civic beliefs. Although adolescents distinguish between different forms of civic involvement in their civic judgments (Metzger & Ferris, 2013), all forms of civic involvement share a common focus on prosocial contribution (Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvertsen, 2016; Youniss et al., 2002). However, it is also important to note that youth civic beliefs about social movement involvement at Wave 1 predicted reduced civic beliefs concerning standard political involvement at Wave 2, which further indicates that adolescents differentially conceptualize these two forms of involvement.

Limitations and Future Directions

Results from this study must be interpreted in light of certain limitations. Although the ethnic and racial makeup of the current sample was representative of the communities from which it was drawn, youth primarily identified as Caucasian/White. Previous research suggests that youth in more underrepresented ethnic groups, such as African Americans or Hispanic adolescents, may hold different conceptualizations about what it means to be an engaged citizen and have more limited access to civic and organized activity involvement opportunities (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). Future research should investigate such possibilities utilizing a more ethnically and racially diverse sample. Given the open-enrollment study design, many youth who participated in Wave 1 did not participate in Wave 2, although multiple post hoc analyses indicated that the longitudinal sample did not differ significantly from the sample at either measurement wave. An additional problem with this study's smaller sample is that we were unable to test a full cross-lagged model which included all behaviors and beliefs at both time points in a single model with sufficient power. However, our alternative approach, while less parsimonious, was still able to examine change in both beliefs and behavior controlling for Wave 1 scores. Autoregressive effect coefficients linking Wave 1 and Wave 2 civic beliefs were highly significant, reducing the amounts of

variance in Wave 2 civic beliefs. Thus, some findings, particularly the negative associations found between behaviors and beliefs, may have been influenced by this reduced variance. Future research should utilize additional measurement waves to test the stability of these patterns across time. Moreover, sensitivity analyses, which included all youth at both measurement waves, replicated findings in the reduced-sample models, further bolstering our confidence in the current study's findings.

Furthermore, self-report measures are subject to socially desirable reporting, and participants may have overestimated their involvement in civic and organized activities. The internal consistency of the standard political activity involvement scale was not as strong (α s = .44 and .48). These low alphas could have been driven by their low item count or the fact that participation in these activities was lower compared to other civic and organized activities. Alternatively, it is possible that youth are more likely to actively engage in only one type of political activity at a time, so political participation may be better measured as a nominal or count variable. Regardless, future researchers should develop additional items assessing adolescents' standard political involvement through cognitive interview procedures and include such items in subsequent data collections. Future research may also want to consider alternative analytic approaches such as examining person-centered profiles of youth involvement across different activities (Bartko & Eccles, 2003). Finally, the current study focused on associations between civic beliefs (sociomoral judgments of obligation and respect) and civic behavior. Future research should also consider the role of broader sociopolitical values such as social dominance orientation and authoritarianism, which have been found to be associated with both adolescents' civic activity and civic beliefs (Metzger et al., 2014; Oosterhoff et al., 2014, 2017).

The current study highlights the multidimensional nature of civic engagement, emphasizing the intersection of social-cognitive and behavioral components of civic engagement, and illustrates how civic involvement and conceptualizations of different forms of civic involvement intersect across time. Findings also have multiple applications for youth civic development and education programs. Civic education programs should stress the importance of civic participation, especially political engagement, as youth beliefs concerning the importance of political participation may motivate youth to seek out opportunities for political

engagement. On the other hand, youth workers who supervise and mentor adolescents engaged in volunteering or political activities should be careful about how such involvement is framed within discussions with adolescence. Findings from the current study indicate that, over time, youth engaged in volunteering or political behaviors may begin to view the alternative form of participation as less obligatory and worthy of social praise. To combat this, adults supervising adolescent community service efforts may want to also highlight political solutions to community problems (Walker, 2002), or youth political activities could include information about the importance of community service. Potentially, such steps would encourage youth to become engaged across multiple civic behaviors rather than just a single form of civic participation.

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