



Young People's Views of Government, Peaceful Coexistence, and Diversity in Five Latin American Countries

IEA International Civic and
Citizenship Education Study
2016 Latin American Report

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The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), with headquarters in Amsterdam, is an independent, international cooperative of national research institutions and governmental research agencies. It conducts large-scale comparative studies of educational achievement and other aspects of education, with the aim of gaining in-depth understanding of the effects of policies and practices within and across systems of education.

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Foreword

High-quality, large-scale comparative studies of education systems across the world enable better understanding of the policies and practices that foster educational progress. These studies also play a critical role in helping nations build their own knowledge and research capacity. For over 60 years, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has conducted research studies such as these with the aim of improving learning for all. In this context, the long-standing and successful work with our members and other countries in Latin America is at the heart of this report.

Educational research should focus on more than students' ability in relation to foundational skills such as mathematics, science, and reading literacy. Civic and citizenship education has an equally important part to play in preparing our children for life after school and societies in the second decade of the 21st century. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) and its predecessors demonstrate the IEA's ongoing commitment to research focused on holistic goals of education.

ICCS 2016 is the fourth IEA study to investigate the ways in which education systems not only prepare young people to undertake their current and future roles as citizens but also help them prosper in a world that requires an open and culture-oriented approach, a moral orientation emphasizing human rights, and a focus on social justice and active political participation. ICCS 2016 provides data, evidence, and research on students' knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship in 24 countries. It also includes measures of persisting aspects of civic and citizenship, examines differences in relation to these aspects among and within countries, and provides statistical links that ensure a sound basis for comparing the findings of ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016.

As in the 2009 cycle of ICCS, the countries that participated in ICCS 2016 supplemented the already comprehensive core study with two regional student questionnaire components, one for countries in Europe and the other for countries in Latin America, the focus of this self-standing report. The Latin American questionnaire, designed to measure civic and citizenship education-related aspects of specific relevance in this region, was completed by about 25,000 students in Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru. The first four of these countries also participated in ICCS 2009, which means this report includes comparisons of the data collected in them during ICCS 2009 and 2016. The 2016 cycle of ICCS was the first time Peru participated in ICCS.

Referencing also test, background, and contextual data from the international core instruments, this report focuses on contexts for civic and citizenship education, students' perceptions of public institutions and government, students' views of peaceful coexistence, and students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity. The topics covered in the regional component are generally like those covered in 2009 and therefore allow for comparisons over time for the four countries that participated in both cycles. I additionally recommend that readers consult the main ICCS 2016 international report for a comprehensive and critical analysis of the study's findings across the full set of countries. The soon-to-be-published ICCS 2016 technical report along with a Latin American supplement to the international public-use database and an already published user guide will enable the research community to use the regional data and conduct in-depth analyses.

Viewed from a global perspective, the main results from ICCS 2016, which were released in late 2017, as well as this additional report of findings make an important and timely contribution to discussions about civic and citizenship education. The need to prepare young people in an appropriate way for citizenship has received increased attention across many Latin American countries in recent decades. This young and vibrant subcontinent is undergoing significant societal challenges. The past two decades have seen a resurgence of more authoritarian forms of government along with low levels of trust in government and a relatively low level of commitment

to democracy. Societal inequalities, persistent poverty, and very high levels of violence, crime, and corruption remain significant issues.

The issues explored in ICCS 2016 offer unique insights into young people's civic attitudes and generate policy-relevant results for national governments. As Professor Cristián Cox, a researcher in the field from Diego Portales University and a valued project advisor to ICCS, emphasizes:

The ICCS framework offers arguably the richest and most consistent definitions of a democratic society in today's world as well as their educational and cultural prerequisites. Latin America is a region with high aspirational democratic values, but in reality has weak civic institutions and poor political practice. In this context, ICCS has huge relevance and value, that of setting the basis for the best and better-shared definitions of what contemporary civic and citizenship education is and should be.

I am convinced that the reliable and comparable evidence and data provided by the ICCS series of studies will enable countries to evaluate the strengths of their educational policies and to measure progress toward achieving national, regional, and international goals. Building on the success of the 2009 and 2016 studies, the IEA will conduct the next cycle of ICCS in 2022, recognizing once again that civic and citizenship education is a "moving target" that needs to respond to changes in national, regional, and international contexts. Global citizenship education (GCE) and education for sustainable development (ESD) are expected to play a significant role in the new study and thereby further support the international education agenda, especially aspects related to Target 4.7 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The IEA expects that a regional addition for Latin America will once more be developed for ICCS 2022.

For ICCS 2016, the IEA drew on its established international network of research organizations, scholars, and technical experts. Two partner organizations, in cooperation with the IEA and the study's national research coordinators (NRCs), organized and implemented the study. They were the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), which was the lead organization responsible for this report, and the Laboratorio di Pedagogia Sperimentale (LPS) at the Roma Tre University in Italy. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the research teams for their intellect and dedication that made this report a reality, namely, Wolfram Schulz, John Ainley, and Tim Friedman from ACER, as well as Cristián Cox from the University Diego Portales in Santiago. Extended thanks go to the larger ICCS research team for their analytical work, critical review, and overall support during the drafting stage: Bruno Losito from LPS, Gabriella Agrusti from the LUMSA University in Rome, and Julian Fraillon and Eveline Gebhardt from ACER.

My special thanks go to the members of the study's project advisory committee (PAC) for their thoughtful and scholarly guidance during the main study's development and reporting: specifically, Erik Amnå (Örebro University, Sweden), Cristián Cox (University Diego Portales, Chile), Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz (IEA honorary member, the Netherlands), Judith Torney-Purta (University of Maryland, the United States), and Wiel Veugelers (University of Humanistic Studies, the Netherlands). I am also grateful for the expert advice provided by the ICCS 2016 sampling referee, Marc Joncas, and Christian Monseur (University of Liège, Belgium), who undertook a technical review of scaling and reporting procedures.

My sincere thanks are also due to the key research, operations, and management staff at the IEA—Falk Brese, Roel Burgers, Christine Busch, Ralph Carstens, Juliane Kobelt, Hannah Köhler, Paulína Koršňáková, Marta Kostek, Andrea Netten, Gabriela Noveanu, and Sabine Weber—for their tireless leadership, commitment, and attention to detail. The IEA publications and editorial committee (PEC) provided critical feedback and suggested improvements to draft versions of this report. I thank Seamus Hegarty on behalf of the group, as well as Paula Wagemaker and Gillian Wilson for editing this report and managing its timely production.

As is the case with all IEA studies, ICCS 2016 has depended on the critical engagement, perseverance, and enthusiasm of the national research coordinators and their teams. Five countries participated in the Latin American option and contributed to this development and review of this report. They are the foundation of and our guides in all IEA endeavors.

Core funding for the international and regional studies was provided by the 24 countries and education systems that participated in ICCS 2016.

Finally, all of us owe our deepest gratitude to the many thousands of students, teachers, and school principals for their willingness, time, and efforts in providing the information that underpins this Latin American report. Without them, this study would not have been possible. We look forward to the many publications, research papers, and conference contributions inspired by the data from this important study.

Dirk Hastedt

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, IEA

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	v
<i>List of tables and figures</i>	xi
Executive summary	xiii
Contexts for civic and citizenship education in the five Latin American countries	xiii
Students' perceptions of public institutions and government	xiv
Students' views on peaceful coexistence	xiv
Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity	xv
Implications	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction and background	1
Background	1
Conceptual framework and research questions	2
Data collection and instruments	3
Participating countries, population, sample design, and data collection	4
Overview of the ICCS 2016 Latin American report	6
References	7
Chapter 2: Contexts for civic and citizenship education	9
Chapter highlights	9
Education systems and national contexts	12
Historical and political background of civic and citizenship education in each country	16
Profiles of civic and citizenship curricula	18
Approaches to civic and citizenship education	20
Discussion of differences and similarities	23
References	24
Chapter 3: Students' perceptions of public institutions and government	27
Chapter highlights	27
Students' justification of dictatorship and endorsement of authoritarian government practices	28
Students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government	31
Students' trust in institutions	34
References	38
Chapter 4: Students' views on peaceful coexistence	39
Chapter highlights	39
Students' attitudes toward the use of violence	40
Students' endorsement of disobedience to the law	45
Students' sense of empathy	46
References	51
Chapter 5: Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity	53
Chapter highlights	53
Students' acceptance of social minorities	54
Students' attitudes toward homosexuality	55
Students' perceptions of discrimination in society	59
References	61
Chapter 6: Discussion of results and implications for research, policy, and practice	63
Summary of findings	63
Implications for research, policy, and practice	65
Outlook	67
References	67

Appendices

Appendix A: Sampling information and participation rates	69
Appendix B: Student percentages for dichotomous variables	71
Appendix C: Item maps	72
Appendix D: Organizations and individuals involved in ICCS 2016	82

List of tables and figures

Table 2.1:	Selected demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries	14
Table 2.2:	Selected political characteristics of the Latin American ICCS 2016 countries	14
Table 2.3:	Selected educational characteristics of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries	15
Table 2.4:	Civic knowledge and reading results for the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries	16
Table 2.5:	Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curricula for lower-secondary education in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries	21
Table 3.1:	Students' perceptions of the benefits of dictatorships in 2016 and 2009	29
Table 3.2:	Students' perceptions of the benefits of dictatorships by levels of civic knowledge	30
Table 3.3:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices	31
Table 3.4:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices by school location, expected education, and level of civic knowledge	32
Table 3.5:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government	34
Table 3.6:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government by school location, expected education, and level of civic knowledge	35
Table 3.7:	Students' trust in selected institutions in 2016 and 2009	37
Table 3.8:	Students' trust in selected institutions by levels of civic knowledge	37
Table 4.1:	National percentages of students' agreement with statements about peace and violence	42
Table 4.2:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of the use of violence	43
Table 4.3:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of the use of violence by gender, expected education, and level of civic knowledge	44
Table 4.4:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of disobedience to the law	46
Table 4.5:	National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of disobedience to the law by gender, parental education, and level of civic knowledge	47
Table 4.6:	National percentages indicating students' sense of empathy	48
Table 4.7:	National average scale scores indicating students' sense of empathy with classmates by gender, expected education, and level of civic knowledge	50
Table 5.1:	National percentages and average scale scores indicating students' acceptance of neighborhood diversity	56
Table 5.2:	National average scale scores indicating students' attitudes toward neighborhood diversity by gender, school location, and level of civic knowledge	56
Table 5.3:	National percentages and scale scores indicating students' attitudes toward homosexuality	58

Table 5.4:	National average scale scores indicating students' acceptance of homosexuality by gender, school location, and level of civic knowledge	58
Table 5.5:	Students' perceptions of discrimination against social groups in their country	60
Table A.1:	Coverage of ICCS 2016 target population	69
Table A.2:	Participation rates and sample sizes for student survey	70
Table B.1:	Percentages of students in categories for dichotomous variables used in report	71
Figures		
Figure 1.1:	Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2016	5
Figure C.1:	Example of questionnaire item map	73
Figure 3.1:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices	74
Figure 3.2:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government	75
Figure 4.1:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of the use of violence	76
Figure 4.2:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of disobedience to the law	77
Figure 4.3:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' sense of empathy with classmates	78
Figure 5.1:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' acceptance of social minorities as neighbors	79
Figure 5.2:	Item map for the scale reflecting students' acceptance of homosexuality	80

Executive summary

ICCS 2016 included, in addition to the core international survey instruments, regional instruments for countries from the European and Latin American regions. This report focuses on the five countries that participated in the study's Latin American regional survey and administered its corresponding regional student questionnaire. The report is based on regional student questionnaire data as well as on data from the international student and school instruments.

ICCS 2016 was the second cycle of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). ICCS studies the ways in which education systems from around the world prepare young people to undertake their roles as citizens in society. In Latin America, this area of learning is set within particular challenges and contexts. Compared to established Western democracies, most countries in this region returned to democratic rule only three or four decades ago or even more recently, and their political, social, and economic stability continues to be called into question. Surveys have consistently found that commitment to democracy among adults in this region is not well established, a situation that makes education for citizenship an important element in efforts to establish democratic sustainability.

The results reported in this publication are based on data gathered from random samples of about 25,000 students in their eighth year of schooling in almost 900 schools from five Latin American countries. Four of these countries (Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico) participated in ICCS 2009, thereby providing data for comparison across the two cycles. ICCS 2016 was the first time Peru participated in ICCS.

This regional report is based on data relating to the following four region-specific topics:

- National contexts for civic and citizenship education in the Latin American region;
- Students' perceptions of public institutions and government;
- Students' views on peaceful coexistence; and
- Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity.

Contexts for civic and citizenship education in the five Latin American countries

The five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries differ in important ways, among them population size, economic strength, and human development. The countries also differ in terms of their political contexts, as reflected in voter turnout, female representation in parliament, and support for democracy. While adult literacy rates are relatively high in all five countries, there are notable differences in the provision and outcomes of education. Considerable variation is also evident in civic knowledge among students in the ICCS target grade (8), and likewise in students' reading abilities at the end of primary school.

Efforts to strengthen civic culture have increased in the five countries over recent decades. While all five countries place strong emphasis on civic and citizenship education, their provision of this learning area in national curricula differs. Human rights, equal opportunities for men and women, citizens' rights and responsibilities, critical and independent thinking, and conflict resolution are included in all national curricula. All five countries also specify learning objectives such as "knowing basic civic and citizenship facts" and "understanding key civic and citizenship concepts." However, some important topics relating to educating young people about formal political participation, such as voting and elections, are not included in the curricula of all five countries. In addition, the countries differ in the ways in which they include civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, in their specification of the amount of time given to this area of education, and how they assess its learning outcomes.

Civic and citizenship education is taught as a specific subject in three of the countries and is implemented as a learning area integrated into several subjects in the other two. Some countries specify the amount of instructional time to be spent on civic and citizenship education whereas others do not. While the five countries all expect students in Grade 8 to be formally assessed with regard to learning outcomes of civic and citizenship education, these assessments can take different forms, such as classroom assessments (Peru), written tests (Chile), standardized examinations (Colombia), and projects, oral presentations, and research reports (Dominican Republic).

Students' perceptions of public institutions and government

Most of the lower-secondary students in the participating ICCS 2016 Latin American countries supported justifications for dictatorships. About two thirds of the surveyed students on average agreed that dictatorial rule may be justified when it brings order and safety or economic benefits. Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely to agree with justifications for dictatorship. Students' support for authoritarian government practices also varied across the five countries, but we observed a decrease in support for authoritarian government practices since 2009 in only one country. Students enrolled at urban schools, students who expected to study for a university degree, and students who had higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely than their peers to support authoritarian government practices.

While students from the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries tended not to agree with corrupt practices, there was some variation across countries in the extent of that acceptance. Of the four countries that participated in both ICCS cycles, one recorded a slight decrease in acceptance of corrupt practices since 2009 while two others recorded increases in acceptance. Students who studied at urban schools, students who expected to study for a university degree, and students who had higher levels of civic knowledge were those less likely to support corrupt practices in government.

Between 2009 and 2016, schools remained trusted institutions among students in the Latin American region. Chile and Colombia recorded a general decline in trust in civic institutions, while students from the Dominican Republic expressed somewhat higher levels of trust. Students with lower levels of civic knowledge expressed greater trust in government and political parties than did their peers with higher levels of civic knowledge. However, this pattern did not hold for trust in schools or the armed forces. These findings suggest that students who know more about how institutions work may reflect on the shortcomings of these institutions and so have lower levels of confidence in them.

Students' views on peaceful coexistence

Across the five Latin American countries, most students agreed with the statement that "Peace is only achieved through dialogue and negotiation." However, a substantial proportion also endorsed the statement that "Hitting is a justified punishment when someone commits a crime against my family." Majorities of students in four of the five countries supported the notion that using violent means outside the law to punish criminals is acceptable in certain circumstances. Most students tended not to endorse positive statements about the use of violence, and in three out of four countries (Colombia especially) the level of acceptance significantly decreased between 2009 and 2016. The lowest levels of endorsement of the use of violence were found among females, students who expected to study for a university degree, and students with the higher levels of civic knowledge.

When students were asked about their agreement with justifications for breaking the law, majorities of them supported some of these justifications (such as finding it the only way to help one's family or not doing it with bad intentions). We also observed considerable differences on this measure

across countries, with students in Chile and Colombia less inclined to agree with justifications. Again, civic knowledge was negatively associated with endorsement of justifying disobedience to the law, as was female gender and students' expectations of attaining a university degree.

ICCS 2016 also investigated the extent to which students empathized with classmates. Most students indicated that they would feel bothered when classmates found themselves in difficult situations, such as being unfairly punished or victimized by others. Female students and students with higher levels of civic knowledge tended to express higher levels of empathy.

Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity

More than four out of five students across the participating countries expressed acceptance of neighbors from different social minorities. However, we recorded differences in the proportions of students who said they would not be bothered by neighborhood diversity. Students in Chile and Colombia showed relatively higher levels of acceptance of neighborhood diversity, while students from the Dominican Republic and Peru expressed lower levels. Female students, students at schools in urban areas, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge were more likely than the other students to accept members of minority groups living next door.

Students across the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries showed positive attitudes toward people with a homosexual orientation. However, we also found notable differences across countries, with students in the Dominican Republic and Peru expressing less positive attitudes and students from Chile and Mexico more positive attitudes. In Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, we recorded higher levels of acceptance of same-sex marriage in 2016 than in ICCS 2009. Support for equal opportunities and rights for homosexual people were more prevalent among female students, students studying at schools in urban areas, and young people with higher levels of civic knowledge.

When asked about discrimination against different social groups in their respective countries, students perceived relatively low levels of discrimination against young people, unemployed persons, and older people. High percentages of students perceived discrimination against homosexual persons, however.

Implications

Students' attitudes toward authoritarian government practices, corruption, and disobedience to the law, as reported in ICCS 2016, appear to be similar to the attitudes recorded in surveys among adult citizens in this region. Commitment to democratic principles was limited among the young people surveyed during ICCS 2016, and their respect for the rule of law was often conditional, especially in terms of safeguarding family interests. Although majorities of students rejected authoritarian government practices, high proportions of them saw safeguarding economic interests or ensuring law and order through dictatorial rule as acceptable. The results from ICCS 2016 emphasize a concurring low level of democratic and pro-social orientations among young people in these Latin American countries, and thus suggest the need for a further strengthening of civic and citizenship education in general.

We found a strong association between these attitudes and students' civic knowledge. Students with high levels of civic knowledge tended to be much less inclined than their less knowledgeable peers to agree with justifications for dictatorship or law-breaking, or to endorse the use of authoritarian government practices, corruption in public services, and use of violence. This finding provides a strong case for improving students' civic learning and acquisition of civic knowledge and understanding, with the prospect of developing more democratic orientations and higher levels of acceptance of the rule of law.

Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less inclined to express trust in the government or political parties. This negative association may be because knowing more about civic institutions leads to insights into problems with how these political institutions work. In addition, the fact that trust in schools was higher among more knowledgeable students indicates that having more civic knowledge does not necessarily translate into lower levels of trust. These findings support the notion that having more information and knowledge about how political systems and institutions in Latin America work may result in more critical views of those systems and institutions. In the long term, providing young people with a better understanding of civic issues has the potential to provide a better foundation for discussions about political reform among future generations.



CHAPTER 1:

Introduction and background

This report describes results from the second cycle of the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2016) for the five countries in the Latin American region that participated in the study. It focuses on aspects of particular relevance for this geographic region and should be read within the broader context of other publications related to ICCS 2016 (Losito, Agrusti, Damiani, & Schulz, 2018; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016; Schulz et al., 2018).

ICCS was designed to investigate how lower-secondary students in their eighth year of schooling across a wide range of countries are prepared for their roles as adult citizens. As part of this study, data were collected on students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement. The study measured not only factors related to students' home and peer contexts and school and classroom environments but also factors related to wider community contexts and the education system. Information regarding these contextual factors aids interpretations of variations in civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement and enables analyses of factors associated with those variations.

Most of the results presented in this report are based on data collected using a student questionnaire specific to the Latin American region, supplemented by data from the ICCS 2016 international instruments (a student test, student and school questionnaires, and a national contexts survey). The report considers contexts for civic and citizenship education in the region, students' perceptions of public institutions and government, students' views of peaceful coexistence, and students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity.

Background

ICCS 2016 is the second cycle of the ICCS program of studies (the first took place in 2009). ICCS built on previous IEA studies of civic and citizenship education, in particular the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001), and it responds to continuing and new challenges to this area of learning in changing contexts of democracy and civic participation (Schulz et al., 2016; Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008). The first ICCS cycle in 2009 had explicit links to CIVED 1999 but also provided a broadened scope by emphasizing aspects related to recent changes in the provision of education for citizenship.

In Latin America, Chile and Colombia participated in the CIVED study in 1999 and the results of that study had a considerable influence on the content and nature of national standards and curricula in those two countries (Reimers, 2007). ICCS 2009 was implemented in six countries of this region (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay). The data collection included administration of a regional instrument consisting of a smaller set of test items designed to capture region-specific aspects of civic knowledge. This instrument also contained questionnaire items measuring students' attitudes toward government practices as well as violence and diversity, and students' perceptions of school contexts (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011).

After a period in which military regimes ruled most Latin American countries, much of the region returned, from the early 1980s on, to more democratic forms of government (Hagopian & Mainwaring, 2005), a process that Huntington (1991) called the "third wave" of democratization. The past two decades, however, have seen the resurgence of more authoritarian forms of government, a situation which suggests that instead of the region experiencing further stabilization of democratic processes, wider recognition of human rights, and a strengthening of the rule of law, it is now (as is the wider global context) facing a "democratic recession" (Diamond, 2015).

Recent opinion surveys have also highlighted a widespread lack of commitment to democratic processes across Latin American countries (Latinobarómetro, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2017).

While most adult respondents generally supported democratic government in principle, the results have also shown very low levels of trust in government in the region, widespread dissatisfaction with the functioning of the respective political systems, relatively high levels of willingness to consider non-democratic alternatives, and low levels of commitment to democracy. Surveys have also shown that commitment to democracy is associated with level of educational attainment, with better educated adults tending to be more supportive of democracy and less inclined to endorse authoritarian government practices (Pew Research Center, 2017; Valenzuela, Schwartzman, Biehl, & Valenzuela, 2008).

Issues additional to the reappearance of authoritarian forms of government are also having strong implications for democratic citizenship in the region. These include persistent poverty and inequality, increases in crime and violence, and ongoing corruption and clientelism (Cox, Bascope, Castillo, Miranda, & Bonhomme, 2014; García-Cabrero, Sandoval-Hernández, Treviño-Villareal, Diazgranados Ferrás, & Pérez Martínez, 2017; Reimers, 2007). Despite growing recognition that education provides a way of overcoming poverty and strengthening democracy in Latin America (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1992), and despite the considerable increases in students' attainment of primary and secondary education across countries in the region, inequality in general remains a significant issue throughout this part of the world (Cox, 2010).

The need to provide young people with civic and citizenship education has received particular attention across many Latin American countries (Ainley, Schulz, & Friedman, 2013; Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005; Reimers & Villegas-Reimers, 2005). The funds that the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) provided for the regional initiative SREDECC enabled production of publications about curricular context and educational practice in this learning area (Cox, 2010; Magendzo Kolstrein & Arias Albañil, 2015) and contributed to the participation of six Latin American countries in ICCS 2009. Findings from that study revealed strong associations between the participating countries' historical and cultural contexts and civic and citizenship education learning outcomes. Also, even though ICCS 2009 highlighted differences in the countries' curricular contexts, the study showed that these countries were emphasizing the importance of student participation at school (Ainley et al., 2013; Colombian National Ministry of Education, 2006; Cueto, 2009; Guadalupe, 2015; Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2013; Schulz et al., 2011).

Conceptual framework and research questions

The ICCS 2016 assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2016) contained the following five general research questions:

1. How is civic and citizenship education implemented in participating countries?
2. What is the extent of and variation in students' civic knowledge within and across participating countries?
3. What is the extent of students' engagement in different spheres of society, and which factors within or across countries are related to it?
4. What beliefs do students in participating countries hold regarding important civic issues in modern society and what are the factors influencing variation in those beliefs?
5. How are schools in the participating countries organized with regard to civic and citizenship education, and to what extent is organization of this learning area associated with students' learning outcomes?

This report focuses mainly on Research Questions 1 (implementation of civic and citizenship education) and 4 (students' beliefs regarding important civic issues) and draws on data from the regional Latin American student questionnaire supplemented by information collected through the international student test of civic knowledge and the international student and school questionnaires.

With regard to learning outcomes, the ICCS 2016 assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2016) specified three different dimensions of civics and citizenship:

- The *content dimension* describes the subject matter to be assessed as learning outcomes (with regard to both affective-behavioral and cognitive aspects). It encompasses the following framework domains:
 - *civic society and systems* (concerning citizens, state institutions, and civic institutions);
 - *civic principles* (concerning equity, freedom, sense of community, and rule of law);
 - *civic participation* (concerning decision-making, influencing, and community participation); and
 - *civic identities* (concerning civic self-image and civic connectedness).
- The *cognitive dimension*, as measured by the student test of civic knowledge, describes the thinking processes to be assessed. These are:
 - *knowing* (the learned information used during engagement with more complex tasks); and
 - *reasoning and applying* (use of information to reach conclusions that extend beyond the understanding of single concepts).
- The *affective-behavioral dimension* outlines the following types of student perceptions and activities, as measured by the student questionnaire:
 - *attitudes* (judgments or evaluations regarding ideas, persons, objects, events, situations, and/or relationships); and
 - *engagement* (students' civic engagement, students' expectations of future civic-related action, and students' dispositions to actively engage in society).

The ICCS 2016 contextual framework viewed cognitive and affective-behavioral learning outcomes as influenced by antecedent (relating to the historical background) variables and process-related (contemporaneous) variables. These variables can be located at different levels of context, ranging from individuals, home and peer environments, and schools and classrooms through to the wider community, encompassing local neighborhoods, national and supra-national levels, and global levels. The framework regards antecedent variables as exogenous explanatory variables and recognizes that process-related variables may have a reciprocal relationship with learning outcomes.¹

The region-specific aspects measured in the Latin American regional student questionnaire were originally developed for ICCS 2009 in accordance with a regional framework that was linked to the ICCS 2009 assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008). The ICCS 2016 framework (Schulz et al., 2016), however, described the constructs to be measured with the regional instrument.

Data collection and instruments

The ICCS 2016 main survey data collection took place between October 2015 and June 2016. In countries with a Southern Hemisphere school calendar (in the Latin American region, Chile, Peru, and parts of Colombia), the survey took place between October and December 2015. In those countries with a Northern Hemisphere school calendar (the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and parts of Colombia), the survey took place between February and June 2016.

The ICCS 2016 survey used the following instruments:

- *The international student cognitive test*: This instrument consisted of 88 items measuring civic and citizenship knowledge, analysis, and reasoning. These items were assigned to eight booklets (each of which contained three of a total eight 11-item clusters) according to a balanced rotated design. Each student completed one of the 45-minute booklets.

¹ For example, students with higher levels of civic knowledge may be more likely to participate in activities promoting learning about civics and citizenship.

- *The international student questionnaire*: This instrument took between 30 and 40 minutes to complete and was used to obtain students' perceptions about civics and citizenship as well as information about each student's background.
- *The teacher questionnaire*: This instrument, which took about 30 minutes to complete, asked respondents about their perceptions of civic and citizenship education in their schools. It also collected information about the organization and culture of their respective schools as well as their own teaching assignments and backgrounds.
- *The school questionnaire*: This instrument, which also took about 30 minutes to complete, asked school principals to provide information about school characteristics, school culture and climate, and the provision of civic and citizenship education in the school.
- *National contexts survey*: This online survey, conducted in each of the participating countries, collected information from national experts (individuals with expertise in civic and citizenship education) about the structure of the education system, civic and citizenship education in the national curricula, and recent developments in civic and citizenship education. ICCS 2016 national research coordinators (NRCs) were responsible for compiling and synthesizing this information.

The ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire included questions measuring aspects very similar to those included in the regional instrument developed for ICCS 2009. The ICCS 2016 research team left a number of questions unchanged in order to measure changes over time, and modified others so as to improve the measurement of the underlying constructs or to include additional aspects. This regional questionnaire had a stipulated completion time of 15 minutes and addressed the following region-specific aspects:

- Students' perceptions of public institutions and government (attitudes toward authoritarian government, dictatorships, and corrupt practices);
- Students' perceptions regarding peaceful coexistence (attitudes toward violence, acceptance of disobedience to the law, and feelings of empathy); and
- Students' perceptions of discrimination in their country, acceptance of social minorities, and attitudes toward homosexuality.

Participating countries, population, sample design, and data collection

Overall, 24 countries or sub-regions participated in ICCS 2016, 16 from the European region, three from Asia, and five from the Latin American region. [Figure 1.1](#) shows the geographical position of each of the five participating Latin American countries.

All five Latin American countries administered the Latin American student questionnaire and are represented in this report. ICCS 2016 was the first time that Peru participated in an international study of civic and citizenship education. The other four countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, and Mexico) all participated in ICCS 2009 and therefore provided data that could be compared with data from the previous cycle. The inclusion of a large number of questionnaire items that were not modified meant that comparisons could be conducted for a relatively large number of items and scales across the two cycles.²

² Details of the equating procedures enabling comparison of the 2009 and 2016 results are provided in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz et al., 2018).

Figure 1.1: Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2016



ICCS 2016 defined the population for the ICCS teacher survey as all educators teaching regular school subjects to students enrolled in the country's target grade at each sampled school. The teacher population included only those teachers who were teaching the target grade during the testing period and who had been employed at their school since the beginning of the school year.

The process used to select samples of respondents from this population employed a stratified two-stage design. During the first stage of sampling, PPS procedures (probability proportional to size as measured by the number of students enrolled in a school) were used to sample schools within the participating countries. The numbers required in the samples to achieve the necessary precision were estimated on the basis of national characteristics. However, as a guide, the sampling team asked each country to plan for a minimum sample size of 150 schools.

Each sampled school was asked to provide a list of the target-grade classes.³ An intact class was then randomly selected from that list and all students in that class were surveyed. Across the five Latin American countries, the numbers of assessed students ranged from 3937 to 5609, and the numbers of assessed schools from 141 to 206 (see Appendix A).

³ A classroom was defined as an exhaustive and mutually exclusive partition of all the students in the tested grade.

The participation rates required for students in each country were 85 percent of the selected schools and 85 percent of the selected students within the participating schools, or a weighted overall participation rate of 75 percent. The same criteria were applied to the teacher sample. The student and the teacher samples were adjudicated independently, however. All ICCS 2016 Latin American countries met IEA sample participation requirements, making it possible to report findings without having to provide annotations.

Overview of the ICCS 2016 Latin American report

This publication reporting findings from ICCS 2016 for the Latin American region is complemented by the international report (Schulz et al., 2018), a regional report for the European region (Losito et al., 2018), a technical report (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2018), and an ICCS international database and user guide. The report contains six chapters, the first of which is this introductory chapter. Chapters 2 to 5 are content-related chapters that focus on different region-specific aspects of students' civics-related perceptions and attitudes. The concluding chapter (Chapter 6) provides a more general discussion of the findings reported in the content-related chapters.

Chapter 2 summarizes the national contexts for civic and citizenship education in each of the participating countries. It provides basic information on each country's demographic, economic, and political characteristics, as well as information about the implementation of civic and citizenship education in the country's national curriculum and schools.

Chapter 3 describes students' views of public institutions and government, particularly their endorsement of non-democratic government practices, their attitudes toward corruption, and their trust in civic institutions. The chapter also compares ICCS 2016 outcomes with outcomes from the 2009 cycle and looks at associations between students' attitudes and selected variables (such as civic knowledge and parental education).

Chapter 4 contains data on students' views of peaceful coexistence. It focuses on their views regarding the use of violence, their attitudes toward disobedience to the law, and their sense of empathy, as well as on changes in students' perceptions of the use of violence and their attitudes toward breaking the law since 2009. It also provides information on associations between these variables and selected variables, such as gender and civic knowledge.

Chapter 5 is concerned with students' views of social cohesion and discrimination. It describes the extent of students' acceptance of neighborhood diversity, their attitudes toward homosexuality, and the extent to which they thought different social groups in their country were experiencing discrimination.

Chapter 6 summarizes the main findings that emerged from ICCS 2016 with regard to region-specific issues. It also discusses possible implications of these findings for further research, policy, and practice.

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CHAPTER 2:

Contexts for civic and citizenship education

Chapter highlights

- A comparison of the structural characteristics of the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries showed important differences in population size, economic strength, and human development. ([Table 2.1](#))
- Important differences were also apparent in relation to political context, with considerable variation in voter turnout, female representation in parliament, and support for democracy. ([Table 2.2](#))
- Although adult literacy rates are relatively high in all five countries, differences in the provision of education remain. ([Table 2.3](#))
- In general, ICCS 2016 revealed marked differences between the five countries in relation to their Grade 8 students' civic knowledge and Grade 6 students' reading abilities. ([Table 2.4](#))
- Although all five countries were placing considerable emphasis on civic and citizenship education, the extent to which this learning area was represented in their national curricula differed. ([Table 2.5](#))
- Civic and citizenship education in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries is strongly influenced by their respective historical and political backgrounds.

This chapter summarizes key features of the national contexts for civic and citizenship education in each of the five participating countries and covers basic demographic, socioeconomic, and political contexts. It also provides information about the implementation of civic and citizenship education in the curricula and schools of these countries.

Our focus in this chapter is on the first general research question for ICCS 2016: *How is civic and citizenship education implemented in participating countries?* This question references two specific research questions in the ICCS 2016 assessment framework (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016) that together provide a structure for the descriptions and analyses of the countries' national contexts:

- *What are the aims and principles of civic and citizenship education in each participating country?*
- *Which curricular approaches do participating countries choose to provide civic and citizenship education?*

Both questions relate to the main historical and political features of each country and how these affect that country's curricula and its approaches to providing civic and citizenship education. The information presented in this chapter draws on data not only from the ICCS 2016 national contexts survey but also from published sources about the countries' historical and political backgrounds and the intentions underpinning their civic and citizenship curricula.

The assessment frameworks of both ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008) and ICCS 2016 (Schulz et al., 2016) explicitly recognize the importance of the wider community in developing young people's understandings of their roles as citizens in contemporary societies. "Wider community" comprises the context within which schools and home environments work, and includes factors at local, regional, national, and even supra-national levels. The assessment frameworks also distinguish between *antecedent* and *process-related* variables in the contextual framework within which civic and citizenship education takes place. Among the first set of variables are the democratic history of a country and the structure of its education system; among the second are the intended curriculum and contemporary political developments (Schulz et al., 2016, p. 41). The national contexts survey provided the main source of information for identifying these contextual factors in each national case. The survey data were complemented by information from published secondary sources, particularly with respect to supra-national common factors.

Contemporary research regarding civic and citizenship education in Latin America began with a landmark secondary research study that was conducted by Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2004) and based on data from IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED) of 1999 (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). During their 2004 study, Torney-Purta and Amadeo reviewed results from two countries of the region that participated in this study (Chile and Colombia) and compared these findings with results from the United States and Portugal. The research focused on similarities and differences in the civic-related views of students and teachers, and on similarities and differences in students' civic knowledge.

More than a decade and a half later, and decisively based on evidence produced by ICCS 2009 (see Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010), research on civic and citizenship education has moved on. Today, researchers in this area are increasingly conducting more sophisticated multilevel and/or multivariate analyses. They are also investigating patterns of civic knowledge and attitudes in quite diverse national contexts (both regional and global) and exploring associations between these patterns and socioeconomic and home background variables as well as key features of countries' educational contexts, such as school resources, curricula, and pedagogical approaches.

The participation of six countries from the Latin America region in ICCS 2009 (Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay) resulted in a wealth of evidence on the impact of differences in socioeconomic status (SES) on students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and expectations of participating in civic-related activities. Results from analyses of data from all six

ICCS 2009 countries (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2015), and those conducted on data from Chile, Colombia, and Mexico only (Diazgranados & Sandoval-Hernández, 2017; Treviño, Béjares, Villalobos, & Naranjo, 2017), indicated that the variation found in students' civic knowledge and attitudes and their dispositions toward civic participation could be explained by student SES, with students with higher SES gaining the higher scores on the scales corresponding to these learning and attitudinal outcomes.

For Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, Diazgranados and Sandoval-Hernández (2017) found that differences in civic knowledge between high and low SES students were significantly larger ("between 2 and 6 times") than those for civic attitudes and dispositions. The authors attributed this difference to the fact that a test was used to measure knowledge, while students' self-reports were used to measure attitudes. They concluded that the resulting data may have been affected by "social desirability bias" (p. 186).¹

An important finding regarding students' intended future participation (in legal protests and political activities), again based on data from the three ICCS 2009 countries of Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, is that almost all the variance (over 90%) in students' scores on the corresponding scale was within schools. This finding supports the idea that, at least in these countries, families or contextual variables (such as media and social networks) are the most important factors influencing students' disposition to engage in civic-related activities in the future. In contrast, schools appear to be relatively ineffective in developing beliefs about the importance of participation. Furthermore, with regard to the socializing influence of home background on students' intentions to engage, civic-related variables such as parental interest in discussing politics appear to be more important factors than socioeconomic background (Treviño et al., 2017).

The complex nature of these associations is also evident from the study by Castillo et al. (2015) that drew on Chilean ICCS 2009 data. The authors examined the influence of both civic knowledge and classroom climate on students' expected participation. Both variables showed a positive and similar influence, a finding which, according to the authors, "suggests a possible path whereby openness of classroom climate would favor the acquisition of civic knowledge, which in turn influences future participation" (p. 16). However, classroom climate (in terms of promotion of or lack of receptiveness to open and free exchange of ideas on politics and social issues) is less affected by students' background than civic knowledge. This finding seems particularly important for schools aiming to mitigate the link between home background and future participation, or endeavoring to enhance the limited but significant power of the school in nurturing engagement among young people.

A comparative analysis of curricula for civic and citizenship education of all the ICCS 2016 countries except Peru, published by the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO in 2014, found some important commonalities. Official curricula in all four countries emphasized democracy, human rights, and diversity as leading values, but, in contrast, did not emphasize values such as common good, solidarity, and social cohesion. With regard to citizens' participation, the only curriculum that referred explicitly to voting as a citizen's right and duty was Mexico's. The references in the curricula of all four countries to institutions of representative democracy omitted topics related to the penal system and to the role of the armed forces. In addition, national curricula did not cover the analytical category of "risks to democracy." Overall, many more goals and content areas touched on the civil rather than the civic dimension of citizenship (Cox, Bascopé, Castillo, Miranda, & Bonhomme, 2014).

¹ Social desirability in this context is seen as a construct which reflects the contextual cultural influences that affect the shaping of views and attitudes across social groups and are generally independent of the explicit curriculum.

Finally, it is particularly instructive when exploring the influences of national contexts on the ICCS 2016 Latin American students' views and attitudes relating to democratic politics and trust in civic institutions and processes to consider evidence from relevant surveys of adult populations in the region. The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer survey (which includes the Latin American Public Opinion Project) of the political views of the Latin America and Caribbean region's adult population found that 58 percent of the respondents in these countries supported democracy (Zeichmeister, Lupu, & Cohen, 2017).

The 2016/17 results also revealed a notable decline (of almost nine percentage points) in support for democracy since the time of the 2014 survey. This value is the lowest observed in an AmericasBarometer study since 2004.² The survey also asked respondents to indicate their support for military coups as a means of fighting high levels of crime and corruption. On average across the four ICCS 2016 countries involved, 41 percent of the respondents expressed acceptance of a potential military government, with Colombia having the lowest value (33%) and Peru the highest at 53 percent (Cohen, Lupu, & Zeichmeister, 2017). This finding has particular relevance for the interpretation of ICCS 2016 results on students' justifications for dictatorship and their endorsement of authoritarian government practices presented in Chapter 3 of this report.

Education systems and national contexts

Any valid interpretation of the results for the Latin American countries in this study requires consideration of the differences across the national contexts. These differences relate, at the most general level, to demographic, socioeconomic, and political factors. The latter are of relevance within the context of this study, and they refer also to features of the countries' education systems and learning outcomes.

Table 2.1, which presents selected demographic and economic characteristics of the five Latin American countries surveyed in ICCS 2016, shows considerable differences in population size, with the range extending from about 10.5 million inhabitants in the Dominican Republic to over 120 million in Mexico. The data reflecting gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in \$US PPP (purchasing power parity) of the five countries show three with GDPs between \$US11,000 and \$US13,000 (Colombia, Dominican Republic, Peru), and two with comparatively higher levels of economic wealth: Mexico with \$US16,502, and Chile with \$US22,145. The table also shows scores, international ranks, and classifications drawn from the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI scores range from 0.722 in the Dominican Republic to 0.847 in Chile. One country (Chile) can be classified as having "very high" human development whereas the other four countries fall into the category labelled "high" human development.

The extent to which members of the public see government practices as honest and transparent is an essential element of support for democracy and its legitimacy (Rose-Ackerman, 1999). **Table 2.1** therefore also includes data on the most recent results of the international Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), which scores countries on a scale ranging from 100 (very non-corrupt) to 0 (highly corrupt). The data column of the table (Column 4) shows both the scores and the international rankings. The scores for the five countries range from 30 in Mexico (ranked 123rd out of 176 countries in the 2016 report) to 66 in Chile (ranked 24th).³ The relatively low scores on this index for all countries except Chile indicate comparatively high levels of perceived corrupt practices.

² The noted drop in formal political participation, particularly among the young generation, and its accompanying expansion of the repertoires of other forms of participation linked to community and social movements, has led to the need to re-conceptualize youth participation (see Amnå & Ekman, 2013; Miranda, Castillo, & Sandoval-Hernández, 2017; Sloam, 2014).

³ The global average for the 2016 Corruption Perception Index is 43 (Transparency International, 2017).

An important aspect of Latin America is the presence of high levels of violence in civil society, to the point of the region having the highest rate of homicides in the world (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2014).⁴ The right-hand column of [Table 2.1](#) shows, for each participating country, the number of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, as collected by the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC). These data are the latest statistics available for each country, and the years of reference can be seen in brackets. These figures show strong differences across the five countries: Colombia has the highest homicide rate, followed by also very high rates in the Dominican Republic and Mexico. Peru and Chile have much lower homicide rates, with Chile exhibiting a significantly lower average (3.6 homicides per 100,000) than the world average of 5.3 in 2015.

The selected political characteristics for the five countries shown in [Table 2.2](#) include voter turnout at the last presidential and legislative elections before the ICCS 2016 survey, whether voting is compulsory or not, the number of political parties in parliament, the percentages of seats in parliament held by women, and the percentages of the adult population expressing support for democracy as “the best system.”

Voter turnout for the election closest to the start of ICCS 2016 varied quite markedly across the five countries. Chile and Colombia do not have compulsory voting, and their percentages of voter turnout were similar at just below the 50 percent mark. While voting is compulsory in the other three countries, they differ in their degree of enforcement. Peru exhibited the highest turnout (over 81%, in both presidential and legislative elections, which take place on the same day and require voters to mark different sections of a common ballot paper). Mexico recorded the lowest turnout for its legislative election (48%). The number of parties in parliament at the time of the elections varied between six in Peru and 14 in Colombia. The percentage of women in parliament was highest in Mexico with 42 percent and lowest in Chile with 16 percent. Support for democracy in the Dominican Republic and Chile was higher (above 60%) than in the other three countries, where around 50 percent of respondents supported this type of government.

The selected characteristics of each country’s education system (shown in [Table 2.3](#)) include adult literacy rate, public expenditure on education in percentages of GDP, years of compulsory education, and proportions of children enrolled in primary and secondary education.

Adult literacy rates are high in all five countries, with the Dominican Republic having the lowest rate (92%) and Chile the highest (97%). Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP ranges from between 3.7 percent in Peru to 5.2 percent in Mexico. In four countries, education is compulsory for more than 12 years: 15 in Mexico, 14 in Peru, and 13 in Chile and the Dominican Republic. In all five countries, these figures include years in pre-primary education.

In three of the five countries, over 90 percent of the corresponding age groups are enrolled in primary education; in Colombia and the Dominican Republic this percentage is below 90 percent. Variation is greater with respect to the number of adolescents enrolled in secondary education. Here, the range extends from 66 percent in the Dominican Republic to 88 percent in Chile. Compulsory schooling in Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico encompasses 12 years of ISCED 1+2 programs combined; in Colombia and Peru the corresponding number is 11.

⁴ On average, 30 percent of the homicides in the region relate to organized crime and gangs, which contrasts with the one percent of similarly caused homicides in Asia, Europe, and Oceania (ECLAC, 2014, p. 142).

Table 2.1: Selected demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries

Country	Population size	Human Development Index		Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (in USD \$)	Corruptions Perceptions Index (index value and international rank)	Homicide statistics (number per 100,000 inhabitants by year)
		Value	Rank			
Chile	17,948,14	0.847	38	22,145	66 (24)	3.6 (2014)
Colombia	48,228,70	0.727	95	12,988	37 (90)	26.5 (2015)
Dominican Republic	10,528,39	0.722	99	13,375	31 (120)	17.4 (2014)
Mexico	127,017,22	0.762	77	16,502	30 (123)	16.4 (2015)
Peru	31,376,67	0.740	87	11,672	35 (101)	7.2 (2015)

Notes:

Data on Human Development Index and GDP per capita obtained from the *Human development report* (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

Data on population size sourced from *World Bank Indicators* (World Bank, 2017).

Data on Corruptions Perception Index taken from *Corruption Perceptions Index 2016* (Transparency International, 2017).

Data for homicide rates taken from the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) *Global Study on Homicide* (UNODC, 2014).

Table 2.2: Selected political characteristics of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries

Country	Legal age of voting	Compulsory voting (Y / N)	Percentages of voter turnout at last presidential election prior to study (year of election)		Percentages of voter turnout at last legislative election prior to study (year of election)	Number of political parties in parliament	Percentages of seats held by women	Percentages of adults supporting democracy**
			Rank	Category				
Chile	18	N	49.1	(2013)	49.3	8*	16*	61 (0.8)
Colombia	18	N	47.9	(2014)	43.6	14*	19*	53 (0.8)
Dominican Republic	18	Y	69.6	(2016)	70.3	10*	27*	62 (0.9)
Mexico	18	Y	63.1	(2012)	47.7	9	42	49 (0.9)
Peru	18	Y	81.8	(2016)	82.0	6	28	53 (0.7)

Notes:

Data for this table collected from the IPU Parliline database (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017) unless otherwise stated.

* Bicameral structured parliament. Data refer to lower house.

** Support for democracy reflects agreement with the AmericasBarometer question: Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Zeichmeister et al., 2017).

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Table 2.3: Selected educational characteristics of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries

Country	Adult literacy rate (%)	Public expenditure on education (% of GDP)	Internet access (% of population)	Years of compulsory education	Net enrollment rate in primary education (length in years in brackets)	Net enrollment rate in secondary education (length in years in brackets)
Chile	97	4.6	66	13	93.0 (6)	88.3 (6)
Colombia	95	4.7	58	10	89.8 (5)	78.6 (6)
Dominican Republic	92	3.8 ^a	61	13	83.6 (6)	65.5 (6)
Mexico	94	5.2	60	15	95.1 (6)	67.3 (6) ^b
Peru	95	3.7	45	14	92.8 (6)	78.4 (5)

Notes:

Adult literacy rate data obtained from *Human development report* (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) unless otherwise stated and refer to the percentage of the population aged 15 and over who can read and write. Data relate to collection period between 2005 and 2015.

Public expenditure on education data obtained from *Human development report* (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) unless otherwise stated.

Internet access data obtained from International Telecommunication Union (ITU, 2016).

Data for net enrollment were taken from *ECLAC statistical yearbook 2016* (ECLAC, 2017) and, for secondary education in Mexico, from *ECLAC statistical yearbook 2015* (ECLAC, 2016).

^a Data relate to data collection period from 2005 to 2014 and were taken from *Human development report* (United Nations Development Programme, 2015).

^b Data refer to the year 2010 (ECLAC, 2016).

Table 2.4 summarizes the results for the five countries regarding both the civic knowledge dimension of ICCS 2016 (which surveyed Grade 8 students) and reading ability as measured by the Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (TERCE). This study, carried out by UNESCO in Latin America, targeted Grade 6 students (see Flotts, Manzi, Jiménez, Abarzúa, Cayuman, & García, 2016).⁵

Table 2.4: Civic knowledge and reading results for the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries

Country	ICCS 2016 civic knowledge score (Grade 8)	TERCE 2015 reading score (Grade 6) ^a
Chile	482 (3.1)	776 (3.2)
Colombia	482 (3.4)	726 (5.5)
Dominican Republic	381 (3.0)	633 (3.3)
Mexico	467 (2.5)	735 (3.3)
Peru	438 (3.5)	703 (3.4)

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

^a TERCE 2015 reading data taken from Flotts et al. (2016).

The average score on the civic knowledge scale across the five Latin American participants was 450, while the average ICCS 2016 score for all participating countries was 517.⁶ Substantial variation was evident in the national results for the five countries. Chile and Colombia both recorded an average scale score of 482 points (at the higher end of the scale), while the Dominican Republic recorded a score of 381 points (at the lower end of the scale). The dispersion of results from the TERCE 2015 reading test⁷ was even broader, with students in Chile having the highest average score and students in the Dominican Republic, the lowest. Despite Chile and Colombia having the same ICCS 2016 civic knowledge score, a rank ordering of the countries according to the ICCS and TERCE sets of results showed a very similar pattern across the two sets.

Historical and political background of civic and citizenship education in each country

The ICCS national contexts survey provided information about the historical and political backgrounds that have influenced civic and citizenship education in the five participating countries. A summary of that information follows.

Chile

In Chile, a dictatorship between 1973 and 1990 and the transition to democracy during the 1990s strongly influenced educational policies in general and civic and citizenship education in particular. The authoritarian rule resulted in civic education that focused on family and national identity and aimed to promote knowledge and respect for the political institutions defined in the country's 1980 constitution, which followed authoritarian principles of a "protected democracy." In contrast, during the 1990s, Chile implemented a new curriculum focused on democracy and human rights. It celebrated the principles of diversity, pluralism, and intercultural dialogue. Since the start of the 2000s, an ongoing concern of the country's political elites has been young people's low level of engagement and participation in formal politics.

5 Results from the reading assessment were included because of their fundamental importance as a key competence provided by education. The results also offer an interesting source of comparison alongside the ICCS 2016 civic knowledge findings.

6 For further details regarding the measurement of civic knowledge in ICCS and the establishment of a described scale, see Schulz, Fraillon, and Ainley (2013), and Schulz et al. (2016).

7 For further details on this study, see UNESCO-OREALC (2016).

These later years have nonetheless also seen new developments in young people's civic participation, most notably in terms of political mobilization. This mobilization has been particularly evident in the widespread social movements of students that took place in 2006 (secondary students) and 2011 (university students). During these times, students demanded not only greater opportunity to access quality education but also a change in the "education model" (from market to state regulation of the education sector). Over the last three or so years, a series of high-profile cases centered on political financing by big business has led to a general alienation from politics among members of the public and a marked drop in their levels of trust in political institutions. These developments have put great pressure on civic and citizenship education. In 2016, for example, a new law required civic and citizenship education to be reinstated as a dedicated subject at the end of secondary education. This change came after two decades of preference for a "transversal" approach to this learning area, which meant its contents were distributed among four subjects—two in primary and two in secondary education. In addition, from 2016, every school has been required to develop a comprehensive plan for strengthening this learning area.

Colombia

Colombia's contemporary history has been defined by five decades of political armed conflict, originating in class inequalities and social struggles in the 1960s when many guerrilla groups were formed and were then confronted by the army and para-military groups. The conflict, fueled in the last three decades by the drug trade, has left a culture of violence legitimization and distrust in political institutions. The major recent development has been the demobilization of the most powerful guerrilla group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and consequent peace negotiations with the government that culminated in a national referendum (October 2, 2016) on the terms of a transitional justice process aimed at reconciliation. Although the "yes" vote lost, this outcome has not stopped the negotiated end of the armed conflict or diminished widespread expectations of a post-conflict future.

Against this background, education has consistently been seen as a crucial means of achieving peace in Colombia and of enhancing the country's democratic culture. The General Law of Education that came into effect in 1994 established ethical education as a mandatory subject in basic education, while standards for civic and citizenship education and a nationwide system of evaluating the outcomes of this educational provision were established in 2006. Since 2011, three government initiatives have underlined the evolving centrality that civic and citizenship education has for Colombia's efforts to achieve peace and a strongly based democratic culture. They are the Program of Citizenship Competencies (2011), which updated the 2006 definitions, the National System of School Coexistence (2013), and the Peace Class (2014).

Dominican Republic

During the last decade and a half, the Dominican Republic has experienced the evolution of democratic electoral politics, with these changes gathering legitimacy through reforms of the public institutions that oversee the democratic process (such as electoral courts). At the same time, governments, backed by varying political alliances, have been able to enact educational policies designed to reform education. This trend has culminated in a recently agreed national pact for educational reform (Pacto Nacional para la Reforma Educativa en la República Dominicana, 2014–2030). Since 2012, the government has also substantially increased financing of the education sector. These positive features of the political context need to be seen against the country's wider societal context of immense challenges to education in general and civic and citizenship education in particular. These challenges include high levels of violence, social inequality, poverty, and gender inequality, all of which are evident across the different sectors of Dominican society.

Mexico

Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, and after 70 years of single-party rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the political context in Mexico has been defined by the initiation and subsequent consolidation of real democratic change in political power. The ensuing democratic transition and electoral political reforms have meant close relationships between these and educational policies, explaining, for example, the Federal Electoral Institute's 2003-designed program titled *To Educate for Democracy*. In addition, the Ministry of Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública) set up an inter-institutional committee that included a representative of the Ministry of the Interior (Secretaría de Gobernación). The aim of this initiative was to develop a comprehensive program of civic and ethical education by 2008. In 2011, this program became a formal school subject called civic education and ethics.

High levels of violence and criminality within a context of corruption and the limited effectiveness of state institutions have emphasized the need for government agencies to address security issues and policies. Since 2006, these concerns have brought about programs that complement the national curriculum. Among them are the Culture of Legality Program and the Safe School Program.

Mexican society and its political system continue to give utmost priority to education. In 2012, the three major political forces of the country agreed on a *Pacto por México* (Pact for Mexico). Less than a semester later, the country had experienced a change in the constitution and the enactment of a General Law of Education as well as two complementary laws, one designed to regulate the teaching profession and the other designed to strengthen Mexico's National Institute for Educational Evaluation. These legal reforms were also put in place in order to end the teacher union's control of the schooling system, to improve the quality of educational provision, and to make access to education more equitable.

Peru

In Peru, the year 2000 and the end of the authoritarian Fujimori government represented a turning point for educational development in the country. The government created a National Education Council and worked to ensure that citizenship issues and containing corruption became part of educational and public arena debates. In 2002, the government signed a national accord that was followed by a set of state policies which sought to define a course for the country's sustainable development and democratic governance. In 2006, the National Educational Project defined citizenship education as one of the fundamental pillars of the country's education system and emphasized democratic consolidation as a goal for 2021 (the bicentennial year of Peruvian independence). Citizenship has become a major focus in the basic education curriculum, with sample-based national assessments of student learning in this area taking place in 2004 and 2013.

Profiles of civic and citizenship curricula

The ICCS national contexts survey also collected information on national profiles of civic and citizenship education curricula in each of the participating countries. These are summarized here.

Chile

Civic and citizenship education in Chile's national curriculum is oriented toward developing the knowledge and attitudes that citizens need in order to participate in an active and responsible way in a democratic society. These characteristics include self-recognition as a citizen and a positive disposition in relation to social participation and involvement. National curriculum guidelines specify a core set of democratic values, open attitudes toward diversity and a pluralistic society, and respect for human rights. The curriculum stipulates that aims in civic and citizenship education are accomplished through daily actions that take place at school and in the home. These aims include

developing self-expression, facilitating the skills of dialogue and persuasion, and fostering teamwork abilities. The following are the specified main aims of civic and citizenship education in Chile:

- Ensuring students recognize human rights and the rule of law as foundations for living together in a society;
- Developing among students the skills, knowledge, and attitudes demanded by democratic life and participation;
- Recognizing diversity as an inherent feature of society and a manifestation of human freedom and dignity;
- Promoting students' civic participation and involvement in addressing problems in their communities;
- Developing students' abilities to apply historical and spatial thinking, work with different sources of information, and apply critical thinking and communication skills.

Colombia

Civic and citizenship education is at the core of Colombia's curriculum because it is seen as a direct means of ameliorating the country's history of social conflict and violence, especially by building competencies that enable people to live peacefully together. The standards underpinning this area of education focus on the immediate within-school and within-community relationships rather than on topics related to broader society. They also directly appeal to the individual person by presenting statements such as the following to Grades 6 and 7 students: "I contribute to peaceful relationships," "I reject situations in which human rights are violated," and "I identify and reject different forms of discrimination in my school and community and critically analyze the reasons why they occur."

Three aims structure civic and citizenship education in Colombia:

- To support the construction of *peaceful coexistence* by establishing capacities in the new generation directed toward building good social relationships based on justice, empathy, tolerance, solidarity, and respect for others;
- To promote *democratic participation and civic responsibility* through the mechanisms of citizen participation established in the constitution and thereby enabling a full exercise of citizenship;
- To encourage, value, and promote *plurality, identity, and appreciation of difference*, in recognition of the equal dignity of all human beings, with particular reference to the characteristics of gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, and class.

Dominican Republic

Within the context of a major political effort to develop national agreement on education policies (Pacto Nacional para la Reforma Educativa en la República Dominicana, 2014–2030), the Dominican Republic has recently subjected its school curriculum to a comprehensive review and reform process that involved a strong emphasis on consultation and participation. Consideration of the civic dimension in the curriculum led to authoritarianism, gender inequality, and violence being identified as features of culture and society that comprehensively undermine the effectiveness of both primary and secondary education. The new curriculum (2014) defines as a "fundamental" (that is, a transversal) aim "ethical and citizenship competence," the components of which embrace the following actions:

- Recognizing oneself as a person belonging to a culture, a nation, and a global human culture;
- Assessing social and institutional practices from a historical perspective and within present times;
- Contributing to the creation of the fair, just, and democratic relationships that characterize harmonious living together;
- Acting with autonomy, responsibility, and assertiveness in relation to one's own rights and duties.

Mexico

In keeping with the competency-based approach that has underpinned Mexico's curriculum since 2006, the country's aims for civics and ethics education encompass eight competencies grouped into three main themes: *person* (referring to self-care); *ethics* (referring to self-regulation and responsible freedom); and *citizenship* (referring to active participation in resolving issues facing the community and the country and in defending the exercise of rights).

The main aims of the current curriculum (implemented in 2011) are for students to:

- Recognize themselves as worthy subjects, able to fully develop as individuals through enjoyment and care of their person, to make responsible and independent decisions to guide their aims in life, to act as civic subjects with rights and duties, and to participate in improving society;
- Recognize the importance of exercising the freedom they have to make responsible decisions and to self-regulate their conduct in accordance with ethical principles, respect for human rights, and democratic values;
- Understand that the different groups they and others belong to in society are equal in dignity even though different in their ways of being, acting, thinking, feeling, believing, living, and living together;
- Understand and appreciate democracy as a way of life and government by analyzing and practicing the values and attitudes manifested in day-to-day living and by understanding how the Mexican state is structured and functions in order to regulate democratic participation, all within a framework of laws and institutions characterized by respect for and exercise of human rights and a deep sense of justice.

Peru

Peru's aims for civic and citizenship education are informed by the country's educational policy concerning the development of citizenship skills and attributes in students. These aims include the following:

- The development of personal, social, and cultural identity in the context of a democratic, multicultural, and ethical society;
- The development and strengthening of self-esteem and esteem for one another, thus preparing students for life in a multicultural society;
- Contributing to social cohesion and enhancement of democracy through which ethical conduct, embedded in democratic values, is expressed as respect for the principles of law and the principles of individual and social responsibility.

Approaches to civic and citizenship education

When asked about current debates on civic and citizenship education, the ICCS 2016 national centers in the Latin American countries, with the exception of Mexico, reported that education policy for this learning area has been a major focus of recent debates and that these have resulted in agreements aimed at reinforcing the importance of civic and citizenship education in the school system. In all countries except Colombia, the curriculum for civic and citizenship education has undergone revisions since 2009.

Civic and citizenship education is included in the formal curricula experienced by the ICCS target-grade (Grade 8) students in four out of five Latin American countries (Table 2.5). This area of education is defined as a specific subject in three of the countries: the Dominican Republic (until 2015), Mexico, and Peru. In Chile and Colombia, it forms a learning area integrated into several subjects. In addition, all countries except Peru intend the goals and content of civic and citizenship education to imbue all subjects taught at the ICCS target grade.

Table 2.5: Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curricula for lower-secondary education in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries

Country	Civics and citizenship included in formal curriculum	Specific civic and citizenship education subject (compulsory)	Name of curriculum subject	Taught by teachers of subjects related to human/social sciences	Integrated into all subjects taught at school	Extracurricular activities	Considered result of school experiences as a whole
Chile	•			•	•		•
Colombia				•	•		
Dominican Republic*	•			•	•		
Mexico	•	•	Civics and ethical formation	•	•		
Peru	•	•	Civic and citizenship education	•			

Notes:

Source: ICCS 2016 national contexts survey; reference year is 2016.

* Dominican Republic changed to the transversal approach in 2016.

In terms of the civic and citizenship topics included in the countries' curricula, the following content features in all five: human rights, equal opportunities for men and women, citizens' rights and responsibilities, critical and independent thinking, and conflict resolution. However, the topic of elections and voting—an important topic with respect to educating young people about formal political participation—is not included in the curricula for Grade 8 students in Chile and the Dominican Republic.

In all five countries, learning objectives characterized as “knowing basic civic and citizenship facts” or “understanding key civic and citizenship concepts” are specified in the curriculum for the ICCS target-grade students. Other objectives, such as “understanding key civic and citizenship values and attitudes,” “communicating through discussion and debate,” “participating in community-based activities,” “developing positive attitudes toward participation and engagement in civic and civil society,” and “understanding how to resolve conflicts in society” are specified in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru, but not in Chile and Colombia.

Mexico and Peru specify the amount of instructional time to be spent on civic and citizenship education at the ICCS target grade. Peru mandates two hours per week of “civic and citizenship education” whereas Mexico stipulates four hours per week of “civics and ethical formation.” In Chile, schools are legally required to devote 152 hours per year at the ICCS target grade to the subject area “history, geography, and social sciences.” Here, civic and citizenship education is taught mainly as one strand of content. Colombian learning standards do not specify instruction time for civic-related goals and contents, so it is up to the schools to determine how much time to allocate to them. In the Dominican Republic, the curriculum specifies the time allocated for social sciences as five hours per week; in this country, civic and citizenship education became a dimension within this broader civic-related subject area only recently (in 2016).

Mexico is the only Latin American ICCS 2016 country where content related to civic and citizenship education at the target grade is taught by specialist teachers. In the other countries included in the study, this content is taught by teachers of subjects related to civic and citizenship education (e.g., history, geography, social studies). Colombia is the only one of the five countries where teachers of subjects not related to civic and citizenship education (e.g., mathematics, science) are required to teach civics and citizenship topics.

In Mexico and Peru, civic and citizenship education is a mandatory part of preservice/initial teacher education for specialist teachers of civic and citizenship education and for teachers of other civic-related subjects. Mexico also includes civic and citizenship education in its initial teacher education for teachers of subjects not related to this learning area. In Colombia and the Dominican Republic, civic and citizenship education is not part of initial teacher education. Chile has no systematic provision of this content during initial teacher education, even for teachers of civic-related subjects. Instead, teacher education institutions decide whether and how much civic and citizenship education they will include in their programs.

According to representatives of the ICCS 2016 Latin America national centers, all five countries recognize aspects such as school governance, student participation, school ethos, school culture and values, and parental/community involvement in school as aspects of education that contribute to civic and citizenship education.

All five countries also expect students in the ICCS target grade to be formally assessed with regard to the learning outcomes of civic and citizenship education. Assessment is classroom based in Peru, involves written tests in Chile, encompasses standardized examinations in Colombia, and covers projects, oral presentations, and research reports in the Dominican Republic. In Colombia, Mexico, and Peru, students receive, at either the end of terms or the end of the school year, formal reports detailing their civic and citizenship knowledge and skills.

Of the five countries, only Colombia has nationwide, census-based assessments of civic and citizenship education. Since 2012, these assessments have been part of Colombia's national assessment program Pruebas Saber Pensamiento Ciudadano. Over the period encompassing 2014 to 2017, Chile, Mexico, and Peru have used assessments conducted with representative samples of schools and students to measure the outcomes of civic and citizenship education.

Discussion of differences and similarities

A comparison of structural characteristics for the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries shows important differences regarding population size, economic strength, and human development. Considerable differences also exist with respect to perceived corruption and homicide rates. Chile is in a notably better situation in relation to all these measures than are the other four countries, which, on average, show relatively low levels of economic strength and development as well as relatively high homicide rates and levels of perceived corruption.

All five countries have presidential forms of government, but there are marked differences regarding voter turnout, fragmentation of parties, and the number of seats in parliament held by females. Only Chile and Colombia do not have compulsory voting, and their turnout figures at elections are significantly lower than those of Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Peru. Support for democracy in the adult population is around the 50 percent mark for three countries, and just over 60 percent in the other two (Chile, Dominican Republic). These percentages represent the lowest level of commitment to democracy in the decade and a half since the introduction of a survey collecting comparable data.

The characteristics of the countries' education systems differ considerably, although adult literacy rates are quite high in all five. Net enrollments in primary education are on or over 90 percent in four countries, with only the Dominican Republic having higher proportions of young people (mostly in rural and poor urban areas) out of school. Attendance in secondary education among the corresponding age group is close to 90 percent for Chile, over 75 percent for Colombia and Peru, and below 70 percent in Mexico and the Dominican Republic.

While the results from the ICCS 2016 national contexts survey point to recent debates on or reforms in civic and citizenship education across the region, the countries' approaches to this learning area vary. Three of the five countries have a specific subject for this learning area (Dominican Republic until 2015), whereas the other two integrate civic-related content into other subjects. Variation also exists with respect to the provision of teacher training in civic and citizenship education and in the methods used to assess the target-grade students' civic-related learning outcomes.

Historical and political events in recent decades in Latin America have facilitated efforts to strengthen civic culture and democratic values in all five of the region's ICCS 2016 countries. Across the five countries, these events include the challenges to democratic development that represent the political sequels to Fujimori's populist regime and deterioration of the rule of law in Peru; the peace agreement between the national government and the FARC in Colombia; student movements and the legitimacy crisis relating to political institutions in Chile; the significant efforts to redefine the regulatory framework of education in Mexico; and the cultural challenges presented by the legacies of dictatorships and *machismo* culture in the Dominican Republic.

In social terms, of the five countries, only Peru and Chile are comparatively free of high levels of violence and insecurity linked to drug trafficking and its corrosive effects on society. Issues related to crime and violence continue to challenge Colombia, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic, where civic and citizenship education is being explicitly framed as counter-strategies to these phenomena.

Despite the very different challenges that each national context confronts with regard to fomenting democratic beliefs and accompanying competencies among young people, there is consistent evidence across the period of time encompassing ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 that the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries are paying increasing attention to the value of civic and citizenship education. Enhancing curricula in this learning area and defining outcome goals in terms of competencies are common to all five countries and a sign that civic-related issues are becoming an important part of these countries' educational policies.

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CHAPTER 3:

Students' perceptions of public institutions and government

Chapter highlights

Most students in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries supported justifications for dictatorships.

- About two thirds of students on average agreed that dictatorial rule may be justified when it brings order and safety or economic benefits. (Table 3.1)
- Students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely than students with lower levels of knowledge to agree with justifications for dictatorships. (Table 3.2)

Students' support for authoritarian government practices varied across the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries.

- Between 2009 and 2016, only one country recorded a decrease in students' support for authoritarian government practices. (Table 3.3)
- Students who studied at urban schools, students who expected to attain a university degree, and students who had higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely than the other students to support authoritarian government practices. (Table 3.4)

While the ICCS 2016 Latin American students tended not to agree with corrupt practices, there was some variation across countries in the extent of agreement.

- Support for corrupt practices decreased slightly in one of the participating countries between 2009 and 2016 and increased in two of the countries between 2009 and 2016. (Table 3.5)
- Students who studied at urban schools, students who expected to attain a university degree, and students who had higher levels of civic knowledge were the students less likely to support corrupt practices in government. (Table 3.6)

Students' trust in institutions in Chile and Colombia declined between 2009 and 2016.

- Schools remained a trusted institution among students in the Latin American region. (Table 3.7)
- Chile and Colombia recorded a general decline in students' trust in civic institutions over the 2009–2016 period; students from the Dominican Republic expressed somewhat higher levels of trust than they did in 2009. (Table 3.7)
- Students with lower levels of civic knowledge expressed more trust in government and political parties than those students with higher levels of civic knowledge. This pattern did not hold, however, for trust in schools or the armed forces.

This chapter explores data relating to the ICCS 2016 Latin American students' perceptions of forms of government, corrupt practices, and selected institutions. It is concerned with ICCS 2016 Research Question 4: *What beliefs do students in participating countries hold regarding important civic issues in modern society and what are the factors associated with their variation?* The results presented in this chapter are based on data reflecting affective responses to civic issues and relate to the following questions:

- To what extent do students justify and endorse authoritarian forms of government?
- To what extent do students express acceptance of corrupt practices in government?
- To what extent do students express trust in selected institutions in their society?

In line with the approach described in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2018), we used a student questionnaire to measure the constructs underpinning the scales and items presented in this chapter and used IRT (Item Response Theory) scaling to derive reporting scales. All scales have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, with equally weighted national data either for 2016 or, where equated, for 2009. Item maps describe the scales presented in this chapter. The maps, which link scale scores to expected item responses under the scaling model, can be found in Appendix C. Readers should remain aware that cross-national differences of scale scores need to be interpreted with some caution because questionnaire formats may not always provide entirely consistent measurement across the diversity of cultures and national contexts evident in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries.

The chapter also reports on associations between the above measures and selected variables such as students' civic knowledge, gender, parental education, media information, and school location. For each questionnaire scale, we compare scale score averages across three different comparison groups, each of which is divided into two categories (e.g., students with high and students with low levels of civic knowledge). Graphical displays of differences between groups and the statistical significance ($p < 0.05$) of these differences accompany those comparisons.

Students' justification of dictatorship and endorsement of authoritarian government practices

Surveys conducted in the Latin American region with the aim of measuring adults' and adolescents' support for authoritarian government practices have shown majorities of these respondents tending to endorse non-democratic governments provided they solve economic problems (see, for example, United Nations Development Programme, 2004). Research has also indicated that support for non-democratic governments is related to educational background, with more educated citizens tending to be the citizens less in favor of authoritarian government practices (Cox, 2010).

The Latin American regional questionnaire for ICCS 2009 included a set of items measuring endorsement of authoritarian government practices and justification of dictatorships (see Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011). Results indicated that considerable proportions of lower secondary students in all five participating countries supported non-democratic government practices, and that majorities among students saw dictatorships as justified if they provided economic benefits or greater security.

The ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire included two questions that together had a total of 11 items designed to measure student attitudes toward authoritarian forms of government and authoritarian practices. Students rated their level of agreement ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with statements endorsing authoritarian government practices or justifying the establishment of dictatorships. Two of these items, identical versions of which were used in the ICCS 2009 survey, contained justifications for dictatorial rule as "bringing law and safety" and "bringing economic benefits."

When comparing the percentages of ICCS 2016 students who expressed agreement with these two statements with the corresponding percentages from ICCS 2009 (see Table 3.1), we found that the majority of students in all Latin American countries supported justifications for dictatorship. On average across the five countries, 69 percent of the ICCS 2016 students agreed that law and safety and 65 percent of them agreed that economic benefits are acceptable justifications for dictatorial rule. We also observed some variation across countries. The proportion of students supporting these statements was lowest in Chile and highest in Peru.

A comparison of these results with those from ICCS 2009 revealed a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) decrease (of nine percentage points on average) for order and safety as a justification in Chile and statistically significant decreases for economic benefits as a justification in Chile and Colombia (averages of 12 and two percentage points respectively). The Dominican Republic recorded statistically significant increases in agreement for each of these statements (averages of three and four percentage points respectively).

Table 3.1: Students' perceptions of the benefits of dictatorships in 2016 and 2009

Country	Percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed that:					
	Dictatorships are justified when they bring order and safety			Dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits		
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference
Chile	57 (1.1) ▼	65 (1.1)	-9 (1.5)	52 (1.0) ▼	64 (1.0)	-12 (1.4)
Colombia	73 (0.8) △	74 (0.7)	-1 (1.0)	68 (1.1) △	70 (0.6)	-2 (1.2)
Dominican Republic	73 (0.9) △	70 (1.0)	3 (1.4)	70 (1.1) △	66 (1.1)	4 (1.5)
Mexico	67 (1.0) ▽	69 (0.8)	-1 (1.3)	66 (1.0)	66 (0.7)	0 (1.2)
Peru	77 (0.8) △	-		72 (0.8) △	-	
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	69 (0.4)			65 (0.4)		
Common countries average	67 (0.5)	70 (0.5)	-2 (0.7)	64 (0.5)	67 (0.4)	-3 (0.7)

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 Latin American average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in bold.
- No comparable data available.

Our comparison of students' agreement with justifications for dictatorial rule by levels of civic knowledge (students with test scores at or above Level B¹ versus those with scores below Level B) revealed strong differences (Table 3.2). In all participating countries, students with the higher levels of civic knowledge had significantly lower percentages of agreement than the less knowledgeable students. For justifications of dictatorship in terms of order and safety, the average difference was 14 percentage points, ranging from eight points in Peru to 25 points in the Dominican Republic. For justifications in terms of economic benefits, the average difference was 19 percentage points, ranging from 12 points in Peru to 32 points in the Dominican Republic. These results suggest that students who know more about the political system are less likely to endorse justifications for the establishment of dictatorships. However, on average across countries, and even among the more

1 ICCS 2016 measured students' civic knowledge using a test consisting of 87 items. Outcomes were reported on a described scale with the following levels: students working at Level D demonstrate familiarity with concrete, explicit content and examples relating to the basic features of democracy; students working at Level C engage with the fundamental principles and broad concepts that underpin civics and citizenship; students working at Level B typically demonstrate some specific knowledge and understanding of the most pervasive civic and citizenship institutions, systems, and concepts; and students working at Level A demonstrate a holistic knowledge and understanding of civic and citizenship concepts and demonstrate some critical perspective.

Table 3.2: Students' perceptions of the benefits of dictatorships by levels of civic knowledge

Country	Percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed that:					
	Dictatorships are justified when they bring order and safety			Dictatorships are justified when they bring economic benefits		
	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high–low)	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high–low)
Chile	65 (1.4)	50 (1.4)	-15 (2.0)	63 (1.3)	42 (1.2)	-21 (1.8)
Colombia	77 (1.2)	69 (1.1)	-9 (1.8)	76 (1.5)	60 (1.4)	-16 (2.1)
Dominican Republic	77 (0.9)	51 (2.6)	-25 (2.7)	74 (1.0)	42 (2.9)	-32 (3.0)
Mexico	73 (1.3)	60 (1.4)	-13 (2.0)	73 (1.2)	59 (1.2)	-15 (1.5)
Peru	80 (0.9)	72 (1.6)	-8 (1.8)	76 (1.1)	64 (1.4)	-12 (1.9)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	74 (0.5)	60 (0.8)	-14 (0.9)	72 (0.6)	53 (0.8)	-19 (0.9)

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent. Statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between students with high and low levels of civic knowledge are displayed in bold.

knowledgeable students, majorities of students agreed with both justifications for dictatorial governments. Chile and the Dominican Republic were the only countries where majorities among students with civic knowledge at or above Level B disagreed that economic benefits justify dictatorships.

As in ICCS 2009, we used the following nine items to derive a scale reflecting students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices: (a) "It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement: 21%); (b) "People in government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens" (29%); (c) "People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes" (50%); (d) "People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies" (20%); (e) "The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president" (51%); (f) "It is fair that the government does not comply with the law when it thinks it is not necessary" (27%); (g) "Concentration of power in one person guarantees order" (58%); (h) "The government should close communication media that are critical" (28%); and (i) "If the president does not agree with Congress, he/she should dissolve it" (40%).



The scale was equated to ensure the resulting scale scores could be compared with those collected in the 2009 survey. The ICCS 2016 scale had high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.85) on average across the participating countries (see the item map in [Figure 3.1](#), Appendix C).

On average, students in most of the ICCS 2016 countries tended to disagree with statements endorsing authoritarian government practices (as indicated by the location of most national averages in the darker shaded area of the graph in [Table 3.3](#)). We also observed marked differences across the five participating countries, with national average scale scores ranging from 45 in Chile to 55 in the Dominican Republic. When we compared the results with those from the previous ICCS cycle, we recorded a statistically significant decrease in the level of endorsement of authoritarian government practices in only one country—Chile. Here, the difference was almost three score points, equivalent to between a quarter and a third of a regional standard deviation. This finding is in line with the notable decreases in support for justifications of dictatorship among Chilean students.

[Table 3.4](#) displays scale scores comparing the endorsement of authoritarian government practices between students studying at schools in urban communities (i.e., with more than 100,000 inhabitants) and students studying in rural communities, between students expecting to attain a university degree and other students, and between students with higher (at or above Level B) and students with lower levels of civic knowledge. For all three pairs of comparison groups, we observed consistently significant associations on average across countries.

Table 3.3: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016-2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Chile	45 (0.3) ▼	48 (0.3)	-2.9 (0.5)					
Colombia	48 (0.3) ▽	48 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.5)					
Dominican Republic	55 (0.3) ▲	54 (0.3)	0.7 (0.5)					
Mexico	49 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	0.3 (0.5)					
Peru	51 (0.2) △	-	-					
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	50 (0.1)							
Common countries average	49 (0.2)	50 (0.1)	-0.6 (0.2)					

 2016 average score +/- confidence interval
 2009 average score +/- confidence interval

National ICCS 2016 average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

Disagreement
Agreement

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in bold
- No comparable data available.

In four of the five countries (the exception was the Dominican Republic), students studying at schools in urban communities had significantly lower levels of endorsement of authoritarian government practices than students at non-urban schools. The difference between these two comparison groups was three scale score points on average. Students expecting to attain a university degree had significantly lower scale scores than other students in all five countries. On average across the five countries, the difference between the two groups was five scale score points. Our comparison of the average endorsement of authoritarian government practices scale scores for students with low and students with high levels of civic knowledge revealed a very large difference of about 11 score points (equivalent to more than a standard deviation). The differences in all five countries were significant and of similar size. In line with the findings of our analysis of the extent to which these two groups endorsed justifications of dictatorship, the results indicate that more knowledgeable students are considerably less likely than their less knowledgeable peers to endorse non-democratic government practices.

Students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government

Corruption is widely regarded as one of Latin America's most salient impediments to a democratic society (Blake & Morris, 2009; Reimers, 2007). Cross-national surveys in this region show that, with only a few exceptions, countries tend to have low indices of transparency (see, for example, Transparency International, 2014). Researchers have also found associations between citizens' perception that corruption is present and lower levels of political trust (e.g., Canache & Allison, 2005; Morris & Klesner, 2010), a finding which suggests that corrupt practices have the potential to undermine citizens' confidence in democracy and its institutions. Also, large proportions of Latin American citizens who completed regional surveys reported direct experience of corrupt practices (Morris & Blake, 2010). The World Values Survey found that acceptance of corruption among the countries in this region was higher than in other countries (Torgler & Valev, 2004).

Research on the effects of corruption on democratic legitimacy has provided evidence of the detrimental effects of experience of corruption on perceptions of the political system in general (Seligson, 2002). In addition, individual acceptance of corruption tends to be reinforced by living in contexts where people are, on average, less averse to corrupt practices (Gatti, Paternostro, & Rigolini, 2003). Using 2005–2007 World Values Survey data from six Latin American countries, Lavena (2014) showed variation across countries in the extent to which respondents accepted

Table 3.4: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices by school location, expected education, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by school location		Scale score average by expected university degree		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Rural school	Urban school	Not expecting university	Expecting university	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	47 (0.6)	44 (0.5)	49 (0.4)	43 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	40 (0.3)
Colombia	50 (0.5)	46 (0.5)	52 (0.4)	47 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	44 (0.4)
Dominican Republic	55 (0.3)	54 (0.6)	57 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	56 (0.2)	44 (0.5)
Mexico	50 (0.4)	48 (0.5)	54 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	55 (0.2)	43 (0.3)
Peru	52 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	45 (0.3)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	51 (0.2)	48 (0.2)	53 (0.1)	48 (0.1)	54 (0.1)	43 (0.2)

■ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

corruption, and associations between acceptance and the variables of age, education, ethnicity, cultural values, and confidence in public organizations.

Through its Latin American regional questionnaire, ICCS 2009 gathered data about young people's attitudes toward corrupt practices. While the results showed acceptance of corrupt practices among many of the students, these students were not in the majority (Schulz et al., 2011). The results also showed that students with higher levels of civic knowledge tended to be less inclined to endorse corruption in the civil service and government.

The ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire asked students to rate their agreement ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with the following statements justifying or endorsing corrupt practices in the public service and government: (a) "It is acceptable for a civil servant to accept bribes if his/her salary is too low" (ICCS 2016 average percentage of students who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement: 25%); (b) "It is acceptable for a civil servant to use the resources of the institution in which he/she works for personal benefit" (35%); (c) "Good candidates grant personal benefits to voters in return for their votes" (40%); (d) "Paying an additional amount to a civil servant in order to obtain a personal benefit is acceptable" (34%); (e) "It is acceptable that a civil servant helps his/her friends by giving them employment in his/her office" (53%); and (f) "Since public resources belong to everyone, it is acceptable that whoever can keeps part of them" (36%). While, on average across the ICCS 2016 countries, majorities among students tended to disagree with items justifying corrupt practices, more than half of them found it acceptable for civil servants to provide their friends with employment in their office.

We used this set of items to derive a scale reflecting students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government. The higher scores on this scale reflect higher levels of acceptance of corrupt practices (see the item map in [Figure 3.2](#), Appendix C). Across countries, we recorded high reliability for this scale, with an average coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.85. Because this question was included in the ICCS 2009 Latin American questionnaire and had not been modified, we were able to equate it to the one established for ICCS 2009 and then compare the scale scores across the two ICCS cycles.

As evident from the location of national score averages in the darker-shaded area of the graphical part of [Table 3.5](#), the average student in most of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries tended to disagree with statements endorsing corrupt practices. The highest scale score average, recorded in the Dominican Republic, was five score points above the average scale score for all five participating countries. The lowest scale score, recorded for Chilean students, was three score points below the ICCS 2016 Latin American average. When we compared the scale scores of the ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 common countries, we recorded statistically significant differences across time in three of the four countries: Chile recorded a significant decrease of more than one score point in the endorsement of corrupt practices, while Colombia and Mexico each recorded a significant increase in endorsement of about one score point.

[Table 3.6](#) displays scale scores comparing the endorsement of corrupt government practices across three comparison groups: school location, expected educational attainment, and levels of civic knowledge. For all three pairs of comparison groups, we observed consistently significant associations across the participating countries. On average, students in non-urban contexts had scale scores more than two points higher than the scores for the students studying at urban schools; the largest difference was recorded in Peru. Students who expected to gain a university degree were less likely (by about four scale score points) than the comparison group to endorse corrupt practices. The largest endorsement difference that we observed was again across levels of civic knowledge. The scores of students with civic knowledge at Level B proficiency or above were about nine points lower, on average, than the scores of the students with lower levels of civic knowledge.

Table 3.5: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Chile	48 (0.3) ▼	49 (0.3)	-1.1 (0.5)					
Colombia	49 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	1.0 (0.4)					
Dominican Republic	56 (0.3) ▲	55 (0.3)	0.8 (0.5)					
Mexico	50 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.3)	0.9 (0.5)					
Peru	51 (0.3) △	–	–					
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	51 (0.1)							
Common countries average	51 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	0.4 (0.2)					

■ 2016 average score +/- confidence interval
 ■ 2009 average score +/- confidence interval

National ICCS 2016 average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

	Disagreement
	Agreement

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in bold
- No comparable data available.

Students' trust in institutions

Surveys of adults in the Latin American region have shown that these adults tend to have lower levels of political trust than adults in other regions of the world (Catterberg & Moreno, 2006; Mainwaring, 2006). In comparison with people in European countries, people in Latin American countries have particularly low levels of trust in parliament and public services (Segovia Arancibia, 2008). Research further suggests that political trust in Latin American countries is sensitive to changes in political contexts, shows considerable within-country variation over time, and is associated with respondents' political inclinations (Castillo, Bargsted, & Somma, 2017).

Results from the 1999 CIVED study showed that the average level of trust in civic institutions among young people in Chile and Colombia was similar to the average level of trust among students across all CIVED countries (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Use of a similar item set with a modified question format in the ICCS 2009 student questionnaire produced results which showed that, compared with students from across all ICCS 2009 countries, the Latin American students tended to express relatively lower levels of trust in political parties, courts of justice, and the police, but much higher levels of trust in schools (Schulz et al., 2011). Research based on ICCS 2009 data also illustrated that in countries with relatively high scores on indices of corruption and low scores on indices of government efficiency (many of these countries were Latin American), students with the higher civic knowledge scores expressed less trust in civic institutions. In contrast, positive correlations between civic knowledge and trust were recorded in countries with low indices of corruption (Lauglo, 2013).

The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included the same set of 15 items as in ICCS 2009 to measure student trust in civic groups and institutions. However, the 2016 item set was augmented by an item measuring trust in social media. The international report on ICCS 2016 showed that while, in some countries, levels of trust in civic institutions increased between 2009 and 2016, the level of confidence decreased in particular in two Latin American countries: Chile and Colombia (Schulz et al., 2018).

To illustrate (in this chapter) changes in trust in civic institutions in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries, we use data for four civic institutions—schools, the military, political parties, and the

Table 3.6: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government by school location, expected education, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by school location		Scale score average by expected university degree		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Rural school	Urban school	Not expecting university	Expecting university	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	49 (0.6)	47 (0.4)	51 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	43 (0.3)
Colombia	50 (0.4)	48 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	45 (0.3)
Dominican Republic	56 (0.3)	54 (0.5)	58 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	57 (0.3)	46 (0.5)
Mexico	51 (0.3)	49 (0.4)	53 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	55 (0.2)	45 (0.3)
Peru	53 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	54 (0.2)	46 (0.3)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	52 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	54 (0.1)	49 (0.1)	54 (0.1)	45 (0.1)

█ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

national government. Given the important role the armed forces have played during the last decades in all these countries, and because school is the place where young people tend to experience civic engagement for the first time, we contrast trust in these institutions with trust in two other important institutions in a democracy—governments and political parties.

As evident from [Table 3.7](#), the Latin American students' level of trust in schools as an institution in society was generally high. On average, 80 percent of students expressed quite a lot or complete trust; the national percentages ranged from 71 in Chile to 91 in the Dominican Republic. Majorities of students in these Latin American countries also expressed trust in the armed forces as an institution, with national percentages ranging from 64 in Peru to 78 in Colombia. When comparing these results with those from ICCS 2009, we recorded significant and larger decreases in trust for both schools (by nine percentage points on average) and the armed forces (seven points) in Chile, and lower but still significant decreases in Colombia. In both the Dominican Republic and Mexico, however, trust in the armed forces increased significantly (by six and nine percentage points, respectively).

Although majorities of students in three of the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries expressed trust in their national governments (58% on average, ranging from 49% in Peru to 78% in the Dominican Republic), students generally had less confidence in their national political parties. Across the countries, only 36 percent of students expressed quite a lot or complete trust in these institutions. The Dominican Republic was the only country where at least half of the surveyed students expressed confidence in political parties as an institution. Trust for political parties and the national government decreased in Chile and Colombia between 2009 and 2016, whereas trust in the national government increased in the Dominican Republic during this period.

[Table 3.8](#) illustrates the relationships between trust in these institutions and levels of civic knowledge. Trust in schools as an institution was significantly higher among students with higher levels of civic knowledge in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. Confidence in the armed forces was also higher among more knowledgeable students in four of the five countries. The Dominican Republic was the one country where students with higher civic knowledge expressed less trust in this institution. For both political parties and national government, levels of trust were much lower among the students with higher levels of civic knowledge than among the students with lower levels of knowledge.

We recorded, on average, a difference of 18 percentage points for political parties, and 14 percentage points for national governments, findings which suggest that being more knowledgeable about civic society is associated with lower levels of confidence in these important institutions in a democratic society. A possible reason for these findings is that students with higher levels of knowledge are more aware of the impact that negative aspects in these countries, such as high levels of corruption and inefficiency, have on the effective democratic functioning of civic institutions.

Table 3.7: Students' trust in selected institutions in 2016 and 2009

Country	Percentages of students who expressed complete or quite a lot of trust in:											
	Schools			Armed forces			Political parties			National government		
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference
Chile	71 (1.0) ▽	80 (0.8)	-9 (1.3)	74 (1.0) △	81 (0.5)	-7 (1.1)	33 (0.8) ▽	34 (1.0)	-2 (1.3)	50 (1.0) ▽	65 (1.0)	-15 (1.4)
Colombia	85 (0.7) △	87 (0.6)	-2 (1.0)	78 (0.8) △	80 (0.7)	-3 (1.1)	28 (1.0) ▽	35 (1.1)	-7 (1.5)	55 (1.2) ▽	62 (1.2)	-7 (1.7)
Dominican Republic	91 (0.6) ▲	88 (1.3)	3 (1.5)	74 (1.0) △	68 (1.9)	6 (2.1)	50 (1.1) ▲	51 (1.2)	-1 (1.7)	78 (1.1) ▲	74 (1.3)	4 (1.7)
Mexico	73 (1.0) ▽	72 (0.9)	1 (1.3)	71 (0.7) ▽	62 (1.1)	9 (1.3)	37 (1.0)	35 (1.0)	3 (1.4)	57 (1.1)	58 (1.0)	-1 (1.5)
Peru	78 (0.7) ▽	-	-	64 (1.0) ▽	-	-	33 (0.9) ▽	-	-	49 (1.0) ▽	-	-
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	80 (0.4)	-	-	72 (0.4)	-	-	36 (0.4)	-	-	58 (0.5)	-	-
Common countries average	80 (0.4)	82 (0.5)	-2 (0.6)	74 (0.4)	73 (0.6)	1 (0.7)	37 (0.5)	39 (0.5)	-2 (0.7)	60 (0.5)	65 (0.6)	-5 (0.8)

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- No comparable data available.

Table 3.8: Students' trust in selected institutions by levels of civic knowledge

Country	Percentages of students who expressed complete or quite a lot of trust in:											
	Schools			Armed forces			Political parties			National government		
	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high-low)	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high-low)	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high-low)	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	Difference (high-low)
Chile	66 (1.4)	75 (1.2)	9 (1.9)	71 (1.3)	77 (1.2)	5 (1.5)	38 (1.2)	28 (1.1)	-10 (1.6)	53 (1.3)	46 (1.3)	-7 (1.8)
Colombia	83 (1.1)	86 (1.0)	3 (1.4)	74 (1.1)	81 (1.1)	7 (1.5)	36 (1.3)	21 (1.0)	-15 (1.4)	62 (1.5)	50 (1.4)	-12 (1.9)
Dominican Republic	91 (0.6)	92 (1.7)	0 (1.9)	75 (1.2)	66 (3.3)	-9 (3.7)	53 (1.2)	28 (2.1)	-25 (2.3)	80 (1.2)	60 (2.9)	-20 (3.1)
Mexico	72 (1.4)	75 (1.2)	4 (1.7)	68 (1.2)	74 (1.0)	7 (1.7)	47 (1.4)	27 (1.1)	-20 (1.7)	64 (1.4)	49 (1.4)	-16 (1.8)
Peru	78 (0.9)	79 (1.2)	1 (1.5)	60 (1.3)	71 (1.4)	11 (2.0)	40 (1.1)	21 (1.3)	-19 (1.7)	55 (1.2)	38 (1.6)	-18 (2.1)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	78 (0.5)	81 (0.6)	3 (0.8)	70 (0.5)	74 (0.8)	4 (1.0)	43 (0.5)	25 (0.6)	-18 (0.8)	63 (0.6)	49 (0.8)	-14 (1.0)

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.

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CHAPTER 4:

Students' views on peaceful coexistence

Chapter highlights

- Across the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries, most students agreed that “Peace is only achieved through dialogue and negotiation.” However, most also endorsed the statement that “Hitting is a justified punishment when someone commits a crime against my family.” (Table 4.1)
- Although only minorities of students tended to endorse the use of violence, there were considerable differences across the participating countries. Female students, students who expected to complete a university education, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely than the other students to express positive attitudes toward the use of violence. (Table 4.3)
- Between ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, students’ (particularly the Colombian students’) endorsement of the use of violence declined significantly. (Table 4.2)
- Students in Colombia and Chile recorded lower levels of endorsement on the disobedience to the law scale than the students in the other three Latin American countries. Male students, students who did not expect to attain a university education, and students with lower levels of civic knowledge were more likely than the other students to endorse justifications for disobeying the law. (Tables 4.4 and 4.5)
- When asked about their degree of empathy with classmates across a range of situations, most students said that they would feel bothered if classmates found themselves in difficult situations such as being unfairly punished or victimized by others. Female students and those students with higher levels of civic knowledge tended to express the higher levels of empathy. (Tables 4.6 and 4.7)

This chapter covers aspects of ICCS 2016 Research Question 4: *What beliefs do students in participating countries hold regarding important civic issues in modern society and what are the factors associated with their variation?* (Schulz et al., 2018). Specifically, the analyses presented in this chapter address students' acceptance of violence in relation to disputes, their endorsement of disobeying the law, and their empathy toward other people.

Some researchers and authors see the development of curricula that are consistent with students' citizenship attitudes and beliefs as one means of expanding citizenship education in Latin America and developing an active citizenship in the region (Bascopé, Bonhomme, Cox, Castillo, & Miranda, 2015; UNICEF, 2015). Of interest is the fact that there is a supra-national Latin American perspective on this imperative even though the countries in the region differ on that perspective (Cox, 2010; Cox, Bascopé, Castillo, Miranda, & Bonhomme, 2014; Jaramillo & Murillo, 2013). Another aspect of developing civic and citizenship education involves consideration of appropriate (non-violent) ways of resolving conflict, recognizing which civic institutions are responsible for ensuring orderly behavior, and instilling empathy with other people.

Treviño, Béjares, Villalobos, and Naranjo (2017) found evidence in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico of associations between teacher practices and civic learning outcomes (in particular, students' civic knowledge). Treviño et al. also found that the democratic environment of the school was relevant to the expected participation of students and their attitudes toward diversity. They suggested that this finding may have resulted from an indirect influence of teachers within the school environment.

ICCS 2016 used a regional Latin American student questionnaire to collect data reflecting students' attitudes, views, and beliefs about violence, their acceptance of justifications for disobedience to the law, and their sense of empathy with classmates. The questionnaire contained sets of items designed to measure these constructs, and the data based on student responses to those items were used to derive measures of the constructs in the form of scales comprising sets of related items.

We used IRT (Item Response Theory) scaling to derive the reporting scales, all of which have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 with equally weighted national data either for ICCS 2016 or, where equated, for ICCS 2009 (Schulz & Friedman, 2018). Item maps describing the scales, which relate scale scores to expected item responses under the scaling model, can be found in Appendix C. Note that cross-national differences of scale scores need to be interpreted with some caution because questionnaire formats may not always provide entirely consistent measurement across national contexts.

We also, in this chapter, investigate associations between measures of the constructs outlined above and selected student characteristics such as civic knowledge, gender, expected university education, and extent of parental education. We then compare average scale scores for comparison groups, each consisting of two categories (for example, students with high and students with low levels of civic knowledge). The statistical comparisons are accompanied by indications of statistical significance ($p < 0.05$) and graphical displays of these comparisons.

Students' attitudes toward the use of violence

Violence and crime are widely canvassed as issues in many Latin American societies, and numerous commentators and researchers consider these detrimental aspects of society have consequences for young people's political socialization (see, for example, Atienzo, Baxter, & Kaltenthaler, 2017; Reimers, 2007). Various organizations have established initiatives directed toward overcoming acceptance of violence (see, for example, Chau & Velásquez, 2009; UNICEF, 2015). Exposure to violence is associated with aggressive behavior among young people (Chau, 2009), and young people who support violence are the young people most likely to participate in violent behavior (Copeland-Linder, Johnson, Haynie, Chung, & Cheng, 2012). The Latin American questionnaire used in ICCS 2009 asked students to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about the use of violence. While most students rejected the use of violence, males tended to be more supportive than females of violence (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011).

The ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire included 10 items designed to measure student attitudes toward the use of violence in society in general. Students rated their agreement (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) with statements endorsing justifications for (or rejecting in the case of one item) the use of violence. Four of these items were analyzed as single-item indicators of attitudes to violence in general: (a) “Peace is only achieved through dialogue and negotiation;” (b) “To achieve peace, the end justifies the means;” (c) “If the authorities fail to act, the citizens should organize themselves to punish criminals;” and (d) “Hitting is a justified punishment when someone commits a crime against my family.”

On average across the five Latin American countries in 2016, more than seven out of 10 students agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “Peace is only achieved through dialogue and negotiation,” while four out of 10 students agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “Hitting is a justified punishment when someone commits an offense against my family” (Table 4.1). On average, majorities among students agreed that “If the authorities fail to act, the citizens should organize themselves to punish criminals” and that “To achieve peace, the end justifies the means.”

The extent to which students agreed with these four statements differed across the five participating countries. For example, in Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Peru, the percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that peace can only be achieved through dialogue and negotiation were lower than the Latin American average percentage of agreement or strong agreement. In Colombia and Mexico, both of which are countries with ongoing internal violent conflicts, the respective percentages were higher than the Latin American average. The percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed that hitting is a justified punishment if someone committed a crime against their family were higher than the Latin American average in Chile and the Dominican Republic but lower than the Latin American average in Colombia and Mexico. The observation that agreement with this statement tended to be lower in Colombia and Mexico is noteworthy given the relatively high crime rates in these countries. A context of relatively high crime rates could be expected to increase people’s endorsement of such forms of self-administered justice.

We observed declines in the years between ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016 in the percentages of students who expressed agreement or strong agreement with three of these four statements. On average, fewer of the ICCS 2016 than the ICCS 2009 students agreed with the statement that hitting someone is justified if that person commits an offense against the student’s family (from 47 to 39 percent) and with the statement that the end justifies the means among people endeavoring to achieve peace (from 67 to 64 percent). While the declines in agreement with the sentiments in each of these statements appear to be in the same direction, the decline in agreement with the sentiment evident in the statement that peace can only be achieved through dialogue and negotiation (from 79 to 72 percent) appears to be inconsistent with the attitudes evident in the first two statements.

We also used several of the questionnaire items to derive a scale reflecting students’ endorsement of the use of violence with respect to their individual context. The scale consisted of six items to which students responded by indicating their level of agreement with each item: (a) “He who does me harm will have to pay for it” (on average across the Latin American countries 40% agreed or strongly agreed with this item); (b) “Watching fights between classmates is fun” (17%); (c) “If you can’t succeed by doing good things, <try> the bad ones” (26%); (d) “You have to fight so people do not think you are a coward” (17%); (e) “Revenge is sweet” (21%); and (f) “Aggression serves to achieve what one wants” (14%).

The higher values on the scale indicated higher levels of endorsement of violence. The average reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) across the five countries was 0.86. Because four of these items were used in both ICCS 2016 and ICCS 2009, we equated the scale to ensure the 2016 scale scores could be compared with those recorded in the 2009 survey (see item map in Figure 4.1, Appendix C).

Table 4.1: National percentages of students' agreement with statements about peace and violence

Country	Percentages of students who agreed or strongly agreed that:											
	Peace is only achieved through dialogue and negotiation			To achieve peace, the means justify the end			If the authorities fail to act, the citizens should organize themselves to punish criminals			Hitting is a justified punishment when someone commits a crime against my family		
	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference	2016	2009	Difference
Chile	68 (0.8) ▽	80 (0.7)	-11 (1.0)	61 (0.8) ▽	68 (0.8)	-6 (1.1)	65 (0.7) △	61 (1.0)	4 (1.2)	49 (0.9) △	54 (1.0)	-5 (1.4)
Colombia	80 (0.8) △	88 (0.5)	-8 (1.0)	60 (0.9) △	64 (0.8)	-4 (1.2)	41 (1.2) ▽	48 (1.1)	-7 (1.7)	26 (1.0) ▽	38 (1.0)	-12 (1.4)
Dominican Republic	64 (1.0) ▽	70 (0.9)	-6 (1.4)	65 (1.0) ▽	69 (0.9)	-5 (1.3)	67 (0.9) △	66 (1.7)	1 (1.9)	43 (1.2) △	53 (1.1)	-10 (1.6)
Mexico	78 (0.8) △	77 (0.8)	1 (1.1)	71 (0.6) △	68 (0.8)	3 (1.0)	56 (0.8) ▽	60 (0.8)	-4 (1.1)	37 (0.9) ▽	42 (0.8)	-5 (1.2)
Peru	70 (0.9) ▽	-	-	65 (1.0) ▽	-	-	61 (1.1)	-	-	43 (1.1)	-	-
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	72 (0.4)			65 (0.4)			58 (0.4)			40 (0.5)		
Common countries average	72 (0.4)	79 (0.4)	-6 (0.6)	64 (0.4)	67 (0.4)	-3 (0.6)	58 (0.5)	59 (0.6)	-1 (0.8)	39 (0.5)	47 (0.5)	-8 (0.7)

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- No comparable data available.

The ICCS 2016 students' average level of endorsement of violence was higher than the regional average for three of the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries (Chile, Dominican Republic, Mexico) and lower than the regional average for Colombia and Peru (Table 4.2). The lower levels of endorsement of violence in these two countries may relate to the situations of extreme political violence in them during the recent past. Between ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, we observed significant declines in students' endorsement of the use of violence in three of the four countries that had data for both ICCS cycles. The decline in Colombia was almost one third of a standard deviation.

Students' endorsement of the use of violence was significantly higher for male than female students in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries. The average for male students was four scale points (or two fifths of a standard deviation) higher for male students than for female students across the five countries. In Mexico, the difference was as high as five scale points (equivalent to about half a regional standard deviation) (Table 4.3).

We also recorded an association between students' endorsement of the use of violence and students' expectations of undertaking a university education (Table 4.3). On average across the five countries, students who expected to undertake university degree studies had scores on the use of violence scale lower than the scores for students who did not expect to undertake university study. Differences were similar in each of the countries, being between two and three scale score points. When we compared students' endorsement of the use of violence by levels of civic knowledge (students with test scores at or above Level B¹ versus those below Level B), we found strong differences. In all participating countries, students with higher levels of civic knowledge were significantly less likely than the less knowledgeable students to endorse the use of violence. On average, the difference between the two groups was four scale points, with the differences ranging from two score points in Colombia to six score points in the Dominican Republic.

Table 4.2: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of the use of violence

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016-2009)	
Chile	50 (0.2) Δ	52 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.5)	
Colombia	46 (0.3) ∇	49 (0.3)	-3.0 (0.5)	
Dominican Republic	50 (0.3) Δ	51 (0.3)	-1.4 (0.5)	
Mexico	50 (0.2) Δ	51 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.5)	
Peru	48 (0.2) ∇	-	-	
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	49 (0.1)			
Common countries average	49 (0.1)	51 (0.1)	-1.6 (0.3)	

2016 average score +/- confidence interval
 2009 average score +/- confidence interval

National ICCS 2016 average:

- \blacktriangle More than 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- Δ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ∇ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- \blacktriangledown More than 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

Disagreement
Agreement

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- No comparable data available.

1 ICCS 2016 measured students' civic knowledge using a test consisting of 87 items. Outcomes were reported on a described scale with the following levels: students working at Level D demonstrate familiarity with concrete, explicit content and examples relating to the basic features of democracy; students working at Level C engage with the fundamental principles and broad concepts that underpin civics and citizenship; students working at Level B typically demonstrate some specific knowledge and understanding of the most pervasive civic and citizenship institutions, systems, and concepts; and students working at Level A demonstrate a holistic knowledge and understanding of civic and citizenship concepts and demonstrate some critical perspective.

Table 4.3: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of the use of violence by gender, expected education, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score average by expected university degree		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not expecting university	Expecting university	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	52 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.3)
Colombia	47 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	45 (0.3)	47 (0.4)	45 (0.3)
Dominican Republic	51 (0.4)	48 (0.3)	51 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	44 (0.6)
Mexico	53 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	48 (0.3)
Peru	50 (0.2)	45 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	45 (0.4)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	51 (0.1)	47 (0.1)	50 (0.2)	48 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	46 (0.2)

■ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

Students' endorsement of disobedience to the law

According to the ICCS 2016 assessment framework (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016, p. 19), the rule of law has embedded within it the concept that all citizens and institutions are subject to laws that are publicly promulgated, independently adjudicated, equally enforced, and consistent with international standards (United Nations, 1948). The rule of law also acknowledges the notion that all citizens are equal before the law regardless of their background and personal characteristics.

Non-compliance with laws and rules has been described as a pervasive phenomenon across Latin American societies and attributed to factors such as a tendency to emphasize self-interest, perceptions of illegitimacy of the political system, and cultural beliefs (see, for example, García Villegas, 2011). Cross-national adult surveys in the Latin American countries have also shown a high level of ambiguity among respondents about civic morality (i.e., moral behavior and acceptance of disobedience to the law), with some countries in the region recording high proportions of acceptance of law-breaking (Letki, 2006), especially among young people (Torgler & Valev, 2004).

The ICCS 2016 Latin American regional student questionnaire measured students' acceptance of breaking the law under different circumstances. It asked students to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following set of nine statements about situations where the law might be disobeyed. The statements each began with "A law may be disobeyed when ..." and then followed on with (a) "it is the only alternative left for achieving important objectives" (on average across the five participating countries, 64% of the students agreed or strongly agreed with this item); (b) "it is the only way one has to help one's family (73%); (c) "others who disobeyed it were not punished" (37%); (d) "others do it" (31%); (e) "one distrusts the enacting body" (42%); (f) "one is sure nobody will realize" (23%); (h) "nobody gets hurt" (61%); (i) "it is not done with bad intentions" (60%); and (j) "one can obtain economic benefits" (35%).²

These nine items formed a unidimensional scale with an average reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.85. Because the stem and item wording had not changed since the last ICCS cycle, we were able to equate the scale scores so that we could compare scores between 2016 and 2009 in the four countries that participated in both cycles. Figure 4.2 in Appendix C shows the item map for this scale.

Of the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries, two (Colombia and Chile) recorded relatively low average scores on the endorsement of disobedience to the law scale. These scores were two scale points (or one fifth of a standard deviation) lower than the ICCS 2016 Latin American average (Table 4.4). In contrast, the Dominican Republic recorded an average score that was four points (equivalent to two fifths of a standard deviation) higher than the Latin American average. We observed a statistically significant but relatively minor decline in students' endorsement of disobedience to the law between ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016.

We also examined associations between students' endorsement of disobedience to the law in each of the five countries and three variables: students' gender, parental university education, and students' level of civic knowledge (Table 4.5). In all countries, male students scored significantly higher than female students on the endorsement of disobedience to the law scale. On average, we found a difference of 2.6 scale points; the differences ranged from about two score points in Chile and Colombia to over three score points in the Dominican Republic and Mexico.

In every country, students who had at least one parent with a university degree had significantly lower average scores on the endorsement of disobedience to the law scale than students who had neither parent with a university degree (Table 4.5). On average, this difference was three scale points (one third of a standard deviation), with differences ranging from less than two points in Colombia and Peru to more than three points in Chile and the Dominican Republic.

² A tenth statement (g) was not used for scaling and is therefore not included in this list.

Table 4.4: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of disobedience to the law

Country	2016	2009	Differences (2016–2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Chile	48 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.3)	-1.4 (0.5)					
Colombia	48 (0.3) ▽	49 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.4)					
Dominican Republic	54 (0.3) ▲	54 (0.3)	0.3 (0.5)					
Mexico	49 (0.2) ▽	49 (0.2)	0.3 (0.4)					
Peru	50 (0.2)	–	–					
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	50 (0.1)							
Common countries average	50 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	-0.3 (0.2)					

■ 2016 average score +/- confidence interval
 ■ 2009 average score +/- confidence interval

National ICCS 2016 average:

- ▲ More than 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

On average across items, students with a score in the range with this color have more than a 50% probability of indicating:

Disagreement
Agreement

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- No comparable data available.

In all participating countries, we found large differences in endorsement of disobedience to the law between students with civic knowledge scores at or above Level B and those with civic knowledge scores below Level B. On average across the five countries, we observed a difference of eight scale score points (equivalent to four fifths of a standard deviation). The differences ranged from over six score points in Colombia and Mexico to 11 score points in the Dominican Republic (equivalent to more than one regional standard deviation).

Students' sense of empathy

Empathy refers to “the ability to understand and share the feelings of another, enter another person’s world, [and] see the world as they see it” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2018). It is often seen as having emotional (feeling what another person feels), cognitive (knowing how the other person feels), and compassionate (being moved to help another person) components (Goleman, 2007). Empathy is one of the aspects that civics and citizenship aims to encourage and is included as a goal of civics and citizenship education in some countries (see, for example, Chau, 2009; Ramos, Nieto, & Chau, 2007).

One of the questions in the ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire required students to respond to several situations involving classmates at their school. Students were asked to indicate, using the response categories “I think it is fun,” “I don't care,” and “it bothers me,” how they would feel if they witnessed each of the following situations involving classmates: (a) a classmate falls and gets hurt; (b) a classmate gets beaten up; (c) a classmate gets unfairly reprimanded; (d) a classmate gets unfairly punished; (e) a classmate gets something stolen from him/her; (f) a classmate gets ridiculed; (g) a classmate gets insulted; (h) a classmate looks very sad; (i) a classmate gets bad grades; (j) a classmate has nobody to play with; and (k) there is a fight between classmates.

We examined the student responses in terms of the percentages of students who said that a situation would bother them. We found little variation across the listed situations in the percentages of students who said they would feel bothered. The one exception was the situation where a classmate got bad grades (Table 4.6). For all situations except the “bad grades” scenario, the average percentages of students who said they would feel bothered ranged from 69 to 78 percent. The corresponding percentage for the situation where a classmate received bad grades was only 54 percent.

Table 4.5: National average scale scores indicating students' endorsement of disobedience to the law by gender, parental education, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score average by parental university degree		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	No parent with university degree	At least one parent with university degree	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	49 (0.3)	47 (0.4)	49 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	44 (0.3)
Colombia	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	47 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	45 (0.3)
Dominican Republic	56 (0.4)	53 (0.4)	55 (0.3)	52 (0.4)	56 (0.3)	45 (0.6)
Mexico	51 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	47 (0.6)	53 (0.2)	45 (0.4)
Peru	51 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	49 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	46 (0.3)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	51 (0.1)	49 (0.2)	51 (0.1)	48 (0.2)	53 (0.1)	45 (0.2)

■ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

Table 4.6: National percentages indicating students' sense of empathy

Country	Percentages of students who said it would bother them if the following situations happened at school:							
	A classmate falls and gets hurt	A classmate gets beaten up	A classmate gets unfairly reprimanded	A classmate gets unfairly punished	A classmate gets something stolen from him/her	A classmate gets ridiculed	A classmate gets	A classmate gets
Chile	60 (1.1) ▼	75 (0.9) ▼	61 (1.0) ▼	66 (0.9) ▼	75 (0.9)	67 (0.9) ▼		
Colombia	74 (1.2)	77 (0.9)	68 (1.0)	74 (1.0)	79 (0.9) Δ	67 (1.2) ▼		
Dominican Republic	88 (1.0) ▲	78 (1.0)	74 (0.9) Δ	78 (1.1) Δ	79 (0.8) Δ	75 (0.9) Δ		
Mexico	71 (1.1) ▼	75 (1.2) ▼	71 (1.0)	73 (1.0)	72 (1.0) ▼	72 (1.1)		
Peru	83 (0.8) Δ	83 (0.7) Δ	70 (0.8)	75 (0.8) Δ	78 (0.7) Δ	72 (0.9)		
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	75 (0.5)	78 (0.4)	69 (0.4)	73 (0.4)	77 (0.4)	71 (0.4)		

Country	Percentages of students who said it would bother them if the following situations happened at school:					Average scale scores indicating students' sense of empathy with classmates
	A classmate gets insulted	A classmate looks very sad	A classmate gets bad grades	A classmate has nobody to play with	There is a fight between classmates	
Chile	67 (0.9) ▼	75 (0.7) ▼	42 (1.1) ▼	65 (0.9) ▼	65 (1.1) ▼	48 (0.2) ▼
Colombia	70 (1.1)	76 (0.8)	52 (1.4)	67 (1.1)	73 (0.9) Δ	50 (0.3)
Dominican Republic	77 (1.0) Δ	83 (0.8) Δ	74 (1.1) ▲	76 (0.9) Δ	76 (1.1) Δ	52 (0.3) Δ
Mexico	69 (1.0)	75 (0.9) ▼	43 (1.2) ▼	67 (1.1)	60 (1.3) ▼	49 (0.3) ▼
Peru	72 (1.0)	78 (0.9)	59 (1.1) Δ	68 (1.0)	76 (0.7) Δ	51 (0.2) Δ
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	71 (0.4)	78 (0.4)	54 (0.5)	69 (0.4)	70 (0.5)	50 (0.1)

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- Δ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent

We did find, however, several notable differences across the countries for some of the situations. A lower-than-average percentage of students in Chile (60%) said they would be bothered by a classmate falling and getting hurt, whereas a larger-than-average percentage of students in the Dominican Republic (88%) said this situation would upset them. A classmate getting bad grades was of concern to a higher-than-average percentage of students in the Dominican Republic (74%) but was of concern to a lower-than-average percentage of students in Chile (42%) and Mexico (43%). In Mexico, a lower than average percentage of students (60%) said watching a fight between classmates would upset them.


We used the 11 empathy items to derive a scale with high average reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.89). The higher scores on this scale indicate higher levels of students' sense of empathy with classmates (see the item map for this scale in [Figure 4.3](#), Appendix C). The results showed that the empathy scores in the countries were lower than the cross-national average in Chile and Mexico but higher than the cross-national average in the Dominican Republic and Peru.


Female students had, on average, significantly higher empathy scale scores than male students in all five countries. Across countries, the difference was, on average, about four scale points (or two fifths of a standard deviation) (Table 4.7). The difference in empathy scores between male and female students was greatest in Mexico, with five score points.

Empathy scale scores were significantly higher among students who expected to attain a university degree than among those who did not have this expectation. On average, the difference between the two groups of students was about two scale score points (equivalent to one fifth of a regional standard deviation). The difference was greatest in Chile, whereas there was almost no difference in Colombia. We recorded a similar size difference between students with civic knowledge scores at or above Level B and students with civic knowledge scores below Level B. However, this difference in Colombia was close to zero, which is interesting in view of the Colombian Program of Citizenship Competencies, which has developing empathy among students as one of its learning outcomes.

Table 4.7: National average scale scores indicating students' sense of empathy with classmates by gender, expected education, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score by expected university degree		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Not expecting university	Expecting university	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	46 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	46 (0.4)	49 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	49 (0.3)
Colombia	48 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.5)	50 (0.3)	50 (0.4)	50 (0.4)
Dominican Republic	50 (0.4)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.5)	53 (0.3)	52 (0.3)	55 (0.5)
Mexico	47 (0.4)	52 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.3)	48 (0.4)	50 (0.3)
Peru	49 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	49 (0.5)	51 (0.2)	50 (0.3)	52 (0.3)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	48 (0.1)	52 (0.1)	48 (0.2)	50 (0.1)	49 (0.2)	51 (0.2)

 Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

 Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.

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CHAPTER 5:

Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity

Chapter highlights

Most students in ICCS 2016 Latin American countries said they would not be bothered by having members of different social minority groups as neighbors.

- More than four fifths of students on average reported that they would not be bothered by having members of minority groups as neighbors. (Table 5.1)
- Students in Chile and Colombia showed relatively higher levels of acceptance of neighborhood diversity, while students from the Dominican Republic and Peru expressed lower levels. (Table 5.2)
- Students who were female, students who attended school in urban areas, and students who had higher levels of civic knowledge were the students most likely to express acceptance of neighborhood diversity. (Table 5.2)

Most students across the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries expressed positive attitudes toward homosexuality.

- While majorities of students in all Latin American countries expressed support for questionnaire items concerning equal rights of homosexual individuals, there was less consensus regarding issues related to same-sex marriage and rights to adopt children. (Table 5.3)
- In Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, the proportions of ICCS 2016 students expressing support for same-sex marriage were much higher than in 2009. In the Dominican Republic, however, the percentage of students expressing this view was significantly lower than in the previous cycle. (Table 5.3)
- The average percentages of Chilean and Mexican students who had positive attitudes toward homosexuality were significantly higher than the Latin American average. Students in the Dominican Republic and Peru, however, held significantly less positive attitudes. (Table 5.3)
- Female students, students attending school in urban areas, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge tended to have more positive attitudes than the other students toward homosexuality. (Table 5.4)

Students from ICCS 2016 Latin American countries perceived a varying degree of discrimination against different social groups.

- On average, the people whom the highest number of students thought were most discriminated against were homosexuals. The lowest percentages of perceived discrimination were for younger and older people. (Table 5.5)

In this chapter, we discuss the views that the students in the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries held in relation to social cohesion and diversity. Our focus is on aspects of ICCS 2016 Research Question 4: *What beliefs do students in participating countries hold regarding important civic issues in modern society and what are the factors associated with their variation?* More specifically, the analyses in this chapter address the following issues:

- To what extent are students from Latin America bothered by having members of social minorities as their neighbors?
- To what extent do Latin American students accept homosexuality?
- To what extent do Latin American students perceive discrimination against different social groups in their country?

The chapter relies primarily on data collected from the ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire. We report percentage responses for item sets and, where possible, refer to scores on the Item Response Theory (IRT) scales derived from those item sets. The scales are described in more detail in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz & Friedman, 2018). Item maps describing the scales can be found in Appendix C.

Students' acceptance of social minorities

Discrimination against minority groups is seen as a deeply entrenched problem worldwide. Encouraging tolerance for different groups in society is therefore commonly regarded as important for the wellbeing of people in society (see, for example, Côté & Erickson, 2009). Reviews of common elements of civic and citizenship educational policies across Latin American countries have revealed considerable emphasis on encouraging students to demonstrate tolerance toward diversity (Ainley, Schulz, & Friedman, 2013). One prominent example is the Colombian Program of Citizenship Competencies (Colombian Ministry of Education, 2004; Chaux, Lleras, & Velásquez, 2004), which includes a content dimension encompassing pluralism, identity, and respect for diversity as well as issues related to discrimination and exclusion.

The ICCS 2009 Latin American regional questionnaire included a set of items that measured students' acceptance of different social minority groups as neighbors. While the 2009 students generally said they were not bothered by living near people of a different nationality, people from another region in the country, or people with a different skin color, they expressed more concern about living near people who were homosexuals or lesbians and those who had AIDS.

Question 6 of the ICCS 2016 Latin American questionnaire used a modified version of this question. It asked students to respond to each of the following eight statements with a "yes" or "no." Each statement began with this stem: "Would it bother you having neighbors belonging to the following groups": (a) persons with different skin color than yours; (b) persons of a different social class than yours; (c) persons of a different religion than yours; (d) persons who come from another region of the country; (e) persons with physical disabilities; (f) persons with mental disorders; (g) persons from a different country; and (h) persons of indigenous origin.

When reviewing the percentages of students who indicated that they would not be bothered by having each of the social groups as neighbors (see [Table 5.1](#)), we found clear majorities of students in all countries expressing this attitude. The average percentages of students who were not bothered across the five Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2016 ranged from 83 percent to 88 percent, depending on the group. Of the eight different groups, persons with mental disorders and those of a different religion were the groups that students said would most bother them if they were neighbors. However, the proportions of students expressing this attitude were still low. Students said they would not be bothered by having persons of a different religion as neighbors; only 15 percent of students on average indicated this group would concern them. On average,

students were least bothered (percentages of students saying this were between 87% and 88%) by having neighbors from these groups: a different social class; a different country; of indigenous origin; different skin color; physical disabilities; and another region of the country.

We used the eight items from this question to derive a scale on students' attitudes toward neighborhood diversity. The scale had high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.90) on average across the five participating countries, and the higher scores on it correspond to higher levels of acceptance of neighborhood diversity. Scale scores for Chile and Colombia were significantly higher than the ICCS 2016 Latin American average (indicating more positive attitudes), whereas scale scores for the Dominican Republic and Peru were significantly lower.

We also compared, in each participating country, students' acceptance of neighborhood diversity by their gender, school location, and civic knowledge (see [Table 5.2](#)).¹ In all countries, female students were more accepting than male students of neighborhood diversity. Except for Chile, students who attended schools in urban locations were more likely than students attending schools in rural locations to have more positive attitudes toward social minorities as neighbors. This finding may be partly explained by more homogenous social contexts in rural areas. The largest difference we recorded was in Peru, where there was a four-point scale score difference in favor of students attending urban schools.

Students from all participating countries with civic knowledge scores at or above Level B on the civic knowledge scale expressed higher levels of acceptance of neighborhood diversity than students with civic knowledge scores below Level B. On average, we observed a difference of five scale score points between the two comparison groups. The largest differences across this sub-group were those in the Dominican Republic and Peru (differences of eight and six scale points respectively). These two countries also had the relatively highest proportions of lower achieving students among the Latin American countries as well as lower levels of acceptance of neighborhood diversity.

Students' attitudes toward homosexuality

Surveys in Latin America of public attitudes toward homosexuality, particularly the issue of same-sex marriage, have shown a deep division that appears to be influenced by contextual factors such as gender, age, education, and religious beliefs (Kelley, 2001; Maldonado, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2014). There is also evidence of considerable differences in perceptions across countries of the region (Latinobarómetro, 2009).

The ICCS 2009 students from Latin America were given a question designed to capture their attitudes toward people with different sexual orientations. The question asked them to rate the extent of their agreement with several statements about people with a homosexual orientation. While no scale was derived from these items during the survey of ICCS 2009 Latin American countries, the results indicated that the majority of students in those countries expressed positive attitudes for four of the five items (Chaux & León, 2016; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011). The only item where less than half of the students expressed agreement on average across the six ICCS 2009 Latin American countries was the item relating to marriage equality.

The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire contained a modified version of the question on attitudes toward homosexuality (all items were worded positively, for example). It asked students to express their agreement or disagreement ("strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," "strongly disagree") with the

¹ ICCS 2016 measured students' civic knowledge using a test consisting of 87 items. Outcomes were reported on a described scale with the following levels: students working at Level D demonstrate familiarity with concrete, explicit content and examples relating to the basic features of democracy; students working at Level C engage with the fundamental principles and broad concepts that underpin civics and citizenship; students working at Level B typically demonstrate some specific knowledge and understanding of the most pervasive civic and citizenship institutions, systems, and concepts; and students working at Level A demonstrate a holistic knowledge and understanding of civic and citizenship concepts and demonstrate some critical perspective.

Table 5.1: National percentages and scale scores indicating students' acceptance of neighborhood diversity

Country	Percentages of students who would not be bothered by having members of the following social groups as neighbors:										Average scale scores indicating students' acceptance of social minorities as neighbors		
	Persons with different skin color than theirs (%)	Persons of a different social class than theirs (%)	Persons of a different religion than theirs (%)	Persons who come from another region of the country (%)	Persons with physical disabilities (%)	Persons with mental disorders (%)	Persons from a different country (%)	Persons with different skin color than theirs (%)	Persons of a different social class than theirs (%)	Persons of a different religion than theirs (%)		Persons who come from another region of the country (%)	
Chile	93 (0.4) Δ	90 (0.5) Δ	92 (0.5) Δ	94 (0.4) Δ	94 (0.4) Δ	89 (0.5) Δ	93 (0.4) Δ	94 (0.4) Δ	92 (0.5) Δ	94 (0.4) Δ	89 (0.5) Δ	93 (0.4) Δ	52 (0.1) Δ
Colombia	91 (0.6) Δ	89 (0.6) Δ	89 (0.6) Δ	91 (0.5) Δ	92 (0.4) Δ	86 (0.6) Δ	90 (0.6) Δ	92 (0.4) Δ	89 (0.6) Δ	92 (0.4) Δ	86 (0.6) Δ	90 (0.6) Δ	51 (0.2) Δ
Dominican Republic	80 (1.1) ▽	81 (0.9) ▽	79 (1.0) ▽	81 (1.0) ▽	80 (1.1) ▽	73 (0.9) ▽	80 (1.0) ▽	80 (1.1) ▽	79 (1.0) ▽	80 (1.1) ▽	73 (0.9) ▽	80 (1.0) ▽	47 (0.3) ▽
Mexico	86 (0.6) ▽	86 (0.6) ▽	84 (0.7) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	88 (0.6) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	88 (0.6) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	88 (0.6) ▽	87 (0.6) ▽	87 (0.7) ▽	50 (0.2)
Peru	88 (0.7)	86 (0.7)	83 (0.9) ▽	87 (0.7)	87 (0.8)	79 (0.8) ▽	86 (0.7) ▽	87 (0.8)	83 (0.9) ▽	87 (0.7)	79 (0.8) ▽	86 (0.7) ▽	49 (0.3) ▽
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	88 (0.3)	87 (0.3)	85 (0.3)	88 (0.3)	88 (0.3)	83 (0.3)	87 (0.3)	88 (0.3)	83 (0.3)	88 (0.3)	83 (0.3)	87 (0.3)	50 (0.1)

National ICCS 2016 results are:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- Δ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

Table 5.2 National average scale scores indicating students' attitudes toward neighborhood diversity by gender, school location, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group			Scale score by school location			Scale score average by level of civic knowledge		
	Male students	Female students		Rural school	Urban school		Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)	
	9	6	3	9	6	3	9	6	3
Chile	52 (0.2)	53 (0.2)		52 (0.3)	52 (0.2)		51 (0.2)	53 (0.1)	
Colombia (r)	50 (0.3)	52 (0.2)		51 (0.3)	52 (0.2)		49 (0.3)	53 (0.1)	
Dominican Republic (r)	45 (0.4)	49 (0.3)		47 (0.4)	48 (0.5)		46 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	
Mexico	49 (0.3)	51 (0.2)		50 (0.3)	51 (0.3)		48 (0.4)	52 (0.2)	
Peru	49 (0.3)	50 (0.3)		48 (0.3)	52 (0.3)		47 (0.3)	53 (0.2)	
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	49 (0.1)	51 (0.1)		50 (0.2)	51 (0.1)		48 (0.1)	53 (0.1)	

▲ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

□ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in bold.

An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

following five statements): (a) "Persons of the same sex should have the right to get married;" (b) "Two persons of the same sex should have the right to adopt children;" (c) "Homosexuals should have the same rights as all other citizens;" (d) "All schools should accept homosexuals;" and (e) "Homosexuals should have the right to hold any political or public position."

On average, most students from the participating ICCS 2016 Latin American countries tended to express agreement (strongly agree or agree) with the positively worded items concerning the rights of people with a homosexual orientation (see [Table 5.3](#)). The item containing the statement "Persons of the same sex should have the right to get married" was administered using the same wording as in ICCS 2009, making it possible to compare the responses to this item for each cycle. Consideration of the results for these items need to acknowledge that in recent years more countries have introduced a legal basis for same-sex marriage, and that more countries may make changes to their laws on this matter in the near future. These developments are likely to influence public debate as well as public opinion, so young people's attitudes toward marriage equality may soon be subject to further changes.

On average across the participating countries, 61 percent of the students surveyed in ICCS 2016 expressed agreement with marriage equality. Interestingly, we observed some notable changes for those countries that participated in both cycles of the study. Students from Chile (where partners of the same sex may register their relationships as civil unions but cannot legally marry) had the highest level of agreement across countries for this item (increasing from 58% agreement in ICCS 2009 to 79% agreement in ICCS 2016). We also recorded large increases in agreement over time for this item in Colombia (49% in 2009, 63% in 2016) and Mexico (64% in 2009, 78% in 2016). Colombia made same-sex marriage legal in 2016, whereas only some of the Mexican states had legalized it at this time. In the Dominican Republic, only 38 percent of the ICCS 2016 students expressed support for same-sex marriage, which meant a drop of 11 percentage points from the 49 percent of students who agreed with same-sex marriage in 2009. In Peru, which participated for the first time in ICCS in 2016, just under half of its students (48%) expressed support for this type of marriage.

Almost four fifths of students on average across the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries agreed that "People who identify as homosexuals should have the same rights as other citizens," and this was the highest level of agreement among the five items. Agreement ranged from 63 percent in the Dominican Republic to 88 percent in Mexico. A large proportion of students thought that "All schools should accept homosexual students" and that "Homosexuals should have the right to hold any political or public position," on average, these items attracted agreement levels of 72 and 70 percent respectively. The statement attracting the lowest level of agreement across the five countries was "Two persons of the same sex should have the right to adopt children." Agreement ranged from 43 and 45 percent in the Dominican Republic and Peru, respectively, to 76 and 77 percent in Chile and Mexico.

During ICCS 2016, we used these five items to derive a scale reflecting students' attitudes toward homosexuality. The scale had a high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.88) on average across the participating countries, with the higher scores on it representing more positive attitudes toward homosexuality. Scale scores for students from both Chile and Mexico were significantly higher than the Latin American ICCS 2016 average, while scores for students from the Dominican Republic and Peru were significantly lower. We also compared the scores on this scale across dichotomous sub-groups based on student gender, school location, and student level of civic knowledge (see [Table 5.4](#)).

In all countries, female students expressed more positive attitudes than male students toward homosexuality (with an average difference of more than three scale points). The largest difference that we observed was in Chile (a difference of about six scale points). We also found statistically significant differences between students at urban schools and students at rural schools.

Table 5.3: National percentages and scale scores indicating students' attitudes toward homosexuality

Country	Percentages of students who agreed with the following statements:						Average scale scores indicating students' acceptance of homosexuality
	Persons of the same sex should have the right to get married		Two persons of the same sex should have the right to adopt children	Homosexuals should have the same rights as all other citizens	All schools should accept homosexuals	Homosexuals should have the right to hold any political or public position	
	% 2016	% 2009	Difference	(%)	(%)	(%)	
Chile	79 (0.9) ▲	58 (1.1)	20 (1.4)	76 (1.0) ▲	86 (0.7) △	84 (0.8) ▲	55 (0.3) △
Colombia	63 (1.2) △	49 (1.2)	14 (1.6)	59 (1.1)	85 (0.7) △	80 (1.0) △	50 (0.2)
Dominican Republic	38 (1.1) ▼	49 (1.4)	-11 (1.8)	43 (1.3) ▼	63 (1.2) ▼	51 (1.3) ▼	45 (0.2) ▼
Mexico	78 (0.8) ▲	64 (0.9)	15 (1.2)	77 (0.9) ▲	88 (0.6) △	85 (0.8) ▲	53 (0.2) △
Peru	48 (1.4) ▼	-	-	45 (1.2) ▼	71 (1.1) ▼	61 (1.1) ▼	46 (0.2) ▼
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	61 (0.5)	-	-	60 (0.5)	79 (0.4)	72 (0.4)	50 (0.1)
Common countries average	65 (0.5)	55 (0.6)	9 (0.8)				

National ICCS 2016 results are:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▶ More than 10 percentage or 3 score points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.
- Statistically significant changes ($p < 0.05$) between 2009 and 2016 are displayed in **bold**.
- No comparable data available.

Table 5.4: National average scale scores indicating students' acceptance of homosexuality by gender, school location, and level of civic knowledge

Country	Scale score average by gender group		Scale score by school locations		Scale score average by level of civic knowledge	
	Male students	Female students	Rural school	Urban school	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (479 and above)
Chile	52 (0.3)	58 (0.3)	54 (0.4)	55 (0.3)	53 (0.3)	56 (0.3)
Colombia (r)	48 (0.2)	52 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	51 (0.4)	49 (0.2)	52 (0.3)
Dominican Republic (r)	44 (0.3)	46 (0.3)	45 (0.3)	45 (0.5)	45 (0.2)	46 (0.5)
Mexico	52 (0.2)	55 (0.2)	53 (0.3)	54 (0.3)	52 (0.2)	55 (0.2)
Peru	45 (0.2)	48 (0.3)	46 (0.2)	48 (0.5)	45 (0.2)	48 (0.4)
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	48 (0.1)	52 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	51 (0.2)	49 (0.1)	51 (0.2)

▲ Difference between comparison groups statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

△ Difference between comparison groups not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Notes:

- () Standard errors appear in parentheses.
- Score averages that are significantly larger ($p < 0.05$) than those in the comparison group are displayed in **bold**.
- An "(r)" indicates that data are available for at least 70% but less than 85% of students.

On average, students attending schools in urban locations had scale scores that were about one point higher than the scores of students at schools in rural locations. These differences were statistically significant in all countries except the Dominican Republic. In addition, students who had higher levels of civic knowledge (at or above Level B) tended to express more positive attitudes than their less knowledgeable peers toward people with a homosexual orientation. On average across the participating countries, the difference was about three scale points, and it was as high as four scale points in Mexico. The only country not to record a significant difference between these two groups of students was the Dominican Republic.

Students' perceptions of discrimination in society

As in many other parts of the world, research shows that a large degree of discrimination still exists toward groups of people in Latin America based on factors such as poverty (Ñopo, Chong, & Moro, 2010), gender (Morgan & Bruce, 2013), and ethnicity (Seligson, Smith, & Zechmeister, 2012). In addition, perceptions of these types of discrimination are often influenced by an individual's background (e.g., skin color and ethnicity) and by contextual factors (Canache, Hayes, Mondak, & Seligson, 2014).

The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included a new question that asked students to consider 11 groups of people and then to rate how much they thought their countries discriminated against each group (response categories "a lot," "to some extent," "a little," "not at all"): (a) women; (b) young persons; (c) homosexual persons; (d) unemployed persons; (e) persons with a disability; (f) persons of African origin; (g) religious minorities; (h) poor people; (i) older people; (j) immigrants; and (k) persons of indigenous origin.

Students participating in ICCS 2016 across Latin America perceived these groups of people as being discriminated against to varying degrees in their countries (see [Table 5.5](#)). In all countries, the group that the largest proportion of students perceived as being discriminated against (a lot or to some extent) were those with a homosexual orientation. On average across the participating countries, 81 percent of students reported a lot or some discrimination in their respective countries, ranging from 86 percent of students in Chile to 70 percent in the Dominican Republic. Interestingly, we found that students in the latter country were the students least likely to see this group as being discriminated against yet were also the students who held the least positive attitudes toward homosexuality.

Persons with a disability were perceived as the second-most discriminated against group in the five countries; the cross-national average percentage of students holding this view was 61 percent. The students most likely to think persons with disabilities experienced discrimination were those in Chile and Colombia; the least likely were those in Peru and Mexico.

On average, between 59 and 61 percent of students across Latin America thought that persons from an African origin, poor people, persons of indigenous origin, and women were all discriminated against. Of note is the finding that in Chile only half of the students perceived poor people as being discriminated against. This proportion was 11 percentage points below the average for all participating countries. While in this context it is worth mentioning that Chile's GDP per capita is higher compared to the GDPs of the other participating Latin American countries, Chile also has high levels of income inequality (United Nations Development Programme, 2016), and there may be other factors influencing students' perceptions of discrimination against poor people in this country.

The groups that students thought experienced the least discrimination were immigrants, members of religious minorities, unemployed persons, young persons, and older persons. On average across the five countries, between 43 and 51 percent of students thought that these groups were discriminated against. In the Dominican Republic, the percentages of students who thought that young persons, unemployed persons, immigrants, and older people were discriminated against were more than 10 percentage points above the regional ICCS 2016 average.

Table 5.5: Students' perceptions of discrimination against social groups in their country

Country	Percentages of students who perceived a lot or a certain extent of discrimination against:										
	Women	Young persons	Homosexual persons	Unemployed persons	Persons with a disability	Persons of African origin	Religious minorities	Poor people	Older people	<Immigrants>	Persons of indigenous origin
Chile	49 (0.9) ▽	33 (0.9) ▽	86 (0.6) △	35 (0.9) ▽	56 (1.0) ▽	54 (0.7) ▽					
Colombia	57 (1.1) ▽	39 (0.9) ▽	85 (0.7) △	39 (0.9) ▽	58 (0.9) ▽	64 (1.0) △					
Dominican Republic	66 (1.1) △	60 (1.3) ▲	70 (0.9) ▼	57 (1.2) ▲	63 (0.9)	56 (1.0) ▽					
Mexico	63 (0.8) △	45 (0.9) △	83 (0.6) △	47 (0.9) △	68 (0.9) △	69 (0.9) △					
Peru	61 (1.1)	39 (0.9) ▽	80 (0.9)	44 (0.9)	64 (1.0) △	61 (0.9)					
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	59 (0.4)	43 (0.4)	81 (0.3)	44 (0.4)	62 (0.4)	61 (0.4)					
Country	Percentages of students who perceived a lot or a certain extent of discrimination against:										
	Religious minorities	Poor people	Older people	<Immigrants>	Persons of indigenous origin						
Chile	38 (1.0) ▽	50 (1.1) ▼	33 (0.9) ▽	52 (1.0)	55 (1.0) ▽						
Colombia	46 (0.9) ▽	58 (0.8) ▽	37 (1.0) ▽	44 (1.1) ▽	54 (1.1) ▽						
Dominican Republic	52 (0.9) △	67 (1.0) △	57 (1.1) ▲	61 (1.0) ▲	-						
Mexico	54 (0.9) △	65 (0.9) △	45 (0.9) △	52 (0.9)	68 (0.8) △						
Peru	45 (1.1)	63 (1.0) △	42 (1.0) △	45 (0.8) ▽	63 (1.0) △						
Latin American ICCS 2016 average	47 (0.4)	61 (0.4)	43 (0.4)	51 (0.4)	60 (0.5)						

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

- ▲ More than 10 percentage points above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- △ Significantly above Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▽ Significantly below Latin American ICCS 2016 average
- ▼ More than 10 percentage points below Latin American ICCS 2016 average

Notes:

- 0 Standard errors appear in parentheses. Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent

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CHAPTER 6:

Discussion of results and implications for research, policy, and practice

Unlike more established Western democracies, most countries in Latin America returned to democratic rule only three or four decades ago or even more recently, and their political, social, and economic stability is often still called into question. Recent surveys have consistently found that commitment to democracy among adults in this region is not well established (see Cohen, Lupu, & Zechmeister, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2017; Valenzuela, Schwartzman, Biehl, & Valenzuela, 2008). These findings stress the urgency of ensuring education for citizenship as an important component among the efforts needed to achieve democratic sustainability in this region.

ICCS 2016 was the second cycle of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). ICCS is designed to study the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in society. This area of learning in Latin America takes places within the ambit of challenges and contexts particular to this region. These include acquiescence to authoritarianism, corruption, violence, and breaking the law. Also of relevance are young people's trust in government, their development of empathy toward peers, their acceptance of diversity, and their perceptions of discrimination against different social groups in society.

ICCS collected and analyzed data on four topics that reflect these aspects of civic and citizenship education in Latin America:

- National contexts for civic and citizenship education in the region;
- Students' perceptions of public institutions and government;
- Students' views on peaceful coexistence; and
- Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity.

In this final chapter, we summarize the main findings for each of these aspects of civic and citizenship education in the five Latin American countries that participated in ICCS 2016. We also discuss potential implications for policy and practice and provide an outlook on future research in this area in the Latin American region.

Summary of findings

Contexts for civic and citizenship education

The five Latin American ICCS countries that participated in ICCS 2016 differ in terms of population size, economic strength, and human development. They also differ in their political contexts, especially with regard to voter turnout, female representation in parliament, and support for democracy. While adult literacy rates are relatively high in all five countries, differences relating to educational provision remain.

ICCS recorded considerable differences across the countries in regard to (Grade 8) students' civic knowledge as well as (Grade 6) students' reading abilities. While all five countries place strong emphasis on civic and citizenship education, they differ in the extent to which and how they have implemented this learning area in their national curricula. Civic and citizenship education in the ICCS 2016 Latin American countries is also strongly influenced by the recent historical and political background of each country.

Students' perceptions of public institutions and government

While most of the ICCS 2016 Latin American lower-secondary students tended not to agree with most examples of authoritarian government practices, they still expressed considerable support for some of these authoritarian practices. Furthermore, when these students were asked about their level of agreement with justifications for dictatorial rule, about two thirds of them across the participating countries agreed that upholding law and order or providing economic benefits justify dictatorships. Of the four Latin American countries that participated in both ICCS 2009 and ICCS 2016, Chile was the only one where student support for authoritarian rule and dictatorial rule decreased over time.

When the Latin American students were asked about their support for or acceptance of corrupt practices in public (civil) services and government, most tended not to endorse corruption. However, a considerable proportion of the students still accepted corrupt practices. Since 2009, student support for corrupt practices declined in Chile but increased slightly in Colombia and Mexico. Students enrolled at urban schools, students who expected to undertake university education, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less likely to endorse corrupt practices.

The lower-secondary students surveyed in the ICCS 2016 regional survey for Latin America expressed high levels of trust in the institution of schools but low levels of trust in political institutions. Since 2009 both Chile and Colombia recorded declines in students' levels of trust in institutions such as the government and political parties. When we looked at the association between trust in institutions and civic knowledge, we observed that students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less inclined than their peers to trust political parties or the national government but were somewhat more inclined to trust schools or the armed forces.

Students' views on peaceful coexistence

The need for dialogue and negotiation was widely accepted by students. However, majorities of students in four out of the five countries supported the notion of using violent means outside the law to punish criminals. Most students did not, however, agree with statements justifying the use of violence, and in three out of four countries their acceptance of using violence decreased significantly between 2009 and 2016. We also recorded considerable variation across the five countries in the extent to which students accepted violence. The lowest levels of endorsement were found among females, students who expected to attain a university degree, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge.

We found that most students accepted some justifications for breaking the law, such as finding it the only way to help one's family or not doing it with bad intentions. One explanation for this finding could relate to students' perceptions of societal or personal need, in the sense that the direr they perceive a situation to be, the more accepting they are of breaking the law. We also found marked differences in acceptance of breaking the law across countries, with students in Chile and Colombia being those least inclined to agree with justifications for disobedience to the law. Again, civic knowledge was negatively associated with endorsement of justifying disobedience of the law, as were female gender and having parents who completed a university degree.

Most students when presented with hypothetical situations in which peers at school found themselves in difficult situations, such as being subjected to unfair treatment by others, showed concern for those schoolmates. Female students and students with higher levels of civic knowledge were more likely than other students to express empathy for their classmates.

Students' perceptions of social cohesion and diversity

Large majorities of students across the participating countries expressed acceptance of neighbors from different social minority groups. However, notable differences were apparent in the proportions of students who said they would not be bothered by neighborhood diversity. Female students, students at schools in urban areas, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge were the students most likely to accept members of minority groups living next door.

Students across the five ICCS 2016 Latin American countries showed positive attitudes toward people with a homosexual orientation, while Chile, Colombia, and Mexico all recorded higher levels of agreement with same-sex marriage than they did in ICCS 2009. However, we also found marked differences across countries, with students in the Dominican Republic and Peru expressing somewhat less positive attitudes. Support for equal opportunities and rights for homosexual people were more prevalent among the female students, those students studying at schools in urban areas, and students with higher levels of civic knowledge.

When asked about the levels of discrimination in their countries toward members of different social groups, students generally thought that the groups least discriminated against were young people, unemployed persons, and older people. High percentages of students perceived relatively high levels of discrimination against homosexual people, however.

Implications for research, policy, and practice

Studies such as ICCS 2016 have a cross-sectional design, which means that the data collected come from samples of students, schools, and teachers at one point in time. This feature limits the feasibility of drawing firm conclusions about causal relationships from findings. Also, because each country can decide whether or not to participate in a study such as ICCS, the number of countries participating in each cycle of that study varies. Although only a few Latin American countries elected to participate in ICCS 2016, the collected data have provided a number of results that suggest implications for further research, for policy and practice in general, and for the individual countries that participated in particular.

With regard to students' attitudes toward government forms and practices, corruption, and disobedience to the law, we found results that are similar to those from surveys conducted among adult citizens in this region. Our findings indicate that commitment to democratic principles is somewhat limited among young people, and that their respect for the rule of law (as indicated by their acceptance of corruption or justifications for breaking the law) is often conditional, especially in terms of safeguarding family interests. And while majorities of the ICCS 2016 Latin American students rejected more authoritarian government practices, large proportions of these young people considered safeguarding economic interests or ensuring law and order through dictatorial rule acceptable. Thus, the results from ICCS 2016 emphasize a concerning level of undemocratic and anti-social orientations among substantial proportions of young people in these five Latin American countries.

When comparing the contexts for civic and citizenship education across the Latin American countries, we found commonalities such as a shared emphasis on the importance of this learning area for promoting democratic stability. However, we also observed differences in how this learning area is conceived and organized across national curricula. We also noted that this learning area in each country is strongly influenced by its national historical and political contexts, such as specific experiences with non-democratic regimes in the past (for example, the Fujimori government in Peru, or the military regime in Chile between 1973 and 1990).

It will therefore be of major interest to review the study results more closely at the national level, not only with respect to the most recent results but also with respect to changes since 2009. For example, it is noteworthy that in Chile the lower-secondary students in 2016 were less inclined than

their peers in the previous survey to agree with authoritarian government practices, justifications for dictatorship, and corrupt practices. We also recorded the rather unexpected finding that in countries with relatively high crime rates, the 2016 students were more supportive than the 2009 students of peace and less prone to endorse extra-judicial punishments. Findings like these may relate to country-specific developments, such as initiatives to support the development of democratic orientations, or programs to promote conflict resolution and counter violent behavior at schools. Findings of this nature warrant further investigation within the respective national contexts for civic and citizenship education.

Using as our basis the ICCS 2016 data, we reviewed associations between questionnaire scales with selected variables related to students' backgrounds and students' attained civic learning. Our results broadly confirmed findings from earlier research about differences in student scale scores and perceptions between gender groups, as well as relationships with parental education, students' expectations of further education, and community context. For this first report on the ICCS 2016 Latin American results, we looked at bivariate associations but did not conduct multivariate analyses. We acknowledge that our findings about differences in attitudes between students studying at rural or urban schools, for example, may be (partly or entirely) due to differences in socioeconomic background or other related variables. Future secondary analyses using multivariate analysis models should shed further light on these relationships.

There are also research questions of interest that warrant more in-depth investigation but that were outside the scope of this first report. These include associations between the different types of student perceptions measured by the Latin American student questionnaire. For example, it would be interesting to look at the extent to which students' perceptions of discrimination of minorities in a country are associated with their attitudes toward neighborhood diversity or homosexuality. The rich ICCS 2016 database, containing both regional and international data, provides ample opportunity for further analyses of this kind, and for setting student survey results within the respective educational and national contexts.

One of the most interesting findings in this report, which was also evident in the ICCS 2009 results, was the strong association between attitudes and the levels of civic knowledge students had developed. Students with high levels of civic knowledge tended to be much less inclined to agree with justifications for dictatorship or law-breaking, or to endorse the use of authoritarian government practices, corruption in public services, and the use of violence. Given the relatively low levels of civic knowledge among students in Latin America, findings such as these make a strong case for improving civic learning, with the prospect of developing more democratic orientations and higher levels of acceptance of the rule of law.

Our examination of the ICCS 2016 findings from the Latin American countries also found that students with higher levels of civic knowledge were less inclined to express trust in the government or political parties. This negative association suggests that knowing more about civic institutions leads to more insights into the problems with how these political institutions work. The fact that trust in schools was higher among more knowledgeable students indicates that having more civic knowledge does not always translate into lower levels of trust. These findings also suggest that having more information and knowledge about how the political systems and civic institutions in Latin America work leads to more critical views of those systems and institutions. In the long term, providing young people with a better understanding of civic issues has the potential to provide a better foundation for discussions about political reform among future generations.

Outlook

This report has provided a first picture of lower-secondary students' perceptions across a wide range of important region-specific issues set within their broader national contexts in five Latin American countries. It has documented the extent of students' beliefs, changes since the first cycle of ICCS in 2009, and associations with selected variables such as students' gender, school location, parental education, expected tertiary attainment, and civic knowledge. Over coming years, we expect that the ICCS 2016 data will contribute to a wide range of secondary research activities, as occurred with the CIVED 1999 (Reimers, 2007) and the ICCS 2009 datasets. The more detailed and refined analyses this secondary research offers should provide greater insight into the factors influencing students' beliefs and perceptions of civics and citizenship in Latin America. Researchers conducting these analyses will find this current publication and the previous ICCS 2009 Latin American report (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011) important points of reference.

IEA implemented ICCS as a fully developed cycle of comparative studies of civic and citizenship education. ICCS 2009 was the first in the cycle and ICCS 2016 has been the second. The second survey provided an invaluable opportunity for monitoring students' beliefs about democracy, institutions, and society over the course of seven years in those Latin American countries that participated in both ICCS surveys. The IEA will soon commence preparations for the next cycle of ICCS, with its data collection scheduled for 2022. We hope that this report with its first description of our findings about young people's perceptions of civic-related issues in five Latin American countries will encourage continued and increased ICCS country participation in this region.

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLING INFORMATION AND PARTICIPATION RATES

Table A.1: Coverage of ICCS 2016 target population

Country	International target population	Exclusions from target population		
	Coverage (%)	School-level exclusions (%)	Within-sample exclusions (%)	Overall exclusions (%)
Chile	100	1.1	2.4	3.5
Colombia	100	0.2	0.2	0.4
Dominican Republic	100	1.1	0.0	1.1
Mexico	100	0.9	1.1	2.0
Peru	100	3.0	0.0	3.1

Note:

Because results are rounded to the nearest whole number, some totals may appear inconsistent.

Table A.2: Participation rates and sample sizes for student survey

Country	School participation rate (in %)			Total number of schools that participated in student survey	Student participation rate (weighted) in %	Total number of students assessed	Overall participation rate (in %)	
	Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)	After replacement (unweighted)				Before replacement (weighted)	After replacement (weighted)
Chile	93.9	100.0	100.0	178	94.8	5081	89.0	94.8
Colombia	96.2	100.0	100.0	150	95.9	5609	92.3	95.9
Dominican Republic	96.8	100.0	100.0	141	96.6	3937	93.5	96.6
Mexico	93.5	96.7	95.9	213	95.6	5526	89.4	92.5
Peru	100.0	100.0	100.0	206	96.8	5166	96.8	96.8

APPENDIX B: STUDENT PERCENTAGES FOR DICHOTOMOUS VARIABLES

Table B.1: Percentages of students in categories for dichotomous variables used in report

Country	Gender		School location		Levels of civic knowledge		Parental education		Expected education	
	Males	Females	Rural	Urban	Civic knowledge below Level B (below 479)	Civic knowledge at or above Level B (above 479)	No parents with university degree	At least one parent with university degree	Not expecting university degree	Expecting university degree
Chile	51 (1.1)	49 (1.1)	37 (3.8)	63 (3.8)	47 (1.5)	53 (1.5)	76 (1.2)	24 (1.2)	35 (1.2)	65 (1.2)
Colombia	47 (1.3)	53 (1.3)	49 (3.5)	51 (3.5)	47 (1.8)	53 (1.8)	71 (1.5)	29 (1.5)	18 (0.8)	82 (0.8)
Dominican Republic	49 (0.9)	51 (0.9)	81 (3.1)	19 (3.1)	88 (1.0)	12 (1.0)	76 (1.2)	24 (1.2)	53 (1.4)	47 (1.4)
Mexico	50 (0.7)	50 (0.7)	52 (3.7)	48 (3.7)	54 (1.4)	46 (1.4)	75 (1.1)	25 (1.1)	25 (1.1)	75 (1.1)
Peru	52 (1.6)	48 (1.6)	65 (3.2)	35 (3.2)	65 (1.7)	35 (1.7)	73 (1.0)	27 (1.0)	36 (0.9)	64 (0.9)

APPENDIX C: ITEM MAPS

The ICCS 2016 Latin American student questionnaire used sets of items to measure constructs relevant in the field of civic and citizenship education that have region-specific importance and relevance. These items were usually sets of Likert-type items with four response categories (e.g., “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” and “strongly disagree”). The items were then recoded so that the higher scale scores reflected more positive attitudes or higher frequencies.

The Rasch Partial Credit Model (Masters & Wright, 1997) was used for scaling, and the resulting weighted likelihood estimates (Warm, 1989) were transformed into a metric with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for equally weighted ICCS 2016 national samples that satisfied guidelines for sample participation. For scales equated to ICCS 2009, the averages and standard deviations were 50 and 10 respectively for all countries that participated in the previous survey. More details on scaling and equating procedures will be provided in the ICCS 2016 technical report (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2018).

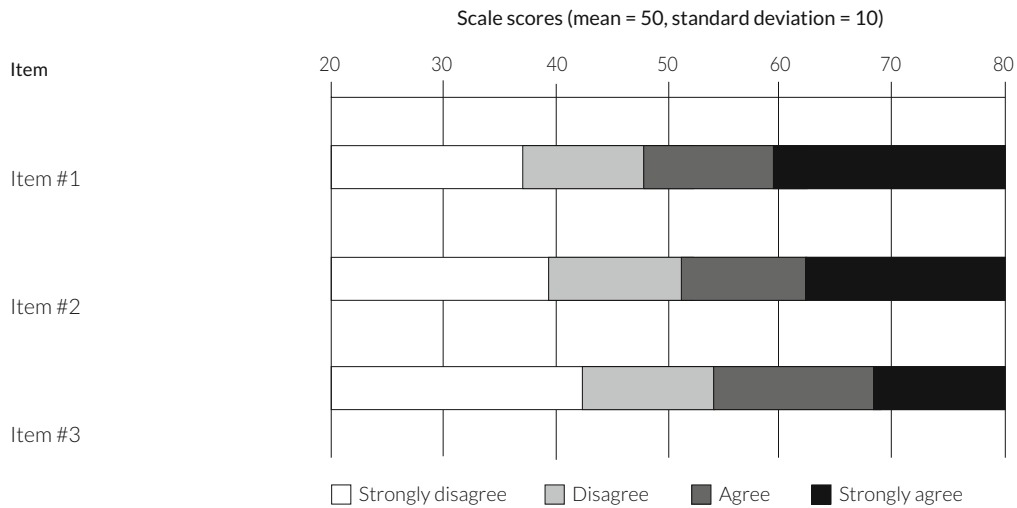
The resulting ICCS 2016 scale scores can be interpreted with regard to the average across countries participating in ICCS 2016 (or ICCS 2009 where scales were equated), but they do not reveal the extent to which students endorsed the items used for measurement. However, our application of the Rasch Partial Credit Model allowed us to map scale scores to item responses, making it possible for us to predict, for each scale score, the most likely item response for a respondent. (For an application of these properties in the previous survey, see Schulz & Friedman, 2011.)

Appendix C provides item maps for each questionnaire scale presented in the report. The maps provide a prediction of the minimum coded score (e.g., 0 = “strongly disagree,” 1 = “disagree,” 2 = “agree,” and 3 = “strongly agree”) a respondent would obtain on a Likert-type item based on their questionnaire scale score. For example, for students with a certain scale score, one could predict that they would have a 50 percent probability of at least agreeing (or strongly agreeing) with a particular item (see example item in [Figure C.1](#)). For each item, it is possible to determine Thurstonian thresholds, the points at which a minimum item score becomes more likely than any lower score and which determine the boundaries between item categories on the item map.

This information can also be summarized at the scale level by calculating the average thresholds across all of the corresponding scaled items. For four-point Likert-type scales, this was typically done for the second threshold, thereby allowing us to predict how likely it would be for a respondent with a certain scale score to have (on average across items) responses in the two lower or upper categories. Use of this approach in the case of items measuring agreement made it possible to distinguish between scale scores with which respondents were most likely to agree or disagree with the average item used for scaling.

In some of the reporting tables with national average scale scores, means are depicted as boxes that indicate their mean values plus or minus sampling error. The boxes are in graphical displays (e.g., [Table 3.3](#) in the main body of the text) that have two underlying colors. National average scores located in the darker-shaded area indicate that, on average across items, students would have had responses in the respective lower item categories (e.g., “disagree or strongly disagree”). National average scores found in the lighter-shaded area indicate that students’ average item responses would have been in the upper item response categories (e.g., “agree or strongly agree”). Choice of thresholds between categories depended on the distributions of responses. For example, if over 80 percent of students had responded with agreement, this meant a threshold set between “strongly agree” and all other categories.

Figure C.1: Example of questionnaire item map



Example of how to interpret the item-by-score map

#1:	A respondent with score 30 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly disagreeing with all three items
#2:	A respondent with score 40 has more than a 50 percent probability of not strongly disagreeing with Items 1 and 2 but of strongly disagreeing with Item 3
#3:	A respondent with score 50 has more than a 50 percent probability of agreeing with Item 1 and of disagreeing with Items 2 and 3
#4:	A respondent with score 60 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly agreeing with Item 1 and of at least agreeing with Items 2 and 3
#5:	A respondent with score 70 has more than a 50 percent probability of strongly agreeing with Items 1, 2, and 3

Figure 3.1: Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of authoritarian government practices

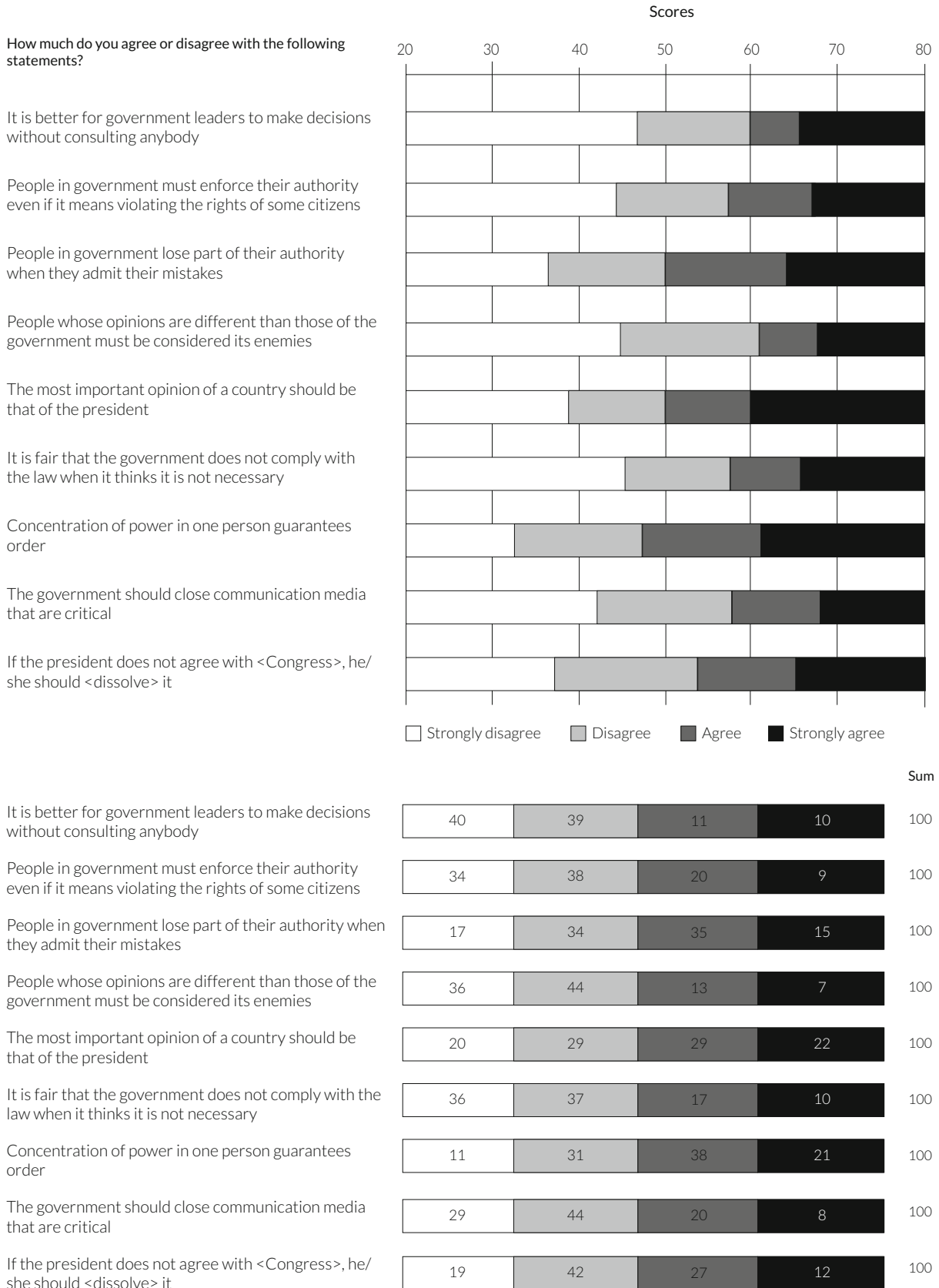
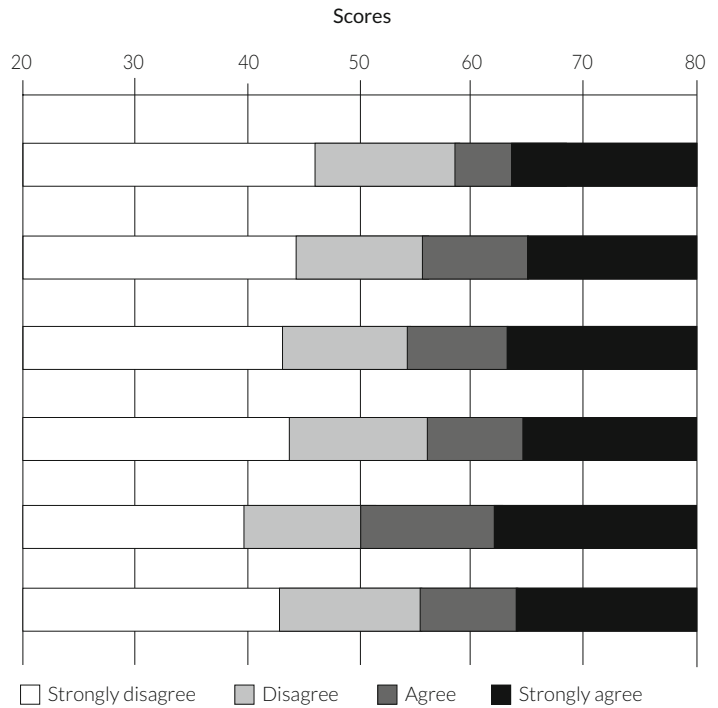


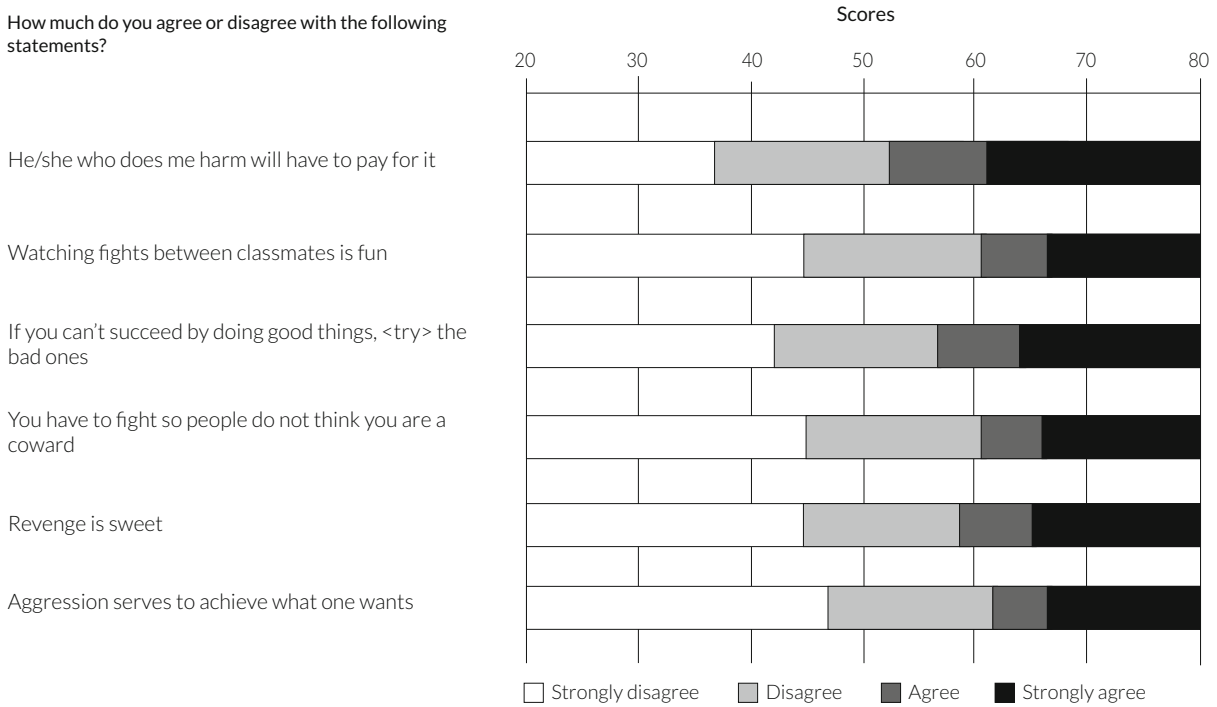
Figure 3.2: Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of corrupt practices in government

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the civil service and government?



Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Sum
It is acceptable for a civil servant to accept bribes if his/her salary is too low	33	43	14	11	100
It is acceptable for a civil servant to use the resources of the institution in which he/she works for personal benefit	28	37	24	11	100
Good candidates grant personal benefits to voters in return for their votes	25	36	26	14	100
Paying an additional amount to a civil servant in order to obtain a personal benefit is acceptable	27	40	23	11	100
It is acceptable that a civil servant helps his/her friends by giving them employment in his/her office	17	30	36	17	100
Since public resources belong to everyone, it is acceptable that whoever can keeps part of them	25	40	24	12	100

Figure 4.1: Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of the use of violence



					Sum
He/she who does me harm will have to pay for it	19	42	25	15	100
Watching fights between classmates is fun	37	47	11	6	100
If you can't succeed by doing good things, <try> the bad ones	30	44	17	9	100
You have to fight so people do not think you are a coward	38	46	10	6	100
Revenge is sweet	36	43	13	7	100
Aggression serves to achieve what one wants	43	43	8	6	100

Figure 4.2: Item map for the scale reflecting students' endorsement of disobedience to the law

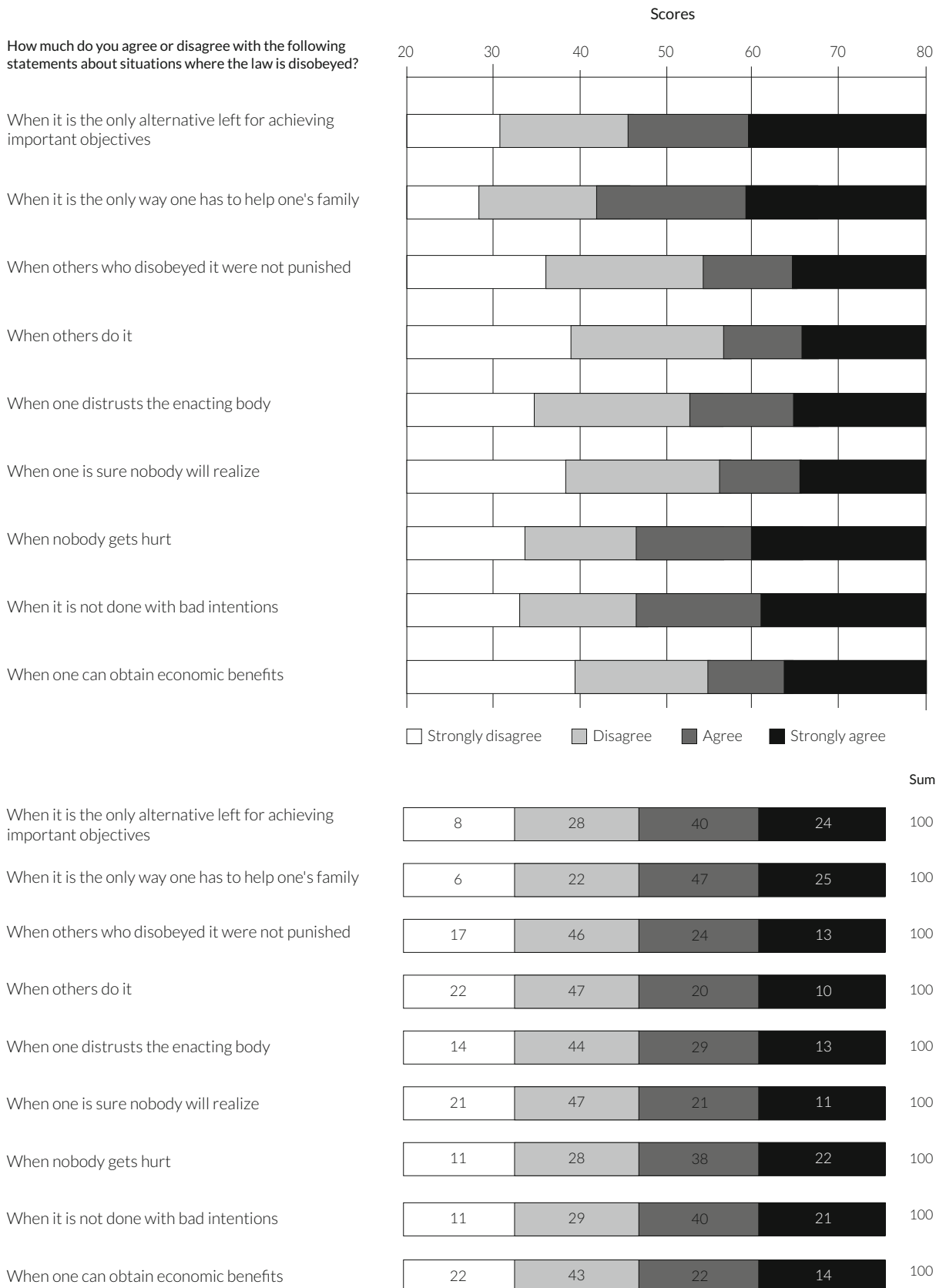


Figure 4.3: Item map for the scale reflecting students' sense of empathy with classmates

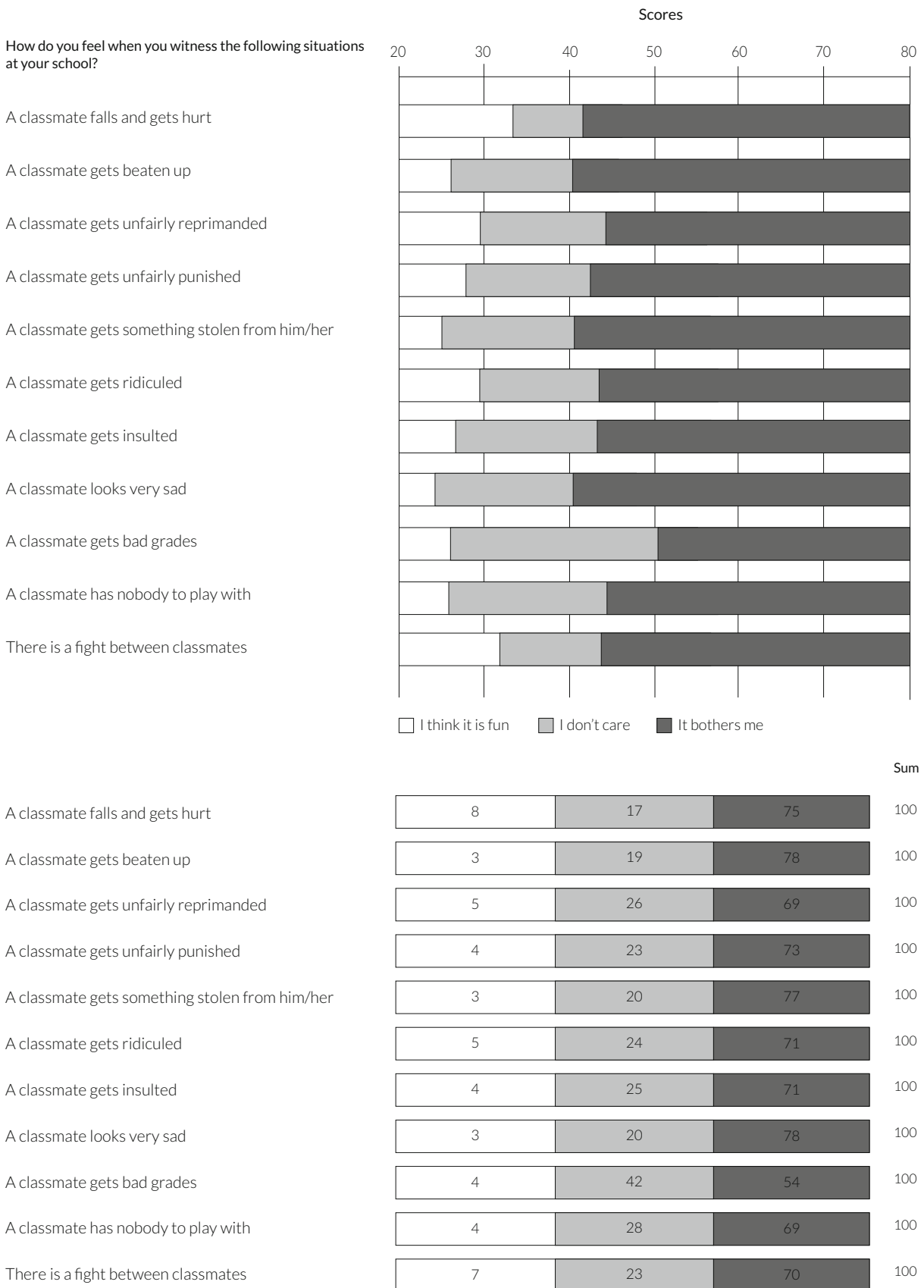
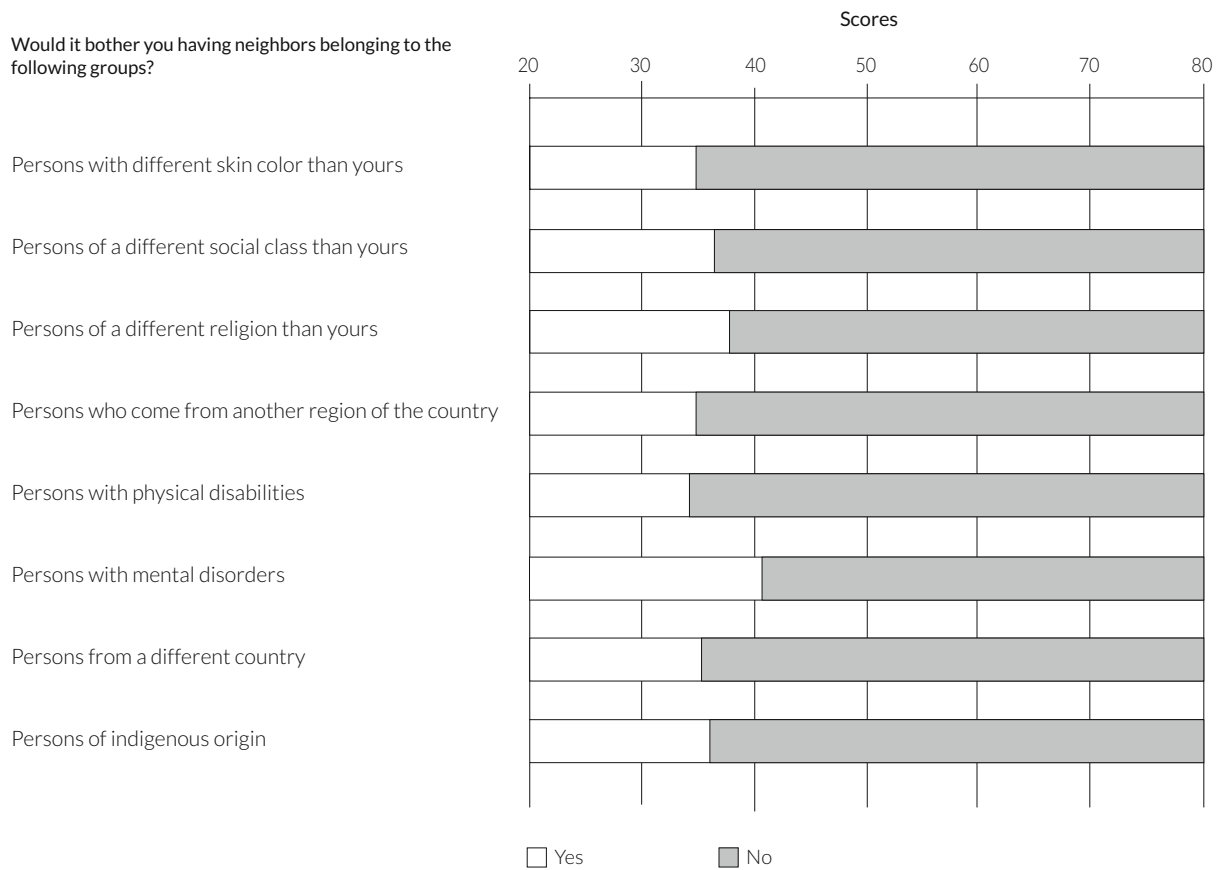
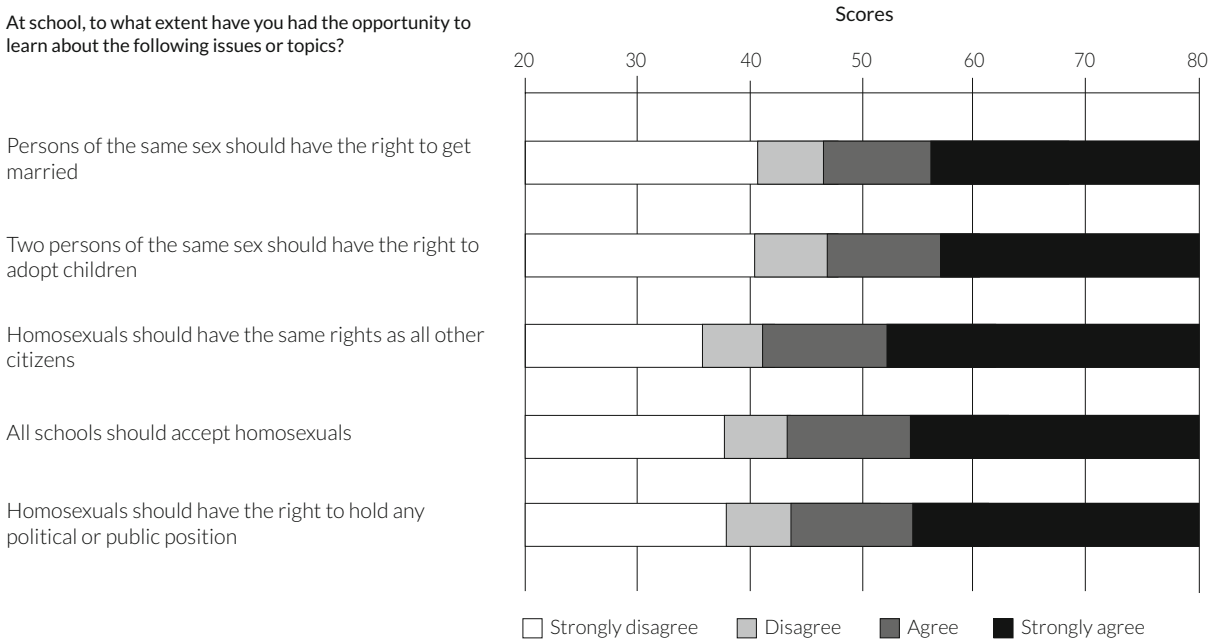


Figure 5.1: Item map for the scale reflecting students' acceptance of social minorities as neighbors



	Yes	No	Sum
Persons with different skin color than yours	12	88	100
Persons of a different social class than yours	13	87	100
Persons of a different religion than yours	15	86	100
Persons who come from another region of the country	12	88	100
Persons with physical disabilities	12	88	100
Persons with mental disorders	17	83	100
Persons from a different country	13	87	100
Persons of indigenous origin	13	87	100

Figure 5.2: Item map for the scale reflecting students' acceptance of homosexuality



					Sum
Persons of the same sex should have the right to get married	19	20	31	30	100
Two persons of the same sex should have the right to adopt children	19	21	32	28	100
Homosexuals should have the same rights as all other citizens	10	12	37	42	100
All schools should accept homosexuals	13	15	37	36	100
Homosexuals should have the right to hold any political or public position	13	16	36	35	100

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APPENDIX D: ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN ICCS 2016

International study center

The international study center is located at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER). On behalf of the IEA, ACER is responsible for designing and implementing the study in close cooperation with LPS (Laboratorio di Pedagogia Sperimentale at the Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy).

Staff at ACER

Wolfram Schulz, *research director*
 Julian Fraillon, *coordinator of test development*
 John Ainley, *project researcher*
 Tim Friedman, *project researcher*
 Nora Kovarcikova, *project researcher*
 Naoko Tabata, *project researcher*
 Judy Nixon, *test development*
 Trisha Reimers, *test development*
 Eveline Gebhardt, *coordinator of data analysis*
 Louise Ockwell, *data analyst*
 Jorge Fallas, *data analyst*
 Leigh Patterson, *data analyst*
 Dulce Lay, *data analyst*
 Renee Kwong, *data analyst*

Staff at LPS

Bruno Losito, *associate research director*
 Gabriella Agrusti, *project researcher*
 Valeria Damiani, *project researcher*
 Elisa Caponera, *project researcher*
 Paola Mirti, *project researcher*
 Francesco Agrusti, *project researcher*
 Alessandro Sanzo, *project researcher*

International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

The IEA provides overall support and supervision for ICCS. The IEA Hamburg, Germany, as the international coordinating center for ICCS, is responsible for overall coordination of all activities, relations with participating countries, and sampling and data-processing. The IEA Amsterdam, the Netherlands, is responsible for translation verification and quality monitoring of data collection.

Staff at the IEA Hamburg

Ralph Carstens, *project director*
 Marta Kostek, *project coordinator*
 Juliane Kobelt, *project coordinator*
 Falk Brese, *international data manager*
 Hannah Köhler, *international data manager*
 Christine Busch, *deputy international data manager*
 Sabine Weber, *researcher (sampling)*
 Sabine Tieck, *researcher (sampling)*
 Diego Cortes, *researcher (sampling)*
 Olaf Zuehlke, *researcher (sampling)*
 Duygu Savasci, *research analyst (sampling)*

Dirk Oehler, *research analyst*
 Tim Daniel, *research analyst*
 Michael Jung, *research analyst*
 Alena Becker, *research analyst*
 Parisa Aghakasiri, *research analyst*
 Kamil Kowolik, *research analyst*
 Svetoslav Velkov, *research analyst*
 Ekaterina Mikheeva, *research analyst*
 Clara Beyer, *research analyst*
 Oriana Mora, *research analyst*
 Maïke Junod, *programmer*
 Limiao Duan, *programmer*
 Deepti Kalamadi, *programmer*
 Bettina Wietzorek, *meeting and seminar coordinator*
 Heiko Sibberns, *director*

Staff at the IEA Amsterdam

Dirk Hastedt, *executive director*
 Paulína Koršňáková, *director (until January 2017)*
 Andrea Netten, *director (since February 2017)*
 Gabriela Noveanu, *senior researcher*
 Gillian Wilson, *publications officer*
 Roel Burgers, *financial manager*
 Isabelle Gemin, *financial officer*
 Sive Finlay, *communications officer*
 Mirjam Govaerts, *public outreach*

Project advisory committee (PAC)

The ICCS 2016 PAC has, from the beginning of the project, advised the international study center and its partner institutions during regular meetings.

PAC members

Erik Amnå, *Örebro University, Sweden*
 Cristián Cox, *Diego Portales University, Chile*
 Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz, *Netherlands*
 Judith Torney-Purta, *University of Maryland, United States*
 Wiel Veugelers, *University of Humanistic Studies, Utrecht, Netherlands*

Other project advisors

ICCS sampling referee

Marc Joncas from Statistics Canada in Ottawa was the sampling referee for the study. He provided invaluable advice on all sampling-related aspects of the study.

Experts

Christian Monseur (University of Liege, Belgium) conducted a review of test and questionnaires scaling methodology.

Cesar Guadalupe (Universidad del Pacífico, Peru) was invited by the international study center to review the draft of the Latin American report.

ICCS 2016 Latin American national research coordinators (NRCs)

The national research coordinators (NRCs) played a crucial role in the study's development. They provided policy- and content-oriented advice on developing the instruments and were responsible for the implementation of ICCS 2016 in the participating countries.

Chile

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Education Quality Assurance Agency

Colombia

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Colombian Institute for the Assessment of Education (ICFES)

Dominican Republic

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Mexico

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Peru

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