Civics and Citizenship

Theoretical Models and Experiences in Latin America

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Civics and Citizenship

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'Moral Development and Citizenship Education' is a book series that focuses on the cultural development of our young people and the pedagogical ideas and educational arrangements to support this development. It includes the social, political and religious domains, as well as cognitive, emotional and action oriented content. The concept of citizenship has extended from being a pure political judgment, to include the social and interpersonal dynamics of people.

Morality has become a multifaceted and highly diversified construct that now includes cultural, developmental, situational and professional aspects. Its theoretical modelling, practical applications and measurements have become central scientific tasks. Citizenship and moral development are connected with the identity constitution of the next generations. A caring and supporting learning environment can help them to participate in society.

Books in this series will be based on different scientific and ideological theories, research methodologies and practical perspectives. The series has an international scope; it will support manuscripts from different parts of the world and it includes authors and practices from various countries and cultures, as well as comparative studies. The series seeks to stimulate a dialogue between different points of view, research traditions and cultures. It contains multi-authored handbooks, focussing on specific issues, and monographs. We invite books that challenge the academic community, bring new perspectives into the community and broaden the horizon of the domain of moral development and citizenship education.

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Theoretical Models and Experiences in Latin America

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JUDITH TORNEY-PURTA

FOREWORD

Young people's preparation for civic engagement and participation as citizens is receiving enhanced attention across the world. And rightly so, given the modest degree to which those entering young adulthood participate in politics and civic affairs in many world areas and the extent of their alienation. These low participation levels along with large differences associated with socio-economic status are of particular concern in Latin America.

First we need to look at the bigger picture. A great deal of attention from the press and policy makers often follows the release of results from International Large Scale Assessments (ILSAs) that rank countries' achievement scores in mathematics or science. However, attention from the press is often minimal for the ILSAs in civic and citizenship education. This may be because the measures in these studies deal with attitudes or expected participation, which are relatively difficult to explain to the public. The results require more contextualization for their interpretation than the rankings of country means on knowledge featured in other subject areas. The national context (both current and historical) as well as the local and neighborhood contexts shape the meaning of civic and political engagement, and these contexts differ markedly across countries. Attention should be paid to understanding the *meaning*, examining the *scope*, and assessing the *limitations* of research results in civic education.

This volume is valuable in attempting to attend to these needs in civic education research in three countries of Latin America. The book extends previous publications by reporting results derived from a range of methodologies. These included large-scale test and survey results, studies using students' responses to hypothetical scenarios, curriculum analyses and program designs accompanied by suggestions about ways to evaluate their accomplishments. The volume includes some secondary analysis of data from international large scale assessments as well as qualitative studies that either follow from these studies or are independently based on theory. A particular contribution of the book is that the authors describe research findings, curricular innovations and program resources previously accessible only to those who read Spanish.

The team of editors and the majority of the authors took part in a research project *The Civic Participation of High School Students in Mexico, Chile and Colombia: A Comparative Analysis* that was funded by the Mexican Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT is its acronym in Spanish). The Co-Investigators in

this project were: Benilde García-Cabrero (UNAM), Andrés Sandoval Hernández (IEA/University of Bath), Guadalupe Pérez-Martínez (UAA/CONACYT), Ernesto Treviño-Villareal (Universidad Católica de Chile) & Silvia Diazgranados-Ferráns (Harvard University), and they also served as editors of the book. These individuals represent valuable cross-national connections – Benilde García-Cabrero, Guadalupe Pérez-Martínez and Andrés Sandoval-Hernández from Mexico, Ernesto Treviño-Villareal from Chile, and Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns from Colombia. The authors of chapters in the book also include individuals from the United States, the United Kingdom and Spain. One editor (who is also a chapter author) has been associated directly with the IEA organization from which some of the data are drawn. Andrés Sandoval was the Head of the Research and Analysis Unit at IEA's Data Processing Center before taking his current position at the University of Bath in the United Kingdom.

This volume has a notable history in another way. It can be linked to earlier projects and evolving discourses in this area. My personal respect for several of the authors extends back more than 20 years, when Cristian Cox, Angela Bermudez and Rosario Jaramillo played important roles in facilitating the participation of Chile and of Colombia in the IEA CIVED Study and follow-up activities (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2006; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, & Schulz, 2001; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Cristian Cox was also instrumental in inviting me to prepare a chapter with Jo-Ann Amadeo (2015) in which we had the opportunity to reflect on the CIVED results in Chile. It was presented at a conference and published subsequently. We advanced the concept of *emergence* to describe the ways in which a number of seemingly simple factors came together over time to result in more complexity in civic outcomes than would have been expected from a simple set of independent socialization processes.

Efforts in Latin America were linked with the "New Civics Project" at Harvard University's Graduate School of Education (funded by the Spencer Foundation) beginning in 2012. Professor Helen Haste among others has facilitated these connections to the field of moral education and its discourse-oriented approaches especially through the Association for Moral Education (AME). My respect for the range and depth of her work also extends back more than twenty years; we served as co-editors of a special issue on the development of political understanding (Haste & Torney-Purta, 1992). The development of political understanding was defined there as an expansion of social and moral understanding that arises as individuals construct knowledge in differing contexts. Her chapter, which opens this book on Latin America, and chapters by others link moral and ethical education and its theoretical base with civic education in valuable ways. In particular, Haste's chapter sets the stage by describing the differences between *procedural democracy, deliberative democracy, democracy as social justice* and *democracy as a mode of living* (based on Gutman & Thompson, 2004; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Arnot & Swartz, 2012; Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, 2015). She argues that each type of democracy demands different types of civic knowledge and skills. Other important

factors are civic values, motivation, identity and action. Haste argues that one needs to pay attention to these distinctions in cross-national discussions because the field often has had too narrow a focus: "the more we explore the scope of civic competence and action, the more we come to recognize how idiosyncratic the US political system actually is and how problematic it is to generalize from that system" to civic education processes in general (p. 15). This quotation makes foreshadows many of the themes in later chapters.

Janet Kwok and Robert Selman in their chapter have provided an impressive theoretical framework on *informed social engagement* elaborating what appeared in their chapter in the *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). Here they highlight models of reflective discourse that take contexts into account and explore affective and cognitive processes associated with civic participation. Three aspects are operationalized: Analysis of Evidence, Capacity for Empathy, and Sense of Agency. In fact, several chapters of the current volume adopt this framework for understanding informed social engagement, and one analyzes data from a large scale data set, the IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS). This study's instrumentation was based on the earlier CIVED study referred to above. In short, I am pleased to have been indirectly connected with some of the earlier publications by these authors and to have been asked to place this volume in the context of the field.

The contributions of the book are wide ranging. First, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are included. These range from the large scale surveys of the International Civics and Citizenship project of 2009 (especially Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011), to curriculum analysis in Chile, Colombia and Mexico, to other methodologies such as data obtained from the administration of hypothetical scenarios. Theory is used in several chapters to develop a conceptual framework that includes identity and motivation along with knowledge, skills, attitudes and participation. Some new ways of looking at political agency (often called efficacy) are proposed. Several very useful graphics are presented, for example when the *theories of change* implicit in specific programs such as *Schools of Peace* are described. In short, the authors make multiple and strong links to several streams of theory, research and practice.

The book identifies challenges and potential paths forward without adopting either an unrealistic utopian tone or an overly pessimistic view. It contains thoughtful remarks about the sometimes uncritical and unrealistic approach taken to fostering deliberative democracy (and other types of democracy as well). For example, the Treviño et al. chapter concludes as follows: "Probably the most worrisome finding is of lower levels of expected participation for female students, which may mark a trend of inequality and machismo that schools, families and society need to overcome" (p. 120).

Appropriately, the prescriptions advanced for the future are not limited to changes in the particular topics to be covered in the curriculum. The authors discuss ways to improve the extent to which the school's climate encourages students' participation and

overcomes what one calls "the conservative inertia of an institutional model created in the nineteenth century found in a crystallized school structure, which will hardly be transformed with superficial and cosmetic measures" (p. 57). Also important is the extent to which teachers are able to promote open classroom climates for respectful discussion of topics on which students have different points of view. The positive results of having access to such classroom climates is one of the most consistent findings from both large scale and smaller scale studies in the area of civic education. Other promising approaches are illustrated in chapters about specific countries: teacher training in Mexico, peace education in Colombia and service-learning in Chile.

In conclusion, I have been involved in studies of political socialization and civic education for 50 years (Torney-Purta, in press). During the 1960s we were limited to the early formulations of the theories of Albert Bandura and Lawrence Kohlberg that were available at that time. These theories were not always suitable for understanding the many facets of civic and political development. Furthermore, our data collection and analysis were very primitive by today's standards. So I am gratified to see this third generation of scholars investigating vitally important topics in a region of the world where little attention has been paid to this issue. I am also pleased to see them employing a range of up-to-date methods and measures as well as theoretical approaches tailored to understanding civic and political development (rather than social development more broadly). In short, I commend the book for its topic, timeliness, breadth, and depth.

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SECTION 1

CIVIC EDUCATION: THEORIES AND MODELS

HELEN HASTE, ANGELA BERMUDEZ
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1. CULTURE AND CIVIC COMPETENCE

Widening the Scope of the Civic Domain

CHALLENGING AND CHANGING DEFINITIONS: NEW CIVICS

How we think about civic participation has changed dramatically in the last decade. This affects research and it affects education, practice and policy.

These changes derive in part from a changing perspective on democratic processes in stable industrialized societies, but in part also from taking seriously the conditions, forms of governance and factors involved in social change in societies either in transition, or subject to more problematic regimes. In summary, the definition of 'civic' has expanded considerably beyond voting behavior in conventional parliamentary elections.[1]

'New civics' includes 'unconventional' forms of voice, including both legal and illegal protest, and a wide variety of communication routes to making one's voice heard. It includes concerted organization towards impacting the bases of power, whether the most local or the most macro or global. It pays attention to volunteering, whether this is designed to challenge institutions or to operate within the status quo. It also recognizes the importance of single issue activism, not only partisanship, in both the democratic process and in understanding the motives for taking action. Perhaps particularly striking is the way that 'new civics' discussion has made explicit the inherent tension between the goal of creating citizens who will be actively involved in sustaining the existing socio-political system, and the goal of creating citizens who are equipped to challenge critically the status quo.

What has contributed to these changes? In stable democracies, in which political science orthodoxy had traditionally focused mainly on the institutions of representative government, the radical upheavals of late twentieth century gradually led to recognition that social movements were a significant aspect of political life not anomalies of extremism; protesters became agents of democracy not pathological deviants. In particular, there was considerable transformation of values and norms around the Civil Rights movement in the USA, environmentalism and the women's and gay rights movements globally. These transformations were not just as a matter of new legislation; they need to be analyzed and understood across a wide range of culturally-oriented disciplines and perspectives.

Increasingly, perspectives from other than Euro-American, 'stable' democracies have entered the agenda. In part this is due to research such as the IEA 28 nation

study of young people's civic knowledge and understanding, and the 2009 ICCS study, which brought attention to nations in Latin America and Asia whose profiles were different from many in Western societies.[2] In part it is due to increasing attention to theorists and activists (such as Paolo Freire and Frantz Fanon) working in areas of deprivation and political oppression where first-world procedures do not apply, and whose ideas and models of change have found parallels with resistance and innovative practices in marginalized groups throughout the world. In part also some preoccupations of specific nations have come to influence the field; examples are questions raised by situations of intractable ethnic or religious conflict, long term civil war and its aftermath, major political upheavals or regime change, or severe economic inequality. These conditions give a different perspective to socio-political processes than those encountered in stable democracies. Post-Apartheid South Africa, post-Soviet Eastern Europe, the Middle Eastern situation following the Iraq conflicts, and currently the ISIS effects, all challenge assumptions about stability and social change.

They also challenge the nature of citizens' agency. In stable democratic societies the citizen may influence government policy indirectly through voting or pressure group membership. Voices, prior to the emergence of social media, could be heard through petitions, letters to newspapers or radio phone-in programs. The sense of agency was limited; the routes to influence existed but they were constrained. In societies in transition subjective agency varies widely. At a time when new political parties or groups are forming, participants can have at least the illusion that 'their' agenda might triumph; alternatively some people are completely silenced or disempowered at such times. In the immediate post-Soviet era, young people in the new democracies felt highly engaged as new parties proliferated, many led by the young (van Hoorn et al., 2000; Andrews, 2007). They were soon disillusioned. However as with most activism, the experience led to new skills and a larger perspective of 'the state'.

NEW 'DEMOCRACY': THE ROLE OF MEDIA

Large scale social change, wherever it occurs, can also create significant new narratives for activism which come to impact globally and in a variety of political structures. Many social movements in the latter part of the twentieth century were strongly influenced by and modelled on Gandhi's non-violence – notably the US Civil Rights movement. As Andrews (2007) notes, the post-Apartheid Truth and Reconciliation processes contributed to thinking and practice around many post-conflict policies and movements. There are numerous historical examples. However perhaps the most currently significant development is the dramatic effect of social media, which has transformed the traditional hierarchies and gatekeepers of communication and voice. Digital media democratizes, in the sense that anyone can – in principle – gain a worldwide audience. This has its dark side as we all recognize, and also there is the 'echo chamber' effect: on the whole people tune in what is familiar and also largely consonant with their existing views.

As Allen and Light (2015) note, having 'voice' does not necessarily mean having 'influence'. Nevertheless since the late nineties we have seen massive evidence of the 'bottom-up' power of media to mobilize, recruit, organize and publicize social movements with great impact. We see also the effect on participants. Having the means to exercise voice, especially when this has a tangible outcome, builds a sense of efficacy in participants and equips them with new civic skills. Quite small investment in technology enables formerly marginalized or disempowered groups to develop and implement strategies for impacting power structures and institutions, and in particular linking with collaborators across regional and national boundaries. It is here that the global aspects are evident. In countries where there is limited access to expensive computing there is nevertheless widespread use of cheap phones that in many places are now the primary resource for commerce, banking and news.

Large scale social action such as Arab Spring, Occupy movements everywhere, and ecological campaigns are matched by much smaller scale but nonetheless empowering activities such as Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), widely being used both as a civic education tool and as a real life platform for local social change as described by Cammarota and Fine (2008), Flanagan and Christens (2011) and Brown and Rodriguez (2009). Numerous small organizations like the World Film Collective[3] have enabled young people in very deprived contexts, such as favelas and refugee camps, to tell their own story through the use of cell phone videos, also in so doing, acquiring basic technical skills; both enhance efficacy and competences. As Jenkins and Shresthova (2016) and Zuckerman (2013) note, the huge potential of new media for creative mixing of visual and sound, remixing and reworking imagery, concepts, language and forms of interaction is being realized especially by young people, in all areas of life and art.[4] And finally, a major democratizing factor of digital media is the pressure for public accountability that it places on people in power and in the public eye.

Traditionally, civic education has been conceptualized as, and researched as, school-based. Much of the data on youth civic beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and motivation have been gathered in schools or school-related activities such as service learning. The agenda and goals of civic education have been defined by what is feasible within the school environment, especially classroom practice. There has been a particular emphasis on civic knowledge, especially knowledge relating to the structure and processes of the country's government, and also to the history narratives that sustain the local national identity (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez, 2014; Carretero, Asensio, & Rodriguez, 2012). In some countries there is an explicit agenda of ideological education (for example China, as discussed by Kennedy, Fairbrother, & Zhao, 2014). In others the desired values, ethical perspectives and conceptions of good society and good governance are conveyed through the choice of historical, cultural and literary narratives and commemorative events. An emphasis on civic knowledge curricula reflects a cognitive model of learning, primarily of fact-based understanding. The content of that knowledge also reflects assumptions about what promotes civic engagement – for example that understanding how laws are made

and how governance is structured will motivate young people actively to sustain the system by voting. New civics challenges much of this and expands the agenda.

HOW CONCEPTUALIZING 'DEMOCRACY' DIRECTS EDUCATION

Underlying any conception of civic participation and the goals of civic education are assumptions about how democracy does, and should, function, even in societies which are less 'democratic' according to Euro-American criteria; not all civic education takes place within systems of representative democracy. There is no single definition of "democracy." Gutmann and Thompson (2004) identify four conceptions informing different emphases in civic education programs: *procedural democracy, deliberative democracy, democracy as social justice, and democracy as a mode of living.* Each implies different goals for civic education and different learning processes.

Procedural democracy implies a system of political organization and decision-making based on representative and participatory procedures that are grounded on principles of freedom, equality, and the rule of law. Civic education aims to provide students with the knowledge necessary for voting in elections or campaigning for parties. In practice however, procedural democracy privileges majority views, achieving consensus, compliance with convention, and keeping order in a stable system. This may marginalize minority, controversial, novel, or particularly complex alternative views on public issues.

Deliberative democracy shares the underlying principles of procedural democracy, but also emphasizes the pervasiveness and importance of conflict, moral controversy, and dissent in social and political life. Procedural democracy's conventional participation in elections or interest group bargaining is not the most adequate route to handling moral disagreements; therefore, it is important that citizens actively engage in the deliberation of public issues. As Hess and McAvoy (2015) explore, civic education for deliberation focuses on developing the capacities for critical inquiry, moral and political argumentation, and participating effectively in controversial dialogue.[5]

Proponents of *democracy as social justice* argue that focusing on political procedures does not adequately represent the complex, unequal, and conflictive nature of citizenship in contemporary societies. An "authentic" or "deep" democracy must be committed to assert moral equality and to protect dignity in equal terms for all. Unless socioeconomic (distributive) justice is guaranteed, the essential values of democracy are at stake. Civic education programs informed by democracy as social justice stress developing students' capacity to critically understand the multiple forms of systemic violence, oppression, and exclusion. As spelt out by Arnot and Swartz (2012) and Levinson (2012), the goal is to help youth to become agents capable of confronting these barriers; preparing them to analyze power relationships, investigate the ambiguities of political issues, and embrace opportunities for social change.

In a fourth conception, explored particularly by Biesta and Lawy (2006) and Nussbaum (2006), *democracy is a mode of living* founded on values of inclusiveness,

pluralism, fairness, cooperation, dialogue, and non-violent resolution of conflict. This requires developing sensitivity, habits, and capacities to build and preserve relationships and connection across lines of difference.

All these models require civic knowledge. However procedural views emphasize knowledge of political institutions and constitutional procedures, deliberative models add knowledge of current public issues, and social justice models add knowledge of socioeconomic dynamics. Procedural models emphasize cognitive skills for effective analysis of information, whereas deliberative and social justice models emphasize skills for critical inquiry and controversial dialogue. Democracy as a way of life requires cognitive and socio-emotional skills necessary for fair and caring resolution of conflict.

WHAT MAKES CIVIC EDUCATION EFFECTIVE? THE CENTRALITY OF CULTURAL MODELS

The expansion of the domain of 'new civics' participation, and the realization that the variables involved are considerably broader than traditional models of civic development and education encompass, is accompanied by a shift in theory. Political scientists often use the term 'political socialization' which echoes a now-outmoded psychological model in which the essentially passive young person is molded by external forces. In this perspective, the focus of civic education was the transmission of factual knowledge and conventional values, primarily aiming to socialize the students into an existing socio-political order. However, for half a century the emergent cognitive model of development has cast the growing individual as an active processor of information and experience, successively restructuring and reflecting, producing increasingly complex and abstract understanding. According to this perspective the questions are: What elements of civic education are necessary to scaffold active learning and deep understanding? What happens in civic learning with increasing age? What happens in civic learning with increasing opportunity to engage with civic issues? The pedagogic implications are that education should foster increasingly sophisticated understanding of civic matters, and provide experiences and contexts to facilitate active, effective, and meaningful processing.

This focus is primarily on individual cognition and learning. In contrast, cultural models of development address the growing individual's social and cultural context, the narratives, values, knowledge, and norms of action to which the growing individual is exposed in different sociocultural settings, interactions, and experiences that promote or inhibit effective and relevant learning. Learning results not only from formal teaching of information, but also from individuals' interaction, dialogue, and performance of action within their social context. As argued throughout this volume, meaning and understanding are co-constructed and negotiated in social and cultural interactions, through dialogue with others and with cultural resources, not merely processed in individual cognition (Haste & Abrahams, 2008; Haste & Bermudez, 2016).

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A cultural perspective requires educators to recognize and take account of the cultural messages and resources available to the growing individual (for example, linguistic, non-linguistic, and institutional messages about ethnicity, power, dominant values, and norms of behavior). Effective civic learning needs to use the resources of the cultural context, to facilitate interaction, critical reflection, and negotiation, for example with media and through experience and engagement with actual civic life. This includes paying attention to classroom and school climate (Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, & Higgins D'Alessandro, 2013), community experience, service learning, family interactions, cultural narratives, norms and expectations, socioeconomic factors, and increasingly, social media. Furthermore, these parameters may operate differently in different national and cultural contexts; a Euro-American perspective is not enough.

THE COMPONENTS OF CIVIC COMPETENCE

Within the broader definition of civic participation we recognize four strands of skills and competence that contribute to the effective citizen, each of which have distinct educational implications. These are: *civic knowledge and understanding; civic skills; civic values, motivation, and identity; and civic action*.

Civic Knowledge and Understanding

The typical concentration on educating factual knowledge about democratic institutions, processes, and elements of national history is being challenged by a growing consensus that citizens also require knowledge and understanding about controversial issues, intergroup relations, local processes, and community affairs (Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, 2015). There is also growing consensus that civic knowledge alone is not enough to foster active and responsible civic engagement. There is a relationship between civic knowledge and voting: those who intend to vote tend to have better knowledge and knowledge is needed for routes to political participation, monitoring of government actions, and exercising rights and responsibilities (Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005). However, an active civil society requires also understanding of concepts and principles, the skills for reflective and responsible action, willingness to engage, and commitment to democratic values. Discrete knowledge becomes more meaningful as it is integrated with conceptual understanding. For example, students may "know" the list of core human rights, but they may not understand what the concept of "rights" actually entails, why they were codified in a particular historical time, or how they relate to specific conceptions of state.

As Barrett (2007) shows, understanding civic and social concepts progresses in parallel with the development of conceptual thinking. Students initially understand concepts in terms of more concrete, static and isolated characteristics and gradually progress to understand more abstract dimensions, increasingly complex conceptual networks in which different elements are interconnected.[6]

Civic Skills

There are a variety of skills necessary for effective civic participation. As Fine, Bermudez, and Barr (2007) explore, civic skills are often divided into intellectual skills, participatory skills, and socio-emotional skills. Youth are expected to make sound political choices, to take part in processes of collective decision-making, conflict resolution, and negotiation, in the discussion of controversial social and political issues, or the monitoring of government action on behalf of public interests. Knowledge and conceptual understanding are about 'knowing what'; civic skills are procedural – 'knowing how'.

Cognitive skills refer to the capacities that enable citizens to analyze and synthesize information and arguments, as well as evaluate, reach conclusions, take and defend positions on matters of public concern (Kirlin, 2003). Examples include considering different perspectives, interrogating and interpreting political communication, and supporting positions with evidence and good argumentation. Participatory skills are capacities for working with others, building coalitions, seeking consensus, negotiating differences, and managing conflict. There are skills for communication (public speaking, petitioning, lobbying, protesting), organization (mobilizing, securing funding, leading meetings), and collective decision-making (coordinating perspectives, evaluating alternative solutions, etc.) and also skills for group membership and for conflict resolution.

The Latin American module of the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Study measures skills for:

- Living together in peace (peaceful resolution of conflict, assertiveness, communication);
- Democratic participation (collective decision-making processes, advocacy, persuasive communication); and
- Plurality and diversity (multi-perspectivity, confronting discrimination, and exclusion).
- Socio-emotional skills refer to the interpersonal capacities for handling oneself in healthy relationships with family, peers, and community members. Examples include dealing positively with peer pressure, developing non-abusive relationships, avoiding risky behavior, and coordinating one's needs with the needs of others. These interpersonal skills also feed into "democracy as a way of life".

Civic Values, Motivation, and Identity

A third dimension of civic learning comprises the development of values, motives, and identities that dispose citizens to engage effectively in democratic practices (Youniss & Levine, 2009). We noted earlier civic education strategies to instil the required civic values and attitudes for a virtuous citizen, such as taking responsibility voting and helping others, upholding the law, and monitoring current affairs in the media, also tolerance and respect for diversity, concern with the rights and welfare

of others, freedom, or justice. These pedagogical strategies include exemplar role models, illustrative storytelling, negative and positive reinforcement of behavior.

However, in cognitive developmental and cultural psychology approaches, value development is rooted in active meaning making and negotiation within social contexts. Pedagogical strategies such as the discussion of moral and civic dilemmas, the reflective analysis of moral contents in literature, or the creative production of personal moral narratives foster a reflective appropriation of social values and the development of moral judgment (Kohlberg, 1984; Selman & Kwok, 2010).

Moral values are important motivators for civic action because they make civic issues personally relevant, providing a sense of purpose for civic action especially with regard to single issues. While young people express very little interest in conventional "politics" or in joining a political party, they are concerned about and active in many community and environmental issues. Because single issues are frequently seen as morally charged they are affectively experienced which may contribute to a sense of personal responsibility.

The element of civic identity is often absent when civic education is defined in relation to conventional macro political processes such as voting, rather than on what actually motivates behavior. We argue that for effective education it is essential to start from where young people's concerns and interests are, and to understand what the different factors that motivate those to engage are. Individual and collective identities are increasingly recognized as key features in the definition of civic motivation and commitments. For this reason, identity is crucial to why, when, and how people become engaged, and the meaning they make of such engagement in their particular socio- cultural contexts.

Civic identity is not a fixed feature of individual psychology, but rather an active and fluid psychosocial process through which citizens make sense of themselves in relation to their social reality, and negotiate their place and role within their civic communities. Civic identity includes one's sense of agency and efficacy. Agency refers to the sense of being a meaningful actor, responsible to one's community welfare. Efficacy refers to the confidence in one's ability to take action, effect change, and achieve the desired results. In the civic realm, efficacy also involves the belief that it is possible, and worth trying, to make a difference through public action; this may determine whether a felt concern gets translated into engagement. As Kahne and Westheimer (2006) and Levinson (2012) demonstrate, a positive sense of agency and efficacy develops through civic practice.[7]

Civic Action

Experiencing civic action constitutes a fourth component of civic competence. Long before they become formal political citizens, young people interact in a variety of civic environments, which provide opportunities for age-appropriate, relevant, and meaningful learning. For example, Selman and Kwok (2010) show how young people are often confronted with situations that call them to stand up against

prejudice, discrimination, and harassment. Oser, Althof and Higgins-D'Alessandro (2008) report how school government affords opportunities for civic voice. Lievrouw (2011) describes how families, peer groups, and social media are sites for discussing controversial issues. Effective civic education needs to recognize the complexity of the wide variety of civic experiences that young people bring to the classroom, and their rich teaching opportunities. Real-life authentic civic action experience contributes to civic identity, motivation, purpose, responsibility, agency, and efficacy. It can provide the means for reflective practice necessary to connect abstract ideas with real-life situations.

Adult civic participation is linked to community engagement in adolescence. Youth organizing is a site of the development of civic competence. Cammarota and Fine (2008) and Ginwright (2010) show how community-based civic action is particularly salient among communities marginalized from the conventional political system. This form of civic engagement involves cooperation around targeted problem solving regarding issues of common concern. Participation requires and fosters coming together, working with others, mediating differences, managing conflict, and establishing shared goals in order to regulate, direct, and develop common affairs with a marked sense of "public good". Community activism is characterized by social responsibility and commitment to partner with others in understanding problems, and responsiveness in developing and implementing solutions. Furthermore, community activism builds interdependence and a strong sense of belonging to local environments (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010).

As we noted earlier, and as Cammarota and Fine's (2008) and Flanagan and Christens's (2011) contributors show, youth participatory action research (YPAR) is an emergent version of community action, based in part on Freirian principles. The goal of YPAR is to generate positive identity, agency, and efficacy in the community through the ownership of local knowledge and expertise and integrating it with relevant scholarship. YPAR projects are student-led, but with advisory guidance from researchers; they draw upon unique local knowledge. The local actors are trained in skills, including exploring scholarly work, but the collaborative project is faithful to the authentic experience and interpretation of the community. YPAR's strong ethnographic stance challenges conventional research models but it also, importantly, challenges the implicit 'deficit' and 'pathological' models that inform much work on minority and underprivileged groups.

IMPLICATIONS

The broadening of definitions of 'civic participation' gives both researchers and practitioners a far more useful scope and range for understanding what contributes to being a citizen. It brings into recognition the fact that citizenship is far more than voting behavior, and that civic identity is as much a part of the self as moral or national identity. It challenges the long-standing artificiality of the distinction between our public and private lives, a distinction often blurred in our own subjectivity, and in

fact difficult to maintain once we attempt to understand the origins and contexts of motivations for civic action and engagement. This also has implications for education, by enabling young people to draw upon experiences in several areas of life, to make sense of their cognitive and affective responses and to consider a range of possible actions.

The breadth of scope also requires us to recognize that civic competences, reasoning, affect and behavior are not explicable only in terms of individual characteristics, nor can effective civic education be achieved if the learner is seen as isolated from the social context. The roles of cultural experience, resources and dialectic are inherent in all aspects of civic competence, expression and the education for their development. Cultural approaches give us a very rich theoretical and methodological framework for exploring and explaining.

The history of writing and research on civic participation and competences has been heavily Euro-American, often in fact just North American. The more we explore the scope of civic competence and action, the more we come to recognize how idiosyncratic the US political system actually is and how problematic it is to generalize from that system to others. As we have noted, the very narrow political spectrum of US politics renders it highly dubious even to make comparisons with Europe, whose significant mainstream leftist strand greatly extends the scope for political thought, action and structures. Increasingly, research and writing is emerging throughout the globe, and the fundamental assumptions of each nation, or cultural group, become explicit as we try to unpack the processes involved in analyzing civic participation and especially in developing useful pedagogy. These alternative perspectives are beginning to challenge the hegemony of Euro-American theorizing, and giving us new ways to think about many aspects of civic life and systems, which may enlighten everyone. We noted for example how Paolo Freire, a Latin American activist and theorist, is increasingly influencing work with marginalized young people in the US and Europe, with rich results both for action and theory. He is but one example. Haste's work in China, with Selman, Zhao and Luan (2014), has given her considerable insights into how culture constructs and constrains, and what assumptions about 'good citizenship; do not cross cultural boundaries. Such work is increasingly enhanced also by research from Latin American and other international experiences and civic life. It gives us many examples of how a richer perspective on culture and the scope of civic competence enables deeper understanding both of the relevant local conditions and contexts, and the extent to which such understandings can inform the larger global research and education communities.

NOTES

[1]   We explore this more fully in Carretero, Haste and Bermudez (2015).
[2]   See also: Torney-Purta, Lehman, Oswald & Schulz (2001), Torney-Purta and Barber (2011).
[3]   http://worldfilmcollective.com/archive/
[4]   See also: Kahne, J., Lee, N., and Feezell, J. (2012), Ito (2010).
[5]   See also: Hess (2009), Stitzlein (2012), Bermudez (2015).

6   See also: Carretero, Castorina, and Levinas (2013), Van Sledright (2008).
7   See also: Haste (2013), Carretero, Haste and Bermudez (2015).

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2. FROM INFORMED SOCIAL REFLECTION TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

How to Interpret What Youth Say and Do

INTRODUCTION

Don't ever say integration, we like to call it desegregation—it sounds so much more palatable, somehow. (Mother of a Southern Freedom Rider, 1962)

PART 1: SAYING WHAT ONE MEANS

This admonition was recorded by British born journalist Jessica Mitford, writing in the early 1960s as she set out to "record impressions of the contemporary white (American) South" (2010, p. 77). In this encounter, we may observe the undercurrent of unease embedded in this mother's support for her "Southern belle" (2010, p. 69) daughter's participation in the Civil Rights Movement. Yet consider the possibility that her apparently uncomfortable remarks may reflect her efforts to bridge the cultural milieu that she has always known with the new one her daughter is hurrying to meet—it is impossible to know if the friction in her comments is evidence of a real objection, or merely the awareness that she herself will accept change, regardless of how unprepared she feels. This tension is the recognition that civic life is not comprised only of action, but also of the meaning we give to our involvement, and our tools of understanding come both from within (personal experiences and temperament) and without (culture and contextual norms).

Although the most powerful actors in civic life are adults (i.e. voting, leading community organizations), turning our attention to the civic development of young people—as in the case of the Southern belle Freedom Rider—can help us understand how best to protect and support our society's future civic outlook (Beck & Jennings, 1982). While these outcomes certainly suggest that supporting the youth civic motive is beneficial for future society, how do youth perceive their civic roles and responsibility?

For young people, school is a primary locus of political socialization where students learn how to become citizens who will be aware of their interests, and have the skills and knowledge to advocate for these in the public arena against competing perspectives (McIntosh & Youniss, 2010). School is a "mini polity", a public space

in which young people learn about how and practice the skills required to live in a democratic society (Flanagan, 2004; Flanagan, Stoppa, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2010). Yet in the process of political socialization, the student is not a passive recipient from the school; adolescents are active agents in this process (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977). Though most often spurred to civic action through personal motivations, young people respond to the feedback and information from their peers and the community, modifying their participation as necessary. Although we have an established understanding of young people's civic attitudes and behaviors (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Andolina, 2010) we know less about how they process their cultural and social contexts into civic beliefs and actions (Youniss et al., 2002). Through examining students' perceptions of their schools as civic communities and of certain events that occur fairly regularly in schools as civic "flashpoints", we may derive insights on how schools might develop more successful civic engagement interventions. In this paper, we will explore the methods one can use to arrive at these insights.

To Broaden a Narrow View of Civic Outcomes

The concept of youth civic engagement contains the eventual goal of understanding the foundations of adult civic development. Accordingly, the predominant traditional approach of the "old" civics (Farr, 2004) to youth civic engagement emphasizes the observation of a range of easily quantifiable behaviors—extracurricular activities (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997), community service (Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007; McFarland & Thomas, 2006), political socialization activities (Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002)— that will lead to measurable adult participation. Within the context of Western (in this discussion, specifically American) democracy, the triumph of adult civic engagement is framed as *action* over *apathy* (Haste, 2004; Snell, 2010; Youniss, McLellan, Su, & Yates, 1999; Youniss et al., 2002). However, this dichotomy is misleading because the conceptualization of citizenship that is culturally promoted has dimensions beyond behavioral outcomes, and both action and apathy can easily be misconstrued if we do not acknowledge that they contain inherent meaning.

While dividing outcomes across a conceptual dimension that moves from apathy to action is rhetorically (and politically) attractive, the desired end goal is not strictly an increase in *any* kind of civic participation. Under these very broad behavioral terms, the incensed individuals who organized sit-ins and confrontational protests in support of the Civil Rights Movement are morally indistinguishable from the hostile mob that angrily greeted Elizabeth Eckford on her first day at Little Rock Central High School in 1957. (Consider for a moment the differences in meaning invested in terms such as "sit-ins" and "mobs" that would be difficult to quantify on a strictly behavioral level. Under traditional approaches to measuring civic participation as taking action, no differences between the two groups' civic goals would be accounted for.)

The goals of contemporary "new" civic education (The Spencer Foundation, 2010), in fact, recognize the fostering of civic dispositions, such as the tolerance for difference, the protection of all citizens' rights, and a sense of duty to the community (Lenore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011) as the necessary complement to developing more quantifiable competencies such as a content knowledge of the government's roles and functioning, critical thinking skills, and direct public service experience (United States Department of Education, 2012). It has been noted recently that a narrow focus on traditional metrics of civic engagement (such as voting or organizational membership) is insufficient for recognizing the role of civic dispositions in citizens' participation (Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, 2016; Haste & Bermudez, 2017). Indeed, we must always seek to understand how individuals make sense of what actions are expected of—and excluded from—them.

The Limits of the Old Cognitivism and the Old Civics

Understanding how youth interpret the civic choices available to them requires an approach that incorporates how they think. Yet the "old cognitivism" approaches that focus on attitudes are certainly inadequate, and often inappropriate for this task (Harré & Stearns, 1995). This "elderly" cognitivist emphasis on attitudes and values assumes that each of us carries a constellation of ideas, or a schema, that is (unconsciously) accessed when we present an opinion (Harré & Gillett, 1994). Yet we have no way of knowing if such an inner mental structure really exists because it is a conceptual, rather than a performative, entity (Billig, 2001, 2009). Moreover, if such mental processes existed and were actually beyond our consciousness, we would be unable to think because we would have no way to access them (Billig, 2001).

In civics research, the old cognitivist approach to participation also has behaviorist features in its concern with identifying the mental inputs (such as attitudes and values) that lead to predicted actions (Diemer & Li, 2011; Youniss et al., 2002). This strategy, which is largely survey-driven, assumes that a statistically significant number of participants share the same reasons for choosing to act because they were subject to the same cognitive structures. But such a narrow framing ignores the role of context, culture, and agency (Bandura, 2002; Shweder, 1999; Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). The goal of the (relatively) newer cognitivism is to reframe the "understanding of human behavior as involving interpretation, intention, and empathy rather than prediction or control" (Harré & Gillett, 1994, p. 21), and this is achieved through the use of discursive strategies.

Moving beyond Old Cognitivism: A Leap to Discourse

The "new cognitivism" (Harré & Stearns, 1995, p. 2),[1] then, is the rejection of understanding the mind via these hypothesized invisible secret processes. Our thinking is not the result of inputs being mediated through a "black box" that returns outputs (p. 15), but is in fact visible to us because it occurs through the sign system of

language (Harré & Gillett, 1994). In contrast to an attitudinal approach, this strategy aims to understand how our vital cognitive skills are deployed and refined as they are revealed through our discursive production (Harré & Stearns, 1995). We think using language, and we are able to reveal our thinking to others because language is a shared system with agreed-upon meanings and norms of usage (Wittgenstein, 2009). Language is not the evidence of a cognitive phenomenon, but the phenomenon itself: "Language is the vehicle of thought" (Wittgenstein, 2009, #329).

In that sense, discourse represents language used to accomplish a purpose (Edwards, 1997)—such as blaming, justifying, praising—and discursive psychology aims to examine how this occurs in discussion, communication, conversation, debate, etc. (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Although the target of discourse analysis can comprise a range of language artifacts including these above listed forms of talk (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), text or written products (Halliday, 1978), the methods of data collection and analysis in the context of traditional civics research on youth, can generally rely on the discourse of students' written accounts to get a clearer picture of an individual's motivation for civic involvement—or control—expressed as a "will to power" (Ophir, 1991, p. 7).

That said, let us now return to the issue of attitudes ascertained through discursive methods: If we do not actually draw upon a static schema of related ideas about a particular construct, how does discursive psychology explain the deployment of opinions? Opinions under the lens of discursive analysis, are not a neutral statement declaring one's inner state, *but rather are expressed relative to another position* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987); the nature of such statements is to respond to a position put forth by someone else in a conversation (Billig, 2001). This ability to identify how individuals actually construct, justify and reject various perspectives permits an understanding of the cultural norms and communication strategies of different peer groups (Kitzinger, 2005; Liamputtong, 2011) is one reason why focus group analyses have gained prominence in social science research in the last thirty years (Krueger & Casey, 2015). But, even in the case of a the often relied upon questionnaire method—the key tool used in the traditional approach to studying attitudes—the measure can be construed as a dialogue between researcher and participant because the participant is responding to statements provided by the researcher (Billig, 2009), and the attitudes expressed in that context may never be presented again in that linguistic form (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). We express opinions because we express agreement or disagreement with another's statement, and as a result, they are best thought of as dynamic in nature rather than solidified constructs.

Towards Civic Engagement: The Road to and from Discourse[2]

Addressing the question of how youth interpret and understand their possibilities of civic engagement and participation, the discursive strategy is appropriate for three reasons: it recognizes that discourse about civic engagement is constitutive of thought about it; it structures understanding using participants' terms and theories;

and it treats civic engagement as a concrete rather than abstract construct through rooting it in participants' contexts.

If civic participation is so strongly discourse-driven, examining how young people construct their involvement discursively may contribute to our understanding of its quality and effectiveness. As philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin noted, "An independent, responsible, and active discourse is *the* fundamental indication of an ethical, legal, and political human being" (1981). Although Bakhtin constructs participation in public life as maturity, the demarcation occurs through effortful engagement, not as another inevitable stage of civic development. We learn to think through discussion, so adolescents' discourse about civic involvement allows us to observe their moral perspective (Bakhtin, 1981).

This approach is important not only for understanding the range of orientations one may take to civic participation, but also those that relate to choosing not to participate (O'Toole, Lister, Marsh, Jones, & McDonagh, 2003; Selman & Feigenberg, 2010). This emic strategy reflects an awareness that on the apathy and action axis, one's place on the continuum may be a matter of interpretation rather than objectively assessed motivation. For instance, civic engagement can encompass a range of behaviors that do not include political participation (Ekman & Amna, 2012; Flanagan & Gallay, 1995; Haste & Hogan, 2006), such as staying informed on current events, and choosing not to participate through traditional political avenues may reflect feelings of dictionary defined disenfranchisement but not disengagement (O'Toole, Marsh, & Jones, 2003). Through observing participants' discourses about involvement (or non-involvement) on a topic usually heavily laden with civic significance (such as social exclusion), we seek to understand not why participants themselves may have made a particular choice, but to identify how the discourses used draw upon culturally or contextually acceptable norms and rationales for such choices (Haste & Bermudez, 2017).

Discourse, as observed through students' explanations or justifications of their mode of participation, provides an entry point into individual experience, especially with the awareness that different types of participation facilitate a diverse range of interpretations. In other words, if voting is the topic of analysis, we should perhaps not fixate on voter turnout as our primary outcome, but on how constructions of voting may contribute to the circulation of discourses that make it more or less appropriate. Examining individuals' discourses about topics considered as civic participation necessarily implies a contextual or cultural grounding due to the social nature of both the phenomenon and the dialogic nature of discourse. The context of civic involvement is especially integral to discursive analysis because participation occurs in clearly defined situations, such as volunteering for a cause one cares about—one is unlikely to describe oneself as a volunteer in general terms.

One "developmentally appropriate" site of civic involvement with regard to a discursive analysis is the American public high school. High schools may be interpreted as "*mini polities*" (Flanagan et al., 2010, p. 312) where young people receive an apprenticeship in being a member of a democratic society through the

rituals of self-expression, considering others' perspectives, and learning to build consensus, or simply as an experience of adhering to a particular society's rules and fulfilling its expectations (Higgins-D'alessandro & Sadh, 1997). Schools are described as the "guardians of democracy" (p. 6) for their crucial role in preparing students for future democratic participation through the promotion of civic disposition, community responsibility, meaningful engagement, and political action (Lenore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011).

The discourse of the school itself, as observed through its policies and structure, also enters into the role of context in young people's construction of civic participation. Students at a school with an authoritarian climate, expressed through invasive policies such as locker checks and metal detectors, would likely use discourses distinct from those of students at a more supportive or open climate, such as one that allowed students to participate in the collective establishment of school rules (Diaz Granados & Selman, 2014). While students may benefit from schools that provide opportunities to exercise democratic participation skills before adulthood (Kohlberg, 1970), the safety and discipline-minded atmosphere of most high schools still tend to position young people as passive objects to be dominated until they may magically transform into productive contributors to society (Foucault, 1980). Such traditional school structures will afford only the most tenacious of youth to engage in a participatory democratic discourse.

PART 2: THE MEASUREMENT AND MEANING OF INFORMED SOCIAL REFLECTION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Using Hypothetical Dilemmas: A History Lesson on the Evolution of Interest in Form and Function

To observe the discourses that students use to talk about civic involvement in their schools, we might ask them to describe their relevant contact with this theme through filling out surveys about their frequency and preference for participating in or to share their reactions about their involvement in certain activities that we attribute to the civic agency end of the apathy/agency continuum. These students, however, would be limited to their personal experiences (Walker, de Vries, & Trevethan, 1987), and the range of discourses observed might be narrower than those that students drew upon to discuss civic involvement as a broader concept beyond their direct encounters with it. For instance, students may produce insightful arguments about school uniforms as infringing on student expression despite never having been subjected to this policy, but their arguments might nevertheless reveal students' beliefs about the meaning of community norms developed from their immediate context. Using hypothetical scenarios is one way to allow for a standardization of stimulus across students, permitting for comparisons across individuals and settings, as long as we keep in mind that their purpose is not to predict what students do.

That is, although hypothetical scenarios have on occasion been used in research to speculate about actual behavior (Cauffman & Steinberg, 2000; Trevethan & Walker, 1989), for our purpose, they are better suited as stimuli used to elicit discourses in response to a contextually situated issue or topic of civic involvement. (Abstracted from context, they become thought experiments). The purpose is not to determine whether participants' discourses reflect their actual behavior or reflect the "'true' conditions" (p. 1136), but rather to determine what the discourses deployed accomplish, that is, say about the implicit and variegated rules of the culture, and how they function in the participation of youth in society, in this case schools as mini-societies (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Even consistency of reflective expressions across multiple accounts is not evidence of a discourse's validity, but only that a set of individuals within the culture may be using it to achieve the same ends (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Of course, hypothetical scenarios are a well-established approach to investigating moral reasoning both in philosophy (Appiah, 2008; Thomson, 1985) and psychology (Glannon, 2011; Greene & Haidt, 2002; Greene, Sommerville, Nystrom, Darley, & Cohen, 2001; Kohlberg, 1970). Using the metaphors of old and new cognitivism, we would have to say they can be found half way between "old cognitivism" and "new language based discourse" (Kohlberg, 1973; Schultz & Selman, 1998; Selman, 1980), including reasoning about political issues (Oser, 2009; Torney-Purta, 1991, 1992), all commonly descended from Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview (MJI) (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). In the now classic "Heinz Dilemma" (Kohlberg, 1973), a man (Heinz) grapples with decision of whether to seek a cure his wife's illness by stealing a greatly overpriced drug from the druggist who discovered it, or to watch her die. Either way, whether Heinz chooses to steal the drug or not, the participant is posed the question "Should the husband have done that? Why?" The reasoning justifying the suggested course of action, not the action itself, is the focus of the mid-cognitivist evaluation. For instance, two people could endorse Heinz stealing the drug, but one might emphasize caring ("because he loves her, and shouldn't just sit back and watch her die") while the other might focus on obligation ("because he would feel a natural responsibility to care or provide for his wife"). The goal of the dilemma analysis in the middle cognitive revolution is to examine the expanding capacity for cognitive complexity of individuals (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977), and to see if this complexity may be observed within individuals (aggregated or not) beyond the specific content of one's response.

If we were to use the Kohlbergian stages of moral reasoning as distinct discourses and bypass the burdensome weight of ontogenetic "stages," what accountability is a participant subject to in using a "law and order" discourse instead of a "social norms" discourse? Hypothetical scenarios may have been designed with cognitive revisionists' cognitive intentions, a focus on the form (stage or level) of an individual's moral reasoning more so than the choice itself, but the structure of their data is, ironically, easily applicable to discursive analysis, be it the response itself, or the argumentation that can proceed in a debate about how Heinz should

proceed. In treating cognitive categories (such as the stages of moral reasoning, for example) as discursive performances (Edwards, 1997), we do not demand or impose an underlying mental structure, but instead focus on the individual's use of these discourses by accepting them as performance using language, rather than denying that they emerge through language.[3]

Should vs. would. The initial prompt following the presentation of the hypothetical dilemma in Kohlberg's MJI (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987) often is "should": "Should the husband have done that?" (Rest, 1973). The implication of the "should" is also that Heinz is not really Heinz but a stand-in for the universal actor, i.e. anyone in Heinz' position (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989), and the decision is being made under *ceteris paribus* conditions. This abstraction may be suitable for reasoning about hypothetical trolley cars coming down a track about to kill five people or one, take your choice (Thomson, 1985), but far too broad for examining the relationship to and reasoning about one's civic life and times which exist in the real world and cannot be plausibly disentangled from culture, history, and personal experience. Should Heinz steal the drug? Should Malcom X steal the drug? Should Hillary Clinton steal the drug? Should Heinz's daughter steal the drug? What is each likely to do?

In either of these two popular cases, this approach, though appropriate for philosophical or formal purposes, lacks the urgency found in personally meaningful moral dilemmas (Greene et al., 2001; Straughan, 1985). This is particularly relevant in discourse analysis because the context in which a discourse is used has an effect on its function and the speaker's accountability—different contexts pose different norms both in how something is said, as well as what might be said (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Harré & Gillett, 1994). Using "should" may elicit constructions of the scenario that reflect prevailing cultural ideals about civic involvement, whereas "would" may be more useful in drawing out constructions of responsibility reflecting more local concerns about involvement, such as concerns about personal safety, fair treatment by law enforcement, or the legal system, etc.

Task type. The scoring of responses to hypothetical moral dilemmas has posed a long-standing problem to the empirical field in balancing the richness of responses with objectivity in scoring and the values that accrue from large-scale assessment. In the case of discourse analysis, open-ended responses are required in order to observe the production of discourses. In order to make it possible to include more participants as a means of gaining greater insight into the parameters of an emergent discourse, an additional layer of organization is required. It is quite risky to make big yet often reductive claims about what the essential discourses are that may exist in a culture on the basis of one or even 100 responses. Restricting a representative sample of participants to specific choices in their response to the hypothetical dilemma but requesting a written explanation of their selection is a compromise that allows for the collection of texts that will provide a robust set of individual accounts while maintaining some limits on the possibilities of responses. One drawback of this approach is that the participant is required to explain her choice in the context of the *other available choices* (which may result in slightly different discourses that might

be constructed based on an unrestricted individual understanding the key issue or concern (Billig, 2001, 2009). Since all responses are subject to the same limitations, however, the discourses that are observed will be comparable within the sample, and will be understood as constructions of civic involvement only in the context of the hypothetical dilemma, rather than as equivalent to the discourses that might be produced with regard to the full range of individual experiences.

Informed Social Reflection: Bridging Content and Discourse

A focus on discourse (whether the text is written or spoken) as a means of understanding youth civic expressions/opinions about participation does not, however, remove the need to understand the content and quality of youth responses. Discourse, after all, is produced in response to something our attention has been called to. It would be foolhardy to restrict our study to how individuals think about participation without also noting what their participation does or does not entail. The informed social reflection (Selman & Kwok, 2010) and informed social engagement (Barr, Selman, Diazgranados, & Kwok, 2014) frameworks (see Figures 1 & 2) we now describe provide the opportunity to account for both the content and quality of students' responses to addressing civic concerns. We may conceptualize informed social engagement as the skills youth will bring to bear upon civic issues, and informed social reflection as what youth believe these civic issues are.

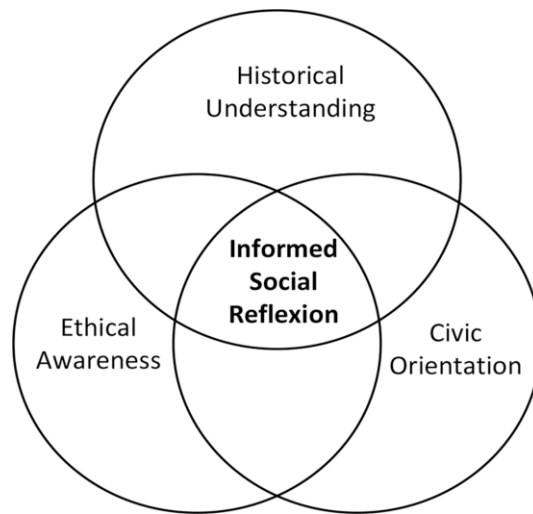*Figure 1. Informed social reflection*

Informed social reflection (Figure 1), as defined (really designated, rather than defined in the usual sense of the term) by Selman and Kwok (2010), comprises three overlapping content domains about which one may navigate with greater

awareness if one is better informed: civic orientation, ethical awareness, and historical understanding. Developing one's awareness of these three components of individual and shared experience supports the capacity to become aware of the crucial relationship between social choices, including their inherent risks and rewards, and their justifications (Kwok & Selman, 2013). Here, the term "civic orientation" refers to the conceptualization of one's responsibility and role as a member of a community; the term "ethical awareness" encompasses the moral guidelines and understanding of fairness and care that we use to navigate individual and group social relationships; and "historical understanding" refers to assets within individual and shared experience—such as perspectives and memory—that provide scripts for navigating interpersonal situations (see Bellino & Selman, 2011, for an example where historical considerations are foregrounded). Each of these overlapping components allows one to access slightly different background knowledge, strategies, and personal experiences, and individuals may favor drawing upon different ones based upon the specific situation, personal background, or cultural context. Being able to draw upon all three increases the likelihood of more successful understanding of social relationships and social situations (Selman & Kwok, 2010).

Quantum Leap to Discourse: Informed Social Engagement

Informed social engagement (Figure 2), on the other hand, refers to specific competencies individuals internalize that we believe support the development of young people into constructive citizens in a democratic society (Barr & Selman, 2014). These competencies were identified over a long-term research program in collaboration with history education non-profit Facing History and Ourselves, a group whose mission is to promote social justice through understanding the roots of intolerance and injustice throughout history (Strom, 1980; Barr & Facing History and Ourselves, 2010; Barr, Boulay, Selman, McCormick, Lowenstein, Gamse, Fine, & Leonard, 2015). By gaining insight into young people's interpretations of historical events (Bellino & Selman, 2011), conflict resolution strategies in context (Feigenberg, Steel King, Barr, & Selman, 2008; Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001; Selman & Feigenberg, 2010), and navigating difficult interpersonal dynamics at school (Diazgranados & Selman, 2014; Kwok, 2014), this research collaboration has contributed to the understanding of the skills necessary to support adolescents' understanding of intergroup tolerance and relationships. Recent research suggests that this "new" model is statistically robust even across international contexts: The informed social engagement framework, for instance has been found useful in understanding Latin American students' views on the legality of expected civic participation (García-Cabrero, Pérez-Martinez, Sandoval-Hernández, Caso-Niebla, & Díaz-López, 2016) as captured by the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.
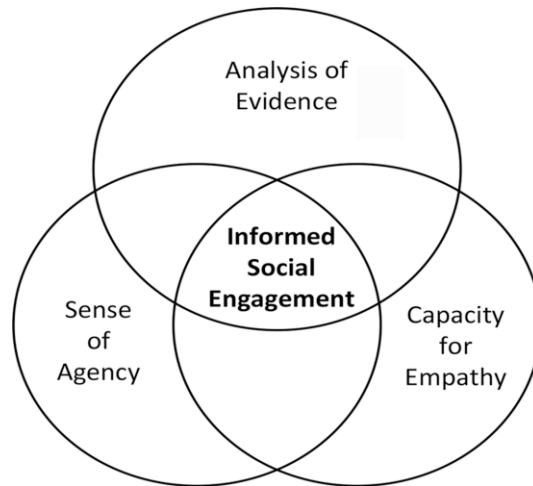
Figure 2. Informed social engagement

Although the content domains of informed social reflection can be acted upon through the skillful expression of the competencies described by informed social engagement, they are certainly not limited to them. The "analysis of evidence" in Figure 2 is primarily a "cognitive" skill, referring to how youth comprehend, critique, discuss, and synthesize multiple sources of data including contradictory information. This competency gives students a complex understanding of contextual reality, whether contemporary or historical, and affects the degree to which they make informed decisions when addressing social issues. The "capacity for empathy" refers to ways and degrees to which youth feel motivated to consider and protect the well-being of actors—known and unknown, similar or dissimilar in identity and values—representing different positions in a given situation or conflict (Selman & Barr, 2009). Their capacity for empathy affects the scope of their universe of moral responsibility, or the people whose welfare they are willing to protect when considering social problems. "Capacity" is inadequate, however, to capture the emotional dimension of this competency—the focus is less on an individuals' *potential* to empathize than their actual feelings towards others, whether in the moment or over time. If capacity is involved at all, it is how capable are students becoming aware of why they feel or do not feel empathy towards others.

Finally, the "sense of agency" is primarily characterized in this conceptual framework as a "disposition" toward action. It is "informed" to the extent that it refers to ways in which students understand the range of opportunities for their involvement in relation to social and civic matters, the potential to effect change, and the quality of different strategies they imagine using to most adequately

address a given social problem. Students' actual—even if limited to the moment—disposition toward taking action affect both the quantity and quality of their civic participation.

Two Steps to Form One Leap

Therefore, in order to effectively use hypothetical scenarios (coming up shortly, our school based situations) in an investigation of youth civic participation, we need to take an intermediate step–rather than one big leap from student responses to a hypothetical to the identification of the cultural discourses the responses suggest are available to them in their own "lifespace" (Habermas, 1984, 1987). We must first move to a thematic analysis of the content of their responses before jumping to a discursive analysis of how individuals make culturally based civic meaning of the content of their responses.
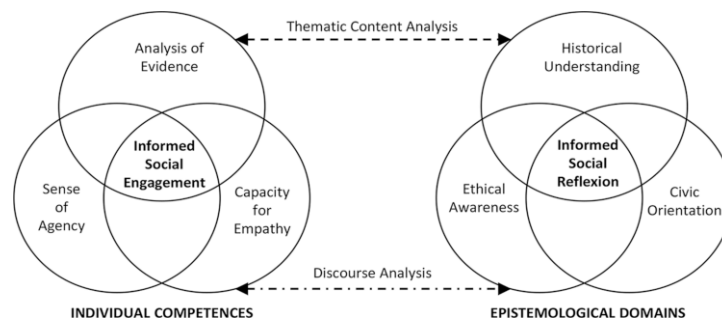
Figure 3. Informed social engagement and informed social reflection linked by thematic analysis and discourse analysis

Figure 3 needs some exegesis. First, our use of "informed" necessarily implies eventually developing a scale to indicate "how *well* informed?" The thematic analysis, necessary for the analysis of informed social reflection, may be regarded as a means of drawing individuals' map of their culture and concerns (Miller & Crabtree, 1992 [cited in Boyatzis, 1998]). Through prompting students to respond to a hypothetical scenario (rather than a series of attitudinal statements), thematic analyses can use both etic and emic codes to identify these student perspective clusters.[4] Second, unlike discourse analysis, this cognitively-driven non-discursive investigation is focused on the content of students' responses rather than an analysis of what students are trying to accomplish rhetorically within their responses (Selman & Xu, 2016).

The discourse analysis of responses, as portrayed in Figure 3, aims to describe how students' responses define (and eventually enact) the boundaries and expectations of their roles and responsibilities in the school civic sphere in the context of the

possible choices available to them. In other words, how do students construct the expectations and restrictions on the choice to intervene in a conflict? We may contrast the thematic and discourse analysis as the difference between what students say about their choice and how they justify it; not just reason (cognize) about it, but use their own language as "performative acts" (Austin, 1962, p. 7).

Third, the significance of the Venn diagrams is to remind us that all social situations and all social discourse about social situations have moral, civic, and historical factors in play. What matters here is how much of each epistemological domain, and hence each competency calls a discourse topic into play (Once again, please refer to our coda).

PART 3: MEASURING MEANING: THE CHOICES
IN CONTEXT MEASURE (CCM)

For all the reasons and rationales, we have presented in support of using discourse to understand civic participation and engagement, we turn our attention now to how it looks in practice: How do we measure meaning? The Choices-in-Context Measure (CCM) was designed to assess students' socio-moral reasoning through hypothetical dilemmas about cases of racial exclusion and social injustice (Selman, Barr, Feigenberg, & Facing History and Ourselves, 2007). Initially, these hypothetical scenarios were derived from the actual experiences reported by middle and high school students, thus making them more relatable and more representative of the reasoning that students might make in their actual lives (Feigenberg et al., 2008). The scenarios were intended to represent different situations that emphasized (in the sense that they foregrounded) ethical social relations (teasing, bullying, harassment, ostracism), orientations toward civic issues and initiatives (mandatory school uniforms, racist graffiti on the walls) and perspectival understanding (understanding the socio-historical basis for the actions of agents living in unfamiliar religions and customs as they were experienced in school).

Consider, as examples of the method we used, the following two scenarios. The first illustrates an incident of discriminatory teasing:

> A student sees a group of his friends teasing a boy whose family recently arrived in the U.S. from another country. They are making fun of the way he speaks and telling him he should move back to his own country. The student who sees this wonders what to do. He decides not to say anything. Instead, he walks away from the group.

Which one of these three actions would you be most likely to take?

a. Tell a teacher what was going on. *[Indirect Upstand]*
b. Just stay out of it. *[Bystand]*
c. Tell the students to stop making fun of the new boy. *[Direct Upstand]*

Please explain why:

_____

_____

The second scenario asks students to think about the appearance of an ethnic slur at school:

> Some students have written racist slurs on one of the walls of the auditorium. The principal responds by banning the use of the auditorium for after-school activities.

Which one of these three actions would you be most likely to take?

a. Organize a meeting to discuss racism in the school. *[Direct Upstand]*
b. Offer to clean up the graffiti. *[Indirect Upstand]*
c. Let the principal deal with it. *[Bystand]*

Please explain why:

_____

_____

As seen above, students are offered three multiple-choice responses representing possible actions ("Which one of these three choices would you be most likely to take?"). Each of these represents one of three types of (etic, or theoretically assumed) civic strategies: Direct Upstand (address incident directly, such as telling perpetrator to stop), Indirect Upstand (address incident indirectly, such as by consoling victim after the incident), or Bystand (remaining uninvolved) (Feigenberg et al., 2008). (In the actual measure given to students, the identifying civic-strategy labels were not included with dilemmas.) These action categories represent what the individual believes to be the range of possibilities that includes the most and least preferable strategies.

Accompanying the multiple-choice selection is the opportunity for a brief written response where participants provide an explanation of their choice ("Please explain why."). Both thematic and discursive dimensions can be drawn based upon these written explanations of students' multiple choice responses to the hypothetical situation. The multiple-choice option yields a particular civic strategy, while the written response allows for a consideration of the cultural and political angles relevant to students' experience of their schools as early civic contexts.

Take, for example, two students who have both selected option A ("Organize a meeting to discuss racism in the school") for the second scenario describing the discovery of racist graffiti written on school property. If they both have chosen to Direct Upstand, does it necessarily follow that their reasons for this choice are the same? Consider their responses:

> Talking to students about racism can help understand the different races there are and how it affects everyone.

If the person sees how his actions affect his classmates and friends, then they hopefully realize what they did was dumb.

Although both respondents have selected the response corresponding to the same civic strategy (Direct Upstand), each respondent reveals divergent cultural or political concerns in their rationale for selecting this choice. The first response frames the incident as a community issue. Although one person may have committed the act, its occurrence may point to a larger misunderstanding or tolerance of such behavior or opinions, and as such, it is valuable to have this forum for building understanding and empathy. The second response, however, locates the key issue within the perpetrator, not in the community. However, the meeting is intended to be corrective through building empathy within the perpetrator for those who were affected—the implication being that the perpetrator was more foolish (our interpretation of the word, "dumb) than intentionally malicious. Both students chose to Direct Upstand, but each describes the solution as taking effect through different channels.

In terms of informed social engagement (Figures 2 and 3), student generated responses to these questions could be assessed via thematic analysis for the expression of *agency* (or lack thereof). Agency should not be assumed strictly on the basis of the etic civic strategies that are the theoretical foundation for each response. One student might suggest to tell the teacher in the bullying scenario (Indirect Upstand) because to her, this is the most effective option ("A teacher would make sure this stops"), while another who decides to confront the aggressors (Direct Upstand) might suggest this because he believes that nothing else that can be done ("They're going to beat us all up anyway and always win").

Responses might be evaluated for analysis of *evidence* by examining what kinds of reasoning a student provides based upon personal experiences or information contained within the scenario and available responses. Students might mention having tried one of the responses in the past ("Standing up usually works because it will make them respect you"), specific school rules (actual rules of imagined rules for this school), or cultural norms at the school ("We like to talk things out here").

Using written responses is particularly important for examining students' capacity for *empathy* as a full range of possible emotional responses would be difficult to capture in multiple choice option. As with the evaluation of students' sense of agency, empathy should not be assumed present or absent within any particular choice response. Students might empathically suggest *not* intervening because it could be in conflict with the victim's desires ("I don't want to embarrass him because he can handle it but I might talk to him later privately").

Following the thematic analysis, informed social reflection explores the discursive aspect of these responses (Figures 1 and 3). The purpose of this discussion is not to examine the full range of discourses that might be produced (it is arguable that there are as many discourses as there are individuals), but instead to propose the method as a valid approach in advancing and deepening our understanding of youth civic thought and participation. Discourses that emphasize the relationship between the

31

individual and the institution or power differentials, to name just two, are those from the civic domain. Student responses that draw upon concerns about fairness, justice, and the effect of one's responses on others (known and unknown) are those that derive from the ethical domain. Finally, discourses that refer to knowledge of "just how things are", past experiences, or cultural norms are those within the historical or contextual domain.

Collectively, these competencies drawn from informed social engagement reflect essential skills and dispositions that youth must develop, while the epistemological content domains of informed social reflection describe the range of social issues available for their engagement. Taken together, a consideration of these two different areas of youth civic life—skills in addressing a problem and what youth think the problem is—allow for an integrated picture of the quality of youth civic engagement and participation.

Going Forward: Is Everything Civic?

Past research using this hybrid hypothetical scenario approach suggests that an emphasis on civic participation may function better not with a focus on specific actions that are objectively favored or discouraged, but rather with an exploration of the different ways an individual may describe his relationship to society (or just other people) (Kwok, 2014). Students who do not want to intervene in a situation for fear of escalating it have something to teach those who wish to intervene in order to punish another. More broadly, to be informed is learning to have something to say before learning to exercise one's right to say it.

The disconnection between any "objective" meaning assumed to be understood in the civic strategies by all students is also reflected in the discourses identified within each civic strategy. As in the case of the Direct Upstanders who are eager to use force, or the Bystanders who are concerned about their peers' safety, the discourses that were identified by Kwok (2014) using this method, echoed these themes: directing others towards certain kinds of action (Direct Upstand), seeking a balance between different perspectives (Indirect Upstand), and justifying un-involvement (Bystand). Most surprising of these were the findings for Indirect Upstand: Although the conceptual name of the strategy implies a form of diluted action, the cluster discourses that emerged accompanying it were classified as "coordinating discourses", referring to respondents' goal of integrating various perspectives and taking action accordingly.

The goal of discourse-driven civic research is not to approach civic education as prosocial education: Throughout history, efforts to secure greater rights for others in society have required apparently antisocial behaviors such as being arrested or accused of disagreeableness (at best). In this frame, the more unilateral tone of the Direct Upstand discourse is logical: If you want to personally intervene, regardless of motive, you may need to shed your inhibitions or anxieties about others' opinions. Yet our motives should always remain at the forefront of these decisions.

If it appears that we are arguing for a consideration of all social action and reasoning as civic, we are. The "new" approach to civic research must necessarily disentangle notions of civic participation from the prosocial or as tethered to specific norms, and instead be overlaid upon the expanding social universe of concern for those beyond our immediate circle, for those whom we may not yet have known to include in our purview of action. For this reason, perhaps civic education intended to foster greater participation and engagement might do better to emphasize not the outcomes that we envision, but the motivations we experience right now[5] and whether they contribute or detract from our ability to live in a (social) world that we enjoy. This is not about making decisions that will boost our likability, although they may have that result, but rather directing our attention to act more consciously through the world we would like to live in, and whether there is room for others there too.

> Coda: a brief diversion in the service of definition
> Have you heard the news, everyone's talking
> Life is good 'cause everything's awesome
> Lost my job, it's a new opportunity
> More free time for my awesome community
> […]
>
> Everything is better when we stick together
> Side by side
> You and I gonna win forever
> Let's party forever
> We're the same
> I'm like you
> You're like me
> We're all working in harmony
>
> Everything is awesome
> Everything is cool when you're part of a team
> Everything is awesome when we're living our dream
> (Patterson, Bartholomew, Harriton, & the Lonely Island, 2014)

In *The Lego Movie,* released in 2014, the villainous Lord Business wishes to freeze the Lego brick universe into eternal perfection using the Kragle (which is to say, superglue). In Lord Business' world, culture has become homogenized and controlled (Rosenberg, 2014) to the point where there is only one hit song, the ominously cheerful "Everything is Awesome" aimed at convincing the Lego citizens that their world should remain unchanged and undisturbed by acts of creativity (Brown, 2014).

To our cause, "Everything is Awesome" is a paean to apathy on the apathy-agency highway. In that sense, it is a dangerous message for the action-oriented-but-uninformed eight-year-old, and a painful message for those who find themselves well informed but unable to act, like the slacker clerks in the cult movie, *Clerks.* In other

words, if everything is awesome, then nothing is awesome—awesome exists only in the context of its absence. The same conundrum is infused into the very meaning, or definition, if you prefer, of the term "new civic." When the new cognitive meets the new (and broadly expanded) civic, there runs the risk that as far as discourse analysis goes, "Everything is civic." We believe that our conceptual framework allows us to exit this quandary: We grant that in discourse analysis, it is the case that there is at least a little bit of civic in all social discourse, but what really matters is how much civic, and perhaps even more importantly, what is the quality of the framing of civic discourse, how well-informed is the civic engagement being expressed, performed, claimed, positioned? This is a good enough definition of terms for us to rest our case—until we revisit it, inevitably.

NOTES

1   Decades later, "New" is still an appropriate term, perhaps because the "old" cognitivism persists.

2   Please see the coda to this paper for an important detour.

3   For another important diversion from the Kantian-Kohlbergian main line, see new measurement work conceptualized and validated by Diazgranados, Selman, and Dionne (2015). Here the focus is on using school-based "flash-point" scenarios or dilemmas as a vehicle to capture the "acts of social perspective taking," as they are "performed" by the participant in the hypothetical task of giving "civic advice". The analytic approach is more closely akin in nature to "speech acts" analysis (Austin, 1962) than to attempts to ferret out participants' cognitive competence, even though the structure of the responses are the same. Paradoxically, because the measure is designed to be used for purpose of program evaluation (such as interventions designed to promote youth civic improvement), the analysis (coding) focuses only on the various types of social perspective taking acts used by participants, *excluding* themes that emerge and discourses that are used. (To be described in more detail, of course, at another time.)

4   Etic codes refer to existing theoretical ideas, and emic codes refer to how ideas are actually emergent in student responses (i.e., developmentally and contextually appropriate forms of these ideas).

5   See also the chapters within the volume edited by Heinrichs, Oser & Lovat (2012), in the *Handbook of Moral Motivation*.

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SECTION 2

COMPARATIVE POLITICS IN CIVICS IN
LATIN AMERICA

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3. CIVIC AND ETHICAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO

*From Classic Civics to the Development of Civic
and Citizenship Competencies*

INTRODUCTION

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, Mexico faces a moral, economic, social and political crisis linked to a loss in the sense of life and future, interpersonal and institutional mistrust, the weakening of the culture of legality, as well as high levels of violence and criminality that, in a context of corruption, impunity and fragility of institutions, deteriorates the perception of security and seem to fracture the political bond.

According to the Country Report on the Quality of Citizenship in Mexico (Aziz et al., 2014), representative democracy has been devalued, formal channels of social and political participation are not preferred by citizens who are not interested in participating in electoral processes in which they don't believe or to collaborate with a government in which they do not trust. Accordingly, the number of people waiting for a hard-line (even authoritarian) government to solve the problems of insecurity and poverty has increased.

Political disaffection is aggravated by the weak sense of political efficacy, the belief that it is useless to comment, to vote or to participate in any other way, because nothing will be achieved. In this way, the vicious circle is nourished because when a society does not participate, the counterweights are weak, and the power of the public authorities grows disproportionately.

This institutional crisis of trust and sense has confronted the school, both in its aims and in its procedures, and has led to an educational model focused on training: on strengthening values, capacity development and competences to be, to live together, to learn, to strengthen one's emotional dimension, to understand the social world, and to make a commitment to improve it, but one can question: is this something that students care about?

Many will say no, and would add that apathy toward politics and the public is a characteristic of these convulsed times and a constituent feature of the millennial, who are accused of being more interested in themselves than in the affairs of the world. The search for immediate satisfaction, as well as personal gain and success in

a consumer and individualistic society, characterized by the culture of waste, seems to encourage the adoption of values contrary to human dignity, to the good and the just. To have fame, power and fortune at any cost, not only feeds the ranks of drug trafficking and other expressions of organized crime, but it sets the ethical horizon of people for whom cooperation, solidarity, participation, the search for the common good and other conditions of democratic life, do not enter into their equation of life. These conditions are gaining ground dangerously and have left in their wake thousands of dead, orphans and a society with moral myopia in the context of a devalued democracy.

What people and what citizens does Mexico require in this scenario? Which approach to civic education would contribute to strengthening the moral and emotional dimension, civic culture and political commitment of our country? Although from the vortex of the crisis it might seem an excess to attribute to citizen education this transformative potential, according to Cullen (2008), it constitutes a powerful device that strengthens in citizens *the power to act*, to generate resistance processes, to produce new social practices, and to transform the political ties between the citizens and the public power.

In this context, the main purpose of this chapter is to review the antecedents and key moments of citizen education in Mexico, from the doctrine that gave rise to it and consolidated in the classic civism that was taught in schools during practically the entire twentieth century, to the adoption of the approach to the development of competences that gave rise to the program of Civic and Ethical Education proposed at the beginning of this century, that was modified in 2016, and has not yet been implemented by teachers. The chapter analyzes how the purposes, approaches and contents of citizen education have been defined in terms of pedagogical, ideological and civic-political conceptions of the moment. The notions of citizenship and democracy, the conception of citizen education and the sociopolitical context in which it unfolds articulate this analysis. In the final part of the chapter a recount of the lessons learned, as well as of the present challenges is presented, and new paths are proposed to strengthen the philosophical and psychopedagogical conceptions of citizenship education, through the analysis of contemporary theoretical approaches that are promising for the development of the citizen and the moral person that needs to be formed urgently in our country.

CONCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZEN EDUCATION

The nature of political education is related to the conception of citizenship and democracy; with its aims, in relation to the public, with the state and with power; with the contents of learning, with the means and educational resources. Although in Mexico we have traversed through different models of citizen education, supported in turn by certain conceptions of citizenship and democracy, the theoretical basis of citizen education still need to be re-analyzed.

The issue in question is how we understand the condition of being moral and political agents, and how far the understanding of citizenship determines, simulates or simply overrides this condition that defines us. (Cullen, 2008, p. 27)

Democracy and Citizenship

The simplest notion of democracy defines it as the government of the people, for the people and by the people. The people are the set of citizens with full political, economic, social and cultural rights, which has the capacity to self-govern through free and autonomous decisions aimed at integrating, limiting and monitoring public power.

Democracy is a term applied to certain government systems and also to the method to elect representatives who exercise power. In this political system, the right to participate is a prerogative of citizens, therefore, what legitimates democracy is citizens' participation. During the twentieth century, the right to participation meant the accomplishment of one of the main goals of democracy: to set up an authentic community of citizens. (Alba-Meraz, 2016, p. 39)

In the history of Mexico the conceptions of citizen and citizenship have had important variations, always referring in a fragmented way to the members of the community. During a very long period, a restricted and exclusive view of citizenship was subscribed until in the second half of the 20th century, it was extended towards a more integral notion.

During the period after the promulgation of the "Cortes de Cádiz" (1812) in Spain, the indians, castes, women and children did not consider themselves citizens. Citizen was that honorable person whose domicile was in the city, where good customs could be kept. Residence or moral quality marked a separation between citizens and those living in the peripheries, the "uncivilized" (Lizcano, 2012).

Colonizers and criollos -like Hidalgo and Morelos (the Independence heroes) – were citizens with rights and privileges like aspiring to be freed of the authoritarian power; indians, servants, slaves and women were not recognized as human beings, so they had no rights. These distinctions were the result of the liberal ideas expressed in the Constitution of Cadiz, the first document that gave rights to the men of the colonies; nevertheless, this conception of restricted citizenship derived in an unequal and unjust social structure.

Once the Spanish tutelage was annulled, the conception of citizenship was part of the tensions between two visions: the aspirations of autonomy and illustrated freedom, and the tendencies of domination and authoritarianism of empowered sectors.

From the earliest times, it was understood that one of the virtues that distinguished the citizen was his participative action in the public thing (the polis of the Greeks and the Renaissance thinkers). The dedication of the citizen to the political community

(initially an aristocratic right that gradually extended to the global community of citizens), is the foundation of democratic life

The search for the ideal of the citizen has been one of the driving forces behind the independence revolution and the demands of freedom, justice and equality, fundamental values that underpinned the rejection of the forms of social segmentation and exploitation that the colonizers imposed on the inhabitants of the New Spain. From there, a structural and temporal continuity can be traced back to the 1910 Social Revolution and to the complex processes of the current globalized Mexican civil society (Sacristan & Piccato, 2005).

The Constitution promulgated in 1917, shaped the new social ideal of the citizen, which incorporated the spirit of the American and French constitutions. The twentieth century experienced the evolution from a legal scheme of citizenship to a social scheme of rights.

Although the conception of citizenship was gradually expanded, until the end of the twentieth century, the restricted approach that defined it as a legal condition expressed in formal characteristics: to be 18 years old, to have an honest way of life, and to be in the full exercise of political rights, prevailed. In practice, this idea of citizenship was equated with the notion of elector, confining its action to the election of rulers and representatives, thus excluding children and adolescents, as well as the indigenous population whose democratic practices ran along paths different from those of electoral democracy.

For Cullen (1999), the marked dispersion of powers and rights that characterizes modern democracies requires citizens to rethink the meaning of their participation, beyond mere political representation. Certainly the role of citizenship in the construction and strengthening of democracy has its most basic expression in the periodic election of rulers, but it is not exhausted there. Therefore, the concept of active citizenship has been promoted, which involves engaging in a committed and conscious way in the elimination of the obstacles to equality, in the task of guaranteeing the full validity and protection of human rights and democratic life, as well as in the construction of a real equality for all the people that integrate society (IIHR, 1997), according to an integral vision of citizenship.

Citizenship, according to Galeazzi (2008), involves membership in a political community. It is linked to freedom (conceived as part of natural law (i.e. universal) or to justice (considered as order or equality), or to both, and in this sense it is identified with the exercise of three kinds of human rights: the civilians (for example: the right to life, to expression and to property); the politicians (the right to the electoral exercise, to the association in parties and unions), and the social ones (to work, to study, to health, among others). The acquisition of these rights of citizenship, according to some, is progressive; and according to others, is neither linear nor evolutionary.

The formal and minimal vision of the citizen has weakened in the face of a conception that ties citizenship to the awareness of rights, to the possibility and the capacity to defend and enjoy them, as well as to the application of democratic

values. The concept of integral citizenship of UNDP, can be located in this line of thought, based on the recognition of political, civil and social citizenship.

On the other hand, Leenders, Veugelers and De Kat (2008) consider, following Banks (2004), that citizenship is not restricted to the political aspect; it encompasses the consideration of society as a whole, and the relationships among people and individuals' identity development. The authors mention that if citizenship education goes farther than the explanations of rights and duties, or a behavioristic conformity, it has to have a moral foundation. And in this sense, citizenship education that is morally founded should motivate young people to apply the knowledge and skills acquired through it, to act in a moral and social way.

Conde (2014) points out that since the 1990s, the reflections of educational theorists on citizen education open up new areas of concern, and make statements about the conditions that prevent solidarity, feelings of interest for each other and creation of support networks. In this context, violence becomes a prominent element of concern, as it turns to be one of the most risky angles for fulfilling the expectations of democratic citizenship.

It is important to highlight a fundamental change, within the new conception of citizenship in Mexican Education: the concern for the emotional well-being of people (García-Cabrero & Alba-Meraz, 2008; Garcia-Cabrero, Gutierrez Espíndola, & Mora, 2011). In this conception, emotions constitute a fundamental factor, disregarded by liberal and republican conceptions of citizen, but above all, excluded from educational programs of citizen education. "Feelings not only accompany thoughts, in fact, play a decisive role in decision making" (García-Cabrero & Alba-Meraz, 2008, p. 27). Emotions have the potential to generate transformations in society. This last factor will be relevant to understand the limitations of the programs of citizen education in Mexico and will give us the keys to a new conceptualization of citizen education.

As proposed by Camacho, Flores and Medina (2015), citizenship is not limited to procedural matters (ways of exercising citizenship), but rather entails the need to consider ethical dimensions that lead to the creation of a communal coexistence, provide identity, and at the same time reduce prejudices, discrimination and intolerance, approaching the care of the other. Thus, it promotes an ethic that favors the normative dimension, while giving rise to the experience of values in their experiential-emotional sense (Garcia-Cabrero & Alba-Meraz, 2008).

In this chapter, the notion of citizen that is used to analyze the processes of civic and ethical education, and to propose strategies to face the challenges presented to us, alludes to a person who has the formal requirements to exercise and defend his human rights including politicians. A person who is committed to the political community to which the citizen belongs, and who has the capacities and values to participate in decision-making, solving common problems, as well as in the development of projects oriented to the common welfare (Conde, 2014), but also who has developed his/her emotional and moral dimension, in such a way that gets involved actively in his/her personal process, in the interaction with the others, and

in social and political participation. We refer to the development of a moral person, of a person who has sound knowledge and ethical provisions in relation to citizens' rights and obligations, and who is genuinely committed to the well-being of the community, and also has the motivation, the sense of agency and the appropriate strategies of action needed to act decisively and convincingly in solving social problems and in building a better society.

This notion of citizenship has implications for both, the processes of citizen education, and the responsibility of the State in the construction of conditions for democracy rights to be effective (UNDP, 2008).

Citizen Education

Conde (2014) defines citizenship education as the process of moral and political formation, whose purpose is to prepare people to participate in a responsible way in the construction of their society and it unfolds in the development of capacities and values to live in democracy. The author points out that this type of education involves an ethical dimension and a policy, oriented to the formation of a critical citizenship, who recognizes the others, is active, committed to their country and the world, to social reconstruction in contexts of crisis, as well as to the creation of conditions of social justice that allow to give an ethical sense to economic growth.

The discourse of educational policy in Mexico has moved from the classic paradigm of civics, to formative approaches based on an integral conception of citizenship. Classic civics promotes the population's knowing of their rights and how the government of their country, adopts the norms and values of their society. Institutions like the Mexican family, the individuals (the Mexicans), and the motherland, are central contents, and heroes are the models of civic virtue. This type of education prevailed in Mexico until the last decade of the twentieth century and was key to affirm nationalism, national unity and the culture of legality.

Classical citizenship is questioned in this text, because it subscribes to a restricted notion of citizenship, since it considers that citizenship can only be exercised by adults, while it is up to children and adolescents to fulfill their duties and show an orderly, responsible and respectful behavior. It is assumed that this will contribute to the correct functioning of society and the well-being of others.

According to Conde (2004), while having a dogmatic character and socialization, at the international level since the 1970s, the relevance of classical citizenship to define critical thinking, to develop the capacity for social and political participation, or to constitute an active citizenship with strong ethical codes was questioned. This is mainly due to the fact that in courses where classic civics is taught, students are not assumed as active subjects of social transformation, as this is a product of heroic acts; they are not responsible for their learning process, since this revolves around the magisterial discourse; they do not learn to participate, to speak and to argue, because their duty is to learn the pedagogical truth transmitted by the teacher.

To build active citizenship requires a formative approach to moral autonomy, critical thinking, meaningful, relevant, incorporating everyday life as a source of knowledge, and quotidian situations as fundamental to give meaning to laws, values and procedures that are associated with the resolution of conflicts and to the search of a coexistence respectful of human dignity.

Citizen education is a process of organization and conscious participation of citizens in the country's affairs. For this reason Conde (2014) recognizes that the integral citizen needs to be formed with an equally integral vision (see Table 1).

Citizen education is sought to ensure minimum standards of safety and well-being for all, which builds new subjectivities and contributes to rebuilding the fabric of social relations by regaining trust in the other, by reasserting solidarity and by promoting, from different spheres, an active and participative citizenship which, although choosing to vote for its rulers, watch for policy and vigilant decisions to ensure that its rights are not violated, and that power is not misused, requiring accountability and transparency in public service (Apple & Beane, 2000; Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005).

Table 1. Integral vision of citizenship education

Education in values	*Human rights education*	*Education in and for democracy*
To form people capable of converting the ethical principles of democracy into criteria of judgment and action, empathically interested in the common welfare, solidarity, with a high sense of justice, legality and conscious of their human responsibilities. To form people capable of building with others a social order that improves the forms of relationship, of social functioning and contributes to a dignified life for all and an inclusive moral order, based on the respect and consideration of the other. Autonomous adoption of principles and values such as pluralism, solidarity, respect, justice, freedom, equality, legality.	The person becomes a citizen when he/she exercises his/her rights and defends those of all. This implies strengthening students' self-awareness as a subject of rights, critical understanding of the environment, empowerment and commitment to co-responsible citizen action, among other aspects. To form people capable of questioning the structures of domination and violation of human dignity, recognizing the other, respectful of diversity and defenders of gender equality, multiculturalism and all forms of pluralism; With capacity for dialogue, listening and non-violent resolution of conflicts.	To form critical people, capable of judging the actions of the rulers, to make reasoned decisions; to contribute to the strengthening of States, to fully exercise their political rights, and to participate in the improvement of democratic institutions and procedures, as well as in the democratization of public and private spaces. It implies the search for conditions for the democratic exercise of power, for listening and participation, especially where there is no democracy.

PLOTS AND PROCESSES OF CITIZEN EDUCATION IN MEXICO

In Mexico, citizen education has been present in the official curriculum as part of the strategies to concretize the national political project of each historical epoch through the goals of public education, institutional projects or specific subjects. Reviewing this history helps to identify the levees that have limited the construction of citizenship from the school, as well as the lessons learned and the conditions that are required to configure the processes of citizenship education that we need, to face the challenges faced by both, our Country, and the humanity as a whole.

Literacy and the Fight against Ignorance

> Every citizen should know how to read and write. Thus he gets prepared to take the necessary illustration to govern himself, direct his family and uphold the rights of the nation. (Education Plan of 1827, in Meneses, 1983, p. 106)

Since Mexico began its independent life, education was a key factor in achieving unity, building community and establishing a common ethical basis that would contribute to the consolidation of the nascent country. The starting point was not encouraging: Mexico was an unequal, impoverished country, shaken by the ravages of war and with a 98% illiterate population. For this reason, the struggle to combat illiteracy and ignorance founded the principles of a free and compulsory public education, but it was also the way to strengthen the country's political structure, recognizing that "without compulsory education, democratic institutions are incomplete, because universal suffrage requires universal education" (Minister of Education Justo Sierra's statement in 1875, quoted in Meneses, 1983, p. 228).

Efforts to literate the Mexican people, reduce cultural inequalities, and expand public education coverage during the nineteenth century did not have the desired impact, because education policies alone did not create equity, they required consistency with social and economic policies. At the beginning of the XXth century, after almost four decades in the presidency, Porfirio Diaz governs an unequal Mexico, which constituted an adverse context to the citizens' participation. The educational system had not been able to spread throughout the territory; the country was submerged in deep struggles for political power and in an economic crisis that reached 22.80% of inflation. The middle and upper urban classes were favored and the rural and indigenous sectors were neglected, so that two-thirds of the population were illiterate, segregated and living in inhuman conditions; civil and political rights of indigenous and rural workers were denied, and they were severely repressed while women were still excluded.

According to Emiliano Zapata, leader of the revolutionary movement, illiteracy was the main cause of the installation in power of tyrannical and despotic governments (Womak, 1982; Meneses, 1986). Therefore, in the educational plans of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, ignorance was combated by

two actions: prioritizing adult education because they had an urgent need for tools to exercise their citizens' right, and to provide education to the entire population, beginning with the Indians, through actions such as the crusade against illiteracy and cultural missions directed by José Vasconcelos, who was then Minister of Education (Meneses, 1986).

Nationalism and National Unity

One of the main purposes of education during the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth was to forge Mexican identity and nation (Zea, 1956). For Luna (2014) civic instruction responded to these purposes by promoting a strong nationalist sentiment and identification with the laws and institutions that regulate and organize the State. This author points out that in the years before and after the War of Independence, the "first letter" schools worked with religious catechisms to teach reading. Civic instruction adopted this model of teaching to impart political and civic catechism and students had to memorize phrases and definitions of what it meant to be a good citizen. For over a century, this model of political and civil catechism promoted nationalism, and national unity prevailed, supported by the idea that all Mexicans share a history, a language and a territory. During the second half of the nineteenth century, nationalism continued to be promoted, in this case as a shield against foreign intervention. Later, nationalism permeated the civility of the epoch known as the "Porfiriato" (during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz), as well as the subsequent proposals of the revolutionary governments, socialist education and the subsequent reforms of the twentieth century. History and civics textbooks and civic ceremonies were the main bearers of this nationalist vision (Luna Elizarrarás, 2014).

Through school subjects such as *obligations of man, political catechism, urbanity, moral, reading of fundamental laws, history and geography, and civic instruction*, the knowledge of the heroic acts of independence and revolution was promoted, as well as the valuing of traditions, the heroes who "gave us homeland" and of our glorious indigenous past with the purpose of igniting the love for the country, the national identity and the feeling of unity. The civic catechism with which habits and values were instilled, such as respect for elders and norms, was essential in the civilizing processes that gave identity to classical civism.

Towards the second half of the twentieth century, in the context of the postwar period, nationalism was consolidated as the axis of civic education. The national character of education sought to address the problem of cultural, ethnic and social diversity by building a homogeneous national identity. The classic approach to civility permeated the study of laws, the history of Mexican political institutions, and an incipient knowledge of human rights.

This conception of civism was rooted among the population, the teaching staff and the educational bureaucracy, and left a deep imprint on the meanings and formative practices linked to the ethical and the civic.

Citizen Education in the Political and Cultural Project of the Nation

Each political group that arrives at the presidency accompanies its political and cultural project of Nation with an educational proposal oriented to develop the capacities, values, knowledge and behaviors necessary for this project to be crystallized and adopted by the citizens.

Citizenship begins to acquire a broad dimension and respond to the demands of the political model of the nation since the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917 and with the founding of the Ministry of Public Education in 1921. Citizenship education shaped the idea of post-revolutionary civics, according to which being a citizen does not depend on an original condition, but is a construction that originates in the relationship between the individual and the State, the citizen is more the product of doing than of being.

Lay and Positivist Education

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the liberal project of President Benito Juarez secularized political power, separating the Church-State binomial, establishing secular public education, disentailing the Church's assets to give their income to the Treasury and to give the State the authority to register births and deaths (Bazant, 1997; Galena, 2004; Hamnett, 2006; Mora, 1963). President Juarez's positivist educational model was summarized in three axes, which are at the same time pillars of modern citizenship: scientific formation, discipline of the body and formation of character (Barreda, 1987). Its objective was to develop the different dimensions of the human being, giving it a sense of integrity, and linking it with its institutions and therefore with the nation, thereby broadening the conception of citizenship (Vázquez de Knauth, 2010).

Socialist Education

In the 1930s, the government of President Lázaro Cárdenas sought to consolidate the Mexican revolution through the socialist leadership of the workers and peasants' movement, the proletarianization of the means of production through cooperatives and trade unions, and a basic education that emphasized collective work, self-government, community engagement within the ideological context of the class struggle and experiences of democratic participation in the school context.

In article 3 of the Constitution, public education was defined as socialist, which allowed for different interpretations: socialism of the Mexican Revolution, Marxism, antireligiousness, and aspiration for social justice or rationalist school. Socialist education was seen as improving the socioeconomic conditions of the people, literacy and increased productivity (Meneses, 1988).

Democratic and National Education

After the Second World War, in a politically and economically divided world, national political forces debated the country's project, which led to the replacement of workers' democracy by liberal democracy, articulated by the values of freedom, legality, property, and representativeness (Buenfil, 1996). Consequently, in 1946 the third constitutional article was reformed to define education as democratic and to repeal its socialist character. With this, the liberal democratic tradition of the official educational discourses and the values subscribed by UNESCO in the postwar context was recovered.

Three objectives guided civic education during this period: to consolidate national identity and unity, to form a citizenship that respects the law and public institutions, and to construct conditions of civility – to be a good person and a good citizen, respectful of rules and committed to the fulfillment of duties.

These aims, together with the Moral Primer and the training of civic teachers in the Normal Higher School, oriented towards the study of law, strengthened classical civics with a formal, legalistic approach and a heteronomous and conventional development of human morality.

Jaime Torres Bodet, Secretary of Education during the presidency of Adolfo López Mateos (1958–1964), is the author of a top piece of the democratizing discourse, where he points out the need for the profile of the citizen to be trained in the framework of primary education as: A Mexican willing to the moral test of democracy, understanding democracy not only as a legal structure and a political regime , but as a system of life oriented to the economic, social and cultural improvement of the people. A Mexican who knows how to offer an authentic contest to the collective work of peace for all and of freedom for everyone; the same in the bosom of the family, the city and the nation, that in the plane of an international coexistence, worthy of ensuring the equal rights of all men (Torres-Bodet, 1965).

The Age of Contradictions

In the 1960s and 1970s, citizen education was placed in an inconsistent and contradictory national context: while official discourse praised democracy, state repression, internal struggles, guerrilla outbreaks, inequality, and lack of freedoms. Within the framework of the brutal student repression of 1968, the social and political content of education was reaffirmed in three values: (1) integration of Mexican nationality; (2) consolidation of freedom and democracy, especially from knowledge of the Constitution and (3) conquest of better living conditions. The teacher was asked to become "the driver of democratic advances, the defender of all conquest and impeller of various claims" (Yáñez, 1966).

In 1972, an Educational Reform was promoted that included "dialogue, participation and consensus" guided by the intention of "democratic openness and the need to establish a fairer social order" (Meneses, 1991). One year later, the

Federal Law on Education (LFE) was enacted which indicated that the functions of the educational system (1) to develop national awareness and a sense of international coexistence; (2) to prepare for the exercise of democracy, to promote respect for institutions and (3) promote family planning with respect due to human dignity and freedom (Medellín, 1973). This speech was framed by a set of civil movements that defended human rights and ideologically and politically challenged the government, in particular repression and the authoritarian style of governing.

According to Latapí (1975) the core of the Reform of 1972 was pedagogical flexibilization and renewal, which involved more flexible methods of learning and the creation of a curriculum by area. Thus, civics courses joined those of history and geography to form the area of Social Sciences. The new textbooks modernized and enriched their contents: they included social liberation struggles and were critical of totalitarian regimes; Affirmed human rights and denounced absolutism, misery, injustice, corruption, intolerance, fascism and wars. In secondary school, the aim was to strengthen solidarity and social justice, as well as to provide a moral formation based on a sense of responsibility and respect for the rights of others (Meneses, 1991). However, reality refuted school content without a critical analysis because the civil movements and lack of electoral democracy were not the subject of study. Therefore, it was not possible to counteract the inertia of the civic education approach such as persuasion, political socialization and indoctrination.

Educational Modernization and the Resurgence of Citizenship

After the competitive elections of 1988, in the 1990s a democratizing impulse took place characterized by greater social and political participation, by the opening of public power spaces, by greater media criticism, freedom of expression, by the alternation in the power, as well as by the consolidation of social movements gestated in the previous decades. These and other national and international conditions led to social and political changes that were reflected in citizen education. We speak of the increase in violence and drug supply, the Zapatista uprising, the signing of the FTA, the strengthening of the struggle for human rights, as well as the consolidation of the Federal Electoral Institute as a citizen body guarantor of electoral democracy, and At the international level, the recommendation to link education, economic development and training of modern citizenship, whose profile includes the cultural codes of modernity, education for intelligent consumption and the ability to participate regularly in the election of its rulers.

Thus, in the globalized Mexico of 1993, the third constitutional article was reformed, the General Law on Education (LGE) was promulgated and a curricular reform was carried out in which the meaning of democracy in education was defined, considering it as the form of government and coexistence that allows everyone to participate in decision-making for the betterment of society. Three conditions are included that make it possible to concretize the democratizing project and to

advance citizenship education: curriculum reform, promotion of school autonomy and the improvement of electoral democracy in a political context demanding respect for human rights, including the politicians.

After 17 years of a curriculum by areas in which civics had been diluted in the social sciences, in 1993 civic education in primary and secondary school levels becomes matter independent of history and geography. Formally, citizenship returns with an approach that aims to eliminate the approach of laws, institutions and values without a real reference, since the program of studies recognizes the weight of the socio-political context of the country in civic education.

> Mexico is experiencing a process which strengthens the validity of human rights, democracy, the rule of law and political plurality; Also the organizations and the mechanisms of participation of the citizens are diversified (…) the continuity and the strengthening of this process requires to develop in the student the attitudes and the values that endow it with solid bases to be a citizen knowing of its rights and those of others, responsible in the fulfillment of their obligations, free, cooperative and tolerant; That is, a citizen trained to participate in democracy. (SEP, 1993a, p. 124)

Four aspects organized the contents of this subject: formation in values, knowledge and understanding of rights and duties, knowledge of the institutions of Mexican political organization and strengthening of national identity. Although initially a well-received subject, criticism was not made for conceptual inconsistencies, such as considering human rights as synonymous with individual guarantees; The absence of a textbook for primary school education and the legalistic and encyclopedic vision that characterized secondary school; as well as the lack of training on civics teaching for in-service teachers. Pedagogues who understood the importance of the axiological dimension recognized the limitations of legal training and focused on the values and, therefore, the emotions that produce value.

> The "education in values" … is situated in the psychological order and in the moral, and also takes like reference sociological; We could define it as the systematic effort to help learners to acquire those qualities of their personality that are considered desirable in the various domains of their human development, particularly those related to the responsible use of their freedom. (Latapí, 2001, p. 61)

The advance of the creation of civics as a subject was diluted in practice, because without relevant materials and a didactic that dusted the techniques of the classic approach to civism, little contributed to the formation of citizens.

In 1999, due to the disenchantment caused by the approach of the subject of Civics, the Secretary of Public Education introduced significant but insufficient changes. The subject Civic Education and Ethics is created for secondary education, which replaces the subjects of Civics and Educational Orientation. It opts for a broad approach and an integrative vision that condenses citizen education, moral

education, peace, the environment, human rights, as well as the gender perspective, multiculturalism and human development.

In this new subject, the aim is to train young people as critical people, capable of defining their own life project and making decisions in a responsible way, with the information, skills and values necessary to participate in their society. A practical, meaningful and relevant approach is privileged, since the problems and concerns of young people, as well as the daily life of their environment, are a source of knowledge and a topic of discussion, which favors the laws, values, procedures Democratic and other contents are more relevant for students.

This matter introduced a novel dimension, ethics. It is the claim of important sectors of the Mexican intelligentsia that considered that morality should not be excluded, because finally if a new civic culture was needed, it could only come from a deep moral renewal of society.

It is at this point that the most critical voices will make explicit the need for an integral, holistic approach to the different aspects of citizen education, because this depends not only on adequate conceptual preparation, or on the creation of a moral conscience, but it is necessary to penetrate the core of social being and politics. A group of specialists who reviewed the fundamental approaches of citizen education in recent Mexico, agrees that the citizenship has a wide spectrum of factors:

> [In] the intellectual, offer the opportunity to study, reflect, observe or analyze their environment to everyone in their own way; In the volitional, allow him to choose what suits him according to his own point of view; But it is also corporal, since it includes accepting and developing their emotional abilities. (Alba-Meraz, 2011, pp. 28–29)

Civic and Ethical Competences

In 2003, the Federal Electoral Institute designed a co-curricular program called *Educar para la democracia* (To educate for democracy), based on the development of eleven citizen competences, defined as the set of behaviors, attitudes and knowledge that people apply in their relationship with others, as well as in its action on the social and political environment (Conde, 2004).

This program was taken up by the Secretariat of Public Education to elaborate a new subject. To this end, it integrated an inter-institutional committee that discussed the contents and scope of this program and defined 8 civic and ethical competences, as well as an integral curricular structure to promote significant experiences through four areas: the school environment, the daily life of students, the subject and the transversal work (SEP, 2008).

With a broad consensus and interinstitutional collaboration, in 2008 the Minister of Education presented the Integral Program of Civic and Ethical Training for Primary (PIFCYE) which – together with the programs Safe School, Culture of Legality and Civic Education and Ethics for Secondary School, constituted the

offer of citizen training. The PIFCYE articulated three formative axes – personal, ethical and citizen – as well as themes related to gender, human rights, environment, intercultural coexistence, respect for diversity, nonviolence, integral health, sexual and reproductive systems. It broke the barriers of the subject, since it promoted an educational experience congruent with the school life.

In practice, the PIFCYE was not applied as a comprehensive program, but rather it was worked as another subject in which eventually the transversal work and the approach of socially relevant themes in all subjects were promoted.

In 2011, it became formally the subject of Civic Education and Ethics, for primary education, which was complemented with another of the same name for secondary education. Both were oriented to the promotion of the gradual and systematic development of eight civic and ethical competences: Knowledge and self-care, Self-regulation and responsible exercise of freedom, Respect and appreciation of diversity, Sense of belonging to community, Nation and humanity, Conflict management and resolution, Social and political participation, Attachment to the legality and sense of justice, as well as Understanding and appreciation for democracy.

These competencies account for a process that goes from personal to social development. On the axis of personal formation, students strengthen their personal identity, clarify interests and values, strengthen self-awareness, their status as a subject with dignity and rights, with the ability to set limits and make decisions freely, applying their values, In addition to developing emotional and social skills such as assertiveness, empathy or self-esteem.

The competences approach condenses the psychopedagogical principles of the new school, constructivism, meaningful learning and critical pedagogy, in which citizenship formation is also supported, since, among other aspects, they question the authoritarian relationship with knowledge and favor the Incorporation of the context into the learning process.

Although this approach was able to formally break up with classical civility, it is not without criticism and questioning, for example, the difficulty of its full application, errors in its enunciation, and the absence of the emotional dimension, among many others. In response, the Secretary of Education prepares a new educational model with a humanistic approach, in which civic and ethical competencies are no longer the focus of citizen education.

LESSONS LEARNED: CHALLENGES AND NEW PATHS

In Mexico, the principles of democracy and citizen education have been present in the philosophical and normative framework of the public school as content, value or purpose, initially as a tool to consolidate the state and national unity, and in recent decades as a strategy for the personal, emotional, social and political development of children and adolescents. This tradition has resulted in a polished, consensual and pedagogically correct official curriculum and discourse in terms of citizen education

that has not necessarily translated into democratic educational practices, or in the configuration of interactions or power relations in schools And has also had no impact on citizenship building.

More than a failure, this situation raises the challenge of forming a pertinent proposal to form intentionally and systematically citizens capable of working in the construction of democracy and living in it. Therefore, in this last section we will take stock of the lessons that this long historical process leaves us, as well as the challenges.

A School Subject Is Not Enough to Build Citizenship

Several studies show that the existence of a subject of Citizen Education is not sufficient to train the students in the capacities and dispositions necessary to take an interest in public affairs and participate in a democratic way. And, contrary to what was raised for a long time, it is not enough to have the contents in the school programs, because democracy is not learned by memorizing some concepts, nor do the actions without information content have a real impact In the formation of a political culture, it seems that the elements are intimately interrelated along with the emotional component. In this sense, as scholars say:

Social Engagement results from the intersection of three different skills: a cognitive skill (Analysis of evidence), an emotional skill (Capacity for empathy), and a dispositional skill (Sense of agency). Social Engagement is demonstrated when students can critically analyze evidence, demonstrate capacity for argumentation, demonstrate concern for safety, rules, social relationships and collective actions, show concern for the well-being of others, not only for those they share values with, but for those considered as different, show disposition towards affirmative actions, and can lead protest against injustice, discrimination and other social problems. (Selman & Kwok, as cited by García-Cabrero et al., 2016).

With the creation of the Integral Program of Civic and Ethical Education, Mexico approaches a solution in which it breaks with the frontier of the subject to deploy a citizen education with a curricular support, but also with an institutional base, that considering the set of different subjects, the school culture and the projection into the daily life of students, favor democratic participation in decision making and the development of projects oriented to common welfare, critical analysis of reality, participatory definition of rules, non-authoritarian exercise of power and practice of values. These and other aspects would hypothetically be put in place as the educational community consistently assumed the commitment to build citizenship.

This perspective of integral education did not prosper, but it laid the foundations for an alternative that effectively contributed to the construction of citizenship, both from the school space and the families, and at the community level, with the collaboration of various socialization agents.

To Democratize School Life

Despite the potential of the school, that we have a normative that legitimizes the democratic nature of education and that Mexico has a curriculum oriented to the formation of citizens, schools are not today more democratic than 50 years ago. They seem to be trapped between the conservative inertia of an institutional model created in the nineteenth century and the progressive democratizing drive. Often the balance is tilted negatively by the weight of crystallized school structures, which will hardly be transformed with superficial and cosmetic measures (Conde, 2014).

As expected, the democratizing discourse did not disappear from the school's authoritarian features such as repression, dogmatism, rigidity in the use of time and spaces, discipline as a tool to control and homogenize, as well as arbitrariness in the impartation of justice.

It is precisely one of the challenges of citizenship education to build an environment in which it is possible to appreciate on a small scale the advantages of democratic life, so that children and young people can project other ways of living, to exercise power and to overcome common problems and can develop tools to participate in collective actions that make the imagined world a reality. This requires the following.

- To promote citizen participation from the same subjects through a non-dogmatic relationship with knowledge, creation of work environments that contribute to the free expression of ideas and critical understanding of the social world through the study of history, processes of moral and political evolution of mankind, as well as of the current situation of the country. The teaching approaches established in the official curriculum set the tone, but the nature of the educational experience ultimately depends on what the teacher does in that space of power called the classroom.
- To educate for democratic coexistence, in such a way that authoritarianism, expressions of violence, injustice, discrimination, authoritarianism or ill-treatment are confronted and questioned, which legitimize a way of coexisting with human dignity that operates as a practice of domination.
- To assume human rights as a paradigm of coexistence since justly the citizenship is built based on its defense and validity. This implies supporting the educational project of each school in the respect of human dignity – including that of teachers – in the best interests of children, in the principles of equality and non-discrimination, as well as in the commitment to Pupil self-awareness as a subject of rights: education, participation, protection, freedom, justice, information and peace.
- With the participation of the school community define the norms that indicate the rights and obligations of staff, students and families, the consequences of not respecting them, as well as the procedures to ensure compliance and to apply sanctions.
- To deploy a democratic management in which the processes of school organization, decision making, administration and problem solving are carried

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out in accordance with the rules, respecting the rights, without making arbitrary use of power and seeking both the common welfare and the application Of participatory formulas.

• To promote democratic authority: avoid institutional authoritarianism, as well as the loss of authority and relativism in which everything is allowed. The democratic teacher avoids the use of discipline as an instrument of power and control, has moral authority, supports its management in agreed values, listens without arrogance, marks limits, firmly holds the consequences and seeks work agreements and joint commitment.

• To strengthen the skills and ethical and emotional dispositions for participation and collaboration from the classroom, such as learning to think together, deciding or organizing activities to achieve a common goal.

• To create spaces for individual participation (suggestion boxes, open house policy or class discussions) and collective (committees, councils, associations), with assigned times, clear rules and binding character.

• To create school governing bodies and participatory management such as the Student Council, classroom assemblies, the board of delegates or the student body of human rights in which students participate in decisions, organizes academic activities, assumes regular functioning responsibilities of the school and is involved in conflict resolution as well as in disciplinary matters.

Violence and Crisis: Narrative, History and Political Imagination

In Mexico, some schools have been violated by criminality and violence: they have been caught in the crossfire of antagonistic groups (criminals versus criminals, or criminals in front of security forces), others have been threatened and extorted, and some more have witnessed bloodshed in the vicinity of the school building (Conde, 2011). This generates an unprecedented dynamic that imposes on the school groups the challenge of deploying a relevant response with few references and poor orientations. And the consequences of violence linked to organized crime, are rarely recognized in formal education processes, and in particular in civic education.

How to achieve the formative purposes of citizenship education when students feel vulnerable, when the social fabric weakens and the population feels that state institutions are failing to protect the citizen? How do girls, boys and adolescents live the different types of violence present in their children's settings? How do they affect their vision, their identity and their daily life?

Denying the problem does not eliminate it; On the contrary, it grows as it is ignored. Understanding the mechanisms through which violence enters the school, the scars it leaves behind, and the implications for citizenship education, is a task that cannot be postponed.

Conde (2011) warns that drug cartels and criminal gangs rarely engage in harassing or intervening in schools. Those who fight in the vicinity of the school, sell drugs, extort and threaten teachers, recruit young people, maintain territorial control and

commit vandalism are juvenile groups linked to the criminal network and in charge of some part of the criminal process. Acts of violence can go to the extreme when the criminal capacity of these groups outweighs the school's resilience and restraint, thereby overcoming educational principals, weakening their authority, particularly when, in addition to the threat or aggression, the student is empowered thanks to the impunity that prevails in the environment and, sometimes, to the support of their families.

Through their actions and attitudes, both young people belonging to criminal groups, and those who sympathize with them, are carriers of the so-called street culture, in which learning, citizenship, science and culture have lost their value; The attitudes of challenge to the authority, as well as the disregard for the norms and towards the person of the teacher are valued. Street culture also penetrates the school through drug use, as regular consumers revolve around narco-culture and end up acquiring their modes, styles and attitudes (Rojas, 2008).

Violence increases ungovernability, weakens democracy, increases mistrust and generates conditions for violations of human rights. But this premise is also valid in the opposite sense: human rights' violations, weak democratic institutions and ungovernability are conditions that increase the risk of using violence.

In Mexico, the crisis of credibility in the police, in the army and in the justice system is increasing. This distrust of state institutions has implications for political culture, the construction of citizenship and the weakening of democracy because it increases the sense of vulnerability in a population that feels increasingly insecure, more powerless.

Victimization surveys show the importance of insecurity in the quality of interactions, in habits, in the possibilities to conceive and concretize a life project and in democratic coexistence. According to the Latinobarometro 2011 (Lagos & Dammert, 2012), the perception of insecurity is greater in those spaces that are considered alien; therefore, schools with a fragile sense of belonging and a weakened process of citizen training present a greater perception of insecurity. Linked to the feeling of insecurity is fear, which feeds on the precariousness of the environment, the mistrust and the emotions that express a cultural anguish. As Barbero (2003) points out, if fear makes us scary and cowardly, it is mistrust that makes us insecure.

The citizen who feels vulnerable, insecure, judges the State as ineffective in the task of protecting him, and gradually dilutes self-awareness as a subject that can demand respect for their rights, especially life, security, justice and private property, and can participate in solving the problems that afflict their society. Young people also affect the perspective of the future, identities and willingness to get involved in the community. Therefore, in violent contexts students perceive that their future is uncertain, with few opportunities for development and, in some cases, survival. For some, conventional models of family and professional success are still stable and attractive, so they operate as a reference for identity, but others have never seen them work and in the face of uncertainty, they pursue forms of life that seem to be successful and represent a certain power and stability in their environment. This is

particularly worrying in scenarios of violence and criminal activity where carrying a weapon, having money, women, late model vehicles and inspiring fear are indicators that define for some high school students "the person I want to be."

When you live in violent environments, with no hope that the situation changes, violence helps you survive, take you in peace with the neighborhood band, earn respect. Here we cross the construction of adolescent identities and the sense of belonging with the prevailing models, but also with disguises, with the pose that is adopted by instinct

The Strengthening of the Moral Dimension

The moral dimension of citizen education is a missing point in the formal discourse of today education in Mexico. As Leenders, Veugelers and De Kat (2008), point out, citizenship education can be directed either to transfer knowledge on the structure of society, democracy, its institutions, or following Haste (2004), to the promotion of particular social norms and to an active construction of moral signification, considering moral values such as, justice, respect, autonomy, social and moral commitment, among others. In accordance to Leenders, Veugelers and De Kat (2008) a citizenship education morally founded would be directed to encourage students to apply their knowledge and skills to act in society in a moral way. This type of education is aimed at helping students to be more reflective and susceptible to change by promoting moral reasoning and action.

Deaking-Crick (2008), describes the way the National Curriculum of England is organized to promote citizenship education considering the whole school ethos and organization, education in values, and the promotion of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of students. Citizenship education is expected to be promoted in schools (although particular emphasis is left for schools to decide), through discrete curricular times, across the whole curriculum, in extracurricular activities, and according to the school's particular vision and values.

Clark and Clark (2008) discuss the need for individuals in a society to develop a sense of self that goes beyond preoccupation of one's immediate circle of family and friends. In their view of Citizenship Education, besides developing moral sensitivity to the needs of other individuals, students must also become aware of the political order and of their responsibilities as citizens that include, caring for others, and very importantly, caring for one's society. This second type of caring involves to be engaged with issues of justice and human welfare, though it requires the development of a moral self that is oriented to social-structural concerns.

Joel Wetheimer (2008) stresses the need to clarify the role of morals in Citizenship Education, arguing that moral education does not entail in and of itself, education for democratic citizenship. Although recognizing, -following Dewey, that all education aimed at developing power to share in social life is moral, he prefers the term ethical to refer to the citizens' capability of being able

to critically evaluate public policies and to act on their beliefs. He warns about the responsibility moral educators should have in advancing the three dimensions of citizenship he describes: *personal responsibility, participation in the civic and political life of the community and orientation towards justice.* To develop the ethical sensitivities and conduct that democratic citizenship education has to promote, it is necessary to go farther than considering moral values as important as academic ones. We need to consider what moral values and what political and ideological interests are behind different conceptions of citizenship and moral behavior. Also, it is important to reflect on how these values encourage or discourage deep thinking about social problems, and if our practices of citizenship education prepared students to take action to make the world more humane and more just, and that is the goal Westheimer and the authors of this chapter agree with, moral education should support.

The Emotional Dimension

Strengthening of authority, co-responsibility of school actors, participatory review of school norms, institutional actions for the development of social-emotional skills, as well as the incorporation of values, democracy, human rights and socio-affective approach as a paradigm of an ethical management of the school, are components that unfold the educational communities within the framework of a comprehensive response to which are added efforts, knowledge and intentions to prevent, construct alternative cultural practices and provide primary care, without reaching the processes of repair and intervention in crisis.

With the scarce and sometimes deficient resources available to schools, they manage to apply strategies of emotional intervention, which are barely able to provide emotional first aid, as well as restorative processes that promote the repair of harm, or actions of self-protection that contribute to heal wounds and to generate a greater sense of security. In these conditions, they are unable to set up a consistent response. Crisis intervention is a task that surpasses the teaching work and, like many of the situations presented here, it demands the creation of relevant public policies to address a problem that violates both, the physical and the emotional integrity of the people involved, and the full exercise of the human rights to education, protection and security.

When teachers do not know how to build authority and are powerless in the face of disruptions, manifestations of violence and the presence of gangs, an authoritarian response is usually deployed, based on the idea that coexistence is achieved through a discipline imposed in a coercively sustained manner in which rules are stated by adults. However, by losing its main source of discipline, fear, the authoritarian school no longer delivers effective and coherent answers. On the contrary, authoritarianism increases substantially the situations of harassment and violence among students, because it hinders communication and mediation channels that would allow conflicts to be expressed in non-violent ways (Rojas, 2008).

Service-Learning as a Vehicle for Citizenship Education

In the last 15 years, the service-learning approach has been taken up in educational institutions, from the primary education level to higher education, as a proposal of education in values and citizenship. In service-learning, the integral formation of the students is promoted, and "to live the social context" as a pedagogical scenario, protagonist and recipient of educational actions is potentialized. It is a proposal that facilitates interaction between students and the social context, assumed with a critical and transformative vision, aimed at improvement and reciprocity.

Although there are diverse perspectives of citizenship education, service-learning is a highly effective one because it's an integral proposal, which not only emphasizes service to the community, but favors the teaching of democratic values, as well as social responsibility and participation.

As Markoulis and Dikaiou (2008, citing Wilson, 2000) mention, participation in the community is identified with positive forms of social behavior as volunteering, providing help, and working without payment, aimed at the improvement of the community. For Markoulis and Dikaiou (2008), participation in the community is associated with active citizenship, altruism, and an increased sense and awareness of collective responsibility. The authors consider active participation should be directed to solve problems of the community like health, poverty or illiteracy, and citizenship education should consist of those special programs whose goal is to educate the citizen about providing services to the community.

The goals of service learning, according to Hatcher and Bringle (2012) include cultivating civic-learning outcomes and social responsibility among students, faculty, teachers and staff, in order to promote the strengthening of communities and community organizations.

The initiative known as "Europe Engage" is an Erasmus Project of Citizenship Education[1] rooted in service learning programs that promotes social change through actively involving students from different universities in several European Countries in solving problems of their communities. This is a path also undertaken successfully by countries like Argentina, Chile and Brasil (see Chapter 11 by Luengo-Kanacri and Jiménez-Moya) that Mexico would need to follow, offering the students the chance to act on social problems, and the opportunity to organize themselves in order to learn the political and civic competencies needed, to be able in the near future, to join groups of activists, or to create new ones and lead them towards the improvement of their communities.

Following an international trend, in Mexico "the new curricular requirements raise considerably the level of the objectives traditionally proposed by the school institution" (Cox, 2010). According to Conde (2014) to achieve these objectives requires a methodological approach that recognizes that education is not neutral, and that the training process must be comprehensive, involving cognitive as well as emotional processes, and if education is really compromised with the formation of a total subject from the perspective of social, civil and political citizenship. The need

to revise the way education for citizenship is taught in Mexican schools has to be redoubled in the face of the weakening of citizen's participation, and the apathy of young people towards democracy, politics and the public.

NOTE

[1]   National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland (Co-director), University of Brighton, United Kingdom, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, Netherlands, Instituto Superior de Psicología Aplicada, Portugal, University of Zagreb, Croatia, University of Bologna, Italy, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania, Ghent University, Belgium, University of Applied Science-Krems, Austria, University of Helsinki, Finland, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain (Lead).

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4. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA

Towards the Promotion of a Peace Culture

INTRODUCTION

Colombia has faced more than five decades of political armed conflict, which has its roots in social inequalities, poverty, restricted political participation, absence of the government in marginalized areas, among others. This has left a culture of violence legitimization, social exclusion, retaliation attitudes and distrust in the political institutions and system. As a response to this, education has been seen as one of the main hopes to restore the social capital of the society for the construction of peace. In line with this, the Ministry of Education, since 2003, has led and ambitious program, which sets out to establish citizenship education as a main goal in the educational public policy agenda. This program is focused on the development of emotional, cognitive, communicative and behavioral competencies in students, which are essential for them to embrace their role as active citizens who are to engage in peaceful interpersonal relationships, in the defense of human rights, and in the democratic participation actions for the transformation of their communities. This chapter outlines the Ministry's citizenship education program, presents its implementation strategies, and discusses its challenges and well as its horizons in light of a potential post-conflict scenario.

THE COLOMBIAN CONTEXT FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A Context of Violence, a Challenge to Citizenship Education

Colombia, a country of about 47 million people, has had endemic internal conflicts ever since its independence from Spain in 1819—and perhaps even before. These have been habitually solved by resorting to violence. Throughout the nineteenth century, disputes between liberals and conservatives often developed into civil wars. The peak of these conflicts was the 'War of a Thousand Days' (1899–1903), during which between 60,000 and 130,000 people died and Colombia lost Panama. In the twentieth century, during the period of 'La Violencia' (1946–1964), recurring violence between liberals and conservatives again brought about more than 200,000 deaths, and cruelty to victims bred very deep hatred which remains difficult to

overcome. After 1964, conflict became more immersed in class inequalities and social struggles, with many guerrilla groups being formed, sometimes from the more leftist liberals. As reaction to the violence brought by the guerrillas, paramilitary groups (often with the complicity of the army) emerged to fight them for territorial control. This conflict was fueled during the last three decades by drug trade, when the guerrillas and paramilitary groups fought to gain control over drug production and trafficking.

The civil population, particularly in the countryside, was caught in the middle of this conflict. This, in addition to a significant economic inequality (according to the Gini coefficient −0.54. Colombia has of the most unequal economies in the world), gave rise to a major poverty and displacement crisis in several areas of the country. In a country tired of violence and injustice, and eager to find a more democratic way to solve its social and political problems, civic education seemed to be an important way to build a more peaceful and fair society.

Recently, several paramilitary groups negotiated their demobilization with the government. Also the guerrilla groups had significant setbacks as a result of a right-winged government, which diminished their military capacity and their political support among civilians. All of this set the scenario to start peace negotiations between one of the most powerful guerrilla groups (the FARC) and the government. Recently, a final draft of a Peace Accord was agreed between the government that the FARC. However, a national referendum did not approve the accords and the negotiations are still being held. In spite of this, the commitment of the president Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC to find a negotiated end of the armed conflict, has raised hope in Colombians and new challenges have emerged in face of a potential post-conflict context. One of them is the high expectations placed on education as a means to prepare society to build a more peaceful, inclusive and democratic system.

Colombia's citizenship education program, reported in this paper, aims to address this complex and challenging social context in order to create a new ways to overcome the traces of violence left by the armed conflict, and the social and political problems that originated it. This task is difficult because violence seems to be so embedded in the country's history and because for many people it is hard to accept and embrace a transitional justice process, required to achieve forgiveness and reconciliation among the victims and perpetrators of decades of violence. This situation underscores the importance and urgency of an educational agenda that can make a contribution, by peaceful means, to restore and re-build Colombia's socio-economic and political structures.

The School System in Colombia

In Colombia, the school life is divided into four phases: preschool, primary school (1st to 5th grade), secondary (6th to 9th grade), and high school (10th and 11th grade). Most of the school system is run by the state (about 80%). Urban schools

have 72% of the students compared to rural schools. By 2013 Colombia had 90% school enrolment, the dropout rate was about 3% and only 30% of youth enroll in higher education.

In terms of the curriculum, in 1991 a new Constitution was approved in Colombia—with a strong emphasis on human rights (see Colombia, 1991)—ending several centuries of a moral education monopoly by the Roman Catholic Church. Although Catholicism continues to be the faith of a considerable majority of the population, the new Constitution recognized religious freedom. Therefore, it was more inclusive of new religious and minority groups: women, homosexuals, indigenous peoples and Afro-American descendants. The last two decades have thus witnessed efforts towards building citizenship education that can foster the necessary ethical bond for social and political flourishing and which can be built from such diversity.

In 1994, the General Law of Education (Colombia, Congreso de la Republica, 1994) came into effect according to the guidelines of the new constitution. It demands that students be educated in 'justice, peace, democracy, solidarity…' (Art. 14, d) and in 'the social, ethical, moral and other values of human development' (Art. 20, f). In line with this, the Law establishes ethical education and human values (Art. 23, 4) as mandatory subjects in basic education, but gives ample freedom for the educational community at the local and school levels to '…participate in the design, execution and evaluation of their own Institutional Educational Project (IEP) and in the assessment of the school's proper functioning' (Art. 6). Consequently, Colombia has one of the most decentralized curricula in Latin America, where the Ministry of Education only provides guidelines to schools and teachers to make the constitutional mandate possible. This way, schools can decide for themselves the amount of time and the specific content they allocate to each subject, as long as they follow the general guidelines set out by the Ministry. It is in the context of this autonomous educational system that the Ministry proposed and implemented the Citizenship Competencies Program.

THE CITIZENSHIP COMPETENCIES PROGRAM

In accordance with the above picture, and with Colombia's context of inequality, scarce civic participation and endemic recourse to violence, the Ministry of Education needed to address these challenges by promoting a citizenship program that emphasized not only civic knowledge —knowledge about concepts such as law, democracy, the constitution, legal system—but also the other elements that influence citizenship behavior.

To achieve this goal, the Citizenship Competencies Program has four fundamental components: (1) definition of standards for citizenship; (2) a national evaluation system connected to international testing; (3) acknowledgement and dissemination of good practices; (4) the support to the regional and local Secretariats in their guidance on school improvement plans; (5) the support to teachers through training programs and public pedagogical documents.

Standards for Citizenship

The first initiative from the Ministry of Education was to define general guidelines about what students at each level are expected to learn with regards to citizenship development. In the Colombian system this guidelines are called Standards and they can be compared to learning objectives. More specifically, Standards are understood as clear, public, shared criteria that establish the basic knowledge and competencies that all children in the different regions of Colombia have a right to achieve according to their developmental levels.

To devise the Standards of Citizenship Education, the Ministry and the Association of Teachers' Colleges assembled a group of teachers from all levels of education, researchers, test developers and administrators to create a draft of possible citizenship standards that was then sent to Schools of Education, Normal Schools (offering two years of teacher education after high school), teachers and parents in different regions in Colombia, in order to receive feedback. After receiving this feedback and making some modifications, in 2003 the Ministry published the Standards in the country's main newspapers and distributed them nationwide through all the Secretariats of Education, which are the regional and local educational authorities.

The Standards are challenging but not insurmountable, reasonable yet demanding. The premises of the Standards can be found in following paragraphs, which are taken from the Standards of Citizenship Competencies:

Just as it is possible to develop skills to express ourselves through different languages or to solve mathematical problems, we can develop specific skills to exercise citizenship qualities. The educational institution is a privileged scenario because there we learn to live with others, engage in teamwork and to identify our singularities and differences [as well as our similarities] with other human beings.

This proposal starts by considering citizenship as a process that may be designed, following clear principles, implemented with persistence and rigor, continuously evaluated and incorporated in the improvement plans of each school.

> Citizenship education is teamwork that must not just be delegated to school and family. It is also learned on the streets and through the media, in the relationships between the state and civil society and in any communitarian situation. These are the life texts that our youth read. But what is important is to bring these messages to the classroom and to our homes and reflect on them. (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, pp. 5–14)

Upon analysis of the factors that influence the formation of a 'good' citizen, it was concluded that the Standards should be organized in three 'groups': Peaceful Coexistence; Democratic Participation and Responsibility; and Plurality, Identity and Valuing of Differences—which were considered the main areas where citizenship action can be applied.

> Each of these groups represents a fundamental dimension for the exercise of citizenship and contributes to the promotion, respect and defense of human

rights present in our Constitution. (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, p. 12)

- Peaceful Coexistence means the capacity to establish good social relationships based on justice, empathy, tolerance, solidarity and respect for others.
- Democratic Participation and Responsibility means the full exercise of citizenship, that is, the capacity and willingness to lead and take part in collective and participative decision-making processes.
- It is oriented towards decision making in different contexts considering that these decisions must respect the fundamental rights of people as much as the norms, laws and the Constitution that organize life in the community (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, p. 12).
- Plurality, Identity and Valuing of Differences means the recognition of equal dignity in all human beings, valuing the characteristics of gender, ethnicity, religion, culture and social class, among others.

The Standards are based on the idea that knowledge is not enough to make a citizen. At stake in a society is that its members behave as citizens by continuously developing several competencies that make them 'good' citizens, willing to understand, decide and behave by considering the wellbeing, not only of their family or kin, but—most importantly—by bearing in mind the 'common good'. According to the Standards,

> Citizenship competencies are framed within a human rights perspective and they offer the basic tools for each person to learn to respect, defend and promote fundamental human rights, relating them to everyday situations where these may be infringed because of our own deeds as by those of others. In these cases, citizenship competencies represent the skills and the necessary knowledge to build peaceful coexistence, to exercise democratic participation and to value pluralism. (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, p. 14)

The idea of knowledge going hand in hand with competencies has, for the last few years, oriented many of the efforts and policies of the Colombian Ministry of Education, and the development of educational policies around the notion of competencies is currently at the heart of the official vision. In Colombia the term 'competency' has been defined as a flexible 'knowing how to do' that may be used or put into practice in different contexts. But this definition does not take into account important aspects of competent behavior such as monitoring one's own mental activity, the understanding of the meaning of that activity, of the reasons behind it, or of its ethical, social and political implications. Thus the term competency was further defined as:

> A set of knowledge or content matter, abilities, attitudes, understandings and cognitive, meta-cognitive, socio-affective and psycho-motor dispositions,

appropriately interrelated in order to allow for a flexible, efficient and sensible performance of an activity or of certain tasks, in relatively new and challenging contexts. (Vasco, 2003, pp. 4–5)

Consequently, citizenship competencies refer to:

A set of cognitive, emotional, communicative and integrative competencies that, coordinated among themselves, along with knowledge and attitudes, make it possible for an individual or a social group to develop dispositions to act—and in fact act—in a constructive and peaceful manner; to participate and be responsible in democratic decision-making processes and endeavors; to value cultural, ethnic, gender and social differences, and to learn how to enrich themselves with them. Citizenship competencies come together in the framework of respect, promotion and defense of human rights. (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, p. 8)

The cognitive, emotional, communicative and integrative competencies, as well as knowledge, related to the exercise of citizenship can be defined as follows:

- Cognitive competencies refer to individuals' mental processes when organizing actions and their representations. In the case of citizenship, cognitive competencies refer to such capacities as decentering from one's own position and understanding the position of others, being able to coordinate different perspectives and developing systemic thinking. It is also the capacity to critically analyze and foresee an intention, a given situation or predict the consequences of a given action. For example, to understand that when someone hits me, it could be non-intentional.
- Emotional competencies refer to recognizing one's feelings and emotions and to feel those of others. For example, managing anger in adaptive ways or feeling empathy towards someone being hurt.
- Communicative competencies refer to the capacities needed to establish fruitful conversations, with the disposition to engage in a dialogue with others that consider the interests, needs and desires of others, irrespective of one's place in society. For example, actively listening to others' ideas, understanding and showing respect for the ideas of others, maintaining one's own point of view even if it is not shared by many, and expressing one's own ideas in assertive ways.
- Knowledge refers to being informed about facts, norms, concepts etc. necessary for the exercise of citizenship
- Integrative competencies are those that articulate all the other competencies in a given action. For example, solving a conflict in a peaceful manner requires knowledge about conflict dynamics, being able to come up with creative ideas or options, managing one's emotions and assertively presenting one's ideas and interests (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, pp. 12–13).

These competencies are integrated in the Standards, which are organized according to approximate levels of development. With the exception of Grades 1–3, each Standard relates to every two grades. Table 1 presents some examples of how the standards and competencies corresponding to Grade 6 and 7 (12–13-year-olds) are interrelated in a matrix with the three groups of Standards outlined earlier. This same organization of the Standards and citizenship competencies led to define an evaluation system that could give indicators to schools and teachers on their strengths and weaknesses, which in turn would allow them to define improvement plans.

Table 1. Matrix of citizenship competences for Grade 6 and 7

Groups	*Peaceful coexistence*	*Democratic participation and responsability*	*Plurality, identity and respect of differences*
Competencies	Standard: *I contribute to peaceful relationships both in the school and the nearby community*	Standard: *I reject situations in which human rights are being violated and I use forms and mechanisms of democratic participation at my school*	Standard: *I identify and reject different forms of discrimination in my school and community and critically analyse the reason why this occurs.*
Cognitive	I identify the needs and points of view of people or groups in situations of conflict in which I'm not involved	I identify collective decisions in which the interests of different people are in conflict and propose alternative solutions that take them into consideration. This also involves communicative competencies.	I critically analyse my thoguths and actions in situations of discrimination, and dteermine if am supporting or impeding such situatuons with my actions or omissions.
Emotional	I understand that deceit affects trust between people, and I acknowledge the importance of regaining trust when it has bene lost (This is an example of an integrative competence with a clear presense of emotional competence)	I express indignation (rejection, pain, anger) when the liberties of my peers of others I know are violated and I ask for help from appropriate authorities	I identify my emotions regarding people or groups that have interests and preferences different from mine, and reflect on how this influences how I treat them

(Continued)

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Table 1. Continued

Groups	Peaceful coexistence	Democratic participation and responsability	Plurality, identity and respect of differences
Communicative	I reflect about the use of power and authority in my context and peacefully express my disagreement when I believe there are injustices (It also involves cognitive competencies)	I listen and express in my own words the reasons that my peers	I understand that there are diverse ways of expressing our identities and I respect them.
Integrative	I serve as conflict mediator between peers, and when they authorize me, I encourage dialogue and understanding.	I demand that authorities, peers and myself keep rules and agreements.	I understand that when people are discriminated against, self-worth and their relations with others are affected.
Knowledge	I understand that all families have a right to work, health, housing, property, education and recreation.	I am familiar with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its connection with the fundamental rights stipulated by the Constitution.	I recognize that rights are based on the equality between human beings and regardless of the way they live, act or express themselves

National Evaluation System

After the publication of the Standards, the Ministry of Education set out to create useful assessment tools to help teachers better understand their students' behavior, attitudes, moral and social reasoning and school and family environments. To do so, the Ministry created a National Test of Citizenship Competencies, enlightened on precious international and local experiences.

By the time that the Colombian Citizenship Competencies Program was launched, in Latin America there had been an increasing awareness of the need for civic and citizenship education. How the educational system can help prepare young people to sustain a new democratic way of life has become a fundamental question for many countries. These concerns were even more highlighted with the development analysis of international evaluations on civic education.

A worldwide evaluation of civics education, including two Latin American countries, Chile and Colombia, directed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), was conducted in 1999. This study showed that Colombian and Chilean 14–16-year-old students had the

lowest scores in civics knowledge and, specifically, in conceptual understanding of democratic principles (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004). And yet Colombians were above average in espousing democratic attitudes and values. For instance, they 'were especially strong in supporting participatory activities by citizens for strengthening democracy' (p. 61). 'However, they failed to grasp some threats to democracy such as corruption, nepotism and control of the media. In many cases these could be traced to the inclusion or absence of related issues about political institutions and the ideals of democracy in the curriculum' (p. 61). The study pinpointed that 'The everyday experience of students with "real politics" in the community also appeared to be influential' (p. 61). Later, the IEA conducted a new study that began in 2006 that has broadened the picture by also including the assessment of citizenship competencies. The test added regional modules to the international core. Five countries in Latin America—Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, México, Paraguay and Dominican Republic—created the Latin American Regional Module (IEA, 2009).

Taking the IEA study into account, the city of Bogota—Colombia's capital—developed a test of students, which included, together with civic knowledge, the degree of acceptance of political institutions or political actors, such as the president, guerrilla groups, congressmen, the church and so on and a measure of moral and social development (Jaramillo & Bermudez, 2000).

Up until 2002, the Ministry of Education had a long tradition of assessing math, language, natural and social sciences with the Saber national test, and was developed to give schools general information about their students. The results are analyzed and provided for the whole grade, not for individual students.

Based on the international, national, local experiences, on 2002 the Ministry in alliance with the Colombian Institute for Educational Evaluation (ICFES) created the Citizenship Competencies Test. Currently, this test is taken at the end of Grade 5 (10–11 year-olds), Grade 7 (12–13-year-olds) and Grade 9 (14–16-year-olds). Up until now, the test has been administered on 2002, 2005, 2012, 2013, and 2014. Part of the idea of this test is to encourage teachers to work with a way of evaluating citizenship behavior in order to help them understand the various components of citizenship development and, consequently, improve their teaching strategies.

Another aim of the tests is to reveal the general strengths and weaknesses in school climate, teaching strategies, human relationships and so on, in order to help teachers and administrative staff prepare their school improvement plans. Schools receive help from their local Secretariats of Education, which in turn use this information to set out general support plans for schools. Classroom evaluation strategies, such as developing evaluation criteria based on students' own work, portfolio assessment, rubrics showing developments—for example, in students' reasoning, care and communication skills—are also being developed by Schools of Education, the Secretariats and by the Ministry.

Acknowledgement and Dissemination of Good Practices

Before developing citizenship standards, many regional and institutional initiatives were already carried out in Colombia and in programs in other parts of the world on peace education, human rights, conflict resolution and youth leadership, based on various educational models that emphasized different components or dimensions of citizenship education (for example Facing History and Ourselves,[1] Ecole de la Paix,[2] Peace First,[3] Classrooms in Peace,[4] among others). Given that the scope of the proposal of the Ministry of Education was sufficiently ample, one of its first efforts was to identify good local, national and international programs that were worth disseminating.

Also, case studies were put together to identify students', teachers' and schools' experiences related to learning to live together peacefully or participating within their communities to solve their problems intelligently, cooperatively and empathically. The need to make the successful programs and teachers' good practices visible, led to the implementation of National Citizenship Forums where teachers from different regions of the country got together to share their experiences in teaching with researchers and program leaders. This knowledge exchange or *diálogo de saberes* [dialogue of knowledge] was conceived as a very fruitful and enriching experience for all involved.[5]

In each locality, schools presented interesting experiences and selected the most powerful to be presented in the capital city of each state, with the most successful being aired at the national forum. With support from the Entrepreneurs for Education Foundation, the Ministry undertook the task of collecting and documenting some examples of good practice and requested experienced journalists to make them public. A book with these experiences was published (see Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2004) and had an immediate impact. Some of its examples were used for 'the bright side of the news' on TV and in the print media. Demand was such that the Ministry even published a second edition of the book; yet it is not clear that these good practice examples have been emulated elsewhere, or that they have had a direct impact. Nevertheless, we believe that such reference points change people's perceptions of what is possible, so that they begin to become more optimistic about what can be done in schools by enthusiastic and caring teachers who want and are able to find real alternatives to violence.

In addition to the local experiences, the Ministry invited international researchers and teachers to participate in the national forum to exchange ideas and practices. Workshops took place in seven Colombian cities (Bogotá, Bucaramanga, Cali, Cartagena, Florencia, Manizales and Medellin) to create the diálogo de saberes [knowledge dialogue] mentioned earlier. As a result of the Forum and in order to promote the implementation of the identified good practices, the Ministry developed a portfolio of the publications, methodologies and pedagogical projects of 45 structured, research-based national and international programs (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2006), and provided support for the adaptation, validation

and evaluation of outstanding programs such as *Juegos de Paz* to the national context (see Diazgranados, Noonan, Brion-Meisels, Saldarriaga, Chavez, Daza, & Antonellis, 2014). This was set out to help schools and Secretariats of Education to choose the most appropriate programs for their school needs, depending on their PEI and the National Test results.

Support to Secretariats of Education at the Regional and Local Level

An important concern for the Ministry of Education is how to provide close and permanent support for schools. It is for this reason, and to ensure the continuity of the program, that one the Ministry's efforts has focused on working with the Secretariats of Education of all regions and larger cities, which are the public local and regional institutions that more directly supervise the schools' activities and administration.

At first, the alliance with the Secretariats was oriented to promote the consolidation and support of networks of different local agencies. Among these were universities; structured programs such as those offered by UNICEF, Plan International and so on; control agencies such as the *Defensoría del Pueblo* [an ombudsman, particularly when human rights are infringed or violated] or the *Personería* [legal representative of the people in the municipality]; stake-holders, such as those formed to defend the environment, human rights and so on; welfare agencies, churches, and NGOs. The main underlying idea of these networks was to provide schools with the assistance of these organizations, in the form of economic and pedagogical resources, for the development of citizenship competencies. This experience showed that these networks and alliances were not easy to implement unless there was a prior working relationship between these groups. In some instances there was deep distrust because of fear of information being used either by the government or others for political purposes. However, the desired long-term relationships between experts and Colombian teachers was only possible in a few cases because of difficulties coordinating work between governmental and non-governmental groups, lack of political understanding of the potential of these alliances (both at the local and the national levels), poor resources, and lack of coordination and follow up at the governmental level.

Later on, the Ministry applied a different strategy. Funds were obtained through loans from the Inter-American Development Bank to carry on two strategies. One was to support peace-related initiatives proposed by schools (e.g., principals, students, parents and/or teachers) and monitored by the Secretaries. The second was to hire qualified personnel who would establish and maintain a close permanent contact between the Secretaries and the Ministry, in order to monitor the Secretaries strategies to promote citizenship education in the schools, as well as provide them with advice and support to sustain such initiatives. Although these strategies have not been systematically evaluated in terms of their efficacy to improve citizenship education, they have certainly increased education practitioners' awareness of the importance the Ministry has given to this area of education.

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Teachers' Training

Developing citizenship competencies in the midst of a weak democratic and violent social context is not an easy task. In addition to this, although the Ministry's program distinguishes the different type of the citizenship competencies, human behavior is complex and therefore citizenship education requires an integrative approach. In practical living, most of the competencies are necessarily combined in action and thus need to be developed at the same time. In this broader sense, citizenship education means educating the individual as a complete social human being within the values of a certain society, strengthening and developing his or her heart and mind by learning to reflect on the reasons for decisions, actions and their consequences. This also implies creating a trusting environment for this reflection to take place in classrooms, schools, at home and in the different relationships in which teachers and students are involved (Duckworth, 1997; Ritchhart & Perkins, 2000; Raider-Roth, 2005). In this sense, the educational community in general should be able to use their knowledge and competencies to critically analyze and adapt the Citizenship Competencies Standards according to their contextual needs, and to propose creative alternatives to solve their social problems in a progressively more intelligent, understanding, just and empathic way. By doing so, it is hoped they will be transforming their school and classroom climates to create appropriate learning environments that can foster the development of such competencies.

In face of such challenges, the success of a citizenship education program depends to a great extent on the quality of teachers' performance. Based on this, the Ministry of Education has devoted great efforts to improve teachers' capacity to carry on efficacious pedagogical strategies to promote the development of citizenship competencies in their students. At least four lines of work can be identified to enhance teachers' citizenship education knowledge and competencies: (a) pre-service training; (b) continuing-education programs; (c) in-service coaching; and (d) self-instructive pedagogical documents.

First, the Ministry has supported projects aimed at including citizenship education training in programs for pre-service teachers. These efforts have been particularly focused in "normal schools", which are mainly rural schools were teachers get their undergraduate training and degree during a two-year program right after they finish high-school.

The second line has been devoted to the design and implementation of virtual courses related to citizenship education. These courses have varied in their duration (3 to 8 months), level of autonomy (self-direction versus tutoring; totally virtual versus hybrid modalities) and specificity of the population to which they are directed (massive open online courses versus direct invitation).

A third line of work has set out to identify citizenship education initiatives in schools to provide them with support to enhance their sustainability and quality. This support has come mainly in the form of periodical tutoring of the educational actors involved in the initiatives by citizen education experts from the Ministry, as well as the systematization of these experiences in order to identify and socialize exemplary initiatives.

Finally, in order to reach those educational practitioners who have not been able to benefit from the previous strategies, the Ministry of Education has invested a lot of work in developing pedagogical documents widely spread across the country, and easily accessible to all teachers through the Ministry's website. Although these documents have been developed by citizenship education experts who present pedagogical ideas supported by evidence from rigorous national and international research, they are written in friendly language, that is easily comprehensible by educational actors (mainly teachers, but also parents, students and the educational community in general).

In addition to the Citizenship Competencies Standards, these documents include, among others: guidelines for the institutionalization of citizenship competencies; guidelines to support citizenship education initiatives from the Secretaries of Education; guidelines to implement the Law of school coexistence; and guidelines to develop citizenship education pedagogical projects in schools.

Recently, the government launched the Law of Peace Chairc (see Colombia. Congreso de la Republica, 2014), which mandates the establishment of an obligatory subject related to peace education, in all Colombian schools. Based on this, the Ministry established an alliance with some of the most qualified Universities in Colombia to develop the Peace Curriculum. This is a set of three documents that contain: (a) the general theoretical and pedagogical framework of the Ministry of Education's perspective on Peace education; (b) a detailed description of citizenship learning goals for each grade (K-11); and (c) examples of didactic activities that illustrate the way these goals can be achieved through a sequence of four classroom lessons. For far, this is probably the most ambitious initiative from the Ministry, that is very valuable for its practicality, but that is also risky in that teachers might feel their autonomy to be constrained.

These different strategies have stressed the importance that the Ministry has given to citizenship education and to the role that teachers play in their students' citizenship competencies development. However, no systemic evaluations have been conducted to analyze the efficacy of these training programs which would be necessary to understand which lines or work are worth maintaining and prioritizing.

ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Promoting citizenship education at the national level is a challenge that requires careful programming, monitoring, support and evaluation. In the case of Colombia the challenge is even greater due to the socio-economic and political context in which such a program has to be developed. However, the potential risks are worth taking in light of the opportunities that this country needs and wants to overcome violence and to build more democratic ways of living together.

One of the main achievements that needs to be acknowledged from the Citizenship Competencies Program is its capacity to survive for more than 10 years, in spite of the changes in the government. In Colombia, the presidential periods last four years and the Minister of Education changes with every new administration. This program

was born with the administration of Cecilia Maria Velez, a Minister of Education who lasted eight years due to re-election of the president. Undoubtedly, this supported the sustainability of the program. However, in spite of the subsequent changes in the Minister, the program was able to maintain some level of importance thanks to the alliances that the Ministry of Education established with other organizations (for example universities and NGOs) that kept working on teachers training and programs development and implementation under the perspective of the Citizenship Competencies Program.

Another important achievement has been the progressive development of better evaluation instruments. As outlined earlier the first Citizenship Competencies National Test was administered in 2002. Ever since the first data collection, the evaluation experience has allowed the Colombian Institute for Educational Evaluation to improve the quality of the citizenship competencies measures. Although these improvements restricted the comparison of the results between cohorts, in 2012 the final specifications of the test were established to be replicated for the next ten years. Soon, analyses from the data collections from 2013 and beyond will better represent the impact of the Program.

However, evaluation is not only about the results of the national test; it is also about creating a culture of evaluation that allows educational institutions to use that information in a formative way, which is not an easy task. It is highly problematic to assess how well educational policies and programs work and the extent to which teachers understand what is going on in their schools and with their students. In fact, neither teachers nor educational administrators are used to bringing into play an assessment of school effectiveness as an information source in order to make decisions affecting curricula. Therefore, there is still much work to be done in terms of helping schools to use the national test results, and to create their own assessment tools to use evaluation as a means to improve the educational projects.

With regards to the implementation of the Program, an important challenge has been to articulate its ideals with the actual curricula of the schools. Originally, the program has been conceived as a cross-curricular project in which all teachers and administrators should be involved, addressing their curricular teaching and the structures of the school from the perspective and principles of the citizenship program. Although this sounds reasonable, experience has shown that in schools the Citizenship Program usually does not have an owner 'in charge' and when no one is responsible, it is hard to get things running. Perhaps, as some critics may maintain, it would be preferable to stay with traditional civics education—which at least guarantees specific slots in the classroom timetable—than having a program which nobody champions. Furthermore, if student progress in citizenship competencies is not being monitored by teachers and educational authorities, and if the programs being implemented are not evaluated in order to see if they are reaching their goals, the school as a whole can overlook its citizenship task and the student objectives can be easily forgotten. This is why the recent Peace Chair law which mandates all schools to create a subject for peace education, might help guarantee that this issues are discussed and taught in schools.

Another implementation difficulty comes from the fact that Colombia has a long-standing tradition of political polarization, which has been fueled by the armed-conflict. For this reason, since the outset the program, the Program has faced some resistance and opposition. From the beginning some people, mostly from the Teachers' Union, opposed the program as they saw it coming from a neo-liberal government, which they tough could reinforce social differences and injustices and be used to evaluate and fire teachers who were not seen as conforming sufficiently to the government point of view (see Herrera et al., 2005, pp. 74–75; 135–139). In fact, during some of the dissemination workshops some people tried to sabotage the program because of these perceived ideological biases. However, much—though certainly not all—of the resistance has also faded in so far as participants have been able to see: (1) that the team in charge of the program represents a rather broad ideological spectrum; (2) that the methodology of the program was very far from imposing any particular view; and (3) that the program allowed for a broad variety of experiences that could easily incorporate different ideological views as long as they advocate democracy.

But educating for democracy might be one of the most challenging tasks of the program, particularly for three reasons: (a) first, because it means embracing the democratic values in the school life itself; (b) second, because it implies educating in the midst of a rather anti-democratic social and political context; and (c) third, because democracy requires respecting our internal cultural and territorial differences, which questions the validity of a nation-wide program for a pluri-ethnic and multi-cultural society.

To create a democratic school-life, everyone in the educational network needs to understand that active participation in decision-making processes by everyone in the school community is imperative, that relationships must be openly discussed and power relationships made transparent in order to develop lasting citizenship competencies. If teachers and administrators fail to make a clear statement of the values they wish to live by and if only a few participate in the decisions that affect the school community, citizenship competencies will probably be developed only by those fortunate few who intervene and not by everyone—which is, after all, what democracy is all about! Many may argue that this is impossible because the latter democratic approach threatens the hierarchical structure of the school and the traditional authority of teachers, which are so embedded in Colombia's culture. Changing this culture requires an additional effort. It is not enough to argue that the Constitution is based on democratic ideals or that it expressly mandates that its principles be taught in schools. In this regard the Ministry has not provided enough training for educators to recognize the challenge and to change attitudes as required by the program.

On the other hand, we need to bear in mind that citizenship education is not only acquired in the school. It is also learned in the family, in the streets, through the media, in the relationships between the State and civil society and in the relationships within the community. These are the 'life texts' that youth learn to read since they are very young (Colombia. Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2003, pp. 10–11). Although it would be ideal that students get involved

in multiple contexts (home, neighborhoods, the city) where others (particularly adults) promote and build real democratic relationships and environments, the socio-political reality of the country in many cases does not offer such context. Rather, students need to live and adapt to a daily life within social structures that reinforce inequalities, poverty, injustice and violence. In this sense, the Citizenship Education Program needs to focus on the development of competencies that foster knowledge, abilities and attitudes in students to see and make the most of their potential to transform their communities.

Finally, is a country where more than 60 languages are spoken, where most of its territory is rural, and where very diverse (an in many cases unknown) forms of living coexist. This calls for a critical eye on a program that is thought to be applicable Nation-wide. To deal with this, the Ministry has stressed that the Standards are only guidelines that need to be understood and critically analyzed by teachers and school administrators to adapt them to the particular contexts; also it has tried to recover and acknowledge the value of previous experiences from the educational, in a bottom-up construction of the Program. However, it is not clear to what extent those adaptations are feasible and whether or not the program can actually easily articulated with any micro-culture in the country. Therefore, a closer follow-up of the implementation of the program need to be conducted, particularly in non-normative communities.

In sum, the efforts and achievements of the Colombian Citizenship Education Program are well established. So much that it has become one of the pioneer countries to which many other countries of the world have looked out as an exemplary experience to learn from. But still much work need to be done, in order to respond to the complexities of a context that is still living the consequences of war, and that is building its way to the construction of peace in a potential post-conflict scenario.

NOTES

[1] See in: https://www.facinghistory.org/

[2] See in: https://www.ecoledelapaix.org/

[3] See in: http://www.peacefirst.org/

[4] See in: http://www.convivenciaproductiva.org/htm/aulas.html; www.aulasenpaz.org

[5] See in: http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/cvn/1665/article-80639.html

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CRISTIÁN COX AND CAROLINA GARCÍA

5. EVOLUTION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN CHILE

Recent Curricula Compared

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, the area of citizenship education has been redefined three times in Chile's school curriculum. Firstly, this area of the school experience was reorganized in the aftermath of a successful transition to democracy achieved in 1990 after a 17-year period of military dictatorship. A stand-alone subject of Civics and Economics at the end of secondary schooling was replaced with contents that included several subjects, both in primary and secondary education, as well as transversal goals orienting the whole of the curriculum. A major value re-orientation accompanied this organizational change, as democratic values and beliefs supplanted nationalist and authoritarian ones (Bascopé, Cox, & Lira, 2015).

A second change took place in 2009 with the approval of a new curriculum framework. Citizenship education was adjusted to follow the changes in orientation suggested by a politically pluralistic and influential Citizenship Education National Commission, convoked by the Ministry of Education in 2004 (Mineduc, 2004). The goal was to suggest changes to confront a dramatic drop in formal political participation by the new generation. The Commission recommended, and the curriculum included, a new emphasis on contents related to political institutions and formal political participation (voting), and a repositioning from the initial to the final grades of secondary education (Mineduc, 2009). Finally, in 2013, a newly reformed curriculum of citizenship education was approved, which made explicit an axis of 'citizenship formation' within the History, Geography and Social Sciences school subject (HGSS), from the first grade of primary education through the grade 10 (corresponding to the second year of secondary education) (Mineduc, 2013).

The referred changes and their underlying evolution are intimately linked to the aforementioned drop in formal political participation of the generations born after 1990, and the growing realization by the political and educational systems of the need to address this through educational means. The purpose of this chapter is to characterize the evolution of the curricular definitions of citizenship education (CE) in Chile in the last two decades in terms both of their organizational features and their substantive meanings. At issue here are what values, types of participation and vision of key political institutions are emphasized. Regarding these dimensions,

we shall compare the three curricula against international criteria drawn both from the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS-2009) framework and its Latin American Module (Schultz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008; Cox, 2010; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011), and the CE's curricula of France and England. This international comparative perspective will be instrumental for identifying distinctive vacuums in the examined features of the Chilean official curricula for CE. In addition, the general direction and pattern of the observed evolution, which transverses politically different governments and contexts, will be characterized.

The chapter is organized in three sections. In the first section, we expand on the already sketched out historical succession of the three curricula, attempting to account for their major characteristics, particularly in terms of their organizational dimension. In the second section, the goals and contents of the three curricula regarding democratic values, participation and institutions, at the secondary level, are compared. In a closing section, we summarize the findings and discuss some of their implications for the curricular development of CE.

CURRICULAR ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Chile's Ministry of Education embarked on a major reform of the curriculum inherited from the authoritarian period during the second government after the 1990 transition to democracy, establishing a new curriculum framework for primary education in 1996 and for secondary education in 1998 (Gysling, 2003). With these reforms, CE was transformed from a secondary-education stand-alone subject, as it had been since 1981, into contents referring to the knowledge, abilities and attitudes required for active citizenship distributed in four subject areas: two in the primary level, corresponding to the areas of Understanding of Society and Interpersonal Relationships (see subject labels in Table 1), and two in the secondary level, corresponding to the History and Social Sciences area, and the Philosophy and Psychology area. In addition, several important formative goals were included in what came to be known as transversal objectives of the new curriculum framework, or goals to be approached from every subject and dimension of the schooling experience.

This positional change of CE in the curriculum, as well as the changes in its objectives and contents, meant a triple expansion with respect to traditional citizenship education: (1) thematic expansion, as knowledge contents were widened from the political institutions (nation, State, government, law), to social, moral, and environmental issues; (2) quantitative expansion, as citizenship formation goals and contents were included during the whole sequence of schooling (twelve grades), and were thus not restricted to one course at the end; (3) formative expansion, by setting learning objectives that referred to abilities and attitudes alongside knowledge. This triple expansion meant an alignment of the national definitions with the international trends in the area (Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005). However, this triple expansion

at the level of official curriculum was never perceived as such by the majority of teachers nor by public opinion. On the contrary, the evaluation that CE had been 'ended' by the reform, soon became prevalent (and remained throughout the first decade of the 2000s) (Bonhomme et al., 2015).

In 2009, after a decade of implementation of the characterized curricular frameworks, the Ministry of Education culminated a comprehensive re-adjustment of both prescriptions which had been elaborating and consulting since 2006, integrating them in one and thereby greatly improving the coherence of the whole. In the subjects where the key contents of citizenship education were inscribed, two important changes took place: in the primary level, Natural Sciences was separated from History in grades 1 to 4 (areas which had been integrated in a curricular reform in the 1960s), allowing for a better specification of the relevant goals and contents. In secondary education, the new curriculum framework followed the critical diagnosis of the National Commission for Citizenship Education (2004), which identified consistently weak treatment of key topics concerning the political system and citizens' relationships with it, as something that needed urgent attention (Mineduc, 2004). The 2009 framework accordingly redefined the contents of the History and Social Sciences subject in the last year of the school sequence.

In 2010 a right-wing coalition obtained Government control, breaking an unprecedented succession of four governments of the same center-left political alliance. In education, the new government reformed the curriculum, redefining goals and contents of grades 1 to 6 in primary education in 2012; and those of grades 7 to 10 (bridging primary and secondary education) in 2013 (Mineduc, 2012, 2013).[1] The Curricular Bases, as the new framework was labelled, did not include the final two years of the school sequence, which are still regulated (in 2016) by the 2009 Curricular Framework in the case of Language, Math, Natural Sciences, History, Geography and Social Sciences, and English; and by the 1998 Curricular Framework in the case of the Philosophy, Visual Arts, Musical Arts, and Physical Education subjects.

For CE, the 2012–2013 changes meant that its contents were distributed in the subjects History, Geography and Social Sciences (HGSS) and Orientation between grades 1 and 6 of primary education; and also in the new HGSS between grades 7 and 10. Whereas for grades 11 and 12 (upper secondary), CE contents remained defined by the Curricular Framework of 2009, in the case of 'History and Social Sciences', and by the 1998 Curricular Framework in the case of Philosophy and Psychology. In fact from 2013 to the present, three curricular norms coincide, each regulating different subject areas and segments of the curriculum sequence, an unprecedented situation and full of difficulties for school teachers and institutions (Espinoza, 2014).

The aforementioned national-level curricular policy changes configure a pattern that Table 1 intends to make visible.

As shown in the table, the three curricula have different reach in terms of the areas and grades they cover: only the 1996–1998 prescriptions cover all areas and the entire schooling sequence; the 2009 framework covers the whole sequence but only

Table 1. Vegetable colours distributed organization of Citizenship Education (CE): combination of subjects and transversal objectives

	Curricular Frameworks 1996–1998 *Reach: all subject-areas, Grades 1 to 12 (primary and secondary education)*	**Curricular Framework 2009** *Reach: Subset of subject- areas, Grades 1 to 12 (primary and secondary education)*	**Curricular Bases 2012–2013** *Reach: Subset of subject areas, Grades 1 to 10 (primary and secondary education)*
1. Citizenship Education: **Subject Distribution**	Study and understanding of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment (Grades 1 to 4) Study and understanding of Society (Grades 5 to 8) Orientation (Grades 5 to 8) History and Social Sciences (Grades 9 to 12) Philosophy and Psychology (Grades 11 and 12)	History and Social Sciences (Grades 1 to 12) Orientation (Grades 5 to 8 PS) Philosophy and Psychology (Grades 11 and 12)	History, Geography and Social Sciences (Grades 1 to 10) Orientation (Grades 1 to 6)
2. Citizenship Education: **Transversal Objectives distribution**	Fundamental Goals: Ethical Formation; Individual and Environment (Grades 1 to 12)	Fundamental Goals: Ethical Formation; Individual and Environment (Grades 1 to 12)	Transversal Learning Goals: Socio-Cultural and Citizenship Dimension; Moral Dimension (Grades 1 to 12)
3. Axis of *citizenship education* **in History, Geography and Social Sciences.**	Not established	Not established	*Citizenship Formation* axis (Grades 1 to 10)
4. Axes of *day-to-day living* **objectives in Orientation subject.**	Not established	Not established	Axes: *Interpersonal Relationships Participation and belonging* (Grades 1 to 6)

Source: Based on official curricular documents (Frameworks and Bases): Mineduc (1998, 2002, 2009, 2012, 2013).

for a subset of areas (Language, Mathematics, History and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, English); and the present decade's ones cover partially both subject areas (the same subset of 2009) and sequence, as the two grades of upper-secondary education were not included in this last curriculum redefinition.

The first two rows of Table 1 show that the distributed nature of the organization of CE's contents defined by the Nineties' reform has not been altered: CE's related goals and contents are distributed among four subjects (History & Social Sciences -under labels that vary- and Orientation, in primary education grades; and History & Social Sciences and Philosophy and Psychology, in secondary education grades). To this the transversal goals specified in the second row must be added, whose labels and internal organization were varied in the 2012–2013 change.

Rows 3 and 4 in Table 1 make visible the most important CE curricular organizational change of the period, brought about by the 2012–2013 reform: the specification of 'axes' of CE contents throughout the Grade 1 to 10 sequence of History, Geography, Social Sciences subject, on the one hand, and the Grade 1 to 6 sequence in the Orientation subject, on the other. Whereas the first deals both with civil (day-to-day living with others) and civic (relations with the political domain) related contents, the latter refers only to the civil domain. Both define a distinct and clearly specified and graduated sequence of CE contents, thus making much more visible and specialized what had been, particularly for the eyes of practitioners (if not for the curriculum designers and policy-makers), blurred and made indistinct. This change also marks a departure from the organizational principle established in the 1990s.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CONTENTS IN THE HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES SUBJECT IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

It is important to observe how the contents evolved through the above mentioned changes in the organizational dimension of the CE curriculum. Are there noticeable changes in terms of richness and direction or in terms of orientation or emphases between the different curricula? Are there identifiable common trends? Did the government change from center-Left to Right in 2010 generate significant effects on CE's curriculum?

We shall address these questions focusing on the History and Social Sciences subject at the secondary level because the most important and relevant CE concepts and competencies regarding the political domain (as opposed to the civil, day-to-day living domain) concentrated here. We will examine the contents of History and Social Sciences from grades 9 to 12 (middle and upper secondary education), for the curricula of 1998 and 2009; and those corresponding to grades 7 to 10 (i.e. two grades corresponding to Chilean primary education, and two to lower secondary education), for the Curricular Bases of 2012–2013; thus comparing four grades in each one of the three curricula.[2]

The question of how to comparatively analyse the contents of citizenship education in the three curricula has been addressed by a tradition of research in connection with measurements of learning of citizenship in the school context by the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* (IEA) (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999; Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008). In connection with IEA's 2009 *International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS)*, Cox et al. (2014) conducted an analysis of the curriculum documents of the six countries of the Latin American region taking part in the study. New categories were added to the instruments generated by ICCS, resulting in a matrix of 50 categories to compare school curricula for civic and citizenship education, and what is deemed necessary for a citizenship education of substance and quality in the contemporary situation was organized in six ambits (Cox, Bascope, Castillo, Miranda, & Bonhomme, 2014).

For the present purposes, we shall select the three ambits that most directly refer to the political foci of the CE curricular contents that we are comparing. The three dimensions are the following:

- *Civic principles-values:* includes twelve categories on the orientations constituting the value or moral basis for 'life together in democracy'.
- *Citizens and democratic participation:* consists of eleven categories focusing on the roles and relations of the citizen with the political order, namely the rights and duties defining his/her citizenship condition, its characteristic actions (voting, representation, deliberation), and the various types of participation.
- *Institutions:* contains twelve categories referring to the fundamental institutions of a democratic political system, together with one referring to civil actors, and another concerning the concept of 'risks for democracy'.

The analysis that follows quantifies the presence of the topics defined by the categories of the aforementioned analytical matrix in each of the three curricula. The analytical unit is the quote (or reference), which equals a complete (textual) definition of objectives or contents in the curriculum. Sometimes a quote encompasses more than one of the categories of the analytical matrix, which means that the same quote may be counted more than once.[3] The focus of the comparisons is on the number of appearances (quotes) of the topic in question, and not on the specific meaning that each curriculum grants to it. On the other hand, this type of counting does not allow for discrimination in terms of 'positional value' of the quote, which is something important to identify in the future.[4]

Values and Principles Prioritized in the Curricula

Table 3 lists the set of values considered in the first ambit of our analytical instrument and the number of times that each appears in the three curricular definitions for the History and Social Sciences subject in the upper grades of the school sequence, as well as the aggregate of the three documents (last column).[5]

Table 2. Thematic categories for comparing curricular contents in citizenship education

Contents	Thematic categories
I. Civic values and principles	Freedom Equity Social Cohesion The Common Good Human Rights Social Justice Solidarity Equality Diversity Tolerance Pluralism Democracy
II. Citizens and democratic participation	Citizens' rights Responsibilities and obligations of the citizen Voting (right, duty, responsibility) Representation –forms of representation Deliberation Negotiation and reaching of agreements Participation and decision-making: the majority and respect of minorities Critical reflection competencies for an active citizenry Participation in school governance and/or collective projects of social action Participation in political activities (debates, demonstrations, protests, parties) Accountability
III. Institutions	The State Rule of law Branches of the democratic State (Executive, Legislative, Justice – Courts) Government – Public Administration; public institutions and services in the community National (federal) and regional government (states) Constitution, law, norm, legality, culture of legality Judicial system, penal system, police Armed Forces Political organizations in democratic society: political parties Elections, electoral system, electoral participation Professional or civil society organizations, social movements; trade unions; NGOs Risks for democracy: Authoritarianism; *clientelismo*; populism; nepotism; press monopoly; control of justice; organized crime

Source: Cox (2010), based on: Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito and Kerr (2008); SREDECC Project Expert Group Latin American Regional Test of Citizenship Competencies.

Table 3. Comparative presence of civic values in history and social sciences curricula 1998–2013

Civic values	Curricular Framework 1998 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Framework 2009 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Bases 2013 Grades 7 to 10	Aggregate
	Number of references			
Democracy	4	10	7	21
Human Rights	1	8	9	18
Diversity	3	5	4	12
Equality	1	2	2	5
Liberty	0	1	3	4
Equity	2	0	1	3
Pluralism	1	2	0	3
Common Good	1	1	0	2
Social Justice	1	1	0	2
Solidarity	1	0	0	1
Tolerance	0	0	1	1
Social Cohesion	0	0	0	0
Total of references	15	30	27	72

Source: Based on Mineduc (1998, 1999, 2013)

When analyzing the History and Social Sciences curricula from the aforementioned perspective, we can appreciate that the values that show the greater number of quotes are Human Rights, Democracy and Diversity. If the Democracy and Human Rights values are compared, the Frameworks of 1998 and 2009 prioritize Democracy; whereas the 2013 Bases prioritizes Human Rights. In the opposite direction, the five values with the least presence both in the aggregate and in each curriculum are: Common Good, Social Justice, Solidarity, Tolerance and Social Cohesion. There is then a significant continuity among the three curricula in terms of values prioritized, in spite of their different political contexts and basis of generation. Indeed, they prioritize similarly and they do not consider (Social Cohesion) or give very little consideration (Common Good, Social Justice, Solidarity and Tolerance) in a similar fashion, as well.[6]

Of the five values that received a visibly minor emphasis (Common Good, Social Justice, Solidarity, Tolerance and Social Cohesion), four are directly related to 'the other', close and distant (Granovetter, 1978; Putnam, 2000). This surely speaks to the relevance and functionality of such 'non-prioritizing' by a CE that in principle is meant to address the deficits of social integration and cohesion that characterizes

Chilean society (Tironi, 2008).[7] From this perspective, the 2013 curriculum is the one that has the largest deficit: the definitions of its objectives and contents do not mention once the values of Common Good, Social Justice, Solidarity and Social Cohesion.

Finally, we must highlight that the explicit reference to values in the Curricular Framework of 1998 amounts only to 15 quotes (bottom row in Table 3), a presence that is doubled in the 2009 Framework, and that remains on that level (27 references) in the case of the 2013 Curricular Bases. We interpret this as part of the same incremental movement of CE that we identified at the level of the organization of the curricula: expansion and densification of purposes and contents of CE which run parallel to an increasing social and political visibility of the deficit in formal political participation by the new generations (Corvalan & Cox, 2015; Donoso, 2013).

Democratic Processes and Citizenship Participation in the Curricula

Every relevant CE curriculum must treat as central citizens' relationships with the fundamental processes of democratic politics, as well as the beliefs and abilities that the upholding of an active citizenship presupposes. The focus here is the approach to themes such as rights and duties, participation, voting, and the like. Table 4 groups a set of eleven categories from our analytical matrix, which account for the key dimensions of the procedural aspect of democracy, according to the following axes: (1) citizens' rights and duties; (2) participation (including participation in school government, political participation, participation and decision making); (3) political process (including voting, deliberation, negotiation and agreements, representation, accountability); and (4) critical reflection for active citizenship, an axis that refers to the capacities that are deemed necessary for a 'complex citizenship' founded in values of individual autonomy and celebration of diversity (Bauman, 1999; Kimlicka, 2001, 2002; Cortina, 2010; Schulz et al., 2008).[8]

The category that has by far the largest aggregate presence in the three curricula is Critical Reflection Competencies for an Active Citizenry. It has an important relative presence in the 1998 Curriculum (it is in fact the category with the most references, along with Citizens' Rights). The curriculum definitions here refer to a search for and integration of information by students, their capacity to distinguish between sources and interpretations, and the capacity to expose and debate ideas. This type of objective undergoes a radical increase in presence and specification in the 2009 Framework: the number of quotes is multiplied by a factor of 3.3 by establishing for each grade the content axis 'Abilities for research, analysis and interpretation'. This is even further intensified by the 2013 Curricular Bases (that multiply the number of quotes of the 1998 Framework by a factor of 7) and that establish two ability axes –Analysis and Operation with Information Sources, and Critical Thinking– that directly include, for each grade, multiple objectives: critical evaluation and analysis of information from diverse sources, discriminating between types of evidence, comparison of historical interpretations, and analysis of viewpoints and biases.

Table 4. Comparative presence of citizenship and participation topics in history and social sciences curricula, 1998–2013

Civic values	Curricular Framework 1998 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Framework 2009 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Bases 2013 Grades 7 to 10	Aggregate
	Number of references			
Critical reflection competencies for an active citizenry	6	20	42	68
Citizens' rights	6	9	8	23
Responsibilities and obligations of the citizen	5	3	3	11
Participation in political activities (debates, demonstrations, protests, parties)	0	5	5	10
Representation – forms of representation	1	3	4	8
Participation in school governance and/or collective projects of social action	1	4	1	6
Participation and decision-making: the majority and respect for minorities	0	4	1	5
Voting (right, duty, responsibility)	0	1	2	3
Accountability	0	3	0	3
Deliberation	0	0	0	0
Negotiation and reaching agreement	0	0	0	0
Total of references	19	52	66	137

Source: Based on Mineduc (1998, 1999, 2013)

The predominance of this type of objectives in CE poses the question of whether this relative over-emphasis on certain analytical capabilities reflects an academic bias that considers research and analytical skills as absolutely central and fundamental for its concept of citizenship, and which is typical of theoretical visions of practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1979).

The second and third categories with a greater presence in the three curricula are Rights (23 references) and Duties (10 references). This doubling of the quotes on

Rights with respect to those on Duties follows an identical pattern in the current CE curricula of another five Latin American countries (Cox et al., 2014). This bespeaks of a general cultural trend, which in the Chilean case experiences an actual leap after the 1998 curriculum, when the rights and duties presence was roughly equivalent (6 quotes on Rights and 5 on Duties and Responsibilities), to a change to the 9–3 and 8–3 numbers in 2009 and 2013 portrayed in Table 4.

The Citizens' Rights category is approached in the curricula from two perspectives: a historical one, that is incorporated in the three curricular proposals, and that analyzes the evolution of rights and their consecration at the national and world levels; and an institutional one, that is only present in the Frameworks of 1998 and 2009. In both proposals, citizens' rights are considered from their definition, classification and constitutional consecration, but in the 2009 definition this vision is widened through the analysis of defense mechanisms of citizens' rights and the challenges that the struggle for minorities' rights represent for democratic societies. The category Citizen's Duties and Responsibilities, in spite of its lesser presence in the post-Nineties curricula, registers a widening of the perspectives in which it is considered: whereas the 1998 Curricular Framework proposes an institutional vision that highlights the duties established by the Constitution, the 2009 Curriculum and the Curricular Bases of 2013 add community and living-together perspectives.[9]

The citizenship participation dimension (as referred to in Table 3) is comprised of three categories: *Participation and decision making: majority and respect for minorities; Participation in school government and/or collective social action projects; Participation in political actions – debates, demonstrations, protests, parties*. All three have had an uneven treatment in the analyzed curricula.

Of the three categories about participation, (student) Participation in Political Actions stands out, since it is only present in the post 1998 curricula. The goals and contents in this case refer fundamentally to the participation in debates (one of the four actions that the analytical matrix considers here). If the aggregate number of references in this category (10) is compared to those of Participation in School Government and/or Collective Social Action Projects (6), the predominance of the former raises a question, as the literature converges on the special value of the latter regarding the formation of skills and beliefs specifically relevant to democratic political participation (Owen, 2013). The theme of 'majorities and minorities' in democratic participation is significantly present (4 references) only in the Curricular Framework de 2009; it is not considered in the 1998 Framework, and in the Curricular Bases there is only one mention of this important aspect of the democratic political process.

Of the five categories that were mentioned at the beginning of this section as the nucleus of the democratic political process – *Voting, Representation, Deliberation, Negotiation and Agreements* and *Accountability* – only Representation has a relatively solid presence in the curricula (8 quotes on the aggregate of the three curricula), and it increases from being referenced only once in the 1998 Framework

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to 3 and 4 quotes, respectively, in the 2009 Curricular Framework and the 2013 Curricular Bases. The other four categories are relegated to the 'bottom of the table': two of them (Deliberation and Negotiation) do not appear at all in the curricula. The Voting category deserves special mention.

The *Voting* category is not present in the 1998 Curricular Framework as 'right, duty, responsibility.'[10] After the explicit reference to this theme by the 2004 Citizenship Formation Commission (Mineduc, 2004), the 2009 Curricular Framework included it as a curriculum goal in the final year of secondary education, which is replicated by the 2013 Curricular Bases (that raised its presence to two quotes).

Voting, of course, corresponds to the most basic of the political rights and duties. It is the fundamental constitutive mechanism of representation and of democratic legitimacy, and its meager presence in the analyzed curricula merits discussion as an issue of high relevance especially if the relationship of schooling and democratic development is at stake.

The French and English curricula, which we chose as parameters for comparison on this point, assign a significant relevance to voting.[11] In terms of the topic's presence in the curriculum, the number of references in the English case is almost four times that of the Chilean equivalent.[12] This larger number of quotes also means a notoriously greater depth, in which voting is not only considered as a relevant form of participation, but is also considered from the perspective of its historic evolution, and from the way this right is exerted on a national, local and community level; the curriculum in this case also incorporates the development of voting experiences within the school. Correspondingly, the French curriculum in the equivalent to Chile's 11th grade in the *Programme d'enseignement d'éducation civique, juridique et sociale* (*classe de première*) defines as a topic for the whole grade 'the institutions, political and social life, the nation and its defense', and posits as a content '*the fundamentally representative character of our democracy, (that) makes voting and elections the privileged means of popular sovereignty*'; to further define that '*electoral procedures do not only concern the political spheres but the entirety of civil society*'. The same document establishes as a goal the understanding of a representative regime and the centrality to it of the election of representatives; and as a 'practical implementation (or '*activities*'), '*a research project on the formation of the expression of a political opinion*' which, it adds, can have as a context of reference both public agreement processes (debates over an urbanization or collective equipment project) and electoral processes in the political realm. (Ministére de L'Education Nationale, 2011)

The last thing to single out from Table 4 (see bottom row) is the radical increase in the CE curricula of topics concerning citizenship and participation: the 19 quotes of the Framework of 1998 are multiplied 2.7 times over in the Curricular Framework of 2009, and 3.1 times in the Curricular Bases, thus further evidencing the commented curricular densification observable in the evolution under examination.

Political Institutions and Their Curricular Treatment

Citizenship processes and relationships take place in a framework of institutions and rules that have traditionally constituted the fundamentals of school citizenship education. Table 5 groups' ten categories that directly refer to institutions and laws, to which we have added the topics Risks for Democracy, and Trade Unions, Social Movements and Civil Society organizations. In a form analogous to the preceding analyses of values and citizens' participation, the basic questions in this case are what institutions are prioritized, which ones are less considered by the different curricula, and whether the patterns that emerge are common to all three or not.

The comparative evidence regarding institutions in CE's three curricula shows that State, Government and Constitution are the topics with a greater aggregate presence in the curricula. Considering the three curricula separately, the 1998 Framework favors State and Government (6 mentions); the 2009 Framework, Risks for Democracy and State (8 and 7 mentions); and the 2013 Bases, State (11 mentions), and Government and Constitution (9 mentions). Regarding this last category, it is noteworthy that the Curricular Bases triple the number of mentions of the 1998 Framework and more than double those of the 2009 Framework. Beyond this difference, which can be associated to contrasting appreciations of the Constitution,[13] there is a clear convergence of the three curricula on the fundamental institutional and juridical nuclei of a democratic regime, to which the 'risks for democracy' is added, particularly emphasized by the 2009 Curricular Framework.[14]

An important number of the cells in Table 5 represent categories with low or null presence in two or sometimes in all three curricula. First, it is remarkable how little attention is given to the very central notion of the division of branches of State both by the 1998 and 2009 Curricula (2 mentions); which is amended by the Curricular Bases (8 mentions). Similarly, political parties receive little attention in the 1998 and 2009 Curricular Frameworks' definitions (2 mentions), which is increased in the Bases' definitions (4 mentions). Likewise, contents that refer explicitly to the categories Judicial System and Elections and Electoral System have a very low presence in the 1998 Curriculum and in that of 2013, but not so in 2009. Finally, the three categories with the lowest presence in the three curricula (lower rows of Table 5) are those of Rule of Law, Armed Forces, and Civil Society Organizations, Social movements and Trade unions.

The comparatively low attention given to the Judicial System category (save for the 2009 Curriculum), as well as to that of Rule of Law (by all three curricula) can be contrasted with the French curriculum: their *classe de seconde* is dedicated entirely to the 'Rule of Law' concept, which is proposed as "*the issue of the collective rules that organize life for everyone in a democratic society*" to be worked "*through concrete studies and conceptual analysis*" (Ministére de L´Education Nationale de L'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2011). The three thematic axes that articulate the school year in this case are: law and life in society, citizens and the law; citizens and justice. Likewise, the quasi-complete silence of the curricula on Armed

Table 5. Comparative presence of institutions in the History and
Social Sciences Curricula 1998–2013

Civic values	Curricular Framework 1998 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Framework 2009 Grade 9 to 12	Curricular Bases 2013 Grades 7 to 10	Aggregate
	Number of references			
The State	6	7	11	24
Government – Public Administration; public institutions and services in the community	6	5	9	20
Constitution, law, norm, legality, culture of legality	3	4	9	16
Risks for democracy: Authoritarianism; clientelism; populism; nepotism; press monopoly; control of justice; organized crime.	2	8	4	14
Branches of the democratic State (Executive, Legislative, Justice – Courts)	2	2	8	12
Political organizations in democratic society: political parties	2	2	4	8
National (federal) and regional government (states)	5	2	0	7
Judicial system, penal system, police	1	5	1	7
Elections, electoral system, electoral participation	1	3	2	6
Rule of Law	0	2	2	4
Armed Forces	0	1	2	3
Professional or civil society organizations, social movements; trade unions; NGOs	1	1	0	2
Total N° of references	29	42	52	123

Source: Based on Mineduc (1998, 1999, 2013)

Forces speaks volumes about the length of the shadows of the authoritarian period. The contrast again with the French curriculum could not be more eloquent: in this case the concepts of 'nation, its defense and national security' constitute an obligatory

topic that takes a third of the time allotted for the subject of citizenship education in *classe de premiére* (Ministére de L´Education Nationale de L'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2011).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

This chapter started with questions about patterns in the curricular evolution of citizenship education during the 1998–2013 period, and whether the comparison of the three curricula from this period would allow for the identification of a cumulative and convergent trajectory or not. A detailed examination of the organizational and content dimensions of the curricula has shown an unequivocal evolution marked by the convergence of the three prescriptions towards a systematic increase of the presence of purposes and contents of citizenship education. There is a clear cumulative pattern that, from the level of presence of CE and its topics – as established by the 1998 Curricular Framework – is significantly enriched by the 2009 Curricular Framework, and substantially so by the 2013 Curricular Bases, and their definition of a 'curricular axis' for citizenship formation from grade 1 to 10 in the History, Geography and Social Sciences subject. In terms of curricular organization, this last change is fundamental in that it resembles a full subject in its visibility, internal coherence, knowledge specialization and opportunities for monitoring and evaluating. It is impossible not to appreciate this development as a move away from the transversal organization of CE (i.e. 'taught by teachers of related subjects' and 'incorporated in all subjects') that was conceptually dominant in the design of curricular frameworks during the Nineties, and that produced an insufficient visibility for teachers as well as an insufficiently systematic approach to specific purposes and contents of citizenship education in the curriculum prescription. The next step in this evolution, the definition of a new stand-alone subject of Citizenship education in upper-secondary education (grades 11 and 12), has already been taken by the political system of the country, in the form of a law, which requires the Ministry of Education to design and implement the new subject as of 2017 (Law N° 20,911, 2016).

The change in 2010 of the political alliance in government meant the first real test for the concept of curriculum as an educational dimension especially important to safeguard from the risks of party-politics influences and contingent variations. From this evaluative perspective, there is a significant continuity from the 2013 Curricular Bases and the two preceding curriculum definitions, both in terms of organization and contents. There are also some elements of change: substantial ones at the organizational level; and some variations and adjustments on the content level that operate within a framework of values and concepts, and which are undistinguishable from those of the two preceding curricula.

In terms of values, the curricula give priority to Democracy, Human Rights and Diversity. The analysis revealed a deficit in the curricular presence of values referring to others and society, such as Common Good, Social Justice, Solidarity, Tolerance

and Social Cohesion; even more so, four of these five values are not mentioned in the current History, Geography and Social Sciences subject curriculum. It is fair to speak then of an 'erosion of the common' in the learning opportunities that the curriculum at present offers, in affinity with deep global cultural trends generally interpreted as problematic for democratic politics and its moral foundation (Bauman, 1999, 2005; Kymlicka, 2002).

In terms of citizenship and participation, the curricula agree on giving the highest priority to what was categorized by this analysis as Critical Reflection Competences for an Active Citizenship (evidence handling, research capabilities, detection of biases and prejudices). On the contrary, the fundamental category of Voting (right, duty, responsibility) is not mentioned in the Curricular Framework of 1998, is mentioned only once in the 2009 Framework, and just two times in the 2013 Curricular Bases. There is an evident imbalance between the opportunities for acquiring reflective competencies and those competencies that relate to the most basic of acts of formal democratic participation. It is as if the Chilean curriculum is already reflecting that which democracy theorists have labeled as a turn from '*vote-centric*' democracies to '*talk-centric*' democracies, in which the former require voting citizens, whereas the latter demand the existence of deliberating citizens (Kymlicka, 2002). The risks of a lack of equilibrium between teaching reflection competencies and citizenship responsibilities, and the practical commitment to foundational acts of democratic politics, such as voting, seems to us a relevant issue in times when the level of electoral participation is reaching critically low levels.

Regarding democracy's institutions, the three curricula prioritize State, Government and Constitution; and all three present deficits regarding the categories of Rule of Law, Judicial System and Armed Forces. These three topics, as in the curricula of other Latin American countries (Cox et al., 2015), do not have a presence equivalent to their intrinsic importance in terms of democracy's work, nor do they nearly approach the relevance that security issues grants them.[15]

Thus, the findings produced by comparing the evolution of the Chilean CE curricula with an analytical set of categories at the basis of successive IEA studies of civic and citizenship education reveal a complex pattern. On the one hand, there has been a consistent evolution towards the enrichment and growing specification and visibility of CE, evident both in the organization and content dimensions of the observed curricula; on the other hand, the theory-derived categories for comparing and evaluating contents revealed imbalances and deficits affecting central components of a coherent and relevant contemporary curriculum in citizenship education. Beyond attempting to address these deficits and imbalances, citizenship education through schooling in Chile, as elsewhere, needs to answer to the greatest challenge to education in this area: to relevantly and effectively prepare the new generation — in the context of a crisis of legitimacy for democratic politics and for democratic beliefs — to have the competencies necessary to be active and committed citizens, who recognize the 'erosion of the agora' (Bauman, 1999) as the menace that it actually is.

NOTES

[1]   The subjects whose contents were redefined by the Curricular Bases (2013) from Grades 7 to 10 were: Language, Mathematics, History, Geography and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, English. For these grades, the remaining subjects: Arts, Physical Education, Technological Education and Orientation, which had also not been affected by the adjustments of 2009, the framework continued to be that defined in the reform of 1996 (primary education) and 1998 (secondary education).

[2]   Evidently, the comparison poses a problem, since the 4 grades from the Curricular Bases are 'lower' in the sequence than the 4 grades from the Curricular Frameworks of 1998 and 2009, but as grades 11 and 12 (in upper secondary education), are still regulated (in 2916) by the 2009 Curriculum Framework, there is no other way of a establishing a better comparison with the 2013 Curricular Bases, than the proposed one.

[3]   Methodologically, the same perspective is in Bascopé et al. (2015), and in Suarez (2008) who compared the Argentinan and Costa Rican curricula, counting keywords corresponding to what this study distinguishes as modern civics/traditional civics.

[4]   Evidently a quote corresponding to a transversal objective for the entire school education does not 'weigh' the same as a quote referring to a specific content within the thematic unit of one subject in a given grade.

[5]   For the case of the 2013 Curricular Bases, the grade 7–10 segment corresponds to secondary education grades according to the new structure of schooling in Chile, as defined by the General Education Law of 2009.

[6]   When looking for common factors across the curricula's processes of generation, the impact of the National Council of Education (a politically pluralistic public body established in 1990 and renewed in 2009 by respective general laws of education) should be considered as central.

[7]   It is also noteworthy that this same finding is true in the case of contemporary CE curricula in other Latin American countries (cf. Cox et al., 2014).

[8]   Table 4, however, lists these categories from the highest to the lowest presence in the curricula, which does not allow for the visualization of the five axes.

[9]   The Spanish term in the curricula is *Convivencia*, which may approximately be conveyed by the term 'living-together' (with the added connotation of day-to-day living).

[10] There is one reference to the 'suffrage extension' in the content 'XX Century History', in grade 10, which does not qualify for consideration as there is no explicit reference to voting and its concomitant dispositions.

[11] The comparison with the European curricula is based on research conducted within the project Comparative curricula, teaching perceptions and teaching formation for citizenship education: trends and propositions for improvement, funded by the IX Contest 'Proposals for Chile' of the Centre of Public Policies of Universidad Catolica de Chile. See Mardones, Cox, Farias, Garcia (2014).

[12] For this comparison we used the 2007 citizenship curriculum of England (modified in 2013). Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2007) Citizenship Programme of Study for Key Stage 4. www.qca.UK/curriculum

[13] In general political terms, ambivalently valued by the center-Left which still saw in it (more in 1998 than in 2009) the imprint of the 1980 Constitution of Pinochet; and generally valued by the Right (Hunneus, 2014).

[14] This topic had been underlined by the Citizenship Formation Commission of 2004, in its turn influenced by the results of Chile in the Civic Education Study of the IEA in 1999 (CIVED 1999), analyzed in comparison with the cases of Colombia and the USA, in Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2004).

[15] The 2010 PNUD-OEA report on the development of democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean defines the issue of public security as one of the three foundational axes for the democratic development agenda in Latin America. (The other two are 'A new tax authority', and 'Social Integration', PNUD-OEA, 2010. Chapter 5.)

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6. BUILDING CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS OF CHILE, COLOMBIA AND MEXICO

The Role of Teacher's Practices and Attitudes

Latin America has faced several challenges to democracy in its recent history. Some countries lived under military dictatorships (Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Chile), some had to overcome long periods of civil war (El Salvador, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua), and others, like México, had to work against corruption, foster transparency and strengthen democratic institutions (O'Donnell, 1997; Rouquiè & Schvarzer, 1985). Starting in the mid 1980's, the region experienced a transition to formal democracy that has endured until the present times.

After the return to democracy in the 1990's, the region has experienced a twofold process that has shaped Latin American societies. First, after a decade of economic stagnation in the 1990's, the economies in the region grew at almost unprecedented rates and achieved significant poverty reductions in the 2000 to 2014 period, with the exception of the years 2008–2009 (Rivas, 2015). Second, these economic and social achievements coupled with the generalization of formal democracies in the region to create a favorable context in which the generation of "millennials" was raised (Orreall, 2009). Such generation witnessed the rapid increase of material well-being in environments of democratic stability and regular elections of political authorities.

It is, however, worth mentioning that Latin American countries still have deep deficiencies in their democratic functioning. First, some countries still maintain authoritarian enclaves (Garretón, 2011) that limit the capacity of deliberation and the deepening of democracy. Second, Latin America is the most unequal region in the world, a condition that has not improved under the democratic regimes and has, in some cases, worsened (Di Virgilio, Otero, & Bonolio, 2010). Such characteristics may pose questions on the efficacy of democracy to produce equality and limits the empowerment of vast portions of the population to exercise their citizenship. Finally, corruption is widespread, inhibiting the functioning of democratic institutions and fostering informal political and economic relationships and agreements (Transparency International, 2013; Wielandt, 2007)

The expansion of the middle class due to economic growth and the expectations of more political participation from the new generations have strained the current

democratic mechanisms. Students and youth movements have pressed for policy changes and the opening of participation channels (Zibechi, 2010; Almeida & Cordero, 2015). These generations will lead the democratic development of Latin American countries in the near future, and their preparation and visions of civic engagement and participation will determine the path the region will take. For such reason, schools play a key role in shaping civic formation in very unequal societies, in which the development of citizenship competencies is restricted to school settings.

Several attributes of this generation pose a shade of uncertainty about the way in which the new generations may create different participation mechanisms to strengthen democracies in the nearing decades. Even though there are different expressions of youth political engagement based on horizontal relationships and removed from political parties (Alvarado, Bommeri, & Vommaro, 2012; PNUD, 2009), they coexist with important shortcomings in political participation, civic and citizenship education, democratic attitudes and trust in institutions. For example, youth in Latin American capital cities shows a low interest in participating in traditional political activities (PNUD, 2009) and low rates of voting turnout (LAPOP, 2012), similar to other global trends (Blais & Rubenson, 2013). Moreover, Latin American secondary education students exhibit low levels of civic knowledge (Torney-Purta, 2002), a pattern that reflects the limited understanding of the citizen's responsibilities, social rights and respect for cultural diversity. The low levels of support for democracy (Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005; Reimers, 2007) and low rates of trust in government and other representative institutions (CEPAL/OIJ, 2008; PNUD, 2009) are two of the most worrying features of this generation of Latin American youth. These youth stances may be a reaction to the low quality of democracy and the weaknesses in the functioning of the political system (Cameron & Luna, 2012; Lagos, 2005), but they may pave the way for the arrival of authoritarian regimes never experienced by this generation.

Within this landscape of challenges for improving democracies, schools and teachers should play an essential role to foster democratic values that can help the next generations to create new forms of democratic participation to overcome the aforementioned shortcomings. This chapter advances the understanding on how teacher and school features shape civic knowledge, civic attitudes and expected participation of lower-secondary students. Taking into consideration the characteristics of Latin American countries, the study tries to understand the weight of socioeconomic inequalities on civic outcomes, and the ways in which schools and teachers can help to overcome the barriers imposed by inequality in different civic outcomes.

The chapter has four sections. First, it presents the conceptual framework that guided the analysis. It, discusses the relationship between knowledge, skills and political participation. Also, it shows the main features of civic education in the three countries (Chile, Colombia & Mexico), and international evidence on the role of teachers and schools, families and social contexts, in these processes. The second part explains our methodological approach, including data sources, variables and the

types of analyses performed. The third section shows the empirical results and the discussion, focusing on the role of the teachers and the schools on promoting civic education and civic engagement of youth. The final part presents some concluding reflections.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVIC KNOWLEDGE, DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Civic knowledge, civic attitudes and disposition to political participation in young people may or may not be found all together, however, when there is political participation, usually we also found civic knowledge and civic attitudes. These three elements have been explained by different factors, especially including family background, social context, socioeconomic status and schools' characteristics and practices (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008b), yet they are not separated or differentiated in social reality, but they imply a set of mutual determinations. Civic participation cannot be understood without a specific set of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Schulz et al., 2008b; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001) and, at the same time, civic knowledge is acquired and developed through a combination of executed actions, internalized knowledge and performance of practices at certain social and cultural contexts (Schulz et al., 2008b). Finally, attitudes are the result of a series of decisions, based partially on moral decisions and certain practices, but also influenced by civic knowledge.

Civic knowledge can be understood as both the knowing of information related with civic topics and the ability of reasoning and analyzing that information to make a judgment about it (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008a). Civic knowledge allows people to understand political events and the impact of public policies in their own lives and in society in general (Galston, 2001). Additionally, civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values, as is the case of tolerance towards diversity and, finally, promotes political participation (Galston, 2001). However, civic knowledge itself does not seem to lead to political participation without the presence of the necessary competences and attitudes (Solhaug, 2006).

The link between civic knowledge, civic attitudes and political participation makes civic and citizenship education and imperative subject matter to be addressed at schools, especially considering the unequal social context where most of Latin American students are being raised. Disadvantages students will probably be in the future underrepresented citizens, and schools can play an essential role in overcoming this situation through civic and citizenship education (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). As stated above, the role of school and civic and citizenship education is not reduce to just deliver content-related knowledge to students, but also promotes the development of competences and attitudes to participate as citizens in society.

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ORGANIZATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CIVIC
EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Civic and citizenship education is one of the mechanisms, through which the school system can impact on civic knowledge, attitudes and, eventually, in political participation. Civic and citizenship education curriculum, in the cases where it exists, usually synthesizes the public definition of what a society meant by citizenship and democracy. At the same time, the curriculum describes the key cognitive, moral and social requirements that, from a governmental point of view, young people should acquire as part of their formation process in the educational system (Cox & García, 2015).

Two main dimensions are relevant to understand civic education curriculum in different countries. First, the structure of civic education in the national curriculum, whether it is taught through a particular subject matter, as a content into another subject (history or language, for example), or as a transversal content to all subjects. Secondly, the content and specific focus of civic education, which can range from an institutional orientation to a civic engagement orientation.

Chile, Colombia and Mexico, show a wide range of approaches to civic education, both in terms of the curricular structure and content. Regarding civic and citizenship curricular structure, Mexico has the most structured curriculum with a compulsory subject of civic and citizenship education, which implies a standard weekly time allocated to civic education for all students during six years. Colombia has a different approach, where civic and citizenship is an optional subject; the decision whether to teach it as a specific subject or as a cross-curricular one is up to the schools, depending on their school program and objectives. Civic and citizenship educacion in Chile is addressed through a cross-curricular program design, where civic and citizenship contents are not taught through a specific subject but integrated into different subjects matters.

In line with these different approaches, Chile and Colombia define the civic curriculum using standards or general guidelines of what students must learn, whereas the decisions about the specific implementation of the standards are left to each school. In contrast, Mexico has a specific syllabus for civic and citizenship education, implying that schools have specific contents to cover in this area, as well as guidelines for implementation of the class and teaching and learning practices (Ainley, Schulz, & Friedman, 2013; Cox, 2010). The differences of curriculum structure for civic and citizenship education in these countries are also reflected in teachers' training and, consequently, in teaching and learning processes. Mexico is the only country with specialized teachers in this subject matter, while in Chile and Colombia civic education is taught by general teachers or teachers with other specializations, especially history teachers in the case of Chile.

Regarding the content dimension, Chile, Colombia and Mexico also have considerable differences in terms of the emphases they give to different aims and contents of the civic education programs.[1] In Chile, the civic education curriculum

went through a reform that changed the focus from the political system and institutions to the current approach which prioritized democracy, citizens' rights and civic participation (Cox et al., 2005; Mineduc, 2004; Schulz et al., 2011) in line to the global citizenship approach. The Colombian curricular approach focused on school violence and social violence in general, emphasizing the skills for learning to live together, as well as the promotion of social trust and social relationships (Schulz et al., 2011). Lastly, in Mexico civic education was traditionally focused on promoting national values and identity.

However, after some recent educational reforms, the current civic education curriculum has focused on democratic values and civic participation (Schulz et al., 2011). To understand the different emphases of each country's program on civic education, it is important to relate it with cultural, historical and political factors, considering that civic topics are more related to the context in comparison to other school subjects (Cox, 2010). In this sense, the focus on civic participation in Chile can be analyzed as a consequence of both the return to a democratic system after a long military dictatorship (1973–1990) and the low rates of youth voter turnout, that do not exceed 30% of the youth population. In the case of Colombia, the focus on peace and living together responds to the context of long term civil war and violence that the country has experienced for more than 50 years. Finally, Mexico has a history where the lack of regulation in politics and the corruption have profoundly affected its democratic development, which explains the emphasis of civic education in democratic values. As an additional feature, at the moment, in these countries civic and citizenship contents are evaluated through different types of assessments. Nevertheless, these three countries participated in a more relevant, international assessment related with citizenship education: the International Study on Civic and Citizenship Education, administrated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE IN CIVIC EDUCATION

In addition to the civic education curriculum, the organization and characteristic of the school are also relevant factors in the development of civic knowledge, democratic attitudes and political participation. This influence is expressed predominantly in two ways. On the one hand, the school structure can amplify (or, conversely, limiting) a democratic environment and the generation of citizenship practices within the school. On the other hand, within schools teachers play a crucial role in developing knowledge, attitudes and dispositions to action, by impregnating the "*civic and democratic spirit*" in young people through the process of teaching and learning and the everyday relationships.

Regarding the characteristics of the school, international evidence has shown the effect that both school climate and the level of participation of students in the school have on civic outcomes. The democratic climate of the schools is defined as the

school environment that accounts for its capacity to embody democratic practices and characteristics in its own operation that promote democratic behaviors among students. A democratic environment in the school has been internationally identified as a relevant factor in predicting attitudes and dispositions of youth to democracy and civic knowledge and engagement (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Diazgranados-Ferráns & Selman, 2014; Wilkenfeld, 2009), because it creates an environment where students have the ability to generate critical judgments and develop an autonomous thinking. Students' participation in the decisions of the school reflects a democratic environment where students can develop skills linked to democratic participation.

In relation to teachers' characteristics, two aspects have been considered. On the one hand, teachers' instructional practices play a critical role in student learning. As stated by Hattie (2009), effective teaching and learning requires a teacher who knows and practices a range of different teaching strategies to build students' knowledge, provides direction and redirection for students to understand a content or concept and evaluates if students are learning. Specifically, formal instructional practices, active learning strategies and an open classroom environment are all effective instructional practices that foster civic education, even though they target different skills and abilities. Recent research has shown that students in schools with greater levels of openness for classroom discussion, tend to have more positive attitudes towards other groups (Caro & Schulz, 2012); less authoritarianism (Carrasco & Banerjee, 2016); and endorse more democratic attitudes, especially if they come from more disadvantaged backgrounds (Campbell, 2008; Godfrey & Grayman, 2014). Additionally, practices such as classroom discussion also foster critical thinking (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014) and promote the acceptance of conflict as part of the democratic process (Campbell, 2008).

On the other hand, teachers are not only relevant as they taught civic knowledge related content, but they also may act as a as a role model for students. Teachers' civic attitudes are highly relevant since the learning of civic and citizenship topics is not only a cognitive process but a contextual and relational process, where students learn through their experiences (Biesta et al., 2009). Therefore, the social relationships between students and teachers, teachers' dispositions and teachers' civic attitudes are relevant factors to be considered in the process of civic and citizenship education (Biesta et al., 2009). Because students also learn by observing other people's actions and behaviors, teachers' role modelling in schools and classrooms can have a great influence on student learning (Sanderse, 2013). Within classrooms, teachers express their own values, which embed important messages for students, but simultaneously, teachers need to promote the development of skills that allow their students to reflect on their own values scale (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003).

THE WEIGHT OF SOCIAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT IN CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

As the educational system, school and teachers play an important role in the development of students' civic knowledge, attitudes and disposition to participate,

it is also necessary to address the influence of students' context on these outcomes, especially the effect of the social context and family background in shaping young people knowledge and, mainly, attitudes and dispositions for political participation. The influence of the context is especially concentrate in two groups of factors.

First, research has shown the direct impact of socioeconomic status (SES) on knowledge, attitudes and political participation, showing that SES is positively related to civic outcomes (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Hooghe & Dassonville, 2013; Scholzman, Verba, Brady, & Burns, 2012; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Latin America is one of the most unequal regions in the world, an attribute that permeates most of the social indicators, and civic knowledge and participation are not the exceptions. For this reason, student SES explains an important portion of the variance of civic outcomes (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2014; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011). In some cases, the weight of student SES can be deepened by the segregation of the school system, as seen in the case of Chile (Collado, Lomos, & Nicaise, 2014). The impact of socioeconomic status, however, is not limited to the direct effects on civic knowledge outcomes, as is the case of other subject matters. Research has also shown the existence of indirect effects related to cultural and social capital (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2001, 2003), as families with higher levels of education, more social networks and better access to cultural goods are more likely to actively participate in political life and to be involved in the development of citizenship and the fostering of civic engagement. Additionally, recent research has shown that demographic variables, such as ethnic background or gender of students, have an indirect impact on civic outcomes via interactions with socioeconomic status (Isac et al., 2014).

In second place, the effect of family background is not limited to socioeconomic status, but it also considers other variables related to the civic background of students, in order to account for the characteristics of the student background that may influence civic knowledge, attitudes and dispositions. Several studies have shown that the intergenerational transmission of civic knowledge and skills is a relevant factor in the development of civic skills and democratic participation. In general, these studies show that children with parents with high levels of political participation and civic engagement show higher levels of citizen awareness and tolerance to democracy, and are more likely to exert political participation (Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 1999; Scholzman et al., 2012). Also, parents play a role in the development of political preferences of children since it has been proven that children often have political preferences similar to those of their parents (Quintelier, 2013; Wilkenfeld, 2009).

DATA AND METHODS

The analyses presented in this chapter use the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study of 2009 (ICCS, 2009), which seeks to understand the variations of civic knowledge among educational systems and schools that are related to civic and

citizenship education, as well as students' characteristics related to achievement in civic and citizenship topics (Schulz et al., 2011; Schulz et al., 2008b). The ICCS 2009 addresses contents in four domains: (a) civic society and systems; (b) civic principles; (c) civic participation; and (d) civic identities. These four domains are distributed into four types of behaviors, such as, (a) value beliefs; (b) attitudes; (c) behavioral intentions and (d) behaviors; and the following two types of cognitive domains (a) knowing; and, (b) reasoning and analyzing (Schulz et al., 2008b). The ICCS focused on 8th grade students (13.5 years old on average), who answered a civic knowledge and a civic topics questionnaires, and Latin American students answered a specific survey for this region. Teachers and principals were also surveyed about school and classroom characteristics and practices. A total of 38 countries participated in the study, including six from Latin America: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay. This study focused on Chile, Colombia and Mexico, as they are on the top three scores for Latin America in civic knowledge results. The national samples of these countries are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Sample by country

	Schools	*Students*	*Teachers*
Chile	177	5,192	1,756
Colombia	196	6.204	2,010
Mexico	215	6,576	1,844

Source: ICCS 2009 Technical Report. The teachers' sample in Colombia was selected from 188 schools and in Mexico the teachers' sample was selected from 202 schools.

The analyses of this study implied to restrict the sample only to those schools with teachers' information. So, the analytic sample is composed of 5,024 students (176 schools) in Chile, 5,319 students (184 schools) in Colombia and 5,579 students (193 schools) in Mexico. The analyses of this chapter focus on understanding the student and school variables that explain the key civic outcomes of civic knowledge, civic attitudes and expected participation in both legal protests and political activities. As stated before, all these elements constitute a chain of knowledge, attitudes and actions that, combined, may prepare this generation of young people to face the challenges of strengthening democracies in Latin America in the near future. Table 2 presents a summary of these outcome variables, presenting descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) for each variable and for the three countries. It is necessary to state that the variables of civic knowledge and participation come directly from the international scales of the ICCS, and the variable of attitudes towards diversity was built through a Principal Components Analysis (Jolliffe, 2002), and it was normalized and standardized at the country level.

The study analyzes how student and school factors relate to these different citizenship outcomes, in order to explain what is the school contribution and students'

Table 2. Variables

Level	Variables	CHILE		COLOMBIA		MEXICO	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
SCHOOL	Private school (% of private schools) *	53.11		21.99		8.17	
	School SES	0.14	0.81	0.01	0.58	-0.02	0.61
	Expected education in years (school mean)	7.61	0.83	6.24	0.41	6.42	1.09
	Students´ perceptions of influence on decisions about school (school mean)	52.97	3.67	56.24	2.39	55.10	2.45
	Students´ perceptions of the value of participation at school (school mean)	56.32	2.77	53.85	2.35	50.60	3.00
	Teachers' participation in school governance	46.68	11.50	52.62	10.20	51.58	13.15
	Teachers' participation in activities outside school (mean)	49.90	4.56	56.13	4.59	52.84	4.67
	Confidence in teaching methods (mean)	55.54	4.54	52.90	3.53	54.23	5.39
	Teachers' use of assessment (mean)	54.17	4.10	54.77	3.52	53.31	5.10
	Openness in classroom discussions (mean)	52.23	4.14	50.01	3.35	49.94	3.21
STUDENTS	Female student (% females)	51.37		53.54		52.18	
	SES	0.18	1.05	0.05	0.98	0.06	0.97
	Expected education in years	7.65	2.28	6.27	1.59	6.59	2.36
	Discussion of political and social issues outside of school	49.52	9.92	50.87	10.04	47.62	9.64
	Parents' interest in political and social issues (% of students with parents interested)	57.48		54.82		44.12	
OUTCOMES	Civic knowledge (international scale plausible values)	493.83	89.29	465.88	81.17	455.63	82.47
	Expected participation in future legal protests	53.50	10.84	54.94	8.58	52.97	10.06
	Expected adult participation in political activities	48.30	11.25	53.01	10.25	54.32	11.11
	Attitudes towards diversity in relation to gender, ethnicity and immigrants equality	53.47	9.59	52.30	9.02	50.97	8.69

*Note: *In the case of Chile this variable includes two types of private schools, those which receive public funding and those that are completely private.*

variables to the creation of these skills, attitudes and future actions. Table 2 presents the variables used to explain variation in civic outcomes. At the school level, the predictors include the following: (a) private school; (b) school SES; (c) school mean of expected years of education of the students; (d) school mean of the students´ perceptions of influence on decisions about school; (e) school mean of students´ perceptions of the value of participation at school; (f) teachers' participation in school governance according to the principal responses; (g) school mean of teachers' participation in social, cultural, political or religious activities outside of school; (h) teacher average of confidence in teaching methods; (i) teacher average of use of assessment; and, (j) the teacher average of openness in classroom discussions. The predictors of the student level include: (a) female student; (b) SES; (c) expected education in years; (d) discussion of political and social issues outside of school; and, (e) parents' interest in political and social issues

The study adjusts a series of multilevel models to estimate the relationship between the outcome variables and the predictors. This type of model is appropriate for this analysis because it considers the different levels of aggregation of the data, in this case, school and student level. Multilevel models estimate a regression for each unit of nested data, for example, a regression for each school. This methodological design enables analysis of the outcome variance in each level, as well as the proportion of the variance explained by independent variables in each level (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

The study adjusted twelve multilevel models. One model per country for each of the outcomes, which were: (a) the individual civic knowledge's achievement scores; (b) attitudes towards diversity index; (c) the expected participation in future legal protests, as declared by students; and, (d) the expected adult participation in political activities, as declared by students. The analyses used the general specification presented in equation (1):

$$Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}X_{ij} + \beta_1 W_j + \varepsilon_{ij} \tag{1}$$

where Y represents the different outcome variables; X represents a set of control variables for students, such as socioeconomic status of the school, expected years of education and parents' political participation; W represents a set of school characteristics, such as average socioeconomic status of the school, democratic environment of the school and teachers' civic attitude inside and outside the classroom. The indexes used as predictors were centered at the grand mean and dummy variables were left without centering, following other studies in the educational field (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002; Sacerdote, 2011). This method has been used in recent studies to analyze the effect of school on different outcomes (Leckie, Pillinger, Jones, & Goldstein, 2011), to estimate compositional effect of the school in different outcomes (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002), and to analyze civic knowledge and participation of students in several countries, controlling by country, school and student characteristics (Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & van der Werf, 2014; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010; Quintelier, 2010).

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THE ROLE OF TEACHER PRACTICES AND CIVIC ATTITUDES

This section presents the results of the multilevel analyses on the role of schools and teachers in promoting civic skills and predispositions among students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico. The results are organized into the logical order proposed conceptually that the exercise of citizenship requires civic knowledge; positive attitudes towards diversity; and the predisposition to participate in the political life of the country (measured as expected future participation in legal protests and political activities). All the results appear in Table 3.

In relation to civic knowledge, the results show wide disparities in civic knowledge among students attending the same school. In fact, the decomposition of the variance of civic knowledge shows that, in the three analyzed countries, the within school variance represents nearly 70% of the total variance. This result is similar to those found in other international studies on educational achievement in Latin America, where there are ample achievement gaps among students attending the same school (Treviño et al., 2015).

School and teacher variables are important to explain differences in civic knowledge. The teacher practice of promoting an open classroom for discussion significantly relates to civic knowledge in Colombia and Mexico. Such variable has also been pointed out as related to civic knowledge in other countries outside Latin America (Campbell, Levinson, & Hess, 2012; Gainous & Martens, 2011). Teachers' participation in the school governance does not appear relevant for civic knowledge, a finding that requires further research, because in the ICCS this question is asked to school principals instead of teachers.

There are several variables of the school and teachers that show contradictory relations to civic knowledge. First, teacher participation in social, political, cultural and religious activities outside the school is negatively related to civic knowledge in Colombia, a finding different to our hypothesis. This finding requires further research, but here we propose a tentative explanation. It may be that the type of activities that teachers develop outside the schools may be at odds with the principles of civic knowledge measured in the survey. For example, they may be participating in social movements that challenge the legitimacy of political and institutional arrangements in the country because the functioning of the institutions is not up to the standard expected by citizens. In this situation, the participation of teachers in these activities may be related to the transmission of messages of distrust because of the failures of political institutions. In any case, this is a finding that requires further research.

Second, the variables measuring the democratic environment in the school show contradictory associations to civic knowledge. On the one hand, when students positively value their participation in the school the levels of civic knowledge are significantly higher in the three countries analyzed, suggesting that a democratic school environment is relevant for students in the acquisition of civic knowledge. On the other hand, the students' perception of their influence on school decisions is negatively related to civic knowledge in Chile and Colombia, again contrary to what

Table 3. Multilevel models that explain the variation in civic knowledge, expected participation in future legal protest, expected adult participation in political activities and attitudes towards diversity using teacher, school and student characteristics

	Civic knowledge			Attitudes towards diversity			Expected participation in future legal protests			Expected participation in political activities		
	Chile	Colombia	México	Chile	Colombia	México	Chile	Colombia	México	Chile	Colombia	México
INTERCEPT	478.98	458.16	434.41	−0.204	−0.149	−0.279	52.77	54.83	52.38	48.77	53.05	54.68
Level 1: Students												
Student characteristics												
Female	0.035	0.052*	0.149**	0.198**	0.066**	0.172**	0.02	−0.061*	−0.039*	−0.072**	−0.057**	−0.102**
SES	0.135**	0.144**	0.107**	0.043	0.080**	0.044	0.014	−0.011	0.028	0.011	−0.049*	−0.029
Expected education in years	0.185**	0.116**	0.245**	0.115**	0.071**	0.202**	0.080**	0.038	0.067*	0.011	0.011	−0.007
Civic background												
Discussion of political and social issues outside of school	0.073**	−0.037*	−0.04	0.076**	0.037*	0.013	0.198**	0.203**	0.170**	0.156**	0.168**	0.137**
Parents' interest in political and social issues	0.02	0.041	−0.015	0.008	0.087**	0.042*	0.082**	0.077**	0.109**	0.127**	0.119**	0.118**
Level 2: School												
School characteristics												
Private school	−0.099	0.07	0.292**	−0.237*	−0.001	0.129	−0.181	0.149	−0.181	−0.212	−0.142	−0.168
SES	0.400**	−0.014	0.095	0.446**	0.043	−0.162	−0.125	−0.139	−0.032	−0.337	0.087	−0.049
Expected education in years	0.200*	0.143	0.125	−0.008	0.286**	0.043	−0.228	−0.021	−0.470*	−0.276	−0.206*	−0.131

Teachers' civic attitudes												
Teachers' participation in school governance	0.12	0.155	0.093	0.012	0.041	0.127	0.119	−0.042	−0.025	0.115	−0.041	−0.032
Teachers' participation outside school	0.106	−0.288**	−0.118	−0.077	−0.084	−0.283	−0.185	−0.029	0.026	−0.053	0.078	−0.222
Teachers' practices												
Confidence in teaching methods	−0.016	0.035	−0.072	0.036	−0.007	0.074	−0.162	0.076	−0.062	0.022	0.036	−0.32
Teachers' use of assessment	0.06	0.022	0.135	−0.084	−0.016	0.129	−0.065	0.038	−0.152	−0.156	−0.111	0.143
Openness in classroom discussions	0.215	0.341**	0.288**	0.344**	0.540**	0.184	−0.008	−0.151	0.267	0.034	−0.254*	0.059
Democratic environment												
Students' perceptions of influence on school	−0.282**	−0.484**	0.260*	0.209	−0.115	−0.181	0.138	0.265	−0.222	0.254	0.484**	0.416*
Students' perceptions of value of participation at school	0.218**	0.229*	0.331**	0.593**	0.460**	0.805**	0.703**	0.781**	0.713**	0.136	0.205	0.118
Variance												
Variance L1	4825.882	4232.125	4444.978	0.844	0.897	0.84	111.472	68.101	88.296	121.846	87.666	100.796
Variance L2	439.195	555.809	472.39	0.003	0.007	0.008	0.702	0.216	1.106	1.93	3.12	2.536
Explained variance L1	7.20%	4.80%	10.00%	7.00%	3.00%	8.70%	6.90%	6,5%	6,8%	5.60%	4.10%	4,5%
Explained variance L2	82.20%	70.80%	79.60%	96.40%	89.70%	91.10%	77.50%	85,9%	63,5%	56.70%	65.90%	56,5%

**p < *0.01*; *p < *0.05*

was expected. An explanation for this finding may be that civic knowledge has no relationship with the ways in which students influence on school decisions. Actually, the assessed areas of student influence on school decisions include school rules and class contents, topics that may not be related to civic knowledge but that are related to other outcomes (such as future political participation as showed below).

Outside of the school, socioeconomic factors are the strongest predictors of civic knowledge. The individual socioeconomic status and the expected years of education significantly predict civic knowledge achievement in the three countries. Also, there are significant differences in favor of female students in terms of civic knowledge in Colombia and Mexico. Furthermore, at the school level, the average socioeconomic status of the school and the average expectations of schooling years significantly predict civic knowledge in Chile and, in Mexico, attending a private school is positively related to civic knowledge.

Regarding the explanatory power of the models, the results show that the variation in civic knowledge between schools can be explained at important levels (70 to 80%) in Chile, Colombia and Mexico, meaning that school differences in socioeconomic characteristics, as well as teaching and school processes, explain the majority of the differences in civic knowledge across schools. However, as stated before, nearly 70% of the variance on civic knowledge occurs within schools, and the models fitted only explain between 4.8% and 10% of the differences in civic knowledge within schools. These results may suggest that there are not coherent planning and implementation of teaching to develop civic knowledge in each school. It is interesting to note that this happens in contexts with important curriculum differences. In Chile, there is no subject of civic education, while in Colombia and Mexico the curriculum includes this subject. In the three countries, the curriculum is guided by standards, but they have different emphases. In Chile, the curriculum is focused on democracy, citizens' rights and participation; in Colombia the focus is peaceful coexistence and relationships, conflict resolution and social trust; and, in Mexico, the contents are oriented to democratic values and democratic participation. Finally, Mexico is the only country with a specialist teacher and, in fact, it is in this country where the models explain the highest level of variance on achievement at the student level. This may suggest that having a subject and a specialist teacher reinforce the possibility of promoting civic knowledge, along with the openness in classroom discussions and the democratic environment in the school measured as the student perceptions of influence on school decisions and the value of their participation in the school.

Summarizing, the variables that explain civic knowledge are similar to those related to student achievement in areas such as reading and math in the countries analyzed, with an important weight of socioeconomic factors and a contribution of school and teaching variables (OECD, 2013; Treviño et al., 2015). As is the case with other areas of the curriculum, civic knowledge is heavily explained by socioeconomic factors, but school and teaching processes can make a difference to moderate the influence of the socioeconomic context on civic knowledge achievement. Furthermore, the

dependence of civic knowledge on the socioeconomic background of the students and the schools poses an enormous challenge on the educational systems of the three countries analyzed due to the structural economic inequalities that characterize these countries and Latin America in general (CEPAL, 2013).

There are mixed findings regarding the school and socioeconomic variables that explain *attitudes towards diversity*. In relation to school variables, open classroom discussions are significantly related to students' attitudes towards diversity in Chile and Colombia, but not in Mexico. Conversely, teachers' practices and attitudes do not explain attitudes towards diversity of students. The socioeconomic background of the students is related to attitudes towards diversity. Female students show significantly higher levels of positive attitudes towards diversity in comparison to male students. The socioeconomic status of the students is only significantly related to student attitudes in Colombia, and the average at the school level of this variable predicts the attitudes towards diversity in Chile. It is important to note that only in Chile, students attending private schools have lower tolerance towards diversity, a finding that is consistent with recent research on the type of socialization and lack of diversity present in private elite schools (Madrid, 2016). Students with higher educational expectations also show higher levels of positive attitudes towards diversity in the three countries. This same variable, aggregated to the school level, is significantly related to attitudes only in Colombia. Civic background variables are also key in explaining sudent attitudes. In Chile and Colombia, the discussion of political and social issues outside of school is positively related to attitudes, while the parental interest in political and social issues is related to attitudes in Colombia and Mexico.

The main differences on attitudes towards diversity occur between students in the same school. In fact, considering the three countries, the within school variance of attitudes towards diversity ranges from 91 to 93%. This means the percentage of variance between schools is marginal. For such a reason, the models adjusted for explaining attitudes towards diversity explain between 87.9 and 96% of the variance between schools. On the contrary, the models explain only between 3 to 8.7% of the variance within schools. Such results may suggest a twofold phenomenon. On the one hand, there is a wide variation in the attitudes towards diversity among families of students sharing the same school, assuming that this variation in attitudes of the families shapes the attitudes of the students. On the other hand, it seems that schools do not necessarily work on promoting positive attitudes towards diversity, because if they were developing these attitudes the findings should show a lower level of variance within schools.

In sum, attitudes towards diversity greatly vary among students that share the same school, a finding that suggests that family civic background and attitudes towards diversity at home are very powerful determinants of student attitudes. Complementarily, it seems that schools may not work or may not be effective in promoting attitudes of tolerance towards diversity. This is probably one of the main challenges for the education systems of the countries analyzed, because there are

cultural patterns of low tolerance that need to be problematized in schools. It is necessary to recognize that, even though schools try to deal with this issue, it may be difficult to change such perspectives in the short run to mark a change in society.

Expected future participation in legal protests and political activites is related to school characteristics, but not to teacher practices. The democratic environment in the schools is associated with future participation of students in legal protests and political activities in the three countries. Future participation in political activities is related to the students' perceptions of their influence on school decisions in Colombia and Mexico, but not in Chile. Also, future participation in legal protests is associated with the students' perceptions of the value of participation at school in the three countries. The index of future future participation in political is based on questions related to conventional political participation, such as voting, while participation in legal protests is closer to civic engagement (Ekman & Amnå, 2012).

It is interesting to note that student background variables are related to the two outcomes of future participation. Parents' interest in political and social issues and students' discussion of political and social issues outside school are significantly associated with the two variables of future participation in all the countries under analysis. Therefore, it seems that future political participation depends mainly on the civic background of the families instead of the socioeconomic status. Such finding is supported by the fact that neither the socioeconomic status of the students nor the socioeconomic status of the school is associated with the outcomes of future participation. Finally, the analyses on expected future participation show a consistent pattern in which females have lower levels of future participation than males, with the exception of Chile, where females and males have the same level of expected participation in legal protests. Such finding has two ramifications. On the one hand, it is necessary to investigate why female students are generally less interested in politics and political participation, and trying to test the hypothesis if machismo and gender roles shape those differences. On the other hand, in the case of Chile, the equal levels of participation in legal protests between females and males may be related to the trend of continuous legal protests that students have organized in Chile since the year 2006.

When analyzing the variance of these two outcomes of expected future participation, the results show that almost all the gaps take place within schools. For example, the within school variation of expected participation in legal protests accounts for 97 to 98% of the total variance, while in the case of future political participation the within school variance accounts approximately for 91 to 97% of the total variance. This reinforces the idea that, at least in these three countries, families are carrying the responsibility of socializing students in terms of future participation. Conversely, schools may not be effectively emphazising the importance of participation. Finally, the analyses show that expected participation in political activities is the outcome with the lowest percentage of variance explained in the three countries when compared to the other civic outcomes.

In sum, as it was the case with attitudes towards diversity, expected future participation in legal protests and political activities are highly heterogeneous attributes among students sharing the same school. Furthermore, family civic background characteristics are the main predictors of future participation, followed by the democratic environment of the school. It is interesting to note that the socioeconomic background of the students is not related to future participation. Finally, female students show consistent lower levels of expected future participation that will require further research.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The analyses of the cases of Chile, Colombia and Mexico show important differences in relation to the variables that explain variation in civic outcomes. Civic knowledge is explained, primarily, by the socioeconomic status of the students, as it happens in general with student achievement in academic disciplines. However, school and teaching processes can make a difference to moderate the influence of socioeconomic factors on civic knowledge achievement. The weight of socioeconomic differences on civic knowledge poses an enormous challenge for strengthening democracy in the future, because the understanding of how civic processes and political institutions should work is unevenly distributed in the societies under study. This creates important differences in power and a difficulty to generate a common ground to develop productive conversations and future agreements that may improve democracies.

Attitudes towards diversity is the second building block for strengthening democracy, and this civic outcome shows a high heterogeneity among students attending the same school. This suggests that schools are not—or are not able to—promoting positive attitudes for equality and inclusion that create a common understanding to build up stronger democracies. As the results show, civic background variables of the families, as well as openness in classroom discussions, and students' perceptions of their participation in school are the main variables explaining differences in attitudes towards diversity. Developing more open and inclusive attitudes towards different groups in society remains a challenge in Latin American societies and its schools, as the results of this study demonstrate.

Expected future participation in legal protests and political activities are also highly heterogeneous attributes among students sharing the same school. As it is the case with attitudes towards diversity, this may mean that schools are not necessarily being effective in providing students with thorough and convincing explanations about the importance of participation. Of course that it is necessary to understand these findings in the contexts of democracies that can have important defficiencies, especially in terms of high levels of corruption and low levels of efficacy in solving pressing issues for the population. However, although family civic background characteristics are the main predictors of future participation, the democratic environment of the school is important in predicting participation too. This opens an avenue for schools to be able do more in stressing the importance of political

participation among students. Probably the most worrysome finding is that of lower levels of expected participation for female students, which may mark a trend of inequality and machismo that schools, families and society need to overcome.

NOTE

[1] Despite these differences, the three countries have been going through revisions and reforms of their civic curriculums during the last few decades, following some of the international trends in this area and adjusting their curriculum to emerging topics such as globalization and a focus on critical thinking skills.

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SECTION 3

RESEARCH IN CIVICS, ETHICS AND CITIZENSHIP

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7. AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES AS DETERMINANTS OF CIVIC PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that one of the objectives of education in schools is to introduce children and young people to the various dimensions of politics. Schools teach children how states function, emphasizing the way democratic governments work. Civic and Ethics courses promote not only knowledge of politics and democracy, but also strive to give students an understanding of behaviors that lead to harmonious co-existence in society. Civic education is at its best, a combination of ethics, law and politics, particularly policies that enable democracy to become a way of life. This way of life conveys a strong moral content (Finkel's, 2002), since it involves resolving conflicts of values generated by living in a collective society (Galston, 2001). For civic and citizenship education to be successful, it is necessary that students not only understand the conceptual contents, but that they act according to them in situations that involve collective living.

Democracy, though admittedly imperfect, has the capacity to overcome conflicts (Dahrendorf, 1979; Sartori, 1987, 2006). This idea while accepted by many, is not without controversy. Democratic societies with liberal tendencies like Chile, Colombia and Mexico, protect their people and their individual rights, but by definition cannot dictate the decisions of those they govern. They are unable to make decisions about the ethics or life guiding principles of the inhabitants of the country, and likewise cannot define political conduct; all these decisions pertain to the individual. The exercise of government focuses primarily on disseminating values that encourage coexistence, cultural diversity, the recognition of pluralism, tolerance, secularism, etc. These are the axiological core elements of different forms of political education; institutions are neutral bureaucratic structures whose driving principles should be the aforementioned values, and should function according to these guidelines, complying with a relatively egalitarian distribution of benefits among the vast majority of the governed (Rawls, 1996; Habermas, 1998; Beitz, 1989).

Civic education should spark students' interest in issues that concern everyone, for example, authority and the legitimate use of power (Christiano, 2004). To facilitate

this, schools must emphasize the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation (Gutmann, 1987), in spaces that pertain to all, and this would be a democratic way to disseminate the teaching of how power works (Christiano, 1996, 2004). Like Haste, Bermudez and Carretero mention (Chapter 1, this volume), social media have enlarged in an important measure, the voice of those typically unheard, who can now participate via a small investment in mobile phones and other devices, to recruit, organize and publicize social movements. Nevertheless, the authors recognize, to have voice doesn´t mean to have influence (power), but it can build up a growing sense of self-efficacy that equips students with new civic skills that can be promoted in scholarly scenarios. For students to be able to participate fruitfully in civil society or politically in the near future, schools must also teach students to doubt, to be critical and to place collective issues at the highest level of importance (García-Cabrero, 2011). If this process is successful, schools will have developed competent citizens.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP: RECENT THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Recent theories (e.g. Selman & Kwok, 2010) have postulated that to understand how youngsters learn to participate and decide to participate in society, it is necessary to develop an approach to describe and explain participation that combines cognitive and affective factors, like critical understanding, feelings of empathy and dispositions to act.

Haste, Bermudez and Carretero (in this book) have pointed out that the emphasis of school curricula on civic knowledge reflects a cognitive model of learning, a model that is based on facts' understanding. These facts are mainly related to the structure of government and the way laws are made, assuming that this comprehension will motivate students to sustain the democratic system by participating in electoral processes mainly by voting. The authors also contend that four different emphasis of civic education programs reflect different goals for civic education and learning processes: procedural democracy that privileges majority views, deliberative democracy that considers the importance of conflict and dissent, critical inquiry, and argumentation. Whereas considering democracy as social justice leads to an emphasis on moral equality and distributive justice, as well as to guide students to understand the multiple forms of systemic violence, oppression and exclusion. Finally, the adoption of a conception of democracy as a mode of living leads to an emphasis on inclusiveness, non-violent conflict resolution and connection across the differences.

Along the same lines, García-Cabrero and Alba (2008) have pointed out that democracy has been associated with notions like reason, rationality, enlightenment and civilization, traditionally opposing these concepts to emotions, to any manifestation of the affective life in decision-making or in the institutional design of politics. Rationality, it is argued, is the only way to ensure a balanced decision-making process. However, we now know that this way of thinking democracy is

incomplete, it does not correspond to what actually happens in real political life. If we consider that the heart of democracy, as Tocqueville (2001) pointed out, is not a question of political technique or of the ordering of elites, but rather a didactic practice of civic life, and if this practice is based on values in whose heart laid the emotions, then a democracy without affection is not possible.

Bárcena (1997), has argued that various current contributions of political philosophy emphasize the idea that the maintenance and survival of our modern democracies also depends, most of all, on ethical attitudes, moral sensibility and, ultimately, on virtues of politicians and citizens. In this regard, the exercise of civic virtues (for example, justice) requires the participation of ethical attitudes and moral sensitivity, which are strongly based on emotional and affective components such as compassion, pity, sympathy and love, which take us closer to others seeking their well-being. Likewise, for the optimal development of the citizen's virtues it's necessary to minimize and control (because it's not possible to eradicate) the harmful role played by other types of emotions (e.g. anger or envy), leading to actions that take us away from others and that do not result in their well-being.

In order for citizens to learn to exercise their freedom (their power), it's necessary for them to learn to transit from private to public life, and as Bárcena (1997) points out in paraphrasing Oldfield (1990), this is not something that occurs in a natural way. As Selman and Kwok (2010, 2017) have stated, it involves an informed social reflection and something fundamental: motivation to act and a sense of agency, all of which entails both cognitive and affective processes that are fundamental to develop civic and citizen competencies.

Following this line of reasoning, Selman and Kwok (Chapter 2, this book) point out that according to the Spencer Foundation (2010), the goals of contemporary civic education implies fostering civic dispositions such as: (a) tolerance for difference, (b) protection of all citizens' rights, and (c) a sense of duty to the community that are a necessary complement to the development of more quantifiable competencies of the traditional approach to civic education that includes: content knowledge of the governments' role and functioning, critical thinking skills, and direct public service experience. However, the authors warn (following Haste & Bermudez, 2017) against a narrow focus on traditional metrics of civic engagement as voting or organizational membership for considering them insufficient to recognize the role of civic dispositions in citizen's participation. As an opposing view to this traditional view of civic participation, Selman and Kwok (Chapter 2 this volume) propose to go beyond the idea of participation as action, and apathy as its opposite, to the need to understand how individuals make sense of what actions are expected of—and excluded from—them.

The authors contend that this understanding requires an approach that has to incorporate an analysis of how they think, so the traditional approaches to measure attitudes are inadequate. The old cognitivist approach states that a number of participants "share the same reason for choosing to act because they were subject to the same cognitive structures" (p. 24). According to the authors, this approach

ignores the role of context, culture and agency, and due in part to these limitations, a relatively new cognitivism has emerged and reframed this assertion into: "understanding human behavior involves interpretation, intention and empathy rather than prediction or control, and this can be achieved through the use of strategies of discourse, so thinking is not considered a secret process because language is not the evidence of the cognitive phenomenon, but 'the phenomenon itself', language point out the authors (following Witgenstein, 2009) is the 'vehicle of thought'. So students' written accounts can give us a clearer picture of individual's motivation for civic involvement (or control) considered as "will to power".

Kwok and Selman (2016, Chapter 2 this book), assert that the triumph of adult civic engagement can be conceived as action over apathy. Nevertheless, the authors explain that this dichotomy can be misleading because citizenship considered as culturally promoted, goes well beyond behavioral outcomes. For that reason, we need to understand what apathy and action contain, what constitute their essence, their meaning. So we need to operationalize these constructs and to study the variables that lead some people to be actively involved, and others to remain as spectators of what happens in their societies.

Selman and Kwok (Chapter 2, this volume) consider civic participation (or not participation) as strongly discourse-driven, and examining how youngsters construct their involvement discursively may contribute to our understanding of its quality and effectiveness. To that end, Selman and colleagues have developed the Informed Social Reflection (Selman & Kwok, 2010), and the Informed Social Engagement Models that provide the opportunity to account for both the content and quality of students' responses to address civic concern.

The ability to identify how individuals construct, justify and reject various perspectives permits an understanding of the cultural norms and communication strategies of different peer groups. In this sense, using questionnaires to measure civic knowledge, involvement and future participation (as the ones used by the ICCS) can be considered as a dialogue between researchers and participants expressing agreement or disagreement with another's statements, and as a result, these opinions have to be considered dynamic in nature, rather than solidified constructs.

In order to provide empirical evidence of the influence of cognitive and affective variables in determining students' future participation in electoral process and civic protests, this chapter presents the rationale employed to empirically test the Informed Social Engagement Models developed by Kwok and Selman (2010, and Chapter 2 this book) using data from the ICCS 2009. The informed social engagement model (ISEM) can be defined as the group of skills students bring to a situation to bear upon civic issues, whereas the informed social reflection model (ISRM) is constituted by the beliefs students have about these civic issues.

ISRM (Selman & Kwok, 2010) is composed of three overlapping content domains that allow someone to navigate with greater awareness through social situations: civic orientation (conceptualization of a member of a community's role and responsibility), ethical awareness (moral guidelines and understanding of

fairness and care), and historical understanding (scripts for navigating interpersonal situations based on individual and shared experience like perspectives and memory). These three domains allow to draw upon different background knowledge depending on the specific situation or cultural context, and when used in combination, increase the likelihood of deeper understanding of social relationships and situations (Selman & Kwok, 2010).

ISEM, on the other hand, is comprised of specific competencies that support the development of young people into constructive democratic citizens. Analysis of evidence is primarily a cognitive skill (understand, critique, discuss and synthesize multiple sources of data) that allows a complex understanding of contextual reality. Capacity for empathy encompasses the ways and degrees of students' motivation for protecting the wellbeing of others and the scope of their universe of moral responsibility. Sense of agency is conceptualized as a "disposition" toward action (understanding of the range of opportunities for involvement in social and civic matters, potential to effect change, and quality of strategies to address social problems).This second model summarizes what has been our approach to understand civic engagement: to stress the importance of cognitive, as well as affective variables in determining youth participation in civic matters, and in the development of citizenship competencies, and for that reason, we chose this model to test it against the data obtained by the three Latin American countries that obtained the best results in the ICCS 2009.

THE ICCS

The IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 (ICCS) conceives citizenship education as comprised of knowledge, understanding and opportunities for participation and commitment, both in civil society and civic life. Therefore, it involves a wide range of ways in which citizens interact and share experiences with their various communities, including their families and schools (Schulz, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

The ICCS emphasizes the need for participating countries to consider the following criteria in the design of Civic and Citizenship Education Programs: (a) the inclusion of specific topics within the curriculum, (b) the integration of these topics into other subjects' topics, (c) the consideration of cross curricular themes, (d) to conduct activities like assemblies within the school, (e) to carry out extra-curricular activities, and, (f) and to be congruent with classroom experiences (ethos).

One of the relevant aspects of the ICCS is that is demonstrates the impossibility for institutions of democracy to achieve democracy by decree. *Democratic citizenship can only be a reality when power is distributed among all participants*, not only among individuals, but also among institutions or laws, and its here, among other implications of the ICCS, where the work conducted by the IEA becomes important.

The information obtained from the study also shows that countries seek to give more coverage to a wide range of issues through civic education and citizenship, and

give different degrees of importance to these issues. Many countries place greater emphasis on human rights, systems of government, voting and elections. There are also signs of the introduction of new issues, such as care for the environment and understanding different cultures and ethnic groups. Although a consistent pattern in all countries does not exist, there is evidence that civic education and citizenship not only address policy issues, but also the economic, social and cultural development of society, including conflict resolution.

The Civic and Citizenship education Study (ICCS) shed light on the extent and scope of the students' comprehension of issues such as modernization and globalization, and the role of international organizations and regional organizations in the geopolitical scene (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 27).

The research identified some key concepts such as political culture, civic and citizenship education, and emphasized the dramatic shifts in the concepts since the pioneering study in 1971 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). It was found for example, that although the terms, civics and citizenship education are still used narrowly in policy and training programs, and even in legal documents to set education policies, these terms have been gradually replaced with the broader terms of civic education or education for citizenship. Citizenship education covers the areas of civic education and focuses on knowledge and understanding of formal institutions and processes of civic life (such as participation in elections). Education for citizenship focuses on knowledge, understanding and opportunities for participation and commitment in both civil society and civic life. This includes a wide range of ways for political participation through which citizens interact and share with their communities (including schools) and societies.

The ICCS study offers important findings, which allow us to understand some important aspects of our civic culture. For example, as we have seen from previous studies, students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico (García-Cabrero, Sandoval, Pérez, Caso, & Díaz, 2016) are provided with basic knowledge and there have been efforts to bring understanding, concepts, values and key attitudes to the field, but the school environment is not conducive to putting these concepts into practice. With regard to the forms of political communication, discussion and debate is present in schools, but only practiced as an academic exercise that does not impact school life. There are conditions of greater opportunity for participation by students, but this does not result in visible changes. There are positive attitudes towards participation and civic engagement and civil society, but nevertheless, little of this translates into an improvement in participation in real terms.

The vision of democratic citizenship is widespread but not deeply rooted, for there is no link between what is taught in school and what happens in real life. There are no institutional practices that model democratic civic behavior, for example, although discussion, debate, and even questioning the established order is allowed, there are no real mechanisms for students' participation in school life, at least in most schools in Latin America, and in many other countries in the world, where there is still a huge gap between institutions, government agencies, groups and individuals who seek presence in the system.

THE CONTEXT

In recent years, there has been a revival of interest in civic education in many Latin-American countries; and in this sense, Colombia, Chile and Mexico's educational systems have made important efforts to promote initiatives related to the improvement of the quality of civic and citizenship education, particularly through different curriculum reforms that reveal different approaches to civic and citizenship education (see Table 1). In the following paragraphs we describe these differences.

In Colombia, the educational program for Civic and Citizenship Education is focused on three competencies: Coexistence and Peace, Participation and Democratic Accountability, and Plurality, Identity and Appreciation of Differences. These are complemented by the cognitive, emotional, and communicative, competencies,

Table 1. A comparison of curricula and educational practices in three countries

Characteristics	*Mexico*	*Chile*	*Colombia*
Objective	To promote personal, ethical, and citizenship development of students.	To develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes fundamental to participate actively and responsibly in a democratic society.	To promote solidarity, respectfulness, freedom, and peaceful conflict resolution in children, in order to contribute to the construction of a fair society.
Content and competencies	(1) Knowledge and Self-Care , (2) Self-regulation and responsible use of freedom , (3) Acknowledgement and respect of diversity, (4) sense of belonging to the community, the nation and humanity, (5) management and conflict resolution, (6) social and political participation, (7) comply to the law and sense of justice, and (8) understanding and appreciation of democracy.	(1) Society in Historical Perspective, (2) Geographic Space, and (3) Democracy and Development. The first two describe the progression of learning primarily related to the disciplines of history and geography. Democracy and Development, focuses on learning related to political coexistence and skills that favor a civic sense and active citizenship.	(1) Coexistence and peace; (2) Participation and democratic accountability; (3) Plurality, identity and appreciation of diversity. These are complemented by cognitive, emotional, and communicative competencies which altogether conform an integrated competence.
Special Subject	Yes	No	Yes
Grades	1st to 12th	7th to 12th	1st to 11th

which together constitute an integrated competence. Civic education is taught from first grade to eleventh. Primary school serve children from six to ten years old (first to fifth grade); secondary school comprises children 11 to 14 years old, spanning from sixth to ninth grade, and high school (baccalaureate) includes children from 15 to 16 years old (tenth and eleventh grades). One important feature of the Colombian Educational System is that teachers and principals, can decide together if Civic and Citizenship Education can be taught as a separate, or as a transversal subject, or rather adopt a mixed approach to teaching these contents.

In Mexico the subject Civic and Ethical Education is taught during the primary and secondary school years (nine years in total), and it comprises three dimensions. The first one is taught during the subject's scheduled time (from two to three hours a week); it covers the contents, and experiences lived that enable ethical analysis about themselves, the values and responsibilities involved in their decisions; and finally the study of democracy. The second comprises the contribution of all subjects to the development of a civic and ethical reflection, by establishing cross-links between subjects. The third refers to the school environment that gives meaning and enrich democratic behavior (coexistence, organization, rules, etc.), which can occur during everyday school experiences. The main purpose of the Mexican program is to promote the ethical, personal, and citizenship development of students, through the following skills that will gradually move from the personal realms to those of participation and social interaction: (i) Knowledge and Self-care, (ii) Self-Regulation and Responsible use of Freedom, (iii) Respect and appreciation of diversity, (iv) Sense of belonging to the community, the nation and humanity, (v) Management and Conflict Resolution, (vi) Social and Political Participation, (vii) Attachment to legality and sense of justice, and (viii) Understanding and appreciation for democracy.

In Chile the central axis of Citizenship Education is aimed at students' development of the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are fundamental to participate actively and responsibly in a democratic society (Ministerio de Educación de Chile, 2012). These are approached through the subjects of History, Geography and Social Sciences, whose general purpose is to generate in students, a comprehensive view of social reality, both in historical and geographical terms, but also from the social sciences perspectives, in secondary and high school educational levels. Learning is divided into three main domains: (i) Society in Historical Perspective, (ii) Geographic Area, and (iii) Democracy and Development.

The first two describe the progression of learning associated primarily with the disciplines of history and geography. The third one, Democracy and Development, comprises learning related to political coexistence and skills that favor a civic sense and active citizenship.

The three countries participated in the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (Schulz et al., 2010). This study focuses on the ways in which 38 countries prepare young people to assume their roles as citizens of a modern society (Fraillon, Ainley, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). It evaluates civic as well as citizen education; the first one conceived as the knowledge and understanding of formal institutions

and processes of civic life, and the second, as the knowledge and understanding of opportunities for participation and engagement in both, civic acts and civil society. The study also included regional modules, which focused on particular aspects of the civic and citizenship education of three geographical areas: Europe, Asia and Latin America. For example, in these modules, students answered questions regarding their attitudes towards authoritarianism in government, their feelings of empathy towards classmates, the frequency of discussions about civic issues at school, among other issues.

In Latin America, more than 140 thousand eight graders from Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, México, Paraguay and Dominican Republic participated in the general study, as well as in the regional module. Results in the knowledge test for the 38 countries involved in the general study revealed that Finland and Denmark were the countries with highest scores (576 both), and the three Latin-American countries selected for this study: Chile, Colombia and México obtained 483, 462 and 452 points respectively. These results show an important gap in achievement for these countries in the realm of civic and citizenship education.

We know more about how young people get involved in civic and societal issues (formal & informal associations, voting, protests), but *we still don't know what are the sources or the variables that determine civic participation of young people* (Oser & Veugelers, 2008).

International Large-Scale Assessments (ILSA) have been an important element for gaining knowledge in this field, but their use has also been criticized due to the lack of theory in most of the analysis conducted (Caro, Sandoval, & Lüdtke, 2014).

THE STUDY

The Purpose

The main purpose of this work was to empirically test the ISEM (see Chapter 2, this book) using data from three Latin American countries: Mexico, Chile and Colombia. In order to do this, we used data from the ICCS 2009 to operationalize the theoretical concepts postulated by the ISEM (see Appendix 1).

Sample

We used data from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Study (2009), which collected information from 38 countries.

- Representative sample 8 graders
- Context information from students + teachers + principals.

Research Question

The research question of the study was stated as follows: To what extent can the Informed Social Engagement Model, explain the differences in civic and citizenship

knowledge and participation of Chilean, Colombian and Mexican secondary school students?

Data Analysis

We fit separate cluster robust path analysis models for each country, in which the explanatory variables reflecting the concepts postulated by ISEM predict three civic engagement outcomes simultaneously (expected participation in legal and illegal protests, and expected electoral participation), where the three outcomes are correlated with each other (see Figure 1).

All analyses were conducted using MPlus 7.4 (Muthen & Muthen, 2011), which is a software that allows taking into account the ICCS complex sample and assessment design. Sampling weights were used to account for the unequal selection probabilities of the observations in the sample because ICCS adopts a complex, two-stage, sample design (Schultz et al., 2010). In other words, for each country, students were randomly selected (second stage) from the list of randomly selected schools (first stage). Regarding the complex assessment design, the five plausible values provided in the ICCS data set for the Civic Knowledge variable were used simultaneously in all the analyses to account for imputation uncertainty.

Outcome Variable

The three outcomes used in the model correspond to the following variables: expected participation in legal protests (LEGPROT), expected participation in illegal protests (ILLPROT), and expected electoral participation (ELECPART).

Explanatory Variables

As we mentioned above, the ISEM comprises three main constructs: analysis of evidence, capacity for empathy and sense of agency which comprise different variables (see Figure 2).

We first identified ICCS items related to each construct. With respect to analysis of evidence, we identified three variables relevant to this construct: students' civic knowledge (PV1CIV), students' discussion of political and social issues outside of school (POLDISC), and students' support for democratic values (DEMVAL). We identified six indexes related to capacity for empathy: students' personal experience of physical and verbal aggression at school (EXPAGG); student feelings of empathy towards classmates (EMPATH); students' attitudes towards equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups (ETHRGHT); students' attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants (IMMRGHT); student attitudes towards neighborhood diversity (ATTDIFF); students' attitudes towards gender equality (GENEQL). Finally, we selected four indexes in relation to the sense of agency construct: students' expected future informal political participation (INFPART); students'
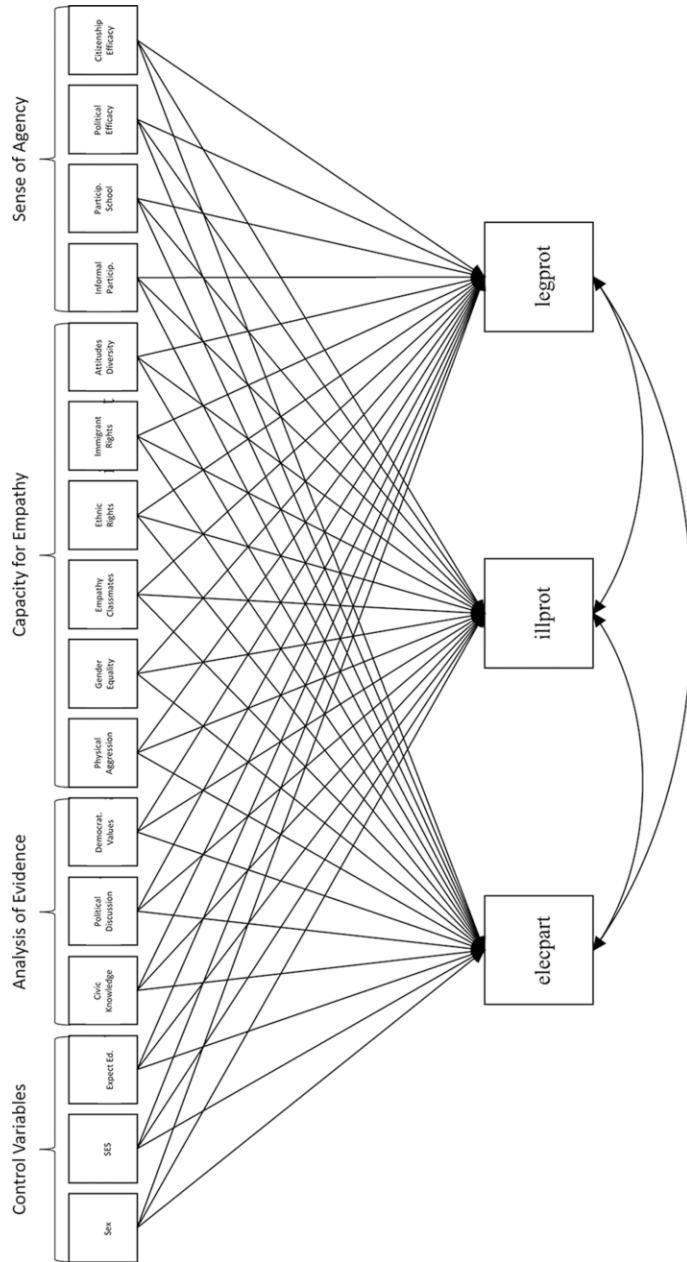
Figure 1. Path analysis model for each country
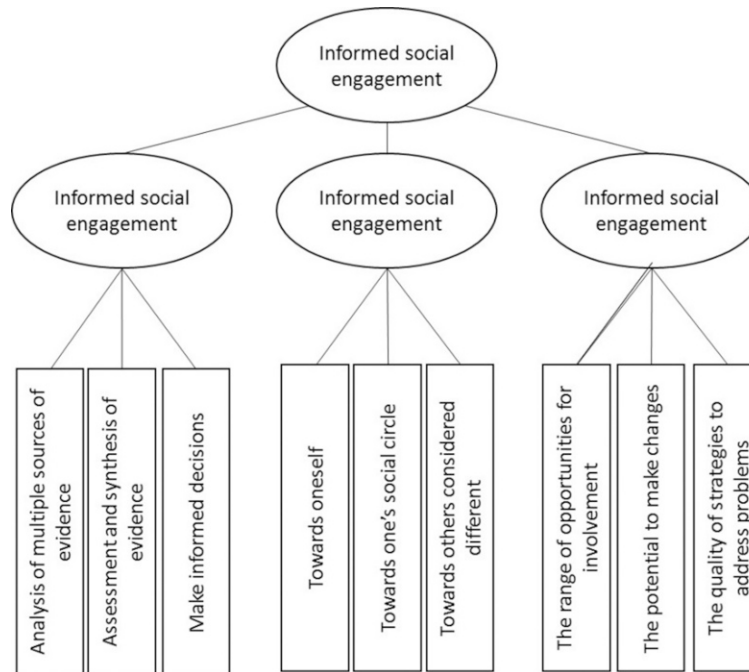
Figure 2. Operationalization of the three constructs included in the
Informed Social Reflection Model

perceptions of the value of participation at school (VALPARTS); Students' sense of internal political efficacy (INPOLEF); and students' citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF).

Control Variables

We included the following control variables in the models: gender of student (SGENDER), national index of socio-economic background (NISB), and expected education (SISCED).

Most of the variables considered in the models correspond to indices already included in the ICCS dataset. A table with a description and summary statistics for each variable can be found in Appendix 1.

Results

Our results show that the proportion of variance explained (R^2) by ISEM, is higher for Expected Participation in Legal Protests (39% in Colombia, 36% in Chile and

36% in Mexico); followed by Expected Electoral Participation (29% in Mexico, 28% in Colombia and 26% in Chile). Finally, for Expected Participation in Illegal Protests, the variance explained by the model equals 20% in Mexico, 15% in Colombia and 13% in Chile (see Tables 2 to 4).

When predicting students' Expected Participation in Legal Protests, the most important variables across the three countries analyzed were: the students' expected future informal political participation and students' citizenship sense of self-efficacy, both belonging to the construct Sense of Agency (see Table 2). The outcome of Expected Participation in Illegal Protests showed the strongest associations also with the students' expected future informal political participation, as well as with the students' feelings of empathy towards classmates (negatively associated) (see Table 3). With respect to Expected Electoral Participation, again the most important variables were: students' expected future informal political participation, and students' sense of internal political efficacy (see Table 4). These results point out the importance of building a sense of agency in students for increasing their likelihood of participating in electoral processes and legal protests when they become adults. With respect to Expected Participation in Illegal Protests, the most important variables associated with it belong to the construct Capacity for Empathy (i.e., students' attitude towards gender equality and the students' empathy for their classmates). It is, however, interesting to note that these two variables establish a negative relationship with the outcome (see Table 3).

Finally, regarding the correlation among the outcomes, Expected Electoral Participation established moderate positive and significant correlation with Expected Participation in Legal Protests (0.39 in Colombia, 0.35 in Mexico and 0.34 in Chile). Expected participation in Legal and Illegal Protests also established a moderate positive and significant correlation, although slightly lower (0.39 in Mexico, 0.36 in Chile and 0.21 in Colombia).

DISCUSSION

The objective of this chapter was to use data from the IEA ICCs 2009 to empirically test the Informed Social Engagement Model (ISEM) (Kwok & Selman, 2010, and Chapter 2 of this volume) using representative samples of 8th grade students from Mexico, Colombia and Chile.

To do that, we used separate path analysis model for each country, in which three civic outcomes (future Electoral Participation, expected Participation in Illegal Protests and expected Participation in Legal Protests) are simultaneously explained by a set of variables grouped in theoretical blocks according to the ISEM (Analysis of Evidence, Capacity for Empathy, Sense of Agency and Family background, as control variables).

Our results suggest that the Informed Social Engagement Model (ISEM) fits the empirical data provided by ICCS to an acceptable and similar level in the three countries included in the analysis. The empirical support for ISEM provides evidence

Table 2. Path analysis coefficients for expected participation in legal protests

	Chile			Colombia			Mexico		
	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.
(CONSTANT)	3.82 *		1.78	10.54 **		1.34	9.04 **		1.66
Control variables									
Sex	0.25	0.01	0.35	-0.46 *	-0.03	0.20	-0.40	-0.02	0.27
SES	-0.22	-0.02	0.14	-0.13	-0.02	0.16	0.17	0.02	0.16
Expected Education	0.01	0.00	0.22	0.05	0.01	0.15	-0.03	0.00	0.12
Analysis of Evidence									
Civic Knowledge	0.01 **	0.09	0.00	0.00 *	0.04	0.00	0.01 **	0.05	0.00
Political Discussion	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04 **	0.04	0.01	0.04 **	0.03	0.01
Democratic Values	0.09 **	0.08	0.02	0.04 **	0.05	0.01	0.03 **	0.03	0.01
Capacity for Empathy									
Physical Aggression	-0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.04 **	-0.04	0.01
Gender Equality	0.04 *	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.03	-0.02	0.03
Empathy Classmates	-0.04 *	-0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01
Ethnic Rights	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04 *	0.04	0.02
Immigrant Rights	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.09 **	0.09	0.02	0.03 *	0.03	0.02
Attitudes Diversity	0.06 **	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04 *	0.04	0.02

Sense of Agency											
Informal Participation	0.32	*	0.33	0.02	0.27	*	0.31	0.02	0.30	*	0.31	0.02
Participation School	0.08	*	0.07	0.02	0.05	*	0.05	0.02	0.05	*	0.05	0.01
Political Efficacy	0.05	**	0.04	0.02	0.06	*	0.06	0.02	0.07	*	0.07	0.02
Citizenship Efficacy	0.24	*	0.23	0.02	0.23	*	0.27	0.02	0.27	*	0.28	0.02
Correlations Legal Protest with												
Electoral Part.	0.34	*		0.00	0.38	*		0.00	0.35	*		0.00
Illegal Protest	0.36	*		0.00	0.21	*		0.00	0.39	*		0.00
	$R^2 =$ 0.36			Chile	$R^2 =$ 0.39				$R^2 =$ 0.36			

$p \leq 1.96$ *

$p \leq 2.58$ **

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Table 3. Path analysis coefficients for expected participation in illegal protests

	Chile			Colombia			Mexico		
	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.
(CONSTANT)	57.03 **		1.84	68.30 **		1.86	64.54 **		1.72
Control variables									
Sex	-0.40	-0.02	0.37	-0.23	-0.01	0.31	-0.93 **	-0.05	0.31
SES	-0.19	-0.02	0.18	0.25	0.03	0.17	0.17	0.02	0.15
Expected Education	-0.25	-0.02	0.19	-0.16	-0.01	0.20	-0.18	-0.02	0.15
Analysis of Evidence									
Civic Knowledge	-0.02 **	-0.13	0.00	-0.02 **	-0.18	0.00	-0.02 **	-0.16	0.00
Political Discussion	-0.03	-0.03	0.02	-0.03	-0.03	0.02	-0.04 **	-0.04	0.02
Democratic Values	0.13 **	0.13	0.02	0.06 **	0.06	0.02	0.04 *	0.04	0.02
Capacity for Empathy									
Physical Aggression	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.01	0.02
Gender Equality	-0.04	-0.04	0.02	-0.15 **	-0.14	0.02	-0.19 **	-0.12	0.03
Empathy Classmates	-0.16 **	-0.15	0.02	-0.13 **	-0.12	0.02	-0.14 **	-0.12	0.02
Ethnic Rights	-0.03	-0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.03	-0.03	0.02
Immigrant Rights	-0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02
Attitudes Diversity	0.03 *	0.03	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02

Sense of Agency	β		β	SE	β		β	SE	β		β	SE
Informal Participation	0.20	*	0.23	0.02	0.21	*	0.21	0.02	0.20	*	0.21	0.02
Participation School	-0.03		-0.03	0.02	-0.07	*	-0.06	0.02	-0.05	*	-0.05	0.02
Political Efficacy	-0.02		-0.02	0.02	-0.04	**	-0.04	0.02	0.02		0.02	0.02
Citizenship Efficacy	0.06	*	0.06	0.02	0.05	*	0.05	0.02	0.10	*	0.10	0.01
Correlations Illigal Protest with												
Legal Protest	0.36	*		0.00	0.21	*		0.00	0.39	*		0.00
Electoral Part.	0.01	*		0.00	-0.09	*		0.00	-0.01	*		0.00
	$R^2 =$ 0.13		Chile		$R^2 =$ 0.15				$R^2 =$ 0.20			

$p \leq 1.96$ *

$p \leq 2.58$ **

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Table 4. Path analysis coefficients for expected electoral participation

	Chile			Colombia			Mexico		
	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.	Coeff.	β	s.e.
(CONSTANT)	4.25 *		1.73	4.51 **		1.62	2.22		1.65
Control variables									
Sex	−0.54	−0.02	0.37	−0.84 **	−0.05	0.27	−0.30	−0.02	0.24
SES	0.22	0.02	0.21	−0.15	−0.02	0.11	0.03	0.00	0.13
Expected Education	0.44 *	0.03	0.20	−0.04	0.00	0.12	0.30 *	0.03	0.14
Analysis of Evidence									
Civic Knowledge	0.01 **	0.07	0.00	0.02 **	0.18	0.00	0.02 **	0.17	0.00
Political Discussion	0.05 *	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Democratic Values	−0.04 *	−0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.05 **	0.06	0.01
Capacity for Empathy									
Physical Aggression	−0.03	−0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Gender Equality	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.06 *	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03
Empathy Classmates	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.04 **	0.04	0.01
Ethnic Rights	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08 **	0.08	0.02	0.12 **	0.12	0.02

Immigrant Rights	0.02		0.02	0.02	0.04	*	0.04	0.02	0.05	**	0.06	0.02
Attitudes Diversity	0.02		0.01	0.02	0.01		0.01	0.01	0.03	**	0.04	0.01
Sense of Agency												
Informal Participation	0.31	*	0.28	0.02	0.19	*	0.21	0.02	0.18	*	0.21	0.02
Participation School	0.09	*	0.07	0.03	0.09	*	0.09	0.01	0.06	*	0.07	0.01
Political Efficacy	0.21	*	0.17	0.02	0.12	*	0.12	0.02	0.11	*	0.11	0.02
Citizenship Efficacy	0.05	**	0.04	0.02	0.09	*	0.11	0.02	0.09	*	0.10	0.02
Correlations Electoral Participation with												
Legal Protest	0.34	*		0.00	0.39	*		0.00	0.35	*		0.00
Illegal Protest	0.01	*		0.00	−0.09	*		0.00	−0.01	*		0.00
	$R^2 =$ 0.26		Chile		$R^2 =$ 0.28				$R^2 =$ 0.29			

$p \leq 1.96$ *

$p \leq 2.58$ **

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of the relevance and suitability of this theoretical model (at least in the country analyzed) not only to explain differences in civic skills and dispositions, but also to potentially inform the design of programs and interventions aimed at increasing the civic engagement of young people based on the understanding of how citizens' actions are animated or inhibited.

Among the three dimensions postulated by the ISEM, Sense of Agency is the one that is most consistently and strongly related with the three outcomes, in the three countries. When looking into the variables composing this theoretical dimension, Informal Participation, Participation in the School, Political Efficacy and Citizenship Efficacy, the first one stands out as it establishes a positive and statistically significant relationship with the three outcomes and for the three countries. It is important to remember at this point that Informal Participation is a scale formed by students' statements about, for example, the frequency with which they talk to their peers or participate in online discussions about social or political issues (see Appendix 1). In this way, our results indicate that promoting these kind of activities could be an effective means to increase the informed social engagement of young people in Mexico, Chile and Colombia. However, Informal Participation is not the promising strategy to promote civic engagement. Within the same theoretical dimension, the variables related with political and citizenship self-efficacy also establish consistent associations with the civic outcomes, particularly with expected Participation in Legal Protests and expected Electoral Participation. This result would suggest that school practices including activities for students to feel capable of addressing issues that affect their own lives, their colleagues' and families' could also constitute powerful strategies to promote civic engagement. Along these lines, in the future, students' self-efficacy beliefs could become a platform for civic engagement interventions.

Our results also unveil some interesting results regarding the ISEM dimension of Analysis of Evidence. Although these variables established rather weak (but statistically significant) relationships with the civic outcomes, we strongly believe that civic knowledge, especially the knowledge resulting from reflection, perspective taking and informed debate should not be shelved. Our results provide evidence to support the idea that the students' views about democracy, discussions of political issues outside school, and other cognitive domains as knowing, reasoning and analyzing information have all influence on civic engagement of young people in the countries analyzed.

The results related with the ISEM dimension of Capacity for Empathy showed less consistent associations. Attitudes towards physical aggression, diversity, gender equality, ethnic and immigration rights, established, in most cases, positive associations with expected Participation in Legal Protests and expected Electoral Participation, but mostly negative associations with expected Participation in Illegal Protests. A possible explanation for this, somehow surprising, last result could be that since participating in illegal protests implies disturbing others (see Appendix 1), higher levels of empathy would be associated with a lower likelihood to participate in this kind of activities. This is, in any case, a pattern that has to be further investigated.

We would also like to analyses our results on the light of a more current scenario, where the Brexit, the results of the plebiscite in Colombia, the popularity of the National Front in France or the election of Trump have introduced to the debate serious doubts about the relevance of the long accepted relationship between levels of education and levels of political and civic participation. In a scenario where the consensus about the belief that more educated societies tend to make better informed and more rational decisions might not be true anymore, the conventional or traditional ways of promoting civic and political participation might not be effective any longer. Interventions trying to involve citizens in electoral processes only have ended up becoming nothing but empty formulas. The idea of representation has been invalidated, as it has turned out to be dominated by small groups, and has become a reproductive system of inequalities and elitism. In the current situation we have to reinvent mechanisms to enable our young people to effectively influence their communities, other than just get involved in formal politics or social protests. We claim that the Informed Social Engagement Model is a promising framework to do so.

Finally, we would like to mention some limitations of this study, which are mainly related with the data, but also with the methods we used. Dataset limitations are similar to those of other studies that have used ICCS (e.g. Mirazchiyski, Caro, & Sandoval-Hernández, 2014), the students who participated in the study are, on average, 14 year old. At this age most of them may still have not fully developed a sense of critical reflection about the dynamics of society. They have also not reached the legal age to fully participate as citizens in society. However, these students were in the 8th grade at the time of the assessment, which is at the end of the last compulsory education level in the three countries analyzed. This ensured a more representative picture of the population, since after the compulsory levels many young people, principally the most socially disadvantaged, are not in the education system anymore.

Related with the above limitation, because of the participants' age, this study is based on future participation scales, which in turn are based on student subjective reports on anticipated future participation. Other studies, however, have found future participation measures to be good predictors of actual participation (e.g. Campbell, 2007).

Another caveat that should be kept in mind when reading this chapter is related with the path analysis models. As reported before, most paths in the models proved to be statistically significant, but the effect sizes are rather small in some cases and should not be overstated. Other studies using the same data (e.g. Mirazchiyski et al., 2014) and data have from the European Social Survey have found similar results (e.g. Starosta, 2010). Nevertheless, the proportion of explained variance in three and for the three outcomes is quite satisfying.

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APPENDIX 1. DESCRIPTION AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE MODELS

Construct	Indices and conforming items	Chile		Colombia		Mexico	
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Outcomes	**When you are an adult, what do you think you will do? - Expected Political Participation (ELECPART)** a) Vote in local elections b) Vote in national elections c) Get information about candidates before voting in an election	49.97	12.40	53.64	8.97	53.16	9.31
	Would you take part in any of the following forms of protest in the future? - Expected Participation in Illegal Protests (ILLPROT) a) Spray-painting protest slogans on walls b) Blocking traffic c) Occupying public buildings	52.35	9.75	49.79	9.75	51.61	10.40
	Would you take part in any of the following forms of protest in the future? - Expected Participation in Legal Protests (LEGPROT) a) Writing a letter to a newspaper b) Wearing a badge or t-shirt expressing your opinion c) Contacting an <elected representative> d) Taking part in a peaceful march or rally e) Collecting signatures for a petition f) Choosing not to buy certain products	53.50	10.84	54.94	8.58	52.97	10.06
Analysis of evidence	**How often are you involved in each of the following activities outside of school? (POLDISC)** a) Talking with your parent(s) about political or social issues b) Watching television to inform yourself about national and international news c) reading the newspaper to inform yourself about national and international news d) Talking with friends about political and social issues e) Using the internet to inform yourself about national and international news f) Talking with your parent(s) about what is happening in other countries g) Talking with friends about what is happening in other countries	49.52	9.92	50.87	10.04	47.62	9.64
	International civic knowledge scale (PV_CIV) Civic knowledge was measured with 79 cognitive test items which give international comparable results for students' performance. 73 items included a multiple choice format, and six items allowed for open ended responses. The test mapped to four content areas (civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, civic identities) and three cognitive domains (knowing, reasoning and analyzing) (Schultz et al, 2008). The scale scores were obtained using the Rasch model (Rash, 1960). Given the complex survey design, the score is expressed by five plausible values. The scale was set to have a mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100 points for equally weighted national samples.	483.02	1.52	461.93	1.60	451.65	1.47
	There are different views about what society should be like. We are interested in your views on this. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (DEMVAL) a) Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely e) All people should have their social and political rights respected f) People should always be free to criticize the government publicly h) All citizens should have the right to elect their leaders freely i) People could be able to protest if they believe a law is unfair	54.10	9.67	51.18	9.68	50.42	10.19

Construct	Indices and conforming items	Chile		Colombia		Mexico	
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Capacity for Empathy	**Last month, how often did the following happen to you at your school? (EXPAGG)** a) Someone in your school hit, slapped, kicked or pushed you. b) Someone in your school insulted you. c) Someone threatened to hit you. d) Someone rejected you and did not allow you to join their group. e) A classmate called you an offensive nickname.	49.33	10.36	50.12	10.02	48.96	9.78
	P8. How much do you agree or disagree with the following phrases? (EMPATH) b) Watching fights between classmates is fun. **P9. How do you feel when you witness the following situations?** 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.	48.76	9.36	50.40	9.10	46.76	8.91
	Q25. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (ETHRGHT) a) All "ethnic/racial groups" should have an equal chance to get a good education in "country of test" b) All "ethnic/racial groups" should have an equal chance to get good jobs in "country of test" c) School should teach students to respect "members of all ethnic/racial groups" d) "Members of all ethnic/racial groups" should be encouraged to run in elections for political office e) "Members of all ethnic/racial groups" should have the same rights and responsibilities	54.63	9.61	52.99	8.98	52.43	9.44
	Q26. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about "immigrants"? (IMMRGHT) a) "Immigrants" should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language b) "Immigrant" children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have c) "Immigrants" who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections d) "Immigrants" should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle e) "Immigrants" should have all the same rights that everyone else	54.15	9.49	54.31	9.21	54.56	10.02
	P6. How much would you like or dislike having neighbours belonging to the following groups? (ATTDIFF) a) People with different skin colour than yours. b) People of a different social class than yours. c) People of a different religion than yours. d) Homosexuals or lesbians e) People who come from another region of the country. f) People with physical disabilities. g) People with mental disorders. h) People of a different nationality than yours. i) People with AIDS. j) People of indigenous origin.	51.58	9.83	50.44	10.00	50.73	10.42
	Q24. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (GENEQL) a) Men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in govenment b) Men and women should have the same rights in every way c) Women should stay out of politics d) When there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women e) Men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs f) Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women g) Women´s first priority should be raising children	51.63	9.65	49.59	8.88	45.44	6.53

Construct	Indices and conforming items	Chile		Colombia		Mexico	
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Sense of Agency	**Q33. Listed below are different actions that you as a young person could take during the few years. What do you expect that you will do? (INFPART)** b) Talk to others about your views on political and social issues c) Write to a newspaper about political and social issues d) Contribute to an online discussion forum about social and political issues e) Join an organisation for a political or social cause	49.92	11.21	54.33	9.90	53.71	10.55
	Q19. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about student participation at school (VALPARTS) a) Student participation in how schools are run can make schools better b) Lots of positive changes can happen in schools when students work together c) Organising groups of student to express their opinions could help solve problems in schools d) All schools should have a "school parliament" e) Students can have more influence on what happens in schools if they act together rather than alone	56.44	9.96	53.93	9.33	50.82	10.06
	Q23. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about you and politics? (INPOLEF) a) I know more about politics than most people my age b) When political issues or problems are being discussed, I usually have something to say c) I am able to understand most political issues easily d) I have political opinions worth listening to e) As an adult I will be able to take part in politics f) I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country	51.26	10.03	52.08	8.74	51.91	9.28
	Q30. How well do you think you would do the following activities? (CITEFF) a) Discuss a newspaper article about a conflict between countries b) Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue c) Stand as a candidate in a "school election" d) Organise a group of students in order to achieve changes at school e) Follow a television debate about a controversial issue f) Write a letter to a newspaper giving your view on a current issue g) Speak in front of your class about a social or political issue	51.48	10.43	52.53	10.25	52.52	10.33
Control Variables	**Gender of the student (SGENDER)** a) Male (0) b) Female (1)	0.51	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.52	0.50
	National Index of Socioeconomic Background (NISB) Factor scores (included in database), see Chapter 12 of the ICCS 2009 Technical Report (Schulz, Ainley & Fraillon, 2011) for details.	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	Which level of education do you expect to complete? (SISCED) a) I do not expect to complete <ISCED level 2> b) <ISCED level 2> c) <ISCED level 3> d) <ISCED level 4 or 5B> e) <ISCED level 5A or 6>	3.35	0.87	3.58	0.83	3.29	1.10

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8. THE CIVIC COMPETENCE GAPS IN CHILE, COLOMBIA AND MEXICO AND THE FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR THE CIVIC KNOWLEDGE GAP

*Evidence from the 2009 International Civic and
Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)*

INTRODUCTION

Researchers and educators interested in empowering young people with the citizen competencies they need to participate actively and constructively as members of their society have documented the existence of significant differences among youth from advantaged and disadvantaged SES backgrounds in the civic knowledge, attitudes and skills they need to live as constructive citizens and influence decisions in the political process, in ways that protect their rights and interests in society. In the United States, Meira Levinson (2010) has notably called attention to the existence of "*a profound civic empowerment gap that disproportionately muffles the voices of non-white, foreign-born, and especially low-income citizens and amplifies the voices of white, native-born, and especially wealthy citizens*" (p. 26). Levinson discusses how African-American, Hispanic, and poor students perform significantly worse on the National Assessment of Educational Progress' (NAEP)[1] test of civic knowledge than white, Asian, and middle-class students (Lutkus, Weiss, Campbell, Mazzeo, & Lazer, 1999; U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, & National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2007). Similarly, the American Political Task Force (2004) has noted that while low income, less educated citizens, citizens of color, and immigrants, are underrepresented in the political process, their more privileged counterparts participate more and are increasingly better organized to press their demands on the government. In turn, public officials are more responsive to the privileged than to average citizens and the less affluent, such that: "*Citizens with low or moderate income speak with a whisper that is lost to the ears of an inattentive government, while the advantage roar with the clarity and consistency that policymakers readily head*" (p. 1).

Reports from the IEA's Civic Education Study (CIVED), which in 1999 collected cross-national data about the civic knowledge, attitudes and skills of 14 year old

students in 16 countries (Sherrod, 2003) and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which in the year 2009 collected similar data in 38 countries (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008) suggest that civic competence gaps similar to the one reported by Levinson (2010) and the American Political Task force (2004) in the United States, may be dividing youth from different backgrounds in other countries of the world (Schultz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). The issue may be particularly relevant in Latin America, due to the historical struggle of the region with violence, corruption, authoritarianism, and respect for the rule of law (Reimers, 2007). However, no research formally documents the existence and magnitude of civic competence gaps among youth of different SES backgrounds in the region, and the factors that may account for observed gaps. Such research is valuable because the existence of gaps in the civic knowledge, civic attitudes and identities and civic skills that young people need to live as constructive members in their society is an issue that needs to be understood and addressed, as civic competence gaps constitute a threat to the legitimacy of a democracy (Levinson, 2007), and in the context of societies that have experienced war, dictatorships and deep inequalities, they may hurt the possibility of sustaining regional peace, stability and economic growth in the years to come. Furthermore, it is a moral mandate as stated in the 26th article of the Declaration of Human Rights:

> Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (United Nations, 1948)

In what follows, we first discuss what it means to be a competent citizen and identify the factors that scholars have used to explain differences in civic competence among youth of different SES backgrounds, and then provide some contextual information about the national civic education policies of Chile, Colombia and Mexico. We then use available data from the 2009 ICCS to analyze three nationally representative samples of 8th grade students from Chile, Colombia and Mexico, and document civic competence gaps between high and low SES students along different dimensions of civic performance, using outcomes related to civic knowledge, and civic attitudes and identities. Finally, we explore how school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities account for the large civic knowledge gaps that we encountered in the three countries.

THE COMPETENT CITIZEN AND APPROACHES
TO CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A foundational aim of education is to prepare children to become competent citizens of their society (Dewey, 1916), but there are abundant discussions about the characteristics that young people need to develop in order to effectively undertake

their role as citizens. While traditional approaches to citizenship education focus on helping children gain civic knowledge through teacher instruction, a New Civics movement (Spencer Foundation, 2009) has been shifting the focus towards one that attends also to the development of other equally important civic competencies – including attitudes, values and skills- through interactive practices (Patty & Cepeda, 2004; Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005). In this regard, Carretero, Haste and Bermudez (2016) developed a framework that is consistent with "bottom-up" approaches to civic education, which identifies different dimensions of civic learning: (1) civic knowledge and understanding, (2) civic skills, (3) civic values, motivation and identity, and (4) civic action.

Civic knowledge and understanding: Competent citizens are knowledgeable about political institutions, processes and national history and have the ability to integrate discrete knowledge of facts with an understanding and critical reflection about the principles and concepts required for responsible action.

Civic values and identity: Competent citizens have developed civic attitudes and identities that would dispose them to translate their civic knowledge into meaningful ways to engage effectively in democratic life (Youniss & Levine, 2009). Civic values and identities refer to the ideals and psychosocial processes through which citizens make sense of their roles and position themselves in relation to their civic communities (Carretero et al., 2016), including the ideas they identify with about different types of citizenship, their motivation to engage in different civic behaviors, and the concepts they have about their own civic skills -such as their sense of civic agency and their internal sense of political efficacy.

Civic skills: Competent citizens use a variety of skills to exercise their citizenship responsibly, which Fine, Bermudez and Barr (2007) divide in terms of intellectual skills, participatory skills and socio-emotional skills. Intellectual skills refer to the ability to analyze information, synthetize it, understand and evaluate different perspectives, reach conclusions, defend a given position, etc. Participatory skills refer to the skills people need to communicate, collaborate, problem solve, negotiate, organize and take collective action to address problems. Socio-emotional skills refer to the interpersonal abilities that people have to establish constructive relationships with other people in their family, friends and community members. They include the ability to feel empathy, take multiple perspectives and integrate them into their considerations on how to solve social problems that affect their community (Selman, 2003; Diazgranados, Selman, & Dionne, 2015).

Civic action: Competent citizens are able to integrate their civic knowledge, civic attitudes and identities and civic skills into civic behaviors. In young students, civic action refers to the civic behaviors they engage in before they formally become citizens, such as reading the news, taking an interest in learning more about controversial civic and social issues, participating in the school government, engaging in volunteering activities in the communities for the greater good, etc.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) posit another framework that informs our understanding of civic competence. These authors identified the characteristics of

three "good citizens", which are representative of a spectrum of distinct ideas, beliefs and citizenship orientations. The *personally responsible citizen* is kind to others, volunteers, helps those in need, tells the truth, follows rules, works hard, seeks to maintain harmony and to keep the community calm and safe. The *participatory citizen* engages in national, state and local civic affairs, and gets involved with community organizations, the local government and other people in collective actions to address the issues that affect the community. And the *justice-oriented citizen* thinks critically about societal problems and the actions that could be taken to transform problems at their root, challenging the structures that reproduce inequality and injustice, and conducting protests to question authority and the status quo.

These three types of citizenship are not in conflict, as citizens who are good neighbors can also participate actively in democratic processes and can also challenge unjust laws or structures in society. However, Kahne and Westheimer (2003) do emphasize that embracing a vision of good citizenship devoid of politics, based solely on the conception of the personally responsible citizen, will not contribute to strengthening a democracy. In fact, an education that only emphasizes the importance of individuals' good character may promote the development of good, helpful and obedient community members, but unless it also emphasizes participation and social justice, such education would not prepare citizens to identify and question unfair socioeconomic and political structures or to take constructive action to transform them. For the purposes of our study, we take this to mean that competent citizens not only behave as personally responsible citizens, but perhaps more importantly, they behave in ways that are consistent with participatory and justice orientations to citizenship.

Based on Carretero et al. (2016) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004), we adopt a vision of citizenship according to which civically competent youth in democratic societies have the (1) civic knowledge, (2) civic values and identities, (3) civic skills and (4) civic actions they need to live as (a) personally responsible (b) participatory, and (c) justice oriented citizens. We emphasize that competent citizens are not only knowledgeable, but have developed the democratic attitudes, identities and skills they need to act in ways that are consistent with democratic values. We also emphasize that competent citizens do not only lead responsible lives that show respect and care for others and for social norms, but they are also able to participate actively and effectively in political processes, and to question and challenge unjust social structures in ways that strengthen a democracy and protect the wellbeing of the larger society. We therefore view civically competent citizens as those who have civic knowledge and understanding, but also the civic attitudes and skills they need to act in democratic ways. In this regard, we note that young people may have civic knowledge, but lack the attitudes, identities and skills they need to use that knowledge. For example, they may know and understand the mechanisms that are available to them for participation, but not have the attitudes and skills they need to effectively engage in civic actions that protect their interests in society. We also view competent citizens as those who not only are personally responsible, but who

also participate actively in their society and take a stand against injustice. In fact, a citizen can be a good, caring and helpful person, without participating in political processes and without showing any concern for issues of social justice. Similarly, a citizen can be a good person, who participates in political processes, but who does not question the existence of structural injustice in society.

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WHAT EXPERIENCES AND CONTEXTS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH CIVIC COMPETENCE?

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Empirical research in the field of civic education sheds light into the factors that are associated with students' civic competence: The socio-economic background of a family has a profound effect on students' civic competence, with effects that are often reinforced by schools that expose children from different SES backgrounds to different school resources, school climates and civic learning opportunities. We discuss these in more detail below.

Students from Less Affluent and Less Educated Families Have Less Civic Knowledge Than Their More Wealthy and Educated Counterparts

As mentioned above, one of the most significant outcomes of the 1999 CIVED study, was the existence of a substantial gap in the civic knowledge of students from more or less affluent and highly and less educated home backgrounds (Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta, 2002). The results are consistent with the findings from the 2009 ICCS (Schulz et al., 2008), where the reports of both the world-wide study (Schulz et al., 2010) and the Latin-American module (Schultz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011) showed that students with parents from higher occupational status tend to perform at significantly higher levels than students from less advantaged homes. The international report of the ICCS (Schultz et al., 2010) shows strong associations between students' civic knowledge and parental occupation status, parents' educational attainment and home literacy resources in all countries. This positive association may be due to the fact that students from less affluent backgrounds do not have access to the social and cultural capital that the upper class children enjoy and which society favors (McLeod, 2004). In fact, the family upbringing of disadvantaged students may not provide them with the resources, environments and experiential opportunities they need in order to acquire the background knowledge, attitudes, identities and skills valued by democratic societies. In this regard, Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) found that children from more affluent backgrounds come from families where adults are significantly more influential in the political process as they are more likely to vote in presidential elections, be part of campaign work, do informal community work, contact elected officials, participate in protests or sit on a board. Lauglo and Oia (2006) also documented that young people with parents who express interest in political and social issues have significantly higher levels of civic knowledge and civic engagement than children whose parents do not

express such interest. Findings from the ICCS show that children who have parents interested in social and political problems and who report talking more frequently with them about those social and political issues exhibit significantly higher scores on the civic knowledge scale than their counterparts (Schultz et al., 2010).

Schools Maintain and Reinforce the Social Inequality That Originates at Home

Schools can reinforce social inequality and the gap between students from advantaged and disadvantaged families because different schools often serve students from different SES backgrounds, providing them with different experiences that effectively lead them to fulfil predefined roles that perpetuate the status quo (Bowles, 1977). By serving different groups students, schools provide unequal access to school resources, and expose students from high and low SES backgrounds to different school climates and different types of civic learning opportunities. While high SES children have access to an education that prepares them to become leaders who have the knowledge, attitudes, identities and skills they need to advocate for their interests in society, low SES children are educated in ways that make them less informed, less able to critically navigate the political process in ways that question the status quo, and less interested in engaging with political systems that they do not represent them.

School resources refer to the financial and human resources that allow schools to function effectively and to provide students with a high quality education. Research shows that schools that serve wealthy students have more money and more and better qualified teachers and administrators than schools who serve low income students. In the US, these patterns have been documented by data on curricular offerings and teacher credentials. Specifically, low income students are concentrated in schools with lower resources, which offer less curricular choices and inferior courses and levels of competition, such that the most disadvantaged students receive the least effective preparation to succeed (Orfield, 2000). US students from poor and minority backgrounds also attend schools that have significantly less access to high-quality teachers (Borman & Kimball, 2005), and less opportunities for professional development (Levine & Marcus, 2007). We observe similar patterns in Latin America, where socioeconomic segregation within schools is one of the key factors contributing to the reproduction of inequality (Rossetti, 2014; Rivas, 2015). In this regard, Reimers (2000) linked education to poverty and inequality in the region, by showing how schools fail to provide educational opportunities to the children of the poor. Specifically, he identified how children from low income families not only have less access to preschool, primary and secondary education, but they attend schools with significantly less financial and human resources. PISA studies confirm that the financial and human resources that Latin American countries spend on education are not equitable distributed across schools, and that countries such as Chile, Colombia and Mexico, often allocate scarce resources to schools that serve children from advantaged backgrounds (OECD, 2014). Public and private schools

in the region function as separate systems of education, with very different levels of resources and serving different populations along the lines of their SES backgrounds. Rural schools are at greater disadvantage than urban schools, with less materials, larger classes, lower teacher quality, and located in communities with less cultural resources.

School Climate refers to "the quality and character of school life that is based on patterns of people's experiences of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures" (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009, p. 182). The climate of a school affects students' civic competence because it creates a culture that influence how students respond to the social challenges they face at school (Diazgranados, Selman, & Feigenberg, 2012). Diazgranados and Selman (2014) identified safety, order, positive student-teacher relationships and openness to student participation as salient characteristics of the school climate that have a powerful influence on students' civic competencies as they provide, or not, young people with the supports they need to deal constructively with social problems and to take an active stand against injustice. In Latin America, the results of the Third Regional Comparative and Explicative Study (TERCE), which was conducted in 15 countries including Chile, Colombia and Mexico, concluded that a school climate, characterized by a warm environment and positive student-teacher relationships, was the variable that more consistently explained learning in the region (Treviño et al., 2015). Research in Colombia shows that students in schools characterized by more caring, safe and participatory climates are more civically competent than students in schools with negative student-teacher relationships and less safe and participatory environments (Diazgranados, 2015; Diazgranados & Noonan, 2014). Not surprisingly, parallel to other inequality trends, schools serving students from privileged backgrounds have more positive climates than schools serving low income students. In the US, schools serving low income populations, Hispanic and Black majority schools, and low performing schools report less positive school climates than schools serving high income populations and white students (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997; Jain, Cohen, Huang, Hanson, & Austin, 2015; Rudasill, Reio, Stipanovic, & Taylor, 2010; Skinner & Belmont, 1993). The prevalence of behavior problems and violence is also higher in schools serving low SES students (Paganini, 1999) and researchers have documented that teachers tend to evaluate students from low SES backgrounds more negatively and to discipline them more frequently than they do with high SES students (Brantlinger, 1991). Negative teacher-student relationships and inequitable disciplinary practices toward children of different SES backgrounds, such as the use of zero-tolerance discipline policies in response to school violence, have been observed to affect mostly schools serving students from low SES backgrounds (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010).

Civic Learning opportunities refer to a collection of diverse educational practices -ranging from discussion of controversial social and political issues, to involvement in civic activities and service learning, to the study of history and the

government – which aim to increase students' civic competencies (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013). Among the diversity of civic learning opportunities that exist around the world (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999), discussing controversial social and political issues in open classroom environments and providing students with the opportunity to get involved in interactive civic activities at school and in the community have gained attention. Cross-sectional and longitudinal studies show that when done well, civic learning opportunities can dramatically increase civic competence in students from less advantaged backgrounds (CIRCLE & Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2003; Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Torney-Purta, 2002; Gibson & Levine, 2003; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 2003). Multiple international studies using data from the ICCS have shown that open classrooms for discussion and engagement in civic activities are an effective strategy to promote civic knowledge (Alivernini & Manganelli, 2011; Barber, Barber, Sweetwood, & King, 2015; Isac, Maslowski, Creemers, & van der Werf, 2014; Mangenelli, Alivernini, & Di Leo, 2012), higher sense of political efficacy (Knowles & McCafferty-Wright, 2015; Diemer & Rapa, 2016), participation in conventional citizenship practices such as electoral processes (Isac et al., 2014), and in social movement related practices such as participation in legal protests (Quintelier & Hoghe, 2013). Research also shows that different pedagogical approaches promote different forms of civic and political engagement.

While discussing social issues in an open classroom environment promotes students' engagement with political issues and electoral processes, the opportunity to participate in civic actions and service learning projects increases students' community-based and expressive action (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013). Data from the Belgian Political Panel Study (BPPS), which tracked late adolescents' political attitudes and behaviors to explore the effects of civic education on political engagement, showed that formal civic education and the inclusion of students in group projects can compensate for inequalities in parental socialization with respect to political engagement (Neudorf, Niemi, & Smets, 2013). Unfortunately, schools that serve students from privileged SES backgrounds provide more interactive and participatory civic learning opportunities than schools serving less privileged children. Kahne and Middaugh (2008) found that the amount of civic learning opportunities that students received were associated with their race, SES and school achievement, with privileged students receiving more offerings. Kahne (2009) also found that when suburban schools are compared with urban and rural schools, or when schools with high test scores on academic achievement are compared with schools with lower scores, privileged schools are more likely to offer interactive civic education, in the form of more simulations of civic processes, more opportunities to engage in civic actions and practice civic skills and more extra-curricular activities related to civic learning. Struggling schools tend not to provide such experiences, either because they lack the resources or because they concentrate on academic subjects.

CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN CHILE, COLOMBIA AND MEXICO

Latin America is a greatly diverse region that is developing economically (CEPAL, 2015), but which has experienced a long history of social turmoil, violence and dictatorships. Persistent poverty, great inequalities and the appearance of authoritarian forms of government have constrained opportunities for social and political participation of large segments of the population in the region (Reimers, 2007). The expansion of crime, violence and drug-trafficking has undermined the rule of law (Reimers, 2007). The subservience of public institutions to the interest of political parties, bureaucrats or unions as well as corruption, have affected the effectiveness of public services and of citizens' trust (Reimers, 2007). In turn, public distrust in institutions and low participation in democratic processes are a chronic threat to social stability and to the sustainability of democratic values and practices in the region (Cox, 2010). In what follows, we present background information about the civic education policies of three Latin American countries that have experienced social and political issues with significant consequences for democratic citizenship: Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

Chile

After seventeen years of military repression and multiple violations of human rights –including the assassination, torture and disappearance of thousands of members opposing the regime of General August Pinochet, in 1990 Chile started a peaceful process of transition to democratic society. Twenty five years later, the country is a politically stable society with high levels of trust in political parties (Bargsted, Castillo, & Somma, 2014). Interestingly, while Chileans exhibit very low levels of conventional participation in electoral processes, in recent years they have shown increasing interest in participating in non-conventional forms of engagement such as protesting and large scale social movements (Donoso, 2013; Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014). Economically, Chile suffers from great income disparities and segregation (Larrañaga & Valenzuela, 2011) and exhibits the highest indices of inequality of all the member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) region (OECD, 2013).

In Chile, the National Ministry of Education determines the national curriculum that all schools must offer, but schools can include additional subjects and topics of their choosing. Civic and citizenship education are of medium priority for the country (Schultz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011). The Ministry has established a mandatory framework for schools to ensure that children will know their rights and responsibilities, develop competencies that are coherent with democracy and a commitment to their country, are able to assess public information and express their opinions, study history in ways that allow them to understand current issues and participate in society (Schultz et al., 2011). The national framework of citizenship

education specifies vertical goals that are specific to grades and subjects, and transversal goals which are cross-curricular in nature. Typically, civic and citizenship education is integrated into social science, but its prominence varies according to grade level, with some grades being required to address vertical goals while other grades are not (Conacevic, 2013). The extent to which students are encouraged to participate in cross-curricular activities of civic and citizenship education and the specific characteristic of the opportunities provided to students depend entirely on each school (Conacevic, 2013). Notably, the quality of education varies significantly between schools, because co-payments and highly selective processes of admission have made Chile one of the most segregated education systems of the world, with schools that have been documented to be even more socioeconomically segregated than neighborhoods (Elacqua & Santos, 2013; Flores & Carrasco, 2013; Valenzuela, Villalobos, & Gomez, 2013). The effects of the high socioeconomic segregation are such that the educational achievement of students in Chile depends more on the aggregate SES of the school than on their own family SES background (Mizala & Torche, 2012)

Colombia

Colombia is an ethnically diverse nation, which has endured the most difficult and prolonged armed conflicts in Latin America. Poverty, inequality and corruption are at the origin of the violent confrontations that have affected the country for more than six decades, which went beyond the fights between multiple actors –army, guerrillas and paramilitary- struggling for political power and control of lands when drug-trafficking made war a profitable enterprise for the parties involved. As a result of the conflict, more than five million people have been displaced and more than 220,000 lost their lives (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2011). And while the government of Alvaro Uribe Velez promoted the demobilization of paramilitary groups and the government of Juan Manual Santos is negotiating a peace agreement with the FARC guerillas which could lead to the end of the longest armed conflict in the region, Colombia still exhibits high rates of family violence (Knaul & Ramírez, 2005), gang-related and community violence (McIlwaine & Moser, 2001), school-related violence (Cepeda-Cuervo, Pacheco-Durán, García-Barco, & Piraquive-Peña, 2008; Chaux et al., 2009), and criminal activity that is not directly linked to the armed conflict.

The difficulties that had affected Colombia for decades led the government to think about the ways in which education could contribute to change the culture of violence, discrimination, corruption, and civic apathy that had emerged in the society and decided to make civic and citizenship education a national priority (Jaramillo & Mesa, 2009). In 2003 the Ministry of Education promoted discussions among a group of researchers, academics, school teachers, NGO leaders and policy-makers, with the purpose of identifying the citizenship competencies that every Colombian student must learn in school (Chaux, 2009). In their efforts, they moved away from

traditional approach to civic education that focused on transmission of knowledge and factual information regarding the country's system of government, towards an emphasis on competencies learned through experiential learning. They formulated national standards that established clear and public criteria about the basic levels of competencies that children have the right to learn in school (Patty & Cepeda, 2005). Citizenship competencies were defined as "the articulated combination of the basic knowledge and the cognitive, communicative, emotional and integrative attitudes and actions that citizens need in order to live and act constructively in a democratic society" (MEN, 2004). The Colombian National Standards were organized according to three areas of citizenship performance: (1) Peaceful coexistence—the competencies that people need to establish social relations based in mutual care, respect and tolerance; (2) Participation and democratic responsibility—the competencies people need to exercise their citizenship in an active, informed, critical and responsible way; (3) Plurality, identity and respect for differences—the competencies people need to recognize, value and respect differences among different individuals and social groups. All three areas of citizenship performance were framed within the perspective of respect and defense of human rights, a transversal category present across all dimensions (MEN, 2004).

Citizenship education in Colombia functions as a cross-curricular subject that is regarded as being part of all content subjects and school activities (Fernandez, 2013). The national standards serve as quality guidelines that establish the topics and skills that schools must teach students, but schools have the right to make decisions about their own teaching programs, curriculum, assessments, pedagogical methods, governance, culture, etc. However, schools must develop institutional education projects to specify their own plan to meet the national standards in the way that fits them best (Fernandez, 2013). Additionally, all schools should provide students with opportunities to participate in the school government and the student council, and to take part in creating and reviewing the schools' coexistence handbook (Fernandez, 2013).

Mexico

Despite having one the longest-standing tradition of democratic governance in Latin America, Mexico has been criticized for the prolonged hegemony of one political party in power for 60 consecutive years. In this regard, Nobel Peace Prize Mario Vargas Llosa described Mexico "the perfect dictatorship", discussing the ways in which the government had been able to successfully avoid criticisms that could put at risk its perpetuation in power. Economically, the country exhibits the same social inequalities that are prevalent in the rest of Latin America, and it has recently seen the emergence of great violence and corruption fostered by drug-trade.

Civic and citizenship education is of high priority for Mexico and is considered an integral part of an education vision that aims to strengthen democratic and cultural coexistence (Schultz et al., 2009). A reform of civic and citizenship education at

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the end of the 20th century led to the incorporation of content related to human rights and democratic values, with a focus on the development of the civic and ethical competencies that children need to coexist peacefully, participate actively and consider others when making decisions (Schultz et al., 2011). The national curriculum contains a formative field of personal development, ethical and citizenship education, which is delivered in different ways from preschool to upper secondary school. In preschool the area helps students explore issues of identity, autonomy and interpersonal relationships. In primary school, the area helps students develop relationships of coexistence based on respects for human dignity, equality of rights, solidarity and rejection of discrimination, and appreciation of resources. (Ministry of Education, 2008). In lower secondary education, a subject is taught at least 160 hours per year and schools should also ensure that all curricular subjects contribute to the development of civic and ethical reflection and that the school environment serves as a space where students can practice democracy (Medina, 2013). For higher grades, the Integral Reform of Upper Secondary Education establishes a National Baccalaureate that brings a common curricular framework to all states, to help young people develop generic competencies needed for work, as well as civic, citizenship and ethical competencies needed for live in a democratic society (Medina, 2013).

THE PRESENT STUDY: THE CIVIC COMPETENCE GAPS IN CHILE, COLOMBIA AND MEXICO

The existence of significant differences in the civic knowledge, civic attitudes, identities and skills between groups of people from different socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds represent civic competence gaps that affect their ability to act as personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizens in their society (Carretero et al., 2016; MEN, 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Identifying civic competence gaps, their magnitude, and the factors that account for them should be a priority for researchers, policy-makers and educators in Latin America because they can threaten the strength and legitimacy of democracies (Levinson, 2010). In the context of countries such as Chile, Colombia and Mexico, which have struggled with war, authoritarianism, corruption and deep inequalities, they may also disrupt the stability, peace and economic growth of the region.

We use data from the 2009 ICCS dataset to identify civic competence gaps between high and low SES students along two dimensions of civic performance in Chile, Colombia and Mexico, three Latin American countries that have embraced different approaches to civic and citizenship education. We use eight scales available in the ICCS to operationalize a notion of civic competence according to which civically competent youth have the civic knowledge, civic values and identities, and civic skills they need to act in personally responsible, participatory and justice oriented ways (Carretero et al., 2016; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). We performed the data analysis in two stages. First, we used unadjusted regression models to identify the effect of SES on students' civic knowledge, attitudes and identities, as

demonstrated in eight scales from the 2009 ICCS. We then conducted further analysis focusing only on civic knowledge, to identify the background characteristics, school resources, school supports and civic learning opportunities that account for the large civic knowledge gaps that we observed in Chile, Colombia and Mexico. We use data from the 2009 ICCS to answer following questions:

Are children from high SES backgrounds in Chile, Colombia and Mexico more civically competent –in terms of their civic knowledge and civic attitudes- than children from low SES backgrounds?

To what extent are the civic competence gaps observed in Chile, Colombia and Mexico accounted for by differences in family background, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities?

METHOD

Participants

We used nationally representative samples of grade 8 students in Colombia, Chile and Mexico, who in the year 2009 participated in the ICCS study. The ICCS is a cross-sectional study that was conducted by the *IEA* to assess students' civic knowledge and attitudes in 38 countries. Within Chile, Colombia and Mexico, the test was administered to 17,952 students and 5,610 teachers, within 580 schools (see Table 1), who responded to a civic knowledge test and to an international and a Latin American background questionnaire that contained 90 items, for approximately two hours of their time. Teachers and school principals responded to a one-hour questionnaire providing contextual information. In the analysis, we incorporated data from the civic knowledge test and both the student and teacher questionnaires.

Table 1. Participation and sample sizes for student and teaches within schools

Country	Total number of schools that participated	Total number of students assessed	Total number of teachers assessed
Colombia	188	6204	2010
Chile	177	5192	1756
Mexico	215	6576	1844
Total	580	17,952	5,610

Dataset

The ICCS dataset was collected using surveys that were administered to participants using a probabilistic two-staged stratified cluster sample design within each country. The first stage used a PPS (probability proportional to size as measured by number

of students enrolled in a school) procedure to sample schools within each country. During the second stage, an intact class from the target grade within each sampled schools was chosen randomly and all students were surveyed. In schools that did not have more than 20 teachers teaching at the target grade, all teachers were surveyed. In schools where there were more teachers, up to 15 teachers teaching at the target grade were chosen at random to be surveyed. The complex sample design of the ICCS allowed researchers to collect at a reasonable cost enough information to obtain estimates with enough precision levels for all target groups within each country. When computing estimates using ICCS data, we accounted for the complex sample design of the test by using sampling and replicate weights.

MEASURES

Outcomes

We use eight outcomes available in the 2009 ICCS dataset that capture students' civic knowledge and a set of civic attitudes and identities that are related to their civic competence.

Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations and Cronbach's alpha of these outcome scales for each participant country.

- INTERNATIONAL CIVIC KNOWLEDGE SCALE: *Civic knowledge and understanding* was measured with 79 cognitive test items which give international comparable results for students' performance. 73 items included a multiple choice format, and six items allowed for open ended responses, with students requested to write a short response to each question. Given the challenges of measuring the broad domain of civic knowledge within the limited testing time imposed by physical and cognitive constrains, student booklets were structured using a complex assessment design that allow for the administration of a great amount of items in a sensible way. The test was presented in a balanced rotated cluster design, which means that while at the school level all items were responded, any individual student only had to complete 35 items of the test. The test mapped to four content areas (civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, civic identities) and three cognitive domains (knowing, reasoning and analyzing). (Schultz et al., 2008). The scale was obtained using the Rasch model (Rasch, 1960), with a reliability of .84. Given the complex survey design, plausible values – which are estimated using regression models that predict missing values on the questions that students did not answer based on the responses of other students with similar values- are needed to estimate summary student statistics to account for measurement error (von Davier, Gonzalez, & Mislevy, 2009). The scale was set to have an international mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100 points for equally weighted national samples. Three proficiency levels were established using a hierarchical scale in which civic knowledge becomes more sophisticated as student progress up the scale (see Schultz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

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Civic attitudes, motivations and identity were measured with seven scales where students rated their own levels of agreement or disagreement with different statements that were later used to create scales. All variables were standardized to have an international mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. All scales showed good internal consistency (see Table 2 for Cronbach's alpha within each country). Confirmatory Factor Analysis were used to confirm that the data fit the models for each construct (see Schultz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011).

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and Cronbach's alpha of outcome variables in each country

Outcome	Mean (Standard Deviation)			Cronbach's Alpha		
	Chile	Colombia	Mexico	Chile	Colombia	Mexico
Civic Knowledge	483.21 (87.49)	461.92 (80.86)	451.78 (82.69)	0.83	0.81	0.82
INPOLEF[a]	51.35 (9.99)	52.31 (8.76)	51.9 (9.28)	0.82	0.78	0.78
ELECPART[b]	49.83 (12.38)	53.65 (8.89)	53.02 (9.29)	0.9	0.77	0.77
LEGPROT[c]	53.67 (10.89)	54.94 (8.65)	53.09 (9.98)	0.8	0.73	0.76
ILLPROT[d]	52.57 (9.72)	49.87 (9.73)	51.72 (10.36)	0.77	0.82	0.83
ATTCORR[e]	48.62 (10.44)	48.18 (9.22)	49.16 (10.58)	0.84	0.81	0.86
AUTGOV[f]	47.98 (10.52)	48.5 (9.16)	48.96 (10.22)	0.83	0.8	0.84
DISLAW[g]	49.23 (10.97)	48.72 (9.93)	49.22 (10.22)	0.85	0.84	0.82
CIVDIS[h]	48.93 (10.03)	50.43 (9.79)	49.87 (9.96)	–	–	–

Note: Civic knowledge was standardized to have an international mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100. All other scales were standardized to have an international mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. Cronbach's alpha were calculated for each national sample (see Schultz et al., 2011). INPOLEF=Internal Sense of Political Efficacy; ELECTPART=Expected Participation in Future Electoral Processes; LEGPROT=Expected Participation in Legal Protests; ILLPROT=Expected Participation in Future Illegal Protests; ATTCORR=Attitudes toward Corruption in the Government; AUTGOV=Attitudes toward Authoritarianism in the Government; DISLAW=Attitudes toward Disobeying the Law; CIVDIS=Attitudes toward Civic Disobedience

INPOLEF: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' sense of internal political efficacy. The scale reflects the mean of six items in which students rate their level of confidence about their capacity to become politically involved. For example: *"I have a good understanding of the political issues facing this country", "As an adult I will be able to take part in politics".* Higher values on this scale reflect a higher sense of internal political efficacy.

ELECTPART: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' expected adult electoral participation. The scale reflects the mean of four items, describing students' intention to vote as adults in (1) national and (2) local elections and (3) to get information about a candidate before voting *(I would certainly do this/ I would probably do this/I would probably not do this/ I would certainly not do this*). Higher values reflect greater expectation of participating in electoral processes in the future.

LEGPROT: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' expected participation in future legal protests. The scale reflects the mean of six items, describing students' behavioral intentions to use of legal mechanisms to protest things they believe are wrong (e.g.: writing a letter to a newspaper, taking part in a peaceful march or rally, contacting an elected representative, collecting signatures for a petition, etc.). Higher values represent greater expectation of participating in legal protests in the future.

ILLPROT: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' expected participation in illegal protests. The scale reflects the mean of three items describing students' behavioral intentions to use of illegal protest mechanisms (e.g.: spray-painting slogans on walls, blocking traffic and occupying public buildings). Higher values represent greater agreement with the idea of participating in illegal protests in the future.

AUTGOV: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' attitudes toward authoritarianism in the government. The scale reflects the mean of nine items, describing students' level of agreement or disagreement toward the use of authoritarian practices in the government. (e.g.: *"People in the government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens", "People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies".* Greater values represent higher acceptance of authoritarian practices in the government.

ATTCORR: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' attitudes toward corruption in the government. The scale reflects the mean of six items, describing students' level of agreement or disagreement toward statements that reflect the use of corrupt practices in government (e.g.: *"It is acceptable for a civil servant to accept bribes if his salary is too low", "It is acceptable for a civil servant to use the resources of the institution in which*

he/she works for personal benefit". Higher scores represent greater acceptance of corruption in the government.

DISLAW: A continuous student-level variable that measures students' attitudes toward disobeying the law. The scale reflects the mean of eleven items, describing students' level of agreement or disagreement with statements that endorse breaking the law in different situations. For example: *"When it is the only way one has to help one's family", "When others who disobeyed it were not punished", "When one distrusts the enacting body".* Higher values represent greater acceptance of the notion that it is acceptable to disobey the law.

CIVDIS: Students' attitudes toward civil disobedience was measured using one item (LS2P05G) from the student questionnaire, a variable that asks participants to report their level of agreement or disagreement toward the following statement: *"A law may be disobeyed when it is the only way of fighting publicly against an unfair law".* Higher values represent greater agreement with ideals of civil disobedience.

Key Predictor

National Index of Socio-Economic Status (NISB), is a continuous individual-level measure that was created through factor analysis including the following variables: (1) Highest level of education of the mother and father in approximate years of education, (2) Highest level of occupation of mother and father, and (3) Approximate number of books at home. Missing values were imputed for each national dataset using predicted values for students who only had one variable missing from the three indicators involved. Resulting variables were standardized for each national dataset and then used for a principal component analysis that was conducted separately for each national sample. The NISB scores were obtained as the factor scores for the first principal component, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for each national dataset (Schulz et al., 2011).

Covariates

To account for the civic knowledge gaps observed in Chile, Colombia and Mexico we used a series of variables available in the ICCS to operationalize individual/ family background characteristics, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities that may have an effect on students' civic knowledge.

Table 3 shows the means, standard deviations and Cronbach's alpha of covariates variables in Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

Individual/Family. Characteristics were chosen because they capture individual and family background characteristics that may be associated with students' civic knowledge and civic values, motivations and identity.

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Gender is an individual-level dummy variable that indicates whether the student is a girl (1) or boy (0).

NormAge is an individual-level dummy variable that indicates whether the student is 14 years old (0) or older (1).

PARINT is a continuous individual-level variable that measures the highest level of parental interest in political and social issues (*not interested at all/not very interested/quite interested/very interested*). Higher levels reflect greater parental interest in political and social issues.

IS2G13A is an ordinal individual-level variable that measures the frequency with which students talk with their parents about political or social issues at home (*Never/monthly/weekly/daily*). Higher values reflect higher frequency of discussions with parents about political and social issues.

School resources. Variables were chosen to capture the resourcing of the school, which may affect the school quality and students' civic knowledge and civic values, motivations and identity:

SchoolNISB is a continuous school-level variable that measures the average SES background of students in the school, which was obtained by aggregating the mean of students' NIBS levels. Higher values reflect schools with higher average student SES levels.

PRIVATE is a dichotomous variable that reflects whether the school is public (0) or private (1).

SCHSIZE is a continuous school-level variable that reflects the total number students enrolled in the school. Higher values reflect larger schools.

CSTRATIO is a continuous school-level variable that reflects the student-teacher ratio at school. Lower values indicate better resourcing of the school.

RESCOM is a continuous school-level variable that reflects the availability of resources (e.g.: *public library, cinema, theater, language school, museum or gallery, public garden or park*) in the local community. Higher values reflect more availability of resources in the community.

School climate. Variables were included because they reflect important qualities of the emotional and instructional school climate and relationships in the school, which that may affect students' civic knowledge and civic values, motivations and identity. They were all standardized in the ICCS to have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10:

CSTUTBEH is a continuous school-level variable, which reflects the mean of 4 items in which the school principal rates his/her perceptions of students' behavior at school (e.g.: *students are well behaved when entering the school*

premises/ students show care for school facilities). Higher values reflect the opinion of principals who feel that many students exhibit positive behaviors in the school.

NoCSCPROBR is a continuous school-level variable, which reflects the mean of 9 items in which principals rate their perceptions of the extent to which there are social problems (*vandalism, truancy, bullying, racism, religious intolerance, sexual harassment, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, violence*) at school (reversed). Higher values on this scale come from principals who report low incidence of social problems in the school.

NoEXPAGGM is a continuous school-level variable that we obtained by aggregating at the school level students' responses to five items reporting the frequency with which they have experienced physical and verbal aggression at school (e.g.: *someone in your school hit, slapped, kicked, pushed or pinched you/someone rejected you and did not allow you to join the group*) (reversed). Higher values reflect schools that are safer.

STUTRELM is a continuous school-level variable that was obtained by aggregating at the school level students´ mean responses to five items in which they rate their level of agreement of disagreement with statements about the quality of student-teacher relationships at school (e.g.: *most teachers treat me fairly/students get along with most teachers*). Higher values reflect more positive perceptions of student-teachers relationships.

Civic learning opportunities. Variables were included in the analysis because they represent the interactive civic learning experiences that the literature suggests can have an effect on students' civic competencies. All civic learning opportunities variables were standardized to have an international mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10:

OPDISCM is a continuous school-level variable, which was obtained by aggregating at the school level students responses to six items in which they rate their level of agreement of disagreement with statements about their perceptions of the degree to which their classroom is an environment open to discussions (e.g.: *teachers encourage students to express their opinions/ teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with the people having different opinions*). Higher values on this scale reflect group-level perceptions of classrooms that are more open to discuss political and social issues.

SCHDISCM is a continuous school-level variable that reflects the mean of nine items in which students rate the frequency of discussions about civic issues at school (e.g.: *Rights and duties citizens assume when they become adults/Consequences of consuming illegal drugs/Integration of people with different cultural backgrounds into the school, neighborhood or community*).

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*Table 3. Cronbach's alpha, means and standard deviations of
predictors for high and low SES students*

Country	Dimension	Variable	Cronbach ±*	High NISB				Low NISB			
				Mean	s.e.	Std. Dev.	s.e.	Mean	s.e.	Std. Dev.	s.e.
Chile	Student/ family background	SGENDER	-	0.53	0.03	0.50	0.00	0.54	0.02	0.50	0.00
		NORMAGE	-	0.97	0.01	0.16	0.02	0.91	0.01	0.29	0.02
		PARINT	-	2.05	0.03	0.77	0.01	1.47	0.03	0.80	0.02
		IS2G13A	-	2.31	0.04	1.11	0.02	1.77	0.04	1.01	0.03
	School Resources	SchoolNISB	0.64	0.85	0.05	0.64	0.04	-0.62	0.05	0.39	0.03
		PRIVATE	-	0.80	0.03	0.40	0.02	0.21	0.05	0.41	0.04
		SCHLSIZE	-	983.37	55.05	610.53	62.06	513.91	36.93	371.14	26.27
		CSTRATIO	-	22.90	1.80	22.55	8.34	32.68	9.55	48.81	17.42
		RESCOM	0.82	52.37	1.27	9.40	0.49	43.34	0.90	8.58	0.61
	School Climate	CSTUDBEH	0.85	52.34	1.44	11.68	1.57	46.76	1.32	11.27	1.48
		EXPAGMrev	0.77	-51.04	0.59	3.99	0.40	-48.12	0.32	2.86	0.21
		SCSCPRrev	0.87	-46.36	1.38	12.08	1.27	-51.18	1.67	13.07	1.11
		STUTRELM	0.76	50.79	0.47	3.91	0.38	52.63	0.57	4.34	0.36
		OPDISCM	0.76	53.50	0.51	3.64	0.45	51.57	0.41	3.37	0.31
	Civic Learning Opportunities	SCHDISCM	0.85	49.81	0.34	2.84	0.19	50.69	0.44	3.57	0.65
		PARTSCHLM	0.62	52.38	0.28	2.37	0.18	52.00	0.37	3.14	0.28
		SCSTUDOP	0.79	47.54	1.13	8.93	0.80	45.95	1.23	8.57	1.08
Colombia	Student/ family background	SGENDER	-	0.46	0.05	0.50	0.00	0.59	0.02	0.49	0.00
		NORMAGE	-	0.92	0.01	0.27	0.02	0.74	0.02	0.44	0.01
		PARINT	-	2.08	0.04	0.82	0.02	1.57	0.04	0.93	0.02
		IS2G13A	-	2.16	0.06	1.10	0.03	1.81	0.05	1.00	0.03
	School Resources	SchoolNISB	0.61	0.63	0.09	0.62	0.06	-0.44	0.03	0.43	0.02
		PRIVATE	-	0.53	0.06	0.50	0.00	0.08	0.03	0.26	0.05
		SCHLSIZE	-	1485.08	97.59	1117.09	74.87	1442.22	96.37	1163.52	95.46
		CSTRATIO	-	30.33	3.52	40.65	12.55	32.15	2.46	35.12	11.01
		RESCOM	0.80	50.15	1.06	9.32	0.55	42.64	0.70	8.17	0.55
	School Climate	CSTUDBEH	0.78	48.83	1.16	11.59	1.18	45.79	1.39	11.84	0.97
		EXPAGMrev	0.78	-50.35	0.63	4.27	0.58	-50.37	0.31	2.95	0.28
		SCSCPRrev	0.78	-49.80	1.24	10.48	0.59	-54.62	1.06	9.03	0.74
		STUTRELM	0.74	52.29	0.68	4.49	0.62	55.68	0.32	3.82	0.36
		OPDISCM	0.65	51.62	0.48	3.42	0.30	49.10	0.30	3.20	0.38
	Civic Learning Opportunities	SCHDISCM	0.85	50.40	0.62	4.23	0.74	50.65	0.47	3.90	0.58
		PARTSCHLM	0.63	53.94	0.41	3.14	0.23	52.86	0.32	2.94	0.17
		SCSTUDOP	0.80	50.63	1.31	9.81	1.08	47.41	0.94	9.10	1.06
Mexico	Student/ family background	SGENDER	-	0.50	0.02	0.50	0.00	0.55	0.02	0.50	0.00
		NORMAGE	-	0.99	0.00	0.09	0.02	0.93	0.02	0.26	0.03
		PARINT	-	1.93	0.04	0.88	0.02	1.40	0.04	0.90	0.02
		IS2G13A	-	1.81	0.03	1.00	0.02	1.57	0.03	0.85	0.03
	School Resources	SchoolNISB	0.63	0.67	0.08	0.61	0.05	-0.58	0.05	0.48	0.02
		PRIVATE	-	0.31	0.05	0.46	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.03
		SCHLSIZE	-	568.33	38.80	400.95	33.22	335.32	29.29	354.95	26.68
		CSTRATIO	-	16.87	0.80	7.76	0.63	21.18	0.88	7.65	0.54
		RESCOM	0.83	55.57	1.20	8.87	0.48	43.82	0.79	8.39	0.54
	School Climate	CSTUDBEH	0.81	47.84	1.34	11.90	1.06	48.56	1.06	11.94	1.04
		EXPAGMrev	0.79	-49.18	0.50	2.64	0.17	-49.52	0.39	2.87	0.18
		SCSCPRrev	0.82	-50.29	1.31	12.43	0.77	-51.47	1.60	13.11	1.19
		STUTRELM	0.74	52.44	0.42	3.06	0.22	54.10	0.46	3.38	0.27
		OPDISCM	0.71	50.87	0.40	3.14	0.23	49.43	0.36	3.03	0.19
	Civic Learning Opportunities	SCHDISCM	0.85	50.55	0.44	2.94	0.22	48.78	0.24	2.64	0.25
		PARTSCHLM	0.66	49.24	0.36	2.71	0.25	50.80	0.31	3.23	0.23
		SCSTUDOP	0.81	52.51	1.08	9.55	0.77	51.22	1.49	11.05	1.16

(Note: All variables within the school climate and civic learning opportunities dimension were standardized around an international mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. SGENDER= Gender; NORMAGE= Normative Age; PARINT= Parental interest in political and social issues; IS2G13A=Frequency with which students talks with parents about political issues; CSTUDBEH=Student behavior; SchoolNISB=School SES; SCHLSIZE=School Size; CSTRATIO= Student-teacher ratio; RESCOM= Resources available in the community; CSTUDBEH= Students' behavior at school; NoSCSPROB= Social problems at school (inversed); NoExpagg= School safety; STUTRELm=Quality of student teacher relationships; OPDISCM=Open classroom for discussions; SCHDISCM=Frequency of discussions about social and civic issues; PARTSCHLm= Participation in civic activities; SCSTUDOP=Opportunities to participate in community activities)

Higher scores on this variable reflect higher frequency of discussions about civic issues at school.

SCSTUDOP is a continuous school-level variable that reflects the mean of seven items in which principals report how many students have had the opportunity to participate in community activities (*Activities related to the environment, geared to the local area/human rights projects/Activities related to underprivileged people/Cultural activities/Campaigns to raise awareness*). High scores on this variable come from principals who report that children have had many opportunities to participate in different community activities.

PARTSCHM is a school-level variable, which we obtained by aggregating at the school level students' responses to six items in which they report whether they have participated in civic activities at school (e.g.: *Voluntary participation in school-based music or dram activities outside of regular lessons/Active participation in a debate/Voting for class representative or school parliament/ Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run*). High scores on this variable reflect higher levels of civic participation in school.

Analytic Strategy

We used the IDB analyzer software (IEA, 2015) for the analysis, an application developed by the IEA to combine and analyze data from international large-scale assessments. The IDB analyzer generates SPSS code that takes into account both the complex sample and the complex assessment design of the ICCS, using sampling weights and replicate weights, as well as five plausible values for the estimates of students' civic knowledge.

In order to identify the existence and magnitude of civic competence gaps dividing Chilean, Colombian and Mexican youth along SES lines along different dimensions of performance, we obtained unadjusted, unconditional models for different outcomes related to students' civic competence and identified gaps between students of low and high SES backgrounds. We conducted separate analysis for each country because the sampling weights in the ICCS that account for the complex sampling design of the data can only be used within countries. A typical model of the regression conducted for each country_*k* is given:

$$\text{Outcome}_{ijk} = \beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k}\text{NISB}_{ijk} + \epsilon_{ijk} \tag{1}$$

In this model, *Outcome* is one of a number of variables, including a performance-based outcome (civic knowledge, standardized around a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100) and a set of self-reported outcomes related to students' civic attitudes and identity (sense of internal political efficacy, expected adult electoral participation, attitudes towards authoritarianism, corruption in the government, expected participation in legal and illegal protests, attitudes toward breaking the law

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and civil disobedience, all of which have been standardized around a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10). Parameter β_{0k} is the population intercept, the estimated outcome when SES (NISB) is at the within country mean, and slope parameter B_{1k} represents the population slope of the question predictor –socio-economic status, NISB, a variable that was standardized within each country (mean=0, standard deviation=1). The parameter of interest is β_{1k}. If the estimated values of this parameter are positive and statistically significant in the regression models using CIVICKNOW, INPOLEF, ELECTPART, LEGPROT, ILLPROT, CIVDIS as outcomes, we will be able to conclude that children in high SES have higher civic knowledge, higher sense of political efficacy, higher intention to participate in electoral processes, legal and illegal protests and civil disobedience than children in low SES. If the estimated values for this parameter are negative and statistically significant in the regressions for AUTGOV, ATTCORR and DISLAW, we will be able to conclude that children in high SES have lower supportive attitudes toward authoritarianism, corruption in the government and toward breaking the law, than students from low SES backgrounds.

In order to answer the second research question, we used regressions that adjusts the gap in civic knowledge after accounting for various family background and school level variables. We compare the unadjusted coefficient on NISB to the adjusted coefficient incorporating other sets of covariates. For each national sample, we created a taxonomy of models for civic knowledge in which we progressively include individual/family background characteristics, then school resources, then school climate and then civic learning opportunities. Separate analyses for each country were necessary because the IEA conducted sampling procedures for the ICCS within each country and weights are to be used within national samples. To conduct the analysis, we used the following formula:

$$CK_{ijk} = \beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k}\,NISB + \beta_{2k}\,IndFam_{ijk} + \beta_{3k}\,SchRes_{jk} + \beta_{4k}\,SchClimate_{jk} + \beta_{5k}\,SchCivLearnOpp_{jk} + \varepsilon_{ijk} \qquad (2)$$

where CK is the standardized score obtained by a student in the ICCS civic knowledge test. IndFam is a vector of individual/family characteristics, including Age_{ij}, $Gender_{ij}$, $PARTINT_{ij}$ and $I2SG13A_{ij}$. SchRes is a vector of school-level characteristics, including $SchoolSES_j$, $Private_j$, $SCHSIZE_j$, $CSTRATIO_j$, and $RESCOM_j$. SchClimate is a vector of school-level variables that reflect the climate of a school, including $SCHPROBR_j$, $CSTUDBEHR_j$, $EXPAGGMR_j$, and $STUTRELM_j$. SchCivLearnOpp includes a vector of school-level variables related to the opportunities for learning provided by the school, including $OPDDISCM_j$, $SCHDISCM_j$, $SCSTUDOP_j$, and $PARTCHLM_j$. The parameter of interest is β_{1k}. If the estimated values of this parameter are positive and statistically significant in the regression models, we will be able to conclude that children in high SES backgrounds have higher civic knowledge than children in low SES backgrounds after controlling for school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities.

RESULTS

With regard to the first question, the analysis of the data shows the existence of significant civic competence gaps dividing students of high and low SES backgrounds in all three countries. *Table 4* presents uncontrolled regression models that contain the means and standard deviations for each civic outcome, the main effects of SES and associated effect sizes in each country. Given that SES (NISB) has been centered around its mean within each country, the intercept can be interpreted as the average civic knowledge of a student from a medium SES background within each country.

Using unadjusted regression models to identify the effect of SES on the civic competence of Chilean, Colombian and Mexican students, we find that:

Students from high SES backgrounds in the three countries exhibit significantly higher levels of civic knowledge than their low SES counterparts, with statistically significant differences in the range of .29 and .40 standard deviations (p<.001). Chilean students exhibited the highest level of civic

Table 4. Intercept, coefficients, standard errors and effect sizes of socio-economic status (NISB) on students' civic outcomes in Chile (n=5192), Colombia (n=6204) and Mexico (n=6576)

Outcome	Intercept			SES Slope (SE)			SES Effect Size		
	Chile	Colombia	Mexico	Chile	Colombia	Mexico	Chile	Colombia	Mexico
Civic Knowledge	483.21	461.92	451.78	35.34*** (2.33)	23.21*** (1.8)	24.93*** (2.07)	0.4	0.29	0.3
Sense of Internal Political Efficacy	51.35	52.31	51.9	0.96*** (.19)	0.42*** (.13)	0.40*** (.14)	0.1	0.05	0.04
Expected Adult Electoral Participation	49.83	53.65	53.02	1.16*** (.24)	0.56*** (.15)	0.90*** (.15)	0.09	0.06	0.1
Expected Participation in Legal Protests	53.67	54.94	53.09	0.69*** (.2)	0.23 (.14)	0.43** (.18)	0.06	0.03	0.04
Expected Participation in Illegal Protests	52.57	49.87	51.72	-0.90*** (.19)	-0.39** (.18)	-0.50** (.17)	-0.09	-0.04	-0.05
Attitudes toward Corruption	48.62	48.18	49.16	-2.02*** (.2)	-0.99*** (.18)	-1.61*** (.25)	-0.19	-0.11	-0.15
Attitudes toward Authoritarianism	47.98	48.5	48.96	-2.53*** (.2)	-1.39*** (.19)	-1.88*** (.29)	-0.24	-0.15	-0.17
Attitudes toward Disobeying the Law	49.23	48.72	49.22	-1.97*** (.21)	-1.0*** (.18)	-0.96*** (.19)	-0.18	-0.1	0.1
Attitudes toward Civil Disobedience	48.93	50.43	49.87 (9.96)	.34 (.18)	.22 (.15)	-.06 (.13)	0.03	0.02	-0.01

Note: The intercept can be interpreted as the average civic knowledge socre of a student in medium SES within each country because NISB has been centered around its mean within each national sample.
Socioeconomic (SES) slope is defined as the estimated difference in the outcome for a X unit change in the NISB indicator
SES effect size is defined as the slope divided by the standard deviation of the outcome.

knowledge (mean=483), but also the largest gap between high and low SES students (.40 sd). Colombian students exhibited the lowest civic knowledge (mean=457), but also the smallest performance gap between high and low SES students (.29 sd).

Students from high SES backgrounds in the three countries also exhibited significantly higher levels of civic values and identities that are consistent with personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented approaches to citizenship: higher sense of internal political efficacy, higher expectation to participate in politics, more positive attitudes toward participation in legal protests but more negative attitudes toward participation in illegal protests, more negative attitudes toward authoritarianism and corruption in the government and toward breaking the law. We did not find any differences in the attitudes between high and low SES students toward civil disobedience. The observed gaps in the civic values and identifies of students from high and low SES backgrounds are small -ranging from .04 to .24 standard deviations, and statistically significant (p<.001).

Overall, Chile exhibits significantly larger civic competence gaps in all outcomes than those observed in Colombia and Mexico. Chile exhibits the highest levels of civic knowledge but the lowest levels of civic attitudes. By contrast, Colombia exhibits the lowest levels of civic knowledge, but the highest levels of competence in civic attitudes and the smallest gaps in performance.

Regression Results: A Taxonomy of Models for the Relationship of Civic Knowledge and SES

Given that civic knowledge was the largest gap we observed in the three countries between students of high and low SES backgrounds, we conducted further analyses to identify the characteristics that account for this specific outcome. To identify the relationship that exists between students' civic knowledge and their SES in Chile, Colombia and Mexico, we used regressions that controlled for a set of individual/ family background and school characteristics, and accounted for the complex sampling and assessment design of the data. In what follows, we present five selected examples from the taxonomy of fitted models we estimated using regression analysis. In *Model 1*, we present an uncontrolled model that contains the main effect of NISB on students' civic knowledge. In Model 2, we add four individual-level covariates that reflect individual and family characteristics ($gender_{ij}$, $NormAge_{ij}$, $PARINT_{ij}$, and $IS2G113a_{ij}$). In Model 3, we add four school-level covariates that reflect the resources of a school ($Private_j$, $SchoolSES_j$, $SCHLSIZE_j$, $CSTRATIO_j$ and $RESCOM_j$). In Model 4, we add four school-level variables reflecting characteristics of the school climate ($NoSCSCPR_j$, $CSTUDBEH_j$, $NoEXPAGG_j$, and $STUTREL_j$). In Model 5, we

add four school-level variables, reflecting the civic learning opportunities at school (OPDISCm$_j$, SCHDISCm$_j$, SCSTUDOP$_j$, and PARTSCHLm$_j$). Below, we interpret the effects of these variables on students' civic knowledge substantively.

The unadjusted civic knowledge gap (see Model 1) shows that every additional unit in the SES (NISB) scale is associated with a positive and statistically significant difference of 32.34 points in the civic knowledge scale in Chile (p<.01), 23.22 points in Colombia (p<.01) and 24.39 points in Mexico (p<.01). After controlling for individual and family characteristics (see Model 2), we observe that in all countries, SES continues to have a small, positive and statistically significant effect on students' civic knowledge. The changes we observe in the effect of SES (NISB) on students' civic knowledge between Model 1 and Model 2 are of approximately 3 points in Chile and Colombia and half a point in Mexico. Once we account for school resources (see Model 3), we observe that every additional unit in the NISB scale is associated with a positive difference in the civic knowledge scale of 11.07 points in Chile (p<.01), 7.80 points in Colombia (p<.01) and 9.22 points in Mexico (p<.01). The drop in the coefficients is pronounced when compared to the previous models. Specifically, in comparison to Model 2, the NISB coefficient decreases in Model 3 by approximately 21 points in Chile, 12 points in Colombia and 15 points in Mexico.

After controlling for school climate variables (see Model 4) and civic learning opportunities (Model 5), we observe very small changes in the NISB coefficient, beyond what we had already seen in Model 3. In our final model (see Model 5), which accounts for individual/family characteristics, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities, we observe that every additional unit in the NISB scale is associated with small, positive and statistically significant differences in the civic knowledge scale of 11.24 points in Chile (p<.01), 8.06 points in Colombia (p<.01) and 9.35 points in Mexico. Figure 1 illustrates the fitted values of the effect of NISB on students' civic knowledge, after adjusting for individual/family characteristics (Model 1), school resources (Model 2), school climate (Model 3) and civic learning opportunities (Model 4). In all models, predictors are centered on their sample means, to make the intercept easily interpretable as the estimated civic knowledge of a 14 year old male of average SES, attending a public school, with average school resources, average school climate characteristics, and average civic learning opportunities, within each participant country. Note how the effect of SES (NISB) changes in size across fitted models, but continue to display a statistically significant effect on students' civic knowledge, throughout. Note also the pronounced drop that occurs in the coefficients of the three countries in Model 3, which suggests that the resources of a school explain great part of the variation that we observe in the civic knowledge of students from high and low SES backgrounds. Including further variables related to the school climate and civic learning opportunities of the school lead to minimal drops in the observed gaps in civic knowledge.
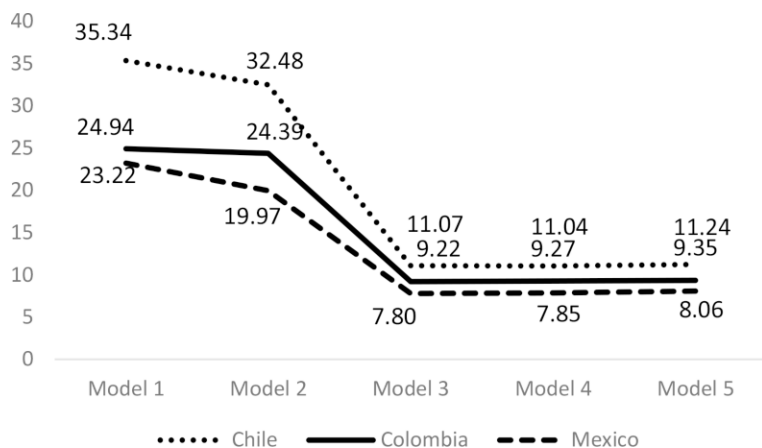
Figure 1. Changes in the NISB (National indicator of Socio-Economic Status)
Coefficient by Regression Model.
(Note: Model 1 accounts for the effect of NISB. Model 2 adds controls for student
background characteristics. Model 3 adds controls for school resources. Model 4 adds
controls for school climate. Model 5 adds controls for civic learning opportunities.)

Based on the 5th model, which controls for family background, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities, we observe that:

After controlling for family background, school climate, school civic learning opportunities, we find that the SES of a school, the size of the school, the student/teacher ratio and whether the school is private or public has different effects on the civic knowledge of students from Colombia, Chile and Mexico. The SES of a school has a medium, positive and statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of students from Chile and Mexico, a no effect on the civic knowledge of Colombian students. Specifically, every additional unit in the School SES scale (NISBm) is associated with a positive difference of 31.61 points in the civic knowledge of Chilean students (p<.01), and 30.69 points in the civic knowledge of Mexican students (p<.01), but it does not have a statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of Colombia students. Being in a private school does not have an effect on the civic knowledge of students from Chile or Colombia, but it has a medium, positive, and statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of students in Mexico. Specifically, Mexican students in private school obtain 25.09 points more in the civic knowledge scale than Mexican students in public schools (p<.05).

After controlling for family background, school resources and civic learning opportunities, we find that school climate variables such as the incidence of social problems, student behavior and school safety, do not have a statistically

significant effect on the civic knowledge of students from any SES backgrounds in any of the three national samples considered in the analysis. The existence of positive student-teacher relationships has small, negative and statistically significant effects on the civic knowledge of students in Colombia: Specifically, we observe that in Colombia, every additional unit in the STUTRELm scale is associated with civic knowledge scores that are lower by 3.25 points (p<.01).

After controlling for family background, school resources and school climate variables, we find that civic learning opportunities such as an open classroom for discussion has small, positive and statistically significant effects on the civic knowledge of students from Chile, Colombia and Mexico: Every additional point in the OPDISCm scale is associated with civic knowledge scores that are 2.50 points higher for Chilean students (p<.05), 1.90 points higher for Colombian students (p<.05), and 3.75 points higher for Mexican students (p<.01). Other variables have differential effects on students from different countries: The frequency with which students have discussions about civic issues at school doesn't have an effect on Chilean or Colombian students, but it has a small, positive and statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of students from Mexico. Students' participation in civic activities at school has a small, positive and statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of Colombia students, but no effect on Chilean or Mexican students. Finally, the opportunities students have to participate in community activities does not have an effect on the civic knowledge of students from Chile, Colombia or Mexico.

DISCUSSION

We used data from the 2009 ICCS to document the existence and magnitude of civic competence gaps between students from high and low SES backgrounds in traditional and non-traditional dimensions of civic learning. Based on Carretero et al. (2016) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004) we defined civic competence as having the knowledge, civic attitudes, civic identities and civic skills that young people need to live as personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizens in democratic societies. Inherent to this definition is a vision of civic education that moves away from an exclusive focus on civic knowledge to one that embraces other dimensions of civic performance that are equally important in democratic societies (Carretero et al., 2016; Jaramillo & Mesa, 2009; MEN, 2004; Patty & Cepeda, 2007; Reimers & Villegas, 2006; Spencer Foundation, 2009). We took advantage of measures included in the 2009 ICCS dataset to explore civic competence gaps of students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico as related to two dimensions of civic learning: (1) Civic knowledge and understanding, as captured by the International Scale of Civic Knowledge, (2) Civic values and identities, as captured by measures of internal sense of political efficacy, expected participation in future electoral processes and future legal and illegal protests, attitudes toward disobeying the law,

Table 5. Taxonomy of Models for the Relationship of Individual/family Background Characteristics, School Resources, School Climate and Civic Learning Opportunities with the Civic Knowledge of Students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico

Variables		Chile					Colombia					Mexico				
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	Constant	483.21** (2.79)	413.20** (-9.22)	414.72** (16.95)	303.61** (51.67)	136.90 (87.02)	461.92** (2.63)	422.96** (6.17)	380.12** (16.24)	410.40** (54.52)	229.82** (56.32)	451.78** (2.35)	396.96** (7.42)	421.12** (21.02)	261.80** (66.46)	120.33 (93.39)
Individual / Family Characteristics	NISB	35.34*** (2.33)	32.48** (2.3)	11.07** (2.02)	11.04** (2.05)	11.24** (2.05)	23.22*** (1.8)	19.97*** (1.86)	7.80*** (1.95)	7.85*** (1.98)	8.06*** (2.03)	24.94*** (2.07)	24.39*** (1.94)	9.22*** (1.38)	9.27*** (1.4)	9.35*** (1.41)
	NormAGE		47.51** (7.49)	41.77** (8.07)	37.50** (8.14)	32.84** (7.5)		37.56** (4.6)	33.35** (5.04)	33.54** (4.92)	32.81** (4.56)		41.36** (7.56)	37.64** (8.17)	35.64** (7.86)	34.46** (7.46)
	Gender		12.20** (3.84)	10.63** (3.2)	8.88** (3.01)	7.88** (3.02)		4.33 (3.5)	8.34* (3.38)	7.46* (3.27)	5.59 (3.14)		26.02** (2.24)	22.24** (2.31)	22.12** (2.28)	21.40** (2.35)
	IS2G113a		10.68** (1.21)	10.69** (1.32)	10.21** (1.34)	9.02** (1.31)		2.65* (1.22)	3.32* (1.39)	3.37 (1.43)	2.53 (1.4)		5.74** (1.69)	5.25** (1.94)	5.21** (1.94)	4.25* (1.87)
	PARINT		-0.27 (1.74) ()	0.44 (1.68)	0.66 (1.62)	0.54 (1.57)		2.76 (1.55)	2.24 (1.64)	2.39 (1.66)	1.53 (1.57)		-0.47 (1.65)	-5.69** (1.63)	-5.59** (1.66)	-5.56** (1.6)
School Resources	NISBM			37.22** (4.5)	35.02** (5.35)	31.61** (4.85)			21.04** (6.59)	17.55** (6.44)	6.28 (6.72)			41.88** (7.24)	44.77** (7.75)	30.69** (7.32)
	PRIVATE			-1.74** (5.36)	-6.63 (5.28)	-8.29 (4.9)			23.83** (7.69)	19.82** (7.61)	13.14 (7.63)			20.69 (11.42)	21.93 (11.42)	25.09* (10.69)
	SCHLSIZE			0.02** (.)	0.02** (.)	0.01** (.)			0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)			0.00 (.01)	0.00 (.01)	0.01 (.01)
	CSTRATIO			-0.09 (.05)	-0.08 (.05)	-0.13** (.05)			-0.12 (.14)	-0.10 (.14)	-0.10 (.1)			0.18 (.43)	0.16 (.43)	-0.05 (.42)
	RESCOM			-0.10 (1.39)	0.02 (.31)	0.17 (.34)			0.78* (.02)	0.60 (.31)	0.69** (.24)			-0.44 (2.39)	-0.49 (.32)	-0.44 (.34)
School Climate	NOSCSCPR				0.30 (.2)	0.20 (.18)				0.15 (.25)	0.13 (.22)				-0.26 (.21)	-0.23 (.23)
	CSTUDBEH				0.30 (.2)	0.20 (.18)				0.46* (.2)	0.32 (.19)				0.25 (.21)	0.16 (.19)
	NOEXPAGM				-1.33 (.85)	-0.80 (.86)				-0.95 (.83)	-0.41 (.03)				-1.09 (1.07)	-1.58 (.95)
	STUTRELM				0.91 (.64)	-0.65 (.57)				-1.51* (.73)	-3.25** (.74)				1.61 (1.14)	-0.86 (1.05)
Civic Learning Opportunities	OPDISCM					2.50* (1.08)					1.90* (.82)					3.75** (1.21)
	SCHDISCM					0.75 (1.38)					0.93 (.84)					2.18* (1.)
	SCSTUDOP					0.73 (.41)					0.26 (.26)					-0.10 (.32)
	PARTSCHLM					1.47 (.93)					2.92* (1.32)					-0.70 (1.04)
R-Square		0.16	0.2	0.26	0.27	0.3	0.08	0.11	0.19	0.20	0.22	0.09	0.13	0.2	0.21	0.23

attitudes toward corruption, attitudes toward authoritarianism in the government, and civil disobedience. We do not document civic competence gaps as related to civic skills and civic actions because the ICCS did not include performance-based measures to capture constructs related to these dimensions of civic competence.

The Civic Competence Gaps in Chile, Colombia and Mexico

Findings indicate that students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico exhibit civic knowledge gaps along the lines of their SES backgrounds that favor high SES students, in ways that are consistent with observations from researchers and scholars in the United States (American Political Task Force, 2004; Levinson, 2010). Specifically, high SES students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico exhibit significantly higher levels of civic knowledge than students from low SES backgrounds, which suggests that they understand better the processes underlying different forms of social and political organization and influence, and the legal and institutional mechanisms that control them. Given that to make informed decision about civic and social issues citizens need to be knowledgeable about political structures and processes (Selman & Kwok, 2010), high SES students will be more able to participate actively, exercise power and protect their interests in the political system than their low SES counterparts (Levinson, 2010).

Additionally, we document civic competence gaps in other dimensions of competence, related to students' civic attitudes and identities (Carretero et al., 2016). We expected that students from high SES backgrounds would be more likely than their low SES counterparts to exhibit the characteristics of the personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Personally responsible citizens have a positive orientation toward serving and helping others, following the rules and keeping harmony and safety in the community (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Results show that high SES students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico exhibit characteristics that are more consistent with this orientation than low SES students, such as lower supportive attitudes toward disobeying the law and lower expectations to engage in unlawful practices such as illegal protests. Low SES students in these countries are more likely to engage in practices that are less consistent with the personally-responsible orientation to citizenship, such as breaking the law and participating in illegal protests.

Participatory citizens get involved in national, state and local affairs and take active part in democratic processes to have an influence in society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Results indicate that high SES students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico exhibit characteristics that are more consistent with participatory orientations to citizenship than their low SES counterparts, such as having a higher sense of internal political efficacy and higher intentions to participate in future electoral processes. Having a stronger internal sense of political efficacy and feeling good about their ability to understand politics and act politically will help students from high SES backgrounds become more engaged and participate more actively

in political processes (Balch, 1974; Converse, 1972; Verba et al., 1995). Their higher positive attitude toward future participation in electoral processes will help them increase their political power because voting is the most direct way by which citizens can affect the implementation of policies and the selection of the people who make the policies (Verba et al., 1995). By contrast, the lower internal sense of political efficacy and lower interest to participate in future electoral processes will put low SES students at risk of not having a voice and of not being able to influence in political processes.

Justice-oriented citizens take a critical stand about the uses and abuses of power and the actions needed to transform society in ways that eliminate inequality and injustice (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Results show that students from high SES backgrounds in Chile, Colombia and Mexico exhibit characteristics that are more consistent with a justice orientation to citizenship than students from low SES backgrounds. In fact they are more likely to see themselves as participating in future legal protests to express disagreement with the things they consider unfair, and they expressed greater disagreement with practices of corruption and authoritarianism in the government than students from low SES backgrounds. These results indicate that while high SES students in Chile, Colombia and Mexico are better equipped to challenge injustices and resist undemocratic practices and abuses of power, low SES students may be at risk of failing to protect democratic values and of remaining indifferent to the issues of social justice that negatively affect their wellbeing and society. And given that low SES students typically have less access to positions of power, they further undermine their influence in society by endorsing practices of authoritarianism and corruption in the government.

Interestingly, findings did not show differences between high and low SES students in their attitudes toward civil disobedience. And yet, civil disobedience is a powerful way to resist and challenge unfair social systems and to raise awareness and transform society. The lack of differences between high and low SES students' attitudes toward civil disobedience contrasts with the marked divide we observed in relationship to their attitudes toward breaking the law -the key difference between these outcomes being that while the former reflects an interest in disobeying the law as the last resort to transform unfair social systems in non-violent ways for the benefit of the public, the latter reflects a variety of motivations, including self-serving ones, which do not aim to resist injustices and transform social structures and are not necessarily used as a last resort. In this regard, civil disobedience can be seen as a sophisticated way to exercise citizenship, because it combines the qualities of the personally-responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizens as it's an attitude where people aim to use non-violent mechanisms of participation to challenge unfair laws for the benefit of the larger society. The lack of differences between students of high and low SES backgrounds signals an absence of a culture of civil disobedience among young people in the participant countries. This is, however, a complex issue that deserves further investigation in order to identify the real causes.

The differences in the civic knowledge, civic attitudes and civic identities that we find between students from high and low SES backgrounds in Chile, Colombia and Mexico reinforce the power and privileges that high SES youth already have, and undermine the future opportunities that low SES students will have in society. In fact, their lower civic knowledge and less democratic attitudes and civic identities put them at risk of making decisions that are not well informed, breaking the law, disengaging from civic and political participation, and becoming indifferent to undemocratic practices that are detrimental to social justice and society. Findings show that in the three countries, the civic knowledge gaps between students from different SES backgrounds are significantly larger than the gaps in their civic attitudes and identities. Differences in the size of the gaps may be due to the fact that the ICCS uses a performance-based measure to capture civic knowledge, but self-reports to capture civic identities and attitudes, and the latter are known to be subject to social desirability bias. Future studies should aim to document civic competence gaps in all dimensions of civic learning using performance-based measures as opposed to self-reports.

Comparatively speaking, findings suggest that despite the fact that Colombians showed the lowest levels of civic knowledge among students from the three countries, they also exhibited the highest levels of democratic attitudes and expected behaviors and the smallest performance gaps between high and low SES students in all outcomes. By contrast, Chilean students exhibited the highest level of civic knowledge, but also, the lowest levels of civic attitudes and behaviors and the largest gaps between high and low SES students in all dimensions of performance. Mexican students exhibited similar patterns than Colombians, but with lower levels of performance. These findings may be the result of the different approaches to civic education that have been adopted by these countries. While Colombia and Mexico have given high priority to civic education using national policies that are consistent with the New Civics, which emphasize the adoption of bottom-up approaches that move away from a sole focus on transmitting knowledge to the development of civic attitudes, skills and behaviors (Cox et al., 2005; Patty & Cepeda, 2005, Spencer Foundation, 2010), Chile has given it medium priority and allows schools to design their own civic education programs without national guidance, allowing for the existence of great variability in the approaches used by schools with different resources. This lack of national guidance may further reinforce the education inequities that already exist in the education system in Chile, resulting in the large gaps that we observed between high and low SES students in all the civic outcomes that we considered in the analysis. In fact, when countries do not suffer from high levels of inequality, allowing schools to choose their own approaches to civic education may benefit students as school can focus on the areas that best fit the needs of the students given their specific context. However, when inequity is high, the lack of national policies and supports may contribute to the reproduction and reinforcement of inequality. In this regard, researchers have documented that the use of vouchers and highly selective practices of admission in Chilean schools have negatively impacted the

education outcomes of students from low SES backgrounds because they have led to increased socioeconomic segregation (Elacqua & Santos, 2013; Flores & Carrasco, 2013; Valenzuela et al., 2013), and therefore, have reduced the access that low SES students have to the learning supports that are available to privileged students and the benefits they would obtain otherwise from interacting with privileged peers who have the social, cultural and political capital valued by democratic societies. In the context of high inequality that exists within the education system in Chile, a policy of civic and citizenship education that asks schools to develop their own plans can result in more inequality, as schools serving low SES students are likely to end up implementing traditional top-down approaches that emphasize the acquisition of facts, while schools serving high SES students may be more likely to implement bottom-up approaches with interactive methods of civic learning, which give equal importance to the development of democratic attitudes, and civic skills and behaviors (Carretero et al., 2016).

The Factors That Are Associated with the Civic Knowledge Gap

Given that the civic knowledge gaps observed in Chile, Colombia and Mexico were between two and six times the size of the gaps in the civic attitude outcomes that we considered, we conducted to focus further analysis on civic knowledge to identify the degree to which differences in school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities account for the civic knowledge gaps in these countries. A review of research literature showed that school resources (Borman & Kimball, 2005; Levine & Marcus, 2007; OECD, 2014; Orfield, 2000; Reimers, 2006; Rossetti, 2014; Rothstein, 2004), school climate (Becker & Luthar, 2002; Claes, Hooghe, & Resskens, 2009; Diazgranados, 2015; Diazgranados & Noonan, 2014; Diazgranados et al., 2012; Diazgranados & Selman, 2014; Treviño et al., 2010) and civic learning opportunities (CIRCLE & Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2003; Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002) have an effect on outcomes associated to students' civic competence, and that these learning supports are not distributed equally among students of different SES backgrounds. We identified variables in the 2009 ICCS dataset that could be used to operationalize school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities, and examined how including those variables in our models decreased the civic knowledge gaps that we observed between students of high and low SES backgrounds in the participant countries. Specifically, we used regression analysis that accounted for the complex nature of the data, to identify the association that exists between civic knowledge and SES, after holding other individual/family and school-level variables constant.

Results show that after controlling for individual/family characteristics, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities-, SES continues to have a small, positive and statistically significant effect on students' civic knowledge in Chile, Colombia and Mexico. We also observe that accounting for school resources

leads to a pronounced drop in the effect of SES on students' civic knowledge in the three countries, and that adding additional controls related to school climate and civic learning opportunities lead to very small reductions in the effect that the SES background has on students' civic knowledge, beyond what we had already seen after accounting for school resources. It is worth noting that in our models, the school SES – which reflects the average SES of all the students in the school- is the variable that drives the observed drop in the effect of SES on students' civic knowledge in Chile, Colombia and Mexico. This is consistent with studies showing that socioeconomic segregation in Latin America is one of the key factors that account for differences in academic and civic competence in the region (Rosseti, 2014; Valenzuela, Bellei, & De los Ríos, 2013; Valenzuela et al., 2013). In this regard, socio-economic segregation may affect students' civic knowledge – and other civic competencies – by creating different peer effects and exposing students to different quality of school inputs. Scholars think that socioeconomic segregation is not inherently bad, as long as education systems provide students from all SES backgrounds with a high quality education. However, some scholars think that socioeconomically segregated schools often suffer from a variety of challenges that negatively affect students, such as less resources, more negative school climates, less interactive civic education opportunities, and other problems such as higher teacher rotation and difficulties attracting high quality teachers (Hanushek, Kain, & Rivkin, 2004). Other scholars think that socioeconomic segregation is inherently negative for civic competence because it concentrates social and cultural capital in schools serving high SES students, preventing low SES students from benefiting from the peer and spill-over effects that take place in integrated environments. By reducing opportunities for interaction between students of different SES backgrounds, low SES students cannot benefit from being socialized in the culture of civic engagement and civic empowerment that students from affluent families with richer civic learning experiences create in schools (Kahlenberg, 2012). From this perspective, socioeconomic integration enriches the civic competencies of all students as it enables everyone to interact with peers from diverse backgrounds who have different sources of knowledge, perspectives and experiences (Rothstein, 2004; Howell, Wolf, & Campbell, 2002).

Limitations and Future Research

Given that the data is observational and not experimental, the estimations of this study only provide evidence of plausibility but we are not able to conclude that SES and other predictor variables have a causal effect on students' civic competencies. While this study briefly showed how the civic knowledge gap that exist between students of high and low SES backgrounds changes as we account for family background, school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities, future studies need to explore in detail the relationships that exist between these different variables and students' civic knowledge. An important avenue of research will be to identify the

degree to which the civic knowledge gaps that we observed in Chile, Colombia and Mexico are accounted for by differences in the access that students from high and low SES backgrounds have to different school resources, school climate and civic learning opportunities, as well as by differences in the ability that students from different SES backgrounds have to reap the same benefits from having access to the same resources and opportunities.

Given that we used three nationally representative samples from Chile, Colombia and Mexico in the year 2009, the results can be generalized to that cohort of eight grade students from these countries, but caution should be used when trying to extrapolate results to other populations, such as younger children or adults, students from other countries, and specially from developed nations or areas that are significantly different from the ones considered, such as countries outside of Latin America. Findings may not generalize to other cohorts of students as some time has passed since 2009 and many changes have occurred since the data from the ICCS dataset was collected. Findings may not generalize to other outcomes related to civic competence, such as students' civic skills and civic actions. Future studies can identify other civic competence gaps not explored here, such as civic skills and civic actions, and the factors that account for them. It is worth noting that the international civic knowledge scale was the only outcome that was captured by a performance-based test. Civic values, motivations and identity were measured using self-reports, which often suffer from social-desirability bias. Future studies can document the civic competence gaps that exists between high and low SES students in their civic attitudes, skills and behaviors, using performance-based assessments and not on self-reports (Diazgranados et al., 2015).

NOTE

[1] The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is a nationally representativee and continuing assessment of what USA's students know and can do in subject areas like mathematics, reading, science, writing, the arts, civics, economics, geography, U.S. history, and in Technology and Engineering Literacy.

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9. AULAS EN PAZ (CLASSROOMS IN PEACE)

Citizenship Competencies for Peace

Resolving conflicts is very important in life. If you see, here in Colombia, there are people who take everything wrong. They don't know how to resolve their conflicts and as a result wars and fights are created. With Aulas en Paz we could be the next generation to change the world, because we can resolve our conflicts.

(5th-grade girl from Cali, Colombia)

I used to defend my friends insulting or hitting others. Now I defend them but in an assertive way because I can control my anger.

(4th-grade girl from Cali, Colombia)

With the cooperative groups we work more together, we are not left on our own.

(4th-boy from Cali, Colombia)

I have seen changes because I used to yell a lot… Now I can control my emotions.

(Teacher from Valledupar, Colombia)

This will be very useful, it will give me strategies that maybe I haven't used before and that I have been looking all my life (…) All the time I was looking for the children not to fight, to treat each other better and to be more respectful (…) This will help us for life, not just this moment but forever. In fact, I want to retire this year but I think: Do I retire or not? Because we can still do much more and this has been my path.

(Teacher from Monterrey, México)

WHAT IS AULAS EN PAZ?

Aulas en Paz (Classrooms in Peace) is an evidence-based multicomponent program for the promotion of peaceful relationships and the prevention of aggression (Chaux, 2007; Chaux, 2012). Our mission is to provide training and pedagogic tools for teachers and schools to foster citizenship competencies that promote peaceful relationships, and our vision is to be a consolidated and recognized program in Colombia and Latin America and the Caribbean, which has scaled its implementation up, as a contribution to peacebuilding.

Aulas en Paz was created in 2005 by the research group led by Dr. Chaux at the Universidad de los Andes. Since 2008, the program has been implemented under the alliance between the university and *Convivencia Productiva* (Productive Coexistence), a non-governmental organization (NGO). This partnership has allowed us to have the academic support of one of the best universities of the region and the experience and structure of a NGO whose mission is to contribute to peacebuilding in Colombia and the region.

The program focuses on the development of competencies that enable students to resolve their conflicts peacefully and to prevent aggression and stop bullying. Its components combine universal and targeted actions in order to reach all students, while at the same time, make a larger impact on those who need more help. The universal component includes a classroom-based curriculum and parents' workshops. The targeted component, directed to those students with higher level of aggressive behaviors, includes extracurricular activities and home visits.

The classroom-based curriculum is implemented in ethics (up to twenty-four lessons a year) and Spanish (up to sixteen lessons a year) classes. In this way, the program includes both, a specific curricular space (ethics) and an integration with an academic area (Spanish). These classes are implemented by their usual teachers, who receive training and support from the NGO.

Targeted components are implemented by students of pedagogy (preservice teachers) or social sciences, also with training and support from the NGO. Those components include home visits to the families of 10% of the students, focusing on those with initial higher levels of aggression, since usually these families do not come to the workshops offered in the schools and they are often the ones who need them the most. Home visits do not intend to evaluate or supervise families, but seek to help them with issues which usually worry them such as conflicts, norms, discipline and communication, and to offer that support in a calm climate, similar to a social meeting. When there are safety risks associated with violence or crime, which make home visits difficult, we invite families to the school, for a workshop especially designed for them.

The other targeted component is extracurricular activities conducted in small heterogeneous groups of six children, two with high levels of aggression and four with prosocial skills. These groups, which meet up to sixteen times per year, aim to promote peer positive effects led by the most prosocial children. Additionally, this configuration is designed to avoid deviancy training, which has been found to occur in interventions working exclusively with at-risk children or adolescents (Arnold & Hughes, 1999; Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999).

Aulas en Paz is built upon the principle of learning by doing and is consistent with a competencies development approach. Thus, many activities are conducted to develop and practice competencies, specially eight socio-emotional abilities: empathy, assertiveness, anger-management, perspective-taking, creative generation of options, consideration of consequences, active listening, and critical thinking.

The theory of change of *Aulas en Paz* includes different levels of action, as can be seen in Figure 1. The first level includes curricular design (structure and activities) of the program, and training and support of teachers, volunteers, and university students that lead the activities of the program and work directly with the students. Training is conducted during regular meetings along the school year. In addition, staff from the NGO offers *in situ* support and feedback after observation of classroom activities. This allows the implementation of the curricular and extracurricular components of the program, which seek to promote the development of the students´ competencies, more so for those who seem to need them the most. These competencies are better developed in a constructive classroom climate but, at the same time, these competencies contribute to such classroom climate. Climate in families are also expected to improve. There might also be changes in the structure of friendships, so that children who initially might show high levels of aggression can become friends with prosocial classmates which can be positive role models. All of this results in more constructive conflict management and lower levels of aggression, including bullying and other abuses of power. Ultimately, this is expected to result in peaceful relationships between the students and a contribution to peacebuilding in the larger society (see Figure 1).

Three main theoretical bodies support the program. First, *Aulas en Paz* is based on the tenets of socio-emotional development (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011). In particular, the program intends to promote the development and use of eight crucial socio-emotional competencies (which are related, but not the same as those proposed by CASEL, 2012). Most activities of the program are thought as opportunities to develop and practice these eight competencies. Activities also intend to facilitate the use of those socio-emotional competencies in their real-life interactions. In this sense, *Aulas en Paz* is based on positive development, promoting competencies, instead of just seeking to avoid negative behaviors (e.g., with reinforcement schedules based on operant conditioning such as Patterson, 1976).

Second, *Aulas en Paz* is based on basic principles of social psychology. In particular, it takes seriously into account the fact that human behavior depends greatly on the power of situations and on social pressure exerted by groups (e.g., Zimbardo, 2004). For instance, Salmivalli (2010) has proposed that, to prevent bullying, it might be more effective to empower bystanders to intervene to defend victims than to try to directly change the patterns of behavior of bullies or victims. Bullies depend greatly on the reinforcement of the audience (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001) and they can lose such reinforcement if bystanders defend victims instead of passively observing the situation or actively supporting the bullies. *Aulas en Paz* helps students realize their roles as bystanders and helps them learn how to intervene empathically and assertively changing the social context of their peer groups.

Finally, the program seeks to reach different contexts of development called the micro system by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979). In particular, through its different components, Aulas en Paz intends to have an impact on students' families,
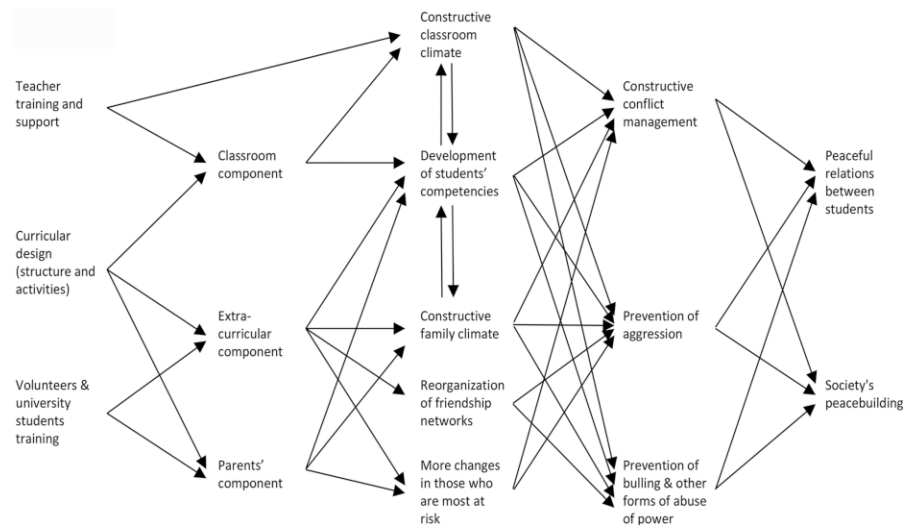
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Figure 1. Theory of change of Aulas en Paz

classrooms and peer contexts. This is the main reason behind the multicomponent nature of the program. Parent workshops and home visits to the families of those who are showing more aggressive behaviors seek to have an impact on the micro system of each family. Teacher training and classroom activities intend to have a direct effect on the micro system of each classroom. Heterogeneous groups, as well as activities based on bystanders' roles, were designed in great part to have an impact on the micro system of the students' peer groups. Changes at the individual level of the students by means of development of socio-emotional competencies, interacting with changes at these micro systems, are supposed to promote positive cycles which should lead to changes at larger contexts.

Program implementation begins with the selection of schools. Participating schools are frequently chosen based on their needs, for example, public schools located in neighborhoods with high levels of community violence. Although the program was designed for public education and vulnerable conditions, private schools have shown interest and have started implementing the program with excellent results. For selecting the schools we prioritize interest and disposition of schools directors, coordinators and teachers.

Once we have selected schools and groups, a process of training begins, which can be as long as 32 hours, distributed along the year. Teacher training is carried out by staff from *Convivencia Productiva*. Usually a pedagogical advisor with a background in psychology, education or related areas is in charge of training and support to around 40 teachers, from about five schools. Training focuses on pedagogical principles related with competencies development and, especially, on fostering teachers' own abilities. To accomplish this, teachers participate in activities

similar to those they are going to lead with their students. In this way, they have the opportunity to improve their skills and, at the same time, experience how these activities are carried out. We also work with teachers to help them create democratic learning environments. Specifically, we help them identify their own teaching style, and we offer positive discipline principles and classroom management strategies to help them move away from authoritarian or permissive actions towards a more democratic teaching style which combines caring relationships with consistent application of collectively constructed norms (e.g., Nelsen, 2006).

Teacher training and support includes visits to schools by staff from *Convivencia Productiva* every other week. In these visits, group and individual meetings with teachers can be carried out, as well as classroom activities observed by a pedagogical advisor who then offers constructive feedback for improvement. Participation by those advisors can be also more active, sometimes even leading the class so that the teacher has an opportunity to observe how activities can be conducted. Teachers and students receive guides and workbooks, and all materials they need to follow the curriculum, from books of children literature, to color pencils, paper and glue. Schools are expected to continue implementing *Aulas en Paz* by their own after three years of training and support. The final year is planned to build sustainability strategies such as institutionalization of the curriculum by articulating it with the school policies.

Cost of implementation of *Aulas en Paz* is around 25 USD per child per year, which is very low compared to other multicomponent programs in the world. For instance, the cost of the program Fast Track is 5800 US dollars per child per year (Foster, 2010), that is, 232 times more. This makes *Aulas en Paz* a very cost-efficient program.

CONTRIBUTION OF AULAS EN PAZ TO EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

In 2004, the Colombian Ministry of Education launched the Citizenship Competencies program (Chaux, 2009; Chaux & Velásquez, 2009; Patti & Cepeda, 2007). This program is based on three components: (1) national standards of citizenship competencies (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2004) which state which competencies students in each public and private school should be able to develop at different grades (3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th grade); (2) a national test of citizenship competencies which measures the level of development of some of these competencies in 5th and 9th grade (and recently in 11th grade too); (3) publications, websites and conferences to disseminate existing initiatives and programs which were already promoting citizenship competencies. Citizenship competencies were organized in three groups: (1) peaceful relationships; (2) democratic participation and responsibilities; and (3) pluralism, identity and diversity. Within each group, several competencies derived mostly from international and national research on socio-emotional development were proposed, such as critical thinking, perspective taking, empathy, assertiveness, active listening, and anger management (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2004). Even though this program has represented an

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important breakthrough in citizenship education in Colombia and in Latin America (Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005; Patti & Cepeda, 2007; Reimers & Villegas-Reimers, 2005), one of its main risks was that there were very few examples of how those competencies could be developed in the classroom (and even less evaluated examples).

We decided to create *Aulas en Paz* as a way to develop, evaluate and disseminate pedagogical strategies to promote citizenship competencies, specifically those related to peaceful relationships. Our aim was to create a program, based on results from international studies and on our own research, which could become an example on how to promote citizenship competencies in Colombian schools. In this way, we sought to complement the national program on citizenship competencies which advanced very well in answering questions about what competencies to promote, but not much on how to promote them.

More recently, the experience with *Aulas en Paz* has contributed to other national policies, such as the implementation of two laws related to peace education: (1) Law 1620 from 2013 (Congreso de Colombia, 2013) and its regulations decree (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2013) which declare that each school in Colombia should have a program for promotion of citizenship competencies and prevention of aggression, in addition to protocols to manage cases of aggression, conflicts, bullying or school violence; and (2) Law 1732 from 2014 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014) and its regulations decree (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2015) which state that all schools should include peace education in their curriculum. The Ministry of Education has created guidelines for the implementation of both laws which have been greatly informed by the experience of *Aulas en Paz.* Furthermore*,* a set of activities from *Aulas en Paz* were presented to the Colombian educational system as examples of how the Peace Education Law could be implemented in the classrooms. Finally, *Aulas en Paz* has also contributed to educational policies in other countries. For example, many of the activities of the new Peruvian national curriculum of socio-emotional development that we helped designed are based directly on *Aulas en Paz* (Hartley, 2015).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF IMPLEMENTATION

In more than ten years of work, we have been able to reach more than 60.000 children of around 200 schools from 42 Colombian cities. The program was born in 2005 under the leadership of Dr. Chaux. It was originally designed for public schools from vulnerable contexts with high levels of community violence. From 2005 to 2008, the program was implemented in a handful of schools in Bogotá, which allowed us to test and improve the model and every activity of the curriculum. In 2009, with the support of the Colombian Ministry of Education, UNICEF, IOM and USAID, *Aulas en Paz* was implemented in 27 schools from 4 regions with high levels of violence. During this stage, there were many challenges related to the program's implementation which lead us to make several adjustments. For

example, implementation is currently coordinated by staff living in the region where the schools are located, instead of traveling from Bogotá. We also realized teacher training must include topics such as classroom management, in order to help them create democratic learning climates where *Aulas en Paz* could find a favorable environment to be carried out effectively.

Since 2010, implementation has been financed by a combination of sources including private corporations, such a Manuelita SA and Natura Cosméticos, and foundations like Harold Eder Foundation and international organizations like Save the Children. Under this model, the program has reached many cities of the country, but its larger implementation has been focused in Cali and Palmira, two Colombian cities with some of the highest rate of homicides in the world (Consejo Ciudadano para la Seguridad Pública y la Justicia Penal, 2014).

Since 2009, thanks to a technical assistance mission financed by the Inter-American Program on Education for Democratic Values and Practices of the Organization of American States, we shared the experience of *Aulas en Paz* with a partner organization (Via Education) in México. The program was adapted to the Mexican context and has been implemented in 16 schools with positive results (Chaux et al., 2012).

In 2015, the Peruvian Ministry of Education and the World Bank invited us to participate in the construction of a new curriculum for Social and Emotional Learning (SEL). We designed all sessions for the primary level and most sessions of secondary grades. Core principles of *Aulas en Paz* and many of its activities were included in this curriculum. The materials were presented in a toolkit that has reached almost 4 million of students nationwide (Hartley, 2015).

More recently, a pilot implementation has been conducted in Chile by the Chilean Association Pro United Nations (ACHNU). Last year, *Aulas en Paz* was tested in several schools from Valparaiso, and adjustments are being made to facilitate cultural appropriation of the program. So far, the program has reached 5 schools in Valparaiso.

Aulas en Paz has received several awards and recognitions including, in 2010, the first prize of the category "Initiatives with impact evidence" from the "Good Practices for crime prevention in Latin America and the Caribbean" awards organized by the Center for Public Safety Studies (CESC) of the Public Affairs Institute of the University of Chile, the Open Society Institute, and the Inter-American Development Bank. We were also selected as one of the best experiences for Citizenship Education in Colombia, by the Regional System for Evaluation and Development of Citizenship Competencies (SREDECC). More recently, we were selected by The Colombian Presidential Agency of International Cooperation to be included as one of the peacebuilding experiences Colombia could share with the world.

EVALUATIONS OF AULAS EN PAZ

The first time that all the components of *Aulas en Paz* were implemented together, we conducted an ethnographic evaluation in which a psychologist and anthropologist observed 100 hours in a second-grade classroom: 35 hours before the implementation started, 32 hours 4 months later and 33 hours 9 months later (Ramos, Nieto, & Chaux, 2007). Before the implementation, aggression was very frequent (1.4 incidents per hour) and prosocial behavior was very rare (0.1 incidents per hour). In contrast, after 9 months of implementation, aggression was rare (0.3 incidents per hour) while prosocial behavior was frequent (1.4 incidents per hour). Similarly large changes were observed in the frequency by which students followed instructions (0.2 to 1.2 per hour), interrupted their class (1.3 to 0.5 per hour), and in the number of friends among their classmates they reported (2 to 21 in average). It was also observed that students started including in their daily interactions some of the strategies that they were learning with the program. Changes were particularly large among those who initially reported higher frequency of aggression and who received all the components of the program (Ramos, Nieto, & Chaux, 2007).

A larger evaluation was conducted three years later in 27 schools located in Colombian municipalities with armed conflict between guerrillas, paramilitaries and Colombian armed forces. Teachers were randomly assigned to receive training and implementing the program or to control groups. Although there were low levels of implementation (e.g., due, in part, to inefficiency of the educational system and to lack of compliance with commitments by some local authorities), results showed that, according to teacher reports, aggression decreased for those who participated in *Aulas en Paz*, while it increased significantly for those who served as control groups (Chaux, 2012).

A third evaluation of impact was conducted in seven schools located in neighborhoods with high levels of community violence in Cali and Palmira. A total of 55 classrooms were assigned to *Aulas en Paz* or to control groups, and followed for two-years. Although the evaluation had several limitations (e.g., large number of missing data and significant differences between the groups in the pretest), results indicated that the program was able to decrease aggression and increase prosocial behavior among participants (Chaux et al., in press).

Similar results were found in an impact evaluation of *Aulas en Paz* conducted in Mexico (Chaux et al., 2012). Specifically, significant reductions in bullying behavior and in aggression in general, as well as significant increases in assertiveness were found from pretest to a posttest nine months later among 4th and 5th graders (but not among 2nd and 3rd graders) in an evaluation with random assignment of classrooms to control or experimental groups conducted in 6 public schools in the city of Monterrey.

All of these evaluations show that the program is able to reduce aggression and promote prosocial behavior even with children who grow up in violent and vulnerable environments.

SUSTAINABILITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE PROGRAM

Schools usually receive direct support for the implementation of *Aulas en Paz* for three years. The main priority of the third year is to help schools ensure that they have the capacities necessary to continue implementing the program after external support is over. This implies having trained all teachers and psychologists who will continue implementing the program, leaving all the necessary materials and helping schools institutionalize the program and their necessary alliances with other institutions such as pedagogical schools. However, the long-term effectiveness of these strategies has not been evaluated so far.

At a larger level, a great challenge is to offer *Aulas en Paz* too many more schools, regions within the country, and to other countries. Concern about aggression and about how to promote peaceful relationships is ubiquitous in most educational systems in Latin America and the Caribbean. Additionally, such concern is common not only among public schools located in vulnerable environments, but also among elite private schools. A major challenge is how to bring to a large scale a program which has demonstrated positive results at a small and medium scale, without compromising its quality. For instance, our experience has shown us that dissemination of pedagogical materials is not enough and that a crucial requirement for the program's quality is teacher training and support, including classroom observation and feedback. An implementation model which could guarantee such training and support seems needed. Similarly, the multicomponent nature of *Aulas en Paz* requires alliances with local universities or businesses which could offer support from student practitioners or volunteers to implement the extracurricular components of the program, as well as training and support to them. Videotaping sessions, online courses and virtual coaching might be needed to be able to offer such training and support to a large scale.

Aulas en Paz was designed based on results from our own research and that of other groups, and was inspired by effective programs around the world. During the 10 years of implementation of the program, we have continued conducting studies which not only demonstrated its effectiveness, but has provided crucial insights into how to improve its design and implementation strategies. Research has also provided answers to the challenges we have faced implementing a program in the most vulnerable contexts. Currently, research might help respond to the new challenge of bringing the program to a much larger scale without compromising its quality. This seems crucial in order to be able to respond to the great potential that education has on contributing to peacebuilding with current and future generations.

In more than 10 years *Aulas en Paz* has maintained its close relation to research, which has allows to improve the program constantly and to have evidence of its impact. The program has been implemented not only in Colombia, but in other Latin American countries, like México and Chile, and has had direct impact on educational public policies in Colombia and Peru. Anyone interested in peace education could find in *Aulas en Paz* an evidence-based experience we want to share with the world.

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SECTION 4

SUCCESSFUL PRACTICES IN CIVIC EDUCATION

MARIALI CÁRDENAS

10. DEVELOPING PEDAGOGICAL AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP COMPETENCIES

"Learning by Participating" Program

[A good citizen] is that person who has a clear view of what is happening and thinks about what is good for everyone. The person knows that a better world is possible, grounded in values: someone who worries for others and tries to improve things, not someone who just stays seated and waits for the answers to arrive.

(Participating student, 8th grade)

GENERAL OVERVIEW

It is well known that to educate the citizens that are required in today's democratic societies, requires the incorporation of teaching and learning strategies that go beyond the acquisition of factual knowledge, to include the development of skills, attitudes and civic dispositions that enable the individual to effectively contribute to the construction of a more democratic and just society.

Both researchers and practitioners have asked how this can best be achieved. How can teachers generate the pedagogical conditions that enable their students to develop competencies that may help them become active citizens?

This chapter describes a program that has been successful in strengthening teacher pedagogical practices in order to effectively accomplish that objective with elementary and middle public school students.

The program considers that teacher and student competencies for democratic citizenship are interrelated, and that as teachers improve their teaching skills, the students will have better opportunities to develop competencies too. The central strategy is a conceptual framework, a set of tools and a participatory methodology that enables both teachers and students to design and implement a community project based on the analysis of their reality, focused on improving the quality of their own lives and that of their communities. Through this methodology, democratic citizenship competencies are developed and exercised -such as democratic deliberation, sense of belonging, social participation, self-efficacy, and search of a common good. In this way, the program generates learning opportunities that support a paradigm shift with regard to democratic participation from a passive to an active disposition by developing a sense of agency.

The program was designed by Vía Educación[1] and originated in 2005 from a participatory action-research approach and has been implemented in Mexico with more than 700 public school teachers in different socio-economic contexts, including marginal urban schools, rural and indigenous communities. The program has been evaluated, with a formative and summative approach, to improve the model and expand the effects. A quasi-experimental study published in 2014 (Reimers, Ortega, Cardenas, Estrada, & Garza) indicates that the program succeeded in significantly improving teacher practice. Compared to the control group, it also had a statistically significant positive effect on students' civic knowledge and skills and on active participation in school.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to share a teachers' professional development program that originated as a response to different contextual circumstances such as the level of inequality in the Latin-American region and the decrease of trust in democracy. It also addresses the need to expand educational opportunities that genuinely enable students to have the capability to improve the quality of their own lives and those of others.

After studying the key elements of democratic citizenship education, this program incorporates those that research suggests facilitate a greater and more effective development of citizenship competencies in students. For example, it is coherent with a learning- by-doing pedagogy based on the reflection of teachers' practices. Also, the work with teachers includes the development of competencies, where teachers, as facilitators, promote the participation of students in a practical experience. The components of the program are: (1) Training sessions, (2) implementation of a participatory methodology, and (3) ongoing assessment, teacher support and feedback.

The details of the Program will be discussed in this chapter; however as an introduction it is important to mention that the participatory methodology is a key component of this Program for the development of competencies in both teachers and students. The participatory methodology is applied in the classroom and requires the teachers to guide their students in identifying a problem that is meaningful for them and their community and designing a work plan in accordance with their own resources and context, which is implemented and later evaluated. While doing this, the teachers develop teaching competencies in democratic citizenship education. The resulting participatory projects, focused on improving the conditions of the students' community, allow them to develop a sense of agency while practicing other democratic citizenship competencies such as democratic deliberation and social participation. While participating with others to improve an aspect in their community, students develop a sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), in other words, of feeling capable of finding solutions to the problems that affect them and others. This program also includes an understanding of a conceptual framework

of democracy and civic participation that allows participants to have a continuous reflection on the process of implementing a participatory project and its relation to those concepts.

This chapter presents the program's contextual background and framework, theory of change, participatory methodology, evaluation mechanisms and results, as well as the distinctive aspects that characterize it compared to other teacher-training programs.

Contextual Background

The program originated in response to different interrelated context circumstances:

- Inequality of educational opportunities in Latin America
- The need for non-traditional pedagogical approaches in the field of Education for Democratic Citizenship in Latin America
- Education policies in Mexico and link to the teacher professional development program presented in this chapter.

Inequality of Educational Opportunities in Mexico

In Mexico, as in other parts of Latin America, poverty and inequality are determinant in people's quality of life. Inequality in the region is the highest in the world, with the richest 10% of the population amassing in the last decades an average 37% of total wealth, while the poorest 40% receive only a little over 13% of total wealth (CEPAL, 2010). Although efforts to reduce poverty have been applied in the last decades, Latin America continues to have great socioeconomic differences. An example of this is the data from 2014 which shows that the wealthiest 10% of the population had amassed 71% of the wealth of the region (CEPAL, 2014). Particularly in Mexico, today 41% of population lives in poverty and 16% in extreme poverty (CEPAL, 2016).

This poverty and economic inequality translates into inequalities in educational opportunities that create a reinforcing mechanism where the lack of development of competencies affects social mobility (Reimers, 2001). Today 43% of the population between 15 and 64 has an important educational deficit for reasons such as; the inability to read or write (7%), an inability to finish primary or secondary school (29%) or because what they have "learned" after 12 years of education (6 out of 10 individuals) is not sufficient to master basic verbal and math skills. Those who have the greatest educational deficits are also the individuals who have had the fewest educational opportunities, particularly affecting women that come from rural and indigenous communities (CEPAL, 2016; OECD, 2012; Gil Anton, 2014).[2]

Considering this context, education has a major role in changing this pattern with its potential to develop knowledge, attitudes, values and skills necessary for citizens to participate actively and effectively in their society, particularly in the improvement of their quality of life and that of others.

*The State of Democracy and Democratic Citizenship Education in
Latin America*

The democratic context in Latin America is exceptional: it is a historical moment given the number of democratically elected governments in the region. However, it is also a moment where democracy is still fragile (UNDP, 2004, 2008; UNDP, OAS, 2010). A couple of studies carried out by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2004, 2008) explain how close to half of the population in the region would be willing to have an authoritative government, even while losing their democratic rights such as liberties of expression and organization, as long as it were accompanied by higher economic development. In these studies Guillermo O'Donell and his colleagues state that; "democracy is a form of political organization that brings into play, in addition to political and contextual freedoms underlying the regime, central aspects of civil, social and cultural citizenship. There is a close relationship between democracy and citizenship: democracy rests on the idea that the citizen chooses and contributes to the formation of collective decisions in the exercise of their autonomy. The fragility of political and civil rights and lack of rights and floors of social and cultural equality, question the possibility of that autonomy, at least for large, very broad sectors of the population. Democracy entails certain rights and invokes the existence of others without which the whole edifice of political equality is fragile (UNDP, 2008, p. 19)."

Considering the importance of citizens and their potential to contribute to building a more democratic society, but also the lack of democratic knowledge and skills in the region, in 2001 the Inter-American Democratic Charter was signed by the 34 member states of the OAS. The charter highlights the importance of "promoting democratic values in order to establish a democratic culture and especially one 'that will pay close attention to the development of programs and activities for children and youth as a way to ensure the permanence of democratic values, including liberty and social justice'" (OAS, 2001). This message was re-emphasized at the meeting of Ministers of Education in Trinidad and Tobago organized by the OAS in 2005 which examined the link between democracy and education for citizenship.

It is important to mention that several years after that meeting, the need for strong democratic citizenship education programs in Mexico is still significant. The findings of the ICCS 2009 Study, the largest international study on civic and citizenship education ever conducted, presented the distribution of civic knowledge scores across 38 countries and Mexico is ranked among the lowest average scores, only above five countries (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

Furthermore, Reimers and Cárdenas (in Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010) have studied the case of Mexico and youth civic engagement, concluding that even with the political changes in the country, in particular the changes in presidential parties in the last few years, citizens' perception of democracy has not improved. These authors conclude that without the development of education programs focused on these topics, democracy remains at risk.

In a recent book, editors (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010) point out that thanks to the research from different experts in the last twenty years related to the development of citizenship competencies and the international comparison of teaching-learning models, civic engagement in youth and democratic citizenship education has consolidated itself as a field of study.

It is in this context that this program for teacher professional development was initiated, rooted in the idea that schools and teachers with pedagogical knowledge, can enhance opportunities for children and youth to develop democratic citizenship competencies that allow them to recognize themselves as citizens with rights who have the possibility of contributing to the construction of a more democratic society. This pedagogical approach to teaching based on competencies responds to the idea of strategies that go beyond the acquisition of factual knowledge, to the development of skills and civic dispositions (Osley & Starkey, 2004) that enable the person to effectively contribute in the construction of a more democratic and just society.

In the same manner, the program was born as a result of a collaborative effort of Vía Educación at the local, national and international level between researchers, professors, businesspeople and public officials, among others, to formalize opportunities where children's potential as agents of social change can be developed (Hart, 1997) as well as their right to participate in issues that affect them (Art. 12, UN, Convention on the Rights of the Child), through opportunities that promote citizenship awareness and participation.

Education Policies in Mexico

In 2006 the Integral Reform of Basic Education (RIEB by its Spanish acronym) was passed in Mexico, which introduced the subject of Civics and Ethics at the lower-secondary grade level and in 2009 at the primary level in the national curriculum. In this context it was necessary to train teachers who would teach this subject. The regional Ministry of Public Education found Vía Educations' proposal valuable as it allowed the Ministry to expand opportunities for teacher professional development through civil society organizations.

The Reform at both the primary and lower-secondary level promoted the development of competencies in students, necessitating that the teacher work with specific didactic strategies, particularly emphasizing project-based learning. This change in the form of teaching required a new way of planning and of guiding students' work, as well as an evaluation based on standards and the development of specific competencies.

One of the most complex elements of project-based learning is the design of a good project that actually develops competencies related to the subject's standards. This design requires the incorporation of didactic methodologies that the students can follow with the guidance of their teachers and that lead them to meet the pedagogical objectives as well as develop specific competencies. At the same time

it requires mechanisms for monitoring and follow-up of learning that form part of student assessment and evaluation.

The design of the teacher professional development program described here has a pedagogical design congruent with the pedagogical principles of the Civics and Ethics subject that was introduced with the Integral Reform of Basic Education (2006 and 2009) and with the Educational Reforms (2017) because of its well-grounded pedagogical design. The central characteristic of this program is that it strengthens teachers' work. Through a teaching and learning process focused on the development of knowledge, skills, attitudes and civic dispositions, professors learn-by-doing and they learn to apply pedagogical strategies and a didactic methodology in their classroom, so that they can better reach the learning goals set by the national curriculum.

The work in public schools, particularly in vulnerable contexts, and the work with teachers has shown that teachers have a large workload and little time available (OCDE, 2013; Vía Educación, 2008). For example, many of them work double shifts and in addition to their subject classes must complete administrative paperwork. At the same time, the school schedule does not have space for additional programs.

This Program was carefully thought out and designed to be applied by a teacher without generating additional work within the Civics and Ethics subject or related subjects. It helps the teacher meet the subject's goals in terms of developing skills and civic dispositions, besides factual knowledge and the use of up to date learning strategies while expanding an emphasis on citizen democratic participation. At the same time, it was designed to be compatible in conditions with limited time and resources, given that this is the reality of many public school teachers.

Because of its well-grounded pedagogical design the program here described is an important support and a concrete tool so that teachers can meet the recent pedagogical objectives set by the latest Reform and the upcoming ones.

The following section describes in more detail the process of creation and development of the program in order to understand more about the context and the process in which it was developed and what has been achieved.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM

The program for teacher professional development was designed in 2005 by Vía Educación, a non-profit organization based in Mexico. The creation of the program has three phases: (1) Design phase; (2) Initial implementation and evaluation, process and outcomes evaluation; and (3) Consolidation and expansion of implementation.

Design Phase

The process of design considered the study of relevant literature regarding children's participation (Hart, 1997), organizing (Ganz, 2000), social development and learning

opportunities (Reimers, 2001; Sen, 1996; Freire, 1996; Bythe, 1999), democracy, citizenship and education (Dewey, 1916; Cox, Jaramillo, Reimers, 2005; Cox, 2006; Lave, Wenger, Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). Along with the study of relevant literature, the design of the program considered a direct implementation of a participatory action-research process with a selected group of elementary school children from an underprivileged school. This process lasted two years, during which the researcher worked with the students in the development of projects to improve their school community while designing a model.

The design was a continuous process based on observation and documentation, applying the literature findings and reflecting critically on its relevance; a process of listening to the children and to their teachers. From this experience a concrete methodology resulted that could be followed and scaled to a larger number of students and schools, including non-formal schooling environments and other age groups. It was defined as the participatory methodology; its purpose is to create a learning opportunity where students guided by a facilitator develop democratic citizenship competencies while implementing a project directed at improving their school community.

Since then, this participatory methodology has been continuously evaluated to ensure its effects on the development of democratic citizenship capabilities. Complementary materials were also designed and the methodology is accompanied by a series of operative principles that the facilitator must follow. For example, the ideas of the participatory projects must derive from the interests of the children, and children must carry out the process, accompanied by the facilitator in shared decisions (Hart, 1997), with authentic participation. At the same time the participatory project developed must respect the norms of the school community and benefit the majority, and it must be inclusive and work under democratic principles.

Once the design of the participatory methodology was defined, the general structure of the teacher professional development program described in this chapter was established, as well as the monitoring system for the implementation that is explained later in this chapter. In summary, this teacher professional development program incorporates the participatory methodology and has the purpose of expanding opportunities for teaching-learning processes of democratic citizenship education to a larger number of schools and environments.

Initial Implementation and Process and Outcome Evaluation

Vía Educación established an alliance with regional Ministries of Education in different states of Mexico. In this first phase of the teacher professional development program, Vía Educación worked with around 120 teachers from public schools analyzing how the implementation of the participatory methodology worked in different contexts: urban-marginalized, rural and in indigenous communities. The most important factor was the diversity of the contexts that resulted in the diversity of the projects carried out by the teachers and their students. The methodology turned out to be a valued tool by teachers and it strengthened their teaching practice, proving

its flexibility and the possibility that it gave to participants to develop projects based on their own reality and context.

Expansion and Consolidation of Implementation

In the next phase of the program development, the number of participants grew from a group of 120 public school teachers to 250, proving the program's potential for expansion. In this phase new facilitators came in and training materials were developed. The documented results of this implementation included the development of teacher skills related to democratic citizenship education (Vía Educación, 2012). This experience also highlighted that it was necessary to strengthen the program with follow-up materials and additional guides for self-assessment in order to ensure the progress of the didactic process.

After that experience the program extended to five additional states (Nuevo León, Chiapas, Durango, Jalisco, Ciudad de México, Chihuahua, Guanajuato, Guerrero and San Luis Potosí) in collaboration with non-governmental organizations, in both formal and non-formal schooling settings. In addition to the guides already designed, an electronic-platform for follow-up, feedback and reporting of results was designed for the participants. This implementation used an intensive initial training instead of a continuous training distributed throughout the school year and though some participants effectively implemented the methodology for participative projects almost without support from a facilitator, the evaluation highlighted that the optimal channel is to maintain continuous follow-up with the participants throughout the implementation, at least for the first six months. The exchange of experiences between participants and the mentorship of the facilitators helped and motivated the teaching-learning process and expanded the results.

During the school year 2013–2014 the program was tested in a different setting. It was implemented with teachers-in-training at a Teacher Normal School one of the most important teacher training schools in the northern Mexico, Montemorelos, Nuevo León, in order to evaluate the program's achievement in complementing the development of teacher pedagogical knowledge and skills in democratic citizenship education in this context. Over 120 students from the Normal School participated and carried out participative projects in public schools through their internships. The evaluation of this implementation has a quasi-experimental design; data is currently being processed and analyzed, but initial results are promising regarding the possibility of another way to support teacher training in Mexico.

More recently, these last two years have included the program implementation with entire schools, which includes all teachers, principals, supervisors and parents in a transversal pedagogical support format. There is specific work with each collaborator in a way that the paradigm shift in terms of the participation of students is considered holistically in the school and integrates the different collaborators in a school community to maximize impact, because the contribution of each participant creates a new school culture.

Based on the organization's conformation as a Think tank and based on the program evaluations carried out to date (Vía Educación, 2008; Vía Educación, 2012; Reimers, Ortega, Cardenas, Estrada, & Garza, 2014) Vía Educación has been able to structure a prototype that can now be shared as a public good beyond the implementation of this organization. Vía Educations' purpose is to extend the knowledge generated and use of the contents including the participative methodology, to a larger number of people through the collaboration with other participants, for example Teacher Colleges, or through different Centers for Teacher Training in the country, including the Normal schools or even other organizations focused on youth civic engagement beyond Mexico and Latin America.

At this time Vía Educación has been working with the National Ministry of Education on updating the curriculum in civics and introducing the participative methodology as support material for teachers in the Civics and Ethics subject of the national curriculum. At the same time, it is in preparation to contribute through the training of Pedagogical Technical Advisors[3] who in turn could train teachers in the area of civics education of the public education system.

In summary, the program has worked with teachers in a variety of contexts – urban, rural, and indigenous communities – in different states in Mexico, since its start in 2007. Over 700 teachers from public schools and other civil society organizations have been trained, reaching approximately 17,000 children and young people.

Before explaining the overall structure of the program and its specific procedure of implementation, the conceptual framework that underlies the program is presented.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The design of the program is based on a framework that considers several theoretical approaches. The theories support the program in two dimensions:

- The first dimension considers the fundamental reason of why we do it. This dimension considers the notion of social development and the meaning of teaching and learning from a humanizing and dignifying point of view (Sen, 2000; Freire, 1996; Hart, 1997).
- The second considers the process of how we do it. This dimension takes into account the use of pedagogical, teaching and learning practices that can enhance the experience of the participants and the concrete development of democratic citizenship capabilities by putting them on practice (Dewey, 1916; Delors, 1996; Bythe, 1999; Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005; Cox, 2006). This approach refers to not only teaching and learning factual knowledge, but also skills, attitudes and civic dispositions linked as well to the context and relations that result from it (Osley & Starkey, 2004).

Regarding the first dimension of why we do it, this program arises from the understanding of the reality of inequality of educational opportunities in Mexico (Reimers, 2001; CEPAL, 2010). Therefore, the program attempts to expand

learning opportunities that develop capacities that truly result in better life opportunities for participants (Sen, 2000). The notion above is what underlies the creation of the program and guides its fundamental humanizing principles and the way the participants are perceived in this program. Although many of the participants are in limited or vulnerable socio-economic conditions, both teachers and students are considered capable of improving their reality by their own means, whether these are their teaching practice or the conditions of their school or communities (Freire, 1996, Hart, 1997), and they deserve an opportunity to do so (United Nations, 1989).

With respect to the second dimension of how we do it, the design of the program considered the study of relevant literature regarding children's participation (Hart, 1997), social capital (Putnam, 2000), organizing (Ganz, 2000), learning opportunities and curriculum design (Blythe, 1999; Delors, 1996) and democracy, citizenship and education (Dewey, 1916; Cox, Jaramillo, & Reimers, 2005; Cox, 2006; Lave & Wenger, in Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). From these notions the program takes into account the knowledge generated regarding ways of teaching and learning that could be more effective and transcendental to achieve the development of pedagogical and democratic citizenship competencies.

Furthermore, the pedagogy used in this program considers a teaching and learning approach that goes beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge towards a more comprehensive learning process. This idea of a non-traditional pedagogical approach is documented in the findings of the IEA study (Amadeo & Torney-Purta, 2002) that evaluated citizenship and democratic practices in youth in 16 countries and later emphasized in further studies (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010) concluding that school is a good environment for developing citizenship and democratic practices, but that different didactic strategies are needed to respond to the different levels of comprehension implied in citizenship development. That is, rote memorization and repetition of concepts is not enough: the critical and analytical thinking of different situations, as well as debate and negotiation, are necessary. Ultimately these studies emphasize the importance of practical experiences that allow for this learning to strengthen and solidify.

Based on these studies, the design of this program incorporates several pedagogical strategies that can enhance the development and exercise of democratic citizenship competencies. These include Service Learning, Project-based Learning, Participatory Democratic Education and Situated Learning; however it has been understood that it is necessary to use them appropriately and in a concrete, defined way (McIntosh, Youniss, Higgins-D'Alessandro, Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010), where teachers give students real responsibilities such as decision-making power and ownership and at the same time build critical analytic capacities. This is the case of this program, where pedagogical strategies are linked to an intentional process of development of democratic citizenship competencies, namely that the participatory projects are considered a way to develop and exercise those competencies. The program was also designed so that teachers could incorporate the tools easily into

their teaching practice, while still being flexible enough to build upon with their own experience, creative ideas, knowledge and sense of their students' reality.

It is important to consider the reality of teachers and their actual possibility of using innovative teaching and learning practices. Generally teachers that participate in this program were trained in a traditional manner. Though some of them received additional training to teach Civic education, and although the Educational Reform suggests that teachers use different pedagogical approaches, most of the teachers reproduce a traditional way of teaching where the teacher is the principle vehicle of knowledge (Vía Educación, 2008, 2012).

In this manner, this teacher professional development program, "Learning to participate", works with teachers through the participatory methodology mentioned above, in order to establish a base from which teachers work to create a different learning environment that goes beyond traditional teaching and build closer relationships with and among students through the implementation of a project to improve their school community. The participatory methodology is sufficiently detailed to help guarantee the establishment of learning situations or experiences intentionally generated to develop democratic citizenship competencies while implementing the project. Some of these situations are for example, the need to establish rules, the need to understand themselves and their community, the importance of taking into account students' voices to determine the definition of the project, the use of democratic deliberation for decision making, developing a "common good" perspective, and considering the differences of others and ways to contribute with one's own personal resources to implement the project.

This program views education from a critical pedagogy perspective (Freire, 1996) as a dynamic process where program participants, guided by a facilitator, have the possibility of expanding learning opportunities through reflection of their practice in a dialogic manner. In a similar way the participatory methodology considers the learning process as an opportunity for each participant to put their capabilities in practice and develop new ones in different forms (Delors, 1997; Blythe, 1999; Amadeo & Torney-Purta, 2002): the participant is challenged to think, to create, to solve real problems, to communicate effectively, to analyze different possibilities, to make decisions about concrete situations, to collaborate with others, to bring their ideas to reality, to experiment and learn from mistakes, to recognize their personal viewpoints and value others and to experience achievements that motivate them to continue learning.

In this case, citizenship is defined as the possibility that people have of participating in an organized manner, guided by ethical and democratic principles, in the construction of a better society. Citizenship is a concrete experience that the participant of this program lives consistently through the implementation of the participative project given that it implies bringing into practice an initiative to improve the quality of their surroundings by following the participatory methodology. In this way teachers and students can start to think in a proactive way about their own reality. This is, not from a passive position of only looking at difficulties, but in

an active manner developing social capital and a sense of agency where they start to think; "What can I do?" "What can we do together to improve things?"

This program follows the model of Education for Citizenship (Kerr, 2002) because in addition to using the didactic strategy of learning by doing, it is designed so that the experiences of the participants in their projects builds on the development of self-efficacy and could be transferred to other spaces in their lives. In this manner, the focus of the teacher's work is precisely on the development of participative capacities in their students; which means to specifically give them the experience of being able to contribute in the improvement of the quality of their own lives and that of their communities, by their own means and by the work with others.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

With the objective of giving a general overview of the program and its implementation the following section describes different elements that compose it such as the target audience, structure, theory of change, procedure and expected results as well as the curriculum, didactic strategy and assessment used. At the end of the section the challenges the program has met are presented as well as the particular nature of the program compared to other teacher training programs.

Target Audience

As mentioned before, this program has been implemented in different contexts including urban, rural and indigenous communities among primary and lower-secondary public school teachers and university professors, particularly those who teach civics. It has also helped train facilitators from non-profit organizations in charge of extra-school activities with elementary and middle school children.

The participating teachers from public schools are usually invited through the Ministry of Education of each state of Mexico and in coordination with the Pedagogical Technical Advisors for the Civics and Ethics subject. This was particularly relevant in the state of Nuevo León, where by 2012 the program trained approximately 60% of the teachers of this subject in the metropolitan area of Monterrey. In other states the invitation has gone through collaboration with other local non-governmental organizations linked with children and youth civic engagement and social development.

Program Structure

The original design of the program includes a continuous training where professors meet for a five-hour monthly session throughout the school year. Since the expansion of the program to other states of the country, the program has also been delivered in an intensive modality where the training is at the beginning of the implementation.

Along with those two formal modalities there have been experiences of a self-learning modality as well:

• Continuous modality: It consists of a series of monthly training sessions that add up to 50 hours throughout the school year in groups of 20–30 teachers. The exchange of experiences, monitoring and ongoing assessment is done during the monthly training sessions.
• Intensive modality: At the start of the school year training sessions are intensive for a total of 10 hours. There is a closing session of the project at the end of the year that consists of another 10 hours. In between, monitoring, feedback and follow-up is provided. For this modality an electronic platform has been used to monitor distant implementations and involves tools for follow-up such as guides of observation to ensure the effective implementation of the methodology. This modality has been used more recently to expand coverage to different states in Mexico.
• Self-learning modality: Teachers or facilitators use the Manual for Project implementation and the Self-assessment Guide to carry out participative projects on their own and can become members of a virtual network of facilitators.

Program Theory of Change, Procedure and Expected Results

Purpose:
This program is intended to strengthen teacher practices to effectively develop democratic citizenship knowledge, skills and dispositions in elementary and middle school students in formal and non-formal settings. This program considers that teacher and student competencies are interrelated, and as teachers improve their teaching and learning skills, children will have better opportunities to develop their own competencies.

Procedure:
The Program is composed by three interrelated mechanisms of change focused to achieve the expected results (helpful to also see the Program's theory of change diagram below):

• Training sessions and Development of pedagogical competencies in teachers. These training sessions train teachers to achieve a paradigm shift in terms of innovative teaching-learning practices where they are the facilitators in the process of development of citizenship competencies in students. Simultaneously, teachers acquire pedagogical dominion of the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship education. The didactic strategy of the sessions is based on learning by doing and dialogic learning linked to the reflection of one's practice.
• Understanding of principles and steps of participatory methodology. Central element of this program, it is a carefully designed process that the teacher follows for the development of a participative project developed by the students focused

to contribute to improving their own lives and those of their communities. It consists of a set of principles and a series of specific steps. It is sufficiently flexible to adapt to a variety of socioeconomic contexts, time constraints, and ages of participants.

- The participative methodology leads teachers step by step to guide their students in the design, implementation and evaluation of an initiative that contributes to improving the quality of their surroundings. The participatory project serves as an experiential civic engagement opportunity where social cohesion in the group is created, where there is a democratically establishment of rules for group work, and where participants map their community to determine through deliberation and consensus what situation or problem they would like to improve or resolve. After this, a plan of action is established; the group delegates responsibilities, executes the plan and evaluates the results by continuous reflection of their actions (Appendix 1).

- Implementation of participative projects. Projects are the practical opportunity and the tool to develop democratic citizenship competencies in students such as democratic deliberation, sense of belonging, social participation, self-efficacy, and agency to contribute to improving their surroundings. The criteria for these projects is that (1) it should be significant to students and respond to a real need of the community, (2) be guided by and implemented by themselves with shared decisions with a facilitator, (3) consider the common good and (4) respect the norms and rules of their school community (Appendix 2).

Foundation to Achieve Results

The foundation to achieve the expected results considers a positive experience of civic participation where teachers help their students understand that their ideas are valued and their voices listened to; where they discover the challenges of working for the common good, but also an opportunity to discover how they are capable of learning and overcoming those challenges by a strong bond with teachers who encourage them to strengthen their social capital, their communication skills, trust and caring relationships.

Expected Results

The expected results of the program are to carry out a program based on learning by doing and the reflection on one's practice, where teachers can understand conceptual elements and methodological processes of Education for Democratic Citizenship, as well as the process of carrying out a participative project with their students.

It is also expected that participating teachers in this program will have exercised pedagogical competencies for an effective teaching of democratic citizenship, congruent with the competencies that they seek to develop in their students. This means a shift in paradigm from being the main knowledge transmitter to becoming a facilitator of a learning experience: to working under democratic principles,

listening to the voice of their students and using democratic deliberation in the teaching practice. This implies having the capability to analyze their reality, think critically about it, dialogue with others, search for the common good and discover ways to work collaboratively to act consequently.

It is expected that teachers develop pedagogical competencies that allow them to ensure an effective learning opportunity for their students. That implies the use of resources to broaden their students' achievement such as clear goals, specific mechanisms, and standards. In the same way, teachers will be capable of implementing a participative methodology for the development of projects with the authentic participation of students.

Regarding the students, it is also expected that this experience will help them understand how they can contribute to improving their own life conditions and those of their communities, where the process implies the dominion and the transfer to the practice of democratic citizenship competencies and the appropriation of a methodology that generates a sense of self-efficacy and agency to continue to do the same beyond the subject matter and the classroom.

The following diagram describing the Theory of Change shows the way each of the three key Program Activities – (1) Teacher training (2) Understanding of principles and steps of Participatory Methodology (3) Implementation of Participatory Projects by Students and the results of the expected outcomes – (1) Development of pedagogical competencies in teachers, (2) Effective implementation of the Methodology, (3) Development of democratic citizenship competencies. The diagram also shows how the activity of Teacher training follows a process of reflection of practice and how the Participatory Projects by Students follow a series of steps of the methodology abbreviated here (Appendix 1).

Teacher Pedagogical Competencies

More specifically, the participant teachers are expected to develop throughout the program pedagogical competencies that enhance the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship education. Besides improving their knowledge on teaching practice, the teachers demonstrate their acquisition of competencies by their practical work in their classroom which means understanding fundamental key elements of education for democratic citizenship and being able to put into practice the pedagogical principles for the elaboration of participative projects. This includes being able to create a democratic climate in the classroom, understanding the participatory methodology and being able to guide the implementation by the facilitation of spaces where the generators of ideas are the students themselves, this means, assuming the role of facilitator of the process and trusting students' capacity to develop their own initiatives, using dialogue to guide the establishment of rules by democratic deliberation, encouraging the fact that the projects emerge from an analysis of their own reality, and by considering everyone's opinions in decision-making. It is essential to use practices of reflection and analysis in each stage of the participatory
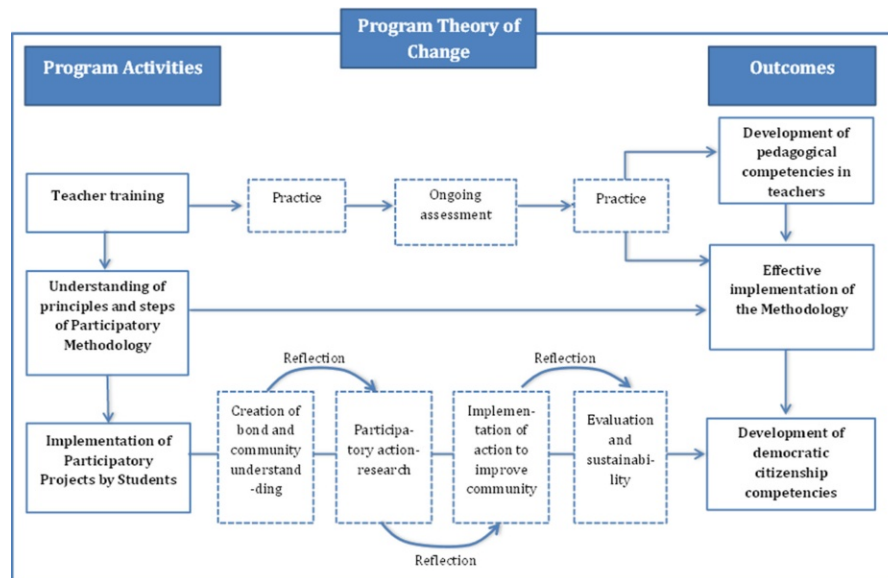
Figure 1. Theory of change

project through a metacognitive process about why we will do what we will do and to guide the group to ensure the understanding of concepts and the transfer of learning to daily life; this with the intention of establishing trust between teachers and students; and finally guaranteeing that the deliberation processes be democratic and include all the students considering the richness of different viewpoints.

Student Democratic Citizenship Competencies

At the same time, it is expected that the work of teachers lead to the development of democratic citizenship competencies in students. For example, these include: to think proactively about their reality, carry out processes of democratic deliberation so that through dialogue they can analyze external information, analyze it critically and make decisions focused on action; assume responsibility in terms of their own reality and carry out actions that contribute to the common good; develop a sense of "agency" by discovering their potential for action and to improve the conditions of the school community along with a sense of self-efficacy of feeling capable to transfer this knowledge to other spaces of life.

Curriculum and Didactic Strategy

The curriculum design of the training sessions was developed using the Teaching for Understanding framework and tools (Blythe, 1999) which are focused on expanding

opportunities for teaching and learning through a conceptualization of planning elements that lead to understanding: generative topics, understanding goals and performances of understanding and ongoing assessment.

Accordingly, one of the main didactic strategies of the program consists in promoting a sense of critical self-assessment in teachers about their own teaching practices. This critical view is about constantly asking themselves if what they are teaching is really generating learning opportunities for the students. This critical assessment is fundamental in allowing the teachers to constantly go back to their goals, re-define their strategies, examine their teaching practices and adjusts their mechanisms of evaluating student learning (Blythe, 1999).

In order to achieve this, the curriculum is composed of five modules. Each module has a conceptual and a practical component that are interrelated and distributed in two moments of the training session, plus another space for the exchange of experiences and for ongoing assessment:

- Joint work to understand key concepts in Education for Democratic Citizenship and pedagogical aspects to strengthen teaching practice.
- Collaborative work to understand practical methodological for the implementation process of a participative project.
- Exchange of experiences, collaborative feedback and reflection of one's practice through dialogue, considering a critical and personal analysis, focused on enriching the construction of group knowledge.

Evaluation of Learning and Ongoing Assessment

The ongoing assessment is a key element of this Program. It serves two objectives. First it serves to understand the development of pedagogical competencies in

Table 1. Teacher training program topics

MODULE 1 – Introduction and General Structure of Program
CONCEPTUAL COMPONENT Relevance of Program and Contextualization of current social and educational situation Objectives and general structure of program Teaching for understanding Role of teacher as facilitator PRACTICAL COMPONENT Social cohesion Establishment of rules Democratic deliberation

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued)

MODULE 2 – Identification of Issue for Improvement

CONCEPTUAL COMPONENT
Education for Democratic Citizenship
Principles of the Participative methodology
Positive Learning environments
PRACTICAL COMPONENT
Understanding the Characteristics of the Problem
Community Mapping
Social Research

MODULE 3 – Action Plan

CONCEPTUAL COMPONENT
Essential didactic strategies
Levels of participation: Ladder of participation
Democracy in Latin America and dimensions of citizenship
PRACTICAL COMPONENT
Data Analysis and Definition of the Problem
Indicators and Work Plan Development
Distribution of responsibilities

MODULE 4 – Implementation

CONCEPTUAL COMPONENT
Metacognition applied to projects
Development models
PRACTICAL COMPONENT
Identification of Social Capital
Execution of Project
Collaboration and Communication with the Community

MODULE 5 – Evaluation and Closing

CONCEPTUAL COMPONENT
Self-efficacy in citizenship participation
Evaluation and ongoing assessment
Sustainability
PRACTICAL COMPONENT
Registration of Learning Experiences
Accomplishment of Goal and/or Reflecting on the Experience
Dissemination
Celebration

teachers directed to the development of democratic citizenship competencies in students. Second, it provides well-timed feedback to expand educational opportunities.

We will know that the participants have met the objectives of the program or are progressing if during the process they start putting in practice the competencies outlined in the different modules/phases of the program. This will be observed through rubrics applied in the follow-up of participants, and in self-evaluations performed by the participants themselves and by the work of students. In this same way, the focus on reflection on one's practice allows for an observation of the degree to which goals have been met.

The evaluation of learning and the ongoing assessment of the learning process of the teachers uses the following main mechanisms:

- Teacher questionnaire. This is a questionnaire that measures the development of pedagogical skills in teachers. It is applied in the first session of the program and its objective is to measure the intended results. This is a quantitative questionnaire that also serves for the overall program evaluation.
- Student questionnaire. This instrument measures teachers through students' achievement and includes questions assessing dimensions of civic knowledge and attitudes, interpersonal communication skills, pedagogical efficacy of the school, participation of student in school, intentions of political and social engagement and political and social engagement in the community. The questionnaire includes selected items from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS, 2009) developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). It is also used for the overall program evaluation.
- Monitoring documents for the implementation. Rubrics, formats, focus groups, field observations and other documentation material are used to determine the level of progress in the development of competencies at both the teacher and student level.
- Portfolio. It monitors throughout the school year the process of learning and the implementation of the program methodologies and tools by teachers in their classroom. This instrument collects qualitative information based on the description and reflection of each of the activities and a general reflection about teaching practices, student learning and the methodology for participative projects. It is used to give feedback on their participation.
- Follow-up formats. They contain evaluation criteria so that the facilitator can review the intended lesson plan with its actual implementation. One self-observation guide is provided as well as two follow-up formats, one for the self-assessment of the teacher and one for the self-assessment of the students. The formats include rubrics and checklists of processes, skills, behaviors and attitudes to determine the progress of the participative project.

Challenges the Program Has Met

The main challenge for some of the teachers is shifting their teaching paradigm from a more traditional approach to a learning by doing one in which they become facilitators of the learning process. However, we have seen many teachers undergo

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this transformation, often inspired by the motivated students resulting from their participation in the project elaboration.

Another challenge is finding time in the school schedule for the teachers to implement a participatory project. In Mexico, the non-education demands from the school system sometimes limit teachers' opportunities to implement more innovative pedagogical practices (OCDE, 2014). This challenge is present in any kind of effort to implement innovation in the classroom. In many cases there is a strong tendency to teach in a more traditional format. However, the majority of the teachers that have participated in this program, even those who are faced with this challenge, managed to overcome the time barriers and work with their students in a participatory project according to their own context and time constrains.

Specific Nature of the Program Compared to Other Teacher Training Programs

When following the analysis that experts in the field of Education for Democratic Citizenship such as Cox (2006) suggest, the focus of this program stands out because it goes beyond a traditional civic education towards a citizenship education. This is due to its emphasis in the development of competencies that are linked to the reality of participants and because they are enriched radically by principles of teaching-learning where "the principal focus of the paradigm is the combination of study and participation, debate, decision and collective action practices (Cox, 2006, p. 70)". At the same time, the program strives for citizenship education and democratic processes to go beyond the classroom to constructing a different relationship in the school (Appendix 2).

In terms of teacher training, this program includes a design that from its very start is congruent with the perspective of Education for democratic citizenship that is in alignment with experts in the field (Kerr, 2002) which implies that the teacher in addition to developing conceptual knowledge, puts into practice a methodology with students, allowing them to learn-by-doing. Research of the program (Reimers, Ortega, Cardenas, Estrada, & Garza, 2014) compared a rich pedagogical curriculum and this program and found that although rich pedagogy indeed improves teacher pedagogical practices, the opportunity of learning by doing that this program suggests increases teacher pedagogical practices plus civic knowledge, skills and civic participation of students in school which means a more comprehensive development of democratic citizenship competencies beyond factual knowledge solely.

Other distinct program characteristics are the mechanisms for follow-up, monitoring and feedback of the program. Teachers participating receive support throughout an entire school year to continue their learning journey based on reflecting on their practice. The teacher training programs offered through official government channels contribute in different dimensions, but many times do not foster a practical application of the learning of the course or do not provide follow-up throughout the year.

Education programs in different countries have subject matter that promote knowledge in terms of citizenship under subjects like ethics, civics, morality, values, among others; however, in this program the participative methodology that is presented is a specific contribution based on pedagogical strategies focused on promoting genuine participation. In some cases the participation of children and youth runs the risk of being merely decorative or a simulation, as pointed out by Hart (1997). This program strives to generate genuine participation so that more than being just designated by an adult or consulted, children can carry out their own initiatives, so that through this process they can develop skills that are important in life which as mentioned before, allows them to develop personal self-efficacy based on this experience where they were able to intervene in their reality, solve a problem and improve their surroundings. The trust in children's capacity to become an agent of change is a key and generative factor in this program which is relevant for motivation, perseverance and affective processes that allow the translation of knowledge and skills into efficient action (Bandura, 1997).

Finally, the design of the program is supported by research since its origin and through its implementation, which is relatively not found in teacher training programs of this kind, and which intends to have data to improve the program and ensure the expected results.

SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PROGRAM

Vía Educación is constituted as a nonprofit organization with a think-tank type configuration. Its purpose is the design, implementation and evaluation of pedagogical strategies that generate opportunities for social sustainable development, which means that the emphasis is in the creation of replicable, scalable models that can generate opportunities for social development in collaboration with other implementers. In this way, this program's sustainability is considered in two ways, to the extent to which local capabilities are installed and to the extent to which different actors, beyond Vía Educación can implement this model of teaching and learning in different spaces. Moreover, the participatory methodology, central pedagogical element of the program, is a social contribution open to anyone wishing to develop participatory projects with children and young people focused on the development of democratic citizenship skills and social commitment.

The sustainability of the program considers certain elements to ensure the quality of knowledge transfer and expand the possibilities of impact: design, Installation of capabilities, evaluation and collaboration.

The sustainability through the design considers a training process sufficiently structured and supported by teaching-learning materials and assessment guides that can be easily used, not only by the teachers, but also by the facilitator conducting the teacher professional development program in other contexts. The design is focused to the construction and installation of local capabilities. This is considered

a key element to achieve sustainability, as actors with the support of the materials could implement the methodology continuously on their own after the training and accomplish results. There is also a support system for the consolidation of capabilities developed through training, for follow-up, feedback and reporting of results that helps the optimal implementation of the model and expansion of impact.

Each implementation since 2007 has been accompanied by a program evaluation. This continuous effort has been useful to verify the maintenance of quality in every expansion of the program, considering changes in number of participants and contexts where it was implemented. Useful knowledge has resulted from this effort that allows an effective scaling up, strengthening the likelihood of expansion and sustainability.

Once the necessary adjustments were made, this led to the generation of a program prototype that has expanded to other states thanks to collaborative work between different stakeholders, including the public education system, universities, research centers, foundations and other civil society organizations around the country.

RESEARCH AND EVALUATION ON PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Evaluation System of the Program

Evaluations to measure program effectiveness have been carried out throughout the program's history. These evaluations include two types, formative and summative evaluations.

- Formative assessments: Research has been conducted on program processes to better understand the experience of the teachers and students who undergo the program and the fidelity of program implementation, as part of formative evaluation strategies. These assessments have allowed improvements to the operation and design of the program, and also to understand the current level of systematization of program processes. For this evaluation different quantitative and qualitative instruments have been used, including field observations, focus groups, documentation, feedback surveys and portfolio analysis.
- Summative evaluation: Research has also been conducted on the effects of the program on the target groups, including program teachers and their students, as part of summative evaluation efforts focused on evaluating results and impact. Outcome evaluations have found increases in both teacher pedagogical competencies and in student competencies related to civic engagement and democratic participation. For these evaluations mixed methods have been used, including questionnaires, focus groups and semi-structured interviews with program participants. The teacher and student questionnaire includes selected items from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS, 2009), among other instruments (TALIS, 2008, INEE, 2013).

Results

The findings from the formative evaluation efforts have been rich in determining what it is that teachers do to produce better results for students. In particular, a process evaluation that included classroom observation of 20 participating teachers at five moments of the school year enabled a proximity to the teaching practice and the verification of certain teacher competencies that finally result in the development of specific student competencies (Vía Educación, 2008). For example, teachers who implemented the participative methodology had students who were able to better understand the process of elaborating a participation project and were more likely to do so successfully. Qualitative analysis of these observations noted that these teachers effectively understood the pedagogical principles for the elaboration of participation projects, for example:

- Facilitating spaces where the generators of ideas are the students themselves
- Having projects emerge after students' analysis of their own reality and taking into account everyone's opinion in decision-making processes
- Passing through reflection and analysis processes in each phase always passing through a metacognitive process about why we do what we do
- Assuming a role as facilitators of the process, trusting the capacities of students to develop their own initiatives.\
- Guiding the group to ensure the understanding of concepts and the transfer of learning to daily life
- Seeking that the deliberation processes be democratic and include all students considering the richness of differences by including all opinions.

This same qualitative study (Vía Educación, 2008) showed that the program has been successful in different ways. A direct link was observed between improving teacher pedagogical skills and the change in a teacher's role from a more traditional approach to a facilitator capable of implementing a participative methodology, in addition to the increased motivation of students on civic engagement. Furthermore, students' motivation increases teachers' motivation to implement innovative pedagogical strategies directed to improve academic achievement and democratic citizenship competencies in their students. Teachers report an improvement in school climate, more acceptance of each other and less teasing and making fun of peers, resulting in academic achievement.

The monitoring of the participatory projects developed by teachers and students indicate that this element of the program is key in generating a space for the development of democratic citizenship competencies. The complexity of the projects varies from school to school and it is related to the context, all of them are done with their own means. They can be categorized in improvement of school climate (for example, improving relations among students and teachers, peaceful conflict resolution and anti-bullying efforts), implementing mechanisms to enhance academic achievement (peer tutorial systems and afterschool homework support

groups) and improvement of infrastructure (for example, projects have included improving playing areas, improving school bathrooms, planting trees, recycling, and even building a library or bringing water to the school[4]).

The summative evaluations of results are composed of two dimensions: (1) the analysis of results in terms of pedagogical skills in teachers and (2) the analysis of results of competencies for active citizenship participation in students.

One recent evaluation of results that considered a before and after measurement of 142 teachers and 4,970 students finds that participating teachers increase the use of non-traditional teaching methods, their level of self-efficacy, their skills to create deliberative spaces within the classroom and their capacity to carry out activities more focused on topics of citizenship and democracy (Vía Educación, 2012). Additionally, the evaluations have found that students who participate in these projects improve their capacity for communication and trust in expressing their ideas effectively, as well as their skills for active participation (Vía Educación, 2012).

Another evaluation of the program was published in 2014 (Reimers, Ortega, Cardenas, Estrada, & Garza). This study explains the impact of teacher training through innovative proposals for Civics and Ethics focusing on the development of citizenship competencies in lower-secondary school students. The evaluation had a quasi-experimental design and used a sample of 60 teachers and a total of 2,608 students, with comparative within-school groups.

This evaluation compared two pedagogical approaches, one treatment group focused on an enriched Lesson Planning (LP) design where teachers used a variety of instructional materials and didactic materials. This approach was intended to assess the impact of the existing curriculum and instructional materials with teacher professional development and support for lesson planning. The other pedagogical approach involved the use of the participatory methodology described in this chapter. This treatment group Participatory Learning (PL) was intended to assess the impact of a learning-by-doing alternative pedagogical approach.

This evaluation demonstrated that this program's participatory methodology succeeded in significantly improving teacher practice. The study shows results that are statistically significant for teacher general pedagogical practices, also for the development of teacher competencies for civic pedagogy, discussion of civics topics, and opportunity for student participation in school and decision-making. Regarding the students, the evaluation demonstrated statistically significant results in students in attitudes towards gender equality, civic knowledge and skills, participation of students in school, and vision for the future. This treatment also shows marginally significant impact on the development of interpersonal communication skills and on the intent for political and social action in the community.

The study also indicates that there is a negative impact on trust in institutions. "This might be result of the combination of greater knowledge of the role and responsibilities of governmental institutions with what their perception of the current

context when assessing their performance (Reimers, Ortega, Cardenas, Estrada, & Garza, p. 48, 2014)."

Although the Lesson planning (LP) treatment group also generated similar positive effects in pedagogy, there are specific dimensions targeted by the participatory methodology (PL) that showed statistically significant results in students regarding Civic knowledge and skills, participation of student in school, interpersonal communication skills and political and social action in the community that were not witnessed by the LP group. A summary of the effects of the LP and the PL (program) results versus a comparative group can be found below:

	LP vs control	PL vs control
Teaching practices		
Civic pedagogical practices	+++	+++
General pedagogical practices		+++
Discusion of civic topics	+++	+++
Opportunity for student participation	+++	+++
Democratic practices in school		
Civic attitudes, knowledge and skills		
Targetted		
Attitudes towards gender equity	+++	+++
Tolerance to different people		
Trust in institutions	--	--
Tolerance to break norm		
Interpersonal communication skills		+
Civic knowledge and skills		+++
Pedagogical efficacy of school		
Participation of student in school	+	+++
Intentions of political and social action		
Political and social action in the community		+

Figure 2. Direction and significance level of the effect of each treatment group[5]
Note: +++ positive and p<0.01, ++positive and p<0.05, +positive and
p<0.1, ---negative and y p<0.01, --negative and p<0.05, -negative and y p<0.1

Overall, the implementation of the participatory methodology expands the teaching and learning opportunities for participant teachers and their students, although the different school demands and the willingness of teachers to change their teaching style; teachers that commit to a disposition to improve their teaching practice, do indeed succeed in the development of pedagogical competencies and their students demonstrate high motivation in participating to improve their school community considering a common good perspective and in the practice they become more civically engaged.

The evaluation processes of this program have been gradually strengthened trying to better capture the experience of the participants (Jaramillo & Murillo, 2013; Mejía, 2013). However, it is still limited in its possibility of quantifying the

commitment and work of so many teachers, their fulfilment as they reconnect with their own vocation, what it means to see the young participants take pride realizing that they were the ones who made a change in their school and a change relevant to them, the way some of them previously seemed disinterested in school and are now highly motivated with their projects, going to school in overtime or on weekends, dialoguing with other peers, teachers and members of the school community to join efforts to achieve the proposed change and thinking about the common good. Children with so many creative ideas, expressing their dreams, and using their talents no matter how difficult their socioeconomic condition is what continues to motivate us in our own work and in sharing this experience with others.

Final Note

The work developed, starting several years ago, has been an opportunity to fulfil our commitment so that children in our country have the educational opportunities that they deserve so they can be subjects of the transformation of their own lives and those of their communities – honest, just people who seek the common good (Pope Francisco, 2016). We trust that what we have learned (and keep learning) is a seed that may be useful to others to expand and continue this mission. We thank professors and researchers from different countries in the field of Democratic Citizenship Education for their work that has deeply inspired us and with whom we share a common purpose. We also thank Vía Educations' staff[6] that has contributed with hard work, commitment and thinking, as well as friends from different non-profit organizations and foundations with whom we have had the privilege to work. Finally, we thank and profoundly admire so many teachers with whom we have worked that demonstrate a true vocation and who have done remarkable things in spite of unfavorable conditions, inspired by the care and trust in the potential of all children. Furthermore, final thanks to the children, who inspire and fill us with hope.

NOTES

[1] Vía Educación is a non-profit organization and think tank based in Mexico, with the mission of generating opportunities for sustainable social development through the design, implementation and evaluation of educational strategies. www.viaeducacion.org

[2] In 2012, Mexico ranked 53 out of 65 countries and economies in the PISA survey which assessed the competencies of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science.

[3] The Pedagogical Technical Advisor (ATP by its Spanish acronym) is an agent within the Public Education System that accompanies the implementation of the Educational Reform in schools.

[4] Water for the School. In a rural school in southeast Mexico, a teacher starts a conversation with her students regarding what they can do to improve the conditions of their school community. Students begin to dialogue about their school, their needs, and the relationships among those needs.
   The teacher guides the students, who are encouraged that their voices are being heard. Then the teacher asks them what they believe the rest of the school community thinks, and the students decide to survey their peers to see what others think can be improved in their school. Students design their survey and ask their peers and school staff for their opinions. They return with their results and then deliberate how they should interpret the information.

The teacher asks what they learned from the experience, and students explain how they interacted with the people they talked to and how everybody was interest in improving the school community. Sparking discussion transforms the school; people talk about how to improve different things, many of which have been unresolved for a long time; for example, some walls need painting, desks need to be fixed, or children need accessible play areas.

Soon, one idea begins to stand out: water. There is no water in the restrooms, so they have been closed for several years. Supposedly, a pipe truck was meant to bring water once in a while, but the inconsistency of this service made the school staff decide to close the restrooms. Students cannot even wash their hands; there is only a big container to fill with water using a bucket. Students can use a small amount only when it is urgently needed.

The students begin to brainstorm ideas about how to solve this problem, and the teacher follows the participatory methodology of the project and directs them using the criteria to decide what to improve. Water will benefit everybody and is within the rules of the school. The final criterion is the students' capability to solve the problem with their own skills within a specific timeframe. The students are motivated by now. They insist that this is something that most of their peers mentioned in the survey, and they feel capable of finding a solution.

The teacher facilitates a new discussion process to examine alternatives methods of solving the problem by their own means. Soon, the students suggest bringing water to the classroom from a neighbor's well. Challenges are presented by the teacher and the students: what if the neighbor won't share his or her water? How can we transport the water?

This conversation provides the background for creating the Action Plan. Students determine what has to be done, by whom and at what time. Responsibilities and roles are assigned; they decide to have a president of the project, a treasurer and coordinators of specific tasks. By now, the students have organized the rest of the community, and all are motivated to participate. They have decided that they need a water pump, and they came up with several ways to earn the money required to buy it, such as selling tickets for the raffle of a soccer ball.

They implement the project by first speaking with the school principal, then talking to the neighbor about the project and deciding the best way to transport the water to the school.

A few weeks later, the students have encouraged the entire school community to participate and have a motivated principal who supports them. The rest of the students of the school are also participating, and the neighbor has agreed to share the water from his well. A committee buys the pump using the money from the raffle and organizes the process to install it. The students dig a path from the well to the school, and the pump will soon provide water.

While working on the project, the students have applied different democratic citizenship competencies. For example: Understanding and analyzing the world around them; developing communication skills while considering democratic methods of assessing issues. This discussion allows students to find solutions and organize with others to implement them, motivating others in the community to participate. Students use data collection tools, learn to think in terms of the common good, value the importance of individual opinions, and design specific actions to accomplish their goals.

By the end of sixteen weeks, there is a working pump, the restrooms have been opened, and clean water is being provided for everyone in the school. During the weekly school assembly, students who coordinated the project present its results and acknowledge those who helped. We observe how the students have changed; a girl who at the beginning of the school year was nervous about speaking in front of crowds is now presenting the finances of the project to the school and explaining how the resources were used. With a new sense of strength in their voices, the students who coordinated the project thank everyone for their participation in this project. This Project's video: http://viaeducacion. org/portfolio/el-agua/

[5]   Table extracted from the mentioned study by Reimers et al. (2014).

[6]   In particular, Ana del Toro for the translation and input on evaluation and Armando Estrada for his support in the elaboration of this chapter and in helping to make this program possible.

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APPENDIX 1. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPATORY METHODOLOGY

Learning to participate by participating
Participatory methodology

Phase	Step	Description
Beginning	*Preparation with Facilitator*	Teachers explain the methodology and what it means to undertake a truly participatory project.
General Structure of the Program	*Presentation and Motivation*	Teachers present the program's objectives and discuss the procedure of designing and implementing a participatory project to the group.
	Social Cohesion	The teacher guides participants to get to know each other and to establish links through informal dialogue. Teacher discusses with the group the concepts of social cohesion, diversity and belonging, implements an integration activity, and reflects about what has been learned.
	Establishment of Rules	The teacher guides participants to set the rules of cooperation through democratic deliberation. Students discuss and establish proposed rules. Teacher discusses with the group the concepts of belonging, deliberation, democracy, dignity of human beings, equality, rule of law, and student rights. The class reflects about what has been learned.
	Description of the Program with the Students	The teacher and the students review the objectives and details of the participatory project. Students understand the path they will follow to complete the project. The teacher clarifies any questions. The class discusses the concepts of citizen participation, methodology of the project, and the "common good."
Identifying the Problem	*Understanding the Characteristics of the Problem*	Students understand the project's criteria. The project must: • Improve the quality of the environment. • Represent the needs and interests of the community. • Be carried out by the students, with shared decisions with adults (Hart, 1997). • Be carried out within the specified time frame. • Be within the rules or previously established social norms of the community.

	Community Mapping	The teacher guides participants to investigate what they want to improve through community mapping and early problem identification (discussing problems they have observed, or aspects that can be improved, having informal dialogue with members of the community, designing a map of the school community, considering infrastructure or the relationship between members of the community). Teacher discusses with the group the concepts of social research, data collection instruments and the common good, in the new context.
	Social Research	The teacher guides the students to establish and apply data collection tools in order to include the opinion of the whole community in the selection of the problem. After gathering information, the class reflects on the process and on their lessons learned during the data collection.
	Data Analysis and	Through dialogue, the participants are guided by the teacher in order to establish mechanisms for data analysis. Students establish how to analyze the data collected. The analysis is carried out; they establish priorities and present their findings.
	Definition of the Problem	The students deliberate to decide what to improve in their classroom or community, considering the criteria for the project established earlier. The group discusses the concepts of deliberation, democratic principles and understanding of equality.
Work Plan	*Work Plan Development, Identification of Social Capital, and Distribution of Functions*	The teacher dialogues with participants using the analyzed data to establish an action plan focused on improving the quality of their environment. Students participate to establish an action plan to follow up on the identified problem. Responsibilities are distributed through dialogue, establishing committees or work teams. The students analyze the group's social capital, timeline and necessary resources and establish indicators to carry out the action.

(*Continued*)

Learning to participate by participating
Participatory methodology

Implementation of the Action	*Execution of Project*	The teacher monitors progress throughout the process of implementing the action plan.
	Collaborate and Communicate with the Community	Participants carry out the responsibilities set out in the action plan. They involve the community, link their initiatives with the social capital identified, hold community meetings, and communicate about the project and its progress.
Evaluation	*Registering of Experiences*	Throughout the implementation of the project, participants register their experiences and reflect on them to consolidate the learning process of democratic citizenship competencies. The participants also reflect on progress and new strategies are designed if needed to accomplish their goal.
	Accomplishing the Goal and/or Reflecting on the Experience	Students achieve an observable change in the community that improves the quality of their environment.
	Reflection session of the Progress of the Project	The teacher guides students into reflection and assessment of their progress and the final outcome of their project.
	Diffusion	The teacher guides them the students in the preparation of the results. They carry out the dissemination of the results to the rest of the community.
	Celebration	Students and teachers celebrate the whole experience. The students may organize an activity to celebrate their efforts with the community.
	Next Steps	The participants, guided by the teacher, propose specific actions to follow up the changes they achieved or to design new strategies to achieve the desired results.

APPENDIX 2. COMPARISON BETWEEN A TRADITIONAL-APPROACH PROJECT AND A PARTICIPATORY PROJECT

Traditional projects	Participatory project
Teacher determines what the Project is about	The Project are children's initiatives with shared decisions with adults.
The Project is assigned	Deliberation takes place to achieve consensus The community is taken into account to select project's goal. The Project is based in real necessities of the School Community
Motivation is generally "extrinsic"	Motivation is generally "intrinsic"
Teacher determines work plan.	Children determine work plan
Teacher designates responsibilities	Children decide responsibilities for themselves
Most of decisions are unilateral/directive	Decisions are taken under democratic principles
Children are followers of instructions	Children are leaders and initiative managers
Little consideration of the rest of the community	Communities participates, and develops capabilities, since the beginning to the end
Children have low expectations	Children have high expectations and develop a sense of commitment
Not very flexible	Adaptable to times, spaces and capacities of participants.
Teacher has a directive style leadership	Teacher is a Facilitator that also learns and develops capacities.
Mistakes are considered something negative.	Mistakes are considered a learning opportunity
Little relation with the real/daily life of the student	Project originates from children's reality it is completely linked to their daily life.
It does not seek to develop a sense of community	Generates identity and sense of belonging to a community
Little potential to transcend beyond school	It has the potential to transcend to the rest of the community
It is not necessarily a hands-on experience	Main characteristic is "learning by doing"
Little relationship with sustainable development	It has a perspective of sustainability and common good.
Few opportunities for skills development	It is focused on the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes/values in a practical way
Little relationship with the development of self-efficacy	It develops a sense of "self-efficacy" in the participant that is to say that the person perceives himself capable of participating and contributing to improve his own reality.

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11. GOOD PRACTICES ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN CHILE AND THE ROLE OF PROMOTING PROSOCIAL BEHAVIORS IN SCHOOL SETTINGS[1]

INTRODUCTION

Chileans, like people from most Latin American countries, report little trust in their political institutions (66.6% of the population reported having low or no trust in the justice department, 76.9% in the congress and 64.9% in the government; Corporacion Latinobarometro, 2013). Indeed, the observed decline in Chilean voter turnout has been stronger than in other democracies of the world (Corvalan & Cox, 2011). Data from the electoral registry in Chile indicate that between 1988 and 2013, the proportion of voter turnout decreased from 89% to 58% in 2009, and declined further in 2013 to 49.3%. However, if we look at values related with citizens' interest in the common good, Chilean society describes solidarity (i.e., defined as the ties in a society that bind people together; Fireman & Gamson, 1979) as one of its most important values. Indeed, Chile is ranked second among Latin American countries in inhabitants' belief about their compatriots' commitment to solidarity (Román, Ibarra, & Energici, 2014). In the Chilean context, for example, helping behaviors arise especially in reaction to natural disasters, like earthquakes, which are comparatively frequent (Drury, Brown, González, & Miranda, 2016). Accordingly, even if the tendency of Chilean citizens is to be involved in specific solidarity actions and feel responsible of their communities' needs, it seems that their active participation and commitment in broader collective spheres of political life are less frequent.

Moreover, the Global Competitiveness Index, a combination of twelve factors of competitiveness,[2] locates Chile as the 30th most competitive country in the world and the first in Latin America (World Economic Forum, 2009–'10). Chile has growingly showed regional leadership, owing to its stable democracy, high quality of life, and comparatively low poverty rates (United Nations Development Program, 2008). Nevertheless, Chile has one of the most segregated educational systems of the world, resulting in significantly unequal education opportunities (OECD, 2009). Chile lacks those mechanisms, which make economic growth compatible with social justice and equality. It is not a coincidence that, in recent years, Chile has experienced an unprecedented wave of social mobilizations, which have articulated issues such as educational reforms, employment, and territorial and ethnic conflicts at the urban

and regional level. From 2006 onwards, youth- specifically students- played a crucial role as protagonists of massive demonstrations called the "Penguin Revolution" and the "Chilean Winter". Both social movements illustrate how students can be relevant political actors in educational debates. However, as posited by Bellei and Cabalin (2013), one of the paradoxes of this situation is that these mobilizations took place during a period of a solid and systematic economic growth, while citizens are simultaneously declaring substantial levels of well-being and satisfaction with their lives. Thus, the contradictory scenario in Chile is such that political engagement and trust on institutions decreases, in a country with a long a relevant tradition of civic interest and solidarity (especially, in front of natural disasters) and a recent and robust youth participation in social mobilizations.

Bearing in mind all these distinctive features of current Chilean society, *the question arises* as how Chileans push themselves beyond their own individual sphere and contribute systematically to better societal conditions. The current chapter aims to bear light, at least partially, on this issue from a practical point of view. We will focus on some of the relevant experiences in the promotion of civic engagement in Chile (i.e., the service-learning programs) and we will introduce a school-based program to foster a cohesive citizenship (i.e., the ProCiviCo program) as a plausible way to empirically test a model for the enhancement of prosocial behaviors and civic engagement within contexts of social segregation.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN CHILE

We know that civic engagement, which reflects a broader interest in the common good and may be observed in multiple attitudes and actions (Amna, 2012), is a recognized ingredient of social cohesion (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Particularly in Chile, because of its high economic inequality, it seems crucial to look at the essential role of schools in the process of political and civic socialization, as foundation of social cohesion.

Schools should promote and strengthen positive social skills, habits, and values that allow students to participate actively in their communities, whereas prepare them to be politically and civically engaged in adult life. Positive youth development (PYD) theorists, who are interested in fostering positive development in a broad sense, have argued for the importance of developing, within the school context, caring attitudes towards others (Lerner, Lerner, Almerigi, & Theokas, 2005). Although much of the theory and research on school climate has focused on safety, violence at school, and learning-related outcomes, investigators interested in caring school communities have emphasized the importance of the social and interpersonal aspects of the school experience and their relevance to youths' sense of community (Solomon, Battistich, Watson, Schaps, & Lewis, 2000). Indeed, it is growingly recognized that schools reach the best results in fostering civic engagement when they systematically teach both civic knowledge and skills, by ensuring an open classroom climate for

discussion, showing the importance of the electoral process, and encouraging a real participative school culture (Martinez & Cumsille, 2015; Torney-Purta, 2002). In terms of civic education, in Chile, a long way has been done until the recent approval of the law that considers teaching of civic education mandatory from preschool to high school, "which provides students the necessary preparation for responsible life in a free society and guidance to the overall improvement of the human person as the foundation of the democratic system, social justice and progress" (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2016). The immediate roots of this law were found in results of international tests of civic education (e.g., CIVED; ICCS), that showed Chilean eighth grade students with scores below the international average (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2014). In this vein, in 2004 the government organized a politically plural commission of Citizen Education (Formación Ciudadana) coordinated by the Ministry of Education, which published a report, that stresses the relationship between civic education and the official curricula (Castillo et al., 2014).

In the current Chilean law, beyond the teaching of contents related with the civic sphere, there is a focus on the development of civic skills and behaviors. In this vein, studies performed in Chile showed the relation of civic socialization and school by considering the role of students' socioeconomic features. For example, in late adolescents the attachment to and sense of belonging at school was related with their participation in prosocial and political activities (Martinez & Cumsille, 2015). Another recent Chilean's study stressed the power of the school to mitigate the relation between socioeconomic status and civic participation, in which both the level of civic knowledge and the classroom democratic climate exerted significant influences on students' expected participation, as well as to reduce part of the negative impact of the status and cultural capital variables on civic future participation (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2015).

Thus, a good portion of the efforts of Chilean schools might be directed towards programs and teaching actions in which students were in conditions of experiencing the benefits to be engaged in school and civic life. The following sections stand as examples of good practices in the development of civic engagement in school settings in Chile.

SERVICE-LEARNING PROGRAMS AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Service-learning is an approach to teaching and learning in which students use academic knowledge and skills to address genuine community needs; is a flexible tool, adapted to different school levels, community needs, and curricular goals (Furco, 1996). A typically used example for explaining the concept of service-learning is the following: "Picking up trash on a river bank is service; studying water samples in a microscope is learning. Only when science students collect and analyze water samples, document their results, and present findings to a local pollution control agency, that is *service-learning*" (Tapia, 2006).

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Service-learning programs differs from other methods in their intention to equally benefit the provider and the recipient of the service as well as to ensure equal focus on both the service being provided and the learning that is taking place. In order to achieve this, service-learning programs must meet some conditions and be designed in a way that ensures that service promotes learning and learning promotes service (Tapia, 2006). The use of service-learning in community colleges has increased around the world and research continues to link participation in service-learning programs with an increasing list of student benefits. Among the possible benefits of service- learning participation is the fostering of greater civic awareness and commitment in students. In fact, a growing amount of empirical evidences attested the positive effect of service-learning programs on youth civic engagement (see Youniss & Yates, 1996). For instance, the experience of service-learning positively impacts students in the perception of their role as agents of change in society (Cooper, Cripps, & Reisman, 2013). Using a longitudinal design, evidences supported that the methodology of service-learning influenced the career choices of students, making them more prone to choose jobs that serve the community. Additionally, the experience of service-learning developed communication skills, leadership, teamwork and entrepreneurship of students, along with their skills to advise and facilitate team work (Newman & Hernandez, 2011).

In sum, real opportunities to be engaged in helping the community may increase the connection with the society as a whole. It seems that service-learning programs may expand the civic behavioural repertory of young people because give them the chances to exercise civic skills, to prove their participation and to practice ways to be effective in encountering other's and community's needs.

SERVICE-LEARNING IN CHILE: THE CASE OF THE PUC

In Latin America, service-learning was generally originated in the education institutions themselves. As reported by Tapia (2006),[3] pioneer programs arose in higher education (Mexico, Costa Rica, and Colombia), secondary schools (Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia), and also in primary schools (Uruguay). Even if in Chile several schools and universities have implemented programs of service-learning – probably without calling them in that terms – Chile's Ministry of Education has officially promoted service-learning since 2000. The program "Liceo para Todos"[4] uses service-learning as a tool to reduce the school dropout and improve educational quality. The program promotes peer tutoring in more than 200 secondary schools.

Since 2011 the Chilean National Network of Service-Learning (REASE) brings together teachers, students, universities, schools, civic groups and generally individuals and organizations who are interested in this methodology. Currently, the context of community colleges and universities are areas in which service-learning programs are growingly being developed in Chile. We will focus on one of the service-learning good practices in Chile, the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile (PUC) case, as an example that highlights the method and the results of

a service-learning program. We have chosen that program because of its quality and systematic evaluation, which allows to observe indicators of efficacy of the implementation.

The PUC is one of the Chile's oldest universities and one of the most renowned educational institutions in Latin America. The service-learning program began to be incorporated into the PUC as a result of the concern of a group of academics, who in 2004 raised the need to organize service practices that were performed in several college courses. Over time, the model started to be systematized for all the departments and careers. Today the program has a curricular focus on how service is linked to the learning objectives of each course and career. After an accurate training of the academics and scholars involved, the program was developed in two main phases: (a) the participating professors analyze a social or community problem in which that discipline could be a contribution; (b) the professors check the possibility of a service for responding to that problem and assess the consistency of the incorporation of such a service with the achievement of the learning objectives of his/her discipline. The methodology of service-learning is implemented on mandatory courses of different undergraduate programs, where the experience usually lasts one semester. An important aspect is that the decision to implement a course with this methodology is voluntary. The training of professors and scholars consists of a series of workshops specially designed so that they become familiar with the methodology and acquire basic design and teaching tools. Monitoring strategies involves evidencing links between learning objectives and community service. Moreover, the program generated a variety of tools to support the implementation and evaluation of the methodology, including the guide for professors and scholars (Castro, Moretti, Poblete, & Reutter, 2007).

The PUC program is based on a concept of horizontal relationship between the university and the community partner, who is an active agent in the diagnosis, understanding and solution of their own problems. In one assessment of the efficacy of the PUC program, students report that service-learning is a strategy that helps to improve learning in relation to professional practices, enabling the integration of different knowledge, as well as skills to be a good professional, communication skills, the ability to solve complex issues or teamwork. The belief of performing an action that will have real positive impact on their partners, or conversely, that may hurt them, improves students' perceptions of themselves and, at the same time, personal commitment to their professional activity (Berrios, Contreras, Herrada, Robles, & Rubio, 2012).

THE ROLE OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIORS AS PRECURSORS OF YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Prosocial behavior refers to those voluntary actions aimed to benefit others, such as sharing, donating, caring, and comforting (Batson, 2011) and that can be considered relevant precursors of civic engagement (Luengo Kanacri et al., 2015).

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A developmental approach tends to consider prosocial behaviors during childhood and adolescence as precursors of a generalized concern for others in civic domains in adulthood (Luengo Kanacri et al., 2014). Prosocial behaviors may behaviorally predispose people not only to think or to feel in favor of others, but to act concretely upon those feelings and beliefs. People who care about others in need are probably those who are more prone to care about the common good, in their daily life.

Some scholars have suggested that behaviors involving cooperation, helping, sharing, and emotions, such as empathy, are related to the development of concern for others at a more generalized level (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2006). Attachment theory suggests that people who feel secure in their close relations are more willing to invest time and effort in helping others in broader spheres (e.g., Gillath et al., 2005). Moreover, empirical evidence suggests that cooperative behaviors (i.e., involvement with charitable organizations) are associated with greater trust in institutions (Berigan & Irwin, 2011).

Over the years, scholars recognize that empathic concern and prosocial actions may be strategies designed to reduce prejudice, to improve attitudes towards other groups, and to produce more positive and cooperative social interactions (e.g., Batson, 2011). However, prosocial behaviors are not always conducive to mutual recognition and they can even maintain social exclusion and reinforce perceptions of status differences between helpers and recipients. Indeed, several scholars are calling attention to the relevance of extending prosocial behaviors outside one's own group, as well as to the collective-interest of prosocial actions and motives (e.g., Batson, Ahmad, & Tsang, 2002). Even if there is a strong consensus in identifying prosocial behaviors as one of the main precursors of civic commitment, the current challenge is to study the role that prosocial behaviors have in building beneficial interpersonal relations in which a good reciprocity among individuals and groups is the norm. Despite its relevance, few efforts have been made in order to evaluate which predictors may elicit, encourage and promote prosocial behaviors that will be conducive to a proactive citizenship.

PROMOTING PROSOCIAL BEHAVIORS IN SCHOOL SETTINGS

We know that schools are important socializing venues that can play significant roles in promoting prosocial behavior and civic engagement. They can nurture "character strengths" such as kindness and compassion, and can set the stage for exposing students to local, national, and international concerns for social justice and equality (Youniss & Yates, 1996).

In this vein, the most salient theoretical framework undergirding effective school-based interventions is Socio and Emotional Learning (SEL; Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011), which emphasizes the importance of building emotional and interpersonal capacities, and of developing prosocial behavior. Among current SEL intervention programs, however, the term prosocial

concerns positive or competent social behavior rather than specific prosocial actions, such as helping or caring. On the whole, these interventions have mostly focused on elementary schools and were directed at children aging from 6 to 12.

Based on a thorough review of these and other programs and their underpinnings, a school-based intervention was designed in Italy, and then implemented also in Colombia. The program, called Promoting Prosocial and Emotional Skills to Counteract Externalizing Problems in Adolescence (Italian acronym CEPIDEA), was directed to adolescents in middle-school. While many programs include social skills or prosocial behaviors as one specific component of their curriculum, the CEPIDEA program was unique, since it is entirely designed to promote prosocial behaviors. That is, we connected the development of key skills (including perspective taking and emotional regulation, for example) specifically to the promotion of prosocial actions. The last component reflects a more collective sphere of prosocial behaviors: the precursors of civic engagement. An additional characteristic of the CEPIDEA program is its focus on early adolescence, namely an age where children are more sensitive to peer relations and where prosocial behavior may carry manifold beneficial effects.

THE CEPIDEA PROGRAM (IMPLEMENTATION IN ITALY AND COLOMBIA)

The CEPIDEA curriculum included four major components that reflect the personal determinants of prosocial behavior and civic engagement. These components were implemented in Italy and Colombia in stepwise fashion over the course of the intervention: (1) sensitization to prosocial values; (2) development of emotion regulation skills (management of negative emotions, and expression and reinforcement of positive emotions); (3) development of perspective-taking skills; (4) improvement of interpersonal-communication skills; and (5) precursors of civic engagement. The program adopted persuasion, modelling, and mastery experience (Bandura, 1997) as relevant strategies for developing adolescents' abilities and self-efficacy beliefs that are conducive to prosocial behaviors. The conclusive section devoted to the promotion of a collectivistic enactment of prosocial behaviors in the school context, named "precursors of civic engagement", was longer than the others.

The effects of the CEPIDEA program have been evaluated at a longer follow-up (i.e., 18-month follow-up) and with intervention and control groups belonging to two different middle schools. Results substantially pointed out the effects of the CEPIDEA program on fostering prosocial behavior, interpersonal self-efficacy, agreeableness tendencies, and academic achievement, while reducing physical aggression (Caprara, Luengo Kanacri, Gerbino, Zuffiano, & Alessandri, 2014; Caprara, Luengo Kanacri, Zuffiano, Gerbino, & Pastorelli, 2015). Overall, these effects suggest that interventions aimed at promoting positive developmental processes, while having the potential to support positive outcomes, are also in the condition to counteract or redirect negative trajectories of functioning.

A CURRENT PROPOSAL FOR CHILE: THE PROCIVICO PROGRAM

Based on the CEPIDEA program, a novel program was designed to be applied in Chile, the ProCiviCo program.[5] The main aim of the program is to promote civic cohesive engagement. This project expects to be able to enhance social cohesion, precisely via prosocial behavior and civic engagement (PROsocial behavior and CIVIC engagement, leading to social COhesion). Thus, the ProCiviCo approach is grounded on the CEPIDEA program, but is adapted to the current Chilean society and its needs. Specifically, we have considered the lack of social cohesion in the country as a key target content of this intervention proposal, as we will explain in detail in the following sections.

THE PROCIVICO PROGRAM AND ITS THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The ProCiviCo program relies on the idea that distinct mechanisms or dimensions are related to prosocial behaviors, in a way that makes people more prone to care about their own communities and less dependent on prejudice and interpersonal conflicts. This proactive civic involvement, in turn, will allow social cohesion in the school setting. Within the theoretical rationale beyond the ProCiviCo program, the empathic self-efficacy beliefs will enhance prosocial behaviors and further civic participation in the school context (Caprara, Alessandri, & Eisenberg, 2012). The good news is that self-efficacy beliefs are relatively flexible and permeable to environmental inputs and teaching strategies (see Bandura, 1997). Thus, following CEPIDEA's approach, the ProCiviCo program lies on the conception that different dimensions need to be trained and improved in order to increase civic participation and social cohesion in the classroom setting. Children and adolescents that are responsive to others' problems and difficulties and are able to help them will be more skilful and eager to commit with society and common good in the future. In this sense, the ProCiviCo approach also will shed light on the relation between prosocial behavior, civic engagement, and social cohesion.

GOING BEYOND PROSOCIALITY: THE NEED FOR SOCIAL COHESION

As mentioned above, a central goal of the ProCiviCo program is to improve civic engagement among adolescents. However, this new approach goes further, since it expects to enhance social cohesion as a consequence of the increase of prosocial acts and civic commitment towards the whole community. The inclusion of social cohesion dimension is precisely related to the current need of the Chilean society. As mentioned above, although Chile emerges as a solidary and supportive society, this solidarity seems not to serve as a precursor of longer-term positive consequences, as social cohesion.

In order to better understand Chilean society, we need to take into account the effect of the implementation of the neoliberal model in the 1980s during the dictatorship, that occurred even before countries as the US and UK put into practice

the economic reforms. This new social and economic model provoked a growing social exclusion, among other socio-economic negative consequences (see Castelao, Caruana, & Srnec, 2012; Pochmann, 2007; Singer, 2007), that started with the neoliberal education reforms. In 1981, Chile introduced the "education voucher", by which the Ministry of Education paid for the education of Chilean students. This established the perfect context for the origin of a private education market, given that the voucher paid the state subsidy to both types of institutions, public and private schools (Cox, 1997). Soon, the number of subsidized private schools increased, especially in urban areas, attracting middle-class families that could not pay the private non-subsidized schools that did charge fees (Torche, 2005) as they were out of the voucher system. In addition, in the early 1980s, the reduction of public investment on education and the financial crisis led the families who could afford it to enroll in their children in subsidized private schools (Matear, 2007), since public schools were not perceived as able to offer a high-quality education. This clear differentiation among schools and the low guarantee of education that public schools seemed to offer, led to the fact that high status families enrolled their children in private schools, whereas low status families were forced to enrol their children in public schools. Obviously, this directly shapes future opportunities to have access to selected and good universities; thus, those children attending public schools (traditionally, children form low socio-economic status families) will have greater hurdles in order to attend competent and respected universities. Therefore, this educational system perpetuates the prevailing social hierarchy, making even more explicit citizens' differences according to their socio-economic status.

The division of social classes in terms of education access is one of the multiple ways in which Chilean society is broken. Beyond the education system, the segregation is well manifested in other dimensions, namely the health system they have access to and the drastic segregation across territories and neighborhoods, among others (see for example, Agostini, Brown, & Góngora, 2008; Barozet, Espinoza, Holz, & Sepúlveda, 2009; Escolano, Ortiz, & Moreno, 2007; Sabatini, Rasse, Mora, & Brain, 2012). In sum, the implementation of the neoliberal model had a strong impact on the Chilean social structure (see Espinoza, Barozet, & Mendez, 2013), as well as on individuals' social wellbeing (see Larraín & Toledo, 1990). Albeit the efforts to decrease differences between social classes through the implementation of social programs (see McClure, 1994; Torche & Wormald, 2004) today Chilean society is still highly segregated and lowly united (see COES survey, 2015), even if different ways of reducing inequality are proposed (see Ottone & Vergara, 2007).

We argue that the origin of the lack of social cohesion is precisely the huge differentiation among social classes in Chile, which is reflected in the school system (Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012). In this vein, prosocial behaviors are extremely important to the development of social cohesion, since it is at these "micro" levels where the origin of conflicts and the potential for their resolution can be found. In particular, in a country marked by strong challenges on social inequality, enhance prosocial behaviors at collectivistic levels, seems crucial if we intend to offer

applicable proposals for pertinent public policies for social change. We assumed that if adolescents take part in prosocial acts and civic engagement towards the whole community, including individuals from other socio-economic groups, this might contribute to enhance social cohesion in their classrooms in the long term. Whereas making explicit and salient the distinction between social groups might trigger in-group favoritism (i.e., the tendency to benefit the members of the own group) and out-group derogation (i.e., the tendency to negatively evaluate and exclude individuals who are not part of the own group; see Brewer, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), if we are able to dim the boundaries among social groups by increasing prosocial behavior and civic engagement towards children that belong to different social groups, a common and supra-ordinate identity might arise, enhancing social cohesion (see Sherif, 1966; Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Besides, extending prosocial behavior towards individuals from other social classes might also enhance intergroup contact, which leads to a reduction of prejudice towards those members of other social groups (Allport, 1954; De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Summing up, the ProCiviCo program is designed to enhance civic engagement and prosociality among young Chileans adolescents. More important, we expect that this commitment with others, especially with others who belong to different social groups, will enhance social cohesion among adolescents in classrooms formed by students from different social classes.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROCIVICO PROGRAM

The ProCiviCo program is designed to be applied in the school setting. Importantly, the program activities are not conceived as parallel and independent from the daily academic activities. Instead, the program aims to establish its activities and the theoretical background on which they are based, as a part of the educational practices and the school's curricular project. This way, the program will provide the schools and teachers with a valuable knowledge, methods and abilities regarding prosocial behavior, civic engagement and cohesion, that will be available to be applied at any time across subjects.

The ProCiviCo program uses different learning methodologies aimed at improving one of the most determining antecedents of prosocial behavior, which is also malleable: self-efficacy beliefs (see Bandura, 1997). The program intends to increase empathic and civic self-efficacy of students using techniques such as modelling of behaviors, giving feedback and mastery experiences (Bandura, 1997). In general, the program uses two main different teaching strategies over an academic year: workshops and lessons. Workshops are led by the research team in charge of the program, but always in collaboration with the teachers. They take place once a week and include group discussions, role playing and interviews among others methods. They also create the proper conditions and atmosphere to understand and experience each component of the program. On the other hand, lessons are led by

the teachers and consist in integrating civic issues in the academic lessons of each subject. Before showing commitment towards the whole community it is essential to show commitment towards individuals (Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). Therefore, this dimension of the program is intended to show how interpersonal prosocial behavior is the previous step to become an engaged citizen.

The final component of the program includes the real implementation of a "micro service-learning project" by each classroom, in which students show their skills and commitment with the community as an indicator of their civic cohesive engagement. Importantly, all these components are taught emphasizing the inter-group dimension of the current Chilean society. That is, each dimension of the program is especially explained and experienced to be applied towards individuals who belong to other social groups. Thus, social cohesion can be framed as a component that is trained transversely across the other components.

Given the central role that teachers play in their students' lives, an important strategy of ProCiviCo is related with the teacher training before and across the implementation of the intervention in the classrooms. Thus, teachers participating in the intervention attend seven training sessions (two hours per session) aimed at (a) sharing the intervention's theoretical background and goals; (b) learning to recognize and reinforce students' civic participation and prosocial behaviors; (c) acquiring intervention procedures; and (d) promoting a collaborative and democratic classroom climate.

Currently the program is being implemented and in order to provide empirical evidences of the effects of the ProCiviCo program at the long term in the main variables of the study (civic engagement, classroom cohesion, prosocial behaviors, etc.), the assessment considers different phases (pre-test; immediate post-test, and a six months' follow-up). We use the standards of randomized control trials (RCT) to minimize the selection bias and to ensure good comparisons among the intervention and control groups.

The ProCiviCo program offers an actual verification of a *reciprocal movement* with theory informing reality and reality re-orienting a conceptual hypothesis regarding positive trajectories of development of civic engagement in adolescents. Accordingly, throughout a curriculum gradually incorporated into routine educational practices, the major determinants of civic engagement during adolescence are addressed as vehicles of social cohesion in classrooms.

NOTES

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2   Institutions, technological progress, macroeconomic stability, infrastructure, health and primary education, higher education and training, goods market efficiency, financial market sophistication, market size, business, sophistication, and innovation.

3   Maria Nieves Tapia is founder and director of CLAYSS, the Latin American Center for Service-Learning, and co-founder of the Ibero-American Service-Learning Network, which seeks to connect service learning organizations across the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula.

4   The program "Liceo para todos" aimed to support the most vulnerable high schools in Chile during the period comprised from 2001 to 2005.

5   B. Paula Luengo Kanacri is the Principal Investigator of this proposal. Gloria Jiménez-Moya, together with Patricio Cumsille and Loreto Martinez are co-investigators. All of them are scholars of the Psychology Department of the PUC-Chile.

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