



CHAPTER 4:

Students' views on peaceful coexistence

Chapter highlights

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Students' attitudes toward the use of violence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

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

Notes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National ICCS 2016 average:

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

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

Disagreement
Agreement

Notes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

Students' endorsement of disobedience to the law

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National ICCS 2016 average:

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

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

Disagreement
Agreement

Notes:

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

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

Students' sense of empathy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes:

0 Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

Table 4.6: National percentages indicating students' sense of empathy

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

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

National ICCS 2016 percentage:

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

Notes:

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

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


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


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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes:

() Standard errors appear in parentheses.

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

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