

SOCIAL ORIGIN AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

Empirical research in political participation has consistently shown that participation is characteristic of those with higher socio-economic status and formal education (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Lijphart, 1997; Dalton, 1988; Han, 2009; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010). Socio-economic status differences among citizens are accentuated in societies with high economic inequality as the Latin American ones (De Ferranti et al., 2003; Deininger & Squire, 1996; Dion, 2007; Hoffman & Centeno, 2003; Korzeniewicz & Smith, 2000), and therefore it would be expected to find political inequality in terms of participation in this region (Côttes & Dubrow, 2011). Such a link is not only a threat to the principles of egalitarian political participation in a democracy, but in the Latin American context it also puts at risk the legitimacy of the democratic system itself, as it no longer represents the whole spectrum of its citizenry.

Schools are considered one of the key social institutions for neutralizing the effects of differences in social origin and for providing possibilities of social mobility. In the same sense, formal education is proposed as one of the main channels for promoting citizenship participation: it is in this institution where the practice of different concepts of authority and liberty as well as their interrelationships occur, whereas at the same time students gain access to experience the city and to break with the unconditionality of their homes. In this ideal sense, it would be expected that family socio-economic status differences would not be reflected in educational differences. As the empirical evidence suggests, this is hardly the case in any society, let alone highly unequal ones. Apart from differences in general educational achievement, it is certainly relevant to know to what extent social origin impacts on the participation levels at school and on the disposition to participate in future adult life, and if this is the case, to detect which variables at the school level have the potential of mitigating or enhancing this effect.

Given the availability of the ICCS 2009 data and its Latin American module, for the first time there is an opportunity for an empirical analysis of the relationship between low social origin and participation at school level in six countries: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay. We will focus on the analysis of participation at school as well as on expectancy of participation in the future. Besides, in both moments (present and future) we compare two aspects of participation in educational context, namely civic and civil. The civic dimension of participation

attempts to cover those aspect linked to formal political institutions such as election of representatives and membership in formal political organizations as political parties, whereas the civil dimension concerns activities that involve interaction with the local communities. Both aspects are part of a wider concept of citizenship education: “Citizenship education focuses on knowledge and understanding and on opportunities for participation and engagement in both civic and civil society. It is concerned with the wider range of ways that citizens use to interact with and shape their communities (including schools) and societies” (Schulz et al. 2010, p. 22). It has been pointed out that both participation forms interact with each other and are a necessary condition for the functioning of the democratic system:

“Civil associations contribute to the effectiveness and stability of democratic government, it is argued, both because of their "internal" effects on individual members and because of their "external" effects on the wider polity” (Putnam, 1993: p.89).

The paper is organized in five sections. The first part offers a context of the political culture of the six Latin American countries considered for this study. In the second section we describe the framework for the empirical analysis, which is centered on the influence of social origin variables on civic and civil participation. The third section introduces the data, variables and methods, whereas in the following section we present the results of the analysis. Finally, the last part summarizes the main findings and proposes areas for future research.

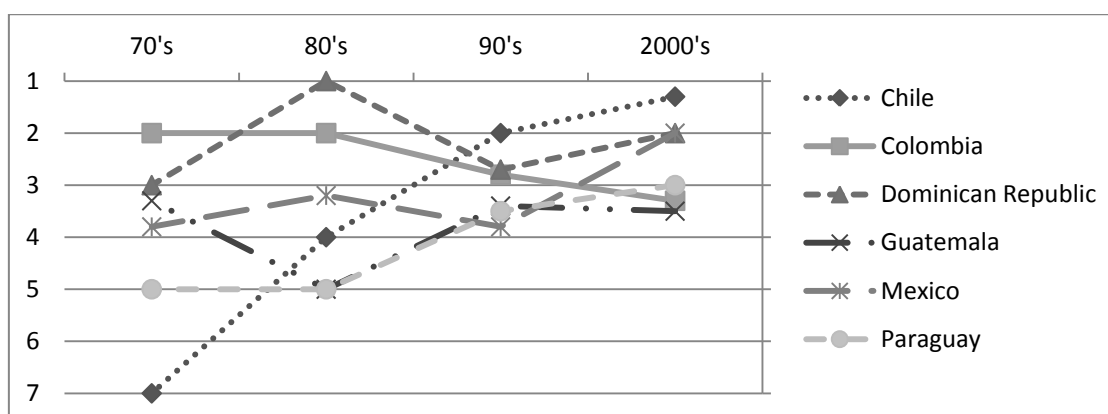
1. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA

In the context of Latin America and its fledgling democracies, there has been a growing interest in understanding the processes of political participation. Although there have been diverse attempts to consolidate representative regimes throughout the continent since the early twentieth century, these, on the whole, have been interrupted by political unrest, civil war, human rights abuse and military dictatorships (Hartlyn & Valenzuela, 1997). Efforts to consolidate democracy – especially in the post-dictatorship periods – focused on voter turnout in elections for public positions (Munk, 2011), based on the premise that “a legitimate government is the result of free citizenship and is accountable to the citizens for its policies and actions” (Hartlyn & Valenzuela, 1997, p.11). Over the last decade, however, the quality of the democracies has been questioned. Key evaluation criteria include participation in instances such as elections, decision-making

processes about policies implemented by the governments (Diamond & Morlino, 2004) and, to a lesser extent, participation and connection with community and peers.

For the purposes of this study, we focused on the 6 countries which participated in the ICCS international study. The political situation of these six countries can be understood by considering a series of indicators developed by Freedom House on “Political Rights” (see Chart 1) and “Civil Liberties” (see Chart 2), regarding the conditions of political participation in which the different electoral processes took place. This consisted in calculating average indexes for the years in which elections occurred within each decade. These indexes range from 1 to 7, in which 1 indicates a high degree of rights and liberties and 7 which indicates the absence of these, as seen in the graphs below:

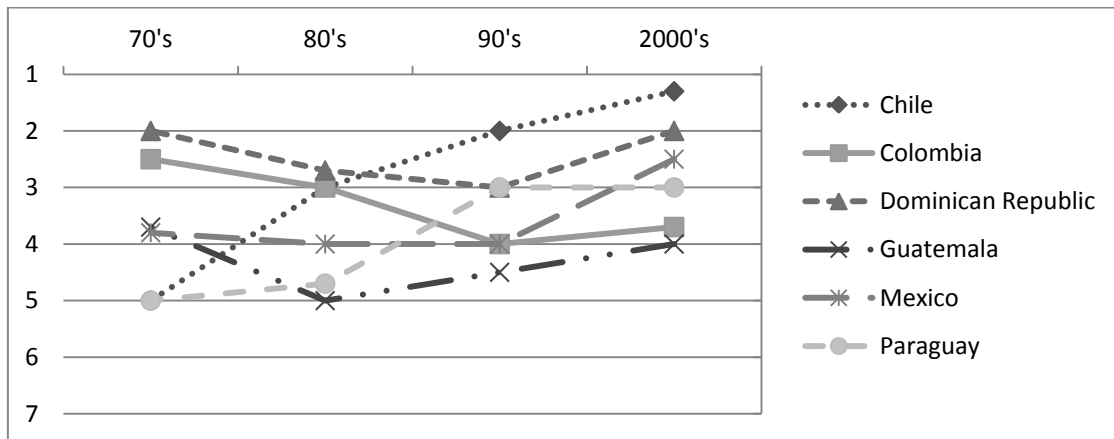
Graph 1: Political Rights Index, Freedom House.



Note: Information is only available from 1972 onwards.

As can be seen in Graph 1 and Graph 2, the countries which have been gradually reducing their levels of political instability are Chile, México and the Dominican Republic. Colombia, Guatemala and Paraguay, on the other hand, still maintain a score of over 3 in both indexes which, according to the categories which have been defined, describe them as “partly free”, considering that certain political rights and civil liberties are not protected by the political system.¹

¹ For more information about the indexes see <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2011/methodology>

Graph 2: Civil Liberties Index, Freedom House.

Note: Information is only available from 1972 onwards.

In conclusion, data obtained from the literature as well as from indexes compiled by international institutions show that within the 6 countries studied there is a great diversity in terms of culture, political history and civil and civic participation. Our purpose, in view of this diversity, is therefore to investigate the major factors of social and family background which could be contributing to the differences in participation and expectations of civil and civic participation at the schools in these countries, and to explore the differences between each of the countries.

2. PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL ORIGIN AND SCHOOL CONTEXT

Traditional perspectives in political science research have studied political participation mainly in the context of the electoral process, such as voter turnout and party membership. Here, political participation is defined as the “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly, by affecting the making or implementation of public policy, or indirectly, by influencing the selection of people who make those policies” (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001, p. 4). From the literature based on this traditional concept, the main source associated to social inequality in political participation has been the socio economic status (SES) (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Dalton, 1988; Han, 2009; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). SES is usually measured by educational level, income and class schemes based on occupation (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996), although most of the evidence points to formal education as one of the main predictors of political participation (Brady et al., 1995; Pacheco & Plutzer, 2008). In this sense, privileged individuals are most likely to get involved in political activities and to

influence the political process. Such traditional view has been expanded to the *resources model of political participation* (Brady et al., 1995), whereby the influence of SES has been associated to necessary resources for political involvement as time, money and civic skills, close to the logic of human and social capital models (Salazar & Jaime, 2009).

Within the resources model of political participation, a group of scholars have focused on the differential influence of SES in different forms of participation, usually under the labels of traditional and non-institutionalized (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002; Marien et al., 2010; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Carpini, 2006), which can be related to the civic/civil distinction presented in the introduction. The interest in the non-institutionalized or civil side of citizenship participation has been influenced by the emergence of innovative ways of civil engagement particularly in liberal democracies (Klingemann & Fuchs, 1995), which has been linked to a postmodern political culture and the searching for alternative channels of political expression (Topf, 1995) as well as to the raise of postmaterial values (Inglehart & Abramson, 1999; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart, Basanez, Diez-Medrano, & Luijkx, 2004). Even though there is some controversy about the influence of SES on civil participation, some scholars have pointed out that it is less affected by SES than the traditional or civic participation (Macedo, 2005).

Recent empirical research has been centered on the influence of economic inequality as a context level variable on citizenship participation (Jaime-Castillo, 2009; Solt, 2008, 2010; Steiner, 2010). We can identify two main conceptual models in this line: the *conflict model* and the *relative power model*. The *conflict model* is based on the idea that greater inequality should result in larger rates of political participation since “higher levels of inequality cause divergences in political preferences that fuel debates about the appropriate course of policy; these debates then cause higher rates of political mobilization” (Solt, 2008, p. 49). Such argument is in line with the Meltzer-Richard hypothesis, a rational-choice perspective that predicts demands for redistribution from the side of the poorest in contexts of high inequality (Meltzer & Richard, 1981). On the other hand, the *relative power model* suggests that “economic inequality should have a negative effect on political engagement generally and among poorer individuals especially due to its consequences for the distribution of power” (Solt, 2008, p. 49). The relatively low power of poorest citizens would prevent them from pursuing their agenda

through traditional ways of political participation, whereas richer citizens have greater power to mobilize their political interests successfully: “when more affluent people use their money to amplify their own position in some debates, they drown out the voices of poorer citizens and so keep the issues they would raise from being discussed” (Solt, 2010, p. 287). Even though most of the empirical evidence supports the relative power model over the conflict model (Jaime-Castillo, 2009; Solt, 2008, 2010), to date comparative research in this line has been centered on industrialized democracies with relatively low indexes of inequality. Within the framework of the relative power model, in the present paper we attempt to explore whether students and schools with lower SES show lower levels in civic and civil participation in six Latin American countries.

3. DATA AND VARIABLES

The data to be analyzed is taken from the *International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS)* coordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). 38 countries participated in this study, with a total sample of more than 140,000 8th grade students, 62,000 teachers and 5,300 directors (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). In the case of Latin America, a stratified sampling was used in which a total of 29,962 students were selected from 1,027 schools. Table 1 shows the distribution of students and schools per country. It should be noted that after elimination of missing data we are considering 20,000 students. This loss of information is principally due to the fact that in the Dominican Republic and Guatemala around 13% of the schools do not have information of their administrative dependency.

Table 1: Number of schools and students per country

| | Students | Schools |
|-----------------------|----------|---------|
| Chile | 5,192 | 177 |
| Colombia | 6,204 | 196 |
| Guatemala | 4,002 | 145 |
| Mexico | 6,576 | 215 |
| Paraguay | 3,399 | 149 |
| Dominican Rep. | 4,589 | 145 |

The dependent variables correspond to four dimensions which are represented by a series of items which were estimated using exploratory factor analysis. These dimensions are: current civil participation; current civic participation; expected future civil participation; expected future civic participation. Table 2 shows the items corresponding to each dimension.

Table 2: Dependent Variables

| Dimensions | Items | Mean | SD |
|--|--|-------------|-----------|
| Civil participation | | | |
| Have you ever got involved in activities of any of the following organizations, clubs or groups? | - Youth organization affiliated with a political party or union | 1.22 | 0.56 |
| | - Environmental organization | 1.60 | 0.76 |
| Response scale: | - Human Rights organization | 1.38 | 0.68 |
| 1. No, I have never done this | - A voluntary group doing something to help the community | 1.76 | 0.81 |
| 2. Yes, I have done this but more than a year ago | - An organization collecting money for a social cause | 1.66 | 0.80 |
| 3. Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months | - A cultural organization based on ethnicity | 1.26 | 0.58 |
| | - A group of young people campaigning for an issue | 1.69 | 0.82 |
| Civic participation | | | |
| At school, have you ever done any of the following activities? | - Active participation in a debate | 1.77 | 0.84 |
| | - Voting for class representative or school parliament | 2.47 | 0.76 |
| Response scale: | - Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run | 1.80 | 0.85 |
| 1. No, I have never done this | - Taking part in discussions at a student assembly | 1.63 | 0.81 |
| 2. Yes, I have done this but more than a year ago | - Becoming a candidate for class representative or school parliament | 1.72 | 0.84 |
| 3. Yes, I have done this within the last twelve months | | | |
| Civil participation expectations | | | |
| How well do you think you would do the following activities? | - Talk to others about your views on political and social issues | 2.87 | 0.88 |
| | - Write to a newspaper about political and social issues | 2.54 | 0.96 |
| Response scale: | - Contribute to an online discussion forum about social and political issues | 2.46 | 0.95 |
| 1. Not at all | - Join an organization for a political or social cause | 2.52 | 0.99 |
| 2. Not very well | - Join a trade union * | 2.29 | 0.97 |
| 3. Fairly well | | | |
| 4. Very well | | | |
| Civic participation expectations | | | |
| What do you expect that you will do? | - Vote in local elections | 3.39 | 0.87 |
| | - Vote in national elections | 3.69 | 0.85 |
| Response scale: | - Get information about candidates before voting in an election | 3.31 | 0.87 |
| 1. I will certainly not do this | | | |
| 2. I will probably not do this | | | |
| 3. I will probably do this | | | |
| 4. I will certainly do this | | | |

*This item come from civic participation scale in questionnaire, nevertheless about his content and factor analysis results we included in civil participation scale

Table 3: Independent variables at individual level

| | Item | Response scale |
|---|---|---|
| Level 1 variable | | |
| Family education | What is the highest level of education completed by your father or male guardian? * | 1. Graduate or postgraduate complete level 0. Other: • Complete technical studies • Last year high school (Scientific or technical) • 8° grade elementary • 6° grade elementary • 6° grade incomplete |
| Occupational status | SEI Index (Socio Economic Index) built with educational and income indexes. | |
| Mean of political issues interest of mother and father | How interested are your parent(s) in political and social issues? ** | 1. Not interested at all 2. Not very interested 3. Quite interested 4. Very interested |
| Number of books in home | About how many books are there in your home? | 1. 0-10 books 2. 11-25 books 3. 26-100 books 4. 101-200 books 5. 201-500 books 6. More than 500 books |
| Gender student | Are you girl or a boy? | 1. Woman 0. Man |
| Age of student | When were you born? | Month ____ Year 19__ |
| Level 2 variable | | |
| School administration | Is this school a public or a private school? *** | 1. A public school 2. A private school |
| Average family education | School average of the highest educational level reached from one of the parents | 6. Graduate or postgraduate complete level 5. Complete technical studies 4. Last year high school 3. 8° grade elementary 2. 6° grade elementary 1. 6° grade incomplete |
| Small city | Which of the following categories best describes the community in which this school is located? | 1. Less than 3.000 hab. 0. More than 3000 hab. |

*Considered only the higher educational level of either father, dummy coded

**In order to make easier the interpretation of items the original scale response are in inverse order

***In case of Chile the school administration had a third option labeled voucher system. In order to compare with other countries this category was recoded in private.

Table 3 shows the independent variables regarding the characteristics of the students, their families and the schools they attend. Socio-economic variables are divided by level of family education and occupational status, whilst the variables regarding cultural capital background correspond to the parents' interest in political matters and the number of books in each household. Gender and age of the students are also controlled. Variables at school level (i.e. level 2) included school administration and average family education as proxies for school status, as well as a dummy variable identifying schools of small cities.

The methods used for this study are related to two kinds of estimation. In the first place an exploratory factor analysis of the items corresponding to the dependent variables of participation was carried out. Then, the factor scores became the dependent variables of the multilevel models. This kind of model is appropriate when working with nested data structures, as in the case of data to be analyzed in which there are both individual variables (of the student) and contextual variables (of the school). The estimation, therefore, takes into account a new source of variability attributed to the school which implies that there is a lower margin of error in the estimation. The analyses were performed with the statistical package R, for the multilevel estimation we used the package lme4 (lmer function).

4. ANALYSIS

Table 4 shows the results of factor analysis corresponding to current participation. As expected, the items corresponding to civil participation load more on one dimension, whereas those of civic participation load more on the other. For the purposes of the estimation an oblique (Promax) rotation was used, as this allows a greater degree of association between the two factors, which is to be expected as both refer to participation. However, it is interesting to note that both dimensions correlate negatively, a greater degree of civil participation being associated with less civic participation and vice-versa, although it should also be noted that the level of explained variance is low.

Table 4: Factor loading of the exploratory factor analysis related to the *current civil and civic participation domains*

| | Civil | Civic |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| • Youth organization affiliated with a political party or union | 0.44 | -0.03 |
| • Environmental organization | 0.59 | 0.02 |
| • Human Rights organization | 0.67 | -0.10 |
| • A voluntary group doing something to help the community | 0.50 | 0.11 |
| • An organization collecting money for a social cause | 0.41 | 0.12 |
| • A cultural organization based on ethnicity | 0.51 | -0.03 |
| • A group of young people campaigning for an issue | 0.40 | 0.18 |
| • Active participation in a debate | 0.03 | 0.38 |
| • Voting for class representative or school parliament | -0.17 | 0.49 |
| • Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run | 0.10 | 0.50 |
| • Taking part in discussions at a student assembly | 0.07 | 0.54 |
| • Becoming a candidate for class representative or school parliament | -0.08 | 0.53 |

The results in bold indicate more relevant factor scores by each factor
 Rotation: Promax, maximum likelihood estimation. Number of cases: 20814, explained variance=26%, correlation between factors=-0.36

Table 5 shows the results of the exploratory factor analysis for future participation items:

Table 5: Factor loading of the exploratory factor analysis related to the *future civil and civic participation domains*

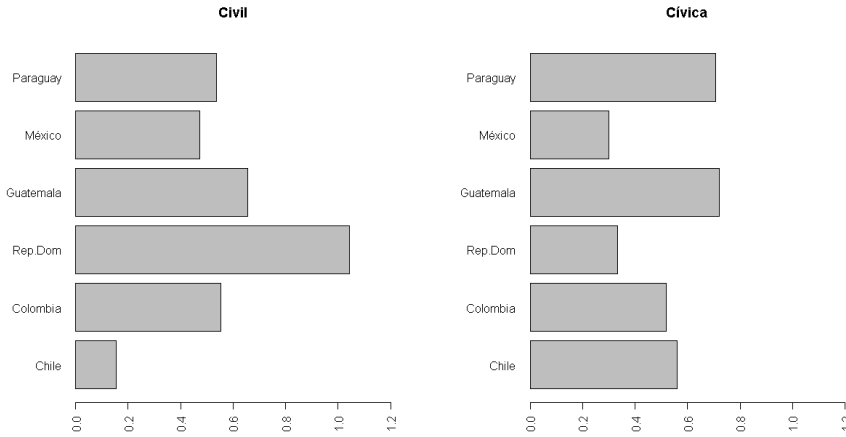
| | Civil | Civic |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| • Talk to others about your views on political and social issues | 0.63 | 0.09 |
| • Write to a newspaper about political and social issues | 0.80 | -0.06 |
| • Contribute to an online discussion forum about social and political issues | 0.82 | -0.09 |
| • Join an organization for a political or social cause | 0.75 | -0.03 |
| • Vote in local elections | -0.02 | 0.84 |
| • Vote in national elections | -0.10 | 0.92 |
| • Get information about candidates before voting in an election | 0.06 | 0.61 |
| • Join in a trade union | 0.50 | 0.09 |

The results in bold indicate more relevant factor scores by each factor
 Rotation: Promax, maximum likelihood estimation. Number of cases: 19836, explained variance=56%, correlation between factors=-0.43

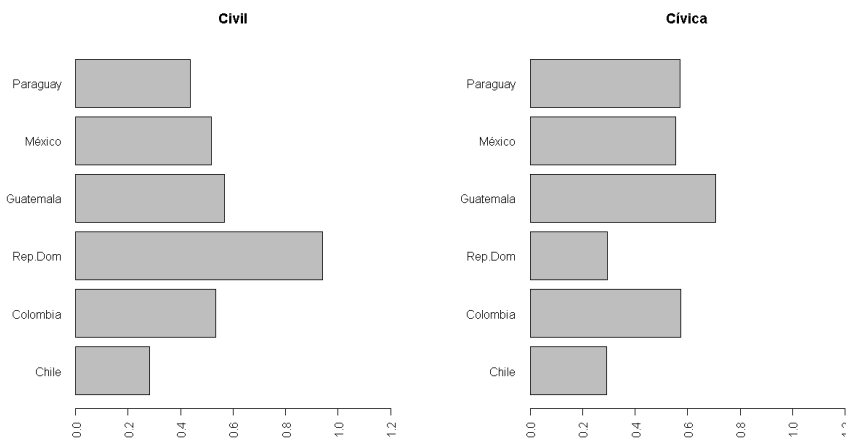
As in the case of the current participation items, it is also possible to identify the two factors which correspond to the civic and civil dimensions. The item “*Join a trade union*” belongs to the future participation in the civil activities dimension, even though this item correspond to the battery of civic participation in the questionnaire. This could be due to the fact that the other three items associated to civic participation are related to electoral participation, whereas joining a trade union is much closer to the civil realm. As in the case of the current participation factors, the association between both dimensions is negative.

Based on factor analysis, scores were estimated for each of the variables. Descriptive results are presented below based on the average scores for each country.

Graph 3: Current Average Participation in Latin America ICCS 2009



Graph 4: Future Average Participation in Latin America ICCS 2009



These graphs show that Chile is the country with the lowest current and future civil participation compared with the other countries in the study. It is also interesting to note that the Dominican Republic is the country which has the highest civil participation but the lowest civic participation, both current and future.

Regarding the relationship between the different kinds of participation, we have already established a negative association between both current and future civil and civic participation on the basis of the prediction of factor scores. Table 6 complements this information by providing the correlations between the four types of participation

analyzed. We can see that current civil participation is moderately correlated with the future, whereas civic participation has a considerably lower association.

Table 6: Correlation between the Domains of Participation.

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----|
| 1. Current civil participation | - | | | |
| 2. Current civic participation | -0.36** 20,814 | - | | |
| 3. Future civil participation | 0.18** 18,845 | 0.03** 18,845 | - | |
| 4. Future civic participation | -0.04** 18,845 | 0.08** 18,845 | -0.43** 19,836 | - |

Pairwise correlations, N under coefficients. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 7 shows additional descriptive aspects related to the variability between countries in terms of social background, such as educational level and occupational status of parents. As educational level is related to status, it is not surprising to see that those countries with a higher average educational level, such as Chile and Colombia, also have the highest occupational status indexes. It also shows that Guatemala is the country with lowest averages in both variables.

Table 7: Average Educational Level and Occupational Status of Parents per Country.

| | Educational level | Occupational status |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Chile | 4.393 | 44.692 |
| Colombia | 4.099 | 43.118 |
| Guatemala | 3.115 | 37.785 |
| Mexico | 3.871 | 42.577 |
| Paraguay | 3.683 | 41.415 |
| Dominican republic | 4.007 | 44.574 |

Multilevel Models

The results of the estimation of the multilevel models for variables of current and future participation are shown below in Tables 8 and 9 respectively. In each of these, 6 models are presented, 3 for civil participation and 3 for civic participation. The first model of each series inputs the predictors on an individual basis, the second the predictors at school level and the third, the countries, in order to estimate the difference between them in each of the dependent variables.

Table 8: Current Participation Estimates

| | Civil | | | Civic | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Individual level</i> | | | | | | |
| Family education | -0.04** (-2.80) | -0.02 (-1.19) | -0.01 (-0.85) | 0.05** (3.64) | 0.06** (3.76) | 0.05** (3.34) |
| Occupational status | -0.00** (-6.80) | -0.00** (-3.68) | -0.00** (-4.84) | 0.00 (1.75) | 0.00 (1.87) | 0.00* (2.15) |
| Political interest | 0.09** (11.85) | 0.09** (11.96) | 0.10** (12.89) | 0.09** (11.98) | 0.09** (11.82) | 0.08** (11.32) |
| Number of books | 0.02** (4.08) | 0.03** (5.05) | 0.03** (5.89) | 0.05** (9.62) | 0.05** (9.75) | 0.05** (9.73) |
| Gender (ref. man) | 0.02 (1.54) | 0.02 (1.72) | 0.02 (1.50) | 0.15** (12.76) | 0.15** (12.87) | 0.15** (12.87) |
| Age | 0.08** (10.16) | 0.07** (8.83) | 0.06** (7.59) | 0.03** (3.50) | 0.02* (2.05) | -0.00 (-0.30) |
| Intercept | -1.27** (-10.61) | -0.75** (-5.26) | -0.59** (-4.30) | -0.84** (-7.55) | -0.57** (-4.31) | -0.44** (-3.39) |
| <i>School level</i> | | | | | | |
| Family education | | -0.13** (-8.24) | -0.12** (-8.23) | | -0.05** (-3.46) | -0.00 (-0.30) |
| Private school | | -0.05 (-1.59) | -0.09** (-3.15) | | 0.17** (6.87) | 0.07** (2.65) |
| Small city | | 0.19** (6.67) | 0.12** (5.10) | | 0.03 (1.63) | 0.07** (3.35) |
| <i>Countries</i> | | | | | | |
| Chile | | | -0.34** (-15.83) | | | 0.02 (0.89) |
| Colombia | | | 0.03 (1.35) | | | -0.02 (-1.36) |
| Guatemala | | | -0.05 (-1.77) | | | 0.19** (6.88) |
| Mexico | | | -0.09** (-4.48) | | | -0.20** (-11.18) |
| Paraguay | | | -0.03 (-1.12) | | | 0.19** (8.89) |
| Dominican republic | | | 0.48** (18.27) | | | -0.17** (-7.14) |
| Deviance (-2logVer) | 53,293 | 53,079 | 52,660 | 51,047 | 50,990 | 50,772 |
| Df | 9 | 12 | 18 | 9 | 12 | 18 |
| P value | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| N | 20,814 | 20,814 | 20,814 | 20,814 | 20,814 | 20,814 |

Maximum likelihood estimation, unstandardized coefficients, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01.

With regard to socio-economic status variables, we find that at the individual level education and the index of parents' occupational status are positively associated with civic participation and negatively associated with civil participation although this effect is less significant in the case of civil participation when other variables are controlled. Unlike education, the occupational status of the parents only affects civil participation (also negatively). We therefore see that both social status background predictors have a

differentiated effect when related to civil participation domains. The situation is different when considering variables associated with cultural capital (family interests in political matters and number of books), which consistently associate positively with both civic and civil participation. Attending now to school variables, the administrative dependency of the school (private or state) follow a similar trend to the individual status variable; schools of higher status (private) tend, on average, to have a greater civic participation and less civil participation. Average family education per school has a negative impact on civil participation, but this does not imply greater civic participation as this is affected principally by individual family education. With regard to the size of the city in which the school is situated we can see that in smaller cities schools have greater levels of civil participation, an effect that can also be seen in model 3 when considering the countries with civic participation (the so-called “suppression effect”) probably due to the fact that the number of small cities varies from country to country.

Model 3 adds the estimated fixed effects of the countries using deviation code. In general these effects only serve to confirm the trends already observed in Graph 3, where, in terms of citizenship, Chile is the country with the lowest indicator and Dominican Republic with the highest, whilst in civic participation, Paraguay and Guatemala have the highest indexes and Mexico, together with Dominican Republic, the lowest.

Table 9 shows the results of the multilevel models estimation for future participation variables. Several similarities in general effects can be observed with respect to current participation, such as, the negative influence of the socio-economic origin variables on civil participation and the positive influence in the case of civic participation, and the positive effect of cultural capital variables on both types of participation, although this is predominantly due to the parents’ interest in political issues.

At school level we can also observe similar results when compared with current participation. Private schools show, on average, higher levels of expected participation and the schools with lower levels of parental education tend toward greater civil participation. With regard to the effect of the countries in Model 3, Chile is below average in both types of participation and Guatemala and Paraguay show a greater expected civic participation and lower expected civil participation, whereas the Dominican Republic shows the opposite pattern in relation to these two countries.

Table 9: Estimations of Future Participation

| | Civil | | | Civic | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Individual Level</i> | | | | | | |
| Family education | -0.06** (-3.16) | -0.03 (-1.64) | -0.02 (-1.27) | 0.05** (2.84) | 0.04* (2.35) | 0.03 (1.58) |
| Occupational status | -0.00** (-6.76) | -0.00** (-4.55) | -0.00** (-5.61) | 0.00** (4.45) | 0.00** (3.67) | 0.00** (3.72) |
| Political interest | 0.17** (18.68) | 0.17** (18.85) | 0.18** (19.81) | 0.15** (16.53) | 0.15** (16.26) | 0.14** (16.04) |
| Number of books | 0.03** (3.81) | 0.03** (4.78) | 0.04** (5.72) | -0.01 (-1.32) | -0.01 (-1.61) | -0.01 (-1.31) |
| Gender (ref. man) | -0.07** (-4.68) | -0.07** (-4.64) | -0.07** (-4.95) | 0.02 (1.37) | 0.02 (1.46) | 0.02 (1.43) |
| Age | 0.06** (6.62) | 0.05** (5.33) | 0.05** (5.08) | -0.02 (-1.75) | -0.03** (-2.67) | -0.04** (-3.78) |
| Intercept | -1.13** (-8.22) | -0.70** (-4.36) | -0.59** (-3.73) | -0.28* (-2.02) | -0.12 (-0.74) | -0.28 (-1.75) |
| <i>School level</i> | | | | | | |
| Family education | | -0.09** (-6.19) | -0.11** (-7.30) | | -0.01 (-0.74) | 0.08** (5.08) |
| Private school | | -0.05 (-1.82) | -0.03 (-1.16) | | 0.20** (6.91) | 0.06* (2.10) |
| Small city | | 0.08** (3.09) | 0.02 (0.87) | | 0.00 (0.07) | 0.04 (1.67) |
| <i>Countries</i> | | | | | | |
| Chile | | | -0.22** (-10.26) | | | -0.26** (-11.54) |
| Colombia | | | 0.01 (0.61) | | | 0.03 (1.63) |
| Guatemala | | | -0.13** (-4.28) | | | 0.26** (8.55) |
| Mexico | | | 0.00 (0.03) | | | 0.06** (2.86) |
| Paraguay | | | -0.11** (-4.55) | | | 0.09** (3.56) |
| Dominican Republic | | | 0.44** (16.09) | | | -0.19** (-6.60) |
| Deviance (-2logVer) | 56142 | 56048 | 55750 | 56564 | 56515 | 56321 |
| Df | 9 | 12 | 18 | 9 | 12 | 18 |
| P value | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| N | 19,836 | 19,836 | 19,836 | 19,836 | 19,836 | 19,836 |

Maximum likelihood estimation, unstandardized coefficients, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

The objective of this conference paper was to share the advances in the analysis of citizenship participation and socio-economic origin of students from schools in 6 Latin American countries using data from the ICCS 2009 project. For this purpose we first provided general information about the political situation countries analyzed to serve as a point of reference to interpret the results. Even though this research is still at the *work-*

in-progress stage, for the time being we will mention a few ideas which are helping us advance in the interpretation of the results.

Firstly, in the descriptive results regarding comparison of participation levels of Latin American countries we can observe some fairly diverse patterns. This diversity indicates that we are encountering different points of view and predispositions regarding civic and civil participation in each of the countries and it is therefore unlikely that it will be possible to draw a single conclusion with regards citizenship participation of students in Latin America. Future studies will therefore require a closer look at the cultural and political history of these countries to make sense of the results which are presented in this paper. Secondly, one of the most relevant results of the analysis to date has been the relationship between socio-economic origins and levels of participation. Although considerable data is available about the link between formal political participation and socio-economic status, most of this literature considers the world of formal adult political (civic) participation. It is therefore surprising and worrying that the factors related to economic inequalities are already, at an early stage at school, having an impact on both actual and anticipated future participation in terms of inequality. This, therefore, raises doubts about one of the objectives of formal education as an institution intended to level out inequalities of origin. However, this conclusion is neither simple nor linear considering that socioeconomic origin is inversely associated with both current and future civil participation. This contrast triggers a series of reflections about the impact of social origin not only in the terms of degree but also in terms of kind of participation, which could be associated with the lack of confidence of the lower socioeconomic levels in formal politics and on the other hand to a greater closeness and affinity with a more horizontal and community-based participation. In general the results obtained to date give partial support to the relative power model of citizenship participation, which anticipated less participation from those with less power and resources. This prediction would only apply to civic participation but inversely so in the case of civil participation.

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