

**Attitudes toward Authoritarian Government, Corruption and
Obedience to the Law among Lower-secondary Students in Latin
America: A comparative analysis**

Wolfram Schulz

The Australian Council for Educational Research

schulz@acer.edu.au

Greg Macaskill

The Australian Council for Educational Research

macaskill@acer.edu.au

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Abstract

This paper includes analyses of the extent to which student attitudes toward corruption, authoritarian forms of government and disobedience to the law are influenced by different factors at the student and school level across six Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay). Data from the international and regional assessments will be used in the analyses. Each attitude was measured with data collected with a regional questionnaire which addressed common regional aspects viewed as relevant for the Latin American region. Variables related to student characteristics, home background and school context as well as civic knowledge measured by the ICCS 2009 student test will be used to explain variation in student attitudes. The results will be based on multi-level analysis where different explanatory models are compared across the six countries in the region. The results show that gender and socioeconomic background as well open classroom climate and students' civic knowledge are negative predictors of student positive attitudes toward corruption, authoritarianism and disobedience to the law. Interestingly, students' active involvement in community activities appears to be associated with higher levels of acceptance of corruption and authoritarian government. The findings suggest that more knowledgeable students are about civic society, the less likely they are to accept corrupt practices, authoritarian forms of government and breaking the law.

Introduction

This paper reviews the extent to which student attitudes toward corruption, authoritarian forms of government and disobedience to the law are influenced by different factors at the student and school level across six Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay). Each attitude is measured using data from ICCS 2009 and different explanatory models will be compared across the six countries in the region which participated in this cross-national study (Schulz, Ainley, Lietz & Friedman, 2011; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito & Kerr, 2010).

In his review of issues relevant for civic and citizenship education in Latin America,

Reimer (2007) identified, apart from persisting inequalities, the reappearance of authoritarian government forms, expansion of crime and violence, as well as issues related to corruption. Therefore, it is pertinent to use the rich database provided by ICCS 2009 to review the extent to which school can make a contribution to shaping these attitudes after controlling for family background and individual characteristics. In particular, it is of interest to analyse the extent to which civic knowledge acquired by students is associated with these attitudes.

Conceptual Framework

Research has shown that considerable proportions among Latin American adults as well as adolescents express favourable attitudes toward authoritarian forms of government. Research on democratic attitudes among citizens in Latin America conducted in the early part of the last decade (United Nations Development Programme, 2004) showed that only 43 percent of adult citizens had clear democratic orientations and that 30 percent held ambivalent opinions. Twenty-seven percent were categorized as having non-democratic orientations. The same study revealed that majorities of adult citizens expressed support for authoritarian governments if they solved economic problems and agreed that economic development was more important than democracy. Drawing on 2007 public opinion survey data from seven countries in the region, Cox (2010) showed that respondents with higher education were much more likely to support democracy as the best form of government than those who had only completed primary education.

Corruption is often regarded as one of Latin America's most salient problems. With the exception of Chile and Uruguay, countries in this region tend to have poor results in comparative surveys of corruption (Transparency International, 2010). Morris and Klesner (2010) assert that there is mutual causality between perceptions of corruption and trust in political institutions among citizens in Mexico. Public opinion data from the *Latinobarómetro* survey in 18 Latin American countries showed that large proportions of citizens in these countries considered bribing public servants a widespread practice in their countries. The same survey also demonstrated that many citizens reported direct experience with corruption (Morris & Blake, 2010, p. 7). World Values Survey data suggested that Latin America was one of the regions with the highest levels of acceptance of corrupt practices among their citizens (Moreno, 2003). The survey also showed that younger adults were much more likely than older people to justify corrupt practices (Torgler & Valev, 2004).

Civil morality (i.e., moral behaviour and non-acceptance of breaking the law) is

another issue where the World value surveys data showed high levels of ambiguity among adults in the Latin American region: While very low levels of civil morality were recorded in some countries, others score showed rather large proportions of adults with such attitudes (Letki, 2006). Among young people, in particular, higher proportions reported an acceptance of law breaking (Torgler & Valev, 2004).

The ICCS 2009 assessment framework (Schulz et al., 2008) sees outcome variables (knowledge as well as beliefs) as influenced by variables at different levels (wider community, schools/classes, home, and the individual learner) which can be classified as antecedents or process-related variables. Therefore, the analysis will depart from a conceptual model that includes different variables from these levels which can be assumed to have an influence on the shaping of students' beliefs about society.

The paper starts from the following research questions:

1. What is the extent of positive attitudes among Latin American lower secondary students towards authoritarian government, corruption and disobedience to the law, and its variation across the six countries of this region that participated in ICCS 2009?
2. Which factors are associated with these attitudes, using both student and school level predictor to explain variation across participating countries in the region?

The explanatory model for each of three attitudes included student characteristics (gender, expected further education), context variables (socioeconomic background, community size, students' participation in the community) as well as school-related variables (perceptions of an open classroom climate, student electoral participation at school, civic knowledge).

Data and Methods

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009) provides a rich data set and unique possibilities for comparative analyses of civic outcomes (civic knowledge, attitudes and behaviour-related measures) with contextual data at the level of education system, schools and students (Schulz et al., 2011). Six Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay) participated in the study and in these countries an additional regional questionnaire was administered including questions on student perceptions of authoritarian government, corruption and disobedience to the law.

To illustrate student attitudes towards authoritarian government, corruption and disobedience to the law, percentages of agreement (i.e. students who chose the response categories “strongly agree” or “agree”) were compared for each item across participating countries. The descriptive analyses were conducted using jackknife replication to obtain correct estimates of sampling error (see Schulz, 2011).

Multilevel modelling was used to explain variation in students’ attitudes (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). The explanatory model including the predictor variables was compared to an “empty model” with no predictors to inform about extent to which additional variance was explained by the model for each of the three dependent variables (positive attitudes toward authoritarian government, corruption and disobedience to the law).

The analyses were conducted as a two-level analysis with students nested within school using the software package MPLUS 7.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). The percentages of missing values for the explanatory values were quite low, usually less than one or two percent, except for the Dominican Republic where the missing percentage approached five percent for some variables. Because of the small amount of missing data, a simple approach of mean replacement for missing values and the inclusion of corresponding missing value indicators was adopted (see Cohen, Cohen, West & Aiken, 2003). Regression coefficients for missing value indicators are reported in an appendix to this paper (see Appendix Table 7).

Results

The ICCS regional questionnaire for Latin American countries included two questions about students’ views on government, its leaders, and the power it should have. Students were asked to “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” or “strongly disagree” with the following statements:

- It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody.
- People in government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens.
- People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes.
- People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies.
- The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president.

- It is fair that the government does not comply with the law when it thinks it is not necessary.
- Concentration of power in one person guarantees order.
- The government should close communication media that are critical.
- If the president does not agree with Congress, he or she should dissolve it.

The items formed a scale that had a reliability of 0.83 (Cronbach's α) and the resulting IRT scale (see details on scaling methodology in: Schulz & Friedman, 2011) was standardized to have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for the pooled regional database.

Table 1: Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward authoritarian government, and average scale scores

Table 1 shows the percentages of students agreeing with these statements as well as the scale scores in each the countries participating in ICCS 2009 as well as the averages across national samples. While on average across countries, more than half of lower secondary students agreed that concentration of power guaranteed order (58%) and that the most important opinion was the presidents' opinion (53%), and about half of them thought that governments admitting mistakes lost authority (49%), other statements were endorsed by fewer students. Considering people with different opinions from the government as enemies (18%), being better for government leaders to make decisions without consultations (21%), and closing communication media critical to the government (23%) were the least endorsed statements.

When comparing national average scale scores across countries, we found considerable variation in students' attitudes. While students in the Dominican Republic had the highest levels of positive attitudes toward authoritarian government (54 score points, i.e. four points above the regional average), students in Chile and Colombia had the least favourable attitudes (48 score points, two points below the ICCS 2009 average).

The Latin American student questionnaire for ICCS included a question about student views of corrupt practices in government or the public service. Students were asked to "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree" with the following statements:

- 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.

- Good candidates grant personal benefits to voters in return for their votes.
- Paying an additional amount to a civil servant in order to obtain a personal benefit is acceptable.
- It is acceptable that a civil servant helps his/her friends by giving them employment in his/her office.
- Since public resources belong to everyone, it is acceptable that those who can keep part of them.

The items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.82$) which was standardized to have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for the pooled regional database.

Table 2: Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward corruption, and average scale scores

Table 2 shows the national and regional percentages as well as average scale scores reflecting students' attitudes toward corruption. On average across countries, the percentages of agreement with these statements ranged from 27 percent (acceptable to accept bribes if salary is low) to 52 percent (acceptable that civil servant helps friend/family with employment). The latter statement was the only one endorsed by majorities of students in all but one of the six countries (only in Mexico less than half of the students agreed with it).

While students in the Dominican Republic had the (relatively) highest levels of positive attitudes toward corruption with an average scale score of 55 (i.e. half a standard deviation above the six-country average), students in Colombia had the lowest score (48 score points).

The Latin American student questionnaire included a question about students' acceptance of reasons for breaking the law. Students were asked to indicate their level of agreement (as "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree") with statements about the following situations where the law may be disobeyed. Thus, "A law may be disobeyed ...":

- when it is the only alternative left for achieving important objectives.
- when it is the only way one has to help one's family.
- when others who disobeyed it were not punished.
- when others do it.
- when one distrusts the enacting body.
- when one is sure nobody will realize.
- when nobody gets hurt.

- when it is not done with bad intentions.
- when one is not familiar with the law.
- when one distrusts the authority executing the law.
- when one can obtain economic benefits.

These 11 items formed a scale with a satisfactory reliability of 0.83 (Cronbach's α) for the pooled Latin American sample.

Table 3: Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward disobedience to the law, and average scale scores

Table 3 shows students' endorsement of the items and the scale score averages across participating countries. On average across countries, the percentages of agreement ranged from 32 percent (being sure nobody will realize) to 74 percent (when only way to help one's family). While there was little variation in average scale scores across five of the countries in the region, students in the Dominican Republic showed higher levels of positive attitudes toward disobedience to the law than in other countries.

To explain variation in the three scales reflecting positive attitudes toward authoritarian government, corruption and disobedience to the law, we used the following student-level predictor variables:

- Female gender (1 = girls, 0 = boys)
- Socioeconomic home background, using a composite index based on data about parental occupation, parental education and books at home, standardised to have means of 0 and standard of 1 within each national sample
- Expected educational attainment (0 = no qualification, 1 = lower secondary, 2 = upper secondary, 3 = tertiary non-university degree, 4 = university degree)
- Openness of classroom climate for the discussion of political and social issues, an IRT scale based on six items.
- Civic knowledge, a test score based on 79 items reflecting students knowledge and understanding of civic issues (see Schulz, Ainley & Fraillon, 2013)
- Participation in civic organisations and group in the community outside of school.

Furthermore, the following school-level predictor variables were used:

- Urbanity (1 = urban areas, 0 = rural areas)
- Socioeconomic school context, an aggregate score based on the student-level composite index reflecting the socioeconomic home background

- The school average of students' perceptions of openness of classroom climate for the discussion of political and social issues
- The aggregate score of student participation in civic organisations and group in the community outside of school
- The proportion of students who reported voting in school elections (derived from the student questionnaire).

The model with this set of predictors was estimated for each of the national samples and the three outcome variables. Data were weighted at the school and student level using normalised weights.

The following tables contain the parameter estimates for unstandardised regression coefficients and standard errors (bold entries indicate significance at the 5% level) and also the percentages of explained variance at each level. To obtain estimates of explained variance, the model variance estimates were compared with those from an "empty" model without predictors which provided estimates of the variance at each level. On average, 13 percent of the (total) variation in the scale reflecting positive attitudes toward authoritarian government were observed between schools, for the scale reflecting positive attitudes toward corruption the average percentage was 11 percent, while for attitudes toward disobedience to the law it was eight percent.

The explanatory variables (other than the indicators for female and urban residence) are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 within each country. Civic knowledge test scores were centred around the school means so that scores indicate the performance relative to the average student test scores in each school. This was done to avoid multicollinearity at the school level given the large associations between school context and achievement in these countries.

Table 4: Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes towards authoritarian government

Table 4 shows the results for the model explaining variation in positive attitudes toward authoritarian government. In all countries, females tended to be significantly less supportive of authoritarian government practices than male students after controlling for the other predictor variables. Negative gender effects ranged from -1.01 in the Dominican Republic to -1.86 in Colombia. No significant effect were recorded for students' socioeconomic background and expected educational attainment had significant negative effects in the Dominican Republic (-0.44) and Paraguay (-0.53).

Students' perceptions of openness in classroom discussions was a significant negative predictor in the Dominican Republic (-0.66), Guatemala (-0.76) and Paraguay (-0.42). Students' civic knowledge was a significant negative predictor in all countries with effect coefficients ranging from -3.27 in Paraguay to -5.08 in Mexico, while students' involvement in groups and organisations was positively associated in all countries with coefficients ranging from 0.38 in Colombia to 0.79 in the Dominican Republic.

At the school level urbanity was a significant positive predictor in Chile (1.24) and a significant negative predictor in the Dominican Republic (-3.68). Socioeconomic context was negatively associated with attitudes toward authoritarian government in four out of six countries, the largest (negative) effect was recorded with -2.1 in Chile. Schools where student perceived an open climate for classroom discussion of political and social issues tended to have students who were less supportive of authoritarian government, significant negative effects were recorded in all countries except Paraguay. Schools with higher proportions of students who were active in groups and organisations, however, were also those with higher levels of support for authoritarian government. The proportion of students voting in school elections was a significant negative predictor in Chile and Colombia.

The model explained about a quarter of the variation at the student level, ranging from 23 percent in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay to 30 percent in Mexico. At the school level, the highest proportion of explained variance was recorded in Chile, Guatemala and Paraguay (69%) while in Mexico this proportion was lowest with 50 percent.

Table 5: Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes toward corruption

Table 5 records the results for the model explaining attitudes toward corruption. Female gender was a significant negative predictor with coefficients ranging from -0.74 in Paraguay to -1.97 in Mexico. Socioeconomic background was a significant positive predictor in Colombia (0.31) and expected educational attainment had significant negative associations in Chile (-0.47) and the Dominican Republic (-0.57). Individual perceptions of an open classroom climate had significant negative effect only in Mexico (-0.89), while civic knowledge was a strong negative predictor in all countries, ranging from -3.17 in Paraguay to -4.34 in Mexico. Community participation had significant positive effects in all countries except Guatemala.

Urban school location had a positive effect in Chile (1.39), while it was negatively associated with this variable in the Dominican Republic (-2.07). The socioeconomic context was negatively related to positive attitudes toward corruption in all countries except the Dominican Republic, the strongest effect was observed in Chile (-1.8). Schools where students reported higher levels of openness in classroom discussions of political and social issues had also lower levels of students endorsing corruption, the effect was significant in all countries except Paraguay. School contexts where students reported higher levels of participation in groups and organisations were also those where students tended to be more supportive of corrupt practices. The proportion of students who voted in school elections was a negative predictor of student endorsement of corrupt practices in three countries (Chile, Colombia and Mexico).

The explained variance at the student level ranged from 19 percent in Colombia to 25 percent in Mexico, at the school level the model explained variance proportions ranging from 49 percent in Mexico to 78 percent in Guatemala.

Table 6: Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes toward disobedience to the law

Table 6 shows the results from the model explaining students' attitudes toward disobedience to the law. Female gender was a significant negative predictor in all countries with effect coefficients ranging from -0.81 in Chile to -2.23 in Mexico. Students' socioeconomic status had a significant positive effect in Guatemala but no significant associations were recorded in the other countries. Openness in classroom discussions was a significant predictor only in Colombia, while civic knowledge was a strong negative predictor in all six countries, with effects ranging from -2.25 in Paraguay to -3.37 in Chile. Civic participation had a significant positive effect in the Dominican Republic but no significant effects were observed in the other countries.

While Urbanity had a significant negative effect only in the Dominican Republic, socioeconomic school context was significantly negatively associated with student attitudes toward law disobedience in three countries (Chile, Colombia and Mexico). Schools with higher levels of perceived openness in classroom discussions had lower proportions of students justifying law disobedience in Chile and Guatemala while aggregated scores indicating community participation of students were significant positive predictors in Colombia, Guatemala and Paraguay. The proportion of students voting in school elections had a significant negative effect only in Colombia.

The model explained little more than ten percent of the variation at the student level (ranging from 11 percent in Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Colombia to 13 percent in Guatemala) while at the school level between 17 percent (in Mexico) and 66 percent (in Guatemala) of the variance were explained by the model.

Discussion

When reviewing the extent to which students in Latin American countries participating in ICCS 2009 endorse authoritarian government, considerable proportions (albeit not majorities) expressed agreement with authoritarian government practices. They clearly signal a tendency of young people in these countries to accept notions of “strong leadership” even though more overt antidemocratic government behaviours like closing critical media were rejected by most students.

With regard to students’ endorsement of corrupt practices, the results suggest that again considerable minorities among the surveyed students expressed acceptance of corruption, this was particularly the case when asked about using public office for helping friends to find employment, which was endorsed by half of the students. Acceptance of justifications for law-breaking was also quite widespread, in particular in cases where it was perceived as the only way to achieve things, help the family or when it was done without bad intentions.

The findings from the multilevel analyses suggest that contextual variables have an impact on students’ acceptance of undemocratic practices in society. Civic knowledge is a strong predictor of students’ non-acceptance of corruption, authoritarianism and disobedience of the law, which suggests that students who are more knowledgeable about civic society also tend to develop more positive attitudes toward its democratic functioning. Girls were less accepting than boys of all three undemocratic practices in all the tested countries. National socio-economic background showed no effect at the student level but was generally a predictor of non-acceptance except in the Dominican Republic at the school level. Expected education and openness in discussion showed a fairly consistent but not always significant effect against the undemocratic practices in this model. At the school level, openness in discussion is a strong predictor particularly against authoritarianism and corruption.

Interestingly, students who report higher levels of actual participation in the community are also those who are more accepting of corruption and authoritarianism. This was also true to a slightly lesser extent for disobedience to the law. Similar results are also evident at the school level, which suggested that students in contexts with

higher levels of participation are those where students had more positive attitudes toward authoritarianism, corruption and law-breaking. This finding will need further exploration in future research studies.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1 Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward authoritarian government, and average scale scores

	Percentages of students who strongly agree or agree with the statement						Latin American ICCS average
	Chile	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay	
It is better for government leaders to make decisions without consulting anybody.	16 (1.0)	12 (0.5)	34 (1.3)	19 (1.0)	24 (1.0)	21 (1.2)	21 (0.4)
People in government must enforce their authority even if it means violating the rights of some citizens.	25 (0.8)	23 (0.8)	42 (1.3)	25 (0.9)	26 (0.9)	24 (1.1)	27 (0.4)
People in government lose part of their authority when they admit their mistakes.	43 (1.2)	46 (1.1)	60 (1.1)	51 (1.4)	48 (1.0)	48 (1.4)	49 (0.5)
People whose opinions are different than those of the government must be considered its enemies.	16 (0.9)	11 (0.6)	31 (1.1)	14 (0.8)	21 (1.0)	17 (1.0)	18 (0.4)
The most important opinion of a country should be that of the president.	55 (1.1)	50 (1.2)	62 (0.9)	48 (1.3)	45 (0.8)	57 (1.0)	53 (0.4)
It is fair that the government does not comply with the law when it thinks it is not necessary.	30 (1.0)	24 (0.8)	43 (1.1)	28 (0.9)	30 (1.0)	29 (1.1)	31 (0.4)
Concentration of power in one person guarantees order.	52 (1.1)	51 (1.0)	68 (1.0)	60 (1.2)	56 (1.2)	58 (1.3)	58 (0.5)
The government should close communication media that are critical.	21 (1.0)	16 (0.6)	37 (1.3)	18 (0.8)	26 (1.1)	18 (1.1)	23 (0.4)
If the president does not agree with <Congress>, he/she should dissolve it.	32 (1.0)	29 (0.9)	46 (1.2)	45 (1.5)	37 (1.0)	42 (1.1)	38 (0.5)
	Average scale scores						
Attitudes toward authoritarian government scale score	48 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	50 (0.2)	50 (0.1)

Table 2 Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward corruption, and average scale scores

	Percentages of students who strongly agree or agree with the statement						Latin American ICCS average
	Chile	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay	
It is acceptable for a civil servant to accept bribes if his salary is too low.	27 (1.2)	16 (0.7)	45 (1.6)	21 (1.1)	26 (0.9)	25 (1.2)	27 (0.5)
It is acceptable for a civil servant to use the resources of the institution in which he/she works for personal benefit	29 (1.3)	22 (0.8)	48 (1.4)	31 (1.3)	34 (1.1)	28 (1.2)	32 (0.5)
Good candidates grant personal benefits to voters in return for their votes.	32 (1.1)	30 (0.9)	57 (2.1)	37 (1.0)	32 (0.8)	32 (1.3)	36 (0.5)
Paying an additional amount to a civil servant in order to obtain a personal benefit is acceptable.	29 (1.0)	22 (0.9)	46 (1.2)	27 (1.0)	31 (1.0)	27 (1.3)	30 (0.4)
It is acceptable that a civil servant helps his/her friends by giving them employment in his/her office.	50 (1.1)	53 (1.1)	66 (0.8)	53 (1.1)	47 (0.9)	51 (1.4)	53 (0.4)
Since public resources belong to everyone, it is acceptable that those who can keep part of them.	29 (1.2)	22 (0.9)	48 (1.3)	29 (1.2)	32 (1.0)	35 (1.2)	32 (0.5)
	Average scale scores						
Attitudes toward corruption scale score	49 (0.3)	48 (0.2)	55 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	50 (0.1)

Table 3 Students' agreement with items reflecting attitudes toward disobedience to the law, and average scale scores

A law may be disobeyed....	Percentages of students who strongly agree or agree with the statement						Latin American ICCS average
	Chile	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay	
when it is the only alternative left for achieving important objectives.	67 (0.8)	56 (1.0)	78 (1.0)	64 (1.3)	62 (1.0)	63 (1.1)	65 (0.4)
when it is the only way one has to help one's family.	75 (0.8)	70 (0.8)	81 (0.7)	74 (0.8)	71 (0.7)	73 (1.2)	74 (0.3)
when others who disobeyed it were not punished.	38 (1.0)	32 (0.8)	47 (1.9)	32 (1.0)	37 (0.9)	32 (1.0)	36 (0.5)
when others do it.	28 (0.8)	26 (1.0)	46 (1.2)	31 (1.1)	33 (0.8)	32 (1.1)	33 (0.4)
when one distrusts the enacting body.	46 (1.0)	43 (1.0)	55 (0.9)	48 (1.1)	43 (0.7)	46 (1.1)	47 (0.4)
when one is sure nobody will realize.	32 (1.1)	29 (1.1)	48 (1.0)	26 (1.1)	31 (1.0)	27 (1.1)	32 (0.4)
when nobody gets hurt.	61 (1.1)	61 (1.1)	73 (0.9)	67 (1.3)	61 (0.7)	62 (1.0)	64 (0.4)
when it is not done with bad intentions.	61 (1.0)	59 (0.8)	71 (0.8)	69 (1.3)	61 (0.8)	63 (1.1)	64 (0.4)
when one is not familiar with the law.	57 (0.7)	56 (0.8)	62 (1.1)	63 (1.0)	53 (0.7)	54 (0.9)	58 (0.4)
when one distrusts the authority executing the law.	45 (1.2)	43 (1.0)	56 (0.9)	51 (1.0)	48 (0.8)	49 (1.1)	49 (0.4)
when one can obtain economic benefits.	35 (1.2)	28 (0.9)	52 (1.4)	28 (1.1)	35 (1.1)	29 (1.1)	34 (0.5)
	Average scale scores						
Attitudes toward disobedience to the law scale score	49 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	54 (0.3)	50 (0.3)	49 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	50 (0.1)

Table 4 Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes towards authoritarian government

Variable Name	Chile	Columbia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay
Student-level predictors						
Gender (0=Boys, 1=Girls)	-1.60 (0.31)	-1.86 (0.29)	-1.01 (0.38)	-1.29 (0.37)	-1.57 (0.40)	-1.63 (0.30)
Socio-economic background	-0.35 (0.22)	0.16 (0.16)	0.24 (0.15)	0.10 (0.18)	0.10 (0.21)	0.29 (0.21)
Expected Education	-0.17 (0.19)	-0.29 (0.15)	-0.44 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.53 (0.16)
Openness in Class Discussion	0.17 (0.16)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.66 (0.18)	-0.76 (0.20)	0.07 (0.22)	-0.42 (0.17)
Civic Knowledge	-4.74 (0.15)	-4.16 (0.14)	-3.67 (0.18)	-3.58 (0.16)	-5.08 (0.20)	-3.27 (0.19)
Community Civic Participation	0.55 (0.14)	0.38 (0.14)	0.79 (0.18)	0.45 (0.15)	0.51 (0.17)	0.54 (0.21)
School-level predictors						
Urban (0=Country,1=City)	1.24 (0.56)	-0.25 (0.55)	-3.68 (0.79)	-1.51 (0.95)	-0.12 (1.04)	-0.45 (0.54)
Socio-economic context	-2.10 (0.32)	-0.66 (0.30)	0.20 (0.61)	-0.62 (0.41)	-1.10 (0.36)	-1.24 (0.33)
Openness in Class Discussion	-1.14 (0.26)	-0.87 (0.22)	-1.41 (0.55)	-0.79 (0.25)	-1.18 (0.27)	-0.26 (0.26)
Community Civic Participation	0.02 (0.26)	0.63 (0.21)	0.93 (0.42)	1.14 (0.34)	0.81 (0.23)	0.62 (0.29)
School Voting Participation	-0.72 (0.23)	-0.97 (0.20)	-0.30 (0.42)	-0.22 (0.18)	-0.08 (0.21)	0.01 (0.19)
Explained variance (%)						
Student level	28	27	23	23	30	23
School level	69	59	57	69	50	69

Table 5 Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes toward corruption

Variable Name	Chile	Columbia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay
Student-level predictors						
Gender (0=Boys, 1=Girls)	-1.55 (0.34)	-1.69 (0.29)	-1.35 (0.36)	-1.18 (0.33)	-1.97 (0.27)	-0.74 (0.35)
Socio-economic background	-0.12 (0.29)	0.31 (0.15)	0.12 (0.17)	0.38 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.20)	0.04 (0.22)
Expected Education	-0.47 (0.15)	-0.18 (0.14)	-0.57 (0.14)	0.16 (0.17)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.77 (0.19)
Openness in Class Discussion	-0.09 (0.19)	-0.24 (0.15)	-0.34 (0.18)	-0.89 (0.15)	-0.05 (0.17)	-0.37 (0.21)
Civic Knowledge	-4.31 (0.15)	-3.65 (0.16)	-3.25 (0.19)	-4.04 (0.19)	-4.34 (0.19)	-3.17 (0.22)
Community Civic Participation	0.60 (0.18)	0.33 (0.16)	0.76 (0.16)	0.17 (0.21)	0.43 (0.17)	0.70 (0.24)
School-level predictors						
Urban (0=Country,1=City)	1.39 (0.62)	0.27 (0.46)	-2.07 (0.66)	-0.35 (0.57)	-0.04 (0.72)	-0.31 (0.74)
Socio-economic context	-1.80 (0.40)	-0.47 (0.24)	0.05 (0.33)	-1.31 (0.30)	-0.95 (0.27)	-1.02 (0.42)
Openness in Class Discussion	-0.79 (0.32)	-0.73 (0.20)	-0.77 (0.28)	-0.52 (0.22)	-0.93 (0.30)	-0.52 (0.34)
Community Civic Participation	0.08 (0.30)	0.72 (0.22)	0.75 (0.29)	1.34 (0.29)	0.76 (0.22)	0.55 (0.26)
School Voting Participation	-0.65 (0.27)	-1.06 (0.19)	0.14 (0.37)	-0.23 (0.21)	-0.39 (0.18)	-0.17 (0.27)
Explained variance (%)						
Student level	23	19	21	24	25	20
School level	57	50	50	78	49	63

Table 6 Multilevel Analysis results for the model explaining positive attitudes toward disobedience to the law

Variable Name	Chile	Columbia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay
Student-level predictors						
Gender (0=Boys, 1=Girls)	-0.81 (0.40)	-1.86 (0.27)	-1.43 (0.41)	-1.31 (0.42)	-2.23 (0.38)	-0.95 (0.33)
Socio-economic background	-0.15 (0.26)	0.13 (0.20)	0.03 (0.20)	0.42 (0.21)	-0.08 (0.16)	-0.29 (0.32)
Expected Education	-0.37 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.14)	-0.33 (0.20)	-0.08 (0.19)	-0.21 (0.20)	-0.47 (0.18)
Openness in Class Discussion	-0.02 (0.26)	-0.31 (0.16)	-0.15 (0.20)	-0.18 (0.18)	0.28 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.18)
Civic Knowledge	-3.37 (0.21)	-2.85 (0.15)	-2.60 (0.23)	-2.94 (0.21)	-2.71 (0.16)	-2.25 (0.19)
Community Civic Participation	-0.21 (0.24)	-0.01 (0.22)	0.92 (0.22)	0.38 (0.20)	0.22 (0.18)	0.48 (0.21)
School-level predictors						
Urban (0=Country,1=City)	0.96 (0.55)	0.14 (0.53)	-2.73 (0.76)	0.44 (0.61)	0.42 (0.77)	-1.20 (0.75)
Socio-economic context	-1.95 (0.37)	-0.73 (0.29)	-0.55 (0.39)	-0.69 (0.44)	-0.63 (0.28)	-0.60 (0.45)
Openness in Class Discussion	-0.52 (0.25)	-0.27 (0.26)	-0.27 (0.38)	-0.93 (0.30)	-0.12 (0.37)	-0.22 (0.35)
Community Civic Participation	0.19 (0.31)	0.69 (0.24)	0.32 (0.36)	0.98 (0.38)	0.23 (0.25)	0.80 (0.24)
School Voting Participation	-0.38 (0.30)	-0.91 (0.25)	0.51 (0.43)	0.04 (0.15)	-0.25 (0.26)	0.20 (0.32)
Explained variance (%)						
Student level	12	11	11	13	12	11
School level	61	44	47	66	17	59

Appendix

Table 7 Coefficients of missing value indicators in multilevel analyses

Variable Name	Chile	Columbia	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	Mexico	Paraguay
Missing Value Indicators for positive attitudes towards authoritarian government						
Socio-economic background	4.16 (2.89)	-1.49 (0.73)	-2.01 (1.79)	1.69 (0.95)	-2.75 (3.03)	-4.29 (1.90)
Expected Education	-0.91 (1.87)	2.45 (1.09)	0.92 (1.15)	2.34 (1.21)	-1.89 (0.98)	-0.64 (1.48)
Openness in Class Discussion	-2.25 (1.91)	-0.67 (1.03)	1.06 (0.67)	0.19 (1.36)	-0.10 (2.25)	-0.72 (0.81)
Community Civic Participation	2.17 (2.18)	2.27 (0.91)	2.18 (0.71)	0.92 (1.34)	2.53 (1.65)	2.52 (0.73)
Urban	0.26 (1.28)	1.84 (0.43)	-0.25 (1.56)	-1.38 (1.93)	-0.10 (1.22)	-2.32 (0.50)
Missing Value Indicators for positive attitudes towards corruption						
Socio-economic background	3.43 (2.82)	1.12 (3.37)	-1.97 (2.29)	-1.21 (1.50)	2.27 (2.50)	-5.10 (2.97)
Expected Education	-0.89 (1.99)	0.93 (1.51)	-0.80 (1.27)	1.62 (0.87)	-2.60 (1.87)	-1.96 (1.44)
Openness in Class Discussion	-3.32 (2.29)	-0.20 (0.96)	0.24 (0.83)	0.39 (1.51)	-1.15 (1.82)	-0.91 (0.87)
Community Civic Participation	3.90 (2.35)	-0.11 (0.99)	0.46 (0.70)	1.92 (1.26)	1.45 (1.69)	2.40 (0.71)
Urban	0.21 (1.90)	1.20 (0.51)	-0.25 (1.46)	-1.99 (1.60)	-1.40 (1.04)	-0.72 (0.59)
Missing Value Indicators for positive attitudes towards disobedience to the law						
Socio-economic background	4.73 (3.58)	3.68 (3.39)	-1.87 (1.90)	-1.09 (1.89)	2.57 (1.66)	-1.91 (3.12)
Expected Education	-1.18 (3.67)	1.57 (1.16)	-0.25 (1.15)	-0.11 (0.94)	-2.61 (1.01)	-1.26 (1.65)
Openness in Class Discussion	-3.18 (3.88)	-0.75 (1.05)	-0.27 (1.14)	-5.05 (1.85)	0.90 (2.15)	-1.79 (1.13)
Community Civic Participation	4.71 (3.75)	-0.57 (1.12)	0.72 (1.15)	3.00 (1.53)	1.56 (1.13)	1.04 (1.01)
Urban	-1.39 (2.08)	0.12 (1.05)	-0.40 (1.46)	-1.03 (1.29)	0.30 (1.43)	-1.40 (0.59)