

**BASIC LEARNING IN CITIZENSHIP IN CHILDHOOD TO STRENGTHEN
DEMOCRACY: RESULTS OF A CITIZEN-LED ASSESSMENT IN MEXICO.**

***APRENDIZAGENS BÁSICAS EM CIDADANIA NA INFÂNCIA PARA FORTALECER
A DEMOCRACIA: RESULTADOS DE UMA AVALIAÇÃO CIDADÃ NO MÉXICO***

***APRENDIZAJES BÁSICOS EN CIUDADANÍA EN LA NIÑEZ PARA FORTALECER
LA DEMOCRACIA: RESULTADOS DE UNA EVALUACIÓN CIUDADANA EN
MÉXICO***

Felipe J. HEVIA¹
Samana VERGARA-LOPE²

ABSTRACT: Mexico has a low valuation of democracy and fragile citizenship. Therefore, citizenship education is essential. This has been studied in adolescents and young people, but not in boys and girls. The objective of this article is to present the results of a citizen evaluation on basic citizenship learning in children between 7 and 17 years of age. Quantitative analyzes are used in a sample of 1436 children and adolescents in Yucatan, Mexico. The Basic Citizenship Learning (ABC) questionnaire and a context questionnaire were applied. Results: The average of basic citizenship learning is 3.48 (SD = 6.646). There are some relationships with gender, school attendance, type of public / private support of the school and ethnicity. The need to strengthen basic learning of citizenship in children that allows to reverse the low valuation of democracy in the country and promote a substantive citizen construction is discussed.

KEYWORDS: Civic education. Political education. Educational evaluation. Mexico. Life skills.

RESUMO: O México tem baixa valorização da democracia e uma cidadania frágil. Portanto, a educação para a cidadania é essencial. Isso é estudado em adolescentes e jovens, mas não em meninos e meninas. O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar os resultados de uma avaliação cidadã sobre a aprendizagem básica da cidadania em crianças entre 7 e 17 anos de idade. As análises quantitativas são usadas em uma amostra de 1436 crianças e adolescentes em Yucatan, México. Foram aplicados o questionário Aprendizagens Básicas da Cidadania (ABC) e um questionário de contexto. Resultados: A média das aprendizagens básicas da cidadania é 3,48 (DP = 6,646). Existem algumas relações com gênero, frequência escolar, tipo de apoio público / privado da escola e etnia. Discute-se a necessidade de fortalecer a aprendizagem básica da cidadania infantil, que permita reverter a baixa valorização da democracia no país e promover uma construção cidadã substantiva.

¹ Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores em Antropología Social (CIESAS), Xalapa – Veracruz - Mexico. Researcher Professor. PhD in Anthropology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4424-5320>. E-mail: fhevia@ciesas.edu.mx

² Instituto de Investigaciones en Educación-Universidad Veracruzana (IIE-UV) – Xalapa – Veracruz - Mexico. Full-time Researcher Professor. PhD in Psychology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8029-3533>. E-mail: samanavergaralope@hotmail.com

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Educação cidadã. Formação política. Avaliação educacional. México. Habilidades sociais.

RESUMEN: México posee baja valoración de la democracia y ciudadanía frágil. Por ello, la educación para la ciudadanía es fundamental. Esta se ha estudiado en adolescentes y jóvenes, pero no en niños y niñas. El objetivo de este artículo es presentar los resultados de una evaluación ciudadana sobre aprendizajes básicos de ciudadanía en niños entre 7 y 17 años de edad. Se utilizan análisis cuantitativos en una muestra de 1436 niñas, niños y adolescentes en Yucatán, México. Se aplicó el cuestionario Aprendizajes Básicos de Ciudadanía (ABC) y un cuestionario de contexto. Resultados: La media de aprendizajes básicos de ciudadanía es de 3.48 (DE=6.646). Se encuentran algunas relaciones con género, asistencia a la escuela, tipo de sostenimiento público/privado de la escuela; y origen étnico. Se discute sobre la necesidad de fortalecer aprendizajes básicos de ciudadanía en niños que permita revertir la poca valoración de la democracia en el país y promueva una construcción ciudadana sustantiva.

PALABRASCLAVE: Educación ciudadana. Formación política. Evaluación de la educación. México. Competencias para la vida.

Introduction

The research problem is defined as the lack of knowledge regarding basic citizenship learning that boys and girls between 7 and 12 years old have in Mexico, thus making it harder to strengthen citizenship and enhance democracy.

According to the latest available data, as measured by the Latinobarometer, support for democracy in Mexico for 2018 was 38%, one of the lowest in the region, along with Brazil, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala (LATINOBARÓMETRO, 2019, p. 16). Even with measurements that present more optimistic data, satisfaction with democracy is relatively low. The most recent measurement of the Barometer of the Americas (LAPOP) found support for democracy at 62.7% and satisfaction at democracy at 46.4% in 2019, showing a significant increase with respect to the trend between 2004 and 2016, which it went down (PIZZOLITTO, 2019, p. 21). Likewise, using data from the project Varieties of Democracy (V-DEM), Monsiváis characterizes Mexican democratic progress as defective and incomplete (MONSIVÁIS-CARRILLO, 2018, p. 269).

Along with the low support and satisfaction with democracy, in Mexico, there is a fragile citizenship. Although citizenship is a complex concept that has multiple classifications and types (INE, 2015, p. 19-27), in general terms, citizenship in its minimum definition is a legal status that allows subjects who have it to acquire and exercise its rights, and obliges States

to protect those rights and establish responsibilities for their members (MARSHALL, 2005). In order to acquire and enjoy this status, the concept of citizen construction is proposed, which defines the processes by which social subjects obtain, achieve, exercise and protect a package of rights and duties and have two main dimensions: exercise and protection of rights, and in a context of structural oppression for its development characterized by inequality (HEVIA, 2011, p. 30). Thus, it is possible to define an “active” citizenship, with an idea of participation that goes beyond the political dimension. “It includes new and unconventional forms of citizen participation, in addition to traditional political activities such as voting or militancy in parties or civil organizations” (INE, 2015, p. 24), and has a series of dimensions that include the rule of law and access to justice, political life, civil society, community life, democratic values and access to goods demanded by citizens (INE, 2015, p. 27).

Thus, defined full citizenship, several analyzes show a state of fragility for the Mexican case. Thus, for example, according to LAPOP, 63.2% of Mexicans have little or nothing of interest in politics, and there is widespread disenchantment with politics (PIZZOLITTO, 2019, p. 30). Likewise, according to INE's Mexico Citizenship Quality Report, it concludes that “Mexico is in a complex process of building citizenship that is characterized, in very general terms, by a distrust of others and authority, especially in the institutions in charge of the power of attorney; its social disconnection in networks that go beyond the family, neighbors and some religious associations; and its disenchantment with the results that democracy had”³ (INE, 2015, p. 199).

The low support for democracy and fragile citizenship has a direct relationship with the problems of the education system to form integral citizens. According to Latinobarómetro, “the level of education is decisive in the condition of democrat, greater education, greater support for democracy” (LATINOBARÓMETRO, 2019, p. 22). Hence the importance of education for democracy and, in particular, education for citizenship and citizen formation.

Indeed, within the educational field, citizenship education focuses on the idea of learning to live together, and is one of the four pillars of education for the 21st century. According to the classic text coordinated by Delors, this pillar implies developing “the understanding of the other and the perception of forms of interdependence - carrying out

³ “O México se encontra em um complexo processo de construção de cidadania que se caracteriza, em termos muito gerais, por uma desconfiança no próximo e na autoridade, especialmente nas instituições encarregadas da procuração de justiça; sua desvinculação social em redes que vão mais além da família, dos vizinhos e de algumas associações religiosas; e seu desencanto pelos resultados que a democracia teve”

common projects and preparing to deal with conflicts - respecting the values of pluralism, mutual understanding and peace”⁴ (DELORS, 1996, p. 34).

This theme can be traced back to the education of the classical Greek era (HEATER, 2003). According to Bisquerra, Education for Citizenship (EfC) aims to "form active and responsible citizens to live in democracy"⁵ (BISQUERRA, 2008, p. 47). Thus, it focuses on the learning of life in common (PUIG ROVIRA *et al.*, 2011, p. 48). Its inclusion is essential to understand the purposes of education, beyond illustration (MARTÍN, 2006). EfC goes beyond the educational scope and is for life (O'SHEA, 2003, p. 10).

One of the key areas in his study was democratic management in schools (BARAZZETTI; PROVIN; FILIPAK, 2016; SANTANA, 2018). Recently he has also been interested in the study of citizenship in the context of world integration and globalization (ARTHUR; DAVIES; HAHN, 2008b), including a wide range of topics such as teaching, learning and knowledge about what it means to be a citizen, emphasizing themes of civism, citizenship and government, but also active citizenship, student participation and extracurricular programs (ARTHUR; DAVIES; HAHN, 2008a, p. 6), as well as their inclusion in various disciplinary fields, such as the humanities or history (CAFAGNA, 2019).

In Mexico, the education system has developed several EfC and civic formation programs (CONDE, 2015), one of the greatest efforts being the “Comprehensive Civic and Ethical Formation Program for Primary Education” (SEP, 2008). This program was based on a competence focus, seeking to develop knowledge and care for oneself, self-regulation and responsible exercise of freedom, respect and appreciation of diversity, the sense of belonging to the community, the nation and humanity, handling and resolving problems. conflicts, social and political participation, attachment to legality, and the sense of justice, understanding and appreciation for democracy (CONDE-FLORES; GARCÍA-CABRERO; ALBA-MERAZ, 2017).

One difficulty identified in the literature with respect to EfC actions in Mexico and other regions is the difficulty in being able to assess these competences and learning. There is a difficulty not only in measuring citizenship in the curriculum, but also in being able to value it in school culture and *ethos*. Difficulty is partly generated by the tension between freedom of judgment and summative assessment. There are also doubts regarding possible negative

⁴ “a compreensão do outro e a percepção das formas de interdependência -realizar projetos comuns e se preparar para tratar os conflitos - respeitando os valores de pluralismo, compreensão mútua e paz”

⁵ “formar cidadãos ativos e responsáveis para conviver em democracia”

consequences in their future formation and exercise of citizens if they appear with low results in a test with high consequences (JEROME, 2008, p. 545-546).

Despite these difficulties, there are several assessments on civic education and citizenship. The most important and broad is the International Citizen Civic Education Study (ICCS), under the direction of the IEA, which has been conducting comparative international assessments in different regions of the world, the last editions being those of 2016 and 2009 (SCHULZ *et al.*, 2008; 2018). In this evaluation, civic and citizen education is defined as follows:

[...] not only to the knowledge and understanding of formal institutions and to some traditional processes of civic life (for example, voting in elections), but also to the opportunities that people have to participate and to commit themselves in civic life and in civil society [...]. different ways in which citizens relate to and shape their communities (including schools) and the wider society (SREDECC, 2011, p. 17).⁶

This construct encompasses the following contents: 1) civil society and systems: citizens, state institutions, civil institutions; 2) civic principles (equity, freedom, feeling of community, rule of law) 3) civic participation (decision-making processes, community influence and participation); 4) Civic identities (civic self-image, connectivity), measured through cognitive domains and affective conduct (SCHULZ *et al.*, 2018, p. 9-12).

The results for Mexico in the 2016 measurement were around 476 points, by level of achievement, 13% was located at level A (the highest); 33% at level B; 33% at level C; 18% at level D and 3% below level D (INEE, 2018).

It should be noted that the ICCS applies to adolescents in the 8th grade, with an average of 14 years, and applies to a representative sample of schools. Thus, there is information about adolescents with respect to citizenship education curricula, but these assessments do not include information on other stages, such as childhood itself, nor do they include those boys and girls who do not attend school.

For these reasons, the purpose of this article is to analyze the basic citizenship learnings that boys and girls between 7 and 12 years old have in Mexico.

⁶ [...] não só ao conhecimento e compreensão das instituições formais e a alguns processos tradicionais da vida cívica (por exemplo, votar em eleições), como também às oportunidades que têm as pessoas de participar e de se comprometer na vida cívica e na sociedade civil [...]. diferentes maneiras em que os cidadãos se relacionam e dão forma a suas comunidades (incluindo as escolas) e a sociedade mais ampla (SREDECC, 2011, p. 17).

Methodology

To accomplish this objective, the information generated by the project “Independent Measurement of Learning - IML” is used, a citizen and participatory assessment of basic learning, which follows the methodology known as Citizen-Led-Assessment (ALCOTT *et al.*, 2018; MUNENE, 2016). The design of the IML citizen assessment corresponds to a descriptive study of the population through surveys with probabilistic samples (MONTERO; LEÓN, 2007).

In relation to the participants, a total of 1436 boys, girls and adolescents, inhabitants of the state of Yucatán, between 7 and 17 years old participated in this study. Of these participants, 954 boys and girls between 7 and 12 years old were identified at the time of being interviewed, with an average of 9.4 years (DE = 1,679). 46.5% were women and 53.5% men. 95% studied in public schools and 4.4% in private schools, and were attending various school degrees (table 1).

Table 1 - School grade frequencies by state

School level	Yucatán	
	N	%
1 st primary	12	1.3
2 nd primary	142	14.9
3 rd primary	190	19.9
4 th primary	172	18.0
5 th primary	165	17.3
6 th primary	131	13.7
1 st secondary	110	11.5
2 nd secondary	28	2.9
Do not study	950	99.6
Total	954	.4

Source: Devised by the authors

To carry out the application of the instrument, a representative sampling of homes was carried out, multi-stage, stratified, probabilistic by conglomerates and with a systematic choice of houses (HERNÁNDEZ SAMPIERI; FERNÁNDEZ COLLADO; BAPTISTA LUCIO, 2010; KERLINGER; LEE, 2002). The primary unit of the sampling were municipalities, the secondary unit were localities and Basic Geostatistics Areas, seeking representation between rural and urban areas, considering the size of the total population and the total number of people aged 7 to 17 years. In the selected locations, a systematic choice of houses was made (the first

element was randomly chosen and then one house was selected every two). The degree of confidence of the sample is fixed at 95%, with a margin of error of +/- 4%.

The instrument that was used in this study was the Instrument for Measuring Basic Learning in Citizenship (BLC). This instrument has 16 reactivities and 4 dimensions: Rules, Tolerance and inclusion, Teamwork and Coexistence and participation. The “rules” dimension refers to guidelines, formal or informal, in which the appropriate way of relating to others is established, that is, ways of regulating the interaction between people. (BURBANO, 2009). The “tolerance and inclusion” dimension implies respect for others, regardless of their physical characteristics, such as sex, ethnic origin and disability; and differences that are not physical, such as thought, religion and gender (UNESCO, 2005). The “team work” dimension refers to the relationships that are established with others with whom one lives, collaborates and there is mutual support, seeking that individuals contribute to collective well-being (LAGO *et al.*, 2015). Finally, the dimension of "coexistence and participation" includes the use of tools such as active listening, dialogue and communication to manage conflict with others, and as part of the construction of spaces free from violence (FIERRO-EVANS; CARBAJAL-PADILLA, 2019).

The instrument has an original *Cronbach's alpha* coefficient of .72 and 55.3% of the explained variance (as can be seen in the results section). For application in the state of Yucatán: a) the wording of two negative reagents (4 and 10) was changed to make them positive; b) *Cronbach's Alpha* coefficient was obtained again with the new reactants, which was .71. It contains four answer options: never, sometimes, almost always and always; and are scored from 1 to 4, respectively, except for negative reactivities that qualify in reverse (negative reactivities that qualify in reverse: 2 and 12)

The instrument was applied as part of a battery that included IML Reading, IML mathematics (HEVIA; VERGARA-LOPE, 2016), as well as a survey of variables regularly associated with academic achievement. One of them is the motivation for learning, for which the Motivation for Learning Questionnaire, of its own elaboration, was used, with five one-dimensional reactivities that explains 50.4% of the variance with an internal consistency index of .75 Cronbach's Alpha.

In the methodology of the IML project (VERGARA-LOPE, 2018; VERGARA-LOPE; HEVIA, 2016; VERGARA-LOPE; HEVIA; RABAY, 2017) the instruments apply to all boys and girls and adolescents who live in selected homes. Applies with pencil and paper in the form of an interview, child by child. The application was carried out by 141 volunteer citizens who were previously trained in a 6 to 7 hour workshop. The supervision, monitoring of the

application and the applicators were carried out by the state partners who were mainly civil society organizations.

The information was processed in a database in the SPSS program and underwent a series of descriptive, parametric and non-parametric statistical procedures, especially comparison between means (HERNÁNDEZ SAMPIERI; FERNÁNDEZ COLLADO; BAPTISTA LUCIO, 2010).

Results

The results are organized into two sections. The first presents the percentages of response and the highest averages of the reactants of the instrument among participants aged 7 and 12 (N = 954), as well as a comparison between the dimensions of the instrument and differences in responses between participants aged 6-12 and 13-17 years. In the second, differences between three attributes of participants aged 6-12 years and their basic citizenship learning are analyzed. In particular, we ask ourselves whether there are differences by gender, public-private support of the school and the presence of an original language.

With respect to the first section, Table 2 shows the percentages of frequencies for the different response options for the 16 reactants in the instrument.

Table 2 - Percentage of response frequencies

	Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always
C1. You respect the rules when participating in an activity	0.9%	4.4%	13.1%	81.5%
C2. It annoys you people who don't have the same skin color as you	83.5%	4.8%	2.3%	9.4%
C3. You respect the turn of others	1.2%	5.5%	12.0%	81.4%
C4. Do you like to play with people who are different from you	3.0%	4.7%	11.6%	80.7%
C5. You follow the instructions the teacher gives you in the classroom	0.5%	5.8%	14.4%	79.3%
C6. You get along with everyone	0.8%	7.8%	16.4%	75.1%
C7. You pay attention when the teacher is teaching your class	0.5%	6.4%	16.1%	77.0%
C8. When someone doesn't respect the rules of the game, you speak out	9.0%	17.3%	17.5%	56.3%
C9. Do you like to work as a team	2.0%	6.3%	12.8%	78.9%
C10. Do you think women can do the same things as men	18.2%	13.6%	14.9%	53.4%
C11. You like to adapt the game, so that everyone can play	3.8%	6.8%	13.2%	76.1%
C12. You move away from people who have a disability	72.1%	8.2%	6.6%	13.1%

C13. Even if you disagree with someone, you respect their opinion	3.0%	12.6%	15.8%	68.5%
C14. You organize the material after work, so that the classroom is in order	2.4%	9.5%	16.6%	71.5%
C15. You learn best when you work as a team	3.9%	10.1%	15.6%	70.4%
C16. You feel good when you share your stuff	3.4%	10.3%	15.4%	71.0%

Source: Devised by the authors

As shown in table 3, the five reactants that had the lowest average response in learning citizenship were: 10, 8, 12, 13 and 15; and the highest averages were for reactants 1, 3, 5 and 7.

Table 3 - Reactive averages, ordered from lowest to highest

Reactives	N	Average	DE
C10. Do you think women can do the same things as men	3.03	952	1.182
C8. When someone doesn't respect the rules of the game, you speak out	3.21	949	1.025
C12. You move away from people who have a disability	3.39	946	1.076
C13. Even if you disagree with someone, you respect their opinion	3.5	953	0.828
C15. You learn best when you work as a team	3.53	953	0.827
C16. You feel good when you share your stuff	3.54	954	0.81
C14. You organize the material after work, so that the classroom is in order	3.57	953	0.762
C2. It annoys you people who don't have the same skin color as you	3.62	951	0.918
C11. You like to adapt the game, so that everyone can play	3.62	951	0.775
C6. You get along with everyone	3.66	954	0.657
C9. Do you like to work as a team	3.69	952	0.679
C4. Do you like to play with people who are different from you	3.7	948	0.695
C7. You pay attention when the teacher is teaching your class	3.7	952	0.61
C5. You follow the instructions the teacher gives you in the classroom	3.72	947	0.59
C3. You respect the turn of others	3.74	953	0.611
C1. You respect the rules when participating in an activity	3.75	952	0.576

Source: Devised by the authors

With respect to the dimensions of the instrument, the highest weighted average is in the “rules” dimension and the lowest is in “tolerance and inclusion” (table 4).

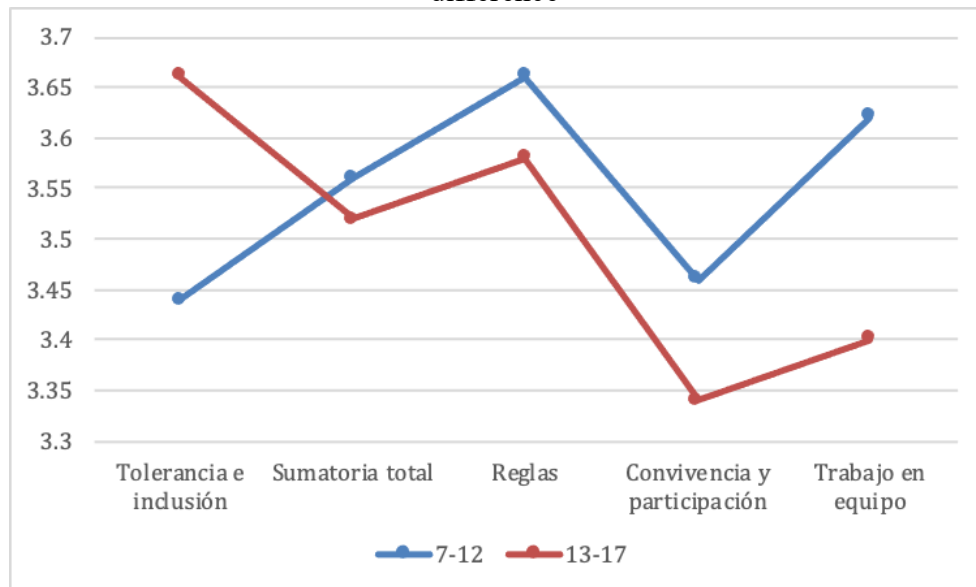
Table 4 – Weighted averages and averages by dimension. Significant differences between groups

Dimension	Reac tives	Age		7-12		13-17		t	gl
		Average	DE	Average	DE	Avera ge P.	DE		
				Average	DE	Avera ge P.	DE		
Rules	6	1.98	.566	.66	1.50	2.745	3.58	3.205***	909.97
Tolerance and inclusion	4	3.75	.208	.44	4.63	1.908	3.66	-7.819***	1098.68
Team work	3	0.87	.533	.62	0.19	1.798	3.40	7.060***	841.69
Coexistence and participation	3	0.37	.751	3.46	10.02	1.748	3.34	3.559***	1434
Total	16	56.97	5.509	3.56	56.34	5.668	3.52	2.012*	1434

Source: Devised by the authors.

Table 4 also allows a comparison between boys and girls aged 7 to 12 years and those aged 13 to 17 years. As you can see, there are statistically significant differences in all dimensions and in the total sum. The averages are higher in the 7-12 year old group, except for the tolerance and inclusion dimension, which is significantly higher in the 13 and older group (figure 1).

Figure 1 – Weighted averages by dimension. Comparison between group of children from 6 to 12 years old and adolescents from 13 to 17 years old ordered from smallest to largest difference⁷



Source: Devised by the authors

Relating citizenship learning to age, significant correlations are obtained in two dimensions, in tolerance and inclusion and in the total sum of the positive type ($\rho = .261$, sig.

⁷ We read on the image subtitle from left to right: Tolerance and inclusion; Total; Rules; Coexistence and participation; Team work

Al .001; rho = .069, sig. Al .05) and in teamwork, negative (rho = -.102, sig. Al .01). Analyzing this result together with table 4 and figure 1, we can see that tolerance and inclusion is the only aspect of citizenship that increases with age, the rest seems to decrease, especially that of teamwork.

In relation to the second dimension of results, it seeks to identify whether there are differences due to different attributes of the participants, such as gender, school support and the presence of an original language. In the case of gender, women have higher averages in all dimensions, but the differences are significant only in the total sum of citizenship learning, in the rule dimension and in teamwork (table 5).

Table 5 – Difference of averages by gender

Dimensions	Gender	N	Average	DE	t	gl
Rules	Feminine	444	22.38	2.299	4.588	950.917***
	Masculine	510	21.63	2.733		
Tolerance and inclusion	Feminine	444	13.86	2.160	NS	
	Masculine	510	13.66	2.248		
Team work	Feminine	444	10.98	1.472	-2.123	952*
	Masculine	510	10.77	1.579		
Coexistence and participation	Feminine	444	10.43	1.714	NS	
	Masculine	510	10.31	1.783		
Total	Feminine	444	57.65	5.078	-3.641	951.965***
	Masculine	510	56.37	5.798		

Source: Devised by the authors

Speaking of school support (public-private), all averages are slightly higher in the private school, but the only difference that is significant is in the tolerance and inclusion dimension. It is worth remembering that only 4.4% of the participants studied in private schools (table 6).

Table 6 – Difference of averages by school support

Dimensions	Support	N	Average	DE	t	gl
Rules	Public	899	21.99	2.568	NS	
	Private	42	22.26	2.153		
Tolerance and inclusion	Public	899	13.70	2.224	-4.321	49.119***
	Private	42	14.79	1.561		
Team work	Public	899	10.87	1.553	NS	
	Private	42	10.95	1.168		
Coexistence and participation	Public	899	10.36	1.753	NS	
	Private	42	10.48	1.837		
Total	Public	899	56.91	5.534	NS	
	Private	42	58.48	4.759		

Source: Devised by the authors

38.3% of the sample spoke a native language, mostly Mayan. The averages of

citizenship learning of participants who spoke native language were higher, except for the dimension of tolerance and inclusion, however, the difference was significant only in the dimension of teamwork ($t = -3,335$, sig. Al .001, $gl = 849,588$) (See table 7).

Table 7 – Difference of averages by presence of native language

Dimensions	Indigenous language	N	Average	DE	T	gl
Rules	No	589	21.89	2.569	NS	
	Yes	365	22.12	2.558		
Tolerance and inclusion	No	589	13.82	2.208	NS	
	Yes	365	13.64	2.208		
Team work	No	589	10.74	1.600	-3.335	849.588***
	Yes	365	11.07	1.396		
Coexistence and participation	No	589	10.30	1.736	NS	
	Yes	365	10.47	1.773		
Total	No	589	56.75	5.476	NS	
	Yes	365	57.31	5.552		

Source: Devised by the authors

Of the 954 boys and girls aged 7-12 years old, only 4 participants (0.4%) did not attend school, so it is very difficult to find significant differences in the variable citizenship, with so few subjects in this group. However, it is important to highlight that when analyzing the age group of 13 to 17 years, which has a higher percentage of children who do not attend school (5.2%), there are significant differences in almost all dimensions of citizenship between children who attend and those who do not attend school.

Discussion

The analyzed results allow to guide the discussion about two fundamental elements: on the one hand, the need to strengthen basic citizenship learning in boys and girls that allow to reverse the little valorization of democracy in the country and, on the other hand, the need to promote substantive citizenship.

Regarding the first point, the results show that, even in the most basic learning of citizenship, such as respect for the rules, teamwork and coexistence, there is a percentage of children who are not developing properly. The results suggest that, as age increases, there is a tendency to decrease this learning, particularly in the dimension of teamwork. They also suggest that, with the exception of gender, the subjects' attributes - such as attendance at a public or private school, or attachment to an ethnic group for speaking native language - do not show significant differences, allowing to infer that it is a generalized problem in the school and social

systems of the analyzed region. For this reason, the idea of strengthening basic learning of citizenship throughout life is reinforced, emphasizing early childhood, as a necessary action to introduce fundamental learning for the respect and value of democratic life. Limiting citizen education to cognitive and formal aspects related to “civic knowledge” does not seem to be enough to face the low support for democracy that polls show to adults. It is required to design specific interventions of a transversal nature, which encourage teamwork and which value coexistence and participation, which can be transformed into practices, knowledge and attitudes that facilitate the valorization of democracy, but also that collaborate in the resolution of problems.

Secondly, the results show the need to build, teach and learn a broad and substantive notion of citizenship, which is built by knowledge, but, mainly, by conducts and practices. The minimum contents of this broad notion of citizenship must incorporate notions about the forms of regulation and personal interaction, respect for others, in addition to their individual and socioeconomic attributes, ways of contributing to the common good and mutual support, and the generation competencies and skills of coexistence and participation, such as dialogue, peaceful conflict management and the construction of spaces free from violence. To the extent that we can generate a more encompassing notion of citizenship, we will be able to promote this sense of community and elementary equality in order to recognize citizens and to be able to move towards a more democratic and fair education.

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