Classrooms in Peace

Preliminary Results of a
Multi-Component Program

Document available in:
www.ried-ijed.org

Classrooms in Peace

Preliminary Results of a Multi-Component Program

Cecilia Ramos
School Vice-Chancellor,La Giralda School, Asociación Alianza Educativa, Bogotá, Colombia.
Ana María Nieto
Psychologist and Anthropologist, Department of Psychology, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia.
Enrique Chaux
Director of the Classrooms in Peace Multi-component Program and of the Aggression, Conflicts and Education for Coexistence research team.
Any questions about this paper should be addressed to: Carrera 1 Este # 18A-70, Bogotá, Colombia.
Telephone: (57-1) 339, 4949. E-mail: echaux@uniandes.edu.co

Abstract

Classrooms in Peace is aimed at preventing aggressive behaviors and promoting peaceful coexistence through 1) a curriculum for the development of citizenship competencies in the classroom; 2) extracurricular reinforcement in groups of two initially aggressive and four prosocial children; 3) workshops for, visits and phone calls to family mothers/fathers. A first implementation of the complete program showed a drastic decrease in aggressive behaviors and indiscipline and a considerable increase in prosocial behaviors, adherence to rules, and friendship networks among classmates. The combination of universal components and targeted components for those most in need seems to be highly valuable, especially in violent contexts.

Classrooms in Peace:

Preliminary Results of a Multi-Component Program

Promoting peaceful coexistence is one of the most important aspects of education for citizenship and democracy, especially in many of the countries of the American continent which have had for decades the world's highest levels of violence (Krug et al., 2002). Many of the boys and girls in our contexts grow up exposed to violence in their families, their neighbourhoods, their schools and even through the mass media. As various research studies have shown, from the classic studies headed by Albert Bandura (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963) up to the more recent ones based on the analysis of cognitive and emotional processes (Chaux, Arboleda & Rincón, under review;

Dodge, Bates & Pettit, 1990; Guerra, Huesmann & Spindler, 2003; Slaby & Guerra, 1988; Schwartz & Proctor, 2000; Torrente & Kanayet, 2007), those boys and girls exposed to violence are more likely to develop aggressive behaviors, that is, actions intended to harm others either directly through beating and insults or indirectly by means of rumours and exclusion (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Lagerspetz, Björkqvist & Peltonen, 1988). Furthermore, without intervention, those children who are more aggressive in infancy are more likely to continue being so as adults thus generating a violence circle (Chaux, 2003; Huesmann et al., 1984). This is at present perhaps the biggest challenge for education for coexistence: How to promote a culture of peaceful coexistence in contexts that promote a culture of violence? This paper presents the preliminary results of the evaluation of one of the programs that
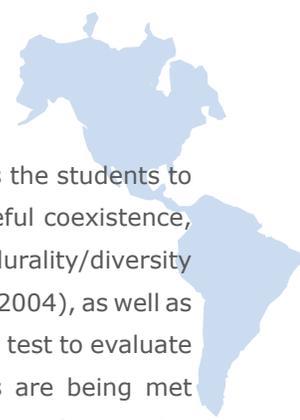
have undertaken this challenge: The Multi-component Classrooms in Peace Program.

There is a wide variety of approaches to peaceful coexistence in the field of education. The great majority of schools in our contexts seek to promote coexistence through the teaching of knowledge or values. These approaches have limitations because neither the teaching of knowledge –such as rights and national symbols– nor the transmission of values –such as honesty or respect through lectures, bulletin boards, songs, fables and awards– seem to translate into actions that foster coexistence. In other words, under these approaches students appear to learn discourses but most often keep a distance between discourse and action (Chaux, 2002; Kohn, 1997).

The Classrooms in Peace program focuses rather on the development of citizenship competencies, that is, towards those emotional, cognitive and communicative abilities that, together with knowledge and aptitudes, allow individuals to act in constructive ways in society (Chaux, Lleras & Velásquez, 2004; Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, 2004; Ruiz-Silva & Chaux, 2005). We decided to adopt this approach because competencies provide students with a better preparation for facing complex situations that occur in daily life such as conflict or aggressive situations. Furthermore, the competency-based approach to teaching fosters learning through the creation of opportunities for practicing rather than by means of discourse (Chaux, Bustamante, Castellanos et al., under review), i.e. learning by doing, which has a higher probability of translating into daily actions.

The citizenship competencies approach of the Schools in Peace program is also consistent with the recent trend both in Colombia and several Latin American countries to focus citizenship development on competencies development (Cox, Jaramillo y Reimers, 2005). The Colombian citizenship competencies program led by the Ministry of Education, in particular, includes National Citizenship Competencies Standards

that specify what the Ministry expects the students to be capable of doing in terms of peaceful coexistence, democratic participation and plurality/diversity (Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, 2004), as well as a nationwide citizenship competencies test to evaluate the extent to which those standards are being met in all the basic education institutions in the country (Torrente & Kanayet, 2007). Due to the high degree of decentralization of Colombia's educational system, the Ministry did not propose (nor could it have proposed) a national curriculum to introduce the development of citizenship competencies. On the other hand, its policy has been to identify, support and disseminate programs and initiatives that promote citizenship competencies in innovative ways (Chaux & Velásquez, in press). The Classrooms in Peace program is one of them. This program seeks to become an effective and rigorous model of how to develop citizenship competencies for coexistence in the school.

The Colombian citizenship competencies program has stressed four types of competencies: emotional, cognitive, communicative and all-encompassing competencies (Chaux, Lleras & Velásquez, 2004; Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, 2004; Ruiz-Silva & Chaux, 2005). Emotional competencies refer to the abilities to respond constructively to one's own emotions (e.g. handling anger so as to not to hurt anyone nor oneself) as well as to others' emotions (e.g. empathy, which means to feel something comparable to or in accordance with what others feel). Cognitive competencies are the mental processes that facilitate interaction in society (e.g. the ability to put oneself mentally in others' shoes). Communicative competencies refer to the abilities to establish constructive dialogues with others (e.g. assertiveness or the ability to transmit messages in firm and clear ways but without hurting others). Finally, all-encompassing competencies include, in practice, all the others (e.g. constructive conflict management – which includes emotional competencies such as handling anger, cognitive competencies such as the creative generation of alternatives, and communicative
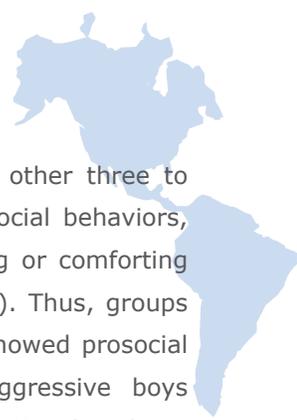
competencies such as the ability to listen to others). The Classrooms in Peace program seeks to promote all of these. Nevertheless, while the Colombian program covers peaceful coexistence, democratic participation and plurality/diversity, Classrooms in Peace focuses exclusively on coexistence.

Many of the Colombian and international education-for-coexistence-programs are targeted simultaneously at all students, i.e. they are based on a universal (primary) prevention approach. On the other hand, some of the most successful educational programs worldwide focus their efforts on those students that seem to require most support, that is, those who exhibit very frequent aggressive behaviors early in life and who, for this reason, seem to be at higher risk of exhibiting violent behaviors later in life (secondary prevention)[1]. The Montreal Prevention Program, for example, is perhaps the one that has had the greatest long-term impact in terms of preventing aggression, violence and delinquency. After an intervention restricted to primary grades 2 and 3, this program managed to decrease physical aggression, delinquency, relationship to gangs, attrition rates and even risky behaviors such as early sexual activity or use of unlawful drugs among participants, as compared with those who were not selected for participation (Chaux, 2005; Tremblay et al., 1995; Vitaro et al., 2004). In addition, some of these effects were noticeable 15 years after completion of the program.

The Montreal program included no universal component whatsoever. On the other hand, its two components focused on the boys[2] who most frequently exhibited aggressive behaviors. For two years, periodical visits were made to their fathers and mothers in their homes and child-rearing as well as constructive family conflict-handling competencies were developed jointly with them. In addition, every two weeks these boys participated in extra sessions devoted to the development of social abilities. These sessions involved heterogeneous groups in which one or two boys had been chosen because of their

high levels of aggression, while the other three to five boys exhibited outstanding prosocial behaviors, such as helping, sharing, cooperating or comforting (Chaux, 2005; Tremblay et al., 1995). Thus, groups were arranged in which most boys showed prosocial behaviors, thus preventing only aggressive boys from being grouped together. The latter has been demonstrated to be more damaging than not intervening at all (Arnold & Hughes, 1999; Dishion, McCord & Poulin, 1999).

The best structured programs nowadays, however, combine primary with secondary prevention. Perhaps the most comprehensive program of all is *Fast Track* (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999), currently implemented in several places in the United States. This program includes five components: 1) the Paths universal curriculum, which consists of two or three lessons a week for developing socio-emotional abilities in all the students in the class; 2) workshops for, visits and telephone calls to the parents of the most aggressive children, during which supervised parent-children interactions as well as practice in competencies for the development of constructive relationships in the home are conducted; 3) workshops for reinforcing social abilities in extracurricular groups[3]; 4) sessions involving games in pairs, where the more aggressive children interact with the more prosocial ones under the supervision of an adult; and 5) individual tutoring in mathematics and language. In spite of its evident success in preventing aggression (e.g. Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999), the program brings up obvious doubts about the feasibility of its replication and its cost-benefit ratio (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2006). Fast Track not only includes a wide range of components, but several of these – such as the sessions involving games in pairs, and individual tutoring – also demand a high cost to be implemented.

The Classrooms in Peace program took a middle-of-the-road approach, seeking to combine primary and secondary prevention, but only with the components

that might be feasible to implement and replicate in our context. The program consists of the following three components:

1) *Classroom component:* A universal (primary prevention) curriculum for primary grades 2 to 5 based on the development of citizenship competencies, implemented both in a class devoted exclusively for this purpose (24 hours per year) and in the language class (16 hours per year), in which the simultaneous – and integrated – development of citizenship competencies and language competencies is sought (Vega & Diaz-Granados, 2004). The topics prioritized by the curriculum are aggression, conflicts, and intimidation (bullying), while the core competencies are empathy, handling anger constructively, distance-taking, the creative generation of alternatives, the consideration of consequences, active listening and assertiveness (Chaux, Lleras & Velásquez, 2004; Chaux, Bustamante, Castellanos et al., under review)[4].

Each one-hour session focuses on the development of specific competencies under the teaching principle of learning-by-doing, i.e. developing the competency based on activities that seek to have students put that competency into practice during the activity itself. For example, a typical activity for developing empathy is to ask students to identify the emotions of the characters in the stories they are reading as a group, to tell how they would feel if they were experiencing similar situations, to think of situations in their personal lives that resemble those in the books, and to identify what they felt when that happened to them. Similarly, to develop the cognitive competency that entails the creative generation of alternatives, contests are made where the winning groups are those capable of creating the largest number of different alternatives for handling hypothetical conflicts.

Several of the competencies are also associated to specific symbols that are used for easier recollection of the competency. Some examples are: Respibomba, which is the name given by some of the students to the technique of imagining what it is like to inflate and deflate a balloon, a typical anger-handling technique; Oso cariñoso, which means to give a comforting hug to those who are feeling miserable or who have been victims of aggression; Dino – a dinosaur who knows how to say no – represents the assertive competency of not accepting an imposition; Coro el loro symbolizes a situation in which children as a group request those who are hitting someone or fighting to stop.

2) *Fathers/Mothers Component:* Workshops with fathers/mothers (four per year), visits to the homes (four per year), and telephone calls (one per week). Both the workshops and the visits seek to have fathers/mothers develop the same competencies as those their children are learning, promote a family atmosphere that may facilitate implementing these competencies, and practise child-rearing guidelines leading to pacific coexistence in their homes. While the fathers, mothers or main caregivers of all[5] the children in the class are invited to the workshops (primary prevention), visits and telephone calls are only made to those students (four per classroom, i.e. 10%) who have been previously identified as having greater aggression problems (secondary prevention). Telephone calls seek to maintain ongoing communication with fathers/mothers in order to facilitate responding to specific difficulties, as well to follow up on the children's and their families' process[6].

A typical workshop with fathers/mothers of primary grade 2 students, for example, seeks to develop the anger-handling technique through activities such as visualizing a recent situation at home, in which they felt very angry, and the analysis of what they felt at that moment, how they felt it, what they did / could have done to handle that anger. In the same workshop, for example, they learn relaxation techniques such as breathing deeply, stretching and relaxing their muscles, talking to themselves to calm down, and allowing themselves some time out to be alone for a while so that they may better handle their anger.

Similarly, the activities conducted during home visits seek to promote further opportunities for the competencies that both children and parents are learning at school workshops to get implemented at home. For example, a visit about child-rearing guidelines might involve a motor-coordination game where parents have to instruct their children on how to build a tower with wooden tokens. An analysis of the activity helps them to identify and analyze parent-children relationship guidelines that may not be very effective, such as giving ambiguous instructions, or saying "No" to practically everything the children do. Other visits might analyze common parent-children conflicts and are aimed at supporting the use – in those same conflicts – of the competencies that both children and parents and learning.

3) *Heterogeneous Groups Component:* This component seeks to provide an additional weekly opportunity for practising the competencies that are being learned in the classroom. Like the Montreal Prevention Program, these groups consist of two students exhibiting high levels of aggression and four with outstanding prosocial behaviors[7]. Some of the typical activities of these workshops are, for example, role plays in which students, working in pairs, should simulate a hypothetical conflict where the script is available for the first part of the conflict only. In other words, they should practice the competencies they have learned by spontaneously enacting the manner in which they would handle a conflict similar to one they might face in real life. Likewise, other role plays might involve students in practising strategies to inhibit aggression situations among their peers. These groups also analyze stories which are then related with students' daily lives, for example, by analyzing how they feel, or how others feel when they experience situations similar to those in the stories. In some of the workshops, students have the opportunity to perform prosocial actions, such as writing letters that seek to alleviate the uneasiness that one of their peers might be suffering on account of something that happened to him/her in the classroom.

The evaluation of the Classrooms in Peace program has gone through several stages (see Chaux, Bustamante, Castellanos et al., under review). This paper reports the results of the analysis of changes in the students and in classroom atmosphere during the first implementation of all the components simultaneously. This experience took place in 2006 in a second grade at a school with very high levels of aggression and violence. In particular, this paper reports the qualitative and quantitative changes identified in: 1) students' aggression and prosocial behaviors; 2) classroom atmosphere, manifested as the frequency of interruptions and the frequency with which instructions were followed, and 3) the size of friendship networks developed among classmates.

Methodology

Participants

The participants in this evaluation phase of the program were 40 primary grade-2 children (24 girls and 16 boys) from a Bogotá public school under concession management by a private association[8]. They were aged 7 to 9 years. The fathers, mothers, and / or main caregivers of the 12 boys and girls who constituted the heterogeneous groups also participated. Most of the school students' families live in precarious socioeconomic conditions[9]. Most of them also live in districts with the highest levels of community crime and violence in Bogotá, where the school is located.

The concession management model entails that the facilities and the operating budget are supplied by the public sector, but the administrative (e.g. teacher hiring) and teaching (e.g. the teaching model) management is under the charge of the private sector. Like in the other public sector schools, students do not pay registration fees. Like other public schools in Bogotá, there are on average forty students in each class. However, infrastructure conditions in this specific school are better than those in most public schools, not only because it is a newer building (it

was built in 2000), but also because it has ampler and friendlier spaces. The school also features a strong training component for its teachers, including weekly teacher training sessions. In comparison with other public schools with similar socioeconomic conditions, the schools under concession have also shown both better results in standardized school tests and lower attrition rates (Barrera-Osorio, 2006).

The program was implemented by the school principal (first author), who was doing her professional traineeship and preparing her master's thesis in education on this project, a second-grade teacher with previous training in re-education and specialized in college teaching, a student attending the final undergraduate semesters in psychology and anthropology who was participating in this project as a trainee in psychology (second author), and the school social worker, who had graduated as a social psychologist and was studying towards a master's degree in education. Both the principal and the trainee in psychology had previous training in education for coexistence issues. The research team lead – a teacher and researcher on aggression and education for coexistence issues (third author) – acted as an advisor throughout the implementation process.

Procedure

Initially, the fathers, mothers, and caregivers of all the students attending the class were informed about the program during a parents meeting. A written authorization was requested both from the parents of the four children initially identified as more aggressive and from the parents of the eight children identified with more prosocial behaviors, in order for them to accept being visited at their homes, participating in parents' workshops, and letting their children participate in the heterogeneous groups. All of them accepted.

To avoid finger-pointing and labeling, both parents and students were informed that the group selected was very diverse, without mentioning that some

had been chosen for their aggressive behavior and others for their prosocial behavior. Only the team who implemented the project was aware of who had been selected for each type of behavior.

The four students with more aggressive behaviors (3 boys and 1 girl), and the eight students with more prosocial behaviors (2 boys and 6 girls) were selected unanimously, based on the observations made in the classroom and during breaks by both the psychology trainee and the class teacher during the first month of the school year, and taking into account the cases handled by the school psychologist. Thus, the work was conducted with two heterogeneous groups, each formed by two initially aggressive boys/girls and four initially prosocial boys/girls.

The Multi-component Classrooms in Peace Program was almost entirely implemented with this group. In the classroom, the regular class teacher, along with the school principal, implemented 23 sessions in a weekly schedule called "group management." The psychology trainee headed the implementation of 18 weekly workshops with each of the two heterogeneous groups. Said workshops were held in the afternoon. Supported by the school psychologist, the principal headed the implementation of four workshops for parents[10]. The four visits to each of the four families of the initially more aggressive children were made by the principal, the class teacher, the psychology trainee, and the school social worker, working in pairs. Both the workshops and the visits took place on Saturdays. The workshops were attended by 62.4% of the parents invited. The weekly telephone calls to the families visited were made by the class teacher. The only component that was not implemented was the integration between citizenship competencies and language competencies in the Spanish class[11]. The principal was in charge of coordinating the implementation of the entire project.

Children's behaviors were observed by the psychology trainee at three times during the year

(February, June, and October). As a whole, interaction observations in classroom and break settings were not interactive, even though the trainee could occasionally interact with the students, on an informal basis, to better understand their perspectives on what was happening. Besides, the trainee would intervene to de-escalate an aggression situation when no another adult was present and the physical integrity of the children was endangered. Observations of the heterogeneous groups were interactive, since the trainee led the activities in such groups. Some observations focused on each of the four initially more aggressive students, while the others were of a general nature and covered the rest of the students in the class. Observations were recorded in field journals, and included behaviors such as physical aggression (e.g. hitting, shoving), verbal aggression (e.g. insults), relational aggressions (e.g. exclusions), prosocial behaviors (e.g. caring, helping), interruptions of classroom activities due to students' indiscipline, following activity-related instructions, and additional notes on the physical and interpersonal context where students' actions took place. In total, 100.5 hours of interaction were observed (70.5 in the classroom and 30 during breaks; 35 in February, 35 in June, and 30.5 in October).

The analysis of the observation records included frequency counts in each of the four core categories (aggression, prosocial behaviors, interruptions due to indiscipline, and instruction-following), as well as a qualitative analysis aimed at illustrating each of the four categories more accurately.

During the same three periods of the year, the trainee also asked each student "Who are your friends?" This allowed counting the number of classmates the students mentioned as their friends, as well as the number of times that they themselves were mentioned as friends by their classmates.

Findings

Aggression

The frequency of aggressive behaviors observed decreased dramatically both among the initially aggressive students and among the rest of the students (Figure 1).

Through the qualitative analysis it was also possible to identify a change in the type of aggression. During
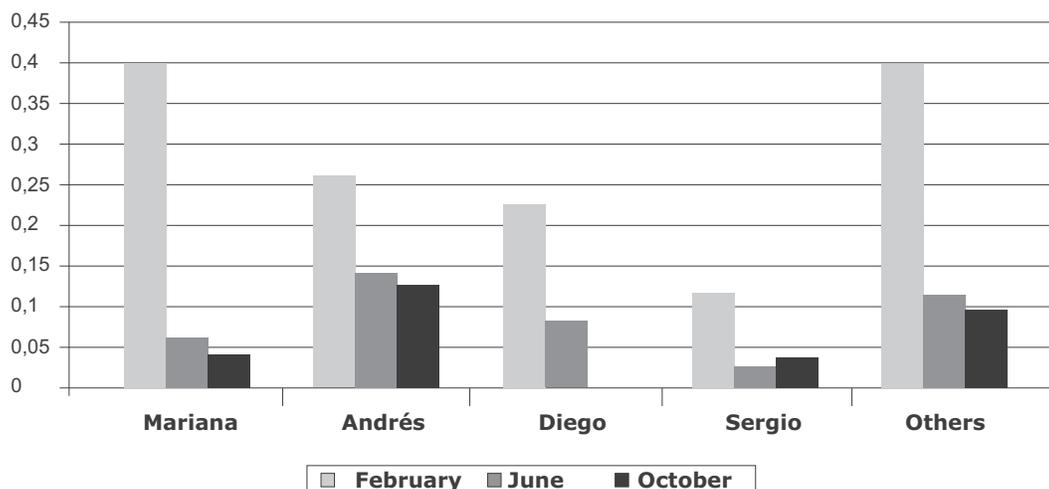

Figure 1. Number of observed aggressions per hour for the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive (names are not real) and for the rest of the class.

the first observation period (February), observations of physical aggression (e.g. kicking and shoving) were very frequent (more than an occurrence per hour). For example:

"Sergio[12] appeared to be really irritated with the situation until he finally drove her out of his place." (Wednesday, February 1, 2006).

"Suddenly, I saw Gerardo on the floor and Andrés over him hitting him on the face repeatedly." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

"Mariana had been especially aggressive, and this morning she had even bitten Leticia." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

"I saw Fernando pushing Carlos, who is quite smaller. Carlos pushed him when the teacher was not looking at them." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

On the other hand, during the second observation period (June) the situations involving physical aggression were only occasional. With regards to the observations focused on the four initially most aggressive students, only one event involved physical aggression:

"At the bottom of the stairs, I saw Diego kicking Sebastián." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

Other records show situations where aggression was subtler, such as:

"At that moment, Mariana and Ingrid came in. Mariana threw herself upon Felipe to grab his cheeks. I called out to her, and she approached me. I asked her what she was doing. She told me that it was a kind of game between Felipe and her. I asked her if Felipe knew it was a game, and if he liked it. She shrugged her shoulders. I told her that if someone does not like what we are doing, then we are not playing with but rather pestering that person." (Tuesday, June 20, 2006).

"Sergio, Gerardo, Diego and Carlos, and Daniel, who had arrived at some point, were pestering Andrés and Mario by saying "Oooopsss" and slapping them on the back. Andrés and Mario just laughed." (Tuesday, June 20, 2006).

During the third observation period (October), records of physical aggression were very scarce and only involved shoving:

"At that moment, I saw Leticia with Sebastián and Julián shoving each other and laughing. I asked them what was going on, and they returned to their place. (It is worth noting that, apart from Andrés shoving Rocío during the race, this is the second shove I see in a whole week.)" (Friday, October 20, 2006).

"It should be stressed that I did not see a single instance of hitting or kicking, but only shoving when they were close to the ball." (Friday, October 20, 2006).

During the third observation period, the few aggressions involved mostly mockery, threats, and exclusions:

"At that moment, he called Pablo and said to him: 'Come, tell Mario that if he does not let me play, I am going to tell the teacher that he stole that ball.' Before leaving, he asked him to say that only to Mario, and to whisper it into his ear." (Thursday, October 26, 2006).

"Rosa came to me and told me that Diego and Irma did not want to let her play and that, in the cooperative team, they sometimes did not let her work with them." (27.10.06).

The change in terms of aggression was also perceived by the children themselves, as shown in the informal conversation between a boy and the observer:

"Then, I asked him how he was doing with the other boys and girls, and he told me: 'Well, I am not fighting

that much any more.' I asked him how he had managed to stop fighting. He answered: 'Well, by taking it easy.' I said 'Is that so? That's great, Gerardo, and how do you take it easy?' 'By playing Tuga the Turtle.' 'Then, it has worked for you, Gerardo.' 'Yes, it has, when I am angry.'" (Tuesday, June 13, 2006)[13].

Prosocial Behaviors

This category included behaviors such as caring, helping, demonstrating affection, comforting, promoting reconciliations, and supporting classmates in using the techniques learned in the program. As shown in Figure 2, very few prosocial behaviors were observed at the beginning. On the other hand, this type of behavior was much more frequent in the other two observation periods. Besides, this change took place both among the initially more aggressive children and in the rest of the group (Figure 2).

The qualitative analysis of the observations confirms these changes. Initially, expressions of affection, care, and concern about the others were very scarce. The few distinct demonstrations of affection observed at the beginning were made by the initially more prosocial boys / girls:

"Milena stood up, approached us and stroked Monica's head." (Friday, February 3, 2006).

"When she saw her crying, Vanessa stood up and went to comfort her." (Monday, February 6, 2006).

"At a certain point during the game, Rocío fell down. Luis and Lorena helped her stand up and shake off the grass." (Wednesday, February 22, 2006).

Initially, students were also observed to have a conflict-handling discourse, but that discourse failed to match their actions:

"At that moment, Mariana's face changed. Something seemed to light up in her little head: while she wiped her tears, she began to recite something that I had already heard from Sergio when I asked him if there was any other way of keeping someone from pestering him: 'No, teacher, I should have talked with her to solve the problem.'" (Friday, February 17, 2006).

"At one of the tables there was a lot of noise. When I got closer to see what was going on, I found that Mariana was pestering Mario Ángel and Sergio, without letting them concentrate. Sergio appeared to be very
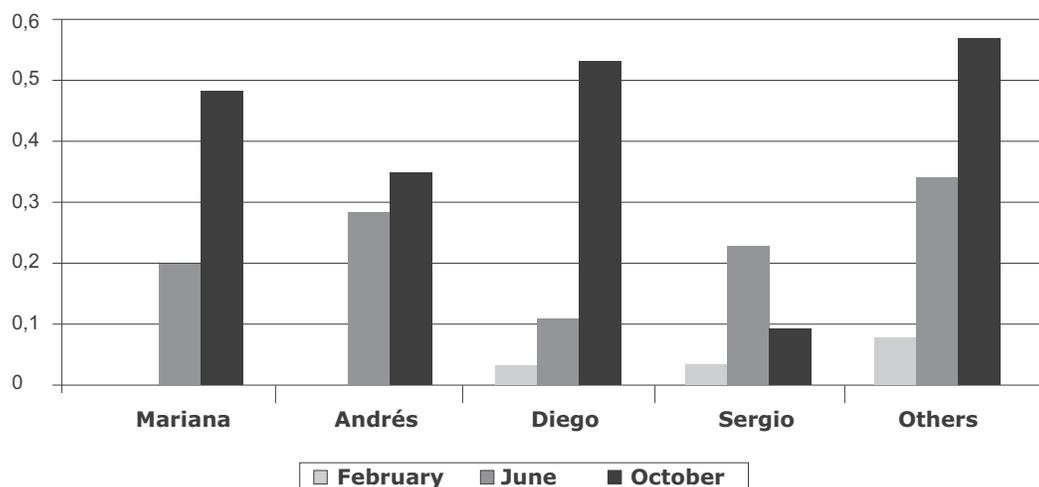

Figure 2. Number of observed prosocial behaviors per hour for the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive (names are not real) and for the rest of the class.

irritated with the situation, until he drove her out of his place. When I asked him why he had done so, he said: 'Because she shows no respect, don't you see that she does not let us work?' I then asked him if there were any other ways of asking her to let them work. At that point, the boy began practically reciting:

'Oh, yes, by talking, not by pestering her, mistreating her, or hitting her.' When I asked him why he had to do that, he answered, 'Because if the teacher sees you hitting her, she will reprimand you.' I then asked him if there was any other reason, but he shrugged his shoulders." (Wednesday, February 1, 2006).

On the other hand, frequent expressions of affection and comfort can be seen in the records of the second and third periods.

"At the door of the room, we found José and Sergio on the floor. José was crying, and Sergio was hugging him, as if he was comforting him." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"While they waited for the snacks, the children began singing a song about an elephant. Gloria was singing and holding Fernando, while Diego was holding Luis, two really astonishing things." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"During the chase, Sebastián pushed a girl, who fell down. He stopped and asked the others to wait for him. He sat by the girl, begged her pardon, and stroked her head. The girl said she was fine, and Sebastián stood up and resumed running. (Thursday, June 15, 2006).

"The teacher asked Diego to read aloud a figure from his desk. As he did so correctly, the teacher congratulated him and this time all the other children clapped." (Wednesday, June 21, 2006).

"In the classrom I found Andrés sitting on his chair with a long face, and Diego beside him, making fun of him." (Thursday, June 22, 2006).

"At a certain moment, I saw Rocío on the floor and Gloria standing beside her. Rocío was saying, 'Gloria, it really hurts.' Gloria answered her, 'Yes, but I was standing here, and you nearly made me fall.' Rocío looked at her knee, and cleaned it. Then, Gloria extended her hand and said, 'Let's go to the bathroom.' Rocío took her hand, and walked to the bathroom leaning on her." (Wednesday, October 18, 2006).

"When Zulma and Lucía stopped playing, they saw Sergio sitting and Mario stroking his head, so they approached them to ask what was wrong with Sergio. Mario told them that he was ill. Zulma also stroked his head, and then they all resumed their play." (Wednesday, October 18, 2006).

During the second and third observation period, there were situations in which one of the initially more aggressive boys/girls was seen helping his/her classmates put the competencies learned during the program into practice.

"As Andrés continued unabashed, Diego said: 'Come on, let's do something: let Andrés think about it before saying it.' I could not believe what I was hearing. Then, I asked him: 'Diego, does it work for you to calm down and then talk?' And he answered, 'Sure, when I am angry, my mom sends me to my room, I think about the issue, and then we talk'." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"Diego was saying to him, 'Andrés, come on, talk with her (i.e. with me). You know, she wants to sort things out.' I said to him: 'Andrés, give us a chance to talk about it at least. If we can't sort it out, that's another story, but we should talk at least,' and Diego said to him: 'Andrés, come on, at least give her a chance.' (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"Diego approached him and asked him to play Tuga the Turtle. Andrés looked at him, closed his fists, but he obeyed him and buried his head between his arms. Diego surprised me, once again." (Tuesday, June 20, 2006).

Classroom Atmosphere

The classroom atmosphere, as measured in terms of following instructions for performing classroom activities and of interruptions to such activities, changed dramatically in the course of the implementation of the program. As shown in Figure 3, the frequency with which the students followed instructions significantly increased during the year. Additionally, the number of interruptions observed also decreased significantly. (Figure 4)

The qualitative analysis of the observations also confirms these changes. The first observation period (February) was characterized by chaos. Instructions had to be repeated time after time, and very often they were not followed.

"Once more, the scene of the teacher with her hand raised repeated itself[14] for several minutes, until some of them raised their hands." (Monday, January 30, 2006).
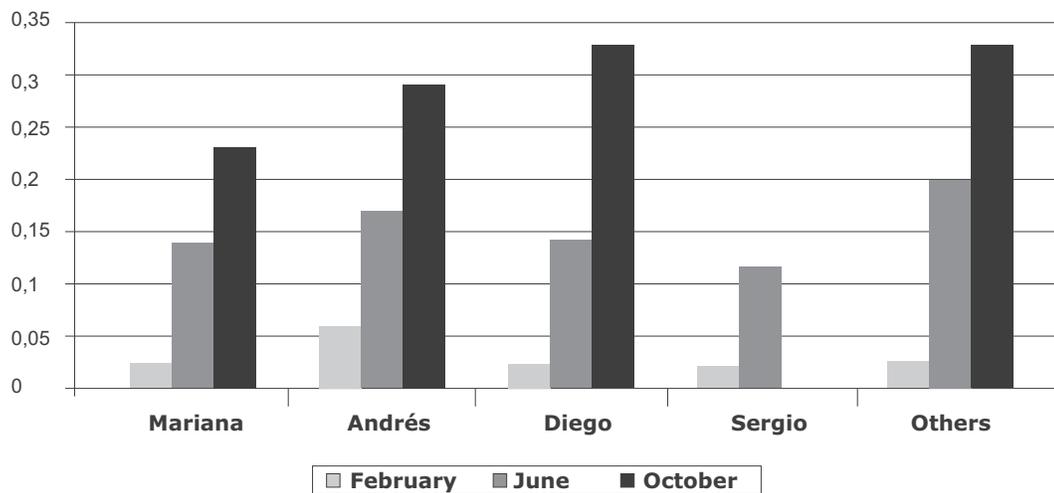
Figure 3. Hourly frequency in which the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive and the rest of the class were observed following classroom instructions.
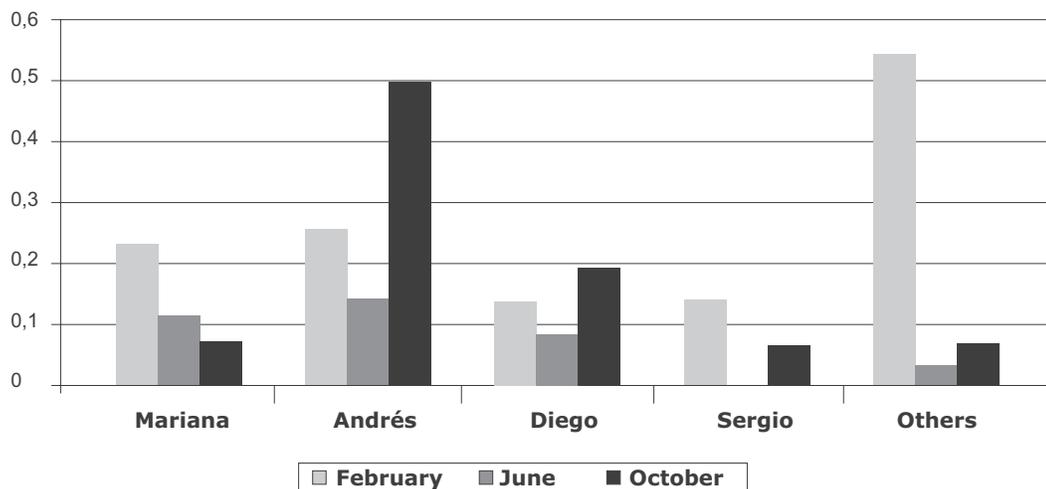

Figure 4. Hourly frequency in which the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive and the rest of the class were observed disrupting academic classroom activities.

"A girl sitting at the next table (Irma) raised her hand and shouted to the boy in front of her (Felipe) 'Hey, shut up!' The other children in the classroom continued making noise." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

"Many of them cried out asking what they had to do and the teacher answered by asking them to give her a minute to explain the activity." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

Snack time was specially characterized by disorder. The noise level was very high, they cried out, wandered along the room while having their snacks. They did not follow the instructions given by the teacher to remain seated and to lay down the mat (a small towel) they had to bring with them to protect the table:

"Even though the instruction was to have meals seated at the table, and to place the snack over the mat (which most of children had not even brought with them), several children would have their meals standing, and wandering about the room." (Monday, January 30, 2006).

"At that moment the snacks arrived, and the usual racket began." (Friday, February 3, 2006).

"Once again, only a few had brought the mat with them, and were not having their meals at the table but walking here and there." (Friday, February 3, 2006). During the second (June) and third (October) observation periods, the atmosphere changed dramatically. Even though there were still records of children who did not follow instructions, they were scarce. On the other hand, students were listening to each other, it was possible to give the lesson, and they followed the instructions even when the teacher was not present:

"For the first time in months, I saw all the children attentively seated at their places." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"The teacher went round asking questions and several children would raise their hands, patiently waiting for their turn to answer." (Tuesday, June 13, 2006).

"Something that strongly drew my attention during this math's class was seeing Mariana seated at her place, concentrated on her work." (Wednesday, June 14, 2006).

"During the presentation, all children listen to them quietly, and those who have a question, like Andrés and Milena, patiently wait for their turn to speak." (Thursday, June 15, 2006).

"Throughout the reading, all the children remained very concentrated on the story." (Friday, June 16, 2006).

"Whispering could be heard all the time, but the noise level remained low, even when the teacher left the room." (Wednesday, October 18, 2006).

Students began to listen to each other, even under conditions which usually make it difficult to do so. For example, on one occasion, although a child with a poor reading level was having difficulty reading aloud, the rest of them were listening attentively. There were also situations where they controlled each other so that the teaching activities could be listened to and carried out.

On one occasion, the teacher asked the children to take out their math's copybook. Some of they ignored her, like Sergio and Gerardo, among others. Milena stood up, went up to Sergio and said to him, taking his hand: 'Sergio, let's go to the table to work.' Sergio said good-bye to Gerardo, and both of them returned to their place to work." (Wednesday, June 14, 2006). "When Daniel finished reading the story, there was a lot of whispering because the children were giving their own version of it. Then, Milena, Mariana, Lorena, Andrés and Diego signaled them to keep quiet. Soon, the rest followed suit and the classroom returned to silence." (Friday, October 20, 2006).
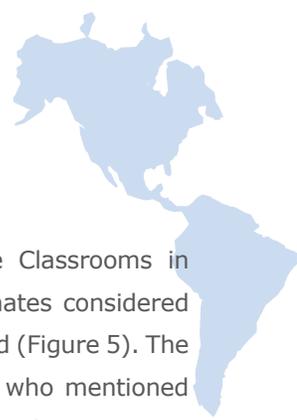
The snack time also changed dramatically. The teacher practically did not need to give any instructions. Some boys and girls were in charge of distributing the snacks, while the rest remained seated waiting for the meals and did not stand up until they had finished eating to organize the recycling in order to leave the classroom during break time. Also, some children spontaneously began to say a prayer giving thanks for the meal, a very uncommon situation in this school.

"During this snack time, I could see Andrea and Camila holding their hands together to pray." (Tuesday, October 17, 2006).

"At Luis's table, Daniel, Erika, Lucía and Roberto took each other's hands and gave thanks." (Tuesday, October 17, 2006).

"Once snacks arrived and were distributed, the children not only ate their meals in order, but in complete silence." (Friday, October 20, 2006).

"While they waited for their snacks, the children remained in complete silence." (Thursday, October 26, 2006).

Friendship Networks

During the implementation of the Classrooms in Peace program, the number of classmates considered by the children as their friends increased (Figure 5). The four initially more aggressive children who mentioned from 0 to 3 friends in February, mentioned over 20, i.e. more than half of their classmates, in October (Figure 5). They were also mentioned much more frequently by the other classmates: while in February only 0 to 2 classmates mentioned them as friends, over 20 mentioned them as friends in October (Figure 6). In contrast, during the same month (October), children attending another grade-2 class in the same school (who did not participate in the Classrooms in Peace program) mentioned only seven of their classmates, on average. That is, the friendship network among those participating in the program was, in the end, three times larger than the networks among those who did not participate.

The change in the number of friends among classmates was also evident in the qualitative analysis of the observations. At the beginning of the year, children
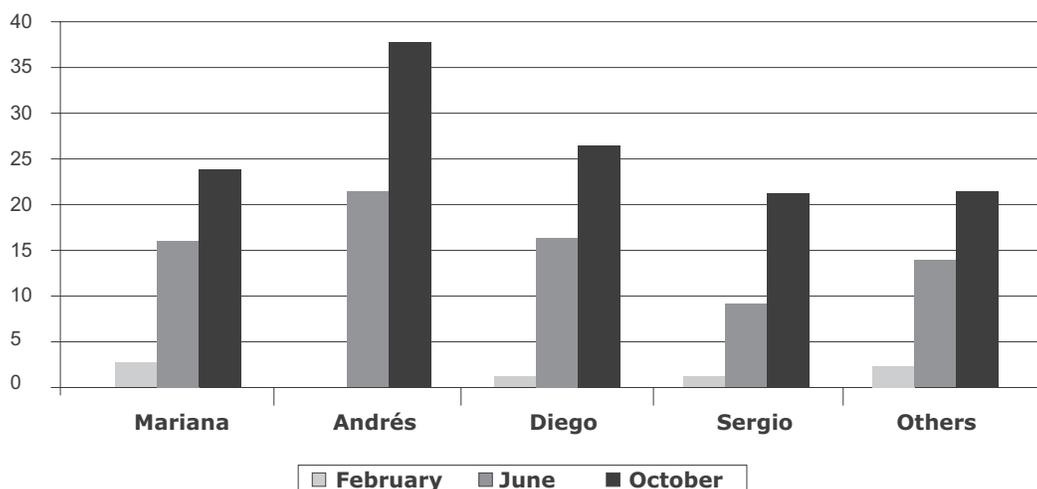

Figure 5. Number of classmates labeled as friends by the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive and the rest of the class.
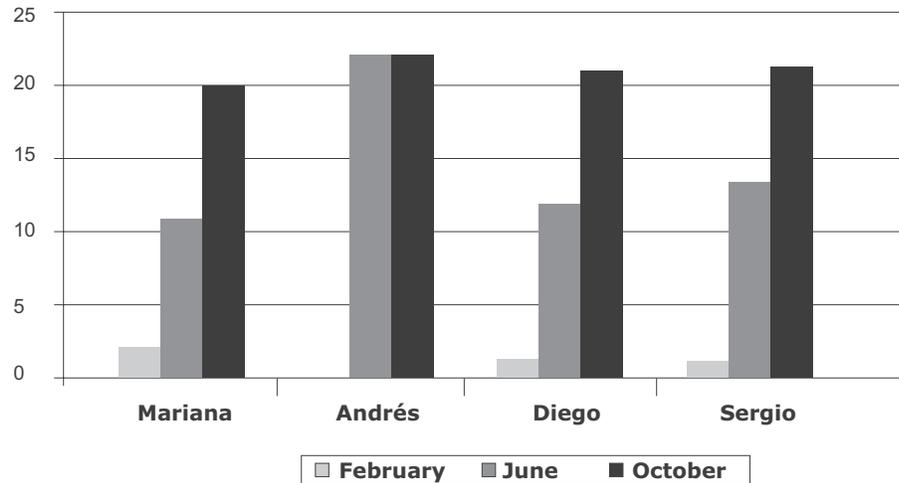
Figure 6. Number of classmates that label the four children indentified initially as the most aggressive as friends.

could be seen spending the breaks playing in small groups. At the end, however, they spent the breaks in very large and inclusive groups which involved most of the students in the games. Also, over time, children began staying more and more in the classroom during the breaks:

"In general, during that day, I could see again that the class gets increasingly united, and the very distinct groups at the beginning of the year have mixed with the other boys and girls in the classroom, thus forming one large group. In particular, their playing so close to the classroom drew my attention." (Wednesday, October 18, 2006).

Discussion

Several international studies have shown that the most successful interventions for preventing aggression and promoting coexistence are those that are comprehensive – i.e. those that reach children's different socialization contexts simultaneously (Chaux, 2005; Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999; Tremblay et al., 1995). As far as we know, this is the first time a comprehensive intervention that reaches scenarios such as the classroom, family and peers simultaneously has been implemented in our

context[15].The changes evidenced by this evaluation conclusively show the impact of a comprehensive intervention of this type. The combination of a universal component (primary prevention) that aims at reaching all the students, with a targeted component for those who are at higher risk of violent behaviors later in life (secondary prevention) seems to be the most effective way of directing education for coexistence, especially in a high violence context such as the one in which we live in most of the American continent.

The changes detected in the students were substantial. The more aggressive behaviors – especially physical aggression – decreased, the more prosocial behaviors – especially the signs of care and affection among classmates – increased. This is particularly relevant if one bears in mind that, for these ages and in this context, the levels of indiscipline and aggression tend to increase as the year progresses (Aber et al., 1998). The latter situation could be observed anecdotally in the primary grade-2 groups of the same school who did not participate in the intervention.

As students' behaviors changed, so did the classroom atmosphere. While at the beginning of the year the classroom was truly chaotic, at the end students were
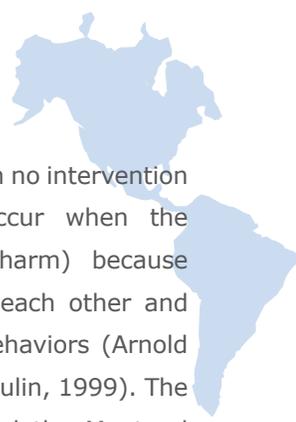
following instructions, doing their school activities in relative order, and helping each other frequently. This change in atmosphere may be associated with the individual changes observed, especially those in the four students identified as the most aggressive at the beginning of the year, as it was precisely these four who used to cause more indiscipline and disorder problems in the classroom. The change in classroom atmosphere, in turn, provided for activities to be carried out and, therefore, for learning and developing the citizenship competencies that the program sought to promote. Thus, the virtuous circle where further competencies lead to an improved atmosphere, which in turns fosters the development of further competencies, came to a close.

This result stresses the need for the targeted component even further. In previous interventions limited to the classroom component that we have carried out and/or evaluated, disciplinary problems often hindered activities from being properly conducted (e.g. Chaux et al., 2006; Velásquez, Chaux & Ramírez, under review). Additionally, in our experience, universal or primary prevention programs generate few changes in children who exhibit more aggressive behaviors. The combination of universal and targeted intervention in this multi-component program allowed the four students with more aggressive behaviors to benefit from a simultaneous and coherent intervention in the context of their classroom (weekly curriculum), peers (heterogeneous groups), and family (workshops, visits and telephone calls). It is likely that the more aggressive ones only manage to change through this type of comprehensive interventions, precisely because it is usual for all their contexts to foster the development of aggression simultaneously (Chaux, Arboleda & Rincón, under review; Melgarejo & Ramírez, 2007).

It is worth noting that targeted interventions often gather students with more aggression and/or indiscipline problems together in the same place.

This creates even worse effects than no intervention at all (iatrogenic effects, which occur when the intervention ends up doing more harm) because the more aggressive ones challenge each other and mutually reinforce their aggressive behaviors (Arnold & Hughes, 1999; Dishion, McCord & Poulin, 1999). The Classrooms in Peace program followed the Montreal Prevention Program model whereby the initially more aggressive students were put together with the more prosocial ones in the class into groups where the latter were the majority. This helped the more prosocial ones to be able to play the role of natural models in practicing competencies. In other words, the creation of heterogeneous groups achieved exactly the opposite of the iatrogenic effects that occur when the more aggressive ones are grouped together.

The creation of heterogeneous groups may also have contributed to the substantial changes in the friendship relationships among classmates. Having an exclusive opportunity for interaction with the more prosocial students in the class may have allowed those who were initially more aggressive to be included to a greater extent in class dynamics. The four went from having between 0 and 2 friends in the class, to be called as friends by more than 20 of their classmates. The substantial increase in the number of friends that began to play together during breaks, and near the classroom, is perhaps an additional indicator of inclusion of the initially more aggressive ones into the group. Also, the fact that the prosocial students were a majority in the heterogeneous groups may have led the initially more aggressive ones to learn more from the former rather than the other way around.

Workshops, visits and telephone calls to the families are a fundamental factor to understand the success of the program. This component may have allowed, at least in some of the families, the children's home atmosphere to become increasingly favorable for putting into practice the competencies that the program sought to develop. The communication between the school and the family enabled parents to be informed of

what their children were learning and to feel that they, in collaboration with the school, were able to make an essential contribution to help their children put those competencies into practice (see Webster-Stratton & Hancock, 1999). Some reports from the children indicated that the same competencies that they were learning at school were being reinforced at home; this shows that coherence was being achieved across the children's different socialization contexts. In addition, the one student from the four initially more aggressive ones who changed the least was precisely the one whose family got least involved with the program. This stresses even further the importance of families for improving their children's coexistence relationships.

It is likely that the constructive school-family relationship would not have been possible for the initially more aggressive children had it not been for the visits to their homes. In our context, like in many places worldwide, the parents most in need of the activities scheduled for them at schools are usually those that attend them the least. Visits provide a way of getting them truly involved in the program and, in passing, of becoming more aware of such particular conditions and difficulties (e.g. conflicts in their couple relationships) as they may be experiencing, and which may to a large extent explain their children's aggressive behavior.

Another crucial factor to drive the transformations observed was the role played by the teacher in charge of implementing the program in the classroom. The teacher got fully involved in the program, participated in the visits, made the telephone calls, and contributed to the design of the activities. She also helped towards students putting into practice the competencies, by reminding them what they had learned in situations – e.g. conflicts – that spontaneously occurred outside the citizenship competencies lesson. Furthermore, as noted by the observer, the teacher held a very affectionate relationship with the students at all times, while she was also consistent and firm in applying the rules agreed for the classroom.

The evaluation also supports competency-based work. The competency-based approach enabled students to put into practice, directly and in real situations, what they were learning in the program. Lastly, competencies allowed students to bridge the gap between discourse and practice. This is rarely achieved with an approach based exclusively on values, knowledge, or thinking.

Although this experience is very valuable, there are several limitations in the evaluation that are worth stressing and that restrict the possibility of generalizing the results obtained herein. In the first place, the size of the sample was small. Secondly, no control group data were obtained against which to compare the intervention group data. Third, this was not a blind evaluation given that the observations and analysis were conducted by the same individuals as those who led the intervention. In addition, even though the observation records also showed that the children got used to the presence of the observer and continued engaging in their normal interactions, the fact that, in some situations, they may have wanted to enact what they believed the observer wanted to see in them cannot be altogether dismissed. Finally, the team that carried out the intervention not only had a deep understanding of the citizenship competencies topic, but also a very high motivation and commitment with the intervention. In particular, the intervention relied on the full commitment from the school principal (who coordinated the entire intervention, led the workshops for parents, and participated in the visits to the families), the trainee in psychology (who led the heterogeneous groups and supported the workshops and visits to parents), and the class teacher. It will certainly be difficult to find a team with such a high level of commitment when the program is expanded.

Most of these limitations are being taken into consideration in the new evaluation of the Multi-component Classrooms in Peace Program currently underway. More than 400 students distributed into 11 classes from three schools are participating in this

evaluation. Three of the classes are control groups where no intervention is taking place; in another four classes only the classroom component is being implemented, and in the other four the entire program – i.e. the classroom component, heterogeneous groups, workshops with the parents, visits to the homes and telephone calls – are being implemented. The classes for the various conditions were randomly selected. This is a blind evaluation in the sense that the leader is not aware of which students were assigned to what type of intervention.

The design of the new evaluation will provide for identifying how much stronger the impact of comprehensive intervention is as against the impact of the classroom component only, and how much the impact of both is as compared with a total lack of intervention. This will enable us to confirm that the additional effort – in terms of resources, time and dedication – involved in implementing all the components simultaneously is truly worth the while because it produces much deeper changes than those that might be obtained from the classroom component only. Although we have to wait for the empirical verification, both the results presented here and our own prior experience with exclusively classroom components lead us to believe that this will actually be the case.

At any rate, the results up to now are very promising. Contrary to what some have alleged (e.g. Weissberg & Elias, 1993), changes do appear to be feasible in the short term. In addition, despite the limitations in our schools' resources, this experience shows us that a comprehensive intervention like this one is feasible to be implemented in our context. If positive results are confirmed by the evaluation currently underway, the message will be very clear: the additional costs of a multi-component program are worth the while. Otherwise, for example with programs implemented with the classroom component only, it will not be possible to promote a culture of pacific coexistence in the midst of the multiple violent contexts in which many of the children in the American continent are living.

a   Cecilia Ramos, School Vice-Chancellor,La Giralda School, Asociación Alianza Educativa, Bogotá, Colombia.

b   Ana María Nieto, Psychologist and Anthropologist, Department of Psychology, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia.

c   Enrique Chaux, Director of the Classrooms in Peace Multi-component Program and of the Aggression, Conflicts and Education for Coexistence research team. Any questions about this paper should be addressed to: Carrera 1 Este # 18A-70, Bogotá, Colombia. Telephone: (57-1) 339, 4949. E-mail: echaux@uniandes.edu.co

Notes

1   Tertiary prevention is targeted at those whose problem has become very serious, for example, those who are already imprisoned for having committed violent crimes. Although it is still fundamental to develop good tertiary prevention programs, nowadays this notion meets with less acceptance due to the difficulty of obtaining positive results. A very valuable exception is Guerra & Slaby (1990).

2   The original Montreal intervention program involved only boys, not girls.

3   In fact, this component involves the above-mentioned risks of placing together, in the same workshops, those children with more aggressive behaviors.

4   Prior to the simultaneous implementation of all the program components, all the classroom material had been designed, implemented, and adjusted by our research team (Chaux et al., 2006), funded by COLCIENCIAS and Universidad de los Andes.

5   In the particular case of the implementation reported in this paper, only the fathers, mothers and caregivers of those boys / girls who formed the heterogeneous groups (see below) were invited to the workshops.

6   Workshops for parents had been designed and tested beforehand by Cubillos (2006). Visits for this implementation of the entire program were designed by Cecilia Ramos, Stella Caicedo, Ginett Malagón and Ana María Nieto.

7   The workshops were specifically designed for this implementation of the full program by Ana María Nieto, trainee in psychology of Universidad de los Andes.

8   In this case, the managing entity is the Asociación Alianza Educativa, an organization formed by Universidad de los Andes, and the Nueva Granada, San Carlos, and Nogales schools. All of these have a student population that belongs mainly to the higher socioeconomic levels.

9   Even though all of them have minimal water, sewage, and energy utilities, their homes are classified within the lower socioeconomic strata, as defined by the city for public utilities billing purposes (stratum 1 and 2, out of 6).

10   These workshops did not involve all of the parents, but only those fathers, mothers and / or caregivers of the children who formed the heterogeneous groups. This selection aimed at creating an opportunity for those fathers, mothers and / or caregivers of the more prosocial children to act as a guide and support for those parents who faced more aggression problems, and for this to take place in a more restricted context.

11   In the Spanish class, integration was already underway with an environmental project, so it was not possible to open up to further integration activities.

12   To protect participants' anonymity, all names have been changed...
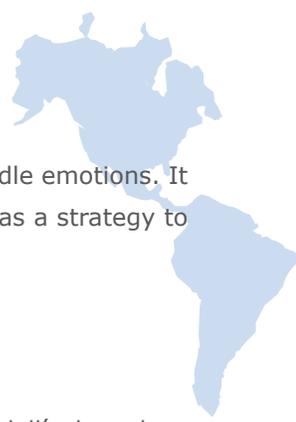
13 "Tuga la tortuga" (Tuga the Turtle) is one of the tactics applied in the program in order to handle emotions. It consists in making the gesture, with the arms, of burying oneself or entering into the "shell" as a strategy to calm down when you are very angry (Chaux, Bustamante, Castellanos et al., under review).

14 Signal to keep quiet which had been agreed upon as a rule at the beginning of the year.

15 Joanne Klevens headed the design of a multi-component early-prevention program for Medellín based on the Montreal Prevention Program. Its implementation, however, faced severe fidelity problems (Duque et al., 2005).

References

AAber, J. L., Jones, S. M., Brown, J. L., Chaudry, N. & Samples, F. (1998). Resolving conflicts creatively: evaluating the developmental effects of a school-based violence prevention program in neighborhood and classroom context. *Development and Psychopathology*, 10, 187-213.

Arnold, M.E. & Hughes, J.N. (1999). First do no harm: Adverse effects of grouping deviant youth for skills training. *Journal of School Psychology*, 37, 99-115.

Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S.A. (1963). Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 3-11.

Barrera-Osorio, F. (2006). The impact of private provision of public education: Empirical evidence from Bogotá's Concession Schools. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4121*. Washington: World Bank.

Chaux, E. (2002). Buscando pistas para prevenir la violencia urbana en Colombia: Conflictos y agresión entre niños y adolescentes de Bogotá. *Revista de estudios sociales*, 12, 41-51.

Chaux, E (2003) Agresión reactiva, agresión instrumental y el ciclo de la violencia. *Revista de estudios sociales*, 15, 47-58

Chaux, E. (2005). El Programa de Prevención de Montreal: Lecciones para Colombia. *Revista de estudios sociales*, 21, 11-25.

Chaux, E., Arboleda, J., Jiménez, M., Kanayet, F., Rodríguez, G.I., Torrente, C. & Velásquez, A.M. (2006). C*ompetencias ciudadanas para la convivencia y la prevención de la violencia: Informe final técnico*. Bogotá, Colombia: Colciencias.
Chaux, E., Arboleda, J. & Rincón, C. (en revisión). *Community violence and reactive and proactive aggression: The mediating role of cognitive and emotional variables.*

Chaux, E., Bustamante, A., Castellanos, M., Jiménez, M., Nieto A.M., Rodríguez, G.I., Blair, R., Molano, A., Ramos, C. & Velásquez, A.M. (en revisión). *Aulas en Paz: Estrategias pedagógicas.*

Chaux, E. Lleras, J, & Velásquez, A. M. (2004). *Competencias ciudadanas: de los estándares al aula. Una propuesta de integración a las áreas académicas.* Bogotá, Colombia: Ceso, Ediciones Uniandes, Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Chaux, E. & Velásquez, Ana M. (en prensa). *Peace education in Colombia: The promise of citizenship competencies*. In: V. Bouvier (Ed.). Peace initiatives in Colombia. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group. (1999). Initial impact of the Fast Track prevention trial for conduct problems: II. The high-risk sample. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67, 631-647.

Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group. (2006). Can a costly intervention be cost-effective? *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 63, 1284-1291.

Cox, C., Jaramillo, R., & Reimers, F. (2005). *Education for democratic citizenship in the Americas: An agenda for action*. Washington, D.C.: Interamerican Development Bank.

Crick, N. & Grotpeter, J. K. (1995). Relational aggression, gender, and social-psychological adjustment. *Child Development*, 66, 710-722.

Cubillos, J. (2006). *Desarrollo de competencias ciudadanas en padres de niños con comportamientos agresivos*. Tesis de grado para optar al título de Psicología. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad de los Andes.

Dishion, T. J., McCord, J., & Poulin, F. (1999). When interventions harm: Peer groups and problem behavior. *American Psychologist*, 54, 755-761.

Dodge, K.A., Bates, J.E., y Pettit, G.S. (1990). Mechanisms in the cycle of violence. *Science*, 250, 1678-1683.

Duque, L.F., Klevens, J., Ungar M. & Lee, A. (2005). Preventing violence among children in Colombia: Challenges in project design and fidelity. En: M. Ungar (Ed.). *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. Pp. 455-472.

Guerra, N, Huesmann, R. y Spindler, A. (2003). Community violence exposure, social cognition and aggression among urban elementary school children. *Child Development*, 74, 1561-1576.

Guerra, N.G. y Slaby, R.G. (1990). Cognitive mediators of aggression in adolescent offenders: 2. Intervention. *Developmental Psychology*, 26, 269-277.

Huesmann, L.R., Eron, L.D., Lefkowitz, M.M., & Walder, L.O. (1984). Stability of aggression over time and generations. *Developmental Psychology*, 20, 1120-1134.

Kohn, A. (1997). How not to teach values: A critical view of character education. *Phi Delta Kappan*, Feb, 429-439.

Krug, E.G., Dalhberg, L.L., Mercy, J.A., Zwi, A.B. & Lozano, R. (Eds.) (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Lagerspetz, K.M., Björkqvist, K. & Peltonen, T. (1988). Is indirect aggression typical of females? Gender differences in aggressiveness in 11- to 12-year-old children. *Aggressive Behavior*, 14, 403-414.

Melgarejo, N. & Ramírez, A. (2007). *Exposición a la violencia, competencias ciudadanas y agresión: Contribuciones específicas y combinadas de los barrios, escuelas y familias: Un estudio con estudiantes bogotanos de quinto a once grado*. Tesis de grado para optar al título de Psicología. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad de los Andes.
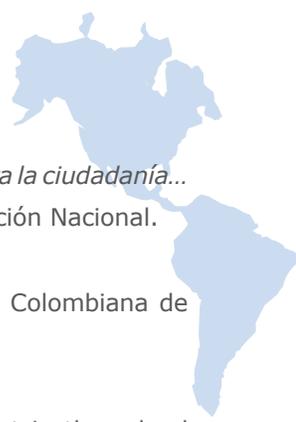
Ministerio de Educación Nacional. (2004). *Estándares básicos de competencias ciudadanas. Formar para la ciudadanía… ¡Sí es posible! Lo que necesitamos saber y saber hacer.* Bogotá, Colombia: Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Ruiz-Silva, A. & Chaux, E. (2005). *La formación de competencias ciudadanas*. Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Educación ASCOFADE.

Schwartz D. & Proctor, L.J. (2000). Community violence exposure and children's social adjustment in the school peer group: The mediating roles of emotion regulation and social cognition. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 68, 670-683.

Slaby, R.G. & Guerra, N.G. (1988). Cognitive mediators of aggression in adolescent offenders: 1. Assessment. Developmental Psychology, 24, 580-588.

Torrente, C.E. & Kanayet, F. (2007). Contribución de las competencias ciudadanas al rompimiento de la violencia en Colombia: Un estudio a nivel nacional. *Documento CESO #15*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad de los Andes.

Tremblay, R.E., Pagani, L., Mâsse, L.C., Pagani, F. & Pihl, R.O. (1995). A bimodal preventive intervention for disruptive kindergarten boys: Its impact through mid-adolescence. *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology*, 63, 560-568.

Vega, L.M. & Diaz-Granados, S. (2004). Competencias ciudadanas en lenguaje. En: E. Chaux, J. Lleras, & A.M. Velásquez (Eds.). *Competencias ciudadanas: de los estándares al aula. Una propuesta de integración a las áreas académicas*. Bogotá, Colombia: Ceso, Ediciones Uniandes, Ministerio de Educación Nacional. Pp. 193-211.

Velásquez, A.M., Chaux, E. & Ramírez, M.I. (en revisión). Assertiveness development: Comparison between two pedagogical interventions.

Vitaro, F., Boisjoli, R., Lacourse, E. & Tremblay R.E. (Mayo, 2004). *Long term effects of the Montreal-Experimental-Longitudinal (MEL) prevention program for low SES disruptive boys*. Ponencia presentada en el Congreso del Society for Prevention Research. Québec City, Canadá.

Webster-Stratton, C. & Hancock, L. (1999). *How to promote children's social and emotional competence*. London: Paul Chapman Publisher Ltd.

Weissberg, R.P. & Elias, M.J. (1993). Enhancing young people's social competence and health behavior: An important challenge for educators, scientists, policymakers, and funders. *Applied & Preventive Psychology*, 2, 179-190