

Chapter 7

The Political Socialization of Attitudes Toward Equal Rights from a Comparative Perspective



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Abstract Lack of tolerance toward traditionally disadvantaged groups, such as immigrants, ethnic minorities and women, represents a growing challenge to contemporary democracies. Assuming that attitudes toward such social groups are at least partly learned during the political socialization of school-age children, this chapter explores individual differences in equal rights attitudes using data from the last International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 on socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of eighth grade students from 38 countries. Using structural equations and multilevel models, the analysis estimates regression models using a set of measures, with family status being the main independent variable. The results show that there are large differences across countries regarding the level of inclusive attitudes, and that parental education and the number of books at home are relevant predictors of more inclusive attitudes of children in most of the countries analyzed; however, patterns differ by gender and immigrant groups. The findings are discussed, taking into account current and future political issues associated with migration and demands for equal rights.

Keywords Attitudes toward diversity • International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) • International large-scale assessments
Multilevel structural equation models

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7.1 Introduction

Equal rights for all groups in society is a founding principle of democratic systems. Nevertheless, it is clear that achieving social equality is an ongoing endeavor throughout the world, especially in challenging times when anti-immigrant attitudes seem to be increasing in several democracies, ethnic conflicts occur, and inequality persists between men and women in labor markets and political representation. In this context, it becomes highly relevant to analyze the extent to which the equal rights of disadvantaged groups are supported by individuals from different societies. Furthermore, as such attitudes are learned during the political socialization process, putting the focus on school-age children age may allow societies to understand how predispositions are created and to design timely interventions.

From research on adult populations, it is widely known that several political outcomes, such as participation and knowledge, are associated with higher socioeconomic status (Dahl 2006; Dubrow 2014; Gallego 2007; Lancee and Van de Werfhorst 2012; Marien et al. 2010a, b; Schlozman et al. 2012); this is termed the resources model of political participation. Nevertheless, the role of resources is less clear when it comes to explaining a series of political attitudes in areas such as attitudes toward equal rights in the adult population, let alone in children of school age. In this regard, this chapter is guided by the following questions: *Do children differ in their support for equal rights according to their socioeconomic background and group characteristics, and can these differences be measured?* We here target attitudes toward equal rights for three social groups: ethnic minorities, immigrants and women. To determine the student's socioeconomic background, we considered parental occupation, the educational level of the parents, and the number of books in the home; for group characteristics we also incorporated student gender and immigrant background.

7.2 Theoretical Background

7.2.1 *Political Outcomes, Socioeconomic Status and Political Socialization*

When attempting to explain differences in political behavior in general, the resource model is the most important theoretical framework used in the specialized literature (Brady et al. 1995; Schlozman et al. 2012; Verba et al. 1995). The resource model indicates that involvement in political activities is strongly associated with an individual's social position, that is their educational level, income and/or occupational status, as well as by resources such as time, social skills and money. Although research in this area has generally focused on traditional political participation, such as voting, recent evidence indicates that resources are also related to emerging political action repertoires, such as protests and civil movements (Stolle

and Hooghe 2011). In both the USA and Europe, there is accumulating evidence supporting the social position bias in participation (Gallego 2007). Among several possible variables related to resources, educational level has been the one that is most consistently linked to participation rates (Leighley 1995; Schlozman et al. 2012; Verba et al. 1995). Adopting a meta-analytical strategy using a set of 32 studies, Smets and van Ham (2013) showed that the resource model was successful in predicting voter turnout: a change in one standard deviation in educational level was associated with a change of 0.72 standard deviations in voter turnout.

From an intergenerational perspective, evidence supports the position that a positive association between the resources of parents and political outcomes will be passed on to subsequent generations (Brady et al. 2015; Burns et al. 1997; Schlozman et al. 2012; Verba et al. 2003). Castillo et al. (2014) found that school-age children of families from lower socioeconomic status had lower expectations of voting in the future. Further, consistency between parent and child attitudes and/or behavior has been observed in several empirical studies (Gidengil et al. 2016; Jennings and Niemi 1968, 2015; Jennings et al. 2009; Niemi and Hepburn 1995; Quintelier 2015). Nevertheless, research on political socialization still faces several challenges, among which we identify at least two. One of these deals with achieving a broader conceptualization of citizenship, beyond participation (Amnå et al. 2009; Ekman and Amnå 2012; Hoskins 2006), such as the consideration of the development of democratic principles, as well as civic knowledge. A second challenge refers to the phenomenon of inequality reproduction. On this issue, Brady et al. (2015, p. 5) pointed out: “political socialization research has focused on the transmission of political attitudes and culture across generations, but it has paid scant attention to how the family transfer of economic resources, human capital, and social capital reproduce and perpetuate unequal patterns of political involvement and political authority.” Therefore, further studies on the political socialization of democratic attitudes, and its interaction with socioeconomic distribution, is a research topic that can certainly help to promote better understanding of these challenges. Within this area, a more precise understanding of how different measures of socioeconomic position and family resources explain different political outcomes in children requires additional empirical and theoretical development.

Despite the cumulative evidence of the association between socioeconomic status and political behavior, the conceptualization and measurement of socioeconomic indicators is a topic that deserves more attention (Bukodi and Goldthorpe 2013; Elsässer and Schäfer 2016; Jæger 2007). There are several socioeconomic indexes that have been related to sociopolitical outcomes, such as income, occupational prestige, educational level and social class. However, there is still controversy about the best way to use the socioeconomic measures. Some researchers have proposed composite measures of socioeconomic indexes, classified under the umbrella of socioeconomic factors that can be used as interchangeable measures of life chances, social position or resources (Lazarsfeld 1939), or combined in a general socioeconomic index; beyond the variability between indicators and/or advantages of using indicators separately (NCES 2012). Others have proposed distinguishing, conceptually and empirically, the differences among types of socioeconomic indexes as different types of

capital (Bourdieu 2003) or different types of resources (Brady et al. 1995) that can explain differences in the outcomes. Similarly, Budoki and Goldthorpe (2013) concluded that the decision to use only one or several measures of socioeconomic status may cause either overestimation or underestimation of the effect of social inequalities.

To investigate the effect of socioeconomic background on political outcomes, we used three measures of student socioeconomic background derived from the IEA's International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009: parental educational level, parental occupational status and the number of books at home. This last variable is considered to be a toolkit that provides a set of cognitive skills to enhance academic performance at school and/or increase intellectual capacities. The number of books at home as an indicator of cultural resources has been connected with higher educational attainment (Evans et al. 2010, 2015; Park 2008) and with some post-materialistic goals, like environmental attitudes (Duarte et al. 2017; Pauw and Petegem 2010). In some research, the number of books at home has been used as a proxy for parental status (Persson 2015), while others have used this as an independent indicator of stratification (Neundorf et al. 2016).

7.2.2 Tolerance Toward Disadvantaged Groups and Children's Socioeconomic Background

Socioeconomic status has been associated with sociopolitical outcomes beyond political participation, such as political knowledge, political interest and political attitudes. People with a higher socioeconomic position and overall education show higher levels of trust (Hooghe et al. 2015), higher levels of political interest (Hooghe and Dassonneville 2011) and higher levels of tolerance (Bobo and Licari 1989). As McCall and Manza (2011) noted, evidence about the links between socioeconomic variables and political preferences highlights the relevance of the socioeconomic context and status in the formation of public opinion. In this sense, it can be expected that these specific attitudes vary across the levels of resources.

One of the main resources for studying attitudes toward equal rights of disadvantaged groups is ICCS, which considers tolerance as the degree to which young people support equal rights for different groups in society (Schulz et al. 2008; Van Zalk and Kerr 2014). Some have used this definition with a focus on specific groups such as immigrants (Barber et al. 2013; Bridges and Mateut 2014; Isac et al. 2012; Janmaat 2014; Dotti Sani and Quaranta 2017; Strabac et al. 2014; Van Zalk and Kerr 2014). Two aspects require further attention. First, most studies have focused on only one social group, primarily migrants, and less frequently on women or ethnic minorities. Therefore, previous research has not established whether attitudes toward equal rights are an overall underlying disposition or whether such attitudes vary according to target groups. Secondly, these studies typically use socioeconomic measures as control variables, with different operationalization, blurring

the conceptualization of socioeconomic measures and their potential relationships with egalitarian attitudes.

Two theoretical models have been used to relate attitudes toward equal rights with socioeconomic resources: the competition model and the enlightenment model. The competition model, also called “labor market competition model” or “threat to status model” (Caro and Schulz 2012; Côté and Erickson 2009; Jaime-Castillo et al. 2016), assumes that the competition for the same social space and resources varies according to an individual’s place in the hierarchy of social status. Given that people with lower resources coexist in the social space as other excluded groups, such as immigrants, they compete for the same jobs and educational opportunities, and they therefore develop and manifest negative dispositions toward those groups (Caro and Schulz 2012; Kunovich 2004). In contrast, wealthy people do not compete with excluded groups and they may even experience diversity in a positive way, generating more positive attitudes (Caro and Schulz 2012). The competition approach is more applicable to attitudes toward migrants and ethnic minorities, while competition aspects may differ for gender equality.

The enlightenment model postulates that more educated people are “morally enlightened” by education (Jackman and Muha 1984) and, as a consequence of that, internalize democratic norms and principles (Lipset 1960), including higher support for equality. In line with this view, some studies have indicated that education may be the biggest factor in helping to explain the development of political tolerance (Bobo and Licari 1989; Golebiowska 1995).

As predicted by the enlightenment model, research focused on intergenerational transmission of values has shown that the education and occupation of parents have relevant effects on the democratic attitudes of their offspring (Evans et al. 2015; Quintelier and Hooghe 2013; Schlozman et al. 2012; Verba et al. 2003). The study of tolerance and early years socialization have received increasing attention, reflecting the growing debate about the development of basic democratic principles (Rapp and Freitag 2015; Toots and Idnurm 2012). However, a common element in these studies is that socioeconomic measures were used as a control variable, revealing that the main focus of previous research has not been on socioeconomic position and how that may be related to equal rights attitudes. Most studies have focused on the egalitarian attitudes toward immigrants (Barber et al. 2013; Isac et al. 2012; Janmaat 2014), reflecting current and growing concerns about the immigration crisis. With respect to gender, it is worth mentioning the study of Dotti Sani and Quaranta (2017), who evaluated support for gender equality using 36 countries who participated in ICCS 2009. They found that the educational level of a child’s mother had a relevant role in the socialization of dispositions to gender equality, particularly for daughters.

In addition to socioeconomic evidence, another well-established factor is that men and women differ in their political attitudes and participation. Several studies indicate that women appear more oriented toward democratic principles than men: specifically, women show higher levels of agreement with egalitarian principals (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009; Caro and Schulz 2012), more positive attitudes toward gender equality (Dotti Sani and Quaranta 2017) and stronger pro-environmental

attitudes (Duarte et al. 2017; Pauw and Petegem 2010). Research with adolescents and young adults has shown that gender differences in political participation and attitudes are more nuanced. For example, a study of 10th and 11th grade Chilean high school students showed that girls had higher levels of pro-social attitudes and involvement in political and pro-social action, and higher levels of political efficacy than boys, whereas boys showed higher levels of political involvement than girls (Martinez and Cumsille 2010). Both groups anticipated the same level of political involvement as adults. Similarly, Sherrod and Baskir (2010) reported differences in political interest in high school students in the USA, with girls supporting more pro-social policies and boys supporting more conservative policies. Harris and Bulbeck (2010) reported that women attending Australia universities were more involved in “new forms of politics” (such as activist organizations), while men attending Australian universities were more likely involved in traditional political activities (such as joining a political party).

From social psychology, it has been established that perspectives on attitudinal development (such as discrimination and prejudice) differ vastly between social majority and minority groups (Zick et al. 2001); for instance, immigrants and females show higher demands for equality than non-immigrants and males (Janmaat 2014; Dotti Sani and Quaranta 2017; Schulz et al. 2008). This implies that those who are in a disadvantaged position demand higher equality.

Considering the evidence and theories about the relations between socio-economic background and egalitarian attitudes, our analysis of the ICCS data tested the following hypotheses:

- H1 (resources hypothesis): children coming from more educated families, with higher socioeconomic status and more books at home, will express larger support toward equal rights for immigrants, ethnic groups and women than children from less educated families.
- H2 (demand hypothesis): controlling for socioeconomic status, women and immigrants will show higher levels of support for equality for all groups than men and non-migrants.
- H3 (interaction hypothesis): combining the resources and demand hypotheses, we predict that greater demands for equality by disadvantaged groups (women and migrants) will be less affected by socioeconomic background than for non-disadvantaged groups (men and non-migrants). Because previous evidence is not conclusive, we propose this hypothesis merits exploratory testing.

7.3 Methods

7.3.1 Data

We used data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009 (for the specific description of this dataset, see Chap. 2). Our final sample varied slightly from the original dataset, as the set of variables involved in these analyses have a specific missing data pattern (less than 8.6%). The sample we used for our analyses included 126,707 eighth-grade students, from 5366 schools nested in 38 countries.

7.3.2 Variables

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables are attitudes toward equal rights. The ICCS questionnaire includes a set of items that measure students' opinions about equal rights for immigrants, ethnic groups and women. The scale of gender equality attitudes considers three items that refer to equal rights for women (i.e. men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in government). The same occurs for the scale of immigrant equality attitudes (i.e. immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has) and for the scale of ethnic equality (i.e. all ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get a good education [in the country of test]); each scale is based on four items. Using confirmatory factor analyses to develop the corresponding three factor structure, which includes testing for measurement invariance across countries, we estimated a measurement model and rescaled the latent measures to a mean 50 and a standard deviation of 10 (refer to Chap. 3, Table 3.1, for the set of indicator items we used in our measurement model).

Independent Variables

As part of the ICCS student questionnaire, students provide information on three variables describing student socioeconomic background: parental education, parental occupational status, and number of books at home. The parental educational level is classified according to the international classification of educational achievement (Schulz et al. 2011) based on the highest level of education of either the father or the mother (see Table 7.1). The parental occupational status reflects the highest occupational level of either parent based on occupational ISCO 88 (International Standard Classification of Occupations) codes. Student responses provide data on the number of books at home and student gender. Finally, the ICCS database provides data on the immigration background, recoded at two levels (immigrant background and non-immigrant background).

Table 7.1 Socioeconomic and group variables

ICCS code	Variable	Levels
HISCED	<i>Highest parental educational level</i>	
	What is the highest level of education completed by your father <or male guardian>? What is the highest level of education completed by your mother <or female guardian>?	5. Completed university/college or postgraduate 4. Completed technical 3. Completed secondary 2. 8th grade 1. 6th grade 0. Did not finish 6th grade
HISEI	<i>Parents' highest occupational status</i>	
	Highest occupational status of parents based on ISCO-88 codes	90 Highest occupational status to 16 Lowest occupational status
HOMELIT	<i>Number of books in home</i>	
	About how many books are there in your home?	5. More than 500 books 4. 201–500 3. 101–200 2. 26–100 1. 11–25 0. 0–10
SGENDER	<i>Student gender</i>	
	Are you a girl or boy?	1. Girls 0. Boys
IMMIG	<i>Student immigrant status</i>	
	– Non-native students (1) – First-generation immigrant (1) – Native students (0)	1. Students with immigrant background 0. Non-immigrants

7.3.3 Analytical Strategy

Given the nested design of the ICCS study (students in schools, schools in countries; see Chap. 3), the estimations considered three-level models in order to estimate properly the variances at each level, but predictors were considered only at the individual level (level 1).

We used multilevel structural equation modeling (MLSEM) to test our hypotheses. As explained in Chap. 2, the models specified the three dependent variables simultaneously. Socioeconomic measures were then specified country-centered, following the recommendation of Enders and Tofghi (2007) for models focused at the individual level. Finally, we used a maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard error, allowing modeling with non-normality and non-independence of the observations (Muthén and Muthén 2015).

The full model representing our three hypotheses can be expressed by the following equation, which is specified for each outcome under study:

$$Y_{ijk} = \pi_{0jk} + \pi_{1jk}(x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{..k}) + \pi_{2jk}(m_{ijk}) + \pi_{3jk}((x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{..k}) \times (m_{ijk})) + \varepsilon_{ijk} \quad (7.1)$$

$$\pi_{0jk} = \beta_{00k} + r_{0jk} \quad (7.2a)$$

$$\pi_{1jk} = \beta_{10k} \quad (7.2b)$$

$$\pi_{2jk} = \beta_{20k} \quad (7.2c)$$

$$\pi_{3jk} = \beta_{30k} \quad (7.2d)$$

$$\beta_{00k} = \gamma_{000} + v_{00k} \quad (7.3)$$

Here Y stands for the outcome variables, $x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{..k}$ represent the parental socioeconomic measures (country centered) for testing the resources model hypothesis, the m_{ijk} terms represent the group variables for testing the demand hypothesis (gender and student immigrant background) and $(x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{..k}) \times (m_{ijk})$ denotes the interaction hypothesis.

7.4 Results

The analyses revealed correlational patterns among socioeconomic measures and egalitarian attitudes. We also assessed the results of the multilevel modeling while focusing on the resources model, the demands and the interaction hypotheses.

7.4.1 Correlational Patterns

We began by estimating the bivariate correlation between each socioeconomic measure and each egalitarian attitude for each country (see Table 7.2).

We found that, although low, the correlation averages indicated a positive correlation among all socioeconomic measures with the three egalitarian attitudes. The highest pairs of correlation were between books at home and gender equality attitude (average = 0.119), parental occupational status and gender equality attitude (average = 0.110), and books at home and ethnic equality attitude, while the lowest correlation was between parental education and immigrant equality attitude (average = 0.058). We also found that, generally, pairs of correlation by country exhibited positive and statistically significant patterns. All observed bivariate correlations were relatively small, nevertheless, some country variation was observed. For instance, the average correlation between occupational status and gender equality attitudes was 0.110 (Table 7.2). Hong Kong (SAR) and Liechtenstein had the lowest correlations (0.032 and 0.047, respectively) and New Zealand the highest

Table 7.2 Bivariate relation among socioeconomic measures and egalitarian attitudes, by country

Country	Gender equality			Immigrant equality			Ethnic equality		
	Occupational status	Parents' education	Books at home	Occupational status	Parents' education	Books at home	Occupational status	Parents' education	Books at home
Austria	0.165	0.167	0.147	0.097	0.076	0.060	0.141	0.088	0.141
Bulgaria	0.105	0.070	0.158	0.076	0.067	0.118	0.023	-0.003	0.035
Chile	0.126	0.131	0.113	0.092	0.104	0.086	0.132	0.142	0.116
Chinese Taipei	0.108	0.102	0.145	0.108	0.100	0.141	0.101	0.092	0.146
Colombia	0.110	0.099	0.135	0.059	0.048	0.090	0.099	0.084	0.122
Cyprus	0.112	0.126	0.096	0.070	0.073	0.056	0.093	0.121	0.085
Czech Republic	0.099	0.034	0.149	0.038	0.015	0.092	0.046	0.017	0.114
Denmark	0.135	0.092	0.186	0.117	0.062	0.159	0.126	0.069	0.168
Dominican Republic	0.055	0.074	0.030	0.032	0.039	0.011	0.031	0.042	0.011
Estonia	0.114	0.064	0.080	0.027	0.045	-0.012	0.121	0.059	0.066
Finland	0.098	0.082	0.142	0.082	0.078	0.142	0.091	0.076	0.168
Greece	0.116	0.086	0.130	0.077	0.080	0.128	0.087	0.086	0.138
Guatemala	0.114	0.094	0.094	0.062	0.049	0.061	0.103	0.079	0.089
Hong Kong, SAR	0.032	0.032	0.062	0.048	0.064	0.100	0.030	0.050	0.096
Indonesia	0.115	0.118	0.036	0.088	0.093	0.037	0.125	0.131	0.047
Ireland	0.116	0.134	0.179	0.096	0.122	0.162	0.127	0.150	0.183
Italy	0.118	0.102	0.160	0.073	0.083	0.078	0.100	0.101	0.125
Korea, Republic of	0.083	0.073	0.130	0.078	0.075	0.122	0.072	0.080	0.155
Latvia	0.090	0.119	0.097	-0.017	-0.017	-0.010	0.034	0.035	0.047
Liechtenstein	0.047	0.061	0.118	0.034	0.031	-0.010	0.060	0.057	0.086
Lithuania	0.142	0.151	0.141	0.097	0.094	0.123	0.116	0.122	0.134
Luxembourg	0.067	0.054	0.094	-0.075	-0.143	-0.106	-0.053	-0.101	-0.058
Malta	0.114	0.072	0.132	0.000	0.027	0.080	0.071	0.063	0.111
Mexico	0.114	0.126	0.090	0.079	0.084	0.076	0.109	0.118	0.097
Netherlands	0.140	0.111	0.083	0.072	0.077	0.091	0.127	0.092	0.113
New Zealand	0.169	0.105	0.152	0.121	0.112	0.113	0.144	0.117	0.138
Norway	0.131	0.127	0.159	0.081	0.086	0.093	0.120	0.118	0.137
Paraguay	0.123	0.118	0.141	0.090	0.083	0.116	0.101	0.096	0.125
Poland	0.089	0.057	0.102	0.072	0.055	0.076	0.108	0.097	0.070
Russian Federation	0.114	0.076	0.088	0.060	0.021	0.036	0.071	0.047	0.138
Slovak Republic	0.129	0.065	0.167	0.074	0.047	0.117	0.091	0.036	0.091
Slovenia	0.089	0.052	0.111	0.046	0.016	0.048	0.086	0.044	0.134
Spain	0.134	0.138	0.144	0.082	0.096	0.076	0.115	0.132	0.110
Sweden	0.117	0.091	0.108	0.084	0.057	0.067	0.116	0.077	0.085
Switzerland	0.081	0.079	0.095	0.002	0.024	0.002	0.076	0.077	0.085
Thailand	0.154	0.162	0.103	0.068	0.080	0.073	0.156	0.162	0.103
England	0.143	0.098	0.194	0.128	0.108	0.177	0.145	0.109	0.194
Belgium (Flemish)	0.079	0.029	0.037	0.013	-0.022	0.030	0.047	0.001	0.053
Average correlation	0.110	0.094	0.119	0.064	0.058	0.076	0.092	0.078	0.105

Note Significant correlations at $p < 0.05$ are shown in bold. Shaded cells indicate negative correlations; note that in all other cases there was a positive correlation

correlation (0.169). This exploration of the bivariate relations indicated that socioeconomic measures, in general, were positively related to dispositions supporting equality toward disadvantaged groups across countries.

As is well known, socioeconomic measures are not independent. With this in mind, we estimated the correlations among these measures in order to evaluate their level of association in each country. The average correlation between occupation status and parental education was 0.50 (minimum = 0.364, maximum = 0.657). The average correlation between occupational status and books at home was 0.321 (minimum = 0.152, maximum = 0.465) and the average correlation between

parental education and books at home was 0.335 (minimum = 0.203, maximum = 0.489). These results confirmed associations exist among these variables. Nevertheless, the strength of correlations differed among the variables, showing medium to high correlations. Books at home was most weakly related with the other two socioeconomic measures, suggesting that this indicator measures a different dimension. We also estimated the variance inflation factor (VIF) of each measure in order to test for potential multicollinearity problems (Gujarati 2003). We found that none of the measures exceeded the conventional limits (VIF of status = 1.468, VIF of education = 1.515, VIF of books = 1.233). Based on these estimations, we included all the measures separately in order to explore different association patterns.

7.4.2 Testing Hypotheses 1 and 2

Our multilevel-SEM estimation found that model 1 (see Table 7.3) partially supported the resources model hypothesis, which suggests there should be a positive association between socioeconomic measures and egalitarian attitudes. Occupational status and the number of books at home were positively related to the three attitudinal outcomes. Nevertheless, in the case of education, the pattern slightly differed. This variable was only related to gender equality attitudes after controlling for parental occupational status and books at home. Books at home was positive associated with the three dependent variables in model 1. Based on these general patterns, the anticipated average scores for a student from a family in the lowest 5% of the distribution of socioeconomic measures (that is a student with a parental prestige labor activity of 23 points or less, a parental education level of the 6th grade or less, and with 10 books at home or less) were 47.90 points on the gender equality scale, 47.92 points on the immigrant equality scale, and 47.53 points on the ethnic equality scale; all below the scale average of 50 points. In contrast, the anticipated average scores for a student in the upper 5% distribution of socioeconomic measures (that is a student with a parental prestige labor activity of 74 points or more, parents with a university level education, and with more than 500 books at home) were all above the scale average of 50 points, being 53.13 points on the gender equality scale, 51.42 points on the immigrant equality scale and 52.13 points on the ethnic equality scale. The gap between the 5th and the 95th percentiles of the socioeconomic distribution indicated that gender equality showed the greatest variation (5.22 points), followed by ethnic equality (4.59 points) and finally immigrant equality (3.50).

Model 2 introduced gender and the immigration background of students to the socioeconomic measures, and showed there were consistent and significant differences in attitudes between boys and girls, and between immigrants and non-immigrants, as predicted by the demand hypothesis. Overall, girls showed more egalitarian dispositions toward immigrants, other ethnic groups and gender equality than boys. The gap between boys and girls on the gender equality scale

Table 7.3 Modeling socioeconomic measures as predictors of egalitarian attitudes

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	Gender equality	Immigrant equality	Ethnic equality	Gender equality	Immigrant equality	Ethnic equality
Status (HISEI)	0.037*** (12.672)	0.023*** (8.290)	0.030*** (10.047)	0.036*** (12.474)	0.027*** (7.523)	0.031*** (9.599)
Education (HISCED)	0.194*** (3.500)	0.119 (1.611)	0.143 (1.801)	0.269*** (5.085)	0.175*** (3.150)	0.199*** (3.092)
Books (HOMELIT)	0.636*** (10.994)	0.446*** (5.783)	0.609*** (7.701)	0.607*** (10.983)	0.502*** (7.486)	0.637*** (8.956)
Girl (ref: boy)				3.965*** (10.807)	2.526*** (10.353)	2.758*** (12.908)
Immigrant (ref: native)				0.799** (2.798)	5.029*** (8.485)	3.337*** (5.022)
Intercept	50.193	49.455	49.543	48.178	47.771	47.901
Variance within	82.461	85.428	85.339	78.316	82.153	82.578
Variance between schools	0.808	1.004	0.354	0.684	0.823	0.344
Variance between countries	14.517	11.084	10.238	14.4	11.98	10.481
Log likelihood	-1142045.757					
M1a: Random effect of status				0.000* (2.148)	0.000** (2.633)	0.000* (2.414)
M1b: Random effect of education				0.052** (2.648)	0.069* (2.071)	0.089* (2.071)
M1c: Random effect of books				0.064** (3.450)	0.112** (3.236)	0.111** (3.250)

Notes t-values provided in parenthesis. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

was 3.96 points, while in the case of immigrant equality and ethnic equality the gaps are 2.52 and 2.76 in favor of girls, respectively. Immigrant students showed more egalitarian dispositions toward immigrants and ethnic groups than non-immigrant students. The gap in gender equality dispositions between immigrants and non-immigrants is just 0.79 points, while for immigrant equality and ethnic equality the gaps are 5.52 and 3.34, respectively.

7.4.3 Differential Effects of Socioeconomic Background by Gender and Immigration Status (Hypothesis 3)

Model 3 (Table 7.4) tested the exploratory interaction hypothesis, and revealed the interaction between socioeconomic measures and gender (boy vs. girls), while model 4 (Table 7.5) revealed the interaction between socioeconomic measures and the immigration variable (non-immigrant vs. immigrant).

Model 3 results indicated that the interaction of gender with parental education and books at home was significant for the three dependent variables of tolerance,

Table 7.4 Interactions between socioeconomic measures and gender variables

Variable	Model 3		
	Gender equality	Immigrant equality	Ethnic equality
Status (HISEI)	0.035*** (7.553)	0.030*** (5.820)	0.032*** (6.326)
Education (HISCED)	0.137* (2.123)	0.100 (1.680)	0.097 (1.347)
Books (HOMELIT)	0.504*** (6.827)	0.413*** (4.740)	0.526*** (5.918)
Girl (ref: boy)	3.999** (11.020)	2.540*** (10.598)	2.782*** (13.309)
Immigrant (ref: native)	0.808** (2.828)	5.035*** (8.466)	3.345*** (5.018)
Status × Girl	0.001 (0.209)	-0.006 (-0.982)	-0.002 (-0.347)
Education × Girl	0.259*** (4.758)	0.147** (2.426)	0.198** (2.954)
Books × Girl	0.210** (3.007)	0.181** (2.334)	0.228** (2.950)
Intercept	48.16	47.764	47.887
Variance within	78.259	82.131	82.536
Variance between schools	0.685	0.823	0.343
Variance between countries	14.394	11.990	10.495
Log likelihood	-1110371.743		

Notes z-values provided in parenthesis. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 7.5 Interactions between socioeconomic measures and immigrant background

Variable	Model 4		
	Gender equality	Immigrant equality	Ethnic equality
Status (HISEI)	0.035*** (11.544)	0.028*** (6.939)	0.032*** (8.785)
Education (HISCED)	0.282*** (5.169)	0.199*** (4.487)	0.217*** (3.936)
Books (HOMELIT)	0.638*** (11.155)	0.565*** (8.370)	0.685*** (9.473)
Girl (ref: boy)	3.963** (10.812)	2.522*** (10.367)	2.755*** (12.923)
Immigrant (ref: native)	0.641* (2.236)	4.621*** (8.718)	3.038*** (4.998)
Status × Immigrant	0.003 (0.287)	-0.017 (-1.651)	-0.010 (-1.135)
Education × Immigrant	-0.114 (-1.036)	-0.203 (-1.214)	-0.162 (-1.025)
Books × Immigrant	-0.354** (-3.624)	-0.705*** (-5.418)	-0.532*** (-5.347)
Intercept	48.179	47.775	47.904
Variance within	78.295	82.048	82.525
Variance between schools	0.685	0.826	0.341
Variance between countries	14.370	11.993	10.492
Log likelihood	-1110337.662		

Notes z-values provided in parenthesis. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

whereas the interaction with parental status was not. For instance, the association between books at home with attitudes toward gender equality was $\pi_{3jk} = 0.714$ ($\pi_{\text{(books_jk)}} = 0.504 + \pi_{\text{(books} \times \text{girls_jk)}} = 0.210$) for girls and $\pi_{\text{(books_jk)}} = 0.504$ for boys. The interaction hypothesis predicted that the demand for equality would be less affected by resources for girls, so we expected a greater consensus among this group regarding tolerance, independent of socioeconomic background. In contrast, we found that, not only did girls exhibit more egalitarian dispositions toward gender equality than boys (demand hypothesis) but also that their scores were related to parental resources, including education and books at home. In other words, while girls of lower status were more tolerant than boys of lower status, the gap increased with socioeconomic background, and girls of higher status were even more tolerant than boys of the same status.

Model 4 tested the interactions between immigrant background and socioeconomic variables (Table 7.5). Here, the association between socioeconomic measures and egalitarian attitudes was weaker (less positive) for immigrant than for non-immigrant students (particularly in the case of number of books at home), as predicted by interaction hypothesis. For instance, the association between books at home with attitudes toward immigrant equality was $\pi_{3jk} = -0.140$ ($\pi_{\text{books_jk}} = 0.565 + \pi_{\text{books*immig_jk}} =$

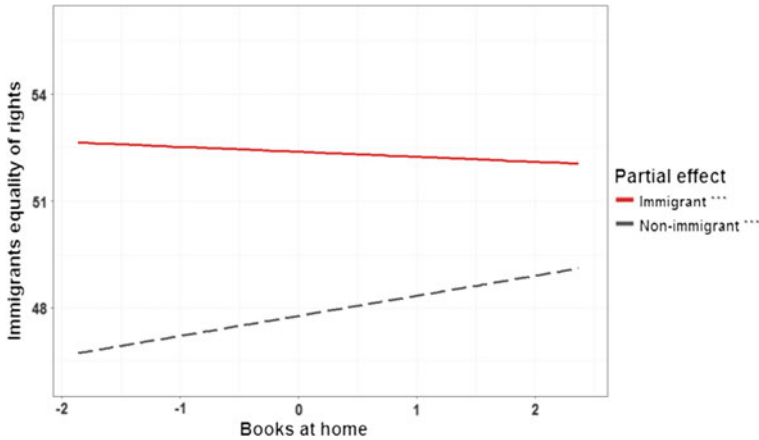


Fig. 7.1 Relation between books at home and immigrant equality attitudes, for immigrant and non-immigrant students

−0.705) for immigrant students and $\pi_{books_jk} = 0.565$ for non-immigrant students. These results suggest that students with immigrant background show on average a higher demand for equality than non-immigrant students. Overall immigrant students who came from families with lower resources demanded higher equal rights and immigrant students who came from families with higher resources demand less equal rights than his/her immigrant pairs. Furthermore, this demand was focused on their own group, meaning increased support for equality was focused toward immigrants or ethnic groups, but not at the same level as gender equality.

In order to get a clearer understanding of this effect, we analyzed the relation between books at home and support for immigrant equal rights by both immigrant students and non-immigrants students (Fig. 7.1). We observed that immigrants showed stronger support than non-immigrants across all levels of books at home and, in households with more books, non-immigrants’ support increased more strongly, reducing the gap between the two groups. In other words, the boost effect that we observed for girls now only applied to non-immigrants; this contrast is remarkable, as in one case the boost produced by parental socioeconomic background occurred for the disadvantaged group (girls), whereas in the other case it applied to the advantaged group (non-immigrants).

7.5 Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, our main goal was to analyze the extent to which egalitarian attitudes toward immigrants, ethnic groups and women differed according socioeconomic background and group variables. We based our hypotheses on the resources model of political participation, which indicates that people with higher resources show higher democratic dispositions, in this case, more egalitarian attitudes.

Our results supported the predictions of the resources model, holding true in most countries taking part in ICCS 2009. In general, and consistent with previous studies, students socialized in homes with lower resources showed less support for equal rights for immigrants, ethnic groups and women (Barber et al. 2013; Janmaat 2014; Dotti Sani and Quaranta 2017). Regarding the hypothesis of higher demand (support) for equality by disadvantaged groups, the analyses supported the prediction that those students belonging to those groups would show more egalitarian attitudes. Girls were more likely to demand equal rights for the three evaluated target groups (immigrants, ethnic and gender), and students from an immigrant background were more likely to support equal rights for immigrants and other ethnic groups. Note that girls' support for tolerance goes beyond mere self-interest, as this is not only related to gender equality but also to equal rights for immigrants and other ethnic groups.

The positive association between resources and egalitarian attitudes showed significant differences for immigrant students and female students. The association was stronger for girls than immigrant students, which indicates partial support for the interaction hypothesis. There were also differences between socioeconomic measures; parental education and books at home were strongly associated with egalitarian attitudes in the case of girls, while parental occupational status was not. Meanwhile, for immigrant students, only books at home differed significantly in its association with egalitarian attitudes.

Conceptualizing and operationalizing socioeconomic measures, we conclude that different indicators are related to specific aspects of stratification; while they show different degrees of correlation among them, they also show differential associations with the dependent variables, and so are not interchangeable. This suggests that research into political socialization processes within families should consider not only the differences between socioeconomic aspects of the family but also should analyze links to particular social groups, in order to explain citizenship outcomes.

The variations in the differential roles of socioeconomic measures for the development of egalitarian attitudes within different social groups suggest several topics for future research. For instance, further investigation is needed on the intersection between different groups and identities, such as immigrant girls and/or non-immigrant boys, as it is not clear whether the effects of belonging to a disadvantaged group could be counterbalanced by being part of another group. Similarly, the particular pattern observed for immigrants raises questions about cultural differences that would explain lesser support for equal rights for women. Future studies might also consider possible mechanisms to explain the differential roles of parental education or books at home in the development of democratic principles. Books at home is of great interest, as initially this indicator appears to be a simple measure, but may illuminate the role of cultural capital and/or scholarly culture (Evans et al. 2010, 2015) in support for equal rights.

Contact theory (Allport 1979) contends that, as opportunities for contact on an equal basis increase between groups and individuals, negative attitudes are reduced and positive attitudes are increased. Measures that allow the specification of different group experiences, such as intergroup interaction, cross-group friendship or perceived threat measures (Pettigrew 1998) could be used to characterize and model specific processes at different levels of socioeconomic status. ICCS 2009 did not include any measures of individual contact, such as level of friendship or frequency of contact, which would allow the analysis of the role of contact in the relation between socioeconomic measures and egalitarian attitudes toward disadvantaged groups. Further studies are needed in order to ascertain understanding of these issues.

Finally, the cross-country variation also suggest that there is scope for future international comparison; the results identify some countries have particular patterns that merit greater attention, including specific differences between non-immigrant and immigrant students and between boys and girls. This raises interesting questions about the role of intergroup identities and their relationship with egalitarian dispositions.

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