



# Modelling, estimating, simulating: formalizing attitudes towards inequality as a complex network

Arturo Bertero<sup>1</sup> & Gonzalo Franetovic<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ph.D. Student in Political Science University of Milan

<sup>2</sup>Ph.D. Student in Sociology University of Milan

Saturday 11th February, 2023



# Contents

- Introduction
- 2 Theory
- Methods
- 4 Results
- 6 Conclusions

## Introduction

#### Attitudes towards inequality

- A multidimensional construct (Janmaat, 2013):
  - Perceptions of existing inequality
  - **2** Beliefs about fair inequality
  - 3 Judgments of existing inequality
- Related topics:
  - 1 Wages (Osberg & Smeeding, 2006)
  - 2 Taxes (Berens & Gelepithis, 2019)
  - **3 Redistribution** (Kenworthy & McCall, 2007)

#### Research questions

- 1 How are attitudes towards inequality structured in Italy?
- A How does this structure evolve?



# Theory: network approach

- Attitudes as complex system composed of many evaluative reactions (Dalege et al., 2016).
- Focus on causal relationships between entities, rather than on single elements.
- Rejection of latent variables models

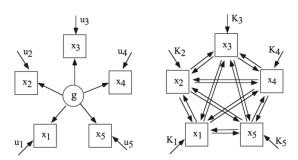


Figure: van der Maas HL et al., 2006

# Theory: network models

PMRF: undirected and weighted network models in which nodes are survey variables, and edges reflect their conditional associations.

- mgm (Haslbeck & Waldorp, 2015): Set of regularized linear regressions (LASSO); estimates are averaged to become edge weights.
- Ising (van Borkulo et al., 2014): Set of regularized logit; state of a node
  is determined by its threshold, states of the neighbors, overall energy
  configuration

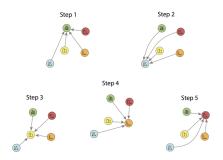


Figure: mgm process

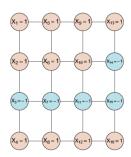


Figure: Ising network



# Theory

Scholars applying the **network approach to the study of attitudes** demonstrated that:

- They possess a small world structure (Dalege et al., 2017).
- Community detection on an attitude network outperforms factor analysis (Golino et al., 2020).
- Change in the states of a central nodes rather than peripheral ones are associated with wider **downstream effects** (Chambon et al., 2022).

# Methods

- Data: ISSP 2019 Social Inequality Module, Italy (N=933).
- Research design:
  - 1 mgm attitude network of full N, 23 variables
    - Network Comparison Test (Van Borkulo et al., 2022) between mgm networks estimated on samples obtained stratifying N by:
    - **a** Household income: >2.000 Euro / <=2.000 Euro
    - Educational level: Complete secondary or more / Incomplete secondary or less
    - **Social class**: Non-manual / Manual
    - Subjective social class: Upper, upper middle, middle / lower middle, working, lower
    - Subjective social mobility: Upward, null / Downward
  - 2 Ising attitude network of full N, 8 variables
    - Centrality simulation

# Methods

#### • Variables: 23 indicators

	Evaluative reaction	Variable
Inequality	Importance of for getting ahead in life: wealthy family, parental education, education, hard work, knowing the right people, having political connections, giving bribes, race, religion, sex.	ib_weafam, ib_edupar, ib_edu, ib_work, ib_people, ib_pol ib_bribes, ib_race, ib_relig, ib_sex
	Perception of inequality	ineq_per
Inequality	Anger towards inequality	ineq_ang
	Unfairness of income distribution	ineq_jud
Wages	How important should be, in deciding pay criteria:	pay_resp, pay_edu,
wages	responsability, education, need, merit.	pay_need, pay_merit
Taxes	Perception of low taxation for the rich	tax_per
Taxes	Belief on tax progressivity	tax_bel
	Preference for public redistribution	red_pub
Redistribution	Preference for private redistribution	red_pri
Redistribution	Politicians' disinterest	red_unca
	Government unsuccess	red_unsu

## Methods

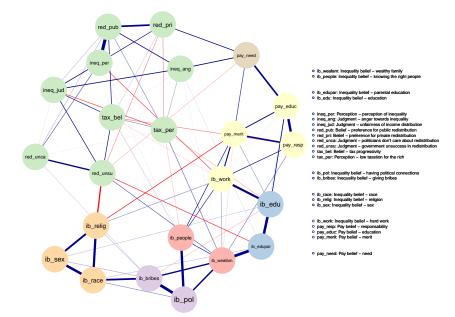
#### **Hypoteses:**

- H1 (Modelling):
  - The network of attitudes towards inequality will show a small-world structure.
- H2 (Estimating):

Network Comparison Test will show **significant structural differences** between networks estimated from **low and high socioeconomic groups**.

• H3 (Simulating):

A change in the thresholds of central nodes, rather than peripheral ones, will produce wider changes in the overall configuration of the attitude towards inequality network.



V

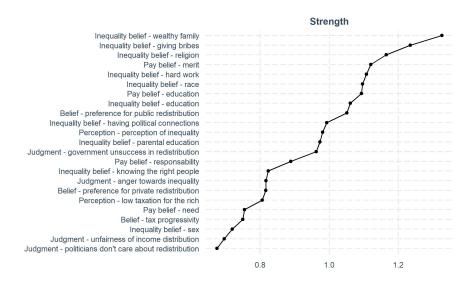
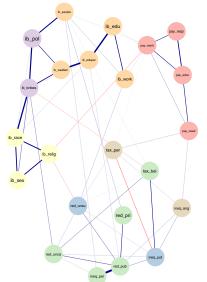


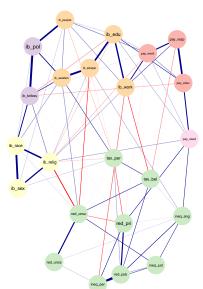
Table: Small world index

-	Transitivity	ASPL	ASPL (weighted)	Small world
	0,47	1,58	16,03	1.04

Low education

High education





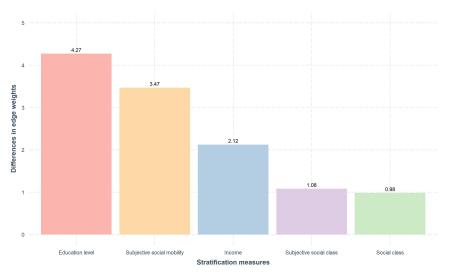


Figure: Differences in edge weights, according to stratification measures

Table: Number of communities in the stratified attitude networks

	Income	Educational level	Social class	Subjective social class	Subjective social mobility
High	10	6	6	5	5
Low	7	7	11	7	8

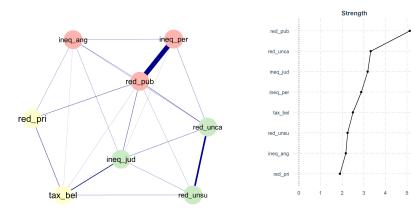


Figure: Ising reduced network and centrality table

 $ineq\_per =$ Perception - perception of inequality;  $ineq\_ang =$ Judgment - anger towards inequality;  $ineq\_jud =$ Judgment - unfairness of income distribution;  $tax\_bel =$ Belief - tax progressivity.  $red\_pub =$ Belief - preference for public redistribution.  $red\_pri =$ Belief - preference for private redistribution;  $red\_unca =$ Judgment - politicians don't care about redistribution;  $red\_unsa =$ Judgment - government unsuccess in redistribution.

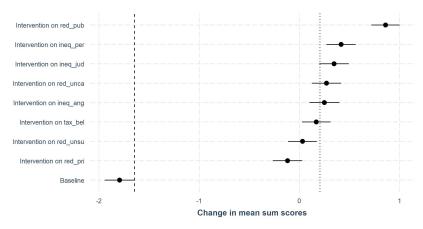


Figure: Changes in mean sum scores of simulated networks. *Baseline*: no intervention, all nodes with weakly negative thresholds. *Intervention*: Simulation of a persuasion attempt targeting a single node; other nodes retain weakly negative thresholds.

## Conclusions

#### Summary

- Modelling: Attitudes towards inequality in Italy are characterized by high clustering and high connectivity.
- Estimating: Educational level and subjective social mobility are the socioeconomic measures producing the highest structural differences.
- **3** Simulating:
  - **a** Changes in central nodes produce wider downstream effects.
  - Preference for public redistribution and perception of inequality are the most important variables explaining how people understand inequality in Italy.

#### Limitations

- **1 Direction of causality**: we relied on simulated data rather than experiment or panel data.
- Contributions
  - **1** Holistic comprehension of how people understand inequality.
  - A step toward a formalized account of attitudes structure and dynamic.



#### References

Berens, S., Gelepithis, M. (2019). Welfare state structure, inequality, and public attitudes towards progressive taxation. 17, 823–850.

Chambon, M., Dalege, J., Waldorp, L. J., Van der Maas, H. L., Borsboom, D., van Harreveld, F. (2022). Tailored interventions into broad attitude networks towards the COVID-19 pandemic. Plos one, 17(10), e0276439.

Dalege, J., Borsboom, D., Van Harreveld, F., Van den Berg, H., Conner, M., & Van der Maas, H. L. (2016). Toward a formalized account of attitudes: The Causal Attitude Network (CAN) model. Psychological review, 123(1), 2.

Dalege, J., Borsboom, D., van Harreveld, F., Waldorp, L. J., van der Maas, H. L. (2017). Network structure explains the impact of attitudes on voting decisions. Scientific reports, 7(1), 1-11.

Golino, H., Shi, D., Christensen, A. P., Garrido, L. E., Nieto, M. D., Sadana, R., ... Martinez-Molina, A. (2020). Investigating the performance of exploratory graph analysis and traditional techniques to identify the number of latent factors: A simulation and tutorial. Psychological Methods, 25(3), 292.

 $Haslbeck, J., \& Waldorp, L. J. (2015). \ mgm: Estimating time-varying mixed graphical models in high-dimensional data. arXiv preprint arXiv:1510.06871.$ 

Janmaat, J. G. (2013). Subjective inequality: A review of international comparative studies on people's views about inequality. European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie, 54(3), 357-389.

 $\label{eq:Kenworthy, L., \& McCall, L. (2007). Inequality, public opinion and redistribution. Socio-Economic Review, 6, 35–68.$ 

Osberg, L., & Smeeding, T. (2006). "Fair" Inequality? Attitudes toward Pay Differentials: The United States in Comparative Perspective. American Sociological Review, 71, 450–473.

Van Borkulo, C. D., van Bork, R., Boschloo, L., Kossakowski, J. J., Tio, P., Schoevers, R. A., ... & Waldorp, L. J. (2022). Comparing network structures on three aspects: A permutation test. Psychological methods.

Van Borkulo, C. D., Borsboom, D., Epskamp, S., Blanken, T. F., Boschloo, L., Schoevers, R. A., Waldorp, L. J. (2014). A new method for constructing networks from binary data. Scientific reports, 4(1), 1-10.

van der Maas HL, Dolan CV, Grasman RP, Wicherts JM, Huizenga HM, Raijmakers ME. A dynamical model of general intelligence: the positive manifold of intelligence by mutualism. Psychol Rev. 2006 Oct;113(4):842-61. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.113.4.842. PMID: 17014305.

900