Embracing Diversity in the Neighborhood: Political Socialization Processes of Attitudes toward Social Diversity among Chilean Students

Thesis submitted for the degree of Sociologist and Master of Social Sciences with a specialization in Sociology of Modernization

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Santiago de Chile, año 2023

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Abstract

New dynamics of migration, interethnic conflict, socioeconomic class differences, and social segregation are increasingly brought into confrontation in public debate and have become a growing focus of study in the Social Sciences. Embracing the increasing social diversity resulting from processes of modernization and globalization involves promoting a more inclusive, respectful, and equitable society—one that accepts individuals for who they are, regardless of cultural, ethnic, religious, or class differences. To date, sociological research has often focused on analyzing the positions that various social groups occupy within the social structure and the challenges they face in integrating into society (Viveros Vigoya, 2016; Wade, 2000; Young, 2000). However, this line of research has tended to overlook two fundamental aspects. First, there has been relatively little examination of the process of social inclusion within schools (Blanco, 2006) and of how students perceive other groups in their everyday interactions—specifically, whether they accept or reject certain social groups different from their own in spaces beyond the school, such as in their neighborhoods. Second, increasing attention is being paid to the processes through which individuals learn or reproduce attitudes related to the acceptance or rejection of particular social groups, and to the role of schools (Malak-Minkiewicz & Torney-Purta, 2021; Sandoval-Hernández et al., 2018) and families (Bandura, 1969; Santander Ramírez et al., 2020) in shaping these attitudes, as well as the influence of patterns of territorial segregation on intergroup perception and trust (Baldassarri & Abascal, 2020; Fernández et al., 2016; Coté & Erickson, 2009).

Using data from 4,801 students and their parents or guardians, drawn from the First Study on Citizenship Education in Chile (2017), this research aims to examine the different socialization processes involved in the development of attitudes of acceptance or rejection toward various social groups in the neighborhoods where students live. Specifically, through quantitative methodologies, the study seeks to demonstrate, on the one hand, that both the family and the school play a role in shaping these attitudes, with the expectation that schools may help mitigate inequalities stemming from students' social backgrounds. On the other hand, the study also explores how certain contextual characteristics of the territories in which students reside influence their attitudes toward social diversity. The findings reveal that, within the family socialization process, it is the attitudes of parents or guardians—not their socioeconomic resources—that significantly influence students' views. In schools, both

civic knowledge and a classroom climate that encourages discussion and debate are positively associated with more inclusive attitudes among students. These results are discussed in terms of their implications for public debate and the development of educational policy.

1

Introduction:

New dynamics of migration, interethnic conflict, socioeconomic class differences, and social segregation are increasingly brought into confrontation in public debate and have become a growing focus of study in the Social Sciences. Embracing the growing social diversity brought about by modernization and globalization entails promoting a more inclusive, respectful, and equitable society—one that accepts people for who they are, regardless of their cultural, ethnic, religious, or class differences. Learning to accept and value diversity can help individuals develop important life skills such as empathy and tolerance. So far, sociological research has often focused on analyzing the position of different social groups within the social structure and the challenges they face in integrating into society (Young, 2000; Wade, 2000; Viveros Vigoya, 2016). However, two fundamental elements have often been neglected within this line of research. First, there has been limited attention paid to the process of social inclusion within schools (Blanco, 2006) and to how students perceive other social groups in their everyday interactions—that is, whether they accept or reject groups different from their own outside of school spaces, particularly in their neighborhoods. Second, growing attention is now being paid to the processes through which people learn or reproduce attitudes of acceptance or rejection toward specific social groups, and to the importance of both schools (Sandoval-Hernández et al., 2018; Malak-Minkiewicz and Torney-Purta, 2021) and families (Santander Ramírez et al., 2020; Bandura, 1969) in shaping these attitudes. Socialization processes refer to the ways in which young people learn and adapt to the norms, values, and behaviors expected of them in society. In school, students are exposed to a wide range of cultures, beliefs, and experiences that are essential for providing opportunities to learn about and appreciate diversity within their schools and communities. Accordingly, this research seeks to address the various socialization processes involved in the development of attitudes of acceptance or rejection toward different social groups in the neighborhoods where students live.

Following global trends, the sustained economic development of recent years has led to a shift in social demands—from those centered on survival values (such as socioeconomic demands, social rights, and access to basic services) toward demands for

self-expression, creativity, and democratization. These emerging demands contribute to the reorganization of sexual norms, gender roles, family values, religiosity, people's relationships with nature, and community engagement (Inglehart and Welzel, 2001). As a result, significant challenges have arisen in relation to democracy, citizenship, and social cohesion. In an international study spanning 21 countries using World Values Survey data, Vala and Costa-Lopes (2010) found that young people tend to be more tolerant than older individuals toward stigmatized groups and groups perceived as racially or ethnically different. In Chile, several studies have underscored the importance of examining social diversity within the school context. This is particularly relevant due to the increasing enrollment of migrant students at the national level (Caqueo-Urízar et al., 2019; Bustos González and Díaz Aguad, 2018; Alarcón-Leiva and Gotelli-Alvial, 2021; Gelber et al., 2021; Jiménez Vargas, 2014; Mera-Lemp et al., 2020), the rise in interethnic conflicts (Figueiredo et al., 2020; Webb and Radcliffe, 2015) and ongoing class-based tensions and patterns of social segregation (Gonzalez and Dupriez, 2016; Rodrigo and Oyarzo, 2021; Hernández and Raczynski, 2015).

Addressing the development of attitudes toward social acceptance among school-aged youth requires situating this research within the broader context of increasing social diversity, which poses significant challenges for nation-states globally in terms of public policy. These challenges arise both from governmental, territorial, and socioeconomic implications, and from the new demands placed on educational systems regarding the inclusion and tolerance of increasingly diverse student populations. In Chile, various international treaties have been ratified to safeguard diversity—such as human rights conventions, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Labour Organization's Convention No. 169. These commitments have been translated into a range of educational policies aimed at promoting the inclusion of diverse sectors of society within the educational system.

Within this context, the School Inclusion Law stands out. It regulates, among other aspects, the equitable admission of students—regardless of social class or academic selection—into educational institutions (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2015) Another relevant policy is the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB), which originated in the 1990s and was consolidated between 2010 and 2016. Its goal is to create conditions for inclusive social processes within school communities that serve both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. The program seeks to develop new competencies by incorporating alternative worldviews into the educational process and fostering recognition, appreciation, and adaptation to diverse cultural backgrounds (Ministerio de Educación, 2017). On the other hand, while the enrollment of migrant students in the Chilean school system increased by 616% between 2014 and 2016—and has tripled since 2016 (Roessler et al., 2020) there are still no specific policies or programs in place to address this growing population..

The learning objectives associated with citizenship education in schools aim to respond to the need to prepare new generations for life in a democracy and its corresponding moral and cognitive demands (Cox and García, 2015). Chile's new Citizenship Education Law (Law No. 20.911) mandates that all educational institutions must

design a Citizenship Education Plan to provide students with the necessary preparation to assume a responsible life in a free society, oriented toward the holistic development of the human person as the foundation of the democratic system, social justice, and progress (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2016). Among its main objectives, the law seeks to promote understanding and critical analysis of the concept of citizenship and the rights and responsibilities associated with it. It also aims to foster students' appreciation for the country's social and cultural diversity and to encourage tolerance and pluralism (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2016).

However, the notion of tolerance directed toward the existence of social diversity highlights a distinction between the acceptance, respect, and appreciation of difference, and the homogenizing inclusion of diverse social groups within schools. The definition of interculturality adopted by the Chilean educational system has been functional to the status quo, as it tends to absorb difference and homogenize it (Riedemann et al., 2020). In doing so, it renders invisible and reproduces forms of discrimination rooted in processes of racialization, gendering, and class-based differentiation, aligning more closely with the notion of multiculturalism than with that of genuine interculturality (Stefoni et al., 2016). This conceptual confusion regarding the goals of intercultural education results in ineffective public policies and an inability to foster a society that truly embraces diversity and promotes cooperation across differences (Donoso Romo et al., 2006). As a consequence, the Chilean educational system, in practice, tends to emphasize the integration of different social groups into the national society—so that they may access the benefits afforded to all citizens—rather than pursuing the coexistence of multiple diversities (Donoso Romo et al., 2006). This contradiction generates tensions within educational institutions: on the one hand, they are expected to value social and cultural diversity within the classroom; on the other, they are required to comply with standardized accountability mechanisms that fail to reflect or accommodate such diversity (Riedemann et al., 2020).

Thus, although socialization processes have expanded and become more complex alongside modernization and globalization, the roles of the school and the family remain the principal agents of socialization. For sociology, understanding education as a key agent in the socialization of younger generations is essential. In contrast, the role of the family has received comparatively less attention within sociology, having been more extensively studied within the field of social psychology. Research on tolerance and inclusion among youth populations has often focused on issues related to migration flows and the integration of migrant populations into national education systems, particularly examining how schools facilitate the entry and inclusion of diverse students (Bellei, 2013; Ortiz, 2016; Stefoni et al., 2016), or how schools may influence (in)tolerance and prejudice toward immigrants, ethnic minorities, or sexual dissidents (Lee, 2014; Maurissen et al., 2020; Treviño et al., 2018). Regarding the role of the family, some studies have shown that parental attitudes can influence interethnic conflict among their children (Medjedovic and Petrovic, 2021), shape students' attitudes toward one or more subordinate groups depending on levels of tolerance (Farkač et al., 2020) and that parents' political participation can affect the

political engagement of the younger generation (Bacovsky and Fitzgerald, 2021).

Moreover, in highly unequal societies such as Chile, socioeconomic resources act as a key mechanism of differentiation. Research has shown the predominant role of families' socioeconomic resources as a determinant of academic achievement (Bellei, 2013), as well as the importance of school choice in shaping and reproducing segregation and stratification within the educational system (Hernández and Raczynski, 2015). Furthermore, Easterbrook and Hadden (2021) sargues that some groups of students—typically those who have historically experienced disadvantage in society—often face identity threat and feel that their social identity is incompatible with educational success. This contributes significantly to educational outcome disparities across groups, even beyond existing economic, historical, and structural inequalities.

This research seeks to understand how the political socialization processes occurring within the family and the school interact and give rise to dispositions that lead either to the exclusion or acceptance of certain social groups. Accordingly, the research question guiding this study is: To what extent are different socialization processes able to influence the attitudes of Chilean students toward social diversity in their neighborhoods?

1.1 General Objective

To analyze the role of the family and the school as agents of political socialization of attitudes among Chilean students.

1.2 Specific Objectives

1. To determine the extent to which Chilean primary-level students accept or reject the presence of different social groups living in their neighborhoods.
2. To analyze the role of the family in the political socialization of attitudes toward social diversity.
3. To analyze the role of the school in the political socialization of attitudes toward social diversity.

2

Embracing Neighborhood Diversity

Castells (2005) argues that the dominant identity principle in Latin America is national identity, constructed around a nation-state that promoted a development project and a distinctiveness in relation to other countries. As the nation-state becomes integrated into globalization and detaches from its traditional foundations, "the separation between state and nation leads to a crisis of national identity as a principle of social cohesion" (Castells, 2005, p. 40). In Chile, interactional inequalities have become the most perceived and most strongly rejected forms of inequality among the population (Araujo, 2013). These types of inequalities refer to the ways in which individuals are treated by others or by institutions in everyday and concrete social interactions (Araujo, 2019). According to Araujo (2019) a *malignization of otherness*, has taken root, where the *other* is constructed as a threat and an adversary, thereby breaking the notion of a shared space and framing ordinary relationships among urban inhabitants in terms of confrontation and conflict.

According to Castells (2005), identity becomes a weakened principle, insufficient to sustain a sense of collective life. It is replaced by individualism legitimized by the market, which emerges as a source of rationality and personal project, while simultaneously giving rise to stronger community-based identities—such as the resurgence of religion or ethnic identities. In response to this issue, Social Identity Theory offers a conceptual framework for explaining group processes and intergroup relations by analyzing the interaction of cognitive, interactive, and societal social processes, placing identity self-conception at the core of this dynamic (Hogg, 2016). Intergroup interaction is understood as a functional resource that emerges from specific contextual and individual conditions in order to provide individuals with strategies to affirm their identity (Scandroglio et al., 2008). In this sense, the construction of social identity defines and evaluates one's self-concept and shapes how one is perceived and treated by others. Therefore, when individuals make comparisons between their own group and an outgroup, they are motivated to ensure that their group is positively distinctive—clearly differentiated and evaluated more favorably than outgroups (Hogg, 2016).

In this way, the exclusion or rejection of different social groups from a neighborhood can be understood as a form of social closure, in which boundaries are established between social sectors or classes through the construction of identities, communities, and the monopolization of opportunities, with the aim of excluding others from that circle or class (Parkin, 1984). Along the same lines, Tilly (2000) rgues that all societies exhibit persistent inequalities, since inequalities based on "race, gender, ethnicity, class, age, citizenship, educational level, and other seemingly contradictory principles of differentiation are formed through similar social processes and are, to a significant extent, organizationally interchangeable" (Tilly, 2000, p. 23). On the one hand, these inequalities—beyond explicit forms of racist violence—tend to materialize as lack of access or reduced access to the nation, the city, the neighborhood, housing, bars, politics, and/or the media (Van Dijk, 2013). Van Dijk (2013) describes this as a differentiated social practice, commonly referred to as discrimination, which is based on racist prejudices and ideologies about the superiority of a majority and the inferiority of a minority. On the other hand, Díez-Nicolás and López-Narbona (2019) conceptualizes these phenomena as forms of social exclusion, often linked to ideas such as stigma, discrimination, and prejudice. However, reducing or intensifying certain attitudes will have little effect on these persistent inequalities, which is why the focus must be placed on the social mechanisms that generate inequality in the first place (Tilly, 2000).

Measuring (in)tolerance is a subject of ongoing debate across various disciplines, which generally converge around two central approaches. On the one hand, tolerance toward subordinate groups—such as migrants, ethnic minorities, and women—has been assessed through frameworks centered on rights (Miranda et al., 2018; Treviño et al., 2018), prejudice (Meeusen and Dhont, 2015; Weber, 2020), and perceptions of material and/or symbolic threat (Raijman and Semyonov, 2004). On the other hand, Díez-Nicolás and López-Narbona (2019) conceptualize these dynamics as forms of social exclusion often linked to stigma, discrimination, and prejudice. Additionally, ten Dam et al. (2011) suggest that for young people, civic attitudes are manifested through everyday social tasks. In this study, tolerance is measured through respondents' acceptance or rejection of different social groups living in the same neighborhood as the surveyed students. Thus, accepting diversity in the neighborhood refers to the absence of exclusionary attitudes toward traditionally marginalized subordinate groups. Specifically, this theoretical perspective makes it possible to assess whether students accept or reject living near people of Indigenous origin, from another country or region, with a different sexual orientation, social class, skin color, or religion.

2.1 Political Socialization Processes of Attitudes toward Social Diversity

Through differentiated and continuous processes of socialization over time, individuals are shaped by specific conditions associated with a particular class-based mode of

existence (Bourdieu, 2007). While Bourdieu (2007) 's framework can help explain individuals' dispositions to generate and reproduce practices of social exclusion toward various social groups, it does not fully account for how these dispositions are formed. In this regard, Archer (2009) highlights a persistent limitation in the sociology of education: the tendency to focus solely on the practices and processes that occur within schools, without recognizing that "both teachers and students are immersed in broader sociocultural relations, which they bring with them into the classroom" (Archer, 2009, p. 39). This suggests an interaction between context and social activity, although these elements do not co-vary over time—they are temporally out of sync. Lahire (2012) emphasizes the importance of understanding the social world at the individual level while also attending to the social (and discursive) conditions under which the moral and ideological individual is produced, since these are socially constructed elements. In this context, the aim of this research is to understand how different modes of socialization interact with one another and produce the dispositions to either exclude or accept certain social groups. Lahire (2012) puts it, "socialized individuals may have durably internalized a certain number of habits, and yet have no particular desire to apply them" (Lahire, 2012, p. 87).

For sociology in general—and the sociology of education in particular—the articulation of socialization processes can be understood as a sociology of modes of socialization (both within and outside of school), which must be linked to a sociology of knowledge in order to broadly comprehend a disposition by reconstructing its genesis (Lahire, 2012). In other words, this involves jointly addressing the role of the family and the school in the political socialization of attitudes toward social diversity, along with the context in which these processes take place.

In articulating different modes of socialization, Aedo Henríquez (2015) highlights the importance of considering Bourdieu's notion of *strategy*, as it involves situating oneself in relation to others within specific field contexts, where socialized expectations about one's position vis-à-vis others are called into question. Bourdieu's concept of strategy refers to the idea that "in the social world, we act according to certain inclinations that we have internalized throughout our social experience, within the framework of socialization processes—inclinations or dispositions that function as facilitators of our practices or actions" (Aguilar, 2017, p. 280).

Thus, families strategically select schools and neighborhoods in which to integrate their children according to their dispositions—in other words, they are capable of choosing the social spaces in which their children will be socialized. Similarly, the disposition toward exclusion—and the social closure it entails—can be understood as having two temporal dimensions. On the one hand, it reflects the outcomes of prior familial socialization processes; on the other, it expresses the family's current objective conditions, which shape the ongoing process of socialization.

2.1.1 Family Political Socialization of Attitudes toward Social Diversity

The process of family political socialization is understood as a set of parenting practices or concrete socialization strategies aimed at shaping children's behavior in accordance with the values and personality traits deemed favorable for their future social integration and development (Ramírez, 2005). In this way, families reproduce and socialize values through a process of attitude transmission that serves to ensure the perpetuation of the social group and the preservation of status and privilege (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1998; Bernstein, 2005).

Within the strategies of the family political socialization process, two key elements have been identified. First, Lipset (1997) emphasizes the importance of the family's objective socioeconomic conditions in the acquisition of democratic values and practices. Second, for Bandura (1969), social learning theory suggests that parents' attitudes and behaviors influence the interests and behavioral patterns of their children, thus highlighting the need to study the intergenerational transmission of attitudes as a core aspect of the socialization process.

In this regard, various studies have highlighted the predominant role of socioeconomic resources in shaping students' political participation expectations (Castillo et al., 2014), and more specifically, in influencing students' attitudes toward one or more subordinate groups, depending on levels of tolerance (Farkač et al., 2020), prejudice (Weber, 2020), or support for equal rights (Isac et al., 2012; Miranda et al., 2018). On one hand, Miranda et al. (2018) demonstrate the importance of parental education level, occupational status, and the number of books at home in fostering students' positive attitudes toward gender equality, and how the latter two factors also shape attitudes toward equal rights for immigrants and ethnic minorities. Similarly, Ortiz (2016) show that these three indicators play a significant role in shaping general attitudes toward social tolerance, while Castillo et al. (2014) find that parents with higher education levels and greater availability of books at home strongly influence students' expectations of political participation. On the other hand, Sincer et al. (2020) show that a higher proportion of low-socioeconomic-status students in schools negatively impacts students' competence to deal with social differences[1]. Finally, regarding the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, research shows the significant influence of parental attitudes on children's disposition toward interethnic conflict (Medjedovic and Petrovic, 2021), the role of parental political participation in shaping political engagement among younger generations (Bacovsky and Fitzgerald, 2021), and that upper-class families tend to prioritize symbolic-relational values such as good manners and respect for others, while lower-class families are more likely to emphasize mobility-oriented values such as hard work and saving (Santander Ramírez et al., 2020). Thus, the process of family political socialization is reflected in the following hypotheses:

[1] Sincer et al. (2020) state that *dealing with differences* refers to the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to interact with social differences.

- H1: Students from families with greater socioeconomic resources will exhibit a higher level of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.

- H2: Students whose parents express higher levels of acceptance of different social groups living in their neighborhoods will also exhibit a higher level of acceptance of diversity in their own neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.

2.1.2 Political Socialization of Attitudes toward Social Diversity in School

Research on the political socialization of attitudes in school often attributes to the educational system the goal of "arousing and developing in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual, and moral states required both by political society as a whole and by the specific environment to which the child is particularly destined" (Durkheim, 1999, p. 60), and that the school's socializing function "consists in the development within each individual of those skills and attitudes that constitute essential requirements for their future functioning in life" (Parsons, 1976, p. 65). In this line of thought, recent studies continue to frame the school as a key agent in the formation of citizens (Cox and Castillo, 2015; Groof et al., 2008; Treviño et al., 2017), emphasizing the capacity of schools to contribute to civic development and democratic attitudes among young students.

The school is understood as the primary space for socialization and interaction among individuals from different backgrounds, functioning as a micro-society (Groof et al., 2008). The structural characteristics of schools are a key dimension in explaining differences in student outcomes (Treviño et al., 2018). To some extent, this is due to the way students from different socioeconomic strata are distributed across schools depending on their type of administration (Bellei, 2013), as well as the knowledge, skills, and social values that these institutions are able to provide to their students (Groof et al., 2008). Specifically, both schools and classrooms may differ in terms of their shared values and norms, how students interact with one another, and how teachers approach and treat their students (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2020).

First, civic knowledge and the opportunities provided by schools for its development are essential elements in the socialization of shared values and norms. Civic knowledge refers to the civic and citizenship-related information that students acquire and use when engaging in more complex tasks that help them better understand the political world (Carstens and Schulz, 2018), while Sampermans et al. (2020) argue that civic knowledge depends directly on the civic learning opportunities promoted by schools. Several scholars have shown that civic knowledge has a positive influence on students' attitudes toward tolerance of immigrants (Isac et al., 2012; Groof et al., 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 2008).

Second, one of the fundamental structural characteristics of schools is the provision of spaces for discussion. In classrooms where students are exposed to real-world political issues, discourse and debate offer them the opportunity to engage with political and social matters, allowing them to learn a vital component of participatory democracy (Campbell, 2008). This can only be achieved when communication and dialogue are actively promoted and safeguarded among students of different nationalities, ethnicities, languages, skin colors, socioeconomic backgrounds, and interests (Riedemann et al., 2020). Research has shown that this indicator influences students' attitudes toward tolerance of immigrants (Eckstein et al., 2021; Maurissen et al., 2020; Groof et al., 2008; Isac et al., 2012), their support for equal rights for immigrants, ethnic minorities, and women (Treviño et al., 2018, 2017), students' civic attitudes in general (Barber and Ross, 2020; Trolian and Parker, 2022), and the development of civic knowledge (Sampermans et al., 2020; Barber et al., 2015). Accordingly, the role of the school in the political socialization of attitudes is summarized in the following hypotheses:

- H3: Students with higher levels of civic knowledge will exhibit a greater degree of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.
- H4: Students who perceive greater openness to discussion in their classrooms will exhibit a greater degree of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.

Finally, given the role of the educational system under the framework of new public policies on inclusion and citizenship education, it is proposed—on an exploratory basis—that schools may be capable of mitigating social inequalities of origin and/or strengthening positive attitudes in the formation of students' acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods. This implies that schools play a moderating role in the development of students' attitudes and, therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H5: The school socialization process moderates the influence of socioeconomic resources and parental attitudes on students' attitudes toward the acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods.

2.2 Neighborhood Implications in the Political Socialization of Attitudes toward Social Diversity

The increase in social diversity within neighborhoods has varying effects on social coexistence and tolerance toward what is perceived as different. On the one hand, in heterogeneous neighborhoods—with greater diversity of social contacts and more frequent interaction among individuals from different backgrounds—conditions may

be more favorable for the development of prosocial behaviors (DiPrete et al., 2011). However, it has also been argued that increased interaction between distinct groups can reinforce existing prejudices (Putnam, 2007). On the other hand, the pronounced urban segregation characteristic of the Chilean context—which fosters the formation of socially homogeneous neighborhoods—is generally unfavorable for positive intergroup contact and the reduction of prejudice (Garreton, 2017). In the same vein, Garreton et al. (2021) show that social capital—that is, the extent of positive ties and social connections—is negatively correlated with socioeconomic diversity, but positively correlated with immigrant diversity, highlighting the importance of distinguishing between these two contextual dimensions in the development of social capital.

In each neighborhood, different patterns of segregation are associated with substantial disparities in access to the labor market and to other cultural and social resources (Fernández et al., 2016). According to Baldassarri and Abascal (2020), competition among minorities is greater in areas where these groups are more numerous. This is because ethnic and racial minorities often cannot access high-quality jobs—even when they are qualified—and are instead forced to compete for lower-quality or informal employment. As a result, individuals from lower social classes may perceive minorities as a threat more frequently than those from higher social classes (Baldassarri and Abascal, 2020). This sense of threat—arising from competition over jobs and resources—tends to reduce trust between different groups, thereby hindering the development of social ties (Côté and Erickson, 2009).

In this way, the specific characteristics of each neighborhood may affect students' attitudes in different ways, depending on material conditions, the availability of resources, and the quality and quantity of contact and interaction with people from different social groups. For example, research has shown that higher levels of residential segregation are associated with more negative attitudes toward immigrants, particularly among native residents in areas where diversity has increased significantly in recent years (Kawalerowicz, 2021). Similarly, the physical environment of the neighborhood—such as accessibility to different types of urban public spaces—can contribute to more positive attitudes toward immigrant inclusion by fostering stronger neighborhood interaction (Wang and Liu, 2022). In contrast, in areas with high levels of trust in foreigners, this trust has been found to be unrelated to the proportion of immigrants in the neighborhood population (Schönwälder et al., 2016). However, some of these elements fall outside the scope of this study and the limitations of available data. Therefore, three hypotheses are proposed regarding neighborhood characteristics that may influence whether students accept or reject the presence of different social groups in their neighborhoods:

- H6: Students living in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of individuals who identify with an ethnic group will exhibit lower levels of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.
- H7: Students living in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of immigrant population will exhibit lower levels of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods,

holding all other variables constant.

- H8: Students living in neighborhoods with a higher average level of educational attainment will exhibit higher levels of acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods, holding all other variables constant.

3

Methods

3.1 Data

The dataset used in this study comes from the First Citizenship Education Study in Chile, conducted by the Agency for Quality Education of the Ministry of Education. The study assessed 8,589 eighth-grade students from 242 schools. Data collection took place on November 9, 2017. In addition, responses from 6,770 parents or guardians were collected through the Citizenship Education questionnaire. After merging both datasets, the total number of complete responses is 6,511 student–guardian pairs. The final sample used in the analyses consists of 4,801 cases.

In addition to the above, territorial-level variables are drawn from the 2017 Chilean Census, using the *censo2017* statistical package in R (Vargas, 2022). This dataset provides territorial information corresponding to the year 2017 and is publicly available for unrestricted use.

3.2 Variables

To measure students' attitudes toward diversity in their neighborhoods, the set of questions from the "Tolerance and Social Distance" module of the student questionnaire is used. These variables are based on the questions presented in Figure 3.1.

To operationalize this set of questions, each item is first recoded so that a value of 0 indicates that the student would not like the respective group to live in their neighborhood, and a value of 1 indicates that they would. A summative index is then constructed by adding the values of all items, representing the overall level of acceptance of different social groups. The distribution of this index is shown in Figure 3.2. The Cronbach's alpha for this index is 0.887.

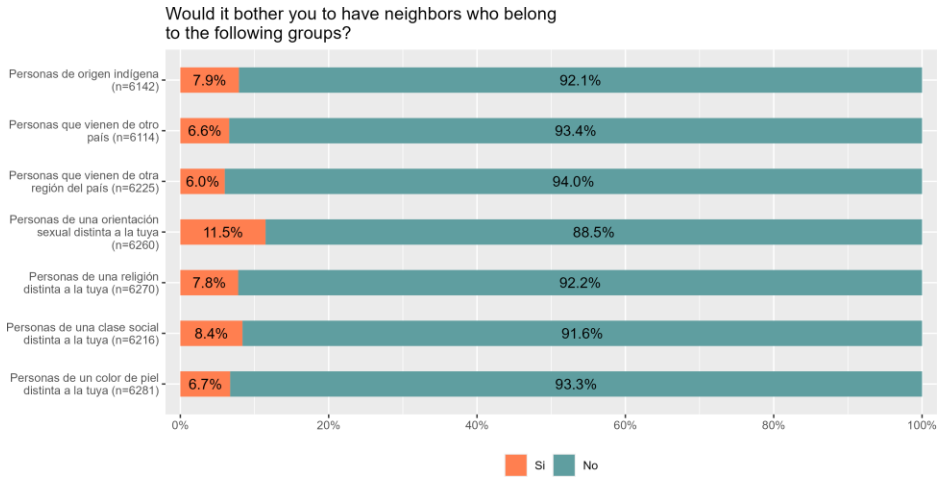


Figure 3.1: Acceptance of Diversity (Students)

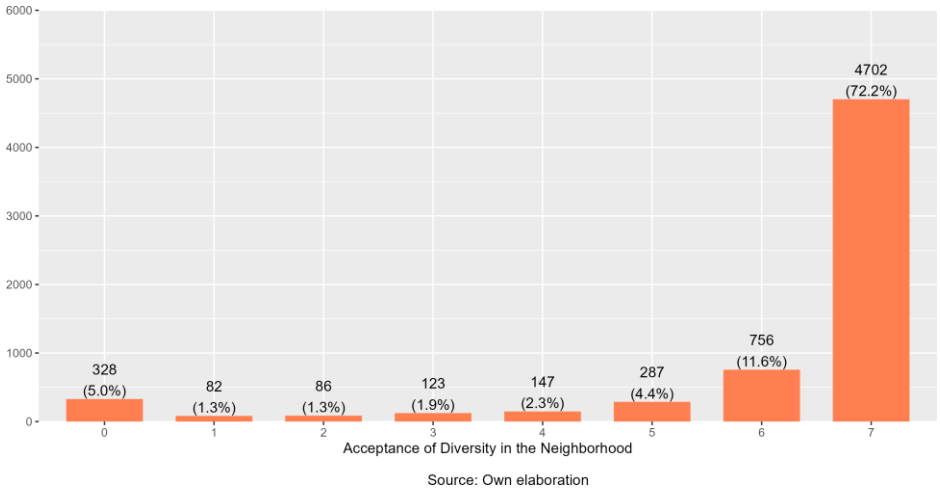


Figure 3.2: Diversity Acceptance Index (Students)

The independent variables are grouped into three categories: (1) family-related variables, (2) school-related variables, and (3) territorial-level variables.

1) Family Variables

Socioeconomic resources are represented through two variables:

- Educational level (highest level between respondent and spouse/partner): This variable is reported by parents or guardians. It is categorical and measured on a scale from 1 to 10, with 10 representing the highest possible level of education.
- Number of books at home: A categorical variable reported by students, indicating the number of books available in the household. The response categories are: 1)

0 to 10 books; 2) 11 to 25 books; 3) 26 to 100 books; 4) 101 to 200 books; 5) More than 200 books

Parental attitudes:

- Parental acceptance of diversity: This variable is constructed using the same method applied to operationalize the dependent variable.

2) School Variables

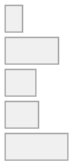
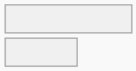
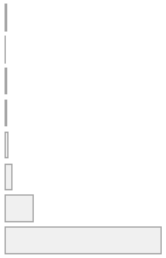
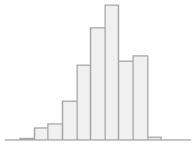
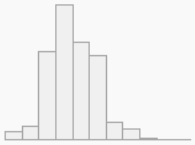
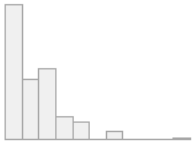
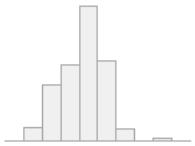
- Civic knowledge: This variable is based on the civic knowledge test administered to students. The classification used follows the ICCS 2016 categories (Agencia calidad de la educación, 2018), where the "Below Level D" category corresponds to scores below 311 points; Level D includes scores between 311 and 394; Level C, between 395 and 478; Level B, between 479 and 562; and Level A, above 562 points.
- Perceived openness to classroom discussion: This variable reflects students' perceptions of the opportunities available in the classroom to discuss and express opinions on various topics of general interest. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted to estimate factor scores based on 5 of the 6 available items in the dataset (for more details, see Table 7.1 in Appendix 1).
- School-level average perception of openness to classroom discussion: This variable is constructed by averaging the individual perception scores of openness to discussion at each school. It reflects the overall availability of classroom spaces and opportunities for discussion and expression of opinions at the school level.

3) Territorial Variables

- Proportion of people who identify with an ethnic group: This variable reflects the proportion of people in the municipality who identify as members of Indigenous groups, based on the 2017 Census. It is categorized into three levels: Low, Medium, and High.
- Proportion of migrant population: This variable represents the proportion of immigrants in the municipality, also based on the 2017 Census. It is categorized into three levels: Low, Medium, and High.
- Average years of schooling: The average level of educational attainment in the municipality, according to 2017 Census data. This variable ranges from 6.9 to 11.2 years.

A summary of these variables is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Description of Independent Variables

Label	Stats / Values	Freqs (% of Valid)	Graph	Valid	Missing
Parental Education Level	1. Ed Basica 2. Ed Media 3. Ed Tecnica 4. Universidad o posgrado 5. Ns/Nr	586 (9.0%) 1761 (27.0%) 1000 (15.4%) 1112 (17.1%) 2052 (31.5%)		6511 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Number of Books at Home	1. Menos de 25 2. Más de 25	4080 (63.4%) 2352 (36.6%)		6432 (98.8%)	79 (1.2%)
Diversity Acceptance Index (Parents)	Mean (sd) : 6.6 (1) min ≤ med ≤ max: 0 ≤ 7 ≤ 7 IQR (CV) : 0 (0.2)	0 : 48 (0.8%) 1 : 26 (0.4%) 2 : 35 (0.6%) 3 : 51 (0.9%) 4 : 85 (1.5%) 5 : 199 (3.4%) 6 : 808 (13.9%) 7 : 4575 (78.5%)		5827 (89.5%)	684 (10.5%)
Civic Knowledge (ICCS Classification)	1. Bajo nivel D 2. Nivel D 3. Nivel C 4. Nivel B 5. Nivel A	253 (4.0%) 1038 (16.5%) 1805 (28.6%) 1831 (29.0%) 1378 (21.9%)		6305 (96.8%)	206 (3.2%)
Openness to Classroom Discussion Index	Mean (sd) : 0 (0.9) min ≤ med ≤ max: -3 ≤ 0.1 ≤ 2.7 IQR (CV) : 1.2 (-7807.1)	991 distinct values		6036 (92.7%)	475 (7.3%)
School-Level Average Openness to Discussion	Mean (sd) : 0 (0.3) min ≤ med ≤ max: -0.8 ≤ 0 ≤ 1.3 IQR (CV) : 0.4 (-535.1)	233 distinct values		6511 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Proportion of People Identifying with an Ethnic Group	Mean (sd) : 0 (0) min ≤ med ≤ max: 0 ≤ 0 ≤ 0.2 IQR (CV) : 0 (0.9)	50 distinct values		6490 (99.7%)	21 (0.3%)
Proportion of Immigrants	Mean (sd) : 0 (0) min ≤ med ≤ max: 0 ≤ 0 ≤ 0.1 IQR (CV) : 0 (2.1)	14 distinct values		6490 (99.7%)	21 (0.3%)
Average Years of Schooling	Mean (sd) : 8.6 (0.6) min ≤ med ≤ max: 6.9 ≤ 8.7 ≤ 11.2 IQR (CV) : 0.9 (0.1)	250 distinct values		6490 (99.7%)	21 (0.3%)

3.3 Analytical Strategy

The methodological approach of this study is quantitative in nature. The hypotheses were pre-registered on the Open Science Framework (OSF) platform, hosted by the Center for Open Science. The pre-registration document can be accessed at the following link. Statistical analyses were conducted using the open-source software R, version 4.0.0.

Given that the sample has a hierarchical structure—students nested within municipalities—multilevel regressions will be estimated to test all hypotheses. Recognizing that students are nested in municipalities allows for the inclusion of variables measured at different levels of analysis (Aguinis et al., 2013). Moreover, using a multilevel regression model makes it possible to isolate individual-level (student) effects from contextual-level (municipality) effects, and to analyze the variance of the outcomes at each level, as well as the proportion of variance explained by the independent variables at each level. Since the structural characteristics of groups are a key factor in explaining differences in student outcomes (Treviño et al., 2018), and because both municipalities and schools may vary in their shared values and norms (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2020), it is necessary to estimate multilevel regression models to determine whether students' attitudes are shaped by individual-level responses or by contextual-level characteristics at the municipal level.

Conceptually, there are theoretical reasons to expect cross-level interaction effects. Therefore, moderation analysis models will also be estimated to determine whether the strength or direction of the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable depends on a third variable (Hayes, 2022).

Thus, after estimating the intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) of the models—and following the steps recommended by Aguinis et al. (2013)—three general types of hypotheses are established for evaluation:

- Direct individual-level effect hypotheses (H1, H2, H3, and H4)
- Moderation hypothesis (H5)
- Direct contextual-level effect hypotheses (H6, H7, and H8)

4

Results

4.1 Descriptives

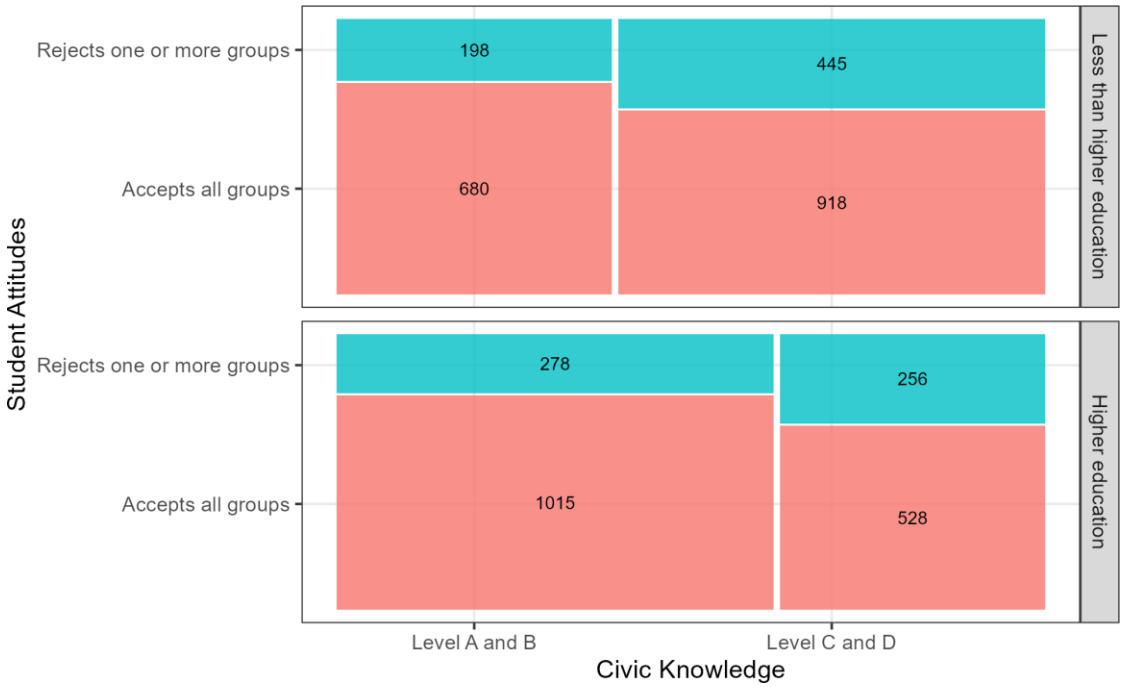


Figure 4.1: Relationship between Students' Attitudes and Civic Knowledge by Parental Education Level

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of students' attitudes according to their level of civic knowledge and their parents' educational attainment. The distribution indicates that while higher levels of civic knowledge (Levels A and B) are associated with a greater proportion of students who accept all social groups, it is important to highlight that most students with high civic knowledge have parents with higher education. The

most notable contrast is that while 445 students (20%) whose parents have less than higher education reject one or more groups, only 256 students (12%) whose parents have higher education do so. Conversely, 680 students (30%) with parents who have less than higher education accept all groups, compared to 1,015 students (49%) whose parents have higher education and who accept all groups.

4.2 Multilevel analysis

Five multilevel regression models were estimated to predict the student diversity acceptance index. Each model included schools (MRBD) as a random effect. The logic behind model inclusion follows the sequence of the hypotheses: Model 1 includes family socioeconomic variables (H1); Model 2 adds parental attitudes (H2); Model 3 incorporates variables related to the school socialization process (H3 and H4); Model 4 adds contextual-level variables related to the municipalities where students live (H6, H7, and H8); and Model 5 includes the interaction between parental attitudes and the school-level average perception of openness to classroom discussion (H5).

The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) of the null model (without predictors) is 0.012, and the explanatory power of Model 4—which includes all independent variables—is weak (R2 = 0.03). The results of this estimation are presented in Table 4.1.

Parental education level variables are not statistically significant, except for the category of secondary education in Models 3 and 4 (β = -0.16, $p < .05$). Regarding the number of books at home, having more than 25 books shows a significant effect only in Models 1 and 2 (β = .10, $p < .05$), but this effect becomes statistically non-significant in the remaining models once other variables are controlled for.

Parental attitudes, measured through the diversity acceptance index, are statistically significant when controlling for other variables, and this relationship remains consistent across the four models in which the variable is included (Model 2 and Model 5: β = .08, $p < .001$; Model 3 and Model 4: β = .07, $p < .001$).

The variables related to the school socialization process are statistically significant at the individual level. Having a civic knowledge level of C (β = .36, $p < .001$), B (β = .54, $p < .001$), or A (β = .62, $p < .001$) is associated with higher levels of diversity acceptance among students compared to those with a civic knowledge level below Level

Table 4.1: Multilevel Regression models

Acceptance of Diversity in the Neighborhood

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	6.50***	5.95***	5.66***	5.95***	5.91***
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.38)	(0.38)
Secondary education *(Ref. Primary)*	-0.11	-0.13	-0.16*	-0.16*	-0.15
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Technical education	-0.06	-0.08	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
University or postgraduate	0.02	0.01	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Don't know / No answer	0.05	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
More than 25 books *(Ref. fewer than 25)*	0.10*	0.10*	0.03	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Parental acceptance of diversity		0.08***	0.07***	0.07***	0.08***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Civic knowledge D *(Ref. Below Level D)*			0.19	0.19	0.18
			(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Civic knowledge C			0.36***	0.36**	0.35**
			(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Civic knowledge B			0.54***	0.54***	0.53***
			(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Civic knowledge A			0.62***	0.62***	0.61***
			(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Openness to classroom discussion			0.07**	0.07**	0.07**
			(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
School-level average openness to discussion			-0.05	-0.05	-1.75***
			(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.47)
Proportion identifying with an ethnic group				0.08	0.08
				(0.08)	(0.08)
Proportion of immigrants				0.29	0.24
				(0.58)	(0.58)
Average years of schooling				-0.04	-0.04
				(0.04)	(0.04)
Parental acceptance * School-level openness					0.26***
					(0.07)
AIC	16839.10	16827.66	16791.25	16802.99	16794.87
BIC	16890.91	16885.95	16888.40	16919.57	16917.92
Log Likelihood	-8411.55	-8404.83	-8380.63	-8383.50	-8378.43
Num. obs.	4801	4801	4801	4801	4801
Num. groups: mrbd	231	231	231	231	231
Var: mrbd (Intercept)	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Var: Residual	1.92	1.92	1.89	1.90	1.89

$***p <$ 0.001, $**p <$ 0.01, $*p <$ 0.05

D, holding all other variables constant. The index measuring perceived openness to classroom discussion is also positively associated with students' acceptance of diversity (β = .07, p < .01), controlling for other variables. At the school level, the average perception of openness to classroom discussion is statistically significant only in Model 5, where it is included as part of the interaction term with parental attitudes (β = -1.76, p < .001).

The territorial variables capturing contextual characteristics of the municipality—namely, the proportion of people who identify with an ethnic group, the proportion of immigrants, and the average level of educational attainment—do not show a statistically significant association with students' attitudes.

Finally, cross-level interaction effects were estimated. These effects make it possible to evaluate whether contextual characteristics—specifically, the school-level average perception of openness to classroom discussion—moderate the effect of parental attitudes[1]. Model 5 shows a positive interaction (β = .26, p < .001) between the school-level average perception of openness to discussion and parental attitudes.

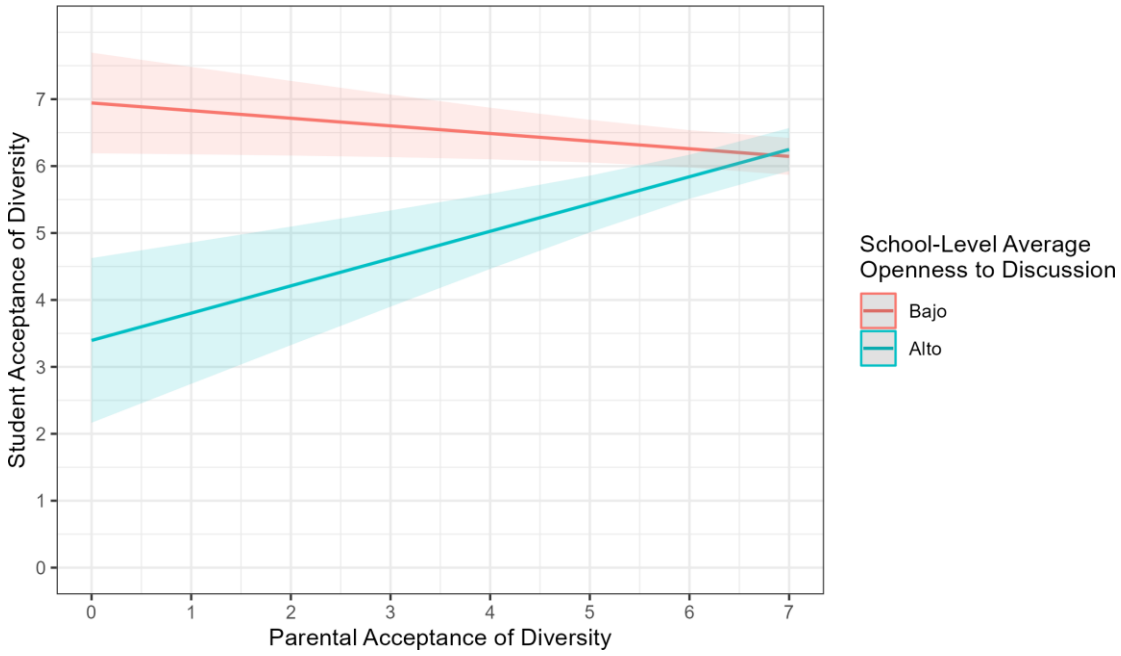


Figure 4.2: Relationship between Students' and Parents' Attitudes, Moderated by the School-Level Average Perception of Openness to Classroom Discussion

Figure 4.2 illustrates the interaction effect between students' and parents' attitudes, moderated by the school-level average perception of openness to classroom discussion.

[1]For the remaining interaction effects of school-level contextual variables on the family socialization process, see Table 7.2 in Appendix 2.

The relationship shows that in schools with a low perceived openness to discussion, the association between students' and parents' attitudes is negative. In contrast, in schools with a high perception of openness to discussion, students' attitudes are positively associated with those of their parents. This suggests that in school environments that foster open discussion and debate, it is possible to improve the attitudes of students whose parents show low levels of acceptance of diversity.

5

Discussion

The results are consistent with some of the hypotheses proposed. First, regarding the family socialization process, the findings do not support Hypothesis 1 concerning the relationship between family socioeconomic resources and greater acceptance of diversity in students' neighborhoods. On the contrary, the only statistically significant result among the socioeconomic variables indicates that students whose parents have completed secondary education are less likely to accept diversity in their neighborhood compared to those whose parents have only primary education. With respect to parental attitudes, the results support the proposed hypothesis (H2): students from families in which parents express higher acceptance of different social groups living in their neighborhoods also tend to exhibit greater acceptance of diversity in their own neighborhoods.

Second, the results support the hypotheses related to the school socialization process. Students with medium or high levels of civic knowledge show greater acceptance of diversity in their neighborhoods compared to those with low civic knowledge, which is consistent with Hypothesis 3. Regarding the index of perceived openness to classroom discussion, the findings indicate that students who perceive a greater openness to discussion and debate in the classroom also demonstrate higher levels of acceptance of diversity—thus supporting Hypothesis 4. As for Hypothesis 5—whether the school can mitigate or strengthen the effects of the family socialization process—the results suggest that only the index of perceived openness to classroom discussion moderates the relationship between parental and student attitudes. Although the initial descriptive analysis showed that most students with high civic knowledge came from families where parents had completed higher education, the multilevel interaction analysis does not confirm a statistically significant relationship between these variables.

Third, the results of the multilevel model estimations do not support the hypotheses related to the characteristics of the municipalities where students reside. Specifically, the proportion of people who identify with an ethnic group (H6), the proportion of immigrants (H7), and the average level of educational attainment in the municipality (H8) do not appear to influence the political socialization of students' attitudes.

6

Conclusions

This study aimed to assess the extent to which socialization processes influence Chilean students' attitudes toward social diversity. Specifically, it examined whether family and school socialization processes, along with certain territorial characteristics, affect students' attitudes. Overall, the findings highlight the role of intergenerational transmission of attitudes within the family socialization process, as well as the importance of civic knowledge and perceived openness to classroom discussion within the school socialization process.

According to the literature, families' socioeconomic characteristics play a central role in shaping students' development. However, the findings of this study do not align with that assumption. Instead, it is parental attitudes that influence students' own attitudes. This supports the hypothesis of the intergenerational transmission of political inequality, whereby only students with more tolerant parents are likely to develop tolerant attitudes through the family socialization process. This presents significant challenges for the subsequent process of school socialization, as it becomes the responsibility of schools to equitably foster tolerance among all students.

In the school socialization process, civic knowledge emerges as a key factor in fostering favorable attitudes toward social diversity among students. This highlights the importance of promoting pluralism and tolerance as shared societal values within the school curriculum. The transmission of tolerant attitudes through the curriculum underscores the critical role of the Citizenship Education Law No. 20.911, which aims to foster students' appreciation of the country's social and cultural diversity, as well as tolerance and pluralism. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that most students with high levels of civic knowledge come from families where parents have completed higher education—raising further concerns about inequality within the Chilean educational system.

Similarly, students' perceptions of openness to classroom discussion also influence their attitudes, underscoring the importance of everyday spaces for interaction, dialogue, and debate within schools. However, it is only in schools with a high perceived

openness to discussion that the relationship between parental and student attitudes is strengthened. This broadly suggests that if civic attitudes are not practiced on a daily basis—by focusing solely on the formal curriculum while neglecting students' everyday experiences of school life—there is a risk of promoting knowledge that feels disconnected from students' lived realities. Furthermore, this may fail to address the inequalities inherent in the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, as the results show that in schools lacking a supportive environment for discussion and debate, it is more difficult to improve the attitudes of students whose parents show low levels of acceptance of diversity.

One of the main limitations of this study is the low variance observed in the tolerance variables for each of the social groups analyzed (prior to the construction of the index), which prevents a more detailed analysis of the dimensionality of the dependent variable. Additionally, the lack of data identifying the specific neighborhoods or census units in which students reside limits the findings, as the absence of significant effects from territorial variables may be due to the use of municipal-level aggregations that do not adequately capture the actual contextual influences of students' living environments.

Finally, just as classroom discussion and debate influence students' attitudes, it would be valuable to explore whether participation in out-of-school spaces—such as neighborhoods and local communities—can also shape tolerance and acceptance of diversity. Moving beyond the School as the sole agent of civic formation and identifying other factors that may influence the socialization of attitudes represents an important agenda for future research.

In summary, the results provide additional evidence regarding the factors and conditions that have the potential to help schools and teachers promote tolerance. Therefore, schools continue to play a fundamental role in the socialization of new generations, and the focus must be on ensuring that these mechanisms are embedded across the entire educational system. In doing so, it will be possible to build a more inclusive, respectful, and equitable society—one that accepts and values people for who they are, both inside and outside of school, regardless of their national, cultural, ethnic, religious, or class differences.

Appendix 6

7.0.1 Appendix 1

Table 7.1: Exploratory factor analysis

item	ML2	ML1	Communality	Uniquenes
Los profesores estimulan a los estudiantes a conversar los temas con gente que opina distinto	0.712		0.591	0.409
Los profesores exponen los temas desde los distintos enfoques al explicarlos en clases	0.642		0.513	0.487
Los estudiantes plantean hechos políticos de actualidad para ser discutidos en clases	0.589		0.384	0.616
Los estudiantes expresan sus opiniones en clases, aun cuando sean distintas a las de los demás	0.582	0.323	0.443	0.557
Los profesores estimulan a los estudiantes a expresar sus opiniones		0.95	0.995	0.005
Los profesores estimulan a los estudiantes a formar sus propias opiniones	0.464	0.543	0.51	0.49
SS loadings	1.913	1.523	-	-
Proportion Var	0.319	0.254	-	-

7.0.2 Appendix 2

Table 7.2: Cross-Level Interactions

Acceptance of Diversity in the Neighborhood

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	5.95***	5.59***	5.91***	6.20***
	(0.38)	(0.55)	(0.38)	(0.45)
Secondary education *(Ref. Primary)*	-0.16*	-0.16*	-0.15	-0.51
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.32)
Technical education	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.41)
University or postgraduate	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.78
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.47)
Don't know / No answer	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.33
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.33)
More than 25 books *(Ref. fewer than 25)*	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Parental acceptance of diversity	0.07***	0.13*	0.08***	0.08***
	(0.02)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Civic knowledge D *(Ref. Below Level D)*	0.19	0.72	0.18	-0.20
	(0.12)	(0.53)	(0.12)	(0.30)
Civic knowledge C	0.36**	0.63	0.35**	0.00
	(0.11)	(0.49)	(0.11)	(0.29)
Civic knowledge B	0.54***	1.03*	0.53***	0.44
	(0.11)	(0.50)	(0.11)	(0.31)
Civic knowledge A	0.62***	0.92	0.61***	0.41
	(0.11)	(0.56)	(0.11)	(0.35)
Openness to classroom discussion	0.07**	0.07**	0.07**	0.07**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
School-level average openness to discussion	-0.05	-0.05	-1.75***	-0.06
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.47)	(0.08)
Proportion identifying with an ethnic group	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Proportion of immigrants	0.29	0.28	0.24	0.27
	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)
Average years of schooling	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Parental acceptance * Civic knowledge D		-0.08		
		(0.08)		
Parental acceptance * Civic knowledge C		-0.04		
		(0.07)		
Parental acceptance * Civic knowledge B		-0.08		
		(0.07)		
Parental acceptance * Civic knowledge A		-0.05		
		(0.08)		
Parental acceptance * School-level openness			0.26***	
			(0.07)	
Secondary education * Civic knowledge D				0.45
				(0.36)
Technical education * Civic knowledge D				0.14
				(0.45)
University education * Civic knowledge D				0.93
				(0.51)
Don't know / No answer * Civic knowledge D				0.45
				(0.37)
Secondary education * Civic knowledge C				0.44
				(0.35)
Technical education * Civic knowledge C				-0.00
				(0.44)
University education * Civic knowledge C				0.71
				(0.49)
Don't know / No answer * Civic knowledge C				0.49
				(0.36)
Secondary education * Civic knowledge B				0.19
				(0.36)
Technical education * Civic knowledge B				-0.12
				(0.45)
University education * Civic knowledge B				0.49
				(0.50)
Don't know / No answer * Civic knowledge B				0.07
				(0.37)
Secondary education * Civic knowledge A				0.26
				(0.40)
Technical education * Civic knowledge A				-0.08
				(0.48)
University education * Civic knowledge A				0.67
				(0.53)
Don't know / No answer * Civic knowledge A				0.23
				(0.41)
AIC	16802.99	16825.19	16794.87	16846.98
BIC	16919.57	16967.67	16917.92	17067.19
Log Likelihood	-8383.50	-8390.59	-8378.43	-8389.49
Num. obs.	4801	4801	4801	4801
Num. groups: mrbd	231	231	231	231
Var: mrbd (Intercept)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Var: Residual	1.90	1.90	1.89	1.90

$***p < 0.001, $**p < 0.01, $*p < 0.05

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