This is an electronic reprint of the original article. This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.

The Role of Political Engagement of Parents in Reducing the Gender Gap in Political Self-Efficacy

Elina, Kestilä-Kekkonen; Sipinen, Josefina; Rapeli, Lauri; Vadén, Salla

Published in:
European Journal of Politics and Gender

DOI:
10.1332/25151088Y2023D000000005

Published: 01/01/2023

Document Version
Accepted author manuscript

Document License
Publisher rights policy

Link to publication

Please cite the original version:
Elina, K.-K., Sipinen, J., Rapeli, L., & Vadén, S. (2023). The Role of Political Engagement of Parents in Reducing the Gender Gap in Political Self-Efficacy. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*. https://doi.org/10.1332/25151088Y2023D000000005

General rights
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

This document is downloaded from the Research Information Portal of ÅAU: 03. May. 2024

The Role of Political Engagement of Parents in Reducing the Gender Gap in Political Self-Efficacy

Forthcoming in *European Journal of Politics and Gender*
Accepted for publication, on the 6th of September 2023.

Elina Kestilä-Kekkonen, Tampere University, Finland, elina.kestila-kekkonen@tuni.fi
Josefina Sipinen, Tampere University, Finland, josefina.sipinen@tuni.fi
Lauri Rapeli, Åbo Akademi University, Finland, lauri.rapeli@abo.fi
Salla Vadén, Tampere University, Finland, salla.vaden@tuni.fi

Abstract. Compared with European men, the political self-efficacy of European women is significantly lower: in all European countries, women are generally more pessimistic about their abilities to understand, influence or participate in politics. Yet, we know surprisingly little about how political self-efficacy develops in general and about what explains the gender gap in particular. In this paper, we set out to explore to what extent the political self-efficacy is strengthened or weakened through observing parents' political engagement and to what extent this is gender-based. We will investigate this impact both overall and by gender, specifically examining the separate influences of the mother and the father, and their respective roles in shaping the political self-efficacy of women and men. Our findings suggest that maternal influence exceeds that of the father. While experiences of both an engaged mother and an engaged father increase the likelihood of high levels of political self-efficacy, we find that the experience of a politically engaged mother, in particular, reduces the likelihood of low levels of political self-efficacy in adulthood.

Introduction

Compared with European men, the political self-efficacy of European women is significantly lower: in all European countries, women are generally more pessimistic about their abilities to participate in politics (Hoskins et al. 2023). The gap exists even in the Nordic countries despite their achievements in gender equality and their strong political representation of women at all administrative levels. The finding also remains independent of income, education level or participation in the workforce (Gidengil et al., 2008) and has several consequences for different types of political behaviour (e.g. attitudes towards civic engagement, interest in politics, electoral participation and involvement in public affairs) (Cohen et al., 2001; Jung et al., 2011; Valentino et al., 2009).

Approximately half of the gender gap is attributed to structural factors, including inequalities in women's resources and their representation in politics, while the remaining portion is influenced by women's perception of their place in politics (Burns et al., 2001). In Finland, women have enjoyed equal political rights and opportunities since 1906, being the first in Europe to gain the right to vote and the right to stand as candidates. Currently, Finland ranks sixth globally in terms of the proportion of women representatives in parliament (Parliament of Finland, 2020). However, these achievements have not fully resolved the persistent inequalities in political decision-making. Men continue to dominate political leadership, and certain areas of politics are viewed as more suitable for men than women. A recent study on Finnish parliamentary elections revealed that over 40 percent of candidates and voters believed that men are better suited to make decisions in security politics (von Schoultz et al., 2020).

While political scientists have widely recognised the significance of political self-efficacy, it is more often seen as an explanatory variable, rather than a variable that needs explaining (e.g. Bedock and Pilet, 2021; Birch, 2010; Karp and Banducci, 2008).This is arguably true even when it comes to the field of political socialisation, which has traditionally emphasised the transmission of party identification or ideological leaning (Jennings et al. 2009; Dinas, 2014). By looking at political self-efficacy, we take a step back and examine what is, psychologically, perhaps the most fundamental driver of political behaviour. Political self-efficacy emanates from the (socio)psychological construct of 'self-efficacy', which is a crucial component in explaining human behaviour: we tend to do things that we believe we can do (see e.g. Maddux and Kleiman, 2021). From the perspective of human psychology, if we want to understand political behaviour, we need to understand an individual's sense of (political) self-efficacy.

Yet, we know surprisingly little about how political self-efficacy develops in general and about what explains the gender gap in particular (see, e.g. Thomas, 2012). Often, we must rely on other indicators of political engagement in our hypotheses. It has been argued, for instance, that variation in political participation and political interest, for instance, is partly genetic (see, e.g. Klemmensen et al., 2012a; Klemmensen et al., 2012b; Mondak et al., 2010). Children may inherit their parents' prosocial personality traits, which further encourages them to engage in political action (Fowler, 2008). Similarly, children may inherit their parents' self-confidence. Self-confidence, according to Wolak (2020), is a significant resource that encourages psychological engagement with politics (i.e. fosters political self-efficacy). However, as to the gender gap in political self-efficacy, both 'nature' and 'nurture' overlap significantly. Besides genetic factors, parents, particularly mothers, serve as crucial role models for women regarding political action, interest and knowledge since norms and practices in politics remain masculine (Bos et al., 2021) and girls and women have few role models in political life, something which they may also experience as distant.

At the general level, political self-efficacy is commonly regarded as an outcome of political socialisation or sociopolitical learning, where children observe their political and social environment and learn from other people's experiences (Bandura 1977b; Beaumont 2011). It has been argued that the impressionable (or formative) years, when the foundation of political attitudes and behaviours is formed, may occur as early as ages 11 to 16 (Arens & Watermann, 2017). Since adolescents typically still reside at home during this age period, parents play a key role in their political socialisation.

Predispositions formed during childhood and adulthood tend to persist, and inadequate political socialisation can contribute to increased instability in political behavior later in life (Jennings et al., 2009; Dinas, 2014). Previously, the dominant theory in the field was the direct transmission theory, which portrayed political attitude and value transmission as a one-way, top-down process where parents' values were transferred to the child while the child played a passive role. However, recent recognition of the child's agency in political socialization has sparked growing interest in understanding the transmission mechanisms within families. Research suggests that children can initiate political discussions, raising their parents' political awareness (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002), and that their perception of their parents' political values significantly influences their adoption of those values (Hatemi & Ojeda, 2021; Ojeda & Hatemi, 2015).

In this paper, we set out to explore *to what extent the political self-efficacy is strengthened or weakened through observing parents' political engagement* and *to what extent this is gender-based.* In other words, we ask to what extent individuals' perceptions of their parents' political engagement, including perceptions of parents' political interest, political activity, political knowledge and encouragement to engage in politics, impact their own political self-efficacy. We will investigate this impact both overall and by gender, specifically examining the separate influences of the mother and the father, and their respective roles in shaping the political self-efficacy of women and men.

Previous research has shown that children's perceptions of their parents have a mediating role in the transmission of parental political attitudes and activity, suggesting that perceptions might even be more important factors in shaping the children's political attitudes even if these perceptions are inaccurate (Acock and Bengtson, 1980; Westholm, 1999). It is, after all, only what an individual perceives as reality that shapes the individual's understanding, even if it conflicts with actual events. The attitudes or behaviour of other people only become meaningful as they are perceived and defined by other individuals (Acock and Bengtson, 1980). By employing a sports analogy, we believe that for the development of political self-efficacy, it is not essential for children to know which specific "team" their parents supported. Rather, what matters is whether the parents demonstrated a genuine interest and engagement in the game, namely the political process itself.

Our empirical analysis is based on a survey conducted among randomly sampled Finnish adults in 2020. Our findings suggest that maternal influence exceeds that of the father. While experiences of both an engaged mother and an engaged father increase the likelihood of high levels of political self-efficacy, we find that the experience of a politically engaged mother, in particular, reduces the likelihood of low levels of political self-efficacy in adulthood.

Developing political self-efficacy in families

The development of political self-efficacy can be studied from three perspectives (Beaumont, 2011). Firstly, social status plays a role by providing different material resources for political participation and access to information. Secondly, civic resources obtained through family, organisations and education can help bridge the gaps in political self-efficacy caused by social status. Lastly, political competence may develop through sociopolitical learning, which stresses the impact of one's environment and social relationships, which both help to identify others 'like us' who are acting politically and make acquiring political skills meaningful. Thus, political self-efficacy may also develop outside formal education, in informal networks like workplaces, civic groups and families. However, while we recognise that sociopolitical learning extends beyond the family, it is important to note that adolescents have fewer opportunities to acquire civic skills through direct engagement in formal politics. A significant portion of the development of political interest, for instance, occurs at an early age and is heavily influenced by the family (Neundorf et al. 2013).

The seminal theory of Bandura (1977a; 1977b) suggests that social learning is based on continuous reciprocal interaction of personal and environmental determinants and on observing other people's behaviour and its consequences. Observational learning, or *modelling*, involves individuals acquiring new behaviour by observing others and using the information as a guide for their own actions in future situations. Modelling may occur in everyday situations through direct observation of physical demonstrations of behaviour, through verbal modelling, or symbolic modelling through visual media. Association with observed individuals plays a crucial role in selecting behavioural patterns, making them more memorable. Therefore, besides directly engaging in political activities and political discussion, children may benefit from sociopolitical lessons indirectly learned from their parents by modelling parents' behaviour and learning from parents' experiences.

Evidently, value transmission in families is not only direct, top-down process from parents to children but more interactive. There has been a growing interest in updating the theory of political socialisation and identifying mechanisms that explain the transmission of attitudes within families. This renewed focus emphasises the child's agency and the interactive nature of parent-child interaction in the socialisation process. Key theoretical mechanisms proposed to influence political socialisation within families include the trickle-up mechanism, perception-adoption approach, and genetic influence (Hatemi et al., 2009; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002).

The trickle-up effect refers to children being capable of influencing family communication patterns that facilitate political learning. As children receive political input from sources outside the family (school, peers, media), parents adapt by enhancing their own civic competence to maintain their leadership role within the family (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002). The perception-adoption model highlights the child's motivation and ability to adopt their parents' attitudes. Children first perceive their parents' political attitudes, whether accurately or inaccurately, and then make choices regarding whether to adopt or reject these attitudes. Successful transmission necessitates interaction, accurate perception of parents' attitudes by the child, and willingness to adopt them (Ojeda & Hatemi, 2015; Hatemi & Ojeda, 2021). Heritability studies have found potential links between extraversion, cognitive ability, and political efficacy (Klemmensen et al. 2012a; Dawes et al. 2014). Political orientations are not solely shaped by environmental factors, such as the familial environment, but rather emerge through a complex interaction between social environment and genetic factors. The influence of genetics appears to become more prominent in early adulthood, as the influence of familial factors begins to diminish (Hatemi et al., 2009).

Filler and Jennings (2015) summarise models theorising the (general) value transmission between parents and their children (see also O'Bryan et al. 2004). *The parent equivalent model* assumes that parental influence on children is roughly equal, regardless of the parent's gender, and that transmission of political values is most successful when parents share common perspectives on society. This effect is emphasised in highly politicised families where the parents provide constant cues to their children (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Tedin, 1980).

The differential effects model states that mothers and fathers may have influence on different spheres and thus, different attitudes. Furthermore, parents and children seem to transmit values to each other that are salient to them (Roest et al. 2010). On one hand, considering the male-dominated nature of the political space even today, it can be assumed that fathers have a stronger impact on both sons and daughters in this area of life. On the other hand, due to mothers typically spending more time with their children (Statistics Finland 2021) and children generally feeling closer to them (Fallon & Bowles 1997), this dynamic is likely to reinforce the reciprocal process of political socialization between mothers and children, especially through the trickle-up effect. Moreover, mothers may have a greater likelihood of shaping their children's attitudes compared to fathers due to their tendency to employ conversational communication styles, which have been linked to increased levels of political similarity among family members (Schulman and DeAndrea, 2014). Studies have recognised, for instance, a strong role of the mother in transmitting the gender ideology on both daughters and sons (Carlson and Knoester 2011).

The same-sex model suggests that societal norms and expectations promote stronger social cohesiveness when parents and their offspring share the same sex (Aldous & Hill 1965). Furthermore, adolescents often identify with and spend more time with their same-sex parents (Starrels 1992). This aligns with Bandura's concept of modelling (1977a; 1977b) where observation and association play a crucial role. Observers pay close attention to the behavior of their close associates, such as parents, gaining a deeper understanding of their behavioral patterns. Within the family, parents can subtly reinforce or challenge gender stereotypes in politics (Mayer and Schmidt, 2004). Thus, a politically active mother can enhance her daughter's belief in the equal potential of women in politics. Interestingly, however, research by Hoyt and Simon (2011) suggests that exposure to outstanding female role models, such as top-level leaders, who are perceived more distant, may deflate self-perceptions and leadership aspirations. In general, however, women's presence in politics tends to diminish negative perceptions about women as political leaders, both among the public and politicians (O'Brien and Piscopo, 2019).

While political self-efficacy increases with age as adolescents encounter political issues in school and feel a growing expectation to participate (Sohl and Arensmaier, 2015), the gender gap in political efficacy, political information behavior, political knowledge, and political interest persists, favouring boys (Arens and Watermann, 2017). Indeed, as proposed by Bos et al. (2021), children perceive politics as a male-dominated sphere from a young age. Simultaneously, they begin to internalise gendered expectations that guide their interests in the professions that fit their gender roles and which often conflict with political leadership roles for girls. Thus, both inside and outside of families, a child's gender socialisation intersects with political socialisation when children observe that politics is for men, and girls (in particular) infer that their political roles conflict with their defined gender roles. This process is likely to be reinforced by women's lower inclination to take risks (Fraile and Miguel Moyer, 2021) and their lower general self-confidence (Wolak, 2020).

Based on the above, we test the following five hypotheses in the empirical analysis:

> H1. *Perceptions of parents' political engagement have an impact on their children's political self-efficacy (H1a) and this impact is cumulative (H1b). (parent equivalent model)*
>
> H2. *Perception of mothers' political engagement has more impact on their children's political self-efficacy than perception of fathers' political engagement. (differential effects model)*
>
> H3. *Perception of fathers' political engagement has more impact on their children's political self-efficacy than perception of mothers' political engagement. (differential effects model)*
>
> H4. *Perception of mothers' political engagement has more impact on their daughters' political efficacy than on their sons' political efficacy. (same-sex model)*
>
> H5. *Perception of fathers' political engagement has more impact on their sons' political efficacy than on their daughters' political efficacy. (same-sex model)*

Data, variables and methods

Data

Our data comes from a survey conducted among randomly sampled Finnish adults (aged 18 years old and older) in 2020. The data was collected through face-to-face interviews conducted by professional interviewers from a survey company (Taloustutkimus plc). It consists of 1097 respondents and is weighted (based on gender, age and place of residence) to match the general Finnish population. After removing observations with missing values, our final sample includes 900 respondents. Demands for social distancing due to the coronavirus pandemic began to affect data collection in the spring of 2020. When a little over a third of the interviews had been completed through face-to-face interviews in the homes of the respondents, the survey company had to start arranging video interviews and conducting interviews in other locations besides the respondents' homes. However, the remaining two-thirds of the interviews were also conducted under similar, interviewer-controlled circumstances to those of the initial one-third of the sample. According to the field reports of the survey company, the variation in the mode of the interviews did not affect the sociodemographic composition of the sample.

The dependent variable

The dependent variable *political self-efficacy* is measured with a proposition: 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics'. The response categories were, 1 'I fully disagree', 2 'I somewhat disagree', 3 'I somewhat agree' and 4 'I fully agree'. The respondents were also allowed to select an alternative 'I can't say' category, which is coded as *missing*.

Independent variables

Our key predictor, the political engagement of parents, is based on the respondents' evaluations of their parents' political interest, political knowledge and political activity, as well as the parents' efforts to educate their children about politics and the extent to which the parents encourage their children to discuss politics. The respondents were presented the following question and propositions, and they were asked to evaluate their mother and father separately:

> 'When you think of your youth, what is your opinion of the following propositions?':

- My mother/father was interested in political and societal issues. *(Political interest)*
- My mother/father was well aware of political and societal issues. *(Political knowledge)*
- My mother/father was active in political or societal organisations. *(Political activity)*
- My mother/father tried to make me aware of world affairs. *(Political education)*
- My mother/father encouraged me to discuss political and societal issues. *(Encouragement to discuss politics)*

The respondents used a similar 4-point Likert scale as that described above. Principal component analysis showed high factor loadings and Cronbach's alpha confirms the internal consistency of the variables (see Table A1 in the appendix). Hence, the ordinal values were summed up to form two separate indices that measure *the mother's and father's political engagement*. These indices have been coded to vary between 0 and 1.

Based on the above-described separate indices, we also code a variable for *cumulative parental political engagement*. We do this by coding the political engagement of the mother and father as *high* if it is above or equal to 0.5 for both parents and *low* if it is below this value. Then, we code the respondents into four categories as follows: 1 'Both parents were engaged in politics', 2 'Only the mother was engaged in politics', 3 'Only the father was engaged in politics' and 4 'Neither parent was engaged in politics'.

We limit our analysis to respondents who reported their perceptions of both their parents' (of the opposite sex) political engagement. In our sample, 92 percent of the respondents reported having grown up with both a mother and a father, while 7 percent of the respondents stated that they had only a mother in their upbringing. The limited number of respondents in single-parent households means that studying this group in more detail is not possible with our data. It is important to acknowledge that the data collection was conducted in Finnish, which means that the respondents primarily represent the (white) Finnish-speaking majority. As such, this sample does not capture the experiences of ethnic and language minorities within the population.

It should be emphasised that our measurement reflects the respondents' *perceptions* of their parents' political engagement during their youth, which may or may not accurately represent their parents' actual engagement. Among elder respondents, the word *perception* may be even more appropriate given that much time has passed since their youth and their memories of their parents' political engagement may have blurred during the years. Thereby, a clear limitation of the data is endogeneity, meaning that politically active respondents are more likely to recall political exposure from their parents.

Control variables

We control for the impact of school and peers as agents of political socialisation. To measure *school encouragement to engage in political activity,* the respondents were asked to think of their school time and respond to seven items related to their school climate and teacher characteristics. These items load into a single component and have high internal consistency, as shown in Table A2 in the Appendix. The responses were combined into an index by summing up the raw scores and then setting them to vary between 0 and 1.

Peer discussion about politics was assessed by asking the respondents how often they discussed political and societal issues with friends outside of school. On a 4-point Likert scale (1 'Never or seldom', 2 'At least once a month', 3 'At least once a week', 4 'Daily or nearly daily'), the value 1 was coded as 0 (non-active peer discussion) and values 2–4 were coded as 1 (active peer discussion). *Media exposure to politics* was measured by asking respondents to indicate how often they read newspapers or watched TV for information on domestic and international news outside of school hours. The same 4-point scale used for peer discussions was applied to these items. The responses were totalled and coded into five categories, with a value of 1 representing minimal exposure and a value of 5 indicating daily exposure to politics through media.

We also control for *gender* as a binary variable, *age* as a categorical variable and the level of *education*. Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the variables in the regression models.

	All	**Women**	**Men**
Categorical variables (%)			
Political self-efficacy ('I am confident in my ability to participate in politics')			
Fully disagree	5.5%	6.0%	5.1%
Somewhat disagree	19.0%	22.5%	15.2%
Somewhat agree	50.9%	52.0%	49.8%
Fully agree	24.6%	19.5%	30.0%
Parental political engagement			
Neither engaged in politics	37.8%	34.7%	41.2%
Only the father	20.9%	24.0%	17.6%
Only the mother	5.9%	6.9%	4.8%
Both engaged in politics	35.4%	34.5%	36.4%
Active peer discussion about politics (ref. non-active)	61.2%	57.2%	65.6%
Media exposure to politics			
(1) Very little	14.5%	15.4%	13.5%
(2)	12.0%	15.6%	8.2%
(3)	24.0%	23.9%	24.2%
(4)	16.9%	16.5%	17.3%
(5) Daily	32.7%	28.7%	36.9%
Female	51.6%		
Age			
18–29	21.5%	25.2%	17.6%
30–39	16.6%	14.3%	19.2%
40–49	16.6%	16.7%	16.4%
50–59	13.6%	13.8%	13.3%
60–69	19.8%	18.5%	21.1%
70–	12.0%	11.6%	12.4%
Education			
Primary	5.3%	3.9%	6.7%
Secondary	67.0%	66.4%	67.6%
Tertiary	27.7%	29.6%	25.7%
Continuous variables (Mean, Std. dev. in parentheses)			
The mother's political engagement	0.45 (0.23)	0.45 (0.23)	0.44 (0.24)
The father's political engagement	0.54 (0.23)	0.55 (0.22)	0.53 (0.23)

School encouragement to engage in politics	0.49 (0.24)	0.50 (0.25)	0.49 (0.23)
n	895	443	452
weighted n	916	472	444

Notes: Descriptive statistics are only presented for the respondents included in the regression models.

In our sample, 80 percent of men and 72 percent of women reported at least some confidence in their ability to participate in politics (Table 1). Both men and women perceived their fathers to be more engaged in politics than their mothers, with women slightly more inclined to view their fathers as more engaged (Table 1; Figure 1). While there were no gender differences in perceived encouragement to engage in politics at school, men reported higher levels of active political discussion with peers and media exposure to politics during their adolescence compared to women.

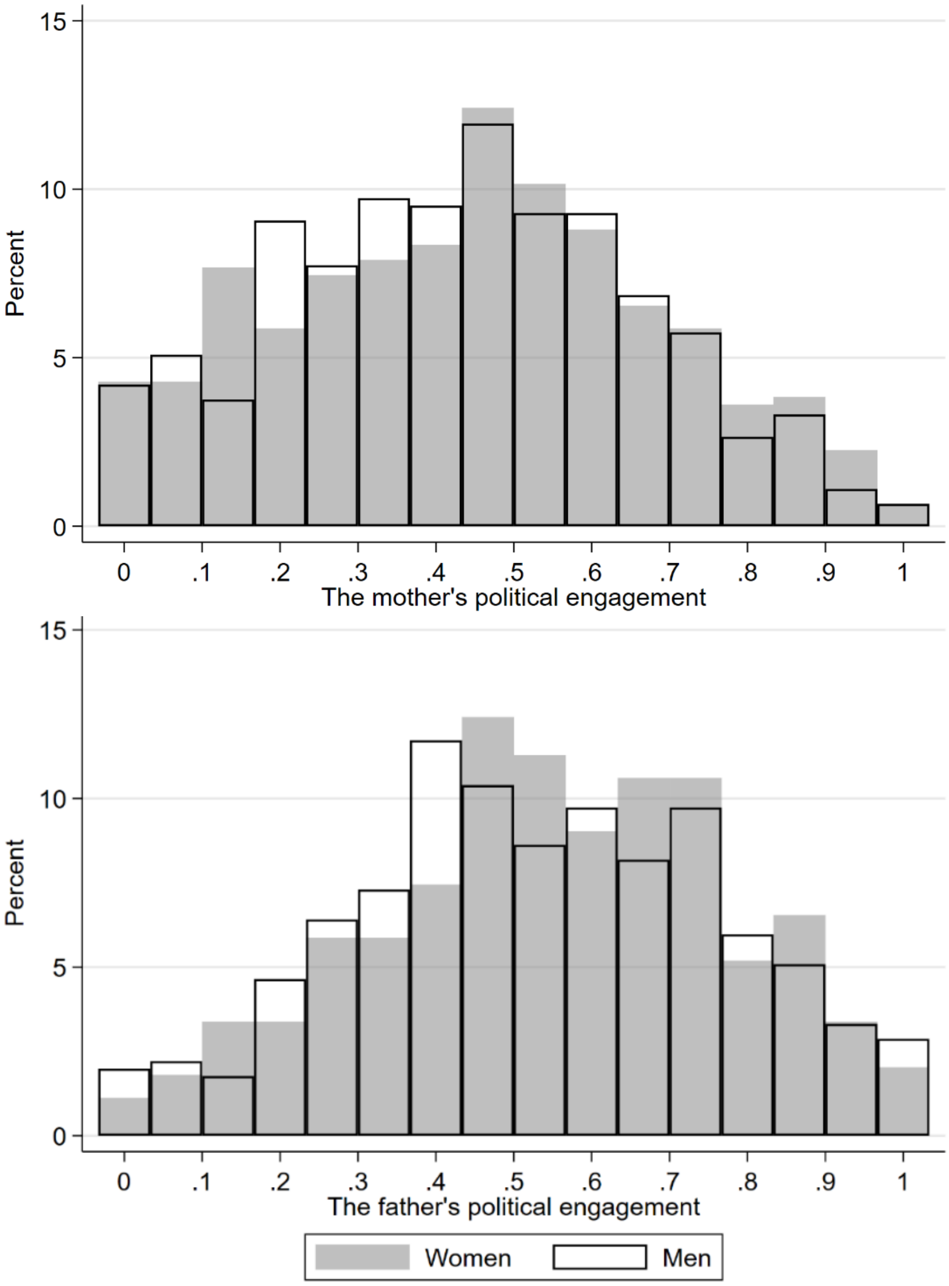


Figure 1. Evaluations of the mother's and the father's political engagement by gender.

Methods

Our dependent variable is ordinal with four categories. Ordinal logistic regression relies on the Proportional Odds (PO) assumption, stating that coefficients for independent variables are consistent across all outcome categories. In other words, each additional level of parental political engagement boosts the odds of moving from category 1 to 2, from 2 to 3, and from 3 to 4 in political self-efficacy equally. However, the Partial Proportional Odds (PPO) model allows varied coefficients when the PO assumption is violated (Williams 2006). Preliminary Brant tests showed such violations, so we employed PPO models. This means the impact of parental engagement can differ between categories. Unlike the PO model's single coefficient, the PPO model looks at each category transition separately, offering a nuanced, more accurate view of variable relationships.

The results

To test our hypotheses, we ran six different models (Table 2). Model 1 includes the cumulative parental political engagement variable with 'neither parent is engaged in politics' as a reference category. The indices measuring the mother's and father's political engagement exhibit a strong positive correlation, as evidenced by a significant Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient ($r(893) = 0.60$, $p < 0.001$). As multicollinearity can inflate the standard errors of these variables when they are included in the same model, we find it useful to include them also separately in Models 2 and 3. Model 2 includes the continuous variable measuring the mother's political engagement but does not include that of the father. Model 3 is the opposite of Model 2 and only includes the father's political engagement variable. Model 4 includes both the mother's and father's political engagement indices. Here we observe that the coefficients for both the mother's and father's political engagement decrease compared to the previous models yet remain statistically significant. Models 5 and 6 test the interaction between gender and parents' political engagement. First, Model 5 tests the interaction of gender of the child and the mother's political engagement, and Model 6 tests the interaction of the father's political engagement with the child's gender. All the models include the control variables.

Positive regression coefficients in Table 2 indicate that higher values on the independent variable make it more likely that the respondent will be in a higher category of Y (political self-efficacy) than the current one, whereas negative coefficients indicate that higher values on the independent variable increase the likelihood of being in the current or a lower category. For the variables where the proportional odds assumption was relaxed, the table displays three coefficients to capture the varying associations between these variables and the different categories of the dependent variable. These coefficients account for the non-uniform effects of the independent variables across the ordinal categories, allowing for a more precise representation of the relationships in the analysis. However, for easier interpretation of the results, we have also converted the coefficients in Table 1 into marginal effects and show the predicted probability of a respondent being in each category of the dependent variable for the different parental political engagement variables in Figures 2–6.

Our results provide support for H1, according to which parents' political engagement is positively correlated with their children's political self-efficacy (H1a) and that the parents' impact is cumulative (H1b). The predicted probability of being in the highest category of the dependent variable, namely reporting that one fully agrees with statement 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics' is 0.17 among the respondents who perceive neither parent to be politically engaged and 0.29 among the respondents who consider both their mother and father to be politically engaged. Having only the father or only the mother engaged in politics does not statistically significantly increase the probability in comparison with having neither parent engaged. In our sample, having only the mother engaged in politics is associated with a higher level of political self-efficacy (see Figure 2), but only six per cent of the respondents belong to this category (see Table 1), meaning that the low *n* may cause the observed lack of statistical significance. Generally, simultaneously depicting the mother as highly engaged in politics but the father as disengaged from politics is uncommon in our sample.

The results also render some support for H2, which assumes that the mother's political engagement plays a larger role in the development of political self-efficacy in comparison with the father's engagement. In our sample, there is no support for the opposing hypothesis H3, which suggests a greater role of the father. As Table 2 shows, perception of the mother's political engagement has asymmetrical association across the ordinal categories of the dependent variable, being most effective in moving respondents from the lowest category to the second lowest, and also moving them to the second highest category. Figure 3 illustrates that when the mother is perceived to be highly engaged in politics, the probability of being in the lowest category of the political self-efficacy measure is nearly zero. For instance, when the mother's political engagement score is 0.8, the probability of fully disagreeing with the statement "I am confident in my ability to participate in politics" is 1 percent. In contrast, when the father's political engagement score reaches 0.8, the probability of fully disagreeing is 3.8 percent. As Figure 4 illustrates, the probability of being in the second highest category of the dependent variable, which is the most common choice in our sample as indicated in Table 1, remains relatively stable (50.1–52.1%) regardless of the perceived level of the father's political engagement. In contrast, when the mother's political engagement score increases from the minimum to maximum, the probability of being in the lowest category of political self-efficacy increases significantly from 44.6 to 56.1 percent (Figure 3).

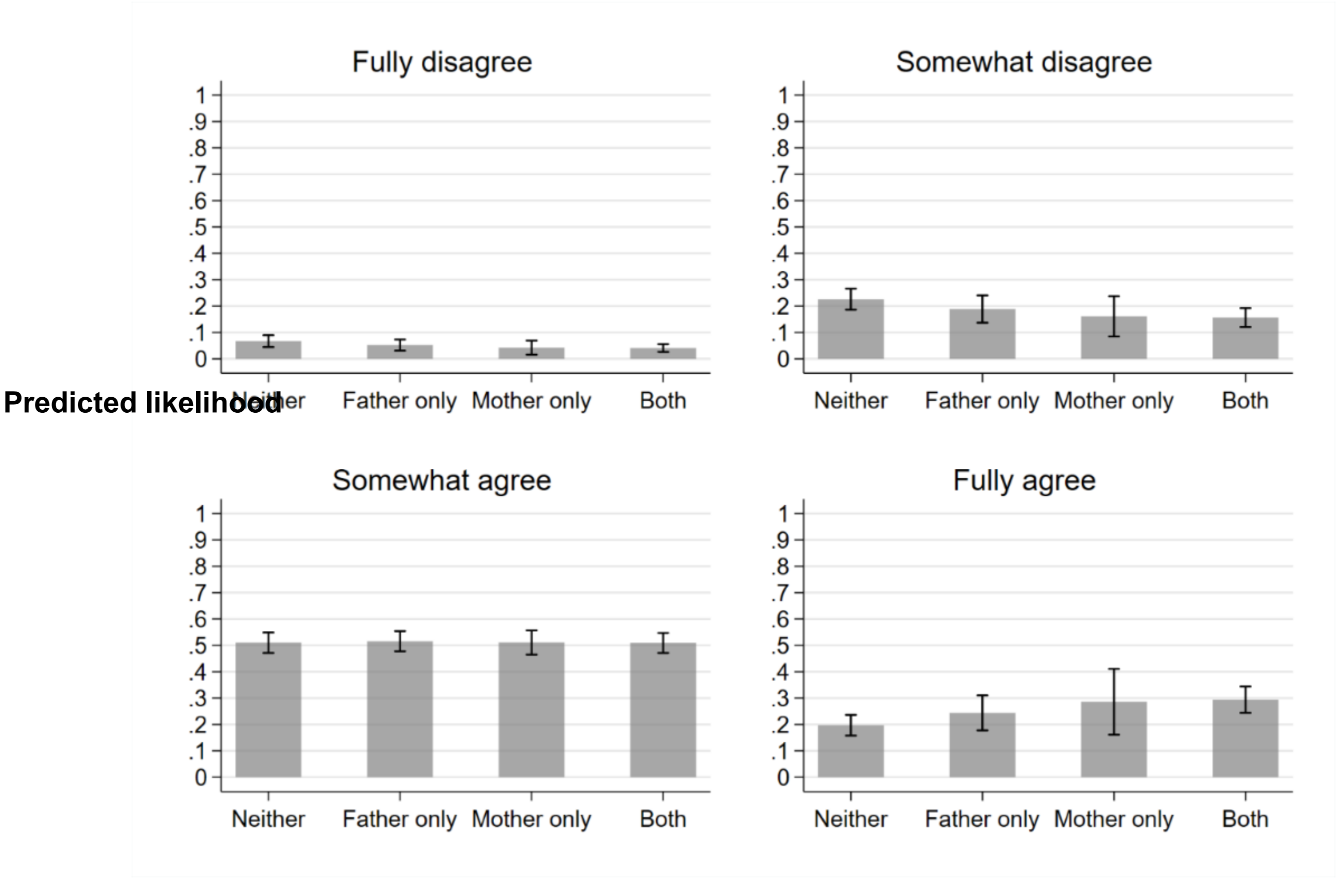
H4 and H5, which propose a gendered effect of same-sex parents, are not supported by our data. Table 2 demonstrates that the interaction terms in Models 5 and 6 do not reach statistical significance. Furthermore, Figures 5 and 6 visually depict that both male and female respondents' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' political engagement are similarly associated with the likelihood of belonging to each category of the dependent variable.

Table 2. Partial proportional odds models predicting political self-efficacy.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Parental engagement (ref. Neither)						
Father only	0.29					
	(0.22)					
Mother only	0.52					
	(0.34)					
Both	**0.56****					
	(0.18)					
The mother's political engagement						
Y > 1 'Fully disagree'		**4.07*****		**3.53*****	**3.60*****	**3.81*****
		(0.99)		**(1.00)**	**(1.08)**	**(0.93)**
Y > 2 'Somewhat disagree'		**2.02*****		**1.48****	**1.56***	**1.60****
		(0.43)		**(0.50)**	**(0.61)**	**(0.50)**
Y > 3 'Somewhat agree'		**1.22****		0.69	0.76	0.57
		(0.40)		(0.48)	(0.55)	(0.49)
The father's political engagement			**1.65*****	**1.00***	**0.99***	0.84
			(0.36)	**(0.44)**	**(0.44)**	(0.54)
Interaction: woman * the mother's political engagement					-0.13	
					(0.60)	
Interaction: woman * the father's political engagement						
Y > 1 'Fully disagree'						-1.65
						(1.09)
Y > 2 'Somewhat disagree'						-0.07
						(0.76)
Y > 3 'Somewhat agree'						1.17
						(0.81)
School encouragement to engage in politics	0.68	0.50	0.63	0.47	0.46	0.47
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Active peer discussion about politics *(ref. non-active)*						
Y > 1 'Fully disagree'	**1.09****	**0.80***	**1.00***	0.76	0.76	**0.90***
	(0.40)	**(0.39)**	**(0.40)**	(0.39)	(0.39)	**(0.39)**
Y > 2 'Somewhat disagree'	**0.62****	**0.52***	**0.54***	0.48*	**0.48***	**0.51***
	(0.21)	**(0.21)**	**(0.21)**	(0.21)	**(0.21)**	**(0.20)**
Y > 3 'Somewhat agree'	-0.18	-0.21	-0.25	-0.24	-0.24	-0.27
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Media exposure *(ref. (1) Very little)*						
(2)	-0.08	-0.17	-0.05	-0.16	-0.15	-0.15
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
(3)	0.27	0.17	0.25	0.16	0.16	0.15
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)
(4)	0.02	-0.07	-0.07	-0.12	-0.12	-0.14
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)
(5) Daily	0.33	0.23	0.28	0.20	0.20	0.18
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Woman (ref. Man)	**-0.43****	**-0.44****	**-0.45****	**-0.46****	-0.40	0.69

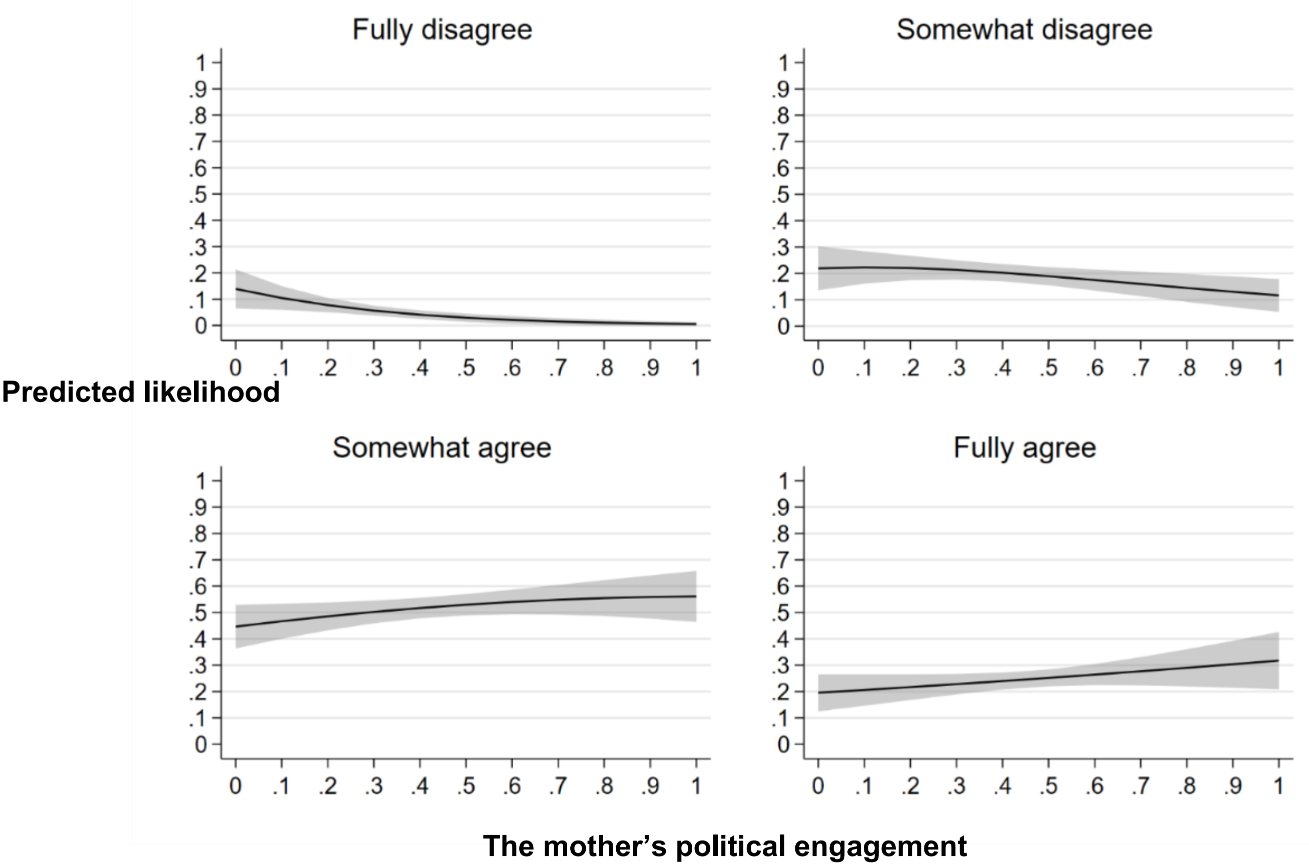
	(0.15)	**(0.15)**	**(0.15)**	**(0.15)**	(0.29)	(0.64)
Age *(ref. 18–29)*						
30–39						
Y > 1 ‘Fully disagree’	**2.29***	**2.40***	**2.31***	**2.44***	**2.43***	**2.38***
	(1.05)	**(1.04)**	**(1.06)**	**(1.04)**	**(1.04)**	**(1.04)**
Y > 2 ‘Somewhat disagree’	0.25	0.19	0.28	0.23	0.22	0.21
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Y > 3 ‘Somewhat agree’	**0.74****	**0.70***	**0.77****	**0.74****	**0.73****	**0.75****
	(0.29)	**(0.28)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.28)**
40–49	**0.59***	**0.61***	**0.58***	**0.61***	**0.61***	**0.60***
	(0.28)	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**
50–59	**0.89****	**0.87****	**0.90****	**0.89****	**0.89****	**0.89****
	(0.28)	**(0.27)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.28)**
60–69						
Y > 1 ‘Fully disagree’	0.07	**0.99*****	0.04	**0.98*****	**0.97*****	**0.98*****
	(0.45)	**(0.26)**	(0.46)	**(0.26)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**
Y > 2 ‘Somewhat disagree’	**0.95****	**0.99*****	0.94**	**0.98*****	**0.97*****	**0.98*****
	(0.31)	**(0.26)**	(0.32)	**(0.26)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**
Y > 3 ‘Somewhat agree’	**1.03*****	**0.99*****	**1.01*****	**0.98*****	**0.97*****	**0.98*****
	(0.29)	**(0.26)**	**(0.29)**	**(0.26)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.27)**
70–						
Y > 1 ‘Fully disagree’	-0.14	0.46	-0.23	0.39	0.39	0.42
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.43)
Y > 2 ‘Somewhat disagree’	**0.79***	**0.86****	**0.71***	**0.80***	**0.80***	**0.79***
	(0.33)	**(0.32)**	**(0.33)**	**(0.31)**	**(0.31)**	**(0.31)**
Y > 3 ‘Somewhat agree’	**1.61*****	**1.58*****	**1.54*****	**1.53*****	**1.52*****	**1.52*****
	(0.31)	**(0.30)**	**(0.32)**	**(0.31)**	**(0.31)**	**(0.31)**
Education *(ref. Primary)*						
Secondary	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.04
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
Tertiary	0.45	0.43	0.40	0.38	0.38	0.40
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
Constant						
Y > 1 ‘Fully disagree’	**1.41****	0.29	1.02	0.11	0.08	-0.19
	(0.52)	(0.55)	(0.54)	(0.56)	(0.59)	(0.59)
Y > 2 ‘Somewhat disagree’	-0.44	-0.75	-0.85	**-0.94***	**-0.96***	-0.93
	(0.44)	(0.43)	(0.47)	**(0.45)**	**(0.48)**	(0.48)
Y > 3 ‘Somewhat agree’	**-2.59*****	**-2.60*****	**-3.05*****	**-2.81*****	**-2.84*****	**-2.62*****
	(0.44)	**(0.44)**	**(0.48)**	**(0.46)**	**(0.48)**	**(0.49)**
N	895	895	895	895	895	895
AIC	1998.3	1970.5	1978.3	1964.8	1966.7	1964.4
BIC	2132.6	2095.2	2103.0	2094.31	2101.1	2117.9
McFadden	0.068	0.079	0.075	0.083	0.083	0.088

Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$



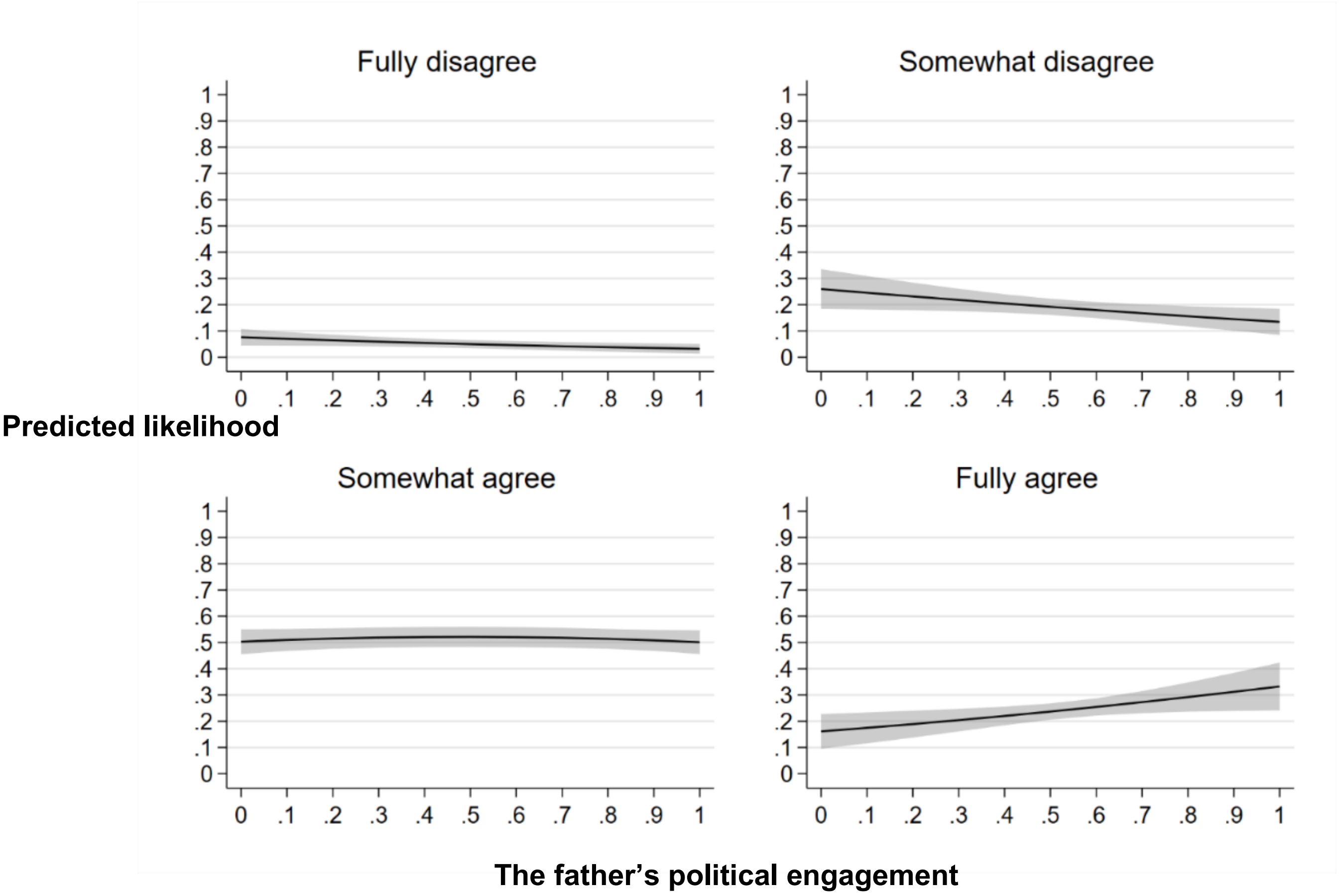
Note: Average predictive margins are based on the estimates in Model 1, shown in Table 2. The line represents the predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 2. The predicted likelihood of (dis)agreeing with the statement 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics', by parents' political engagement.



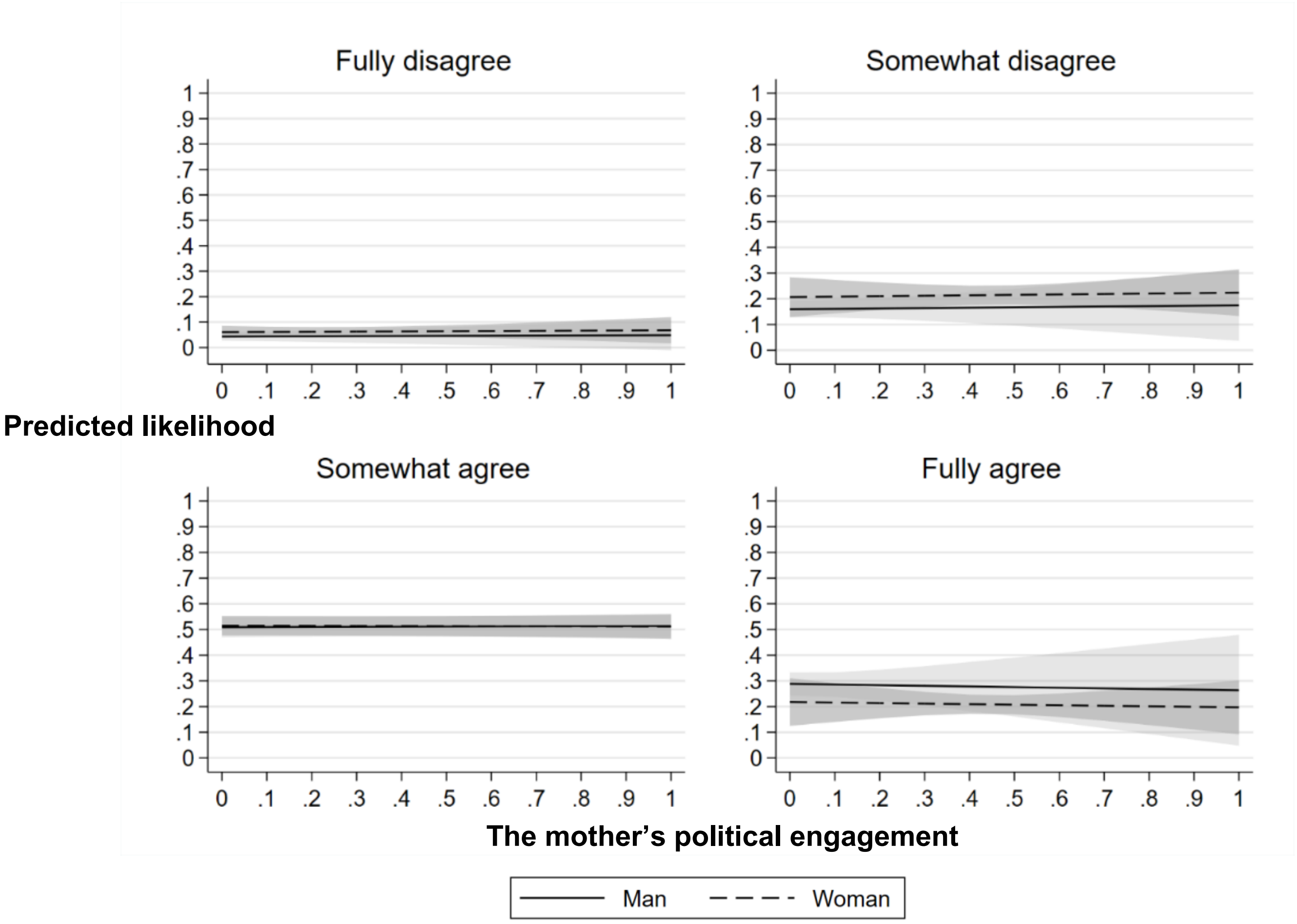
Note: Average predictive margins are based on the estimates in Model 4, shown in Table 2. The line represents the predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 3. The predicted likelihood of (dis)agreeing with the statement 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics', displayed for the mother's political engagement.



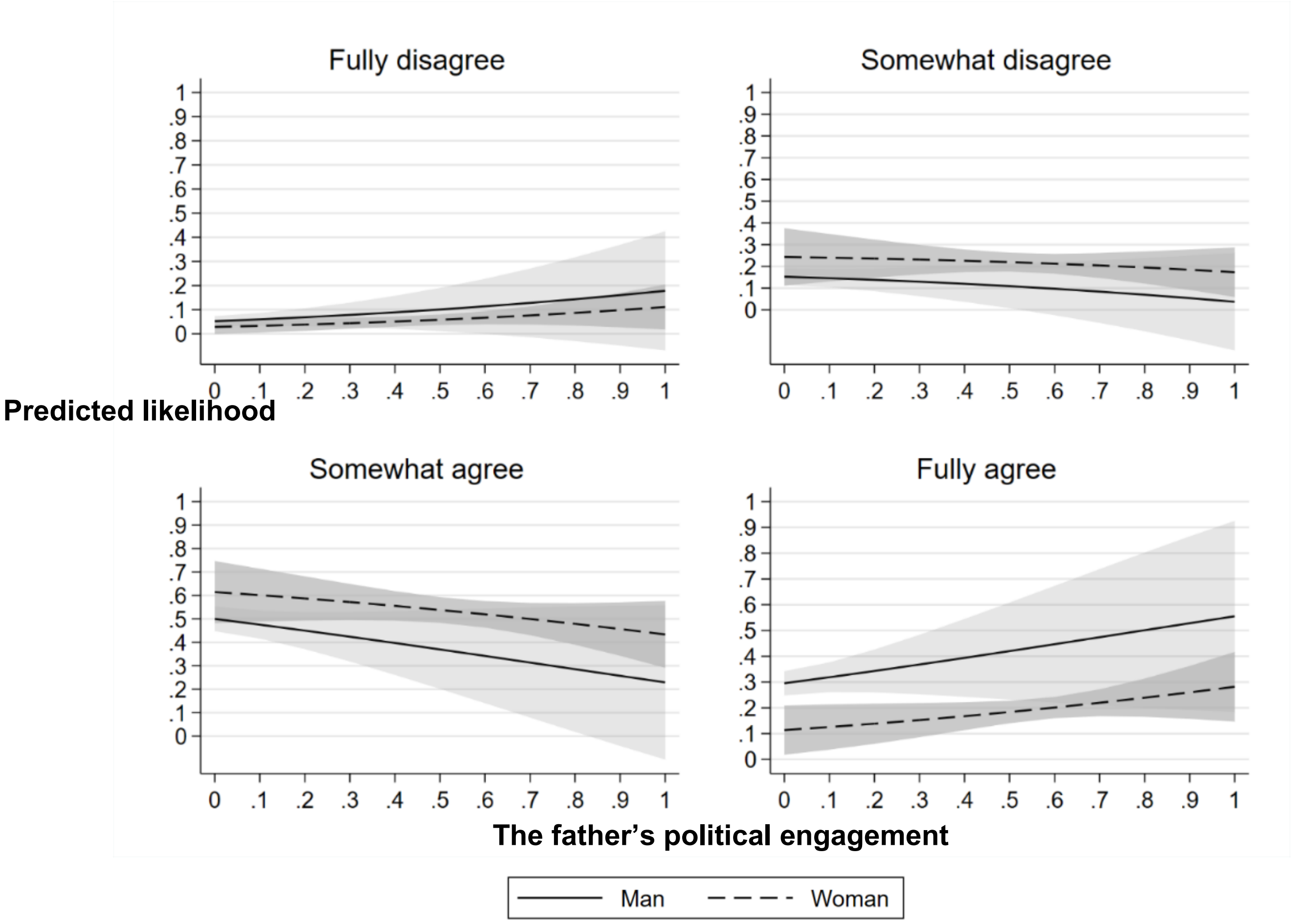
Note: Average predictive margins are based on the estimates in Model 4, shown in Table 2.
The line represents the predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 4. The predicted likelihood of (dis)agreeing with the statement 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics', displayed for the father's political engagement.



Note: Average predictive margins are based on the estimates in Model 5, shown in Table 2. The line represents the predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 5. The predicted likelihood of (dis)agreeing with the statement 'I am confident in my ability to participate in politics', displayed for the mother's political engagement and by gender of the respondent.



Note: Average predictive margins are based on the estimates in Model 5, shown in Table 2.
The line represents the predictive margins with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 6. The predicted likelihood of (dis)agreeing with the statement ‘I am confident in my ability to participate in politics’, displayed for the father’s political engagement and by gender of the respondent.

Control variables indicate that engaging in political discussions with peers during adolescence is associated with higher levels of political self-efficacy in adulthood. However, reverse causality should be acknowledged, as individuals with higher self-efficacy are more likely to recall frequent political discussions. Yet, media exposure and school encouragement do not yield similar results. This highlights the significance of peer discussions in shaping political self-efficacy, alongside family influences.

Despite accounting for various socialization agents, women still report lower political self-efficacy, suggesting additional societal and cultural influences beyond those measured in this study contribute to the gender gap. Younger individuals (below 30) exhibit less confidence in political participation compared to older age groups. While education initially shows a significant association with political self-efficacy (when included with gender and age only), its effect becomes mediated by political socialization agents when considered alongside them.

Conclusions

In this study, we have addressed the origins of the gender gap in political self-efficacy by analysing survey data gathered in Finland in 2020. The data incorporates multiple measures related to political socialisation in adolescence, including perceived parental engagement in politics, the perceived encouragement to engage in politics from school and peers, and exposure to politics through media. The broad range of these items in the survey allowed us to examine the potentially gendered impact of parents on the political self-efficacy of their children.

Our research supports the hypothesis that mothers have a stronger role than fathers. Perceptions of both an engaged mother and an engaged father contribute to higher levels of political self-efficacy. However, our findings indicate that having a politically engaged mother significantly reduces the likelihood of low levels of political self-efficacy in adulthood. Furthermore, when both parents are politically active, the positive association is cumulative. It is worth noting that fathers are perceived as more politically engaged than mothers, implying that fewer respondents grew up with a politically engaged mother compared to a politically engaged father.

The results, thus, support modestly parent equivalent model, i.e. that both parents matter. Since the impact of the mother is clearly accentuated, future studies should explore the role of communication style differences within families in the political domain. As fathers nowadays spend more time with their children, the gap in influence between mothers and fathers may narrow in the future.

On the other hand, the same-sex model, which proposes that same-sex parent-child relationships have a stronger impact, did not receive support. However, this result should be interpreted cautiously, as our data includes respondents from generations that were socialised into politics when women had more limited roles in this domain. The political sphere has only recently become more inclusive for women, so the role of the mother as a close role model may become more significant for future female generations. As women increasingly engage in politics at all levels, future studies can provide a more reliable assessment of the impact of the same-sex model.

These findings advance the scholarship by showing that although politics has traditionally been seen as a male-dominated domain, it is nevertheless the mother whose impact is more crucial in the formation of political self-confidence. The significance of the mother's influence in politics may be attributed to the contrasting expectation of a politically passive woman. While a father's political engagement may be considered ordinary, a politically active mother stands out and captures children's attention. Furthermore, since mothers still spend more time with their children, a politically engaged mother has more opportunities to shape their perspectives.

This speculative explanation could also be connected to the data used in the analysis. Since the study relies on respondents' recollections and perceptions of their parents' political engagement, it is possible that politically active mothers were such an anomaly, especially in earlier times, that their impact was more memorable. While relying on memories introduces uncertainties, we also argue that one's subjective experience of one's parents' political engagement is something that people are able to evaluate later in life. It is not a question of a single incident but a question of assessing the presence of politics in one's childhood home, an assessment that is based on 15–20 years of experience. Hence, while our analysis lacked access to panel data, we feel confident that even a cross-sectional survey can offer useful information about the effects of childhood experiences on adult life.

Further, our data comes from one of the demonstrably most gender equal societies in the world, and yet we see the same gender gap patterns in political orientations as elsewhere. This prompts comparative analyses in the future: Is the mother equally important for political self-efficacy in societies with different gender roles? Do fathers play a greater role when women continue to have limited roles in politics? Further research can explore these dynamics.

We hope that our analysis encourages future scholarship regarding the development of fundamental political orientations to focus more on gender differences. The developmental trajectories can be different for men and women during adolescence and early adulthood, and there might also be gender differences in how mothers and fathers influence the political identities of their children.

References

Acock, A. C. and Bengtson, V. L. (1980) ‘Socialization and attribution processes: Actual versus perceived similarity among parents and youth’, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol 42, no 3, pp 501–515.

Aldous, J., and Hill, R. (1965) ‘Social Cohesion, Lineage Type, and Intergenerational Transmission’, *Social Forces,* vol 43, no 4, pp 471–8.

Arens A. K. and Watermann R. (2017) ‘Political efficacy in adolescence: Development, gender differences, and outcome relations’, *Developmental Psychology*, vol 53, no 5, pp 933–948.

Bandura, A. (1977a) *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. (1977b) ‘Self-Efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioural Change‘, *Psychological Review,* vol 84, no 2, pp 191–215.

Beaumont, E. (2011) 'Promoting political agency, addressing political inequality: A multilevel model of internal political efficacy', *The Journal of Politics*, vol 73, no 1, pp 216–231.

Bedock, C., Pilet, J. (2021) 'Who Supports Citizens Selected by Lot to be the Main Policymakers? A Study of French Citizens', *Government and Opposition*, vol 56, no 3, pp 485–504.

Birch, S. (2010) 'Perceptions of Electoral Fairness and Voter Turnout', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol 43, no 12, pp 1601–1622.

Bos, A. L., Greenlee, J. S., Holman, M. R., Oxley, Z. M. and Lay, J. C. (2021) 'This One's for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialization Limits Girls' Political Ambition and Interest', *American Political Science Review*, vol 116, no 2, pp 484–501.

Burns, N., Lehman Schlozman, K. and Verba, S. (2001) *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carlson, D.L. and Knoester, C. (2011) 'Family Structure and the Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Ideology', *Journal of Family Issues*, vol 32, no 6, pp 709–34.

Cohen, A., Vigoda, E. and Samorly, A. (2001) 'Analysis of the mediating effect of personal-psychological variables on the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation: A structural equations framework', *Political Psychology,* vol 22, no 4, pp 727–757.

Dawes, C., Cesarini, D., Fowler, J.H., Johannesson, M., Magnusson, P.K.E. and Oskarsson, S. (2014) 'The Relationship between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Participation'. *American Journal of Political Science*, vol 58, pp 888-903.

Dinas, E. (2014) 'Why Does the Apple Fall Far from the Tree? How Early Political Socialization Prompts Parent-Child Dissimilarity', *British Journal of Political Science* vol 44, no 4, pp 827–852.

Fallon, B.J. and Bowles, T.V. (1997) 'The Effect of Family Structure and Family Functioning on Adolescents' Perceptions of Intimate Time Spent with Parents, Siblings, and Peers', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* vol 26, no 1, pp 25–43.

Filler, N. and Jennings, N. (2015) 'Familial Origins of Gender Role Attitudes', *Politics & Gender*, vol 11, pp 27–54.

Fowler, J. H., Baker, L. A. and Dawes, C. T. (2008) 'Genetic Variation in Political Participation', *American Political Science Review,* vol 102, no 2, pp 233–248.

Fraile M. and de Miguel Moyer, C. (2022) 'Risk and the gender gap in internal political efficacy in Europe', *West European Politics*, vol 45, no 7, pp 1462–1480.

Gidengil, E., Giles, J. and Thomas, M. (2008) 'The Gender Gap in Self-Perceived Understanding of Politics in Canada and the United States', *Politics & Gender*, vol 4, pp 535–561.

Hatemi, P. K., Funk, C. L., Medland, S. E., Maes, H. M., Silberg, J. L., Martin, N. G., & Eaves, L. J. (2009) 'Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Attitudes Over a Life Time', *The Journal of politics*, vol 71, no 3, pp 1141–1156. Web.

Hatemi, P. K., & Ojeda, C. (2021) 'The Role of Child Perception and Motivation in Political Socialization', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol 51, no 3, pp 1097–1118.

Hoyt, C.L. and Simon, S. (2011) Female Leaders: Injurious or Inspiring Role Models for Women? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol 35, no 1, pp 143–157.

Hoskins, B., García-Albacete, G. and Hubert, A. (2023) Gender Gap in Confidence to Get Involved in Politics. YOUNG-IN network, Policy Brief No. 5. Available at: https://www.tlu.ee/sites/default/files/Young-In/Policy_brief_05_v6.pdf

Jennings, M. K. and Niemi, R, G. (1974) *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jennings, M. K., Stoker, L. and Bowers, J. (2009) 'Politics across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined', *Journal of Politics*, vol 71, pp 782–99.

Jung, N., Kim, Y. and Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2011) 'The Mediating Role of Knowledge and Efficacy in the Effects of Communication on Political Participation', *Mass Communication and Society*, vol 14, no 4, pp 407–430.

Karp, J., Banducci, S. (2008) 'Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-Seven Democracies: How Electoral Systems Shape Political Behaviour', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol 38, no 2, pp 311–334.

Klemmensen, R., Hatemi, P., Hobolt, S., Petersen, I., Skytthe, A., and Nørgaard, A. (2012a) 'The Genetics of Political Participation, Civic Duty, and Political Efficacy across Cultures: Denmark and the United States', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* vol 24, no 3, pp 409-427.

Klemmensen, R., Hatemi, P. K., Hobolt, S. B., Skytthe, A. and Nørgaard, A. S. (2012b) 'Heritability in Political Interest and Efficacy across Cultures: Denmark and the United States', *Twin Research and Human Genetics*, vol 15, no 1, pp 15–20.

Maddux, J. E. and Kleiman, E. M. (2021). Self-efficacy: The power of believing you can, in Snyder, C.R., Lopez, S.J., Edwards, L.M. and Marques, S.C. (eds), *The Oxford handbook of positive psychology* (pp 443–452). Oxford University Press.

Mayer, J. D. and Schmidt, H. M. (2004) 'Gendered political socialization in four contexts: political interest and values among junior high school students in China, Japan, Mexico, and the United States', *The Social Science Journal,* vol 41, no 3, pp 393–407.

McDevitt, Michael, and Steven Chaffee (2002). 'From Top-Down to Trickle-Up Influence: Revisiting Assumptions About the Family in Political Socialization', *Political Communication*, vol 19, no 3, pp 281–301.

Mondak J.J., Hibbing M.V., Canach D., Seligson, M. A. and Anderson, M. R. (2010) 'Personality and civic engagement: an integrative framework for the study of trait effects on political behavior'. *American Political Science Review,* vol 104, pp 85–110.

Neundorf, A., Smets, K., and Garcia-Albacete, G.M (2013) ‘Homemade Citizens: The Development of Political Interest During Adolescence and Young Adulthood’, *Acta Politica* vol 48, pp 92–116.

O’Brien, D.Z. and Piscopo, J.M. (2019) ‘The Impact of Women in Parliament’ in S. Franceschet, M.L. Krook and N. Tan (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Women’s Political Rights,* pp 52–72.

O’Bryan, M., Fishbein, H.D. and Ritchey, P.N. (2004) ‘Intergenerational Transmission of Prejudice, Sex-Role Stereotyping, and Intolerance’, *Adolescence,* vol 39, no 155, pp 407–26.

Ojeda, Christopher, and Peter K. Hatemi (2015) ‘Accounting for the Child in the Transmission of Party Identification’, *American Sociological Review* vol 80, no 6, pp 1150–1174.

Parliament of Finland (2020) *Naiset kansanedustajina.* Available: https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/naineduskuntatoimii/kirjasto/aineistot/yhteiskunta/historia/naisten-aanioikeus-110-vuotta/Sivut/naiset-kansanedustajina.aspx. [14 Nov 2021].

Roest, A.M.C., Dubas, J.S, and Gerris, J.R. (2010). ‘Value Transmissions between Parents and Children: Gender and Developmental Phase as Transmission Belts’, *Journal of Adolescence,* vol 33, no 1, pp 21–31.

Sayer, L.C., Bianchi, S.M., Robinson, J.P. (2004) ‘Are Parents Investing Less in Children? Trends in Mothers’ and Fathers’ Time with Children’, American Journal of Sociology vol 110, no 1, pp 1–43.

Schulman, H. and DeAndrea, D. (2014) ‘Predicting Success: Revisiting Assumptions about Family Political Socialization’, *Communication Monographs*, vol 81, no 3.

Sohl, S. and Arensmeier, C. (2015) ‘The school’s role in youths’ political efficacy: can school provide a compensatory boost to students’ political efficacy?’, *Research Papers in Education*, vol 30, no 2, pp 133–163.

Starrels, M.E. (1992) ‘Attitude Similarity between Mothers and Children Regarding Maternal Employment.’ *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol 54, no 1, pp 91–103.

Statistics Finland (2021), The Time Use and Leisure Survey 2009-2010. Available: https://www.stat.fi/tup/tasaarvo/time-use-and-free-time/index_en.html. [14 Nov 2021].

Tedin, K. L. (1980) ‘Assessing Peer and Parent Influence on Adolescent Political Attitudes’, *American Journal of Political Science*, vol 24, no 1, pp 136–54.

Thomas, M. (2012) ‘The complexity conundrum: Why hasn’t the gender gap in subjective political competence closed?’, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol 45, pp 337–358.

Valentino, N. A., Gregorowicz, K. and Groenendyk, E. W. (2009) ‘Efficacy, Emotions and the Habit of Participation’, *Political Behavior*, vol 31, no 3, pp 307–330.

von Schoultz, Å, Henriksson, M. and Kestilä-Kekkonen, E. (2020) ‘Sukupuolistereotypiat suomalaisessa politiikassa’, in E Kestilä-Kekkonen and Å von Schoultz (eds) *Ehdokkaat vaalikentillä: Eduskuntavaalit 2019*. Helsinki: Ministry of Justice 2020/16, pp 161–171.

Westholm, A. (1999) ‘The Perceptual Pathway: Tracing the Mechanisms of Political Value Transfer across Generations’, *Political Psychology*, vol 20, no 3, pp 525–551.

Williams, R. (2006) ‘Generalized Ordered Logit/ Partial Proportional Odds Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables’, The Stata Journal vol 6, no 1, pp 58–82.

Wolak, J. (2020) ‘Self-Confidence and Gender Gaps in Political Interest, Attention, and Efficacy’, *The Journal of Politics*, vol 82, no 4, pp 1490–1501.