

Title: The intergenerational transmission of participation in collective action: The role of conversation and political practices in the family

Short title: COLLECTIVE ACTION AND FAMILY SOCIALIZATION

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Abstract

In this study we examined the intergenerational transmission of collective action from parents to children. Using a mixed-method approach combining quantitative and qualitative analysis, we analyzed data from 100 dyads of activist parents in Chile (involved in the mobilizations against the dictatorship during the 80's) and their adult children (N=200). The quantitative analysis addressed the role of conversations about politics in the family. The results provided evidence of a direct association between those conversations and the frequency of participation in conventional and radical actions by the children, and an indirect association via children's knowledge about parental involvement in past social movements. The qualitative phase, which used interviews and thematic analysis on a subsample of 24 dyads (N=48), confirmed the role of political conversations, but also revealed the influence of other factors such as cultural consumption and joint political participation. This phase allowed the identification of factors that facilitate or hinder family transmission. Overall, the study highlights the relevance of family as a critical site of socialization that enables the intergenerational transmission of protest.

Keywords:

Collective actions, political socialization, social movements, socialization in the family

Data availability statement: The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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The intergenerational transmission of participation in collective action: The role of conversation and political practices in the family

Collective actions are actions by one or more members of a group aimed at improving the group's relative position (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990) and achieving collective goals such as social change (van Zomeren, Kutlaca, & Turner-Zwinkels, 2018). A large body of research has focused on predictors of collective action, largely focusing on the study of individual factors and attitudes. These studies highlight the importance of appraisals of injustice and social support (Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012); identification with the group and group efficacy (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Ufkes, Dovidio, & Tel, 2015; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2012); and moral obligations and convictions (e.g., Sabucedo, Dono, Alzate, & Seoane, 2018; van Zomeren et al., 2018). We build upon this prior research by addressing a comparatively neglected aspect of collective action; namely, the role of socialization processes in shaping collective action participation, focusing specifically on intergenerational influences within families.

Quite separately from research on collective action, the literature on political socialization has explored how parents influence their children's political development (Hyman, 1959; George, 2013; Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Quintelier, Hooghe, & Badescu, 2007; Sears & Levy, 2003; Wolak, 2009), for instance, by transmitting their political preferences (Sears & Brown, 2013; Tedin, 1974) or acting as models by sharing their participation experiences (Quintelier et al., 2007) through family conversations about politics. These studies have systematically revealed a similarity between parents' political preferences and those developed by their children, also identifying domains and circumstances in which this similarity emerges (Beck & Jennings, 1991; Dinas, 2013; Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers,

2009). These studies highlight the role of families in the transmission of the political identities that are commonly associated with political participation.

However, most studies on family political socialization have focused on the development of political preferences and participation in conventional politics, with few authors taking examining the transmission of parents' prior experience in collective actions (Quintelier et al., 2007). Although it has been found that protesters' parents display higher levels of political involvement than those of non-protesters (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994), the process whereby such experiences are conveyed or transmitted remains unexplored. In this context, we had two aims in the present research. Using a mixed-methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach, we first examined *whether* conversations about political issues within families work as a means through which parents' experiences as participants in collective actions are transmitted, and their effect on children's participation. Second, we examined in detail *how* conversations, along with other intra-family processes, enable parents' involvement in collective actions to be transmitted.

The transmission of participation in collective actions within families: the role of conversations

Previous studies show that parental influence on children's political development depends to a large extent on whether they discuss politics together (Dinas, 2013; Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Quintelier et al., 2007) and whether parents clearly express their political positions (Sears & Brown, 2013; Tedin, 1974). Although family conversations about politics have been identified as a key for family political socialization, some authors have criticized the fact that previous studies have prioritized studying the outcomes of socialization (Jennings et al., 2009; Quintelier et al., 2007) over exploring the transmission mechanisms or processes themselves. Studies on political socialization suggest that family conversations about politics lead children to become more involved in collective actions if their parents were active participants in the past. However,

it has not been clearly shown that these conversations about politics involve the transmission of parents' participation experiences. The first aim of our study was to examine whether political conversations within families operate as a process whereby parents' experiences in collective actions are transmitted, allowing children to know more about these experiences and motivating them to participate. In line with studies of collective action (Drury & Reicher, 2005; Vestergrén et al., 2018), we reasoned that conversations within the family can empower children, which could then foster participation of the children. We predicted that the expected association between political conversations in the family and children's involvement in political action would be indirect via the knowledge children obtain from these conversations. This indirect association would be consistent with prior research in political socialization in the sense that these conversations provide cues to children as to their parents' involvement in collective actions, fostering parent-child correspondence in attitudes and behaviors (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; Veugelers, 2013).

Studies on transmission have almost exclusively considered conversation as the means whereby parents' political opinions and experiences are conveyed (Bloemraad & Trost, 2008; Dinas, 2013; Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Quintelier et al., 2007), without addressing other possibilities or factors that might facilitate or hinder this process. Given the extensive literature on the development of attitudes through implicit, non-conversational processes and mere exposition (Albertson, 2011; Alm & Olsen, 2015; Auty & Lewis, 2004; Flores et al., 2018; Scrob, 2016), it is important to explore these other forms of transmission (such as cultural consumption), beyond the possibilities afforded by conversations. Thus, it seems relevant to examine in more depth how various transmission processes take place and what circumstances facilitate or hinder them. This was the second aim of our study.

Drawing on studies on family political socialization and inspired by our interest in understanding how people join collective actions, this article addresses how parents' participation in collective actions and the knowledge their children develop about their participation in the past influences children's decision to participate in collective actions in the present.

Context of the study

Political activism in Chile has characteristics that make it an ideal context for studying this phenomenon. Chile has had a number of social movement surges over the last 50 years (Cañas, 2016), with multiple political generations emerging in connection with waves of collective actions. After violent repression against social movements during the dictatorship (1973-1990), toward the end of the 1980s, collective actions against the regime began to grow, leading to its end through a referendum in 1988. After a weakening of social movements in the 1990s, several mass collective actions emerged from 2006 onward, reaching levels not observed since the 1980s (Donoso & Von Bülow, 2016). One such movement was led by students, who demanded public, free, and quality education (Cañas, 2016).

Previous studies in the country have predominantly analyzed factors that explain participation in social movements (Sandoval & Hatibovic, 2010; Asún & Zúñiga, 2013), and the resurgence of social movements (Somma & Medel, 2017). Although some studies have considered general political socialization as a relevant variable (Sandoval & Hatibovic, 2010), political socialization within the family has not been the central object of study to understand participation in social movements.

The present study

This study included two phases. The first consisted of a correlational study in which questionnaires were administered to dyads of parents and their children, where parents had been active participants of the anti-Pinochet regime in 1980s. The data allowed us to analyze the

association between conversations about politics in the family, children's current participation in collective actions, and their knowledge about their parents' participation experiences. We tested the following hypotheses: (H1) that more frequent conversations about politics would predict higher levels of children's knowledge about their parents' participation experiences; (H2) that children who know more about their parents' participation experiences would display higher levels of participation; and (H3) that family conversations would indirectly predict children's participation in conventional and radical collective action via children's knowledge about parent's participation.

The second part of the study was intended to unpack the nature of family conversations and other family practices, in order to shed light on how such intergenerational transmission may occur. Individual interviews were conducted with a subsample of parents and children to examine two aspects in detail: (a) What processes – including, but not only conversations – convey parents' experiences as participants in collective actions to the rest of the family? and (b) what factors are perceived as facilitating and hindering these transmission processes?

The first and second phases of this study were thus interconnected, and the results of the quantitative phase made it possible to adjust the design and focus of the qualitative phase. This enabled us to examine in more depth the processes whereby participation in collective actions is transmitted within families, opening the possibility of identifying other influences in the family, beyond the role of political conversations.

Quantitative phase

Method

Participants

This study was part of a larger project focused on the psychological consequences of participation in social movements (AuthorsA, 2020; AuthorsB, 2020). Two hundred people took

part in this study, grouped into 100 dyads: 100 parents (60% women, $M_{age} = 53.40$, $SD = 5.83$, range = 43-70 years) and 100 children (69% women, $M_{age} = 22.83$, $SD = 2.68$, range = 18-31 years). The dyads were selected using purposive sampling (Patton, 1990). The following inclusion criteria were used: a) fathers and mothers who had participated in collective actions against the dictatorship in the 1980s and b) children old enough to participate in the student movement of the 2000s, making sure to include some who took part and others who did not. All parents reported having some degree of participation in social movements against the dictatorship, while 56% of the children reported being part of the student movement. Participants came from middle and upper-middle socioeconomic backgrounds.

Considering that this phase of the study involved calculations of correlations and simple SEM path models to estimate indirect effects, we followed general guidelines for sample size in SEM models based on the number of parameters to be estimated. Recommendations range from 5 to 20 cases per parameter (Kline, 2015; Schreiber et al., 2006), which in this case, with 6 parameters in the SEM model, ranges from 30 to 120 cases. Considering that the targeted population of this study is relatively rare, and that parents and children are dependent dyads, we decided to recruit 100 dyads (200 participants in total).

Procedure

Participants were recruited via key informants trained to do so, who contacted people who met the inclusion criteria. Potential participants were contacted via telephone. Informants first called parents, who were required to ask their children if they were willing to participate in the study. If they met the inclusion criteria, and after both members of the dyad had confirmed their interest, the key informant submitted their contact information to the research team. Dyad information was registered in a recruitment data sheet, in order to match parents with children in the data.

The Qualtrics platform was used to submit online and self-administered questionnaires to parents and children, who were instructed to respond individually and separately. Data were collected between January and April 2017. Before accessing the questions and after reading a page that detailed the aims and characteristics of the study and the ethical safeguards implemented, participants had to express their consent to participate in the study by ticking an online box. The questionnaires sent to parents and children –which could be completed in about 30 minutes– were identical, except for the historical settings and the social movements referenced in questions about their political involvement: parents were asked about movements against the dictatorship in the 1980s, while children were asked about student movements from 2006 onward. Participants who completed the questionnaire received CLP \$7,000 (approximately USD 11). This study was approved by the Scientific Ethics Committee of the Social Sciences, Arts, and Humanities Departments of the university where the study was conducted.

Measures

The measure regarding the frequency of conversations about politics among parents and children, was included in the parents' questionnaire only. On the other hand, the measure tapping children knowledge about their parents' participation, was computed from the answers given to the same question in both questionnaires (parents and children), as explained below. Finally, the measure regarding children's participation in the Chilean student movement was included in the children's questionnaire only.

Frequency of conversations about politics among parents and children. The frequency of parent-child discussions about politics was measured with a 5-item scale. Parents were asked to report how frequently they talked about politics with their children (e.g., 'You talked about politics with your children when they were young') ($\alpha = .90$) on a scale ranging from 1 ('Never') to 5 ('Very frequently').

Children's knowledge about their parents' participation. Knowledge was operationalized in terms of parent-child concordance regarding parents' participation experiences. This is an indicator composed of the level of precision with which children answer questions about their parents, who answered the same questions about themselves. Both parents and children were asked about eight political actions during the dictatorship (such as 'Protests' or 'Street demonstrations'), parents being asked about themselves and children about their parents. The knowledge index was calculated upon the basis of concordance regarding each item, with 1 being assigned when parent and child gave the same answer and 0 when their responses differed. The scores assigned to each item were summed, so the ranged of possible scores was from 0 to 8.

Children's participation in Chile's student movement. This was assessed in terms of both conventional actions (which respect dominant societal norms) and radical actions (which violate such norms). Adapted from Tausch et al. (2011), it consisted of two 4-item subscales: *children's participation in conventional actions* (e.g. 'Taking part in discussions or assemblies', $\alpha = .85$) and *children's participation in radical actions* (e.g. 'Fighting the police during protests', $\alpha = .90$). Children were asked how often they had participated in student movement actions over the last 12 months, using a scale that ranged from 1 ('Never') to 5 ('Very frequently').

Analysis

Child and parent data from each dyad were merged in wide format (each dyad on one row). The merge was performed using a code number assigned to each dyad in the recruitment data sheet. We computed zero-order Pearson correlations among all the measures. We also estimated indirect effects to test the third hypothesis using a path model with manifest variables, using Mplus.

Results

The ranges, averages, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations of all the variables are presented in Table 1. In line with H1, the more frequently families talked about politics, the more children knew about their parents' collective actions during the dictatorship. Consistent with H2, the more children knew about their parents' involvement in collective actions against the dictatorship, the higher their reported engagement in conventional and radical actions of the student movement.

(Table 1)

Our data partially supported H3. Although all paths involved in the mediation are significant (see Figure 1), the indirect effect of political conversations was statistically significant for participation in radical actions (beta=.094, 95% CI [.027, .161], $p = .022$), but not quite significant for participation in conventional actions (beta=.072, 95% CI [.008, .136], $p = .063$). The standard errors of indirect effects were estimated using the default method implemented in Mplus, the delta method, which is similar to the Sobel test (MacKinnon et al., 2002).

(Figure 1)

Discussion

This phase of the study provided evidence for the expected role that conversations in the family have in promoting collective action participation among adult children. The study was carried out with two different generations (parents and children) who faced very different contexts for political participation, showing that intergenerational transmission is not restricted to political orientations, as most research on political socialization has previously shown. Our study is consistent with the idea that political conversations can promote a more accurate perception among children concerning the political involvement of their parents, in line with our second hypothesis. Moreover, the indirect path from conversations via knowledge about parental

involvement was significant for radical actions, but did not reach significance for conventional actions. These results are encouraging, but suggest that other mediating processes could be relevant as well.

Since the size of the association between conversation frequency and children's knowledge was modest, it remains to be determined which other processes, apart from conversation frequency, can motivate children to learn about their parents' political involvement experiences. Based on these results, the next phase of this study adopted a qualitative approach to examine the processes involved in the transmission of parents' participation experiences and which elements facilitate or hinder it.

Qualitative phase

Method

Participants

A subsample of 24 parent-child dyads ($n = 48$) from the first phase were interviewed for this second phase. These dyads were selected with purposive sampling (Patton, 1990). The choice of subsample involved considering the variability observed in the variables used for the quantitative phase, in order to explore them in greater depth. This yielded a variety of levels in the following variables: knowledge about parents' participation, frequency of political conversations in the family, children's participation in social movements, and differences between parents' and children's political positions.

Individual interviews were conducted with 13 mothers and 11 fathers aged from 46 to 69 years, and 15 daughters and nine sons aged from 19 to 28 years. In the interviews, six children reported not being part of the student movement and 18 stated that they currently participated or had been part of it.

Interviews

Data were produced with semi-structured individual interviews, conducted separately with parents and children. The interviews followed a thematic script that covered the following topics: trajectory and degree of involvement in social movements, consequences of participating, and family communication regarding one's participation experiences and political opinions.

Parents' interviews lasted between 35 and 135 minutes (M_{length} : 72 minutes), whereas the children's interviews lasted between 11 minutes and 85 minutes (M_{length} : 46 minutes).

Procedure

Research assistants trained as interviewers contacted the participants, reminding them of their participation in the questionnaire stage and inviting them to be interviewed about the same topic. This possibility was mentioned in the consent form that they had signed at the beginning of the study. In each dyad, parents and children were interviewed by different people as a way of increasing trust.

Interviewees received CLP \$15,000 (approximately 22 US dollars). The interviews were transcribed verbatim by research assistants trained as transcribers, who signed a confidentiality agreement. The transcriptions used in the analyses were anonymized by modifying names of people, institutions, places, and any other relevant information to safeguard the anonymity of participants.

Analysis

A thematic analysis was performed (Braun & Clarke, 2006), based on theoretically guided analytical questions. These questions were developed on the literature that supports this study, and the results of the quantitative phase. Adopting a deductive ("top-down") approach, the analytical questions sought to delimit the topics to be analyzed in the interviews. Then, using an inductive ("bottom-up") approach, categories and subcategories were generated, which were used to organize the results for each topic. In this latter phase research assistants selected, coded, and

organized the content associated with each analytical question under the supervision of the leading researchers.

The analytical questions were: (1) what processes within families transmit parents' experiences as participants in collective actions to their children?; (2) is conversation the only process whereby experiences of participation in collective actions are transmitted within families?; (3) what circumstances facilitate or hinder conversations about political issues within families?

We began the analysis by acquainting ourselves with the data: after identifying the main results of the quantitative phase and considering the guiding and the analytical questions, we used floating reading to examine the interviews of each parent-child dyad. Based on the deductive approach of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), we conducted a single analysis of each dyad's interviews (the parent's and the child's), identifying all the quotations (extracts) related to the analytical question. For each analytical question, we used quotations from the interview with the parent, the child, or both. Also, it was possible for a quotation to be selected for more than one question. As we selected quotations, these were identified with short and descriptive labels based on their contents as well as other notes or reflections by the analysts. This made it possible to guide the subsequent phase, which consisted in analyzing interviews across different dyads to generate a categorization of the possible common answers given to each guiding question.

In this phase, the analysis of the interviews sought to integrate the analysis of the chosen quotations from different parent-child dyads by categorizing them. Based on the inductive logic of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), we generated question-specific categories capable of organizing the quotations according to their contents.

We established a category when it combined different quotations that answered analytical questions around a specific topic. We also required that each category was internally coherent

and was different from other categories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Also, subcategories were generated hierarchically to organize the material within a larger category. Analytic descriptions were generated for the categories and subcategories: a short text about the content of each category and the relationship that its constituent quotations establish with the analytical question.

Finally, the categories and subcategories were given a clear title that reflected their contents (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To present the results, the main categories were grouped into two thematic axes: (i) the processes whereby parents' participation in social movements and political opinions are transmitted within families and (ii) the factors that facilitate and hinder this transmission. Within these axes, categories are shown as subtitles, while subcategories are italicized.

In summary, we first read the complete interviews and then selected material guided by the analytical questions. When we selected quotations, we created brief labels for each. After that, we organized the quotations in terms of thematic categories. Finally, we elaborated a hierarchical organization of categories and sub-categories.

To illustrate this process, here we present an example of the procedure: While selecting material for the third analytical question (What circumstances facilitate or hinder conversations?), we collected the following quotation from a mother's interview: "*We were afraid, her father and me, we didn't want our daughters to be like us and experience our fear, you know? We didn't want any of our daughters to be kidnapped, detained, executed*", and it was labeled with a comment that indicated: "desire of the parent to protect the children from the risks of participation". When related with other circumstances that may hinder the transmission, we created the category "barriers to family transmission", and linked this quotation with others that shared a similar topic around the protection of children against the risks of participating. Differentiated from others, we created a sub-category that coherently gathered quotations with

references from the topic– in this case, the intention of parents to protect their children as a product of the fear that their own involvement and participation might produce risks or negative outcomes for them. This sub-category was reviewed as the analysis proceeded, in order to evaluate the need of integrating it with other sub-categories, or dividing it because it was also broad and addressed different topics. In this case, none of these situations emerged, so the sub-category was established as such, and titled “protection”, within the category “barriers of family transmission”.

Results

Conversation as a family transmission process.

The role of conversations in family transmission. Parents and children regarded conversation as one of the main processes through which parents’ experiences and political opinions have been conveyed to them. Parents identified that one of the main reasons for transmitting their experiences and opinions is their own desire to *instill certain values in their children* regarding society and politics, along with the wish to generate critical opinions in them. They also reported the intention to preserve family values and experiences intergenerationally.

"Look, I've always tried to... live up to how I was educated and taught, do good, I mean, take care of others, hold my head high, be respectful, responsible, love others (...) and I've transmitted all that to my daughters, I mean, in the future they'll be free to choose whatever they want for their lives, but I gave them what I was given" (Pía, mother of Natalia, who participates in the student movement)¹

¹ The quotations include the following information: the participant's pseudonym, whether he/she is a parent or a child, and whether the latter participates in collective actions.

Sometimes this intergenerational process seemed to operate inversely, because some parents chose to remain silent about their experiences in the past and thus their children end up wishing to differentiate themselves from them.

Although some children and parents reported that the former "always" knew their parents' political experiences and positions, others stated that their conversations began *at specific points of children's lives*. Some participants mentioned that some topics were transmitted when children "grew up". Adolescence and the university period are milestones marking the time when parents believed that their children were "ready" to find out more.

"I think that when they went to university I began to see them as older, and I started talking about other things, I was always brutally honest with them, quite straightforward, I never hid anything (...) I feel that when both of them went to university, I consciously placed them in another state of... maturity. And conversations became more horizontal, and I allowed myself to tell them more things." (Osvaldo, father of Pilar, daughter who does not participate in the student movement)

"It's not something that he was willing to tell us when we were little. The conversations came when we were older." (Pilar, daughter who does not participate in the student movement)

Specifically, some parents reported that there was a filter that prevented them from sharing aspects of their experiences (some children also mentioned this), since they did not discuss sensitive topics like torture, political imprisonment, and repression during the dictatorship when their children were little. As their children grew up, they started talking about these subjects.

Facilitators of conversation in the family. Additionally, parents and children referred to factors that have influenced the transmission that has happened through conversations. Among these factors, some are regarded as facilitators, since they allow conversations to occur.

Conversations and mutual interests in each other's political experiences and opinions emerge due to the type of relationship that they have. *Trusting each other* was mentioned as a key element. However, this did not necessarily mean that parents and children have the same views, but that trusting each other encourages them to share their personal experiences.

"So that's good, it's cool, I'd like everyone to be able to spend time like that with their parents at home... being able to speak honestly, transparently, without fearing one's parents" (Natalia, daughter who participates in the student movement)

According to the participants, *mutual admiration* also stimulates transmission: parents are happy to see their children participate and get involved, while children are proud of what their parents did during the dictatorship.

"I think he sees himself reflected in me a little. I mean, I don't know, I think he is glad I'm interested in this. Maybe for him, I don't know what it would be like for him to have a son with whom he couldn't talk." (Vania, daughter, participates in the student movement)

Barriers for conversation in the family. Parents and children also regarded factors that shaped how parents' experiences have been transmitted through conversations as barriers. These barriers occur mainly because of some parents' decision to stay silent about political issues.

When parents reported that they chose not to transmit their experiences and views, they pointed out that this was a personal choice. Some parents and children said that nobody talks about politics at home, or that conversations are infrequent, as some *underlying conflicts erupt when politics are discussed* due to the different opinions present in the family. Sometimes, parents chose not to mention their experience to avoid sharing painful parts of their life.

"Rationally, I always sought to keep my children from feeling the sadness and hate that I felt at some point. I didn't want them to feel the pain I felt, I didn't want to transfer it to

them, because that's my story, not theirs." (Alma, mother of David, who participates in the student movement).

Some children stated that they understand their parents' choice to share only some parts of their story, especially regarding the possibility that they experienced political repression during the dictatorship.

"As we grew up, he started giving us more information, and it was rawer (...) also all the traumas that he might have developed in those days (...). I think there are things my father has never told us because they're so painful for him" (Camila, daughter, participates in the student movement).

Parents who reported not having revealed their political opinions to their children actively said that they did so to enable them to *form their own opinions* about society.

"In my family, it's like [coughs] we never talked about politics. I suspect it was my grandfather's decision, my grandfather was... although he has a political position, he tried not to influence his grandchildren's political views at least (...) But we didn't really talk about these issues" (Esteban, son, participates in the student movement)

Some parents and children mentioned that parents avoid transmitting opinions or experiences in order to *protect their children*, because parents fear that knowing about their political involvement might lead children to get involved in social movements and thus assumed feared risks. Similarly, some children mentioned that they prefer not to share their participation experiences with their parents to avoid any potential negative reactions.

"Apart from that, I gave her some tools, but I didn't involve her. We were afraid, her father and me, we didn't want our daughters to be like us and experience our fear, you know? We didn't want any of our daughters to be kidnapped, detained, executed" (Roxana, mother of Tina, who participates in the student movement)

The context of conversations. Parents and children described when and where conversations take place and illustrated how these are normally initiated. Children find out about their parents' involvement when they ask them about *current events* and *the political context in Chile*. Thus, news and media reports become a starting point for conversations, as parents remember and tell stories about their participation in collective actions and other political issues and children ask questions.

"I heard their stories when I was little, I think they came up because something reminded my parents, a news story or something happened to them during the day that reminded them of the time when they were university students, and so I've heard those stories from my mom and my dad, both were students (...) who opposed the dictatorship" (Tina, daughter, participates in the student movement)

These conversations also inform children about their parents' political opinions. Based on television, newspaper, or internet news, conversations emerge about current events in Chile during which parents express their views and discuss a variety of topics, such as contingent social demands.

"Based on a specific event, a news story, something that happened, I used to tell them (...) but it's always been a thing I do, at least on weekends, on Sunday, we have lunch with the paper on the table" (Carlos, father of Raúl, who participates in the student movement)

Children mentioned that *taking part in social movements* is one way in which they learned about their parents' involvement, since this leads them to ask questions to their parents: children express doubts, request advice, or discuss their own experiences. In addition, parents start talking about their political experiences and opinions when they see that their children are part of social movements, since they infer that they would be interested in hearing about these topics.

"I asked them about everything. I asked them, hey, what did you do in those times?, what sort of demonstrations did you organize?, what were you looking for? (...) I asked them what they thought (...) what's going on now, also looking for advice. So, you take advantage of the opportunity, you learn from what they experienced (...) So, it's like listening, knowing that it's useful (...) so you can compare, that's really useful" (Raúl, son, participates in the student movement)

"So for example I tell him: oh, dad, we had a propaganda day today, it worked well. He tells me: 'you should do this and that'. He's always giving advice (...) based on his experience" (Marcelo, son, participates in the student movement)

When children start participating in collective actions they also *become interested in finding out more* about life during the dictatorship and political participation at that time. This leads children to ask questions:

"(...) Dad, what do you think about this political position or about the government's stance? Or, look what this guy did when he reacted to the congressman comments. Dad, how did the neighborhood organize? Dad, how was the NO campaign? [during the 1988 referendum], what happened at that time? Dad, why did you start organizing with others (...) ? (Marcelo, son, participates in the student movement)

Other processes of family transmission.

Parents and children also identify other processes of family transmission, besides the conversation. Joint participation and cultural consumption are identified as processes that also offer clues on parents' participation experiences and political opinions.

Participating together. Children mention that, when they were younger, their parents took them to several collective actions organized by political groups or movements, and that this allowed them to infer their parents' political opinions and involvement.

"When she was an adolescent (...) I went to political manifestations, like the party of embraces [cultural event organized annually by the Communist Party since 1988], lots of events, May 1st, marches. And we always went together." (Manuel, father of Macarena, who participates in the student movement)

"He was always very interested in politics (...) I remember when I was little on September 11 [commemoration of the military coup], I don't know, on the young combatant's day, celebrations or commemorations of certain people, they were always there; I mean, I've gone to the party of embraces [cultural event organized annually by the Communist Party since 1988] since I was little (...) I remember my dad always explained to us the reason for this event, why it was called that way, why they organized it on that date" (Camila, daughter, participates in the student movement).

These activities, apart from providing information about parents' political opinions, also constituted suitable contexts for the emergence of conversations that allowed the transmission of aspects of parents' participation experiences.

Cultural consumption. Parents' political opinions are also conveyed through their cultural consumption: books, movies, TV series (about the 1980s), or academic texts that children find in their homes and which they reported having noticed while growing up. Interestingly, the interviews do not portray cultural consumption as a vehicle for transmitting parents' involvement in collective actions, but only their political opinions.

"I would sing all of Víctor Jara's songs [singer-songwriter and Communist Party member murdered during the dictatorship], Inti Illimani or Quilapayún songs [left-wing bands, exiled during the dictatorship], it's like my parents always generated spaces where I received that background information" (Tina, daughter, participates in the student movement)

"Tina especially, she grew up listening to the music of Inti and Illapu [left-wing bands, exiled during the dictatorship], Violeta [Violeta Parra, left-wing singer-songwriter linked to the Communist Party] (...) Then she saw her father become a union leader who always had left-wing ideas." (Roxana, mother of Tina, who participates in the student movement)

"(...) I think the main thing was that I participated in marches, cultural events (...) you get lots of information there, when you go to venues that these movements open up, even watching plays with various contents, movies, all that transmits (...) they shape your opinion and then you apply it in your life." (Lisette, daughter, participates in the student movement).

According to some of the children, the transmission through cultural consumption occurs when they are with their parents, for instance, when they watch movies together or discuss social science authors, which prompts conversations.

It should be noted that *home* emerges as the location where these transmission processes occur. First, conversations take place when the family gathers, which commonly coincides with mealtimes and when they watch TV news together. Both parents and children see their home as a space characterized by freedom of speech; there, for instance, they can discuss and debate current events. Second, home tends to be where parents' cultural consumption occurs, which enables children to infer aspects of their political leanings.

In sum, the qualitative results emphasize the importance of conversation as a transmission process within the family which has the role of promoting certain values that parents think are important for their children to have, such as possessing a critical opinion towards society and politics. These conversations do not take place randomly; there are certain critical points in children's development that trigger them. Other processes of transmission are identified too, such as joint participation and cultural consumption which signal parents' political orientation.

Parents and children mentioned that sharing personal experiences based on trust and mutual admiration are facilitators of conversations. Likewise, barriers to family transmission are also identified, which discourage political discussions to prevent conflicts from arising.

Discussion

In this study we sought to integrate research on collective action participation with perspectives on political socialization within families, focusing on the processes of intergenerational transmission. As we hypothesized, the quantitative phase showed that in families where parents had participated in collective actions, children's current participation is associated with their knowledge about their parents' involvement. To study this transmission, we focused on conversations about political topics. Results revealed that the more families discuss these issues, the more children know about their parents' participation, which in turn predicts greater involvement by children in collective actions, specifically in radical forms of action. Our findings confirm the importance of the family as a sphere of political socialization in which not only parents' political views are transmitted, but also their experiences as participants in collective actions. Results indicate that, in this transmission process, being aware of one's parents' political involvement in the past predicts children's participation in the present.

Although conversations about politics in the family are a relevant process of political socialization, our qualitative analysis indicates that political opinions are also transmitted through nonverbal and unplanned processes, including "cultural consumption" at home or parents' decision to invite their children to attend political events with them. Even if parents do not set out to transmit politics-related issues, children pay attention to contextual clues that allude to such elements. Even though authors in other fields have established that attitudes and practices can result from merely expository processes which are nonverbal and unplanned (Albertson, 2011; Alm & Olsen, 2015; Auty & Lewis, 2004; Flores et al., 2018; Scrob, 2016), our results provide

novel knowledge on these processes, mostly overlooked in previous studies on political socialization.

Our finding that cultural consumption is only linked to political opinions within the family, and not to participation experiences, is also highly relevant for the literature on political socialization in the family. The fact that collective action experiences are transmitted in ways that differ from those of political opinions is an aspect worth exploring in detail. Future studies could clarify what types of experiences and political opinions are conveyed through which means; in other words, what is put into words and what is not. Likewise, if the home is the main setting where transmission occurs, it would be relevant to explore whether formal or informal events, important dates, or other circumstances can foster or hinder transmission.

Our results also indicate that children, as participants in collective actions, have "learned by doing" by attending political events with their parents. Thus, the finding that children's participation in collective actions is predicted by how much they know about their parents' participation experiences may also be due to the fact that, for children to participate, they need concrete points of reference showing them what to do, how to do it, and where, which they can learn by participating with their parents. This is consistent with prior studies that regard parents as role models who lead their children to engage in activism (Quintelier et al., 2007). Knowing details about parents' participation, such as the actions that they performed in the past and the organizations to which they were affiliated, makes it possible to validate collective actions as a way of participating in politics. Moreover, the knowledge about parental experiences in the past convey descriptive norms (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) that could influence children's political involvement.

Results also show that children potentially influence their parents' transmission of their participation experiences, encouraging conversations connected with their personal interests and

their current experiences in collective actions. In fact, in the qualitative phase of the study we found that sometimes conversations about past participation of parents were prompted by children's participation in collective action. These results not only show that conversations in the family and participation experiences of children are part of a virtuous cycle, but also confirm that children are active agents of their own political socialization. These results give support to studies that recognize sons' and daughters' agency in their own socialization (Bloemraad & Trost, 2008; George, 2013; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Sapiro, 2004), differing from the traditional approach to political socialization, which tended to recognize parents' agency only.

Our findings also reveal the advantages of adopting a multi-method approach to the phenomenon of political socialization in families, since it enabled us to examine several types of information about this topic. Combining methods made it possible to access multiple dimensions and address the complexity and diversity of the processes and circumstances involved in the transmission of participation in collective actions within families. The questionnaires revealed associations between variables and behaviors that are able to operate unbeknownst to the participants in some cases. The interviews, being open and in-depth, allowed us to identify unexpected ways – other than conversation – in which parents' political life is transmitted. Combining these two approaches in a single study on the family transmission of political issues is a pertinent methodological decision to understand these phenomena in more detail.

This study shows that involvement in collective actions and the transmission of related experiences have certain particularities when parents are politically engaged in a non-democratic context: a dictatorship that violently repressed social movements, where being politically active could mean risking one's life. Although some studies have examined similar situations (Barkas & Chrysochoou, 2017; Chan, Cattaneo, Mak, & Lin, 2017), most research in this area has occurred in democratic contexts (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2003;

Sabucedo et al., 2018; van Zomeren et al., 2012). Considering Chile's past and present context, the results of this study indicate that parents are unsure about sharing their political experiences with their children, since they fear to encourage them to participate in something that can entail risks and suffering. In such cases, what is transmitted conversationally coexists with silences, probably resulting from parents' experiences in a context where systematic human rights violations established a climate of fear and looming threats (Lira & Castillo, 1991). Indeed, more than 40 years after the 1973 coup, research has shown that families tend to choose what to share and what to silence in order to protect their loved ones, an approach that continues to dominate how people remember this period (Cornejo, Rocha, Villarroel, Cáceres, & Vivanco, 2018).

This highlights the relevance of studying political socialization and participation in social movements taking into account how the particularities of sociopolitical contexts, the social movements in which people participate, and the demands made, shape the processes researched. On a global level, the last decade has seen a revitalization of social movements in national and international contexts (Donoso & Von Bülow, 2016; Sabucedo et al., 2018; van Zomeren et al., 2018), which has helped to expand our understanding about factors that promote or deter involvement in collective action. However, we still know little about how participation in social movements is connected to socialization practices in the family. Based on the demands and contemporary forms adopted by social movements, it would be interesting to understand socialization considering that children can also have an active role in transmitting experiences, and are more open to explore novel ways of engaging in collective actions (Bloemraad & Trost, 2008). Bearing in mind that prior studies show that other actors and spaces influence people's political involvement and development – such as school (McDevitt & Ostrowski, 2009; Neundorf, Niemi, & Smets, 2016) and peer groups (Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2012; Pfaff, 2009) – it would also be informative to examine in more depth how multiple sources of influence such as

peers, classmates, colleagues, partners, relatives, teachers, and institutions operate simultaneously, either strengthening or weakening one another.

In 2019, Chile experienced the strongest and most massive social protests it has ever witnessed (Contardo, 2020; Fernández, 2020). The sustained movement has opened the field for unprecedented changes at the political and socioeconomic level, including the prospects for a new political Constitution (Salas et al., 2019). In this context, and considering that movements against the dictatorship in the 1980s attracted people whose children are part of today's student and social movement, Chile emerges as an excellent setting for studying the intergenerational transmission of collective actions. What has happened since October 2019 reinforces the importance of the results of this study and has opened up new questions about why and how people get involved in social movements. In 2019 protests, parents and children, from several generations, participated massively and jointly in the streets.

In the meantime, this study has provided evidence that as well as being influenced by factors directly connected with individual and group-level processes (Becker & Tausch, 2015; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Thomas & Louis, 2013; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012), collective action participation is also bound up with personal relationships and affective bonds in families, including distal influences, such as the political involvement of parents when they were young. In this way, families are a potentially important site for the intergenerational transmission of collective action participation. We encourage future research to further examine such family dynamics as critical part of how a society's collective past can shape its present and future.

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Table 1

Correlations, ranges, averages, and standard deviations of the variables.

	1	2	3	4
1. Frequency of political conversation	1			
2. Children's knowledge of their parents' participation	.34**	1		
3. Children's participation in conventional actions	.26**	.28**	1	
4. Children's participation in radical actions	.31**	.36**	.70**	1
<i>M (SD)</i>	3.71 (.83)	4.93 (1.92)	2.8 (1.12)	1.70 (.98)
<i>Min</i>	1.8	0	1	1
<i>Max</i>	5	8	5	5
<i>N</i>	100	99	100	100

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

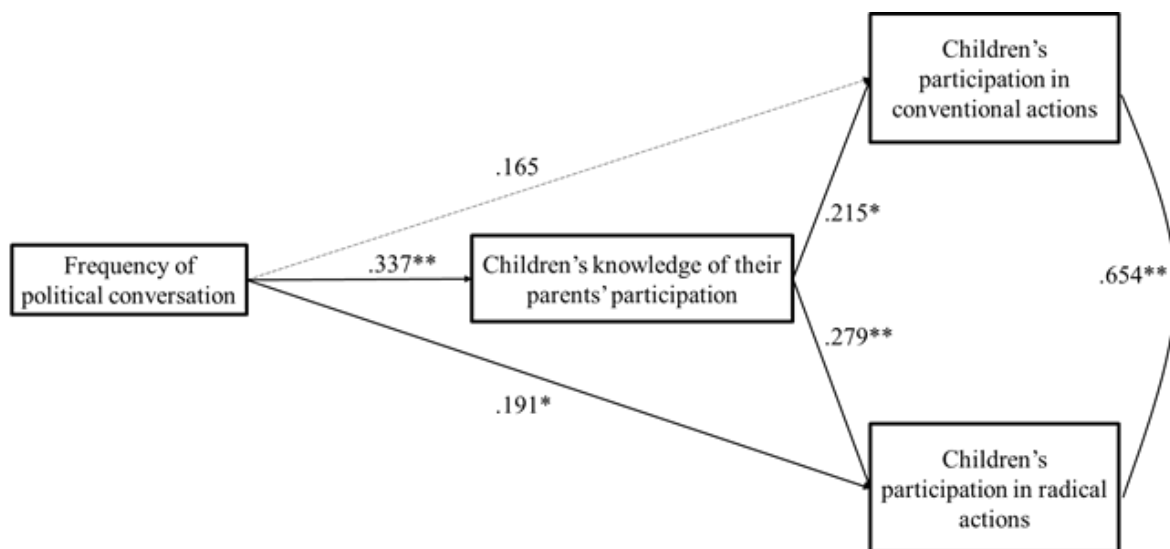


Figure 1. Mediation model for collective action (standardized coefficients).

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.