SIGNIFICANT OTHERS AND THE POLITICAL

SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

by
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CHAPTER I

THE FIELD OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

AND RELATED LITERATURE

Definition of Political Socialization

The area of socialization is of prime concern in the social sciences. Within the past twenty years, a number of investigations have focused on political socialization in particular. The term political socialization was introduced into the literature in a 1954 article by Lipset et al. Since its inception the term has acquired a number of meanings. Political socialization has been used to refer to "the process by which people learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing system" (Sigel, 1970:xii); "the process through which a citizen acquires his own view of the world" (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969:6); "the study of any political learning whatsoever whether of conformity or deviance, at any stage in the life cycle" (Greenstein, 1970:972); and "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" (Easton and Dennis, 1969:7). The variety of definitions indicates the conceptual confusion which engulfs

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the topic of political socialization.

Sigel's definition suggests that socialization is a conservative process, and she includes under this rubric only learning of accepted values and norms of the system. Dawson and Prewitt, Greenstein, and Easton and Dennis view political socialization in a much broader perspective including any acquisition of politically relevant attitudes and behavior at any age. Clausen (1968) would agree with the latter group of socialization students in arguing that socialization does not necessarily entail only acquisition of accepted societal norms. He would also allow for the acquisition of deviant sub-cultural norms to be included under the rubric of socialization. However, he would not agree with Dawson and Prewitt, Greenstein, and Easton and Dennis that the acquisition of any politically relevant attitudes and behavior should be treated as socialization. For Clausen and others (e.g., Aberle, 1961 and Brim, 1966) socialization pertains primarily to the acquisition of behavior and attitudes which have "relevance for adult role performance" (Clausen, 1968:7). Consequently, learned behaviors and attitudes which are extinguished before adulthood or which have little impact on adult role performance would not be considered as socialized attitudes and behaviors. Instead, their acquisition would be treated under the broader concept of social influence.

However, in studying the formation of political attitudes and behavior in pre-adults (and even in adults for that matter), it is

virtually impossible to distinguish between adult-relevant and adult-irrelevant attitudes and behaviors. As a result of this operational difficulty, this thesis will employ a broad definition of political socialization, incorporating elements of both Greenstein's and Easton and Dennis' definitions. Political socialization will be defined as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior, whether of conformity to or deviance from prevailing political norms, at any stage in the life cycle.

Note that this definition does not restrict socialization to only those attitudes and beliefs which have become internalized, as others have suggested. (See for example Sigel, 1970.) Instead, it views political socialization as the acquisition of any politically relevant attitudes, beliefs, knowledge or behaviors regardless of one's commitment to them. In addition this definition argues that political socialization is an ongoing process and is not necessarily completed in childhood, although the rate of political socialization may vary with one's age.

The Problem

A number of investigations have identified interpersonal influence as a prominent factor in a person's political socialization. However, while past research has been able to document the importance of interpersonal influence in political socialization, it has been

unable to specify precisely who the purveyors of this influence are. The reason for this is that past explorations into political socialization have focused on the effects of broad categories of socializing agents selected on a priori, theoretical grounds. More specifically, previous studies have concentrated on the effects of parents, the peer group, and the school as agents of political socialization. While these categories of agents are undoubtedly instrumental in socializing individuals into politics, past studies have been unable to document, even within these categories, the specific individuals who influence a person's socialization into politics.

The typical research procedure in these studies has been to correlate the political attitudes of a sample of respondents with those of their parents, a best friend, or selected teachers. These correlations are used to assess the impact of the respective agents. However, needless to say, not all parents influence their offsprings' political socialization. Similarly, best friends (or whichever peers are selected as causal agents) do not always influence their peers' attitudes.

In general, examination of socializing agents chosen on a priori, theoretical grounds results in two undesirable occurences. First, a number of individuals are included as influencing political socialization who really have no effect. Secondly, these categories

of agents selected are many times incomplete. They omit other

possible agents of influence such as relatives beyond the nuclear

family, unrelated adults, and ministers.

To state the problem in another way, political socialization

research has been hampered by the inability to assess what may be

termed an individual's political significant others. Although

frequently attributed to Mead (Merton, 1957:215; Rose, 1962:141), the

term significant other was most likely originated by Harry Stack

Sullivan (1940). Cottrell and Foote (1952:190-191) point out:

> The correspondence between Mead and Sullivan leaves off at the
> point of the generalized other. For Mead, whose lifespan came
> a generation before Sullivan&s, the social world was a fairly
> wholesome web; the others from whom one took his conception of
> himself were in substantial agreement. Hence the "generalized
> other" of Mead's social psychology. In Sullivan's time, and
> ours, the community has been fractured. The generalized other
> has broken down into clusters of significant others . . .

Hence, the term significant other refers to the notion of

segmented influence, with the possibility of different significant

others influencing different areas of the self-concept, or even

different attitudes. The history of the concept significant other,

its current usages, and its utility for studying political socializa-

tion will be treated in detail in Chapter II.

A second void in the political socialization literature (due

in part to the inability to identify an individual's significant

others) is comparative analysis among the various political attitudes

of an individual. Not only do people hold attitudes toward

analytically different political objects, but different others may be influential depending on the type of attitude in question. However, no study has yet been able to document to what extent types of significant others change from one political attitude object to another, or indeed, whether being socialized by different types of agents results in substantively different content in socialization.

Objectives of the Thesis

It is to the above two major gaps in the political socialization literature, the inability to specify political significant others and a comparative analysis among the various attitudes of an individual, that the bulk of the dissertation will be directed. The thesis will focus primarily on one aspect of political socialization, the formation of political attitudes. The specific attitudes which will be examined are attitudes toward Richard Nixon, Political Parties, the War in Viet Nam, and the office of the Presidency of the United States. These four topics were chosen because of their variance along two dimensions. First, they represent diverse segments of the political realm, a political actor, political parties, a political issue, and a political office. Second, the objects can be seen to lie on a continuum of concrete--abstract concepts. The topics Richard Nixon and War in Viet Nam are two highly concrete, immediate topics which have received much discussion in the recent months. Political Parties is another oft discussed topic, although it lacks

the immediacy of the other two topics. The Presidency is undoubtedly the most abstract of the topics and the one which should receive the least amount of interpersonal discussion.

Concerning these four topics particularly, the thesis will have five major objectives. First, it will enumerate the specific political significant others for the attitudes of a sample of respondents between nine and eighteen years of age.

Second, it will compare the effect of the major interpersonal agencies of political socialization on these respondents' political attitude formation. Currently the political socialization literature indicates that these are parents, the peer group, and teachers.

Third, the thesis will provide data dealing with the influence of less frequently researched agents of political socialization including neighbors and relatives apart from those in the nuclear family.

Fourth, it will examine changes in type of an individual's significant others as a function of the individual's age and sex and as a function of the type of political attitude object.

Fifth, it will provide a summary measure of the overall impact of interpersonal influence in the formation of political attitudes toward four political objects.

Along with addressing questions dealing with interpersonal influence, the thesis will undertake one additional task. The

variables age and sex have frequently been used as predictors of a
whole arrary of dependent political variables. The dissertation will
examine the impact of age and sex on such diverse political variables
as interest in politics, degree of political attitude formation,
number of significant others one has influencing his political
attitudes, and attitudes toward specific political topics.

Literature Review of Interpersonal Influence in Political Socialization

The literature on the effects of others in the political
socialization process has tended to focus on three types of social-
izing agents: parents, the school, and the peer group.

Parents

A number of writers have argued that the family is the chief
agent of political socialization. Hyman (1959:69) states flatly:
"Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family."
Davies (1965:11) claims that "most of the individual's political
personality--his tendencies to think and act politically in particular
ways--have been determined at home, several years before he can take
part in politics. . . ."

Much of the feeling of primacy of the family's influence is
due to the high intergenerational agreement of party identification
between parents and their offspring in the United States. Probably no
relationship of such magnitude has been so consistently uncovered in

the political science literature. Berelson et al. (1954), in one of the pioneering studies on voting behavior, found that about 75 per cent of the voters whom they studied in the 1948 election voted for the same party as their fathers. Campbell et al. (1954) in a national survey of voting behavior during the 1952 presidential election, reported that 82 per cent of offspring with Democratic parents also identified with the Democratic party and 76 per cent of the respondents with Republican parents identified with the Republican party.

Maccoby et al. (1954), in a study of 339 Cambridge, Massachusetts residents, discovered that 74 per cent of the respondents who could name their father's party voted for it and that 75 per cent who could name their mother's party voted for it. In another study of the Boston area, Nogee and Levin (1958) found that in a sample of 314 Boston College students about 72 per cent with a Republican parent voted Republican and 71 per cent with a Democratic parent voted Democratic. Three other national studies have also documented this relationship. Campbell el al. (1960) investigating the 1956 presidential election note that 78 per cent of the respondents whose parents were Democrats also chose the Democratic party and that 69 per cent whose parents were Republican chose the Republican party. Jennings and Neimi (1968) examined the relationship between high school seniors and their parents with regard to party identification. They report a Pearson product-moment correlation

of .59. Knoke's (1972) examination of data gathered during the 1968 presidential campaign revealed a Pearson product-moment correlation of .47 between the respondent's party identification and that of his father and .49 between the respondent's party and that of his mother.

However, the impact of the parents in the political socialization process may not be as great as this relationship suggests. Jennings and Neimi (1968:179) report that "when we skipped from party identification to other sorts of political values, the parent-student correlation decreased perceptibly." The other issues the authors examined were the government's role in school integration, prayer in public schools, allowing Communists to hold political office, and freedom of speech concerning anti-religious stances. While a few studies have suggested substantial correlations between parents and their children with regard to political attitudes other than partisanship (for example, Hirschberg and Gilliland, 1942; Newcomb and Svehla, 1937) a number of others provide confirmation of the Jennings and Neimi finding.

Bassett (1949) found no relation between children and their parents on views concerning prospects of war and peace in the near future. Duffy (1935), in a study of 90 sets of freshmen at Sarah Lawrence College and their parents, found correlations of .17 between daughters and their fathers concerning attitudes toward war and .27 between the daughters and their mothers. With regard to treatment of

criminals, she reports correlations of .31 between the respondents
and their fathers and .03 between the respondents and their mothers.
Helfant (1952) studied the relationship between parents and their
high school offspring with regard to attitudes toward Russia, inter-
national relations, and war. For Russia the average correlations
were .23, for international relations they were .09, and for war
they were -.13.

In addition to examining the overall impact of parents in the
political socialization process, a question which has begun to receive
empirical attention is which parent contributes most to a child's
political socialization. Langton (1969:54) notes that the "prevailing
view on intra-familial interaction in the United States sees the
husband-father playing the dominant political role." However,
Newcomb and Svehla (1937), Jennings and Langton (1969), and Jennings
and Neimi (1971) have presented evidence somewhat to the contrary
of this view. Their studies indicate little, if no difference,
between parents in terms of their relative contributions to the
political socialization of their offspring.

The literature on parents in the political socialization
process raises three important questions. First, to what extent are
parents political significant others. That is, for what per cent
of children do parents influence the content of their political
socialization. Second, is parents' political influence less for

political topics other than partisanship. Third, is there a

difference in the impact of mothers and fathers in the political

socialization of their offspring.

The school

Hess and Torney (1967:120) argue that the effectiveness of

the family in transmitting attitudes has been overestimated. Their

evidence indicates that the family's impact is confined primarily

to partisanship and attachment to the political system. They

assert that the public school is the "most important and most

effective instrument of political socialization in the United States."

However, current data are not available to specify the relative

importance of schools in the political socialization process. Hess

and Torney base their assertion on the findings from a correlational

study of students in grades two through eight. The authors note a

sharp increase in the development of political attitudes during the

grade school period. They also note that there is a high corres-

pondence between the mean attitude position of the eighth grade

students on various political issues and objects and the mean

attitude position of the public school teachers. This suggests to

Hess and Torney that over the course of elementary school, the

teachers have inculcated the children with their own attitudes.

However, the data allow other interpretations. For example, since

school grades correspond closely to the child's age, the data may

be interpreted as indicating that the development of political atti-

tudes is a function of a person's age. This development could be due

to factors outside the school, such as the family, the peer group and

other community agencies.

Hess and Torney's cross-sectional analysis provides the only

data on the impact of teachers in the political socialization process.

Dawson and Prewitt (1969:160) explain this paucity of research: "The

teacher's role as a conveyor of consensus values is so widely accepted

that few students of political socialization have investigated it."

However, Langton (1969:86) cites evidence which suggests that teachers

themselves may not be committed to the consensus values they allegedly

teach. He points out that in a study by Harmon Zeigler (1966)

responses by teachers to various questions indicated a "pattern of

uncertaintly or rejection concerning the Bill of Rights." The possi-

bility that teachers may not accept the consensus principles of the

United States would seem to lend credence to the possibility that

they may indeed directly attempt to transmit (or at least uncon-

sciously transmit) some of their non-consensus ideas to the students.

Unfortunately, no one has yet attempted to explicate this point.

Instead, proceeding on the assumption that the teacher himself is of

little importance in transmitting his own values, research has

tended to focus on the impact of the school curriculum.

Research into the effects of curriculum have uncovered

inconsistent results. Kornhauser (1930) in a longitudinal study found significant changes in attitudes toward liberal economic positions among college students in an economics class. Somit et al. (1958), on the other hand, found no significant alteration in students' attitudes toward political participation as a result of exposure to various college level courses in political science. In a cross-sectional analysis of college students, McClintock and Turner (1962) reported no significant differences between freshmen and seniors with regard to political knowledge, political involvement, and other political attitudes. This finding suggests that exposure to the whole college experience may have little impact on political attitudes. Newcomb (1948), however, in the Bennington study, found perceptible changes in both political and economic attitudes of students who matriculated four years at Bennington College.

On the high-school level, Williams (1961) examined the effects of two geography courses on students' opinions of West African Blacks. One course emphasized the physical and regional geography of West Africa. The other stressed the history and current problems of the West African inhabitants. Williams found that there was significant attitude change toward the West Africans in the latter group, but no change in the former group. Litt (1963) reported that exposure to the civics curriculum in several Boston area schools significantly increased the feelings of the students toward the

democratic creed of the United States and decreased their political
chauvanistic sentiments. However, the curriculum had no effect on
attitudes toward political participation or the role of citizens
in political life. In a national survey of high school students,
Langton and Jennings (1968) found that the civics curriculum had
negligible effects on a number of political attitudes and beliefs
including political knowledge, political interest, political efficacy,
and political cynicism.

Much of the variation in the above findings can be attributed
to methodological and sampling differences. In addition, the studies
have been concerned with a number of different dependent variables.
However, amidst the confusion, one fact stands out. Even when
research results indicate a statistically significant impact of
curriculum on aspects of an individual's political attitudes, this
impact is actually small in magnitude.

The available data on schools, then, indicate that the
curriculum itself appears to play only a marginal role in political
attitude development. However, it leaves at least two questions
open concerning the teachers' role in political socialization. First,
how extensive is the influence of teachers in political socialization,
and second, is their impact essentially as conveyors of consensus
political norms.

The peer group

The peer group refers to those friends and acquaintances of an individual who are approximately his own age. One of the first studies to document the peer group's socializing effect was Newcomb's (1948) Bennington study. Newcomb's analysis revealed sizeable peer group influences on the political and economic attitudes of student body members. Rose (1957) found among Cornell students that those whose best friends favored Stevenson in 1956 voted for him by a two to one margin; those whose best friends favored Eisenhower went to him by three to one. Maccoby et al. (1954) found that 52 per cent of friends of respondents who were Republican also were Republican and that 74 per cent of friends of respondents who were Democratic also identified with the Democratic party. McCloskey and Dahlgren (1959) report a similar finding. Their data reveal a direct relationship between party choice and proportion of friends who identify with that party. In a more recent study, Langton (1967) found that lower class children who associated with students from higher classes held certain political attitudes which were more similar to the attitudes of the higher class children than to the attitudes of other lower class children who associated only with peers from their own social class. He suggests that the higher class peers resocialized the lower class students in the direction of the higher class values.

The studies on peer group effects have been able to document

a covariation between peer group attitudes and respondent attitudes. However, only Newcomb's (1948) study has been able to approximate experimental manipulation of peer group effects to demonstrate causality. Newcomb's study was ideal for this since Bennington College in the 1930's approached a total institution. The school was relatively isolated from other inhabited areas. The nearest town was four miles from campus, and the average student visited it only about once a week. Most students' parents were far enough from the college that they only visted home once a month on the average. Consequently, almost all of their time was spent on the Bennington campus.

Most of the students who entered Bennington College were politically and economically conservative in their attitudes and beliefs. However, the upper classmen tended to be liberal in their political and economic orientations. Newcomb found that each year the students studied at Bennington, they became more liberal in their political and economic attitudes. Since each student's major source of interaction was the other students, he concluded that the attitude change was a function of membership in the liberal Bennington student body.

Although Newcomb's study documents that peer groups can actually "re-socialize" the political beliefs of individuals, his sample is atypical of most students. The majority of students are not quite so isolated from influences other than their peers. Improvement

in mass transit coupled with the proliferation of cars makes it possible for students to travel wide distances in short times. Consequently, while their peers may be supplying them with political information, their parents, relatives, and others may also be supplying them with political ideas. In cases such as this, the fact that there is a high covariation between peer group attitudes and respondent attitudes does not necessarily indicate that the peer group has caused these attitudes. McCloskey and Dahlgren (1959:772) observe: "Cause and effect in this matter are not always easy to distinguish. Our choice of friends is, in some measure at least, governed by our political views and these in turn have been largely predetermined by our families."

A number of authors (Byrne and Nelson, 1964; Newcomb, 1961; Stein et al., 1965) have demonstrated that individuals tend to choose friends, to some extent, on the basis of attitudinal similarity. However, it is still unclear to what extent individuals choose friends who have political views similar to themselves, especially individuals who are still of grade school and high school age. If individuals do choose friends on the basis of political attitudes, then peers may indeed be acting primarily as reinforcers of political attitudes acquired initially from parents. Sigel (1970) suggests that the peer group often is a political reinforcer of familial ideas rather than a resocializer. McCloskey and Dahlgren present data

indicating that peers often act as reinforcers of party identification

acquired from parents but point out that "When the majority of a

voter's peers do not support the party favored by his family, the

conditional probability is high (over 80 per cent) that he will

abandon the family's voting tradition and shift his support to the

opposition." (1959:772)

The evidence seems to suggest that peer groups act both as

reinforcers and resocializers of individual's attitudes. Unfortu-

nately, data are not currently available to indicate how frequently

peers play either role.

The questions raised in these studies of the peer group are

first, what is the extent of the impact of peers in the political

socialization process, and seond, is their role that of a reinforcer

of previously acquired attitudes, or do they function to "re-socialize"

a person's political attitudes.

The studies reviewed here are illustrative of several points.

First, they suggest that "other" individuals exert considerable

impact in the political socialization process, although they are far

from conclusive as to the extent of this impact. In addition the

political socialization literature points out that an individual's

political orientations consist of a number of analytically distinct

attitudes toward different aspects or objects included under the

realm of political. For example, an individual has attitudes toward

political parties, political issues, political actors, etc. Finally,

past research reveals that socializing agents may vary as a function

of the type of political attitude under consideration. That is, a

socializing agent may exert substantial influence over a person's

party choice, but have little effect over some other political

attitude such as his opinion on a political issue.

Before relating some of the relevant literature concerning age,

sex, and selected aspects of the political socialization process, it

is necessary to address one other potentially important source of

political attitudes, the mass media.

Mass Media and Political Socialization

Although the effects of mass media in the political social-

ization process will not be examined in this thesis, the discussion

would not be complete without some notion of the possible ramifica-

tions of media effects in this process. At the conclusion of this

section, the reasons for concentrating on interpersonal sources at the

expense of examining the media will be outlined.

Klapper's (1960) influential work "The Effects of Mass

Communication" provided a review of a number of works concerned with

the impact of mass media on attitudes (opinion in Klapper's termin-

ology). According to Klapper the media plays a very minor role in

attitude change. He suggests that if they have any impact on

attitudes it is primarily to reinforce existing attitudes. He

suggests, however, that in the absence of any attitudes toward an issue, the media can be effective in creating new attitudes (opinions). According to Klapper (p. 55) "Communication content is more effective in influencing public opinion on new or unstructured issues, i.e. those not particularly correlated with existing attitude clusters."

Studies since Klapper's review examining the impact of mass media on a number of dependent political variables have tended to confirm the weak effect of the media. Key (1961) discerned a direct relationship between the number of campaign media perused by a respondent and an index of political activity. While the relationship appeared significant, Key offered no statistic to assess the strength of media's impact on political activity. Becker and Preston (1969) replicated Key's independent and dependent variables along with examining media's impact on seven other indices of political activity. Controlling for education and occupation, they found only small effects of the number of media reviewed on eight political activity variables with gammas ranging from -.014 to .348 (the average gamma was .217). In a series of panel studies on the British election campaigns of 1959 and 1964, Treneman and McQuail (1961) and Blumler and McQuail (1969) found significant, albeit small, correlations between exposure to campaign related media and gains in political information among the electorate. Controlling for type of media, each study found that television had the greatest impact on political

information gains with the correlations being .11 and .10 for the two studies respectively. Blumler and McQuail also found a mild relationship between exposure to campaign media on television and changes in the respondents' attitudes toward the Liberal Party, with the correlation being .17.

Woelfel et al. (1974) examined the impact of the mass media on the attitude of a sample of Canadian college students concerning the separation of Quebec from Canada (French Canadian Separatism). The authors measured the variable mass media by combining indices of the average amount of time the respondents spent with selected media, the frequency with which the respondents saw reference made to French Canadian Separatism in those media, and the general bias of the coverage, i.e., whether the media coverage was typically pro or con French Canadian Separatism. They found small correlations between media and attitude toward Separatism with the correlation between radio listening and attitude toward Separatism of .20 and the correlation between television viewing and the same attitude being .18.

Chaffee et al. (1970) attempted to compare several inter-personal and media sources on changes in political knowledge over the course of the 1968 presidential election campaign. The authors examined both junior high and senior high students. They asked the students to rate their parents, friends, teachers, and various mass media as sources of their political information. The authors found

that the media ranked higher than any of the interpersonal sources taken separately, although combining the interpersonal sources indicates that they provide more political information than the media sources. The authors also discovered correlations of .23 and .25 between political knowledge and the rating of mass media as a source of political information for junior high students and senior high students respectively. The corresponding correlations for parents are -.07 and -.08, for peers -.17 and -.12, and for teachers -.15 and -.12. Although the results once again demonstrate only a small relation between mass media and a political characteristic of an individual, they are of interest since they suggest that mass media are greater sources of political information than are interpersonal sources. While this finding is somewhat curious, especially in light of studies reviewed previously which demonstrated considerable effects of interpersonal sources on various political characteristics, it is certainly possible, since political knowledge has received little empirical attention as a variable.

Clarke and Kline, in two different papers (Clarke and Kline, 1974 and Palmgreen et al., 1974), have suggested that, indeed, mass media may be primarily a source of political information but have little effect on attitude formation and change. The authors urge that researchers separate belief from attitude and study the effects of the mass media on beliefs. Following Patterson and McLure (1973)

they employ Fishbein's (1965) distinction between beliefs and attitudes. According to Clarke and Kline

> beliefs are defined as knowledge linkages . . . for example, awareness of issue stands taken by candidates, or associations between candidates and personal attributes. Attitudes are defined as evaluations, good or bad, placed on issue positions and attributes. Patterson and McClure hypothesize substantial media effects on beliefs, but little (or at best indirect) effects on attitudes.

This hypothesis, however, requires more theoretical explication. While it is conceivable that media could influence political beliefs without affecting the direction of a person's political attitudes, it could only happen in certain instances. This is due to the high interrelation between attitudes and beliefs. A number of attitude theorists (ranging from Sherif and Cantril, 1947, to Newcomb, Turner, and Converse, 1964, to Wrightsman, 1972) have argued that attitudes consist of three interrelated components, cognitive, affective, and conative. The cognitive component corresponds with Clarke and Kline's notion of belief, while the affective component fits with their notion of an attitude. The conative component refers to the behavioral tendencies which attitudes give rise to. McGuire (1969) lists five studies which have demonstrated a strong relationship between these three components suggesting that alteration of any component should alter the other components. Rosenberg (1960) has theorized that changing either the affective or cognitive components of an attitude will cause some affective attitude change.

According to Rosenberg (p. 323)

> the production of inconsistency between the affective and
> cognitive portions of an attitude will culminate in a general
> attitude reorganization (through which the affective-cognitive
> inconsistency is reduced or eliminated) when (1) the incon-
> sistency exceeds the individual's present tolerance limit and
> (2) the force producing it cannot be ignored or avoided.

In this quote Rosenberg is giving his conception of the way

inconsistency in beliefs and attitudes can cause attitude change. His

formulation of this is just one of a number of theories of cognitive

consistency, all of which follow from the assumption that inconsis-

tencies among beliefs and attitudes (in Clarke and Kline's terminology)

constitute the driving force for attitude change. (See for example,

Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1946; and Osgood and Tannenbaum, 1955 for

their own specific theories of consistency. For a review of the

plethora of consistency theories see Abelson et al., 1968.) The

theories of cognitive consistency have amassed a sizeable literature

showing support for their premise of changing an attitude by changing

some cognitive component of the attitude. Zajonc (1968) and Abelson

et al. (1968) provide summaries of many of these studies.

Given the strong interrelation betweeen beliefs and attitudes,

it appears that the only way media could operate in the manner

posited by Clarke and Kline without violating the principles of

attitude theory listed above would be if the consumers of media

received cognitions which, although new, were consistent with those

already existing in their cognitive structure. If this were the

case, no attitude change (change in the affective component) would be expected, but the media would be operating to increase the knowledge of a person concerning various topics. Clarke and Kline's own research concerning the impact of the media on political information is not quite compelling enough to verify their viewpoint, although it is intriguing enough to warrant further work.

Clarke and Kline, in the two papers cited above, argue that in addition to focusing on relating media to a different dependent variable, information instead of attitudes, the variable mass media itself requires some respecification. Clarke and Kline (1974:6) note that the typical indices of mass media "amount to an inventory of time spent with various media or frequency of reading, listening, or viewing behavior." The authors suggest a new method for operationalizing media effect which concentrates on the content of the message as distinguished from the medium and the frequency of perceiving that content. Palmgreen et al. (1974) employed this new operationalization of mass media and related it to three political information variables. While the results indicate that this new media measure may be a better index of media influence than past indices, the overall results do not portray the media as having a huge impact on the acquisition of political information. The authors correlated mass media with three indices of political information relating to a political problem on the national level

and the same three indices of political information regarding a political problem on the local level. The correlations on the national level between media and these three indices of political information were .20, .43, and .23 and on the local level they were .14, .01, and .05.

If mass media are conceived of more as a source of information than attitudes, then one would expect to find the correlations between media and measures of political information higher than correlations between media and political attitudes. Clearly five of the six correlations reported by Palmgreen et al. are not significantly higher than the correlations between the media and some measure of a political attitude as reported by Blumler and McQuail (1969) and Woelfel et al. (1974). Similarly, the correlations between mass media and political information reported by Chaffee et al. (1970) are not any higher than the correlations reported by Blumler and McQuail and Woelfel et al. However, Palmgreen et al. do report one fairly sizeable correlation (r = .43) between mass media and a measure of political information concerning the number of specific proposals a respondent could name as possible solutions to a national political problem. While this high correlation is reason enough for pursuing the impact of media on political information in the future, the current status of the media regarding a variety of dependent political variables is that they have, at best, only a small impact on them.

To review briefly, the above studies point out the lack of success in relating various indices of mass media usage to various dependent political variables. While a number of authors agree that the media probably have little effect on attitude change, some still suggest that they may be an important cause of personal character- istics other than attitudes, in particular political information. Since the impact of the media on these characteristics other than attitudes is still in the early stages of empirical testing, it is difficult to determine just how strong of an effect it will have on these other characteristics. Despite the outcome of these future investigations, the important point to be taken from previous media studies is the consensus that the media have little impact on atti- tudes. Since this research is concerned solely with various political attitudes, it would appear that the examination of media effects in this study would not add much to the analysis, especially if the traditional measures of media were employed. Consequently, mass media variables will not be examined in this thesis so that full attention can be given to a thorough investigation of the inter- personal sources of political attitudes.

Sex, Age and Political Socialization

The objective of this section will be to review the theory and empirical evidence linking sex and age to selected political charac- teristics. Specifically it will concentrate on literature concerning

the relation between sex, age and four political attributes. These

attributes are political interest, political knowledge, degree of

political attitude formation, and direction of political attitudes.

By examining the relationship between sex, age and these variables

along with their relation to who the interpersonal sources of political

attitudes are, the thesis will be able to document how extensively

these variables are involved in the political socialization process.

Since the turn of the century, a number of research reports

have concerned themselves with sex and age in the context of political

socialization. Theoretically, each can be seen to be linked to the

political attributes mentioned above. Orum and associates (1974) have

reviewed the theoretical literature concerning differences in male

and female political attitudes and behaviors. They discern two

related processes leading to possible sex differences in selected

political characteristics. They argue that society expects girls to

become housewives and mothers and be confined to the private existence

of living at home. Men on the other hand are expected to be involved

in society at large primarily through their employment. They feel

that men will be socialized by their significant others to prepare

them for their more public existence while girls will be socialized

to prepare them for their private existence. This socialization will

have ramifications for political feelings and behaviors in the

following fashion. Orum et al. (1974:207) speculate that:

anticipating that, as men, they will enter the world of work,
boys become more interested in public affairs, generally,
one manifestation of which is their interest in politics.
Girls, in contrast anticipate at an early age their more
private existence as women, confined to the home and local
community; thus, they typically devote less attention to the
world of public affairs than boys. For girls this finds
expression in their lesser knowledge and interest in politics.

Theoretically, the combined effect of differential significant
other influence and differential anticipatory socialization may lead
males to be more interested in politics and to become more knowl-
edgeable about politics than females. In addition, males could be
led to form different substantive attitudes concerning various aspects
of the political process.

Aging reflects at least four analytically distinct processes
which may relate to political development. One of these was noted by
Mannheim. According to Mannheim (1952:291):

The fact of belonging to the same class and that of belonging
to the same generation or age group, have this in common, that
both endow the individual sharing in them with a common location
in the social and historical process, and thereby limit them to
a specific range of political experience, predisposing them
for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience . . .

A second process represented by age is simply the fact that
aging exposes a person to information. This information can be
about new topics and also can be different information concerning old
topics about which the person already has some attitudes. The receipt
of new information toward new topics will cause the formation of
attitudes toward these topics. Hence, one can make the not too

startling prediction that a person will develop more attitudes as he
ages. In addition, aging will also result in some attitude change to
the extent that new information about various topics differs from the
attitude position the individual already has toward these topics.

A third function of aging was postulated by Piaget (1932) and
further elaborated by Kohlberg (1969). According to Kohlberg aging
causes a person to perceive information in qualitatively different
ways. Kohlberg suggests that individuals progress through stages of
development in which there is an interaction between the maturing of
the physical and cognitive aspects of the person. This development
can be characterized according to stages. In each of these stages
the cognitive processes are qualitatively different than in the
previous stage. If this cognitive-developmental school of sociali-
zation is correct, it would mean that an individual's attitudes
could change not only as a result of receiving new information about
an object, but also as a result of the individual perceiving the
same type of information in a wholly different fashion.

A fourth function of age arises from its relationship to
social roles. For example, a person cannot become a licensed driver
until he reaches a certain age. He cannot become a parent until he
reaches a certain age of biological maturity. Similarly age is
related to the role of voter. A person must be eighteen years of age
or older before he can vote in elections in the United States. The

occurence of being a voter or approaching voting age can lead to
increased interest in politics and increased information seeking
about politics. The latter can lead to increases in both political
knowledge and degree of political attitude formation.

Having reviewed some of the theoretical reasons for positing
that sex and age may play important roles in the political sociali-
zation process of American youth, the text now turns to some
empirical findings.

Sex, age and political interest

The relationship between sex and political interest was first
suggested empirically in a series of three studies conducted between
1900 and 1906. Barnes (1902), in a study of 2100 London school age
children, found that boys were more likely to choose historic and
public figures as their ideal role models while girls tended to
choose imaginary figures or individuals close to themselves, such as
a parent. This finding was confirmed on samples of school age
children in both the United States (Chamber, 1903) and Germany
(Goddard, 1906).

More evidence concerning males' higher levels of political
interest was uncovered during the late 1930's and through the 1940's.
Brown (1939), Meine (1941), and Wall (1948) all found that school
age males tended to consume such politically relevant aspects of the
mass media as the news, political features, and current events more

than did their female counterparts.

Another avenue of evidence for sex differences came from
Frohnte's (1956) analysis of self-report data of political interest.
Examination of a sample of 1500 German respondents between the ages of
15 and 24 revealed that 50 per cent of the males reported themselves
as being interested in politics while only 23 per cent of the females
claimed such interest.

While the above studies suggest some variance in political
interest as a function of sex, two studies concerning self-report data
of political interest in the United States suggest little difference
between the sexes on the dimension of political interest. Remmers
and Horton (1952) found no significant differences between 1535 high
school males and 1465 high school females with regard to their interest
in the 1952 United States presidential election. Hess and Torney
(1967) found no significant differences between males and females in
grades two, three, and eight on the basis of their responses to the
question "how interested in the government and current events are
you?" However, males in grades four through seven did express more
interest in politics than females. It must be stressed, though, that
these differences, while statistically significant, were very small in
magnitude. Hess and Torney measured political interest on a scale
ranging from 1 to 3. In no case were the differences in interest at
the fourth through seventh grade levels larger than .10.

Data using political participation as a behavioral index of political interest also reveal only small differences between males and females. Hess and Torney (1967) examined gender variation with regard to an index of three political activities: wearing campaign buttons, reading about candidates, and helping candidates. They found small,[1] statistically significant differences with males reporting more political activity in grades three through five, but no differences in grades six through eight.

Orum et al. (1974) also examined differences between males and females with regard to an index of three political behaviors similar to those employed by Hess and Torney (1967). Their findings were presented for grade levels four through six, seven through eight, nine through ten, and eleven through twelve controlled for the race categories Black and White. In none of the eight possible cases was sex able to account for more than 3 per cent of the variation in political interest.

To summarize briefly while data on both self-report of political interest and measures of political behavior suggest more political interest on the part of males than females, the overall portrait they paint is that the differences are very small.

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[1]Hess and Torney's scale of political activity had a range of 0--4. The largest of the differences between the sexes at any grade level was .16.

With regard to age and political interest, while the litera-
ture is not as extensive as with sex and interst, it has documented
fairly substantial covariance between the two, at least during the
grade school and high school years. Remmers and Horton (1952) report
that whereas 35 per cent of the ninth grade students they sampled
reported themselves "hardly interested at all" in the 1952 presiden-
tial election, only 22 per cent of the twelfth graders responded in
a similar fashion. Hess and Torney (1967) also find increases in
political interest during grade school. On their three point scale
of political interest, they find that interest increases .32 scale
points from grade two to grade eight. However, the increase is not
perfectly linear. The largest increase in political interest occurs
between grades two through four. Between grades four through six
there is little change in interest, after which interest again
increases from the sixth grade to the eighth grade.

Turning to measures of political activity, Hess and Torney
(1967) find a steep linear trend in their index of political activity
during elementary school. The mean level of activity on their
political participation scale (range of 0 to 3) is 1.24 for third
grade students and 1.86 for eighth grade students.

Sex, age, political knowledge, and degree of political attitude formation

The concepts of political knowledge and degree of political

attitude formation are highly related. The former refers to

specific non-evaluative pieces of information an individual possesses

concerning politics. It is typically measured by having respondents

answer selected politically related questions such as "who is your

state senator," or "how long is the term of a member of the United

States House of Representatives?" A measure of the respondent's

political knowledge is obtained by the number of questions he answers

correctly. Degree of political attitude formation refers to the

extent to which an individual has formed evaluative responses to

political objects.[2] It is measured by asking the respondent to list

how he feels about a political object along a continuum of liking-

disliking. The respondent is also allowed the choice of reporting

that he has formed no attitude toward the object in question. Hence,

degree of attitude formation is measured by the number of objects

toward which the respondent expresses some response other than no

attitude. The interrelatedness of these two concepts stems from the

fact that the attitudes one holds toward objects are highly contingent

upon the knowledge one has concerning those objects. Thus, it should

not be surprising to find similar results concerning the relation of

sex and age to political knowledge and to degree of political attitude

formation.

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[2]The usage of the term attitude as an evaluative response
towards objects is further developed in the next chapter.

Burton (1936), Fortune (1942), Greenstein (1965), and Orum

et al. (1974) have all presented data indicating superior degrees of

political knowledge on the part of males. In addition Frohnte (1956),

Remmers and Radler (1957), and Hess and Torney (1967) have all found

that males exhibit a higher degree of political attitude formation

than females. However, despite these consistent findings, close

inspection of the data shows that sex differences with regard to both

political knowledge and attitude formation are not that large.

Greenstein (1965), for example, measured political knowledge on a

scale from 0 to 6 for a sample of 669 youngsters in grades four

through eight. The average male score on the scale was 4.69, the

females' was 4.31, a difference of only .38. Orum et al. (1974)

found that among blacks there was no difference in levels of political

knowledge between the sexes. For whites they did find sex differences

accounting for approximately 5 to 7 per cent of the variance in

political knowledge.[3]

Remmers and Radler (1957) examined the number of undecided

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[3] Actually it is difficult to assess the exact amount of
variance sex explains in political knowledge in the study by Orum et al.
This is because they present their findings as partial correlations
controlled for race and father's occupation. Hence, their partial
correlations indicate the amount of variance sex explains in political
knowledge after the effects of race and occupation are removed. Thus,
to be more accurate, sex explains between 5 to 7 per cent of the
remaining variance in political knowledge after the effects of race
and father's occupation have been removed. Unfortunately, the
authors do not present the correlations between father's occupation,
race and political knowledge.

responses to a list of thirty-eight items to which their sample of

high school respondents were asked to express their attitudes. Males

were found to express undecided responses on the average to 14.3 of

the items while females had no attitude for 16.5 of the items. Hess

and Torney (1967) presented their respondents with a set of thirty-two

items toward which they asked them to express their attitudes. They

found that males express more attitudes at grades four through six

than do females, but reported no differences at grades seven through

eight.

In general the evidence concerning sex, extent of political

knowledge, and degree of political attitude formation demonstrates that

males display a mild superiority on these dimensions. However, one

point of confusion remains. Hess and Torney (1967) found that while

males have a greater degree of political attitude formation in the

early grades, females demonstrate similar levels of attitude formation

in the later grades. This suggests a trend in which females lag

behind males briefly and then catch up to them. However, Remmers

and Radler's (1957) high school sample indicates that males are

ahead of females in degree of political attitude formation. The data

from these studies can only be considered as suggestive of a parabolic

pattern since they are from different samples and were collected at

different time periods. It still remains to be seen what the differ-

ences between males and females are over time.

Concerning age, political knowledge, and political attitude
formation, the evidence shows that political knowledge and attitudes
are highly related to age. Burton (1936) and Greenstein (1965), for
example, both find that political knowledge increases as a function of
age. Similarly, with regard to political attitude formation, Remmers
and Radler (1957) and Hess and Torney (1967) find that the number
of political attitudes one holds increases as a function of age.
Combining, once again, the grade school sample of Hess and Torney and
the high school sample of Remmers and Radler indicates that political
attitudes continue to proliferate throughout grade school and high
school. Although attitudes increase at every grade level, the rate of
increase is not perfectly linear. The data indicate a rapid increase
in attitudes from fourth to fifth grade, a slowing in the rate from
fifth to tenth grade, and an increase between tenth and twelfth grade.
Again, however, since the samples are not comparable, the data can
only be taken as suggestive of a pattern. Examination of the rate of
political attitude formation through grade and high school will be a
concern of this thesis.

Sex, age, and direction of political attitudes

There is some evidence that women and men differ in their
views on selected political issues. Cantril and Strunk (1951) in
their review of public opinion for one and one-half decades, point
out at least four areas where men and women have differed. They

find women more in favor of a national referendum to authorize Congress to declare war. They also find women less in favor of capitol punishment, less in favor of unrestricted liquor sales, and less approving of the job of their congressional representatives.

Harris (1972) in an attitude survey of a representative sample of 3000 female and 1000 male American voters reports mixed findings. For example, he finds men more likely to say that Nixon's economic policies are doing more good than harm. He finds women more in favor of gun control and less in favor of increased defense spending. At the same time Harris reports virtually no difference between males and females with regard to their views on busing, government aid to cities, political philosophy (liberal-conservative), and political partisanship.

Three other studies have found virtually no relationship between sex and a variety of political attitudes. Woelfel et al. (1974) report a partial correlation of only .01 between sex and their respondents' attitude toward the separation of Quebec from Canada. Orum et al. (1974) show partial correlations between sex and political affect controlled for race, SES and grade level. In no case do they find a partial correlation exceeding .166 and the average of the eight correlations they present is .074. Knoke and Haut (1974) report no relation between sex and political partisanship for a national sample of voters.

The results from these studies suggest, at most, only slight differences between males and females in the direction of their attitudes.

There has been no research, to the author's knowledge, concerning the relation between age and direction of political attitudes among youth. Among adults there have been empirically documented reports suggesting that older adults hold more conservative political attitudes (Crittenden, 1962; Glenn, 1972, Lipset, 1963). The thesis will examine the relationship between both sex and age and the direction of political attitudes among children.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS AND THEORY

The previous sections have pointed out the importance of interpersonal influence in the political socialization process. They have also suggested that a fruitful way of exploring this influence would be by examining political significant others. This chapter will begin by examining two related concepts: primary group and reference group. It will point out the inadequacies in these concepts for political socialization research and then examine the concept significant other demonstrating its utility for this type of research.

The chapter will then turn to describing the theory of attitude formation and change used to guide this research, concentrating especially on how significant others can influence attitudes.

Concepts Used to Depict Interpersonal Influence

Primary group

Charles Horton Cooley must be considered one of the primary promoters of the idea of self development through interaction with others. In 1902 he coined the notion of "the looking-glass self." According to Cooley (1902:183-184):

> In a very large and interesting class of cases, the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self--that is any idea he appropriates--appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self.

Cooley explains that:

> A self idea of this sort appears to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feelings, such as pride or mortification.

For Cooley, the major looking-glass for each person was his primary group. Although Cooley did not coin the term "primary group,"[1] he certainly was the first to give it substance and importance. Cooley (1909:23) defined the primary group as "those groups characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation." Cooley's notion of the primary group is one of the pioneering attempts at not only _indicating_ the impact of interpersonal influence but also of attempting to _pinpoint_ where, in the vastness of mankind, that influence is located.

However, as with most pioneering efforts, Cooley's primary group concept was not without difficulties. Bates and Babchuk (1961:181) note that:

> From its very inception his formulation has been germinal, but it also has proved to be a source of confusion. This dubious

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[1] The term primary group was first used as a chapter title "The Primary Social Group," in a book by Albion Small and George Vincent titled AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIETY, 1895.

side is illustrated in a statement by Eliot (1944:135) that
'the word primary . . . though heavily entrenched in socio-
logical usage, is confusing and might well give way to a
terminology more descriptive of the essential traits meant.'

Several attempts were made to clarify the concept, including
ones by Cooley et al. (1933) and Ellsworth Faris (1932). Actually it
is not the group per se, but the character of the relationship which
is the essential element of a primary group. Hence, the group itself
is not always a primary group, but certain relationships within the
group can at times be primary relations.

This leads to two problems in utilizing the term in research
endeavors. The first is determining and operationalizing what primary
relations are, although this is undoubtedly a manageable problem. The
more serious drawback is that the concept primary group captures only
a portion of the interpersonal influence web. Cooley et al. (1933:56)
speculated that "probably the human race, all told, has lived more
than 90% of its total existence in such groups" (i.e., primary groups).
However, at the same time, the authors noted that in modern America
(1933), the primary groups had less of an impact than they had in the
past due to the effects of urbanization. Undoubtedly this trend has
continued to the present day.

In addition evidence has emerged suggesting that many of the
relationships within the prototypical primary groups, i.e., the
family, the play group, and the neighborhood, are not primary in
character. Lopata (1965) found in a survey of over 600 Chicago

area housewives that a number of the relationships between the wives
and their spouses tended to be of a secondary nature.

As a result of these problems, the term primary group has
received little attention recently in the research literature.

Generalized other

Along with Cooley, George Herbert Mead also devoted considerable
attention to the effects others have on an individual's self-conception.
Mead personally was concerned specifically with the development of an
organized self-concept. This he argued (1934:158) could only be
formed by taking the attitude of the generalized other:

> I have pointed out, then, that there are two general stages in
> the full development of the self. At the first of these
> stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an
> organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals
> toward himself and toward one another in the specific social
> acts in which he participates with them. But at the second
> stage in the full development of the individual's self, the
> self is constituted not only by an organization of these
> particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization
> of the social attitudes of the generalized other or the social
> group as a whole to which he belongs. These social or group
> attitudes are brought within the individual's field of direct
> experience, and are included as elements in the structure or
> constitutuion of his self, in the same way that the attitudes
> of particular other individuals are; and the individual
> arrives at them or succeeds in taking them, by means of
> further organizing, and then generalizing, the attitudes of
> the particular other individuals in terms of their organized
> social bearings and implications.

Mead's generalized other, of course, did not exist in
reality. Each individual generated the attitude of the group or
social unit in his mind from interaction with the specific others of

his experience. However, Mead did not go into detail concerning who these specific others were, although he did elaborate on some of the mechanisms by which the attitudes of others could be appropriated as part of the self. Probably the most famous of these is "taking the role of the other."

Mead's treatment of the generalized other provides valuable insight into the process of attitude and behavior formation. However, since the generalized other is actually an imaginary figure, it affords little utility as a research tool. With the advent of survey research, social psychology needed operationalizeable concepts for both locating and determining the impact of others on an individual's self-concept. Shortly after Mead's death, two concepts arose which attempted to fill this need: these were the concepts "reference group" and "significant other."

Reference group

The term reference group was originated by Hyman in 1942. Hyman was concerned with how individuals subjectively determined their own statuses such as economic status, prestige, and physical appearance. He found that in making these subjective judgements, his respondents first tended to pick a point of reference, some group or social category. Using this category as a referent, the individual would compare himself to this group and evaluate his own position on the basis of this comparison.

Newcomb (1948), six years later, rewrote an earlier article
on his Bennington College data using the reference group concept as
an independent variable. Since this article was described in
considerable detail in the first chapter, no further discussion will
be offered here. Newcomb's use of reference group in this article
was of considerable import in the development of the concept,
although at the time the article appeared, this import was not yet
fully appreciated.

Four years later Kelley (1952) published an article which
explained the difference between Hyman and Newcomb's use of the
concept reference group. According to Kelley reference groups could
function to influence behavior and attitudes in two ways.

1) The Normative function--Kelley argued that many times
groups are in a position to set standards for individuals and to
enforce these standards. For example, groups which individuals
belong to (and wish to continue membership in) can use the threat of
removal from the group in order to coerce conformity from the indi-
vidual. According to Kelley (1952:411) "Newcomb's use of 'reference
group' clearly falls into this category."

2) The Comparative function--Kelley also pointed out that
groups can often serve as standards or comparison points against
which a person can evaluate himself and others. Hyman's study
examined this aspect of reference groups.

Since the appearance of this article, there has been consensus concerning the functions of reference groups. Reference groups are viewed as groups which exercise influence over some personal characteristics of the individual (e.g., attitudes, self-concept, behavior). They operate either via the comparative function or the normative function. However, although there is consesnsus over what reference groups do, there is much disagreement about what reference groups are.

Sherif (1953:273) says "reference groups can be characterized simply as those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically." Newcomb, on the other hand, argues that individuals may relate themselves not only positively to reference groups, but also negatively, the former being a group whose attitudes one adopts, and the latter a group whose attitudes one rejects. To add to the confusion of identifying reference groups Merton and Kitt (1950:50) point out that "reference groups, in principal, are almost innumerable; any of the groups of which one is a member, and these are comparatively few, as well as groups of which one is not a member, and these are, of course, legion, can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations, and behaviors." Although the authors hoped that some classification schema could be derived cataloging the more important types of reference groups, their hope lies unfulfilled. To further complicate matters, Shibutani (1955) contends that reference groups

need not be real, but may be imaginary reference points such as

posterity, our forefathers, men from Mars, etc.

A second problem with the reference group concept is the

utilization of the group as the unit of measure. Kinch (1973:95)

defines a group as the "collection of two or more persons who interact

and share common norms and whose social roles interlock." Hence, the

term suggests two elements: (1) more than one individual and

(2) individuals who somehow belong together.

In many instances of interpersonal influence, the individual's

specific referent may be only one other person. Hence, while the term

group may be useful for characterizing some instances of interpersonal

influence, it is not all inclusive. Secondly, all of the individuals

who have some impact on the person's self-concept may not logically

constitute a group. For example, a person's attitude toward school

may have been a function of the influence of his father, mother, best

friend and teacher. However, these individuals do not fit the social

psychological conception of a group.

A third drawback in using group as the unit of measure was

glossed over in the previous chapter. Even where there is influence

emanating from a reference group, in many cases it is unreasonable to

assume that the whole group is participating in the influence. Most

likely only some of the group members are used as reference points.

As Manford Kuhn (1964) has noted, persons only spend abstract time in

social categories and groups, but when the reference categories "come alive" for individuals, they do so in terms of role events with real persons. Certainly, the larger the group, the lesser the chance that the whole group is the agent of influence.

Significant other

In order to overcome some of these serious shortcomings, Schmitt (1972) has proposed the notion of the reference other, thus allowing for the examination of influence from specific individuals as well as groups. However, more than thirty years before Schmitt wrote about the reference other, Sullivan (1940) coined a similar term, "significant other." As it is used today, significant other refers to those persons who exert a major influence on the attitude(s) and behavior(s) of another. (See for example, Woelfel and Haller, 1971; Sewell et al., 1969; Duncan et al., 1968.)

The use of the individual as a unit of measure for interpersonal influence has certain advantages. First, it is a more readily defineable and measureable unit than a group. Secondly, all the properties of reference groups can be attributed to individuals; that is, an individual may act both as a normative and/or comparative referent to influence attitudes and behaviors.

Of course groups do exert influence over individuals. However, using individuals as the unit of measure does not obscure this fact. Needless to say, groups consist of individuals. Once an individual's

significant others have been determined for a set of attitudes or behaviors, further examination of these significant others will indicate whether or not they indeed constitute a group.

At this point the reader may wonder why--after such definite advantages to the use of the significant other concept have been illustrated--the concept of reference group received much more attention in the 1950's and early 1960's than the term significant other. At least two reasons contribute to this occurrence. First, as Kuhn (1964:10) has indicated "with sponsors such as Robert Merton, Theodore Newcomb, Muzafer Sherif, and, by implication, the late Sam Stouffer and his associates, it is little wonder the concept enjoyed--as one observer put it--a meteoric rise in popularity." Secondly, during the late 1940's and early 1950's, the work of Kurt Lewin and his associates had popularized the study of group effects on various attributes of individuals and vice-versa. Consequently, from both the fields of Sociology and Social Psychology, the group was the important unit of analysis.

More recently, however, the term significant other has been receiving increased attention. Stryker (1967:377), somewhat echoing the position of Cottrell and Foote (1952) points out:

> In comparatively recent work, the concept of "significant other" has come into use. This concept represents the recognition that, in a fragmented and differentiated world, not all the persons with whom one interacts have identical or even compatible perspectives; and that, therefore, in order for

action to proceed, the individual must give greater weight, or priority, to the perspectives of certain others.

As a matter of fact, some of the work currently being done under the rubric of reference group is studying both the effects of individuals upon other individuals as well as the effects of groups on individuals. (See for example, Tomel, 1970.)

Although significant other offers a better unit of measure than reference group, it has suffered from past research deficiencies. Woelfel and Haller (1971:75) point out that "in spite of the great progress that has been made, these recent studies have all used measures of significant other influence which are in one or more ways unsatisfactory." The authors continue:

> In no instance has a study (1) detected the exact significant others of a sample of individuals with an instrument of known validity and reliability, (2) measured the expectations of those others for the individuals in question, and (3) compared the effect of the expectation of others with other variables of known effect on the attitudes of individuals.

Previously many studies have focused on a small number of significant others, selected on theoretical grounds prior to the actual data collection. For example Bordua (1960), in one of the first studies to employ the notion of significant other influence, chose parents as the significant other's for the student sample in his research. Duncan et al. (1968) used parents and the respondent's best friend as the agents of significant other influence. Sewell et al. (1969) employed the respondent's parents, teachers, and best

friend as the significant others for their study. The problem with this type of selection procedure is that in the majority of cases it excludes from the analysis a number of individuals who are actually agents of influence for the respondent. For example, it eliminates relatives other than parents, and influential peers who are not best friends. In addition it may include individuals who are not really influential for the attitude in question.

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) used a different method to determine the agents of influence for an individual. They asked a sample of women whether they had recently influenced others in making a decision to change opinion or behavior. Specifically their question read "Have you recently been asked your advice about . . . ?" (p. 147) Queries were directed toward four substantive areas: marketing, fashion, movie going, and public affairs. A second question asked "Compared with other women belonging to your circle of friends, are you more or less likely than any of them to be asked your advice on . . . ?" (p. 147)

There are two major flaws in this approach to determining an individual's significant others. First, the technique may miss a number of agents of influence since only those respondents who are asked if they have influenced anyone recently can possibly be significant others. Secondly, there are more ways to influence an individual than by giving advice. Giving advice falls under the normative

function of influence. Hence, this mode of significant other analysis

will not necessarily uncover individuals who exert influence via the

comparative function.

Woelfel and Haller (1971:75) have argued that one of the main

reasons for previous research inadequacies has been "the lack of a

close connection between the measures themselves and attitude forma-

tion theory." In order to remedy this inadequacy, they devised a

questionnaire to elicit significant others for the areas of education

and occupation. The theory underlying the questionnaire is elaborated

by Woelfel (1967) and Haller and Woelfel (1969). Using their procedure

as a springboard, a questionnaire to elicit significant others in the

area of political attitudes was developed for this thesis research.

However, the theoretical underpinnings of the questionnaire construc-

tion are somewhat different. The remainder of this chapter will

concentrate on examining the attitude theory employed in this thesis.

The discussion of attitudes will begin by defining the concept of

attitude. Next, the focus will switch to methods by which attitudes

can be influenced with stress laid on how significant others can

influence attitudes. Finally, a formula for empirically assessing

the impact of influence on attitudes will be presented.

Attitudes and Attitude Formation and Change

The concept of attitude

Due to the tremendous amount of attention social scientists

have paid to the concept of attitude, a number of different definitions have been advanced. One of the reasons for this plethora of definitions stems from the fact that attitudes are seen by many to be composed of three interrelated parts (as mentioned in the section on mass media) and the various descriptions have emphasized different aspects of attitudes. The cognitive component of an attitude refers to how an attitude object is perceived in a non-evaluative way. The affective or evaluative component deals with an individual's feelings of liking or disliking toward an object. The third component, the conative, bears upon the behavioral tendencies which attitudes give rise to. Allport (1935), for example, defines an attitude basically as a predisposition or readiness to behave in a certain way. Hence, he can be seen to emphasize the conative aspect of an attitude. However, current definitions of attitudes lay stress on the affective component. Possibly the shift away from conceptualizing attitudes primarily as a readiness to behave in a certain way is due to the highly inconsistent findings in studies assessing the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Wicker (1969) presents a good review of the literature on attitudes and behavior consistency. While the exact date for the switch in emphasis in attitude definitions from the conative to the affective component cannot be pinpointed, as early as the late 1950's major attitude theorists were emphasizing the affective component (e.g., Osgood et al., 1957; Katz and Stotland, 1959). In addition,

many of the techniques for measuring attitudes assess only the

affective component. These include Likert scales, semantic differen-

tial items, and "feeling thermometers." This does not mean that

contemporary attitude theorists neglect the other two dimensions of

attitudes. Katz and Stotland (1959:429) point out that "attitudes or

evaluations thus have both an affective and a cognitive component.

. . . Attitudes may also include a behavioral component."

For purposes of this research, an attitude will be defined

following Bruvold (1970:11) as "a positive or negative affective

reaction toward a denotable abstract or concrete object or proposition."

An attitude, thus, can be seen to entail a person's conception of

whether he likes or dislikes an object, and can be construed as spec-

ifying a relationship between a person and an object.

Strategies for influencing attitudes

Just as there have been a number of definitions of attitude,

likewise has there been a wealth of theories of attitude change

advanced in the literature. While these theories diverge in some of

their propositions, most tend to agree on one point: in order to

influence a person's attitudes, some information must be communicated

to that person either directly concerning the attitude object in

question, or indirectly concerning some concept to which the attitude

object is seen to be related. This notion of indirect influence on

attitudes arises from the cognitive consistency literature. According

to this literature (for example, Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1958) there are clusters of objects or concepts in a person's cognitive structure which are interrelated. Consequently, information supplied to a person concerning one of the elements of the structure can affect not only the person's attitude toward this object but can also affect attitudes toward the other objects in this structure.

One must keep in mind that attitudes specify a relation between some person and some object. Thus far, the discussion has mentioned how attitudes can be influenced by providing information concerning the attitude object or objects it is related to. However, Mead (1934) has noted that individuals can be objects to themselves. Woelfel and Haller (1971) point out that individuals form conceptions of themselves in the same fashion as they form conceptions of other objects. People associate themselves with certain objects or concepts (e.g., man, student, tall) and dissociate themselves with others (e.g., thief, cheater, surfer). It follows then, that just as one can modify attitudes by providing information directly or indirectly about the attitude object, they can also be modified by providing information directly about a person himself, or indirectly through information relating to objects or concepts to which the individual relates himself.

Take for example a working class individual who barely earns enough money to feed his family. Suppose this man votes for the

political party in his country which advocates social change. Suppose

that for some reason this man is offered and accepts a well-paying

upper middle class position. This change in occupation may alter the

man's conception of himself. He may now perceive himself as financially

secure. This feeling of financial security may lead him to switch

party identification from the party advocating social change to that

supporting the status quo, since he might not want anything to happen

which could affect his financially secure position. In this case the

man's attitude toward political parties has been changed primarily

through a change in the man's conception of himself, not through a

change in his conception of the parties.

Based on the above discussion, it becomes evident that the

provision of information to a person can act in some part to affect

his attitudes. Kelley's (1952) discussion of the two functions of

reference groups provides a useful paradigm concerning how this

information can be transmitted interpersonally. Basically individuals

can either hold expectations for a person's attitudes (normative

function) or can serve as models for the person's attitudes and

behaviors (comparative function). Woelfel and Haller (1971) point

out that Kelley's classification boils down to either providing

information to a person by means of a symbolic medium (usually

language) or providing information simply by being in a position

where the attitude influencer's action can be observed by the person

and used as a model for behaviors and attitudes. Woelfel and Haller refer to the former process as defining and the latter as modelling. These terms will be used throughout the remainder of the thesis in place of Kelley's terminology.

One other point must be stressed about the information transmitted to an individual which influences his attitudes. This information may be either evaluative or non-evaluative in character. While this has been alluded to throughout this section, it must be made specific here to clear up any confusion. The quote from Rosenberg (1960) in the section on Mass Media evidences this point. In addition Cognitive Dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), Reinforcement theory (Hovland et al., 1953), Assimilation-Contrast theory (Sherif and Hovland, 1961), Balance theory (Heider, 1946), and Congruity theory (Osgood et al., 1957) all specify that attitudes can be changed either through communication of evaluative or non-evaluative information.

The preceeding discussion suggests several strategies or methods by which attitudes can be influenced. These methods of attitude change are contingent on two basic criteria.

I. The mode of providing information. These two modes are:

    A. Defining (holding expectations)

    B. Modelling (serving as a point of reference)

II. The object of the information. There are four possibilities:

A. The attitude object directly

B. Objects to which the attitude object is related (the attitude object indirectly)

C. The subject or person holding the attitude directly

D. Objects to which the subject is related (the subject indirectly)

Combining these categories yields seven methods of influencing attitudes.

1. Defining object, directly

2. Defining object, indirectly

3. Defining subject, directly

4. Defining subject, indirectly

5. Modelling object, directly

6. Modelling object, indirectly

7. Modelling subject, indirectly.

Since a person cannot actually be another person, models for subject are inherently indirect.

The above classification provides one way of conceptualizing the attitude formation and change process. Undoubtedly there are a number of permutations and combinations of the seven categories through which attitude influence can be effected. The analytic discussion presented above is necessary for empirically determining those individuals who actually influence a person's attitudes toward various objects. In the construction of the questionnaire to determine who a person's political significant others are, the

questions were constructed so as to ascertain those individuals who provided information to the sample respondents in any of the seven ways listed above. The construction of this questionnaire will be detailed in Chapter IV.

Measuring attitude change

Thus far the discussion has concentrated on means of effecting attitude change. While the previous discussion is highly related to the design of an instrument to determine political significant others, a separate treatment of how to empirically assess the impact of these significant others over an individual's political attitudes is still required. Unfortunately, the various theories of attitude change diverge at this point. Each theory has its own prediction concerning what pieces of information will influence an individual's attitudes and just how much influential pieces of information will affect attitudes. For example, according to various reinforcement theories of attitude change (Hovland et al., 1953), only information which provides some reinforcement or incentive for accepting a new attitude position will cause attitude change. However, according to various consistency theorists (Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1946), information does not have to be reinforcing to cause attitude change, it merely has to disagree (be inconsistent) with current information held by the individual. In summarizing the central theme of the varieties of consistency theory, McGuire (1969:268) points out that

all these theories argue essentially "that the person adjusts his

attitudes and behaviors in order to keep a maximum degree of internal

harmony within his belief system and between his beliefs and overt

actions." However, even the consistency theorists disagree on which

inconsistencies will produce attitude change. Cognitive dissonance

theory (Festinger, 1957) argues that inconsistency (dissonance) will

cause pressure for attitude change, but that attitude change will only

occur when a person's dissonance exceeds his own personal tolerance

for dissonance. Heider's (1946, 1958) balance theory also sees

attitude change arising from cognitive inconsistency (imbalance), but

argues that attitude change will only occur when the person realizes

that his cognitions are inconsistent or imbalanced. Thus, for

Festinger, awareness of cognitive inconsistency does not necessarily

give rise to attitude change, it only gives rise to pressures toward

attitude change. However, for Heider awareness of cognitive incon-

sistency automatically gives rise to some attitude change. Osgood

et al. (1957) argue that cognitive inconsistency (incongruity in their

terms) automatically gives rise to attitude change, no matter how slight

the degree of incongruity and regardless of whether the person is

aware of the incongruity or not.

While there is a wealth of specific attitude theories, each

with its own predictions about what produces attitude change, the two

basic approaches discussed above (reinforcement theories and consis-

tency theories) tend to stand out. These theoretical approaches have undoubtedly received the most attention in the theoretical and emprical literature. Consequently, this paper will choose from both of these paradigms to devise a technique for measuring the impact of information on a person's attitudes. These two approaches can be combined because, as McGuire (1969:265) has noted, the basic theoretical approaches to attitude change are many times "largely supplementary to one another."

Consistency theories provide a good frame of reference for describing how information is processed and stored in a person's cognitive structure. Individuals obviously have a huge number of beliefs and attitudes. In other words, there are a large number of elements in a person's cognitive structure. It seems a reasonable assumption that in order to keep track of these elements, individuals must utilize some kind of organizational aid. A consistency principle is a plausible mechanism for describing how people manage this organizational problem. Given this utility of consistency theories, the thesis will employ some of the consistency theory principles as a guideline for predicting the effects of new information on existing cognitive structures. Basically, the thesis will argue that any new information entering a person's cognitive structure which is discrepant from the current information he has will produce pressures to go to a consistent state.

Of course the major question to be answered here is what in reality constitutes a consistent cognitive state. Empirical analyses performed to test a variety of consistency theories have restricted themselves largely to three cognitions, and consequently offer little assistance in generating a model for a large number of cognitions. Fortunately, Anderson and his colleagues (1959, 1965a, 1965b, 1968, 1971, 1972, and 1974) have produced an impressive number of studies which provide a model applicable to determining what may be termed a consistent cognitive state. According to Anderson (1972:99) "the general view that emerges from experimental studies of information integration is that configural processes pervade judgement. The most important single configurant process is averaging." In other words, a person integrates the information he has about an object by taking the average position of that information as his attitude. Utilizing the average (or weighted average) certainly espouses to some extent the principles of consistency theory since it predicts an attitude position somewhere in between the extremes of the various pieces of information and since it also posits that an attitude is a function of all the information concerning the attitude object.

Anderson (1972) provides a formula for attitude formation with regard to an object toward which a person has no previous attitude. The formula is given by

$$A_{12} = \frac{w_1 s_1 + w_2 s_2}{w_1 + w_2} \qquad\qquad (2.1)$$

where

A_{12} = the attitude based on two pieces of information

w_i = the weight or psychological importance of the information

s_i = the value or position of the informational stimuli along the dimension of judgement

To see how this formula works, consider the hypothetical example of Frank. A subject is given two pieces of information about Frank and is asked to determine how much he would like Frank if these two pieces of information were all the information he had about Frank. Suppose that the two pieces of information that the subject receives are that Frank is intelligent and Frank is handsome. The numerical values of s_1 and s_2 depend on how favorably the subject views the characteristics intelligence and handsomeness in a person. Suppose on a scale of 1 to 5 (where 5 indicates a highly desirable trait) the subject rates intelligence 4 (mildly favorable) and handsomeness 5. These values indicate the directional content of the message with s_1 = 4 and s_2 = 5. In order to determine the exact attitude the subject will form toward Frank it is also important to know how much impact the messages actually had on the subject. Before discussing how this is determined, assume for the present that w_1 = 3 and w_2 = 2.

Then the attitude toward Frank is given by

$$A_{12} = \frac{(3)\ (4)\ ^+\ (2)\ (5)}{3 + 2} = 4.4 \qquad\qquad (2.2)$$

The subject's attitude toward Frank in this example is favorable, with a position of 4.4.

The question yet to be answered is what are the determinants of the effectiveness of a message. This is where the tenets from reinforcement theory can be applied. Whereas consistency theory provides information about the function (averaging) for combining the informational stimuli, reinforcement theories offer rationales for determining the weight or importance of each communication.

Reinforcement theorists have provided a useful schema for organizing the communication process. The process contains at least four steps. A source which transmits a message with a certain content to some receiver or individual through some medium. According to the reinforcement theorists, any one of these steps in the communication process can influence the effectiveness of the message. With regard to the source of a message, certain characteristics of the source, such as credibility, will influence the impact of a message transmitted by that source. Certain characteristics of the message, such as the organization of the message and type of persuasive appeal it employs, can influence its effectiveness. Similarly, certain properties of the medium through which the message is transmitted will

bear upon message effectiveness. In addition, the characteristics of the individual receiving the message are related to the message's effectiveness. For example, the degree to which the receiver is already committed to certain attitude positions, the attention the receiver pays to the message, and the degree to which the receiver understands the message will influence message effectiveness, etc.

There have been a large number of experiments carried out within each of the steps of the communication process to determine causes of message effectiveness. McGuire (1969) presents a good summary of many of the more important studies. One of the implications of these past studies is that the communication process is incredibly complex. For one, not only do a number of variables impinge upon message effectiveness, but there is undoubtedly a large amount of interaction among these variables. This complexity necessitates a number of simplifying assumptions so that a researcher can assign values to the parameter w_i in Formula 2.1. The assumptions employed in this thesis will be discussed in Chapter V in the section concerning the operationalization of the variable significant other influence. Actually, the present discussion is still incomplete. Formula 2.1 is applicable only to instances of two pieces of information. It is necessary to extend this formula to the general case.

The extension is straightforward. If a subject had five pieces of information instead of two, the formula would merely be the

sum of all five messages weighted by their effectiveness. This would be given by the formula

$$A_{12345} = \frac{w_1 s_1 + w_2 s_2 + w_3 s_3 + w_4 s_4 + w_5 s_5}{w_1 + w_2 + w_3 + w_4 + w_5} \tag{2.3}$$

For n messages the formula would be

$$A_n = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i s_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i} \tag{2.4}$$

This formula, besides providing a method for predicting attitudes, has two properties which should be stressed. First, since each message, or piece of information, has a weight, the attitude itself (the composite of these messages) also has a weight. The weight is the sum of the various messages. This can easily be demonstrated. Return to the previous example of Frank. The subject's attitude toward Frank was 4.4, as indicated by Equation 2.2. Suppose the subject is given another piece of information with a direction s = 2 and weight w = 1. Then the new attitude toward Frank is given by

$$A_{123} = \frac{(3)\,(4) + (2)\,(5) + (1)\,(2)}{3 + 2 + 1} = \frac{24}{6} = 4 \tag{2.5}$$

This equation can also be rewritten as

$$A_{123} = \frac{w_{12}A_{12} + w_3s_3}{w_{12} + w_3} \qquad (2.6)$$

where

A_{123} = attitude based on three pieces of information

A_{12} = the initial attitude based on two pieces of information

w_3 = the weight or psychological importance of message 3

s_3 = the direction or position of the third stimulus on the judgement dimension

Numerically this yields

$$A_{123} = \frac{5\ (4.4) + (1)\ (2)}{5 + 1} = \frac{24}{6} = 4 \qquad (2.7)$$

Hence, the weight of the subject's initial attitude toward Frank can be seen to equal the sum of the weights of the two initial pieces of information (3 + 2). The weight of the new attitude is 6 (5 + 1). To reiterate, the weight or strength of an attitude will be equal to the sum of the weights of the individual messages of which the attitude is composed. This can be stated by the formula

$$w_A = \sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \qquad (2.8)$$

where

w_A = the weight of the attitude

w_i = the weight or effectiveness of each message of which the attitude is composed

The weight of the attitude can be seen to reflect its resistance to change. The greater the value w_A, the more difficult it will be to change the direction of the attitude. Thus, w_A can be taken as a measure of the resistance to change of an attitude.

This leads to another interesting property of an attitude to be derived from Equation 2.4. The resistance of an attitude to change will be proportional (although not necessarily linearly) to the number of messages comprising the attitude. Hence, each time an individual receives a message concerning an object with weight w_i, the magnitude of the resistance to change of the old attitude will increase by w_i. This means that any person who provides information to another concerning some object, regardless of the direction of that information, will have an effect on that attitude. This effect may or may not alter the direction of the attitude, but it will always increase the resistance of the attitude to change.

While the prediction of increasing attitude stability by increasing information appeals to common sense if the information is of the same direction (i.e., has the same s value) as the attitude position itself, it seems incongrous to predict that information whose direction is highly discrepant from the direction of the attitude will act to increase the stability of the attitude. Nevertheless, Saltiel and Woelfel (1974) provide evidence for this prediction. The authors measured the degree of attitude change with

regard to a set of attitudes relating to integration with American societal values. The sample consisted of 186 high school juniors and seniors and the attitude change was measured over a period of six months. In addition, Saltiel and Woelfel assessed both an index of the number of messages which comprised each respondent's attitude and the degree of hetrogeneity-homogeneity of the information they had. The hetrogeneity-homogeneity refers to the degree to which the messages had the same direction (i.e., the same s values). The results indicated that the attitude change was negatively related to the number of messages which comprised the attitude, even when controlled for the hetrogeneity-homogeneity of the messages, Hence, even in cases where the respondents received discrepant information, the information acted to increase the resistance to change of the attitude.

The foregoing remarks have presented a definition of the term attitude and a picture of the attitude change process. This view of attitude change portrays information as the foundation for attitudes, and the prime ingredient for attitude change.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES

Introduction

The hypotheses presented here deal with several areas of

political socialization congruent with the objectives stated in

Chapter I. The first set of hypotheses is concerned with predicting

the most influential political socializing agents. The next set

pertains to the relation between a person's age and who his/her

political significant others are, how many political significant

others he/she has, his/her degree of political interest, degree of

political attitude formation, and the direction of his/her political

attitudes. The third group of hypotheses concerns the relationship

between a person's sex and the same variables.

Following this hypotheses will be proferred concerning the

relative contribution of mothers and fathers to the political sociali-

zation of their offspring. The last section of the chapter will

examine some problems in determining the magnitude of interpersonal

influence in the political socialization process.

The specific hypotheses tendered in these sections will concern

for the most part parents, peers, and teachers as socializing agents.
The decision to limit hypotheses to these agents was based on
three considerations. First, these agents have received the most
attention in previous socialization literature. This allows hypotheses about them to be based both on theory and past empirical evidence.
Secondly, since eighteen classifications of socizlizing agents are
explored here, confining hypotheses to only a few agencies results
in considerable economy of space. Finally, and most important, it
will be shown that agencies other than parents, peers, and teachers
exert such weak independent influence in the political socialization
of American youth as to make tendering hypotheses for them not worth
the effort. While specific hypotheses will not be generated for
these other agencies, the data analysis section will present the
evidence to describe the influence of these other agencies as well as
the influence of parents, peers, and teachers.

Before elaborating the research hypotheses, a critical distinction must be made concerning characteristics of influence. The
influence which an individual, group of individuals, or classification
of individuals have can be viewed in at least two ways. The first
of these will be termed the <u>extent of influence</u>. Extent refers to the
number of persons an individual, group of individuals, or classification of individuals exert influence over. To exert influence over a
person for a given topic, one must communicate some information to that

individual for a given topic or for some object to which the topic is related. Since individuals may influence others with regard to one topic and not another, it is appropriate to talk of the extent of influence individuals exert for a given topic area. To determine the extent of influence of an individual, group of individuals, or classification of individuals for a given topic area, one only need know how many persons the influencing agent has presented information to concerning the topic.

While knowing the extent of an agent's influence is important, it only provides partial information about influence. A related way of viewing influence can be termed the _impact_ of the influence. Impact refers to the strength or amount of influence an influencing agent has over others. Thus, extent of influence refers to the number of persons an individual, group of individuals, or classification of individuals has influence over while impact of influence refers to the strength of this influence.

One limitation in hypothesis testing is the sample size of the data. Extent of influence is based on the respondents' statement of whom they received political information from.[1] Since there are complete data for all 154 respondents, extent of influence for the entire sample will be based on 154 cases. This sample size is large

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[1] A complete discussion of the operational measures for impact and extent of influence is contained in Chapter V.

enough to examine extent of influence on the basis of variables such as the age and the sex of the respondent.

Impact of influence is measured by correlating the attitude positions of those socializing agents named as significant others and the respondents' own political attitudes. If only 50 per cent of the respondents name a certain category of socializing agent as significant others (for example, parents), then the correlation between significant other parents' attitudes and the respondents' attitudes can only be based on a maximum of 77 cases (.50 X 154). In addition since there are incomplete data for some significant others, this further reduces the number of cases upon which correlations can be determined.

This limitation in sample size for measuring impact of influence means that data for certain interesting hypotheses, namely the impact of influence of various socializing agents by the age and sex of the respondents, are not available. Hence, while hypotheses will be tendered for extent of influence when controlling for the age and sex of the respondents, they will not be for the impact of influence since they could not be tested.

The Most Influential Socializing Agencies

In this research eighteen categories were used to classify individuals. The rationale underlying the categories was to classify individuals according to their blood relationship to a person such as

mother, father, sister. If the significant other was not related to the respondent by blood, then he/she was classified as a friend of the same age (peer) or, an older friend, or a teacher. While these categories are convenient for classifying significant others, they are not necessarily the only ones, nor are they necessarily the best ones. Different researchers may employ different categories depending on their own purposes.

The eighteen categories used here were father, mother, parents, brother, sister, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin, in-law, father living away from home (father absent), peer of same sex, peer of opposite sex, peer in general, adult friend, teacher, and relationship unspecified.

Two important factors mediate whether or not an individual will exert some influence over one or more of a person's political attitudes. The first is the necessary condition of spending some time in contact with that person. The second is the probability that the individual will supply information to the person directly or indirectly concerning one or more political topics. The bulk of the empirical work in the political socialization literature indicates that parents, peers, and teachers should be considered the most influential political socializing agents. This evidence certainly does not go against the criteria listed above. Of the agents of socialization being examined here, parents, peers, and teachers are the only ones to have nearly

universal contact with American youth. Nearly every individual has parents living with him/her or close enough geographically to see the individual periodically. Similarly, nearly every individual attends school which necessitates contact with both classmates (who are among the individuals' peers) and teachers.

To rank order these three agencies on the basis of their influence, it is necessary to consider the relative probabilities of each for providing political information to grade school and high school youth. At least three factors are related to the transmission of political information. One is the sheer amount of time spent with a person. The more time spent in contact, the greater the opportunity for presenting political information to that person. Another is the salience of the topic to the potential significant other. The more important the topic is to the potential socializer, the greater the probability he/she will want to discuss it with others. The third is the absence of structural constraints for providing certain types of information about politics to the person.

With regard to amount of time in contact, the overall contact between teachers and students is typically not as great as between parents and their offspring and among peers. This can be evidenced simply from the fact that teachers have contact with their students primarily on school days during the school year. This amounts to approximately 180 days a year. Parents and peers are not so restricted

and have access to the individual virtually every day of the year.

With regard to parents and peers, it is difficult to determine which spends more time in contact with American youth. Much of the difficulty stems from the confounding influence of age. At younger ages it should be anticipated that the offspring's interaction time with his parents would be greater than with his peers. However, aging should result in increased interaction with peers and possible decreased interaction with parents. Hence, on the average throughout grade school and high school, interaction time between parents and their offspring and among peers may be the same.

Turning to salience of political topics, at least for grade school age students, it may be anticipated that most topics about politics will be of more salience to adults (parents and teachers) than to grade school age students (peers). By high school, at least the later high school years, salience may be equal for all three agents, although this is yet empirically uncertain.

With regard to structural constraints, there do not seem to be any factors which prohibit parents or peers from providing information about any political topics to the individual. However, according to Zeigler (1966) there may be structural constraints acting on teachers. These constraints take the form of teachers eschewing controversial political discussions with their students.

Following from the above discussion, it appears that, in

general, parents and peers should be more influential political
socializing agents than teachers. They each have more contact with
youth than teachers, and they appear to have no structural constraints
on what types of political information they provide to the youth.
Between parents and peers it is predicted that parents will be the
more important socializing agents for grade school and high school
youth. This is because parents should be more prone to communicate
political information to them due to the higher salience of politics
to parents. Summarizing the above discussion in hypothesis form:

> Hypothesis I--The three interpersonal agencies with the greatest
> extent and impact of influence over the political
> attitudes of grade school and high school youth
> will be, in order of importance, parents, peers,
> and teachers.

The preceeding line of reasoning has implied that there may be
some interaction between the influence of categories of socializing
agents and specific political topics. Interaction in this context
means that certain types of socializing agents exert disproportionately
more influence over certain political objects than others. Teachers,
it has been argued following Zeigler (1966), may exert dispropor-
tionately more influence over safe political topics than over more
controversial topics. Undoubtedly the least controversial of the
four topics studied here is the Presidency. The other three topics
can be viewed as both potentially highly controversial and poten-
tially not so controversial. If teachers would confine their

discussions about these topics to factual aspects of these topics such as the date the Vietnam war began or the date Richard Nixon took office, then these could be considered as not very controversial topics. However, once the discussion took on any advocacy for a specific political party or taking sides on whether Nixon was involved in the Watergate affair, etc. then these topics could be considered as very controversial. If the teacher is going to consciously attempt to curtail discussion of controversial topics, it stands to reason that he/she will try to avoid discussing topics which, even though non-controversial from one aspect, may become controversial during discussion.

Thus, if Zeigler is right one should expect to see teachers providing information to their students more about the less contro-versial topic, the Presidency, than the potentially controversial topics of Political Parties, Richard Nixon, and the War in Vietnam.

> Hypothesis II--Teachers should provide information to more students about the Presidency than the topics Political Parties, Richard Nixon, and the War in Vietnam.

If this hypothesis is borne out, it may mean that teachers will not be the third most important political socializing agent for American youth. It is difficult to say for sure, though, since even if teachers try to confine their classroom remarks to safe political topics, it is difficult to estimate the spillover to more controversial topics. Hence, even if the influence they have over their students'

attitudes toward the controversial topics is less than the influence over the less controversial topics, the influence over the controversial topics may still be substantial.

With regard to the other socializing agents studied here, there do not appear to be any structural constraints operating on them to produce interactions between them and specific political topics. However, topic saliency could possibly operate to produce different levels of influence from topic to topic for various agents. Jennings and Neimi (1968) have provided data showing that parent-offspring correlations for four political issues decreased as the issues became more abstract or less salient to the parents and their offspring. These data also seem to confirm Hess and Torney's (1967) assertion that parents' influence is confined to partisanship. This is because the correlations between parents and their offspring for selected political issues were smaller than parent-offspring correlations for partisanship.

However, here the distinction between extent and impact of influence must be stressed. Jennings and Neimi are suggesting that the abstractness of an issue should reduce the extent of influence parents have over their offspring with regard to these issues. That is, fewer parents provide any information to their offspring concerning these topics. However, the low correlations may be deceiving with regard to the impact of parents' influence for these

topics. If Jennings and Neimi had measured those parents who were significant others for both the abstract and concrete issues and correlated only the significant other parents with their children for these issues, they might have found no differences among the correlations. The reason Jennings and Neimi found lower correlations between parents and offspring for the abstract objects may have resulted from the fact that they used the same parent offspring population in computing the correlations. For the abstract objects, then, they may have been including more parents who were not significant others than they were for the more concrete objects. Thus, they could have been including more error variance into these correlations since there is no reason to expect correspondence on these issues if the parents do not influence their child's attitude.

The preceeding discussion suggests that extent and impact of influence do not have a one to one correspondence. It also posits that the abstract-concrete dimension of political objects should mediate the extent of influence of all types of significant others. In Chapter I the argument was made that the most concrete objects in this study were Richard Nixon and the War in Vietnam. The Presidency was noted as the most abstract object with Political Parties falling somewhere in between. This leads to the general notion that the extent of influence of any category of socializing agency over the respondents' political attitudes could be ranked on the basis

of objects. That is, the object for which an agency's extent of influence was greatest would be ranked number one, the object for which the agency's extent of influence was second greatest would be ranked second, and so on. In theory extent of influence should be greatest for the most concrete or salient objects and least for the most abstract or least salient object. If the discussion from Chapter I is correct, then the thesis should find that, in general, each agency should have the greatest extent of influence for the objects Richard Nixon and the War in Vietnam and the least for the Presidency. Extent of influence should be third for Political Parties.

If this ordering of objects is taken as a baseline[2] to indicate the normal pattern for extent of influence, then agent-object inter-action can be said to occur if any agency's extent of influence by object differs significantly from this pattern. There does not appear to be any reason why any of the agents other than teachers should diverge from this baseline pattern. In hypothesis form it may be stated:

> Hypothesis III--The extent of influence of the socializing agents other than teachers will be the greatest for Richard Nixon and the War in Vietnam and the least for the Presidency. The extent of their influence over Political Parties will fall in between.

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[2]If the rank ordering of objects along the extent of influence dimension turns out in reality to be different from the predicted ordering, then the ordering observed in the data will be taken as the baseline for ascertaining if agents exercise disproportionately more influence over certain topics.

While extent of influence will vary by topic saliency, it has been argued that impact of influence will remain constant. While this should be true of all agents a specific hypothesis will be tendered only for parents and peers due to a lack of data for the other agents.

> Hypothesis IV--There will be no difference with regard to the impact of influence parents and peers have over the respondents' attitudes concerning Political Parties, the Presidency, Richard Nixon, and the War in Vietnam.

Age and the Political Socialization Process

Changes in Socializing Agents over Time

A previous discussion mentioned that as a child progresses from grade school to high school, the amount of contact he/she has with his/her parents may decline. This decline implies that parents will have fewer opportunities to exert political influence on their offspring as they age. This should effectively reduce the extent of parents influence.

> Hypothesis V--There will be an inverse relationship between the age of offspring and the extent of parents' influence on the offsprings' political attitudes.

The rationale on which this hypothesis is based has received empirical support from Bowerman and Kinch (1959)--though in areas outside of politics--for a sample of fourth through tenth grade respondents. Bowerman and Kinch also reported that the peer group's influence over their respondents' attitudes increased from the fourth to the tenth grade. Theoretically this makes sense. Individuals

spend an increasing amount of time with members of their peer group

throughout grade and high school and college and as they enter the

labor force. This increased interaction affords ample opportunity

for increased information flow among peers concerning politics. In

addition the fact that interest in politics increases with age

suggests that this increased interaction should lead to increased

flows of political communication.

> Hypothesis VI--There will be a linear increase in the extent of
> peers influence over the political attitudes of
> students from sixth grade to twelfth grade.

Not only should the socialization influence of the peer group

increase over time, likewise will the influence of the teachers

increase over time. This prediction can be traced directly to the

difference between grade school and high school curricula. Most

high schools, unlike grade schools, require some political education

typically provided by a civics course. This course is geared to give

students some idea of the structure and process of state and federal

government. This civics curriculum in high school means that the

probability that high school teachers will provide political informa-

tion to their students is greater than the probability of grade

school teachers providing political information to their students.

In addition given the increased interest of students in politics as

they age, it seems likely that they may even initiate political

discussions in the classroom. This is another reason to anticipate

a greater probability of high school teachers to provide political information to high school age children.

However, the civics course is not offered at every grade level in the high school. Traditionally it is offered to upperclassmen. This would mean that between sixth and ninth grade there should be little change in the extent of teachers' political influence. What change there is should not be experienced until the eleventh and twelfth grades. In hypothesis form it may be predicted:

Hypothesis VII--The extent of teachers influence over the political attitudes of their students will be the greatest for twelfth grade students. There will be no difference in their extent of influence for sixth and ninth grade students.

Since many persons leave school after high school, teachers' influence most likely declines for post-high school individuals. For peers their influence over persons will probably level off or may even decline by adulthood.

The prediction of changes in the relative influence of socializing agents over time engenders an interesting possibility. Perhaps the shift in socializing agents may lead to a shift in the content of influence being exercised on a person. On the other hand Sigel (1970) has suggested that many times socializing agents other than parents share attitude positions similar to parents, although parents do not necessarily cause the attitudes of these other agents. Consequently she suggests that these other socializing agents may

merely act as political reinforcers of familial ideas rather than as resocializers. If Hypotheses V, VI, and VII are borne out, this study will be able to explore this matter further. The attitude position of teachers and peer group members named as significant others will be compared with the corresponding attitude position of parents. Significant differences would indicate that the respondents are receiving different sets of information from the peers and teachers compared to the parents. On the other hand, small, non-significant differences would indicate slight changes in the content of socialization being provided by parents, peers, and teachers.

Degree of Political Attitude Formation, Direction of Attitudes, Interest in Politics, and Number of Significant Others as a Function of Age

Aging should be related not only to the types of individuals who take part in a person's political socialization but also to political characteristics acquired through political socialization.

It was suggested previously that as a child ages he/she will be exposed to more political information and be mentally able to assimilate a greater amount of political information. Since information provides the foundation for attitude formation, it might be anticipated that this increase in political information would result in an increase in the number of attitudes one holds toward political objects.

Hypothesis VIII--There will be a linear relationship between
degree of political attitude formation and age.

This hypothesis must be qualified. While political information

can be seen to increase as a person ages from grade school through the

end of high school, it is not clear at what rates (or even if) this

increase continues past high school. Consequently, while this linear

relationship should hold true for this sample, this prediction should

not be generalized to all ages of the life cycle.

The occurrence of receiving more political information over

time opens the possibility that the direction of a youth's political

attitudes may change. For example, they may become more liberal or

more conservative. This potential for attitude change is strengthened

by the prediction that the interpersonal sources of information for

a person will change as he/she ages. However, it remains to be seen

in what direction, if any, attitudes will shift. It seems logical

to posit that as a child progresses from grade school to high school

if his/her attitudes change they will move in a liberal direction.

Past research has shown that among adults, older adults tend to

hold more conservative political attitudes (Crittenden, 1962; Lipset,

1962; Glenn, 1972). This would mean that younger adults tend to

be more liberal. It is predicted here that high school youth will

undergo a shift in their political socializers away from older

socializers (parents) to younger socializers (peers). If these

younger socializers are more liberal in their attitudes as past

research has intimated, then this shift to younger socializing agents should lead to more liberal attitudes.

> Hypothesis IX--There will be a direct relation between age and liberalism of political attitudes among grade school and high school youth.

If this hypothesis is borne out, it is conceivable that interpretations other than or in conjunction with the one above could be advanced. For example, it may be possible that shifts in attitudes toward greater liberalism could be due to cohort effects. That is, the older students could have been born into a more liberal time period than the younger students. However, since the sample is cross-sectional, it will be impossible to separate out which processes are operating if Hypothesis IX is substantiated.

Age is also related to political interest. However, the reason for this relationship is not quite the same as for the relationship between age and degree of political attitude formation and direction of political attitudes. Age can be seen to underlie the social roles a person plays. One big difference between the twelfth grade students in the sample and the other two grade levels is that the former have either reached or are very near reaching voting age, while the latter two grade levels are four to eight years removed from the vote. It seems sensible to suggest that attaining voting age will increase an individual's interest in politics. Relating this function of age to political interest requires that the relationship

between age and interest not be linear since reaching voting status is not a gradual process.

Concerning age and number of political significant others, one might expect to find a pattern similar to the one relating age and political interest. That is, as a person reaches voting age, he/she finds more opportunity or need to discuss politics with others due to elections, the effect political decisions have on his/her material well-being, and the like. Hence, since age and number of political significant others should parallel age and political interest, it follows that twelfth graders will have the most significant others.

> Hypothesis X--Twelfth grade respondents will be both more interested in politics and will receive political information from more interpersonal sources than either the sixth or ninth grade respondents, while there will be no difference on these dimensions between the latter two grades.

Sex and the Political Socialization Process

Sex and the Effects of Significant Others

Previously it was suggested that males and females may actually receive political information differing in content. This different information, it was proposed, could lead to discrepant levels of political interest, political knowledge, and political attitude formation between males and females. It is also possible that this discrepant information could lead males and females to hold substantively different attitudes toward various political topics.

One plausible explanation for this receipt of differential
information could be that males and females actually have different
significant others. Most likely males should receive most of their
political information from males, and females most of their political
information from females. While a person's sex may have some effect
on the sex of the person's significant others, the effect of sex on
the influence of the agents parents, peers, and teachers in particular
may not be too great. Both parents and the peer group consist of
members of both sexes. Hence, on the basis of differential gender
exposure, there is no reason to expect that either males or females
will be influenced differentially by parents or the peer group. This
does not mean that within these groups there will not be differential
influence. For example, mothers may influence more daughters than
fathers. However, taking parents and peers as units, there is no
reason to anticipate either males or females being more influenced by
parents or peers.

Teachers, regardless of their own sex, are in a unique position.
Both male and female students are required to interact with many of
the same teachers regardless of the teacher's sex. In addition, the
category teacher is composed of both males and females just as the
categories parents and peers are. However, there are typically unequal
numbers of male and female teachers at the grade school and high school
level. At the former level teachers are more often female while at

the latter level there are probably more male teachers. This opens

the possibility that at the grade school level females may be more

influenced by their teachers than males. This would be the case

assuming the females are more likely to receive political information

from female teachers due to the operation of a same-sex identification

effect. At the high school level males might be expected to be

influenced more by teachers due to the preponderance of male teachers.

While this differential influence based on gender is con-

ceivable, its operation does not seem probable. Almost all of the

political information teachers supply to their students should be

conveyed during classroom hours. Receipt of this information by the

students during a class should be affected not so much by the sex of

the student vis-a-vis the teacher's sex but by factors such as past

level of academic achievement and desire for a good grade in the class.

Hence, for the category teacher, despite the existence of unequal

numbers of male and female teachers, there should be no difference in

the extent of teachers' influence over their students on the basis of

the sex of the students.

To summarize the above discussion in hypothesis form:

Hypothesis XI--The gender of individuals will not be related to
              the extent of influence of parents, peers, or
              teachers on the individuals' political attitudes.

Degree of Political Attitude Formation, Direction of
Attitudes, Interest in Politics and Number of
Significant Others as a Function of Sex

The evidence cited in Chapter I suggests that while there may
be gender differences in political interest and degree of political
attitude formation, the differences are probably not too great. The
evidence also indicates that if males and females do differ in the
direction of their political attitudes, the differences will be small.

If males are more interested in politics, they may be more
prone to seek out political information than females. Hence, it may
be anticipated that males will have more interpersonal sources of
political information than females. Formally, it may be predicted:

> Hypothesis XII--Males and females will differ mildly in the
> direction of their political attitudes and males
> will be slightly more interested in politics,
> exhibit slightly higher degrees of political
> attitude formation, and have, on the average,
> somewhat more interpersonal sources of political
> attitudes than females.

Relative Socializing Contributions of Mothers and Fathers

The empirical evidence cited in Chapter I indicated that the
relative contribution of mothers and fathers to the political social-
ization of their children would be equal. Theoretically there is no
reason to posit significant differences between them. In general for
grade school and high school age children mothers and fathers should
spend about the same amount of time in contact with their children.
This should afford them equal opportunity to provide political

information to their children.

There is also no persuasive reason to suspect that fathers or mothers might be more prone to make use of these opportunities to transmit political information to their children. The fact that males (at least during grade school and high school) demonstrate higher levels of political interest than females could be interpreted as meaning that fathers actually will transmit political information more often to the offspring. However, since these discrepancies in political interest between males and females are very small, they do not warrant the conclusion that there are significantly divergent propensities for fathers to communicate political information to their children compared to mothers.

In essence then, the extent and impact of mothers' and fathers' influence over the political attitudes of their offspring should be about the same.

> Hypothesis XIII--Mothers and fathers will exert influence over the political attitudes of the same number of offspring and the impact of this influence will be equal.

This prediction does not mean that mothers and fathers will provide political information to exactly the same offspring or that they will have equal impact of influence over the same offspring. With regard to extent of influence, it means that mothers will be named as political significant others by the same number of children as will fathers. For impact of influence it means that the magnitude

of the influence mothers exert over the children whom they provide

political information to will be the same as the impact of the influ-

ence fathers have over the offspring they provide political information

to.

It is conceivable that certain factors may operate to

systematically determine which offspring each parent has influence

over. Two factors which will be considered here are the age and the

sex of the offspring.

Age alone should not significatly alter the relatively equal

influence parents hold over their offspring, at least at the age

levels explored in this research. Parents should maintain equal

access in interacting with their children at the sixth, ninth, and

twelfth grade levels.

> Hypothesis XIV--There will be no difference between mothers and
> fathers with regard to the extent of influence
> they have over their offsprings' political
> attitudes as a function of the offsprings' age
> for children between nine and eighteen years
> of age.

While the age of the children should not affect the relative

equality of the extent of parental political influence, the sex of the

offspring may. Mothers, as a consequence of being female, have a

greater knowledge of female related problems and needs than fathers.

This should facilitate a greater amount of mother-daughter interaction

relative to the amount of interaction between fathers and daughters.

This extra interaction between mothers and their female offspring

should afford more opportunities for mothers to provide political

information to their daughters, and hence, increase the extent and

impact of influence mothers have over the female children relative to

the father. The same argument can be made for the father with regard

to male children. This leads to the next hypothesis:

> Hypothesis XV--Intra-familial political socialization will be
> gender-related. Fathers will influence the
> attitudes of more sons than mothers. Mothers
> will influence the attitudes of more daughters
> than fathers.

Reciprocal Causation in Political Socialization

Chapter I alluded to the fact that an individual is not totally

passive in his/her political socialization. Individuals may choose

their friends and associates on the basis of the person's political

attitudes. It is also true that many individuals exert some influence

over the attitude positions of their own political significant others.

What this means in terms of studying political socialization is that it

is difficult to precisely specify the impact significant others have on

an individual's political attitude development, since any measure of

association between the significant others and the respondents' polit-

ical attitudes will include both the effects of the individuals on

the significant others as well as the effects of the significant

others on the individuals. Without a carefully controlled longitudinal

study, it is virtually impossible to partial out the variances in

terms of significant other effects and individual effects.

The purpose of this section is to reemphasize this point. Empirically, in this thesis, it will be impossible to statistically partial out from a correlation between the respondents' and the significant others' attitude positions the variance contributed by each. However, during the analysis theoretical considerations will be used in an attempt to apportion the variances to the appropriate sources.

CHAPTER IV

QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

Chapter IV will examine the instruments employed to collect the data for the thesis, including their construction and validation. In addition, the chapter will treat the sampling procedures, characteristics of the sample, and the research methodology.

In order to generate the data to test the assorted hypotheses of the study two questionnaires were designed. One questionnaire was intended to determine respondents' significant others for Richard Nixon, the War in Vietnam, Political Parties, and the Office of the Presidency. The other questionnaire was constructed to measure both the respondents' and their significant others' attitudes toward these four objects. The former questionnaire is termed the Significant Other Elicitor, the latter the Political Attitude Detector.

The chapter will begin by discussing the construction of the Significant Other Elicitor. It will then outline the procedures used to design the Political Attitude Detector. Next, the reliability and validity of the instruments will be considered. The chapter will

conclude with a discussion of the sampling procedures, characteristics of the sample, and research methodology of the study.

Questionnaire Construction

The Significant Other Elicitor

The construction of the Significant Other Elicitor was guided by the theory of attitude formation and change elaborated in Chapter II. The theory specified that to influence attitudes some information had to be transmitted to an individual. In particular the theory outlined seven possible ways in which this information could be transferred. The tack taken in generating the Significant Other Elicitor was to devise questions which would tap all the persons who had provided information to the respondents via these modes of information transfer for each political object in the study. Two steps were required prior to the actual item construction. These initial steps were required since the theory allows for indirect influence on attitudes by providing information to an individual about objects related to the attitude object in question. Hence, the first step prior to item construction was to determine those objects or categories which individuals use to classify the four objects Richard Nixon, War in Vietnam, Political Parties, and the Presidency. The second step was to reduce these varied categories into a more inclusive categorization schema for use in questionnaire form.

The determination of these categories was undertaken through

interviewing. The interviews served the purpose of not only uncovering these categories, but also providing initial estimates of the feasibility and reliability of using the method for obtaining political significant others.

Interview protocol

Intensive interviews were conducted with 35 University of Michigan students. The first step in the interview was to determine the categories for classification of the four political objects. One particularly relevant feature of the categories that were sought is that insofar as they are what the individual uses to classify objects, they are precisely what he will give you when asked to describe these objects. Hence, the interview began by asking each respondent "What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word

_____?"

The objects Richard Nixon, the War in Vietnam, Presidency, and Democratic and Republican Parties were supplied successively in the blank. It was decided to use the objects Republican and Democratic Parties as opposed to simply Political Parties in order to maximize the types of categories elicited. It was felt that if people do use a variety of categories for conceptualizing various aspects of Political Parties, this variety could more readily be obtained by eliciting categories for each of the two major United States Parties. As it turned out, the evidence suggests that people look at both the

Democratic and Republican Parties through the same categories. Table 4.1 lists the 10 most frequently named categories for each object. Since the interviewers probed the respondents to name all the "things" which came to their mind about these objects, many respondents used more than one category for each object.

With regard to the objects Democratic and Republican Parties, categories such as the party's symbol (donkey or elephant), liberal-conservative category, majority-minority party category, party members, and traditional party allies such as "Big Business" and "Labor" were used to conceptualize each party. The next section will discuss the collapsing of the categories for questionnaire use.

After eliciting the categories related to the four objects from the respondents, the second phase of the interview asked the respondents from whom they had received information concerning the political objects and the categories they used to classify them. The questions were phrased to determine both the models and definers for self and object for each object. The purpose of this step was three-fold: 1) to find out how willing individuals would be to disclose personal political contacts, 2) to estimate how many significant others on the average each person had, and 3) to provide initial evidence as to the reliability of the information. Since only one person out of 35 refused to name political contacts, the procedure was considered feasible. In addition, the number of significant others

TABLE 4.1

CATEGORIES USED TO CLASSIFY THE POLITICAL OBJECTS

	Political Object			
Democratic Party	Republican Party	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam
Kennedy, Johnson, other Party members	Nixon. Agnew other Party members	Power	Republican	Wasted effort
Donkey	Elephant	Wasted office	Liar	Imperialism
Social reform	Conservative	Figurehead	Agnew, Eisenhower	Killing
Working class	Bad for country	Interesting and important	Astute politician	Various military weapons
Labor	Vietnam	Check on Congress	War in Vietnam	Mai Lai, Ho Chi Minh trail, and other geographical places
Unions	Does not keep campaign promises	Problems to solve	Silent Majority	Nixon, Thieu and other visible actors
Majority Party	Big business	Politics	Economy-recession	Drain on United States--inflation
Party of the people	Ruined·the economy	Respect	Volunteer Army	Draft
Party of choice	Minority Party	Corruption	Egomaniac	Withdraw immediately
		Lincoln, Nixon, other Presidents	Ignores domestic policy in favor of foreign policy	War in general

elicited was not so great as to indicate that a respondent would become too fatigued if he were asked to write each one of them down.

Subsequent to these pretest interviews a number of the significant others were contacted by phone. They were asked whom they had talked to recently about the political objects in question. These phoned interviews were used to see how accurate the initial respondents were in the significant others they had nominated. If a significant other who was nominated by the initial respondents also named that initial respondent as some one he had exchanged political information with, this would suggest some reliability to the procedure. Of course a perfect overlap is not necessary here since a person can receive information from a person without providing any in return. The impressionistic degree of overlap obtained from this procedure suggested that the initial respondents had provided valid information. It should be noted that in this procedure and in the actual administration of the thesis questionnaires, the significant others were never told how their names were obtained by the researcher. The confidentiality of the respondent was always maintained. Of course, the researcher had no control over the respondents themselves. If they wished to inform a significant other that they had provided someone with their name, they were free to do so.

Condensation of the categories

The categories for each object listed in Table 4.1 demonstrate

the variety of ways individuals classify objects. Careful inspection

of these categories shows one possible way of organizing them. For

each object the categories indicate either 1) some characteristic of

what the object is, or 2) some characteristic of what the object does.

These condensed categories are referred to as the nature of the object

and the function of the object respectively. For example, for the

object Richard Nixon, categories such as "Republican" describe what

Nixon is (his nature) while categories such as "ignores domestic

policy in favor of foreign policy" describe what Nixon does or how

he functions.

Although there are undoubtedly other classification schemes to

describe these data, this one was adopted since it is brief and since

the condensed classification is inclusive of all categories.

Item construction

The final task in creating the Significant Other Elicitor was

to formulate questions to encompass whom the individuals received

information from in the various modes of information transference for

each object and for the condensed categories. A major concern in

designing the items was to insure that the items elicited all the

required information yet that the entire questionnaire was brief

enough to be filled out in a reasonable period of time.

In order to facilitate this discussion the modes of transmitting

information discussed in Chapter II are reiterated here. They are:

1) defining object, directly; 2) defining object, indirectly;

3) defining subject, directly; 4) defining subject, indirectly;

5) modelling object, directly; 6) modelling object, indirectly; and

7) modelling subject, indirectly. Examination of these modes indicates

that two are irrelevant for the types of objects employed in the

thesis. These modes are modelling object, directly and modelling

object, indirectly. It is very difficult to find a person who can

model Political Parties, Richard Nixon (except for Nixon), the War in

Vietnam, or the Office of the Presidency. The first version of the

Significant Other Elicitor included a question to approximate this

object modelling effect. The respondents were asked to name people

they knew who were members of a Political Party and persons they knew

who had served in the War in Vietnam. However, examination of the

pretest data indicated that these questions added little information

to the other questions and they were dropped from the final form.

Removal of these two modes of influence left five modes of

information transmission for incorporation into the questionnaire for

each object. To tap both direct and indirect definers for objects in

terms of the nature category of the object, questions for each object

were phrased "Who have you talked to about what (the) _____ is

like?"[1] To tap indirect and direct definers for objects for the

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[1]Since the U.S. troop involvement in the War in Vietnam had
recently been concluded during the administration of this questionnaire,
the questions concerning it were phrased in the past tense.

function of the object category questions were worded "Who have you

talked to about what (the) _____ does?" To obtain information

about definers for self directly and indirectly for the nature

category, the question was asked "Who has tried to persuade you to

believe certain things about what (the) _____ is like?" For the

function category of each object the question was worded "Who has tried

to persuade you to believe certain things about what (the) _____

does?" To gain information about models for self indirectly for the

object and the nature category, the question asked "Who do you know

who feels the way you do about what (the) _____ is like?" Finally

to elicit models for self indirectly for the object and the function

category the item was phrased "Who do you know who feels the way you do

about what (the) _____ does?" As is evident from the question

wordings, the strategy employed was to combine modes of influence so as

to have one question ascertain both direct and indirect sources of

influence.

The objects supplied in the blanks above were Political Party,

Democratic Party, Republican Party, Richard Nixon, the Presidency,

the War in Vietnam, and the object war in general. A glance at

Table 4.1 shows the four categories killing, various military weapons,

the draft, and war in general, all of which pertain to war in general.

Since information concerning war in general appeared to be so important

in classifying the War in Vietnam specifically, this term as well as

War in Vietnam was used in the questionnaire to ascertain significant others for the War in Vietnam.

In addition to this basic question format, most questions contained a few of the original filter categories obtained in the interviews in order to clarify to the individuals the meaning of the words "is like" and "does."

One final item was attached to the Significant Other Elicitor. This item requested the respondent to list the names and addresses of the three persons of the same age whom he/she considered to be his/her best friends. These data were collected in order to assist in the validation of the Significant Other Elicitor. A copy of the Significant Other Elicitor is contained in Appendix I.

The Political Attitude Detector

The basic purpose of the Political Attitude Detector was to measure the respondents' and their significant others' attitudes toward Political Parties, the War in Vietnam, Richard Nixon, and the Presidency. Since the sampling design included ten to twelve year old students and since it was desirable to administer the same form of the questionnaire to all respondents, it was decided to choose a relatively simple form of attitude measurement items. Likert type items were chosen for this analysis. An examination of Robinson et al.'s compendium of political attitude measures (1968) along with past National Election Study questionnaires from the Institute for Social

Research Survey Research Center yielded only one question which could be employed on the questionnaire. This question is thirteen on the Political Attitude Detector. The remainder of the Likert items were constructed by the author. Nineteen items were included on the final form of the Political Attitude Detector.

Besides the questions contained on the two questionnaires discussed above, the respondents were also asked three standard Survey Research Center items to tap political party identification, interest in politics, and frequency of discussing politics with others. In addition items pertaining to certain background characteristics of the respondents were included. For the primary respondents in the sample these items measured their age, sex, number of brothers and sisters, religion, perceived liberal-conservative political position, father's education and occupation, and mother's education and occupation. For the persons named by these primary respondents as significant others, the background items covered were age, sex, occupation, level of education, religion, and perceived liberal-conservative position.

The battery of questions administered to the respondents were subjected to pretesting prior to the final data collection. Discussion of this pretesting is contained in Appendix II.

Reliability and Validity of the
Significant Other Elicitor

The task of ascertaining the validity and reliability of

instruments concerns scientists in all disciplines. A valid instrument

is one which measures the characteristic which the researcher intends

the measuring device to elicit. A reliable instrument is one which

is free from random or variable errors during the measurement process.

Given the meanings of reliability and validity, an instrument could be

simultaneously reliable and invalid. That is, it may be free from

measurement error, but it may not actually measure the characteristic

it is intended to measure. On the other hand if an instrument is

demonstrated to be valid, then according to Selltiz et al. (1959:166):

> for the purpose for which we intended using it, we would not need
> to worry about its reliability. If an instrument is valid, it is
> reflecting primarily the characteristic which it is supposed to
> measure with a minimum of distortions by other factors, either
> constant or transitory; thus, there would be little reason to
> investigate its reliability--that is, the extent to which it is
> influenced by transitory factors.

To establish the utility of the Significant Other Elicitor for

measuring political significant others, concentration was focused on

establishing its validity and inferring reliability from the validity.

This probably is an inadequate substitute for assessing both since

Selltiz et al. (1959) point out that an instrument can rarely

demonstrate such high validity as to warrant no improvement at all in

its makeup. However, due to the nature of the Significant Other

Elicitor, the lack of respondent availability, and the pressures of

funding, reliability of the instrument was not directly assessed.

The best test of the validity of an instrument is to correlate it with a similar test of known validity. However, since there is no current instrument geared to assess political significant others for the political objects being studied, this technique is inappropriate.

Another way of demonstrating validity is by establishing its construct validity. According to Selltiz et al. (1959) construct validity refers to examining the relationship betwen items on the instrument and certain constructs or other variables to which scores on the instrument items should be related. If the scores on the instrument relate to the constructs in the predicted fashion, the instrument is said to have construct validity.

The first task for assessing construct validity here was to determine some means of scoring the responses. The questionnaire obtained the names of the significant others as well as their relationship to each respondent for all four political objects. There are at least two ways of scoring these types of data for use in assessing the validity of the instrument. The first method of scoring entails simply tallying the total number of different significant others named by a respondent on the instrument. A second way to score the responses is to tally the number of significant others named for all the objects by categories of relationship to the respondent. That is, to find out how many teachers, parents, brothers, etc., each

respondent named as his significant others. Utilizing these two

scoring procedures, several predictions which relate these scores to

certain other constructs can be tested. If the predictions are borne

out then the Significant Other Elicitor can be said to possess

construct validity.

Validity hypotheses

Six specific hypotheses will be tested to assess the construct

validity of the Significant Other Elicitor. First it might be

anticipated that the number of significant others one has for politics

is related to his interest in politics.

Validity Hypothesis A--There will be a positive relationship between
                the number of significant others named on the
                Significant Other Elicitor and the respondent's
                interest in politics.

Similarly, it may be argued that there should be a positive

relationship between the number of significant others named and how

frequently the respondent says he discusses politics with others.

Validity Hypothesis B--There will be a positive relationship between
                the number of significant others named on the
                Significant Other Elicitor and the frequency
                with which the respondent discusses politics
                with others.

The relationships suggested in the above hypotheses, while they must

be statistically significant, need not be perfect, or for that matter

very close to perfect. For example, concerning frequency of discussing

politics, it is quite possible that the respondent may talk a lot

about politics, but only with one or two other persons. In the same

fashion, a person may be interested in politics, but only seek out

or receive political information from one or two significant others.

The third validity hypothesis is based on the relationship

between information and attitudes. It has been argued throughout that

information is the key to attitudes. Since significant others provide

information about political objects, they should help facilitate the

respondent's formation of political attitudes. If the number of

significant others one has is used as a crude index of the amount of

political information the individual receives, then it may be posited

that:

Validity Hypothesis C--There will be a positive relationship between
            the number of significant others named on the
            Significant Other Elicitor and the respondent's
            degree of political attitude formation.

At least one hypothesis can be offered concerning the types

of socializing agents to be elicited on the Significant Other Elicitor.

For respondents in the age bracket of this sample, it is to be

expected that among the significant others they name who are their same

age (peers), the majority of these will be of the same sex as

themselves.

Validity Hypothesis D--The majority of significant others named on the
            Significant Other Elicitor who are the same age
            as the respondent will also be of the same sex.

There is another interesting hypothesis which can be explored

to ascertain the validity of the Significant Other Elicitor. This

utilizes a particular characteristic of the significant others themselves. Of all the categories of significant others elicited by the questionnaire, two are particularly close to the respondent in terms of the amount of time they spend in interaction with the respondents. These categories are best friends and parents. Since the respondent spends a large portion of his time in interaction with these individuals, the probability is great that part of this interaction will include the topic politics in general and the political objects of this report in particular. It is likely that the probability of the conversation turning to politics is partially contingent on how frequently the parent or best friend discusses politics in general. That is, the more the parent or best friend discusses politics in general, the greater the probability he/she will discuss politics with the respondent. It follows from this that parents or best friends who are named as significant others will probably talk politics in general more than parents and best friends who are not named as significant others. This leads to two additional hypotheses.

Validity Hypothesis E--Parents who are named on the Significant Other Elicitor will discuss politics in general more than parents not named on the Significant Other Elicitor.

Validity Hypothesis F--Best friends who are named as significant others on the Significant Other Elicitor will discuss politics in general more than best friends not named as significant others.

In order to test these two hypotheses, an attempt was made to

send a copy of the Political Attitude Detector to all the respondents'

parents, even if the parents were not named as significant others.

In addition, an attempt was made to contact all the individuals listed

by the respondents as their best friends on the Significant Other

Elicitor. These best friends were sorted into significant and non-

significant others. The entire sampling procedures are detailed later

in this chapter.

Before bringing data to bear on these hypotheses, it is neces-

sary to specify how interest in politics, number of significant others,

degree of political attitude formation, and frequency of discussing

politics were measured.

Interest in politics was measured by the item, "Generally

speaking, how interested would you say you are in politics?" The

possible responses were:

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not interested at all

The number of significant others from whom the respondent

obtained political information was operationalized simply as the

number of different individuals the respondent listed for the political

objects on the Significant Other Elicitor. The range of this variable

was 1 to 20.

The 19 Likert items contained on the Political Attitude

Detector allowed the possible response "uncertain." An index of

degree of political attitude formation toward the four objects was constructed by summing the number of uncertain responses an individual gave. The scale had a possible range of 0 to 19, where 0 indicates a high degree of attitude formation (no uncertain responses) and 19 indicates a low degree of attitude formation.

Frequency of discussing politics with others was measured by the response to the item, "How often do you discuss politics with others?" The possible responses were:

1. Very often
2. Often
3. Somewhat
4. A little
5. Very little
6. Never

Scores for interest in politics, degree of political attitude formation and frequency of discussing politics were all reversed so that low scores reflected low interest in politics, low degree of political attitude formation, and infrequent discussion of politics with others.

Table 4.2 presents Pearson zero-order correlations between number of political significant others and the variables respondent's political interest, degree of political attitude formation and frequency of discussing politics. These three correlations can be used to test Hypotheses A-C. The data reveal that number of significant others is significantly related to all three variables in the direction predicted by the hypotheses.

TABLE 4.2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS NAMED ON
QUESTIONNAIRE AND THREE ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENTS
(N=137)

	1	2	3	4
1. No. of SO's	1.000			
2. Pol. interest	.238[a]	1.000		
3. Pol. att. formation	.267[a]	.378[b]	1.000	
4. Freq. discuss. pol.	.248[a]	.689[b]	.372[b]	1.000

[a]Significant at .01 level.

(One-tail)

[b]Significant at .001 level.

Table 4.3 shows the number of peers named by the respondents
as significant others by sex. As can be clearly seen, the majority of
these peers significant others are of the same sex as the respondent,
confirming Hypothesis D.

Table 4.4 presents the data for Hypotheses E and F. The data
do not indicate a significant difference between the frequency of
discussing politics for parents who are listed as significant others
and those who are not. However, the difference is in the predicted
direction. For best friends the difference is in the predicted

TABLE 4.3

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING PEERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY SEX OF THE PEERS
(N=154)

Socializing agent	Political object			
	Political Parties	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam
Peer, same sex	43.5 (67)[a]	42.2 (68)	55.2 (85)	51.9 (80)
Peer, opposite sex	11.0 (17)	11.7 (18)	16.2 (25)	15.6 (24)

[a]Entries in parentheses indicate the number of respondents listing peers as significant others.

TABLE 4.4

MEAN LEVEL OF DISCUSSING POLITICS FOR SIGNIFICANT OTHER
AND NON-SIGNIFICANT OTHER PARENTS AND BEST FRIENDS

Socializing agent	Significant other	Non-significant other	p^a
Parent	4.60 (128)[b]	4.47 (20)	.16
Best friend	3.70 (122)	3.04 (91)	.001

[a]Significance determined by one-tailed Difference of Means test.

[b]Entries in parentheses indicate the number of parents and best friends.

direction and statistically significant below the .001 level.

The fact that five of the six hypotheses were confirmed offers support for the validity of the Significant Other Elicitor. Moreover, although Hypothesis E was not confirmed, the difference was in the predicted direction.

The results from these data warrant the conclusion that the Significant Other Elicitor possesses sufficient construct validity for the purposes for which it was designed. In addition, this validity allows for the inference that the instrument is also reliable.

The reliability and validity of the Political Attitude Detector will be discussed in the next chapter. This discussion is delayed because the items on this instrument were scaled through factor analysis prior to their use in the analysis. Consequently, discussion of reliability and validity will be postponed until the description of the procedures used to transform the scores on the instrument.

Sample and Research Design

The Significant Other Elicitor, the Political Attitude Detector, the items measuring political interest, political partisanship, frequency of discussing politics, and the background items were administered to 181 students in the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 12th grades. The 12th grade sample consisted of the student enrollment in three sociology classes at Oak Park-River Forest High School in Oak

Park, Illinois. The 9th grade respondents were all members of three history classes at the same school. The 5th and 6th grade students were enrolled in a joint 5th-6th grade class at the East Aurora Middle School in East Aurora, New York.

The respondents were allowed one class period to fill out the questionnaire, although individuals who required more time were permitted to remain after class. The average time taken to fill out the battery of questions was 25 to 30 minutes for the 12th grade respondents; 30 to 35 minutes for the 9th graders; and 50 to 55 minutes for the 5th-6th graders.

Of the 181 questionnaires administered, 154 (85 per cent) were fully completed. The final sample consisted of 55 twelfth grade students, 50 ninth grade students, and 49 students from the fifth-sixth grade class. Among the fifth-sixth grade class, 21 were at the fifth grade level and 29 were at the sixth grade level. Since the majority of these fifth-sixth grade students were in the sixth grade, the combined class will be referred to from now on simply as the sixth grade class.

The entire sample consisted of 71 males and 83 females. These 154 initial respondents named a total of 970 persons from whom they had obtained political information. The respondents also listed 157 individuals whom they considered to be best friends but who were not listed as significant others.

An attempt was made to contact each of the significant others

via a mailed copy of the Political Attitude Detector and the items

tapping political interest, discussion, and partisanship, along with

the background items for significant others. In addition this same

set of questions was mailed to the best friends and parents of the

primary respondents who were not named as significant others. These

persons were included in the data collection for purposes of testing

the validity of the Significant Other Elicitor.

Approximately 88 per cent of the significant others and best

friends and parents not named as significant others were contacted.[2]

Approximately 59 per cent of the persons contacted responded, yielding

a sample of 505 significant others, 94 best friends not named as

significant others and 23 parents not named as significant others.

The data were collected from the primary respondents during

the latter part of November and early December, 1973. The data from

the significant others were collected during November and December,

1973 and January, 1974.

At this point it is pertinent to discuss certain aspects of

the sample. One of the purposes of this thesis is to examine possible

changes in socializing agents across various stages of the life cycle.

In order to approximate a longitudinal design, three age-grade levels

_____

[2]In some cases students could not remember addresses for
significant others and subsequent checks through address books by the
author proved fruitless. Consequently, some of the significant others
could not be contacted.

were incorporated into the sample. However, since the sixth grade

respondents are from a different community than the remainder of the

sample, it is possible that community factors may bias comparisons

between the age-grade levels.

The two communities differ mildly in certain respects. Sta-

tistics from the Census of the Population (1973) for the year 1970

show Oak Park with a somewhat higher income level. Per capita

income in Oak Park was $4,815 and in East Aurora it was $4,044. The

statistics also show mild differences with regard to the occupational

structures of the communities. Table 4.5 portrays these figures. In

eight of the eleven categories the percentage differences are less

than 5 per cent and for ten of the eleven categories the differences

are less than 10 per cent. However, for the category clerical and

kindred workers the percentage difference is 11.5 per cent. This

difference combined with the differences in the professional, tech-

nical category suggests that East Aurora is a slightly more working

class community than Oak Park.

The major difference between the two communities lies in their

population. Oak Park had a population of 62,521 in 1970, while East

Aurora's population was only 7,037. However, while the communities

differ in terms of population, they are similar in the proximity of

their location to a large metropolitan area. Oak Park is located on

the outskirts of Chicago, approximately seven miles from downtown.

TABLE 4.5

PER CENT OF EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORIES FOR EAST AURORA AND OAK PARK

Occupational category	Community	
	East Aurora	Oak Park
Professional, technical and kindred workers	20.74 (571)	26.20 (7341)
Managers and administrators, except farm	12.75 (351)	11.39 (3190)
Sales workers	11.37 (313)	11.77 (3297)
Clerical and kindred workers	16.64 (458)	27.14 (7605)
Craftsmen, foreman, and kindred workers	13.66 (376)	8.41 (2355)
Operatives, except transport	8.43 (232)	4.30 (1206)
Transport equipment operatives	2.25 (62)	1.82 (509)
Laborers, except farm	2.18 (60)	1.77 (495)
Farmers and farm managers	.25 (7)	.02 (5)
Farm laborers and farm foremen	.00 (0)	.01 (1)
Service workers, except private household	9.92 (273)	6.74 (1888)
Private household workers	1.82 (50)	.44 (123)
Total	100.01[a] (2753)	100.01[a] (28018)

[a]Percentages total more than 100 per cent due to rounding.

East Aurora is located in the metropolitan area of Buffalo, approximately eight miles from the downtown area. Hence, although the populations differ with regard to the number of persons located within the physical boundaries of the community, each community is itself contained within the boundaries of a large metropolitan area.

Turning to the characteristics of the sample itself, comparisons were made among the grade levels on the basis of four criteria. These were father's occupation and education and mother's occupation and education. Table 4.6 presents the means and standard deviations

TABLE 4.6

MEAN EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF
RESPONDENTS' PARENTS, BY GRADE

Variable	Grade								
	Sixth			Ninth			Twelfth		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Father's education	15.3	3.0	44	12.8	2.8	40	14.3	3.1	54
Father's occupation	63.1	22.4	45	46.3	24.4	37	62.9	20.4	54
Mother's education	14.7	2.1	44	12.0	2.0	40	14.0	2.0	53
Mother's occupation	50.0	17.1	14	54.6	20.6	16	55.9	16.2	16

for each of the three grade levels for these four variables. While the grade levels are not statistically different for mother's occupation, there is some discrepancy for the other three variables. Interestingly, the difference is not between the East Aurora part of the sample and the Oak Park part of the sample, but between the ninth grade and the other two grade levels.

However, these differences should not affect the comparison of types of socializing agents among the grade levels. The reason for this is that these variables have only a marginal impact on the types of significant others individuals obtain political information from. Table 4.7 presents the Pearson zero-order correlations for father's education, father's occupation and mother's education with whether or not fathers, mothers, peers, or teachers are named as significant others for each of the four political objects.

As the results indicate, only three of the forty-eight correlations are statistically significant. Consequently, while the grade levels differ somewhat on the basis of certain characteristics, this analysis suggests that these differences should not influence comparison among the grade levels concerning types of socializing agents.

Thus far the discussion has indicated that the demographic differences in the grade levels of the sample should not affect comparison of socializing agents. However, the data have suggested mild differences between the two communities in terms of occupation

TABLE 4.7

CORRELATIONS OF FATHERS' EDUCATION, FATHERS' OCCUPATION,
AND MOTHERS' EDUCATION WITH WHETHER OR NOT PARENTS,
PEERS, OR TEACHERS ARE NAMED AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT (N=136)

Variable	Socializing agent			
	Father[a]	Mother[a]	Peer[a]	Teacher[a]
Political Parties				
Father's education	.10	-.02	.04	-.17[b]
Father's occupation	.12	-.01	.10	.09
Mother's education	.09	-.10	.08	.10
Presidency				
Father's education	.07	-.01	.13	.01
Father's occupation	-.04	-.03	-.06	.004
Mother's education	.07	.05	.01	-.05
Richard Nixon				
Father's education	.10	.07	.06	.02
Father's occupation	-.001	.08	.03	.02
Mother's education	.18[b]	.07	.05	.01
War in Vietnam				
Father's education	.12	.05	.13	-.01
Father's occupation	.06	.09	.06	-.17[b]
Mother's education	.15	.03	.04	.03

[a]These variables were coded 0 if the respective agent was not named as a significant other and 1 if the agent was named a significant other.

[b]Significant at .05 level (two-tail).

and income levels. In addition, the communities differ with regard

to size and possibly with regard to other characteristics for which

there are no data to make comparisons. While there are no data to

indicate the impact of community on type of significant others named

for politics, there are data available concerning the relationship

between community residence and political partisanship. Putnam (1966)

found a tau-c correlation of .18 between a measure of "community

partisanship" and the vote of a sample of respondents within the

community. Knoke and Haut (1974) present a review of factors

influencing partisanship taken from Center for Political Studies

election study data. In 1964 the partial, unstandardized regression

coefficient controlled for class, occupation, education, race,

religion, and father's party preference was .27. In 1968 it was .21

and in 1972 it had dropped to a non-significant .08. This trend

shows that region of the country has only a slight effect on political

partisanship and that this impact is declining.

Since these studies show that community factors and geograph-

ical location of the community assume only a small role in the

direction of political party identification, this study will assume

that they also have only a small effect on the sources of attitudes.

Theoretically this position is appealing. The three major sources of

political attitude formation appear to be the family, peer group, and

the schools. Except in extremely rural communities, and possibly in

densely populated communities, interaction with these types of persons

should not be significantly different from community to community.

Since the two communities in the sample are not close to either extreme,

it appears unlikely that the community should greatly affect the

comparisons involved within this thesis.

Since the sampling procedures used here fail to meet the

requirements of random sampling, generalization of the findings beyond

the sample is not warranted. The results of this thesis should be

considered as tests of the various hypotheses and underlying theory of

the dissertation. Only through replication on other samples can the

findings conclusively be generalized to larger populations.

Another consequence of the sampling procedure used here is

that it fails to meet the requirements for many statistical tests of

probability. Nevertheless, certain statistics will be used in the

analysis to aid in interpreting the results. Hopefully, the fairly

large sample size will keep sampling distortions to a minimum.

CHAPTER V

OPERATIONALIZATION OF MEASURES

Introduction

This chapter will explain the operations used to measure the variables of the study not previously described. The chapter will begin by discussing the measures for extent and impact of influence. It will then examine the measurement of the assorted individual demographic characteristics.

Measures of Influence

Extent of Influence

Extent of influence was defined as the number of persons an individual, group of individuals, or classification of individuals exert influence over. For purposes of this thesis, it is the latter category (classification of individuals) that is of interest. The focus here concerns the influence of classifications of individuals such as parents, peers, teachers, and siblings on the political socialization of the respondents. To measure the extent of influence of these classifications, it is necessary to determine the number of

respondents in the sample who are influenced by one or more persons from each of the classifications of socializing agents uncovered in the research. In this study a person is operationalized as influencing a person's attitudes toward one of the four political objects if his name is mentioned on the Significant Other Elicitor for that object. The extent of influence for a classification of individuals for an object is measured simply by tallying the number of respondents naming one or more individuals from that classification for that object. Extent of influence can be expressed as the percentage of the 154 respondents naming one or more individuals from that classification for a particular object. For example, if 77 respondents name their father for the object Presidency, then the extent of fathers' influence for the object Presidency would be 77/154 or 50 per cent.

The extent of influence measure, however, is not enough to adequately explain the effect classifications of socializing agents have in the political socialization process. It must be supplemented by another measure. As discussed in Chapter III, it is necessary to know both how many individuals a classification of persons influence (extent of influence) and how strong the influence is. The strength of influence is termed the impact of influence and will be discussed next.

Impact of Influence

Measuring the impact of influence entails the operationalization

of Formula 2.4 in Chapter II. This formula is reproduced below.

$$A_n = \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i s_i}{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i} \qquad (5.1)$$

where for the purposes of the thesis

A_n = the respondent's political attitude

w_i = the effectiveness of each piece of information impinging on the respondent

s_i = the direction of each piece of information impinging on the respondent.

This formula states that the respondent's attitude toward a political object is a consequence of all the information he/she receives about the object. However, the interest here lies in estimating the impact of information provided interpersonally. Other sources of information such as the media are not under consideration here. Hence, it may be more useful to view the above formula in the following fashion.

$$A_n = \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i s_{(so)i}}{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i} + \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i s_{(ios)i}}{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} w_i}$$

where A_n and w_i have the same meaning as before and where

$s_{(so)i}$ = information from interpersonal sources

$s_{(ios)i}$ = information from sources other than interpersonal sources

Furthermore, since the data from this thesis pertain only to information conveyed by significant others, the equation to be evaluated here is really

$$A_n = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i s_{(so)i} + e_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i} \qquad (5.3)$$

where all the symbols are the same as above and e_i is the unmeasured influence of political information sources other than significant others.

The last equation bears a remarkable resemblence to a regression equation, and it is through the use of correlation and regression that the impact of significant others will be assessed. Specifically, impact of influence will be assessed for the respondent's mother, father, teachers, peer group members, and for his significant others in general. The strategy for assessing this impact will be to enter successively into Formula 5.3 indicators of the information provided to the respondents by each of the above agents of socialization.[1] The goodness of fit between the information they provide and the respondent's own attitude will be estimated with a zero-order correlation.

---

[1] The reason that impact of influence will not be measured for specific classifications of socializing agents other than fathers, mothers, peers, and teachers stems from the fact that there were not enough available data to create indices of information transmitted by these other agents to the respondents. More will be said about this in latter parts of the thesis.

The goodness of fit will give an indication of the impact of the influence of the various political socialization agents. In order to obtain these correlation coefficients, though, it is necessary to create indices of the pertinent political information provided to the respondent by his/her significant others. The bulk of this chapter will be devoted to describing the construction of these information indices.

If Equation 5.3 were perfectly specified, it would contain information about the direction and effectiveness of every piece of information transmitted to each respondent by all of his significant others. Of course this information is virtually impossible to obtain. However, the direction (s_i) of each piece of information provided to the respondents by their significant others can be estimated. To do this it is necessary to assume that the direction of each message provided by a significant other is congruent to the direction of the significant other's own political attitude. The majority of studies in political socialization make use of this assumption. For example, all the studies reported in Chapter I concerning parental effect on political partisanship measure the impact of the parents' influence by assessing the relationship between the parents own party and the party choice of the offspring. While there is undoubtedly some discrepancy between the direction of messages transmitted by a significant other and the direction of his own political attitudes,

his own attitude most likely represents both the mean and modal direction of the information the significant other transmits.

Utilizing the above assumption, the direction of each significant other's political attitude position can be substituted into Formula 5.3 for the directional value (s_i). This means that the three values which must be specified in order to evaluate Formula 5.3 are the respondent's political attitude position (A_n), each significant other's attitude position for the given respondent (s_i), and the weighting or message effectiveness (w_i). Since the s_i value employed here will be the attitude position of the significant other, the w_i will refer to the general effectiveness of the significant other in influencing the respondent rather than the effectiveness of each message the significant other conveys.

Several intermediate steps were necessary in order to obtain measures of both the primary respondents' and significant others' political attitude position. This was due to the fact that nineteen Likert items were used to measure political attitudes. It was necessary to collapse the responses to these items into indices reflecting attitudes toward each object separately. The steps used in this data reduction included factor analyzing the responses to the Likert items, creating factor scores based on the observed factor structures, and combining these factor scores into the desired indices. This latter step required utilizing some value for message effective-

ness. The next sections of this chapter will explore in detail the steps used to create the final indices.

Factor analysis of the Likert responses

Factor analysis was used as an intermediate step in the construction of two types of scales. One scale measured both the respondents' and the significant others' attitude position toward all four of the objects. The purpose of this scale was to assess an overall orientation to politics. The second type of scale measured both the respondents' and significant others' attitude position toward each of the four political objects separately.

For the first type of scale, the nineteen Likert items were factored simultaneously. For the remainder of the discussion this factor analysis will be referred to as the overall factor analysis. For the second type of scale, a separate factor analysis was performed on the Likert items pertaining to each object. These factor analyses will be referred to as the object factor analyses. In performing each of these factor analyses, the primary respondents and the significant others were factored separately. This strategy was employed instead of factoring both groups of individuals together for the following reason. One of the major guiding principles of this endeavor has been that significant others will influence the respondents' political attitudes. Using this presupposition it would have been a simple matter to assume that significant others and egos would

have similar dimensions underlying their attitudes and simply factor both groups together. However, factoring them separately allows for a definite empirical test of this assumption. Both the factor loadings and the factor scores of each group can be correlated to determine whether or not there is congruence in the two groups. In addition, if there are differences in the factor structures of each group, these differences will be noted and compensated for in the analysis.

The factor technique used was principal components factor analysis of the variance-covariance matrix.

Once the factor structures were determined, the axes of the respondents' factor structure were rotated to match the axes of the significant other factor space in order to minimize the effects of exogenous influences which may have affected the placing of these reference axes.

Table 5.1 presents the first three factors for the overall factor analysis of the significant others and the rotated respondent factor structure. Table 5.2 presents the first three factors for both the significant others and the respondents for the object factor analyses.

Examination of the loadings along factor I for political parties foreshadows the interpretation of the first factor for all the factor analyses. Questions eight and seventeen, which are worded favorably to the Democratic Party, load negatively on factor I for both

TABLE 5.1

FACTOR LOADINGS AND PER CENT OF VARIANCE EXPLAINED PER FACTOR
FOR THE FIRST THREE FACTORS OF THE OVERALL SIGNIFICANT
OTHER FACTOR STRUCTURE AND THE OVERALL
RESPONDENT FACTOR STRUCTURE

Likert item number	Significant others			Respondents		
	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
1[a]	-.20	.79	.32	.07	.51	-.40
2	1.07	-.18	.43	1.01	-.19	.45
3	.62	.57	-.37	.42	.45	-.08
4	.26	-.07	.05	.18	.06	-.30
5	-.67	.27	-.11	-.33	.25	.12
6	-.66	-.28	-.15	-.59	.37	.21
7	.58	.76	-.35	.41	.83	.22
8	-.62	.41	-.30	-.27	.00	.45
9	.83	.35	.14	.73	.58	-.10
10	.42	.23	.34	.42	.36	.12
11	.86	-.12	.37	.80	-.07	.41
12	-.58	-.30	.06	-.37	.08	.59
13	-.09	.02	-.38	-.19	.08	.15
14	-.16	.61	.43	-.16	.19	.10
15	.20	-.33	.00	.31	-.63	.52
16	.12	.18	-.26	.19	.42	.41
17	-.30	.52	.06	-.13	.27	.42
18	-.77	.29	-.20	-.55	.11	-.42
19	-.79	.14	1.19	-.58	.09	-.03
Per cent variance	20.80	9.80	8.70	16.40	11.00	9.70

[a]See Appendix I for the wording for each Likert item.

TABLE 5.2

FACTOR LOADINGS AND PER CENT VARIANCE EXPLAINED PER FACTOR
FOR THE FIRST THREE FACTORS OF THE SIGNIFICANT OTHER
FACTOR STRUCTURE AND THE ROTATED RESPONDENT
FACTOR STRUCTURE, BY OBJECT

Likert item number	Significant others			Respondents		
	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
Political Parties						
4[a]	.87	.17	-.48	.75	.27	.09
8	-.97	.39	-.22	-.78	.34	.10
10	.20	-.51	.79	.21	-.72	.64
13	.31	1.08	.52	.30	.71	.74
17	-.66	.01	.17	-.60	-.04	.45
Per cent variance	33.10	22.60	17.52	30.50	22.20	21.40
Presidency						
1	-.76	.64	.39	-.58	.51	.71
5	-.75	-.08	.78	-.65	.02	.37
9	.99	1.02	.47	.89	1.02	.37
14	-.61	.96	-.69	-.61	.85	-.76
Per cent variance	32.70	31.20	19.10	31.60	24.60	22.30
Richard Nixon						
2	1.24	.36	.01	1.05	.22	-.54
6	-.73	1.00	-.35	-.48	1.15	.19
11	1.02	.24	.04	.86	.16	-.49
15	.33	.40	.66	.93	.15	.57
18	-.84	.11	.63	-.17	.23	.81
Per cent variance	53.10	18.50	12.80	40.60	20.30	21.00
War in Vietnam						
3	.96	.52	.05	.93	.08	-.23
7	.89	.20	.96	.78	-.27	.69
12	-.75	-.67	.78	-.63	-.22	1.01
16	.36	.40	.02	.53	.06	.38
19	-1.16	1.13	.27	-.27	1.37	.27
Per cent variance	38.50	22.50	16.50	28.90	26.20	23.20

[a]See Appendix I for the wording for each Likert item.

the primary respondents and the significant others. Question ten, which is favorable to the Republican Party loads positively. This suggests a party oriented dimension. More broadly, factor I may be considered a Left-Right or Liberal-Conservative dimension since the Democratic Party is traditionally conceived of as the more liberal party and the Republican Party the more conservative party. (See for example, Segal, 1969.) In this context the use of Left-Right follows the definition of Lipset et al. (1954:1135):

> By Left we shall mean advocating social change in the direction
> of greater equality--political, economic, or social; by Right
> we shall mean supporting a traditional, more or less, hierar-
> chical social order, and opposing change toward greater equality.

In a general sense Left or Liberal reflects a tendency to favor change in the status quo. Right or Conservative, on the other hand, connotes advocating maintenance of the status quo.

This finding of a Left-Right dimension underlying party attitudes replicated, in principle, a study by Inglehart and Sidjanski (1976). They factor analyzed party preference rankings for each of the eleven leading Swiss parties. Their factor structure revealed a Left-Right first factor underlying the party preferences.

While the Left-Right dimension evidently offers a valid explanation of the first factor loadings for Political Parties, its explanatory power is not limited to Political Parties. A study by Inglehart and Klingemann (1976) employed factor analysis to interpret the responses of a sample of voters to a set of items tapping

attitudes toward selected political issues and societal goals.

Employing Lipset et al.'s definition of Left-Right, they found a

Left-Right dimension clearly underlying the first factor of this

factor structure.

The factor structures reported above indicate that the Left-

Right dimension is an important organizing element for a variety of

attitudes individuals hold about political objects. To see if this

pattern is appropriate for the remainder of the objects of this study,

consider the other object factor structures. For the Presidency the

three items which suggest the advocacy of change in the status quo of

the Presidency--questions one, five, and fourteen--all load negatively,

similar to the pattern for the Democratic Party. The item which

suggests acceptance of the status quo--question nine--loads positively.

This pattern holds for both the significant others and the primary

respondents. For Richard Nixon, a conservative president, the items

which indicate support for him--questions two, eleven, and fifteen--

load positively on factor I for both the significant others and the

primary respondents, while the items which indicate disapproval or

dislike of Richard Nixon--questions six and eighteen--load negatively

or on the Liberal side of the factor.

For Vietnam, the Left-Right interpretation of factor I also

applies. Items which show favorability to the war effort--questions

three and seven--load positively on factor I while items showing

disapproval of the war and suggesting amnesty for the draft resistors

and deserters--questions twelve and nineteen--load negatively.

The pattern of loadings by object for factor I clearly

indicates that a Left-Right dimension underlies both the primary

respondents' and the significant others' views toward these four

political objects. Inspection of factor I for the overall factor

analysis shows that this Left-Right pattern also holds when all nine-

teen items are factored simultaneously. The pattern is again the

same for both the primary respondents and the significant others.

The Pearson zero-order correlation between the loadings on factor I

for the respondents (rotated) and the significant others for the

overall factor analysis is .94. This clearly demonstrates how strongly

this Left-Right dimension underlies both of their attitude positions.

While the data are readily interpretable for factor I, it is

difficult to interpret the patterns on the other factors. It is

highly possible that there are no other consistent dimensions under-

lying the political attitudes of the sample. This lack of other

dimensions coupled with the relatively low amount of explained

variance on the first factors from the various analyses could indicate,

as Inglehart and Klingemann (1976) have suggested, that there is only

a "modest degree of constraint generally prevailing in the belief

systems of mass publics."

As a consequence of the confusion surrounding the patterns on

the other factors, only the loadings from the first factors will be
used to rescale the Likert responses.

Rescaling the Likert Responses

Essentially four indices need to be constructed for the
hypothesis testing. These include the respondents' political attitude
position overall, the significant others' political attitude position
overall, respondent's political attitude position for each object, and
the significant others' political attitude position, by object.
Following the factor analyses each Likert item was multiplied by the
corresponding loading on factor I from the appropriate factor analysis.
To generate factor scores for the respondents for the factor analysis
overall, each Likert item was multiplied by the corresponding loading
on factor I from the overall factor analysis for respondents. This
set of factor scores was used to generate the respondents' political
attitude position, overall. To obtain factor scores for the respon-
dents by object, each Likert item was multiplied by its corresponding
loading on factor I from the object factor analyses. For the signifi-
cant others the same procedures were followed except that the factor
loadings employed were taken from the various significant other
factor analyses.

Indices of the respondents' political attitudes

The respondents' overall attitude toward the four political

objects was derived simply by taking the mean of the nineteen factor

scores generated from the overall factor analysis. Actually, in order

to allow for missing data, an index was constructed for a respondent

if there were complete data for at least seventeen of the nineteen

factor scores. For this and all the significant other information

indices generated in this report a low score indicates a conservative

position, a high score a more liberal position. Table 5.3 presents

the range, mean, standard deviation, sample size, and reliability

coefficient for this overall index. In addition the table also

presents the same statistics for each of the object indices created

for the respondents. The object indices were created simply by taking

the mean of the factor scores for an object. An object index was

created for a respondent unless data were missing on more than two of

the factor scores for the object.

Indices of the significant
others' political attitudes

The derivation of the significant other indices was similar to

that of the respondent indices. However, there was one slight differ-

ence. This difference was necessitated by the fact that most of the

respondents had more than one significant other for an object.

Therefore, it was necessary to combine or aggregate the indices of

significant other information for each respondent. This extra step

was required in order to obtain an estimate of the direction of

TABLE 5.3

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR RESPONDENT
POLITICAL ATTITUDE INDICES

Attitude index	Statistic				
	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Range	Reliability[a]
Political Parties	152	-.05	.34	-1.14 to .98	.47
Presidency	153	.46	.47	-.69 to 2.17	.34
War in Vietnam	152	1.09	.46	.06 to 2.06	.52
Richard Nixon	152	1.65	.61	-.08 to 2.72	.64
Overall Attitude	151	.43	.23	-.22 to .91	.70

[a]Reliabilities determined by Cronbach's alpha

information impinging on a respondent from all interpersonal sources.
The discussion of the derivation of the significant other indices will
be as follows: first, there will be a brief presentation of the
construction of the individual significant other indices, by object;
second, the method for aggregating the signficant other object

indices for each respondent will be detailed; finally, the construction of the overall significant other index will be treated.

Individual significant other indices by object

The techniques used to create the indices for each significant other by object were identical to those employed for the respondent object indices. Each Likert item was multiplied by its corresponding loading on factor I from the significant other object analyses. Each object index was created by taking the mean value across the factor scores for the items representing that object. An object index was created for a significant other if there were missing data on no more than two of the factor scores for the object.

These individual significant other object indices were an intermediate step to estimating the direction of all the interpersonal influence impinging upon a respondent for a given object. This direction of influence was obtained by aggregating the individual significant other object indices across all significant others for a respondent.

Aggregation of the significant other object indices for a respondent

The purpose of this aggregation was to obtain a single measure representing the direction of information for a given object received by the respondent from all of his/her significant others for the

object. It is at this point that some weighting schema based on the relative effectiveness of each significant other would prove invaluable. Unfortunately such a weighting schema does not exist. Nevertheless, while the actual weighting procedure may be quite complex, Woelfel and Haller (1971), Mettlin (1970), and Saltiel and Woelfel (1974) have demonstrated considerable success in predicting an individual's attitudes toward certain objects with very simple quantitative formulations of the information these individuals receive. More precisely, these formulations use the simple average of the attitude positions of the significant others from whom the individuals have received information. Since the mean is a very parsimonious function, and since it has been utilized successfully in previous research to aggregate information, the mean has been adopted here to aggregate the significant other object indices. The direction of information impinging upon an individual from his significant others for a given object is determined by the following formula.

$$\text{Aggregated Responses for a Political Object} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} \sum_{j=1}^{n} x_{ij}/k}{N} \tag{5.4}$$

Where

x_{ij} = the jth factor score for significant other i

N = the number of significant others for the political object

k = the number of attitude items for a political object

An example will help to clarify this formula. Suppose a person has three significant others for Richard Nixon. First, the mean value for each significant other would be calculated from the five factor scores for the Likert items for Nixon. This yields three mean scores, one for each significant other. These scores are then aggregated by taking the mean value of these three scores. This yields one score reflecting the direction of the information emanating from the significant others to the respondent for Richard Nixon. These same procedures are followed for each of the other three political objects.

In creating these object indices, then, the weights (w_i) of Formula 5.3 were assumed to be equal for all significant others. The missing data procedures were the same as employed in creating the respondent indices. A significant other's case was included if there were missing data on no more than two of the factor scores for the object. Table 5.4 presents the range, mean, standard deviation, sample size, and reliability coefficient for each of these object indices.

Index of significant others'
attitude position, overall

As was mentioned previously, the additional step necessary to create this index was to combine the items for the four objects into one overall index measuring the direction of significant other information. Two points should be stressed here. In creating the

TABLE 5.4

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR SIGNIFICANT
OTHER POLITICAL ATTITUDE INDICES

Attitude index	Statistic				
	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Range	Reliability[a]
Political Parties	95	-.11	.41	-.96 to .81	.51
Presidency	95	.66	.58	-.51 to 2.41	.37
War in Vietnam	108	.51	.63	-1.32 to 1.74	.55
Richard Nixon	111	1.32	.62	-.90 to 2.21	.65
Overall Attitude	115	1.33	1.61	-2.07 to 5.99	.85

[a]Reliabilities determined by Cronbach's alpha.

overall index for significant others, not all the responses from

significant others were used. This scale employed only the responses

of significant others on the objects for which they were named as

significant others. This means that if a person were named signifi-

cant for Richard Nixon, only his responses to the items for Richard

Nixon would be used in the scale.

The second point that must be made is that the Likert items for this scale were rescaled using the factor loadings on factor I from the <u>overall significant other factor analysis</u>, not the object analyses.

Briefly, this scale was constructed in the following fashion. First, individual significant other indices by object were constructed utilizing the factor scores based on the items for that object. The indices for the several significant others were aggregated in the same fashion as for the significant other object indices. To this point the procedures used were identical to the object index construction except that the factor scores were obtained from the overall significant other factor analysis. The final step was to combine the four object indices into the overall index by taking the mean of the four object indices. This score was used as the indicator of the direction of the information transmitted to the respondent by his/her significant others for the four political objects, overall.

In creating the object and the overall indices, no weighting procedure to represent message effectiveness was used. However, the fact that it was impossible to weight each significant other's attitude position by some index of message effectiveness does not preclude the possibility of weighting the overall significant other index by some value. In other words, although it may be impossible to

rank the effectiveness of each of the significant others for a respondent, it is possible to predict which respondents will be more influenced by their significant others than other respondents. Returning back to Formula 5.3, there are three basic variables which influence attitudes. These are the direction of messages (s_i), the effectiveness of messages (w_i), and the number of messages. Thus, it stands to reason that there should be a relation between the number of messages significant others provide to a respondent and the influence they have on his/her political attitudes.[2] This assertion can be evidenced by examining the correlation between an index of the number of messages provided to a respondent by his/her significant others--the respondent's statement of how frequently he/she discusses politics with others--and the respondent's own political attitude position. The Pearson zero-order correlation between these two variables is .29 (p < .001) for 144 cases.

Since the number of messages received is a factor in attitude formation, the index of the overall significant other attitude position was multiplied by the frequency with which the respondent stated he/she discussed politics with others.

This variable was not used to weight the significant other

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[2]Palmgreen, et al. (1974) make a similar point in connection with an index of mass media influence. The authors suggest that when constructing an index of media impact, the researcher should take into account not only whether or not a particular message was discriminated from a medium, but how many times the message was actually discriminated.

indices, by object. The reason for this is contingent on the wording

of the question measuring frequency of discussing politics. The

precise wording was "How often do you discuss politics with others?"

The key word in this phrasing is politics. The frequency with which

the respondent discusses specific topics such as Richard Nixon, or

Political Parties may be quite different than the general rate with

which he discusses all the topics which may be considered "politics."

Hence, it would be inappropriate to use this variable as an index of

discussion for these specific items. However, since the index of the

significant others' political attitude position overall contains

several political topics, it was felt that frequency of discussing

politics was a valid indicator on which to discriminate respondents

with regard to the number of messages they had received concerning

the four political topics.

At this juncture it is necessary to discuss the procedures

used to treat missing data in the significant other index, overall.

The overriding consideration in setting requirements was to set them

in such a way as to be able to construct the index for as many cases

as possible and still be meaningful. While the response rate for

this research was typical of many mailed questionnaire studies (about

55 per cent), there were a number of instances of missing data. It

was decided that in order for an index of significant other influence

to be calculated for a case, significant other data had to exist for

at least two of the political objects. Thus, the minimal condition
for inclusion of a case in the construction of this index could be
met if data existed either for one significant other for at least
two political objects, or for two significant others with the data
for each significant other concerning different objects.

The overall index was constructed for 115 cases. The index
ranged from -1.56 to 5.01 with a mean of 1.16 and standard deviation
of 1.29. The reliability for the overall significant other index
was .82.[3]

Attitude indices for specific
agents of socialization

As was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, impact of
influence will be assessed not only for significant others in general,
but also for selected agents of political socialization. These
selected agencies include mothers, fathers, teachers, and peer group
members who were named as political significant others. In order to
assess the impact of their influence, indices of the information they
provided to the respondents were constructed. The construction
procedures were identical to those employed for creating the indices

[3]The reliability scores were calculated to determine the
degree of true score variance contained in the factor scores gener-
ated from the Political Attitude Detector Likert items. Hence,
reliability for the significant other index was calculated prior
to multiplication by the frequency of discussing politics variable.

for significant others in general, including weighting of the Likert responses by the appropriate loadings on the significant other factor analyses. In addition to the individual indices for mothers and fathers, an index was also created to assess direction of information provided to the respondent by his or her parents. This latter index was used to determine the combined impact of influence of parents. Table 5.5 presents the range, mean, standard deviation, sample size and reliability coefficient for each of these indices.

Review of the Index Construction Procedures

The various indices derived from the data were constructed in order to assess the impact of significant others in general and various types of socializing agents in particular on the political attitude formation of the primary respondents in the sample. The indices served as operational measures for Formula 5.3. In operationalizing this formula two assumptions were made. First, it was assumed that each significant other's own attitude position could be substituted as an indicator of the direction of messages he provided to the respondent about the political topics. Second, since it was impossible to distinguish the relative effectiveness of the messages each significant other transmitted to the primary respondents, the values for message effectiveness were assumed to be equal for each significant other and were set to one. In one instance, though, a value was given

TABLE 5.5

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE INDICES
OF SELECTED SOCIALIZING AGENTS

Attitude Index	Statistic				
	Sample size	Mean	Standard deviation	Range	Relia- bility[a]
Parents					
Political Parties	51	-.04	.50	-1.20 to .86	.61
Presidency	42	2.74	.64	-.58 to 2.41	.43
Richard Nixon	59	1.37	.79	-.90 to 2.28	.79
War in Vietnam	56	.49	.78	-1.47 to 1.82	.65
Overall attitude	61	.37	.46	-.58 to 1.32	.82
Mothers					
Political Parties	37	-.15	.51	-1.20 to .86	.56
Presidency	24	.60	.66	-.58 to 2.41	.34
Richard Nixon	40	1.31	.88	-.73 to 2.28	.82
War in Vietnam	.36	.58	.76	-1.47 to 1.82	.65
Overall attitude	42	.40	.47	-.75 to 1.11	.79
Fathers					
Political Parties	42	-.16	.59	-1.31 to .78	.48
Presidency	51	.75	.59	-.39 to 2.07	.33
Richard Nixon	67	1.40	.55	.24 to 2.21	.70
War in Vietnam	66	.64	.72	-1.18 to 1.82	.60
Overall attitude	71	.38	.36	-.43 to 1.13	.73
Peers					
Political Parties	51	-.14	.42	-1.02 to .78	.48
Presidency	51	.75	.59	-.39 to 2.07	.33
Richard Nixon	67	1.40	.55	.24 to 2.21	.70
War in Vietnam	66	.64	.72	-1.18 to 1.82	.60
Overall attitude	71	.38	.36	-.43 to 1.13	.73
Teachers					
Political Parties	25	-.08	.48	-1.13 to .65	.60
Presidency	25	.30	.50	-.17 to 1.48	.52
Richard Nixon	14	1.67	.33	1.03 to 2.08	.53
War in Vietnam	22	.62	.41	-1.00 to 1.16	.69
Overall attitude	18	.40	.24	-.50 to 1.25	.77

[a]Reliabilities determined by Cronbach's alpha.

to message effectiveness. The index of the significant others'

overall attitude position was weighted by the frequency with which

the respondent stated he talked politics with other persons.

One shortcoming to some of these indices was their low

reliability. Low reliability is an indication of measurement error.

The next section of this chapter will examine the consequences of

these low reliabilities and the steps taken to avoid misinterpretation

of subsequent analyses stemming from these low reliabilities.

Index Reliabilities

The reliability coefficients for the various indices ranged

from .33 to .86. The lower reliability coefficients indicate that

considerable measurement error is contained in these indices. This

raises a question posed by Nunnally (1967) among others, concerning

satisfactory levels of reliability. According to Nunnally (1967:226):

> In the early stages of research on predictor tests or hypothesized
> measures of a construct, one saves time and energy by working
> with instruments that have only modest reliability for which
> purposes reliabilities of .60 or .50 will suffice.

Nunnally continues

> If significant correlations are found, corrections for attenua-
> tion will estimate how much the correlations will increase when
> reliabilities of measures are increased. If those corrected
> values look promising, it will be worth the time and effort to
> increase items and reduce measurement error in other ways.

In the data analysis chapters of the report, Nunnally's advice

will be implemented in two ways. First, while correlations will be

presented between all the significant other and respondent attitude indices, only those correlations will be interpreted for which the reliabilites of both indices are .50 or greater. If the reliabilites are any lower, the measurement error will obscure the real relationship between the indices to the extent that any interpretation of the results would be indefensible.

Second, for correlations attaining or approaching statistical significance ($p < .1$) where the reliabilities of each index are .50 or greater, corrections for attenuation will be computed to estimate the true relationship between the variables without measurement error. The formula for correction for attenuation is taken from Guilford (1954:195) and is given by

$$r_{\infty\omega} = \frac{r_{xy}}{\sqrt{r_{xx}r_{yy}}} \qquad (5.5)$$

where

$r_{\infty\omega}$ = the correlation between the true components of x and y

r_{xy} = the obtained correlation between the measures of x and y

r_{xx}, r_{yy} = the reliability coefficients of x and y

Index Validity

The validity of the significant other and primary respondent attitude position indices can be deduced from the plots of their respective factor analyses. The indices have been described as

reflecting an individual's attitudes toward the several political objects along a Liberal-Conservative dimension. The factor analyses of the Likert attitude items clearly indicate that the main dimension underlying the attitudes of the primary respondents and their significant others was a Liberal-Conservative dimension. The attitude indices themselves were created in order to reflect this pattern in the factor structures. Each index was weighted by the factor loadings from the appropriate Liberal-Conservative factor. Since the indices are a linear function of the loadings on these Liberal-Conservative factors, it seems reasonable to infer that they, too, measure attitudes toward selected political topics along a Liberal-Conservative dimension.

In addition to the derived attitude indices which were developed at length in this chapter, several other variables are also employed in the data analysis. The final section of the chapter will discuss these variables.

Demographic Indicators

Seven variables will be reported in this section. The variables deal with certain background characteristics of the sample respondents.

Religion.--Religion is operationalized in this study as a set of dummy categories. The categories used were Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Agnostic, Atheist, and other.

Sex.--Sex is measured as a dummy variable with males coded zero and females coded one.

Number of siblings.--This variable is simply the total number of brothers and sisters the respondent reports having.

Mother's education and father's education.--These variables were coded as the number of years the respective parent spent in school. Where possible the statement of the parent's education was taken from the parent's own report. Otherwise it was taken from the offspring's report of his parents' education. The child's report of his parents' educational attainment is a fairly valid indicator of the parents' own report. For the 50 cases from this data set where both the respondent and his/her mother reported her education, the Pearson zero-order correlation was .84. For the 54 cases where both the respondent and his/her father reported his education, the correlation was .89.

Socioeconomic status (SES).--The respondents' SES was measured as the occupational prestige of his father. This occupational prestige was operationalized through the Duncan (1961) prestige scale for occupations. Where possible father's occupation was identified through the father's own report. Otherwise it was taken from the respondent's report of his father's occupation. The child's report of his father's

occupation is a valid index of the father's own report of his occupation. For the 65 cases where both the respondent and his/her father reported the father's occupation, the Pearson zero-order correlation was .94.

Mother's occupation.--Mother's occupational prestige was also coded through the Duncan (1961) prestige scale for occupation. Again, where possible, the mother's occupation was identified through the mother's self-report. Otherwise, mother's occupation was taken from the offspring's report of his/her mother's occupation. For the 60 cases where both mother and respondent reported the mother's occupation, the correlation was .84.

Summary

Chapter V has focused on the operational measures for the variables in this research. With this and the other chapters as a foundation, the next two chapters will turn to the results of the study.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIVE SOCIALIZATION CONTRIBUTION OF

INDIVIDUAL SOCIALIZING AGENTS

Chapters VI and VII will focus on bringing the data to bear

on the hypotheses. The tack in presenting the results will not be to

discuss each hypothesis in order of its presentation in Chapter III.

Instead, the hypotheses dealing with the extent and impact of the

various socializing agents' influence will be treated first. Next,

the overall effect of significant others in general will be

considered. Finally, the relationship between age, sex, political

interest, political attitude formation, number of political signifi-

cant others, and direction of political attitudes will be examined.

The Relative Political Socialization Effect of Individual Socializing Agents

Table 6.1 describes the extent of influence of eighteen

classifications of socializing agents. The table lists both the

number and percentage of respondents naming each of these classi-

fications as significant others by object and overall.[1] The number

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[1]If a respondent designated either a mother, father, or both
as a significant other for an object, then he/she was credited as
having listed a parent as a significant other for that object.

TABLE 6.1

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING EIGHTEEN CLASSIFICATIONS OF SOCIALIZING
AGENTS AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT
(N=154)

Socializing agent	Political object				Overall average
	Political Parties	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	
Parent	59.1 (91)a	51.9 (80)	61.7 (95)	60.4 (93)	58.3 (359)
Father	48.7 (75)	37.7 (58)	45.5 (79)	52.6 (81)	46.1 (284)
Mother	45.5 (70)	35.1 (54)	48.7 (75)	42.2 (65)	42.9 (264)
Peer	44.2 (68)	46.8 (72)	57.8 (89)	55.2 (85)	51.0 (314)
Peer, same sex	43.5 (67)	44.2 (68)	55.2 (85)	51.9 (80)	48.2 (297)
Peer, opp. sex	11.0 (17)	11.7 (18)	16.2 (25)	15.6 (24)	13.6 (84)
Teacher	21.4 (33)	22.7 (35)	14.9 (23)	21.4 (33)	20.1 (124)
Brother	14.9 (23)	9.1 (14)	17.5 (27)	22.1 (34)	15.9 (98)
Sister	10.4 (16)	11.0 (17)	18.2 (28)	15.6 (24)	13.8 (85)
Adult Friend	11.7 (18)	6.5 (10)	9.7 (15)	8.4 (13)	9.1 (56)
Uncle	7.8 (12)	1.3 (2)	4.5 (7)	5.2 (8)	4.7 (29)
Aunt	5.2 (8)	3.2 (5)	3.9 (6)	3.9 (6)	4.1 (25)
Cousin	3.9 (6)	3.9 (6)	3.2 (5)	5.2 (8)	4.1 (25)
Grandfather	3.9 (6)	1.3 (2)	3.2 (5)	1.9 (3)	2.6 (14)
Grandmother	1.3 (2)	1.9 (3)	1.9 (3)	3.9 (6)	2.3 (14)
In-law	1.3 (2)	1.9 (3)	2.6 (4)	1.3 (2)	1.8 (11)
Father absent	.6 (1)	0.0 (0)	1.3 (2)	1.3 (2)	.8 (5)
Relation unspecified	5.8 (9)	2.6 (4)	4.5 (7)	5.8 (9)	4.7 (29)

aEntries in parentheses indicate the number of respondents naming agent.

of times a socializing agent was named overall was obtained by summing the number of respondents naming one or more individuals from that agency as significant others for all four of the objects and dividing that figure by 616 (4 X 154), the maximum number of times the agent could be named.

Examination of the overall number of times each agent was named supports the first part of Hypothesis I, that parents, peers, and teachers respectively have the greatest extent of influence over the political attitudes of grade school and high school youth. Parents are named as significant others 359 times, or 58.3 per cent of the possible times they could be chosen. Peers are second, designated as significant others 314 times or 50.9 per cent of the time. Teachers are third, being named 124 times or in 20.1 per cent of the possible cases. The difference between parents and peers is significant at the .01 level (one-tail). The differences between parents and teachers and peers and teachers are significant at the .001 level (one-tail).[2]

Socializing agents next most frequently named are brothers (15.9 per cent) and sisters (13.8 per cent). While the difference between teachers and brothers for the overall category is small, it

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Similarly, if the respondent listed one or more peers of the same or opposite sex as a significant other for an object, he/she was credited with naming a peer as a significant other for that object.

[2]Significance was determined by a difference of porportions test.

is significant at the .01 level (one-tail). Examination of the remainder of Table 6.1 reveals that the socializing involvement of the other agencies independently is not too great. However, the key word here is independently. While each of the agents other than parents, peers, teachers, brothers, and sisters has only a relatively small involvement, it is evident that there are a number of agents other than the aforementioned five who have influence over the political attitutde formation of the respondents. In addition the results clearly point out that prior studies which concentrated solely on parents, peers, and/or teachers were excluding a number of other socializing agencies which provide political information to American youth. Table 6.2 highlights this point. The table presents the number and percentage of respondents naming one or more socializing agents other than parents, peers, and teachers as significant others, by object and overall. The table shows that 42.7 per cent of the respondents named an agent of socialization other than parents, peers, and teachers as significant others for the objects combined.

Another important finding from Table 6.1 is that no agent, not even parents, takes part in the political socialization of every respondent for every object. At best, for parents only 62 per cent of the respondents named their parents as significant others for Richard Nixon. Hence, while certain socializing agents may be more important than others, no one agency can be said to monopolize the

TABLE 6.2

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING ALL SOCIALIZING AGENTS OTHER THAN PARENTS,
PEERS, AND TEACHERS AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT (N=154)

Socializing agent	Political object			
	Political Parties	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
Agents other than parents, peers, and teachers	42.8 (66)[a]	33.8 (52)	46.8 (72)	47.4 (73)	42.7 (263)

[a]Entries in parentheses indicate the actual number of respondents naming agent.

political socialization of American youth.

When looking at the relative rankings of agents by object, there are a few important changes from the overall pattern. For every object parents remain the most frequently named socializing category with peers second. However, there is only one object for which these differences between parents and peers are statistically significant, Political Parties ($p < .001$--one tail).

The rankings for teachers are variable across objects. Glancing at Table 6.1, teachers are the third most frequently named agent for Political Parties and the Presidency, virtually tied for third with brothers for the War in Vietnam, but drop to fifth behind both brothers and sisters for the object Richard Nixon. For only one object, the Presidency, are the differences between teachers and brothers statistically significant. Thus, while the pattern for parents and peers remained invariant across objects, the pattern for teachers is object related. Hence, although the picture painted by the results overall suggested that teachers ranked third in terms of number of respondents influenced, inspection by object leads to the observation that this may not be the case for political objects specifically.

The findings by object offer substantiation for Hypothesis II. The data show as predicted, teachers providing information to more students about the "safer" topic of the Presidency. Unlike teachers,

no other agency is named more frequently for the Presidency than they are for the other three topics. As a matter of fact, ten of the agencies are named less frequently for the Presidency than for the other three topics. This strongly suggests that teachers are consciously attempting to restrict discussion about the potentially controversial topics.

For the other agents who have a strong enough independent effect to make some judgement, there appears to be little tendency toward interaction with a specific topic. The pattern of influence across objects for the nine agents other than teachers who are named as significant others by at least 10 per cent or more of the respondents (parents through adult friends in Table 6.1) conforms closely to the baseline pattern predicted in Hypothesis III. The prediction about the baseline was that the War in Vietnam and Richard Nixon would elicit the most significant others with Political Parties third and the Presidency fourth. Table 6.3 confirms this. The table presents the number of significant others named by all the respondents for each object. The table shows that the War in Vietnam and Richard Nixon are virtually deadlocked for first, Political Parties is third and the Presidency last. The table indicates that on the average each respondent receives information from approximately 3.37 significant others for the War in Vietnam, 3.31 for Richard Nixon, 3.00 for Political Parties, and 2.33 for the Presidency.

TABLE 6.3

TOTAL NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS NAMED BY ALL RESPONDENTS, BY
OBJECT AND RANK ON EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

Item	Political object			
	Political Parties	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam
Number of significant others	462	344	510	519
Rank on extent of influence	3	4	2	1

The extent of influences for seven of the nine agents ranks
either first or second for the War in Vietnam. Similarly, the
extent of influence for eight of the nine agents ranks either first
or second for Richard Nixon. For six of the nine agents extent of
influence is lowest for the Presidency and for all nine agencies
extent of influence is either third or fourth for the Presidency. For
Political Parties its rank on extent of influence for each of the
agencies tends to center around third. For three of the agencies it is
third, for six of the agencies it is third or fourth, and for eight of
the agencies it is either second, third, or fourth.

These findings suggest very little tendency for agent-object interaction for socializing agents other than teachers. The extent of influence of these agents for a given object is approximately proportional to the degree of abstractness of the object. That is, each agent has a greater extent of influence for more concrete objects. This finding with regard to parents disconfirms the speculation of Hess and Torney that the political socialization influence of parents is confined primarily to partisanship.

To this point only the extent of influence of the various agents has been considered. Table 6.4 contains data on impact of influence presenting zero-order and corrected correlations between selected socializing agents' attitude position and the attitude position of the respondents.[3]

Before interpreting these, a previously mentioned constraint upon the data analysis should be reiterated. Chapter V pointed out that due to sample size, indices for assessing impact of influence could only be constructed for teachers, parents, mothers, fathers, and peers, as well as for significant others in general. Examination of Table 6.1 confirms this. Impact of influence is to be measured by correlating the attitude indices of the various significant others with the respondent indices. However, there are no agents besides

[3]The independent impact of influence of mothers and fathers will be treated in a later section.

TABLE 6.4

ZERO-ORDER AND CORRECTED CORRELATIONS OF RESPONDENT POLITICAL
ATTITUDES WITH THOSE OF PARENTS, PEERS, AND TEACHERS

Socializing agent	Respondent attitude index												
	Political Parties		Presidency[a]		Richard Nixon			War in Vietnam			Overall index		
	r	N	r	N	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r
Parent	.16	50	.39[d]	41	.45[f]	58	.64[f]	.29[d]	55	.50[f]	.46[e]	60	.60[f]
Peer	-.01	50	-.02	50	.13	66	b	.22[c]	66	.40[f]	.23[c]	69	.32[e]
Teacher	.32	25	.03	24	.12	14	b	-.17	22	b	.11	18	b

[a] Corrected correlations were not calculated since index reliability was below .50.

[b] Corrected correlation was not calculated since zero-order correlation was not significant at .10.

[c] Significant at .10 level.

[d] Significant at .05 level.   (One-tail)

[e] Significant at .01 level.

[f] Significant at .001 level.

parents, mothers, fathers, peers, and teachers which are named as significant others by twenty or more respondents for each of the objects. Thus, construction of indices for these other agents would be fruitless since the sample size would be too small to yield a meaningful coefficient. The data show that by object and for the overall index parents' influence is stronger than that of both peers and teachers. Peers' influence is stronger than teachers who are shown here to have no significant impact on their students' political attitudes.

This finding further substantiates the prediction of Hypothesis I that parents would be the most influential socializing agents and peers the second most influential. The non-significant correlations between teachers and their students for these "controversial" topics of Richard Nixon and Vietnam also are in line with the prediction that teachers' influence is minimal over controversial topics. Unfortunately, the inability to obtain correlations between teachers and their students for the Presidency does not allow any statement about the strength of their influence over the students' attitudes toward "safe" political topics.

Without correlations between parents, peers, and the focal respondents for all four objects it is difficult to adequately test Hypothesis IV, the prediction that parental and peer group influence would be equal across objects. For parents, the three interpretable

zero-order correlations do not differ significantly from one another, nor do the corrected correlations differ among themselves. While this does support part of Hypothesis IV, the small sampling of objects necessitates caution in generalizing this finding.

For peers both the zero-order correlations with the respondent index for the War in Vietnam and the overall respondent index are significant at the .10 level. Correcting for attenuation raises the significance of these correlations to the .001 and .01 levels, respectively. The magnitudes of these two zero-order correlations do not differ significantly from one another nor do the magnitudes of the corrected correlations differ statistically from one another.

The zero-order correlation between the peer and respondents' indices for Richard Nixon is not statistically significant. Even if corrected for attenuation this correlation would not reach the .05 level of significance. Hence, the data show that peers exert disproportionately more impact of influence over some objects than others. This finding suggests that interaction may be occuring with regard to the impact of peer group influence. However, no real patterns of interaction can be deciphered from these data.

Extent of the Agents' Influence
by the Age of the Respondents

Table 6.5 presents the extent of influence for each socializing agency at each age-grade level. With regard to parents the data

TABLE 6.5

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING SOCIALIZING AGENTS OTHER THAN MOTHERS
AND FATHERS [a] AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

Socializing agent	Political object				
	Political Parties	Presi- dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average

Sixth grade (N=49) [b]					
Parent	55.1 (27) [c]	51.0 (25)	79.6 (39)	71.9 (35)	64.3 (126)
Peer	26.5 (13)	30.6 (15)	42.9 (21)	53.1 (26)	38.3 (75)
Teacher	8.2 (4)	6.1 (3)	2.0 (1)	26.5 (13)	10.7 (21)
Brother	10.2 (5)	6.1 (3)	18.4 (9)	22.4 (11)	14.3 (28)
Sister	4.1 (2)	4.1 (2)	14.3 (7)	12.2 (6)	8.7 (17)
Adult friend	6.1 (3)	6.1 (3)	6.1 (3)	2.0 (1)	5.2 (10)
Uncle	4.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (1)	4.1 (2)	2.6 (5)
Aunt	4.1 (2)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	2.6 (5)
Cousin	4.1 (2)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	2.6 (5)
Grandfather	6.1 (3)	2.0 (1)	6.1 (3)	2.1 (4)	4.6 (9)
Grandmother	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	1.0 (2)
In-law	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Fath-absent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (1)	0.5 (1)
Relation UK	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (1)	4.1 (2)	1.5 (3)

Ninth grade (N=50)					
Parent	52.0 (26)	48.0 (24)	40.0 (20)	42.0 (21)	45.5 (91)
Peer	42.0 (21)	48.0 (24)	60.0 (30)	50.0 (25)	50.0 (100)
Teacher	14.0 (7)	16.0 (8)	12.0 (6)	14.0 (7)	14.0 (28)
Brother	8.0 (4)	6.0 (3)	12.0 (6)	14.0 (7)	10.0 (20)
Sister	18.0 (9)	22.0 (11)	26.0 (13)	22.0 (11)	22.0 (44)
Adult friend	8.0 (4)	6.0 (3)	8.0 (4)	10.0 (5)	8.0 (16)
Uncle	6.0 (3)	2.0 (1)	4.0 (2)	6.0 (3)	4.5 (9)
Aunt	6.0 (3)	6.0 (3)	6.0 (3)	6.0 (3)	6.0 (12)
Cousin	6.0 (3)	6.0 (3)	4.0 (2)	12.0 (6)	7.0 (14)
Grandfather	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Grandmother	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)	6.0 (3)	3.0 (6)
In-law	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.5 (1)
Fath-absent	2.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	4.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.5 (3)
Relation UK	10.0 (5)	4.0 (2)	4.0 (2)	2.0 (1)	5.0 (10)

Twelfth grade (N=55)					
Parent	69.1 (38)	56.4 (31)	65.5 (36)	67.3 (37)	64.6 (142)
Peer	61.8 (21)	60.0 (33)	69.1 (33)	61.8 (34)	63.2 (139)
Teacher	40.0 (22)	43.6 (24)	29.1 (16)	23.6 (13)	34.1 (75)
Brother	25.5 (14)	14.5 (8)	21.8 (12)	29.1 (16)	22.7 (50)
Sister	9.1 (5)	7.3 (4)	14.5 (8)	12.7 (7)	10.9 (24)
Adult friend	20.0 (11)	7.3 (4)	14.5 (8)	12.7 (7)	13.6 (30)
Uncle	12.7 (7)	1.8 (1)	7.3 (4)	5.5 (3)	6.8 (15)
Aunt	5.5 (3)	1.8 (1)	3.6 (2)	3.6 (2)	3.6 (8)
Cousin	1.8 (1)	3.6 (2)	3.6 (2)	1.8 (1)	2.7 (6)
Grandfather	5.5 (3)	1.8 (1)	3.6 (2)	1.8 (1)	3.2 (7)
Grandmother	1.8 (1)	3.6 (2)	1.8 (1)	3.6 (2)	2.7 (6)
In-law	3.6 (2)	5.5 (3)	3.3 (3)	3.6 (2)	4.6 (10)
Fath-absent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.8 (1)	0.5 (1)
Relation UK	7.3 (4)	3.6 (2)	7.3 (4)	10.9 (6)	7.3 (16)

[a] The percentages for mothers and fathers by grade are contained in Table 7.2.

[b] The total N for the overall category is 4 times the N for the grade category.

[c] Entries in parentheses indicate the actual number of agents named

disconfirm the prediction of declining parental influence contained

in Hypothesis V. However, an interesting pattern emerges from the

data. The pattern is even more striking when portrayed graphically

in Figures 6.1--6.5. Each graph depicts the proportion of respondents

naming their parents as significant others for the respective political

topics at each grade level. In all five cases parents' influence is

nonlinear. Three of the five cases (overall, Richard Nixon, and the

War in Vietnam) show pronounced non-monotonic effects while the

Presidency and Political Parties each reflect a mild, non-monotonic

trend. The pattern depicts a trend away from parental influence at

the ninth grade level and a return to the parents in the twelfth

grade. Of the five differences between the sixth and ninth grade,

three (Richard Nixon, the War in Vietnam, and the overall case) are

statistically significant. Of the five differences from the ninth to

twelfth grade, three are statistically significant (Richard Nixon,

the War in Vietnam, and the overall case).

This non-monotonic trend also holds for each parent indi-

vidually as depicted in Figures 6.6--6.15. For the father seven of

the ten pairs of percentage differences are statistically significant,

while for mothers five of the differences are significant.

These findings concerning Hypothesis III are open to various

interpretations. A number of authors (Davis, 1940; Parsons, 1954)

have suggested that adolescence is a time for rebellion from parents.

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FIGURES 6.1-6.5

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING PARENTS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

FIGURE 6.1.--POLITICAL PARTIES

FIGURE 6.2.--WAR IN VIETNAM

FIGURE 6.3.--RICHARD NIXON

FIGURE 6.4.--PRESIDENCY

FIGURE 6.5.--OVERALL AVERAGE

aSignificant at .01 level.

(Two-tail)

bSignificant at .001 level.

Note: The percentage differences between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents are
not significant for any category.

FIGURES 6.6-6.10

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

FIGURE 6.6.--POLITICAL PARTIES

FIGURE 6.7.--WAR IN VIETNAM

FIGURE 6.8.--RICHARD NIXON

FIGURE 6.9.--PRESIDENCY

FIGURE 6.10.--OVERALL AVERAGE

[a]Significant at .01 level.

(Two-tail)

[b]Significant at .001 level.

Note: The percentage difference between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents for
Richard Nixon is significant at the .01 level. For the other categories the sixth-
twelfth grade differences are not significant.

FIGURES 6.11-6.15

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING MOTHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

FIGURE 6.11.--POLITICAL PARTIES

FIGURE 6.12.--WAR IN VIETNAM

FIGURE 6.13.--RICHARD NIXON

FIGURE 6.14.--PRESIDENCY

FIGURE 6.15.--OVERALL AVERAGE

[a]Significant at .01 level.

(Two-tail)

[b]Significant at .001 level.

Note: The percentage differences between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents are
not significant for any category.

Middleton and Putney (1963:528) summarize Parsons' view on the

subject:

> . . . since there is a sharp limitation of 'objects of cathexis'
> in the isolated conjugal family typical of American society,
> children tend to be highly dependent emotionally on their
> parents, especially on the mother. As the individual nears
> adulthood, however, he is expected to break this dependency and
> choose his occupation and sexual partner with little adult
> support. In adolescence, therefore, a reaction formation may
> be generated against the dependency needs and may find expression
> in a rebellious youth culture, compulsively independent and
> defiant of parental norms and authority, and, at the same time,
> compulsively conformist to the peer group that satisfies
> individual dependency needs.

While the data presented here could support this position,

they probably do not. Evidence concerning adolescent political

rebellion has been mixed, but it generally has been found that if it

does occur, it occurs infrequently. Middleton and Putney (1963:535)

reporting on a sample of 1440 college students conclude that "our

data suggest that, while some students express rebellion against

their parents in political terms, many, if not most, do not."

Ball (1964) suggests that political rebellion against the

parents may take the form of resentiment, a passive withdrawal from

politics. This form of rebellion is used according to Ball since open

defiance of parental political beliefs would probably lead to detri-

mental ramifications for the adolescent. Although he supports his

hypothesis concerning resentiment, it appears that less than 10 per

cent of the 200 high school students he sampled practiced resentiment.

Lane (1959) suggests four reasons why adolescent political rebellion

probably does not occur frequently. According to Lane (1959:510):

> American culture discourages youthful rebellion against the
> father. It further discourages political expression of whatever
> rebellious impulses are generated. This is because (a) There is
> less need to rebel in a permissive culture. (b) Rebellious
> impulses are less likely to be expressed against the father
> because of his relatively less dominant position in the family.
> (c) The low salience of politics for the father means that
> rebellion against him is less likely to be channeled into
> politics or political ideology. (d) The high salience of the
> father's ambition for the son (and the resulting independence)
> means that rebellion against the father is more likely to be
> expressed by quitting school and going to work or by delinquent
> conduct.

Lane is arguing basically that adolescent rebellion does not
take place very often in American society and, that if it does, it
takes place in non-political forms. This reasoning in conjunction with
the evidence provided by both Middleton and Putney (1963) and Ball
(1964) suggests that some interpretation other than adolescent
rebellion be sought for the data.

Literally, the data depict that ninth grade students have less
contact with their parents concerning political topics than sixth and
twelfth grade students. Another possible explanation of the slackening
of parental political contact with their offspring at the ninth grade
level could be that from sixth to ninth grade the student's interest
in politics wanes and as a result the student interacts less frequently
with others concerning political topics. However, two pieces of
evidence refute this explanation. Table 6.6 provides the mean level
of interest in politics for each of the three grades. While there is

TABLE 6.6

MEAN LEVEL OF POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE

	Grade	
Sixth (N=46)	Ninth (N=48)	Twelfth (N=54)
2.33	2.25	2.78[a]

[a]Significantly different from the other two grade levels at .01 level (one-tail).

a slight decrease in interest between grades six and nine, the difference is just that, slight, and not statistically significant. In addition, the data indicate that the extent of both peers' and teachers' influence increases from sixth to ninth grade (see Table 6.5).

While rebellion and lack of political interest fail to offer suitable explanations for the data, there does seem to be a plausible explanation for the findings. This explanation involves a complex set of events. Since ninth grade is a time when many students leave grade

school and begin high school,[4] perhaps the desire to meet new friends

and adjust to the new school system curtail the amount of interaction

between the ninth graders and their parents. In addition, although

the general level of interest in politics of the ninth grade students

is the same as that of the sixth grade students, possibly interest in

other activities, primarily the new schooling experiences, tends to

focus the interaction between parents and their ninth grade offspring

more into the area of the new schooling experiences and away from

political topics. This rationale neatly explains the drop in the

extent of parents' influence from the sixth to the ninth grade. The

next question is why it rises again between the ninth and the twelfth

grade. Two factors appear related to this rise. First, as the

novelty of the high school experience wanes, interactions between

parents and their offspring concerning school related topics may

decrease and be replaced by interactions concerning other topics,

including politics. The sharp increase in political interest between

the ninth and twelfth grades suggests that twelfth grade offspring are

more disposed to enter into political discussions than are the ninth

grade offspring. A second and highly interrelated reason may be what

Kline et al. (1974) characterize as needs for information. What the

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[4]The high school employed in this sample was one in which ninth
grade was the first year. A number of school systems utilize a junior
high system which includes six years of elementary school, three years
of junior high school, and three years of high school. In a system
such as this, the patterns may be somewhat different than those
reported here.

authors suggest is that at certain stages of an individual's develop-
ment, certain pressures are placed on the individual stemming from
biological and chronological maturation as well as from significant
others to acquire certain kinds of information. For example, the
authors point out that adolescence is a time when individuals develop
a need for family planning and birth control information. For the
sample at hand, the twelfth grade respondents differ from the remainder
of the sample in that they are approaching (or have reached) voting
age. Reaching voting age could put pressures on these individuals to
acquire information pertaining to political issues and actors in order
to obtain some basis for casting their votes. Comparing the extent of
parents' influence between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents
offers some confirmation of the above explanation, although the
inference drawn may not be totally warranted from the data. First,
it should be recalled that these data were gathered in 1973, an
off-election year. Comparing the sixth and twelfth grades shows that
overall, the extent of parents' influence is almost identical. As was
indicated before increased interest in politics coupled with decreased
novelty of the schooling experience probably leads to increased
political information transfer from parents to their offspring.
However, if these factors were operating alone, then one might expect
somewhat proportional shifts in the extent of parental influence for
each of the four political topics relative to the sixth grade levels.

However, this is not the case. For Richard Nixon the extent of twelfth

grade parents' influence remains 14.1 per cent lower than that of the

sixth grade parents. For the War in Vietnam, sixth grade parents'

extent of influence also remains somewhat greater. However, for the

objects Presidency and particularly for Political Parties, twelfth

grade parents' influence is greater than the sixth grade parents'.

These latter two objects have at least one thing in common. They

both will have some bearing on the twelfth grade respondents' future

vote. Political party identification is a key factor in guiding a

person's vote. In addition the Presidency is an office to which the

twelfth graders will soon be allowed to elect a candidate. The other

two objects, Richard Nixon and the War in Vietnam have no direct role

in the future voting of the twelfth graders. Richard Nixon, at the

time of this data collection, was in the second term of his presidency

and forbidden by law from running again. Hence, the chance that any

of the twelfth graders would ever be asked to consider Nixon as a

candidate for some public office was minimal. American troop

involvement in the war in Vietnam, at the time of this data collection,

was over. In addition, it was an issue which was never subjected to

popular vote.

The point to be made here is that while the twelfth graders

moved back toward their parents for political information, the move

was somewhat biased in the direction of the objects which would have

some direct bearing on the students' future voting needs. Hence, this tends to support the assertion that a need to acquire political information may be operating in the increased information flow from parents to their offspring between ninth and twelfth grades.

While the data disconfirm Hypothesis V, they do offer support for the prediction of a direct relationship between the individual's age and the extent of his/her peers' influence on his/her political attitudes as proposed in Hypothesis VI. Figures 6.16--6.20 provide graphic representation of the data from Table 6.5. Nine of the ten changes are in the predicted direction with five of the changes statistically significant. Only in the case of Vietnam is there a slight drop in the influence of peers from the sixth to the ninth grade. This decline is not statistically significant. Actually the reason for this decrease is a function more of the unusually high proportion of peers mentioned in the sixth grade rather than a decline of peer group influence at the ninth grade level. For the other three objects between 26 and 42 per cent of the sixth graders name their peers as significant others. However, for the War in Vietnam 53 per cent of the sixth graders mention a peer as a significant other. Wheatever the reason for this heightened percentage of peer group significant others, the data do provide support for Hypothesis VI.

The reasons posited for the increase in the extent of peer group political influence were an increase in interaction among peers

FIGURES 6.16-6.20

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING PEERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

FIGURE 6.16.--POLITICAL PARTIES

FIGURE 6.17.--WAR IN VIETNAM

FIGURE 6.18.--RICHARD NIXON

FIGURE 6.19.--PRESIDENCY

FIGURE 6.20.--OVERALL AVERAGE

^aSignificant at .05 level.

(One-tail)

^bSignificant at .01 level.

Note: The percentage difference between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents for
the War in Vietnam is not significant. For the other categories the sixth-twelfth
grade differences are significant at or below the .05 level.

and an increase in political interest. Since the data have shown that interest in politics does not change significantly between sixth grade and ninth grade, it is likely that increased interaction among peers leads to the heightening of the extent of peer group influence between sixth and ninth grade. Between ninth and twelfth grade the increase in peer group extent of influence is probably a combination of increased political interest and increased interaction time among peers. However, more research would be necessary to disentangle the effects of each of these variables.

Figures 6.21--6.25 present the relative extent of influence of teachers at each grade level. The data support the prediction of Hypothesis VII. Between sixth and ninth grade in four of the five cases there is no significant difference in the extent of teachers' influence. Between ninth and twelfth grade in every instance except Vietnam teachers' influence increases significantly. These findings support the rationale that increases in teachers' influence at the high school level are tied directly to the formal civics curriculum prescribed by many high schools.

Before turning to the effects of age on the remainder of the socializing agents, it will be interesting to compare parents, peers, and teachers on the dimension of extent of influence at each grade level. For the entire sample parents ranked first on this dimension, peers a close second, and teachers third. Table 6.5 shows that for

FIGURES 6.21-6.25

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING TEACHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

FIGURE 6.21.--POLITICAL PARTIES

FIGURE 6.22.--WAR IN VIETNAM

FIGURE 6.23.--RICHARD NIXON

FIGURE 6.24.--PRESIDENCY

FIGURE 6.25.--OVERALL AVERAGE

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.   (One-tail)

[c]Significant at .001 level.

Note: The percentage difference between the sixth and twelfth grade respondents for
the War in Vietnam is not signficant. For the other categories the sixth-twelfth
grade differences are significant at or below the .05 level.

the sixth grade respondents parents rank first on extent of influence

with the difference between parents and both peers and teachers

statistically significant for each of the objects and for the overall

case. All the differences between parents and teachers are significant

at the .001 level (one-tail) as are the differences between parents

and peers for Richard Nixon and the overall average. The difference

between parents and peers for Political Parties is significant at .01

while the differences for the Presidency and Vietnam are significant

at .05.

Peers rank second on extent of influence in every case with

the differences between peers and teachers statistically significant

at the .001 level in four of the five cases and at the .01 level for

Political Parties.

For the ninth grade respondents there is a shift in the

extent of influence patterns. For the overall case peers rank ahead

of parents although the difference is not statistically significant.

By object, parents and peers are virtually identical in influence with

the exception of Richard Nixon for which peers are significantly more

influential (p <.05, two-tail). Teachers are again third with the

the difference between them and both parents and peers statistically

significant in all five cases (p <.001, one-tail).

For the twelfth grade students, again, parents and peers are

approximately the same in terms of extent of influence with none of

the differences statistically significant. Teachers are third with

the percentage difference between peers and teachers statistically

significant in every case (p < .01 for Political Parties and the

Presidency, p < .001 for the other three cases, one-tail). The

percentage difference between teachers and parents is significant in

every instance except for the Presidency (p < .01 for Political Parties,

p ≤ .001 for Richard Nixon, Vietnam, and overall, one-tail).

The fact that peers emerge as an influential source of politi-

cal attitudes, particularly during high school, raises the question

of whether or not the information they are providing the respondents

is congruent with the information the respondents receive from the

parents for those cases where the parents are significant others.[5]

Table 6.7 presents the correlations between the parent and peer

group indices of political attitudes by object and for the objects

overall. The data suggest some overlap between the direction of the

information peers and parents provide to the respondents. However, by

and large, they show that peers provide information of differing

content to the respondents. In no case is there an overlap of more

than 36 per cent of variance in the attitude indices for these

---

[5]It was suggested in Chapter III that teachers may also act
as reinforcers or resocializers of parental political attitudes.
However, since the data have indicated that teachers exercise little
impact on the political attitudes of their students, they will not be
considered in this discussion.

TABLE 6.7

ZERO-ORDER AND CORRECTED CORRELATIONS OF PARENTAL POLITICAL
ATTITUDES WITH THOSE OF PEERS

Parental attitude index

Socializing Agent	Political Parties		Presidency[a]			Richard Nixon			War in Vietnam			Overall index		
	r	N	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r
Peer	.20	22	.24	15		-.22	24	b	.37d	30	.60e	.31c	35	.39d

[a]Corrected correlations were not calculated since index reliability was below .50.

[b]Corrected correlation was not calculated since zero-order correlation was not significant at .10.

[c]Significant at .10 level.

[d]Significant at .05 level. (One-tail)

[e]Significant at .001 level.

respective agencies. In Sigel's (1970) terms, these data suggest that peers are acting as political "resocializers" of the respondents' political attitudes vis-a-vis the parents.

While the data suggest that peers are acting as political resocializers, they are unable to determine how effective peers are in altering the respondents' attitudes from the direction they have taken from the parents. For that matter, the data cannot describe the impact of parental influence at the successive age levels of their offspring. Longitudinal data, or at least cross-sectional data controlled for age, on the impact of both parents and peers is needed to determine to what degree individuals are resocialized by their peers.

One interesting aspect of the resocialization question is the role played by the inertia of a person's political attitudes. According to Anderson's information theory, each piece of information a person receives acts to make his attitude more resistant to change. The influence of parents during the grade school years coupled with their continued influence during high school may mean that peer groups cannot perceptibly alter the direction of parental influence.

After this lengthy discussion of parents, peers, and teachers, attention can be directed to the other socializing agents. As can be seen from Table 6.5 age has relatively little effect on the extent of influence for seven of the ten agents. The extent of influence for the agents grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin, in-law, and

father absent for the four objects combined does not vary more than

5 per cent between grade six and the other two grade levels.

Similarly, there is little change in the extent of these agents'

influence by object among the three age-grade levels.

For the three categories brother, sister, and adult friend,

the age of the respondent does appear to affect extent of influence.

For brothers the pattern is parabolic with extent of influence lowest

at the ninth grade level. For sisters the pattern is also parabolic,

but the extent of influence is highest at the ninth grade level.

It is difficult to interpret these patterns. Two variables

mediate the extent of sibling political influence. One is the

necessary condition of having a brother or a sister. The other

variable is the age of the sibling. It is necessary to control for

these two variables before inferring theoretical meaning from the

patterns observed in these data. However, since the data do not

contain information on the age of the respondents' siblings no

interpretation of the patterns will be presented.

The extent of adult friends' influence is portrayed here as

increasing linearly from sixth to twelfth grade. This occurence is

not surprising. Given the respondents' increased interest in poli-

tics, it is highly likely that their interactions with adults will

more frequently concern politics. In addition it is quite conceiv-

able that a greater percentage of their time may be spent in inter-

action with adults, such as parents of their friends and employers.
As a result of these two factors the observed increase in the extent
of influence of adult friends over the respondents' political attitudes
as a function of the respondents' age seems very logical.

Extent of the Agents' Influence
by the Sex of the Respondents

Table 6.8 presents the extent of influence for all agents
except mothers and fathers who will be treated separately in the
next section and peers broken down by sex who were considered
previously. A "c" or "d" entered in a cell indicates that the extent
of influence of the agent is significantly different for males and
females for that particular object.

The data confirm the prediction of Hypothesis XI that an
individual's sex would be unrelated to the extent of influence of
parents, peers, and teachers. For parents the data show that males
and females do not differ statistically in frequency of naming their
parents as significant others for any of the objects or for the
objects combined. The same is true for teachers. For peers in four
of the five cases there is no significant difference in the frequency
with which males and females name peers as significant others. Only
for the object War in Vietnam is there a difference, with females
naming peer group members more frequently than males. In general,
though, the data indicate that the extent of influence of parents,

TABLE 6.8

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING SOCIALIZING AGENTS OTHER THAN MOTHERS
FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND SEX

Socializing agent	Political object				
	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
Males (N=73)[a]					
Parent	61.6 (45)[b]	50.7 (37)	61.6 (45)	56.2 (41)	57.5 (168)
Peer	47.9 (35)	41.7 (30)	49.3 (36)[c]	58.9 (43)	49.3 (144)
Teacher	20.5 (15)	24.7 (18)	16.4 (12)	17.8 (13)	19.9 (58)
Brother	15.1 (11)	8.2 (6)	20.5 (15)	21.9 (16)	16.4 (48)
Sister	6.8 (5)	6.8 (5)	13.7 (10)	8.2 (6)[c]	8.9 (26)[d]
Adult friend	11.0 (8)	4.1 (3)	6.8 (5)	4.1 (3)	6.5 (19)[c]
Uncle	11.0 (8)	1.4 (1)	4.1 (3)	6.8 (5)	5.8 (17)
Aunt	4.1 (3)	2.7 (2)	4.1 (3)	4.1 (3)	3.8 (11)
Cousin	5.5 (4)	2.7 (2)	4.1 (3)	4.1 (3)	4.1 (12)
Grandfather	4.1 (3)	1.4 (1)	4.1 (3)	1.4 (1)	2.7 (8)
Grandmother	2.7 (2)	1.4 (1)	2.7 (2)	2.7 (2)	2.4 (7)
In-law	2.7 (2)	1.4 (1)	2.7 (2)	2.7 (2)	2.4 (7)
Father-absent	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.5 (2)	1.0 (2)
Relation un-specified	5.5 (4)	2.7 (2)	4.1 (3)	4.1 (3)	4.1 (12)
Females (N=81)					
Parent	56.8 (46)	53.1 (53)	61.7 (50)	64.2 (52)	59.0 (191)
Peer	40.7 (33)	51.9 (42)	65.4 (53)[c]	51.9 (42)	52.5 (170)
Teacher	22.2 (18)	21.0 (17)	13.6 (11)	24.7 (20)	20.4 (66)
Brother	14.8 (12)	9.9 (8)	14.8 (12)	22.2 (18)	15.4 (50)
Sister	13.6 (11)	14.8 (12)	22.2 (18)	22.2 (18)[c]	18.9 (59)[d]
Adult friend	12.3 (10)	8.6 (7)	12.3 (10)	12.3 (10)	11.4 (37)[c]
Uncle	4.9 (4)	1.2 (1)	4.9 (4)	3.7 (3)	3.7 (12)
Aunt	6.2 (5)	3.7 (3)	3.7 (3)	3.7 (3)	4.3 (14)
Cousin	2.5 (2)	4.9 (4)	2.5 (2)	6.2 (5)	4.0 (13)
Grandfather	3.7 (3)	1.2 (1)	2.5 (2)	2.5 (2)	2.5 (8)
Grandmother	0.0 (0)	2.5 (2)	1.2 (1)	4.9 (4)	2.2 (7)
In-law	0.0 (0)	2.5 (2)	2.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.2 (4)
Father absent	1.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.0 (3)
Relation un-specified	6.2 (5)	2.5 (2)	4.9 (4)	7.4 (6)	5.3 (17)

[a]The N for the overall category is four times the N for the sex category.

[b]Entries in parentheses indicate the actual number of agents named.

[c]Significant at .05 level.

(Two-tail)

[d]Significant at .001 level.

peers, and teachers is not affected by the sex of the respondents.

Turning to the other agents, the data show that sex has little effect on their extent of influence. Only for the categories sister and adult friend is there any significant difference in influence by sex. In both instances females are more likely to designate members of these categories as significant others. For adult friends the difference, while significant, is absolutely small at 4.9 per cent. For sisters the difference is over 9 percent. Again, however, as was the case for age, data are required on both the number of sisters each respondent has along with the age of the sisters in order to offer a sound explanation for these results. Since these data are lacking an explanation cannot be offered here.

The overall pattern which these data convey is that sex has little effect on the extent of influence of the various categories of agents of political socialization examined in this section. However, it should be restated that within the peer group individual's are influenced more frequently by peer members of their same sex. Similarly it will be shown that between parents, fathers have a somewhat greater propensity to influence their sons while mothers have a greater propensity to influence their daughters (in terms of extent of influence).

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF MOTHERS AND

FATHERS, SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, AGE AND SEX

Relative Political Socialization Contribution
of Mothers and Fathers

Extent of Mothers' and Fathers' Political Influence

Table 7.1 depicts the number of respondents naming their

mothers and fathers as significant others by object and overall.

For the objects overall the percentage difference is small and not

statistically significant. The only significant difference between

mothers and fathers occurs for the object War in Vietnam with the

difference favoring the fathers. This difference might be attribu-

table to the fact that many of the fathers, due to their own prior

military service, are more prone to discuss military topics with

their offspring. It is entirely possible that had one of the objects

in the study been more femininely related (such as the issue of

equal rights for women), mothers may have had a higher extent of

influence for that object. Despite this one difference, the results

in general confirm the prediction of Hypothesis XIII of equal

parental extent of influence.

TABLE 7.1

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING MOTHERS AND FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT (N=154)

Socializing agent	Political object				
	Political Parties	Presidency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
Mother	45.5 (70)[a]	35.8 (54)	48.7 (75)	42.2 (65)	42.9 (264)
Father	48.7 (75)	37.7 (58)	45.5 (70)	52.6 (81)	46.1 (284)
p[b]	ns	ns	ns	.05	ns

[a]Entries in parentheses indicate actual number of mothers or fathers named.

[b]Determined by two-tailed Difference of Proportions test.

Table 7.2 presents the relative effects of parents by age-grade level. The data reveal no statistically significant differences between parents for any of the objects individually or overall at any age level. These findings confirm Hypothesis XIV.

Table 7.3 presents the relative influence of mothers and fathers by the sex of their offspring. The pattern of the data suggests that fathers are influential more frequently over the male offspring while mothers are influential more frequently over the female children. Fathers are named as significant others more frequently in every case for males, and two of the five differences are significant. Mothers are named as significant others more often than fathers for their daughters in four of the five cases, although none of the differences are significant.

While the pattern of the data is supportive of the predictions made in Hypothesis XV, the lack of statistical significance suggests that sex of the offspring alone does not lead to differential political effects. However, the postulated pattern of exercising more influence over the same sex offspring is more clearly revealed when parental influence is controlled for both age and sex. Table 7.4 presents the relative effects of parents by age-grade and object for males and females. At the sixth grade level there are no significant differences between parents for either males or females, although fathers are named as significant others more frequently in all ten

TABLE 7.2

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING MOTHERS AND FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND GRADE

Socializ-ing agent	Political object				
	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
Sixth grade (N=49)					
Mother	40.8 (20)	32.7 (16)	61.2 (30)	55.1 (27)	47.5 (93)
Father	49.0 (24)	38.8 (19)	67.3 (33)	67.3 (33)	55.6 (109)
Ninth grade (N=50)					
Mother	42.0 (21)	30.0 (15)	32.0 (16)	30.0 (15)	33.5 (67)
Father	34.0 (17)	32.0 (16)	22.0 (11)	34.0 (17)	30.5 (16)
Twelfth grade (N=55)					
Mother	52.7 (29)	41.8 (23)	52.7 (29)	41.8 (23)	47.3 (104)
Father	61.8 (34)	41.8 (23)	47.3 (26)	56.4 (31)	51.8 (114)

Notes:

The total N for the overall category is 4 times the N for the grade category.

Entries in parentheses indicate the actual number of agents named.

None of the percentage differences between mothers and fathers for any object within grade levels are significant.

TABLE 7.3

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING MOTHERS AND FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS, BY POLITICAL OBJECT AND SEX

Socializing agent	Political object				
	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
	Males (N=73)[a]				
Mother	41.1 (30)[b]	28.8 (21)	42.5 (31)	32.9 (24)	34.2 (100)
Father	52.1 (38)	39.7 (29)	47.9 (35)	50.7 (37)	47.6 (139)
p[c]	ns	ns	ns	.05	.05
	Females (N=81)				
Mother	49.4 (40)	40.7 (33)	52.3 (44)	50.6 (41)	48.8 (158)
Father	45.7 (37)	35.8 (29)	43.2 (35)	54.3 (44)	44.8 (145)
p[c]	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

[a] The N for the overall category is four times the N for the sex category.

[b] Entries in parentheses indicate the actual number of mothers or fathers named.

[c] Determined by two-tailed Difference of Proportions test.

TABLE 7.4

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS NAMING MOTHERS AND FATHERS AS SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY GRADE, POLITICAL OBJECT

Socializing agent	Sixth					Ninth					Twelfth				
	Political object					Political object					Political object				
	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average	Political Parties	Presi-dency	Richard Nixon	War in Vietnam	Overall average
Male															
Mother	41.7 (10)	27.5 (9)	58.3 (14)	50.0 (12)	46.9 (45)	39.1 (9)	21.7 (5)	30.4 (7)	26.1 (6)	29.4 (27)	42.3 (11)	26.9 (7)	38.5 (10)	23.1 (6)	32.7 (34)
Father	50.0 (12)	41.7 (10)	66.7 (16)	58.3 (14)	52.2 (52)	39.1 (9)	34.8 (8)	21.7 (5)	34.8 (8)	32.6 (30)	65.4 (17)	42.3 (11)	53.8 (14)	57.7 (15)	54.8 (57)
p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	**	***
Female															
Mother	40.0 (10)	28.0 (7)	64.0 (16)	60.0 (15)	48.0 (48)	44.4 (12)	37.0 (10)	33.3 (9)	33.3 (9)	37.0 (40)	62.1 (18)	55.0 (16)	65.5 (19)	58.6 (17)	60.3 (70)
Father	48.0 (12)	36.0 (9)	68.0 (17)	76.0 (19)	57.0 (57)	29.6 (8)	29.6 (8)	22.2 (6)	33.3 (9)	28.7 (31)	58.6 (17)	41.4 (12)	41.4 (12)	55.2 (16)	49.1 (57)
p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns.	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	*

Notes: The sample sizes (N) for the main category for the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades are 24, 23, and 26 respectively. For females the respective sample sizes are 25, 27, and 29.
*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level (one-tail)
***Significant at .001 level
ns-Not statistically significant
The N for the overall average category is 4 times the N for the specific grade-sex category.

cases. At the ninth grade level there are still no clear patterns

apparent. Fathers provide information to more male offspring than

mothers in three of the five cases, while mothers provide information

to more of their sons in one case with the relative parental contri-

bution equal for one case. If any pattern can be seen at the ninth

grade level it is that more females receive information from their

mothers in four of the five cases, foreshadowing a possible sex-role

pattern of socialization. For the twelfth grade respondents this

sex-role pattern is apparent. Males name their fathers as significant

others more for each of the four objects separately and for the

objects combined. The differences are statistically significant for

Political Parties, the War in Vietnam, and the objects combined. In

addition, the differences for the other two cases, Richard Nixon and

the Presidency, both approach significance with percentage differences

exceeding 15 per cent. While the trend is not as strong for females,

the data reveal that twelfth grade females name their mothers as

significant others more frequently than fathers in all five cases;

the differences for the objects combined and for Richard Nixon are

statistically significant.

Since the data are cross-sectional, they cannot conclusively

establish that developmental changes are occurring in the political

socialization practices within families in conjunction with the sex of

the offspring. However, the data do suggest that a same-sex pattern

of parent-child influence does emerge as children age. This finding of a potential developmental change in political socialization within the family requires some interpretation, since initially it was suggested that same-sex parental influence should be observed at all three age levels in the sample.

The rationale originally offered for why the pattern should be true at all grade levels was that parents would interact in general more with their same sex offspring. The cause of this differential interaction was specified as expert knowledge vis-a-vis the problems and needs of the same sex offspring. While there are needs and problems endemic to being a male or female at any age, it is possible that these needs and problems are the most crucial at puberty when a number of physiological and social role changes take place. This could explain why the pattern of same-sex related influence does not begin to emerge until the ninth grade, about the same time puberty begins. The pattern continues to develop throughout high school as both the physiological and social changes continue.

Kline et al. (1974) have reported on some data indicating that for one crucial adolescent change area, the development of the reproductive function with all the resultant needs and consequences, same-sex parental influence occurs. The authors suggest that this is a much more important problem during the high school years for females than for males. If the speculation that a child will turn to the

same-sex parent for information about gender related problems is correct, one should expect to find females during adolescence turning to their mothers more than their fathers as sources of information for topics such as family planning and birth control information. Kline et al.'s data depict such a phenomenon. For the ages they examine (fifteen through eighteen), females name mothers at least 19 per cent more than they name fathers as sources of family planning information at each age level.

One point concerning same-sex parental political influence deserves stress here. Political information or politics is not being construed as a sex related problem. Offspring do not go to their same sex parent for political information because politics affects males and females differently (although indeed politics may). Males and females interact more with the same sex parent (at least between ninth and twelfth grades) in order to obtain information about needs and problems other than politics which are related to their sex. Given this differential interaction, mothers and fathers have a greater opportunity to provide political information to their same-sex offspring. Hence, the phenomenon of gender related parental political influence is a spin-off of a general differential parental interaction with same-sex offspring during adolescence.

In reviewing briefly, these data indicate that there appears to be little difference between mothers and fathers in their relative

contribution to their childrens' political attitude development along the extent of influence dimension. This finding echoes the results of more recent investigations into relative parental political influence. While the data do indicate that mothers and fathers exercise influence over the same number of offspring, the data also depict a tendency for each parent to influence more offspring of the same sex as their own, primarily during the offsprings' high school years.

While this section has indicated relatively equal political influence of mothers and fathers, the discussion has only examined extent of influence. The next section turns to a comparison of mothers and fathers along the impact of influence dimension.

Impact of Mothers' and Fathers' Political Influence

Table 7.5 portrays the impact of mothers' and fathers' influ- ence by object and for the objects overall. For the overall attitude indices both the zero-order and corrected correlations for each parent are nearly identical. Mothers' attitude position accounts for 16 to 30 per cent of the variance in their offsprings' attitude index, while fathers' attitude index accounts for between 19 and 30 per cent of the variance in the offsprings' attitude index. Of course since there is overlap between the attitude positions of mothers and fathers, the overall effect of both parents combined is not an additive function of their individual influences. The combined parental attitude index accounts for between 21 and 36 per cent of the variance in the

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TABLE 7.5

ZERO-ORDER AND CORRECTED CORRELATIONS OF RESPONDENT POLITICAL ATTITUDES WITH THOSE OF MOTHERS AND FATHERS

Socializing agent	Respondent attitude index													
	Political[a] Parties		Presidency[a]			Richard Nixon			War in Vietnam			Overall index		
	r	N	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r
Mother	.06	37	-.09	23		.30[c]	39	.42[d]	.41[d]	36	.72[e]	.40[d]	41	.54[e]
Father	.28	41	.55[d]	32		.34[c]	45	.49[d]	.16	51	b	.43[d]	51	.55[e]

[a] Corrected correlations were not calculated since index reliability was below .50.

[b] Corrected correlation was not calculated since zero-order correlation was not significant at .10.
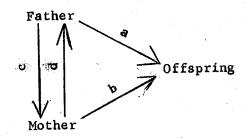
[c] Significant at .05 level.

[d] Significant at .01 level.   (One-tail)

[e] Significant at .001 level.

respondents' overall political attitude index. The fact that there

is so much overlap between the parents' own attitude positions makes

it impossible to determine here the individual contributions of each

parent. The correlation between mothers' and fathers' overall attitude

indices is .60 for 33 cases (p $\leqslant$ .001). Corrected for attenuation this

rises to .92. In order to conclusively settle the question of relative

parental impact of influence, data must be gathered which can specify

the model depicted in Figure 7.1. According to the data presented

FIGURE 7.1.--MODEL DEPICTING THE CAUSAL EFFECTS OF PARENTS ON THEIR
OFFSPRING AND ON EACH OTHER

here, paths a and b are equal, indicating that parents have equal

direct effects on their offsprings' attitudes. Paths c and d must be

determined in order to definitively answer the question of relative

parental impact.

However, the model in Figure 7.1 may be very difficult to

identify empirically because it is grossly underidentified. Cross-

sectional data will most likely be inadequate for assessing paths c

and d. It remains for a longitudinal research design to attempt to

provide the final answer to the question of relative parental contributions to the political socialization of their children.

Turning to relative parental contribution by object, the data show no difference between mothers and fathers for Richard Nixon, but a significant difference for the War in Vietnam favoring mothers. This difference is even more curious since fathers rank higher on extent of influence for this object. There does seem to be a plausible explanation for this finding. First, it was discussed at length in Chapter III that there is not necessarily a one to one correspondence between the extent and impact of influence of a significant other. Consequently, the fact that fathers rank higher on extent of influence for Vietnam and lower for impact is not contradictory to the information theory of attitudes espoused here. What this means is that while fathers are providing messages to a number of their offspring about the War in Vietnam, these messages are not very effective in influencing their offsprings' attitudes about Vietnam. The question to be addressed is why their messages lack effectiveness.

Among other things, this lack of effectiveness may stem from the direction of the messages fathers provide to their offspring vis-a-vis the direction of the messages the offspring are receiving from other interpersonal sources.

Table 7.6 presents the mean attitude position of the fathers,

TABLE 7.6

MEAN ATTITUDE POSITION TOWARD WAR IN VIETNAM OF MOTHERS,
FATHERS, RESPONDENTS, AND ALL SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Socializing agent	Mean
Respondent	.65 (155)[a]
Mother	.58 (36)
Father	.45 (52)
S.O.	.58 (107)

[a]Entries in parentheses are the number of cases on which the mean was computed.

mothers, and their offspring[1] toward the War in Vietnam along with a

composite index reflecting the mean attitude position of all those

individuals (including mothers and fathers) whom the respondents

named as significant others for Vietnam. Low scores here reflect a

more conservative position toward the War in Vietnam or a position

---

[1]In Chapter V it was noted that the respondents' indices and the significant other indices were obtained by weighting with different sets of factor loadings. In order to make the mean scores comparable, the respondents' raw Likert scores were weighted by the appropriate loadings on the first factor of the significant other factor analysis for Vietnam. Since the correlation between the first factor loadings for the offspring and that for the significant others was .95, this reweighting for comparability should not artificially affect the results.

which is more favorable to the conduct of this war.

The table shows that fathers, as a group, are the most conservative. Mothers and the overall significant other attitude position are more liberal and do not differ at all from one another on the average. The respondents themselves are the most liberal group, although their mean position is fairly close to that of mothers' and the overall significant others' attitude position.

The indication from these data is that the respondents are receiving more liberal information about the War in Vietnam from their mothers in particular and their entire set of significant others in general relative to the information provided by fathers. Since the main thrust of the information the offspring are receiving tends to be liberal, their own attitude positions probably tend to gravitate in this direction and away from the more conservative position of the father.

While this rationale can explain why the fathers' influence has little impact on his offspring's attitude toward the War in Vietnam, it still leaves open the question of why mothers are more liberal (anti-war) in their attitudes toward Vietnam than the fathers. This question is open to many interpretations. One interpretation suggests itself here. Many men tend to believe that war is both necessary and honorable. They feel that military service is crucial in turning a boy into a man. Women on the other hand, particularly

wives and mothers, may view war more in terms of the danger it poses for their loved ones rather than the "benefits" it provides to the participants and to the country. Hence, their attitudes may be somewhat less favorable to war in general and also, less favorable to the War in Vietnam specifically.

While there are not enough different objects to warrant a firm generalization concerning the relative strength of mothers' and fathers' political influence, the preliminary indication is that there is probably little overall difference in their direct effects on their offsprings' political attitudes. For the overall attitude index comprising all four political objects, both mothers' and fathers' direct influence was virtually equal. With regard to the topic Richard Nixon, again the relative influence was equal. Only for the topic War in Vietnam did parents differ in the magnitude of their influence.

Most likely, as was the case for number of offspring influenced, the relative magnitude of parental influence is probably equal although exceptions to this equality will be observed for some political topics.

In general, the results indicate that mothers and fathers exercise influence over the same number of offspring and the respective strength of their influence is equal. However, mothers and fathers do not necessarily have influence over the same offspring nor do they have equal influence for every political object.

Overall Impact of Significant Other Influence

The preceeding discussions have explored the contribution of selected individual political socializing agencies. This section will describe the impact of influence of the agencies combined. Table 7.7 presents the zero-order and corrected correlations between the political attitude position of the respondents and the average attitude position of their significant others for the objects individually and overall. For the overall indices the table shows that the two indices share between 19 and 33 per cent common variance. For the object Richard Nixon the significant others and the respondents share between 14 and 33 per cent common variance. For their positions toward the War in Vietnam the shared variance is between 9 and 20 per cent.

To demonstrate the robust relationship between the significant others' and the respondents' political attitudes, a partial correlation was obtained between the overall indices of both controlling for eight demographic variables. These include sex, grade level, father's and mother's education, father's and mother's occupation, religion, and number of siblings. This partial correlation was .49 (p < .001) for 101 cases indicating that these indices share a good deal of variance net the effects of the demographic characteristics.[2]

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[2]The multiple correlation between the eight demographic characteristics and the respondents' political attitude positions was .11.

TABLE 7.7

ZERO-ORDER AND CORRECTED CORRELATIONS OF RESPONDENT POLITICAL
ATTITUDES WITH THOSE OF THEIR SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Socializing agent	Respondent attitude index												
	Political[a] Parties		Presidency[a]		Richard Nixon			War in Vietnam			Overall index		
	r	N	r	N	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r	r	N	att. r
Significant others	.06	94	.16	94	.38[c]	110	.57[c]	.30[b]	107	.45[c]	.44[c]	114	.57[c]

[a] Corrected correlations were not calculated since index reliability was below .50.

[b] Significant at .01 level. (One-tail)

[c] Significant at .001 level.

These correlations, then, show that for both their attitudes toward specific political objects and for their composite attitude toward several political objects, the significant others and the respondents share a considerable amount of variance. It should be noted here that while the zero-order correlations are not all exactly the same magnitude, they do not differ significantly from one another in terms of magnitude.

As was noted in Chapter III, these correlations do not indicate one-way causality from the significant others to the respondents. The shared variance also includes the effects of the respondents on the information they obtain from their significant others. An attempt was made to statistically partial out the relative contribution of each to the shared variance by solving a two-stage least squares model of political socialization. However, the model proved underidentified and the reader will not be burdened with a discourse concerning the attempted solution of the model.

While it was empirically impossible to partial out the effects between the significant others and the respondents from these data, theoretically most of the shared variance probably stems from the significant others' causal influence on the respondents. The discussion which follows will specify why this should be the case.

The main reason for the link between significant others' and the respondents' political attitude positions results from the

exchange of political information between the respondents and their

political significant others. The significant others influence the

respondents' attitudes by providing information to them and the

respondents influence their significant others' attitudes by providing

information to them. There are two other related reasons why the

respondents should have influence over the information they receive

from their political significant others. One is because the respon-

dents may choose their significant others on the basis of the

significant others' political beliefs. The other is that the respon-

dents' own attitudes filter the objective information transmitted

by the significant others and in the course of this filtering process

the actual meaning intended by the significant others may be altered.

This latter possibility is not really tested in this thesis. The

information provided by the significant others is measured by the

significant others' statement of their own attitude position, not by

the respondents' perception of these attitude positions. Hence, this

theoretical consideration is not operating in the correlations

presented here.

The possibility that the respondents may choose their signifi-

cant others on the basis of the significant others' political beliefs

probably does not provide a strong effect here. Of the five most

influential socializing agents, four are agents for which the

respondents' choice in interaction is minimal. These are parents,

brothers, sisters, and teachers. The only choice the respondents

might exercise is the avoidance of some of the agents from these

classifications on the basis of their political beliefs. However,

there is little evidence existing in the political socialization

literature suggesting that this takes place to a great extent. The

only group from among the top five for which the respondents could

have a wide degree of latitude in choosing or rejecting on the basis

of their political beliefs would be peers. However, past research

suggests that this occurrence is probably minimal. Segal (1974)

among others (for example, Festinger et al., 1950 and Priest and

Sawyer, 1967) has shown that the main determinant of friendship is

proximity. Since the overwhelming majority of peers named as signif-

icant others are friends of the respondents, it seems safe to assume

that few if any of these peer group significant others are selected

as such on the basis of their political attitudes.

The thrust of this discussion is to underline the fact that

the information flow between the significant others and the respondents

is the main factor for their mutual influence. Most likely the

significant others provide the respondents with a greater proportion

of the respondents' total store of political information than the

respondents provide to the significant others. This follows from

the observation that each respondent listed, on the average, 6.3

different significant others for all four political objects. Hence,

when the respondent provides information to his significant others, he is acting merely as one of a number of his significant others' own significant others. On the other hand, each respondent has on the average more than six significant others of his own. Thus, theoretically it appears likely that the preponderance of shared variance between the respondents' and the significant others' political attitudes is due to the causal influence of the significant others on the respondents' political attitudes.
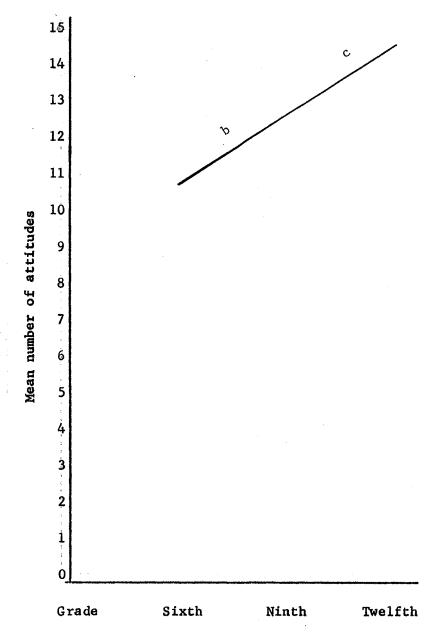
Thus far the data analysis has focused on both the individual and combined effects of socializing agencies in the political socialization process. The last section of the data analysis will concentrate on the relationship between age and sex and several political characteristics of the respondents.

Degree of Political Attitude Formation, Direction of Attitudes, Interest in Politics, and Number of Significant Others as a Function of Age

Age and Degree of Political Attitude Formation

Figure 7.2 portrays the mean level of political attitude formation by grade for the respondents. The data depict a linear increase in attitude formation between grade levels. The differences at each successive grade level are statistically significant from the previous grade level and are in the predicted direction. Since the relationship is linear, a Pearson zero-order correlation can be used to measure the strength of the relationship. The correlation is .37

FIGURE 7.2.--MEAN LEVEL[a] OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMATION, BY GRADE

Grade   Sixth   Ninth   Twelfth

[a]The actual mean number of attitudes by grade are:

         sixth--10.98 (N=47)
         ninth--12.78 (N=50)
         twelfth--14.67 (N=54)

[b]Significant at .01 level.

                                          (One-tail)

[c]Significant at .001 level.

(p < .001), indicating that about 14 per cent of the variance in
political attitude formation can be attributed in the processes which
age underlies. This finding supports the prognosis of Hypothesis VII.

Age and Direction of Political Attitudes

Table 7.8 contains the mean scores of both the object and

TABLE 7.8

RESPONDENT MEAN POLITICAL ATTITUDE POSITION, BY POLITICAL OBJECT

Grade	Political object									
	Political Parties		Presidency		Richard Nixon		War in Vietnam		Overall Average	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Sixth (N=49)	-.065	.29	.514	.53	1.56	.57	1.02	.40	.378	.22
Ninth (N=50)	-.068	.36	.556	.52	1.78	.68	.99	.46	.422	.22
Twelfth (N=54)	-.076	.36	.458	.47	1.61	.55	1.25	.47	.489	.23

overall attitude indices for respondents by grade. For the overall
category the data show a direct increase in liberalism from the sixth
grade to the twelfth grade. The difference between the sixth grade
and the twelfth grade is significant (.01, one-tail) although the
differences between the sixth and ninth and ninth and twelfth grades
are not significant. When looking at the mean attitude positions by
object, the data do not suggest an increase in liberalism over time.
For none of the objects is there a uniform increase in liberalism.

Given the small increases in liberalism in the overall

category and the lack of any pattern for the objects individually,

the conclusion to be drawn is that, among adolescents, age is not

related to the degree of liberalism of attitudes. This disconfirms
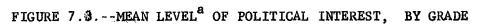
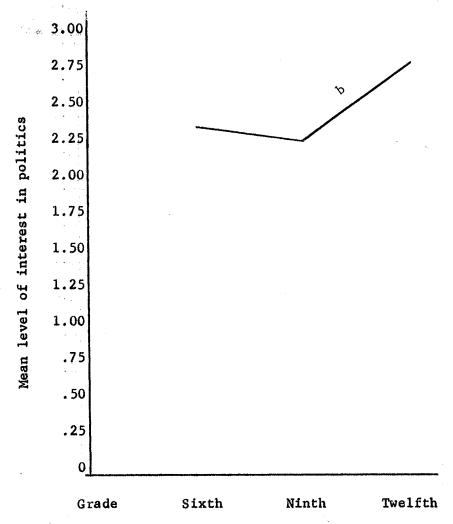Hypothesis IX.

Age and Political Interest

The data in Figure 7.3 show that interest in politics remains

virtually unchanged between sixth and ninth grade while increasing

significantly between ninth and twelfth grade. This confirms the

prediction of Hypothesis X concerning political interest.

Age and Number of Political Significant Others

Figure 7.4 reveals that the number of political significant

others a person has does not change significantly from grade six to

nine, but does increase significantly from grade nine to twelve. This

confirms the prediction of Hypothesis X concerning number of political

significant others.

The empirical confirmation of the hypotheses concerning age

and degree of political attitude formation, political interest, and

number of political significant others acts to corroborate the

theoretical rationale from which they were derived. Hypothesis VIII

was based on the assumption that information is the foundation of

attitudes and that the amount of political information a person

FIGURE 7.3.--MEAN LEVEL[a] OF POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE

| Grade | Sixth | Ninth | Twelfth |

[a]The actual mean values of interest in politics by grade are:

        sixth--2.33 (N=46)
        ninth--2.25 (N=48)
        twelfth--2.78 (N=54)

[b]Significant at .01 level (one-tail). The difference between sixth and twelfth grade is also significant at .01.

FIGURE 7.4.--MEAN NUMBER OF POLITICAL SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, BY GRADE

| Grade | Sixth | Ninth | Twelfth |

[a]The actual mean number of significant others by grade are:

        sixth--5.21 (N=49)
        ninth--5.78 (N=50)
        twelfth--7.91 (N=55)

[b]Significant at .001 level (one-tail).

receives increases between grades six and twelve.

Hypothesis X was based on the relationship of age to social roles. The proposition was advanced that the twelfth grade students differed from students in the other two grade levels in that they are approaching voting age. This ability to vote, it was suggested, would both increase their interest in politics and lead them to seek out more persons from whom to obtain political information.

Degree of Political Attitude Formation, Direction of Attitudes, Interest in Politics, and Number of Significant Others as a Function of Sex

Table 7.9 presents the correlations between sex and the four political characteristics listed in the heading of this section. Three of the correlations are not statistically significant, thus disconfirming the speculation of Hypothesis XII that males would be superior to females on these characteristics. Even when controlling these relationships for age the differences between males and females remain small and virtually non-significant. Only for number of political significant others do males and females differ significantly at any level. Ninth grade females have significantly more political significant others than males. Females at the ninth grade average 6.22 significant others while males average 4.74.

The correlation between sex and degree of political attitude formation is significant and in the predicted direction. However, the relationship is very small with sex being able to account for

TABLE 7.9

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SEX AND SELECTED
POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES (N=138)

Political attributes	Sex
Direction of R's pol. att.	-.06
Political interest	-.07
Political att. formation	-.23[a]
No. of political SO's	.15

[a]Significant at .01 level (one-tail).

approximately 5 per cent of the variance in political attitude form-
ation.

While in general males appear to exhibit greater political
attitude formation than females, one question which can still be
asked is does this pattern persist at different age levels. That
is, are males more attitudinally developed than females at every age
level? By piecing together data from Hess and Torney (1967) and
Remmers and Radler (1957) (see Chapter I) the pattern of differences
from those data was parabolic. Males had developed significantly
more political attitudes in the early grades and at the high school
level. At the seventh and eighth grade levels, however, there was

no significant difference in their political attitude formation.

Table 7.10 presents the mean level of political attitude formation for males and females for grades six, nine, and twelve. The data show males significantly ahead of females in degree of political attitude formation at grades six and nine. However, this difference in political attitude formation diminishes so that by twelfth grade it is no longer significant. The trend depicted is one from male superiority to male-female equality. These results cannot, of course, indicate what the pattern of male-female differences is beyond high school.

These findings are somewhat in contrast to those pieced together from the Hess and Torney (1967) and Remmers and Radler (1957) studies. However, one factor makes direct comparison inappropriate. The grade levels for which the findings are presented are not wholly comparable. Remmers and Radler (1957) computed their attitude development measure jointly for ninth through twelfth grade students. They did not provide data separately for the four high school grades. It is possible that for the twelfth grade portion of their sample, males and females did not differ significantly in terms of number of political attitudes. When the data from this report are combined for the ninth and twelfth grade respondents, the difference between males and females is almost identical to the difference Remmers and Radler found, controlling for the number of attitude items used. Remmers

TABLE 7.10

DEGREE OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE FORMATION,
BY GRADE AND SEX

Sex	Grade		
	Sixth	Ninth	Twelfth
Male	12.00 (24)[a]	14.09 (24)	14.85 (25)
Female	9.91 (23)	11.50 (26)	14.52 (29)
p[b]	.001	.001	ns

[a] Entries in parentheses indicate the sample size of the mean.

[b] p determined by two-tailed Difference of Means test.

and Radler (1957) found males and females differing by 2.3 attitudes on a scale of 38 items. By combining the ninth and twelfth grade respondents from the thesis data, males and females differ by 1.36 attitudes on a scale of 19 attitude items. Since Remmers and Radlers' scale was twice as large as the one used here (38 items to 19 items), dividing their observed difference by two will approximate the difference they would have found with a 19 item scale. In carrying out this division, Remmers and Radlers' data show a difference of 2.30 divided by two, or 1.15 attitudes between males and females. This is very close to the difference (1.36) reported here.

When the findings at the sixth grade level are compared, both Hess and Torney (1967) and the thesis' data uncover significant difference between males and females with regard to degree of political attitude formation.

In summarizing this discussion, two points stand out. First, the data from this thesis show that male-female differences in degree of political attitude formation are statistically significant at grades six and nine, but are non-significant at the twelfth grade level. This indicates that females are initially behind males in terms of political attitude formation but that they "catch-up" to males by the end of high school. Whether this equality of political attitude formation continues past high school is a matter for future research.

Secondly, although the pattern of male-female differences cannot wholly be compared to past findings in the area, there is one aspect of political attitude formation where this and past studies are in agreement. While males and females do differ to some extent in their degree of political attitude formation, the relation between sex and political attitude formation is not strong.

The results from the hypotheses relating sex to these four political characteristics tend to support two well established findings. First, males tend to exhibit slightly higher levels of political attitude formation than females. While the observed differences have never been particularly marked, they have been statistically significant in a number of studies. The trend from this study, though, suggests that these differences are minimized by the end of high school.

Secondly, the data indicate that males and females do not differ perceptibly on the dimension of political interest.

This section has also revealed that males and females do not differ, in general, on the basis of the number of political significant others they have or in terms of their liberal-conservative orientation toward politics.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Thesis' Objectives and Methods

This research has been conducted within the context of two broad objectives. The first objective was to enumerate the specific interpersonal political influences (significant others) for a sample of respondents. Utilizing these data, the report was able to provide information about what types of persons take part in an individual's political socialization. From these data it was also possible to estimate the strength of the effect significant others have over the political socialization of individuals.

The second objective of the research was to look at the part played by age and sex in the political socialization process. This objective included the estimation of the effect these variables have on whom a person's political significant others are and how strong the effect of these political significant others is. In addition this aspect of the research examined the relationship of age and sex to such diverse political variables as interest in politics, degree of political attitude formation, the number of interpersonal sources of political information a person has, and the direction of political

attitudes.

In order to view these aspects of political socialization a questionnaire was designed to identify the specific political significant others for a sample of 154 sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade students for the political objects Political Parties, the Presidency, the War in Vietnam and Richard Nixon. The questionnaire was constructed in conjunction with an information theory of attitude change elaborated by Anderson in a series of papers. The questionnaire construction was also guided in part by the past work of Woelfel and Haller in the area of significant other measurement.

In addition to identification of significant others, the questionnaire also measured the attitude position of the respondents toward the four political objects Political Parties, the Presidency, the War in Vietnam, and Richard Nixon.

The respondents named 970 different significant others for the four political objects. Questionnaires were mailed to these significant others in order to obtain the significant others' attitudes toward the same four political objects. The data obtained from the primary respondents and their political significant others were used to evaluate fifteen specific hypotheses along with other less formally delineated propositions.

Conclusions

An analytic distinction in types of influence was employed
in the analysis of interpersonal socializing effects. Two charac-
teristics of influence were identified: extent of influence and
impact of influence. Extent of influence was defined as the number
of persons an individual, group of individuals, or classification of
individuals exert influence over. Impact of influence was used to
denote the strength or amount of influence socializing agents have
over those individuals whom they exercise influence over.

From the eighteen categories of socializing agents named
as significant others by the respondents, parents emerged as the
most important interpersonal influence over the respondents' attitudes
toward the four political objects. Not only were they named by more
respondents than any other agency, but the impact of their influence
over the respondents whom they did influence was the greatest of all
the agents.

Looking at the parents individually, neither mothers nor
fathers surfaced as the most important socializing parent. They
ranked fairly equal on both the extent and impact of influence
dimensions. There was a slight tendency among ninth and twelfth
grade respondents for mothers to be named as significant others more
frequently by their daughters and fathers to be named as significant
others by their sons. However, neither parent was named more

frequently as a significant other by their offspring in general.

Peers turned out to be the second most important interpersonal source of political attitudes for the respondents. They ranked second among the sixteen categories of agents on both the extent and impact of influence dimensions.

One interesting observation can be made concerning the number of respondents naming parents and peers as significant others. While parents and peers emerge as the most frequently named socializing agents, their influence in the political socialization process is by no means universal among the respondents. No more than 62 per cent of the respondents named parents as political significant others for any of the four political objects. No more than 58 per cent of the respondents listed peers as significant others for any of the four objects.

Teachers were the third most frequently named agents of socialization for the four political objects, being named on the average by about 20 per cent of the respondents. Two interesting findings concerning teachers' role in the political socialization process were uncovered in the data analysis. First, teachers' influence in this process is largely confined to safe, non-controversial topics. Secondly, even though about 20 per cent of the respondents named teachers as someone who had provided them with politically oriented information, the teachers do not appear to

exert statistically significant impact over the direction of the respondents' political attitudes.

Brothers and sisters also emerged as relatively important sources of political information for the respondents, at least along the extent of influence dimension. Brothers were named as significant others by approximately 16 per cent of the respondents per object, while sisters were named as political significant others by at least 14 per cent of the respondents per object. Unfortunately, due to the small absolute number of brothers and sisters who were named as significant others, no measures for the strength of their influence could be obtained.

The other agencies of socialization listed by the respondents received only nominal mention. On the average less than 10 per cent of the respondents named members of any of the other categories as significant others for the four objects.

By alternatively classifying the agents into the categories parents, peers, teachers, and other, an important finding was uncovered. The former three categories are the ones which have traditionally received attention in the political socialization literature. The results from this study show that the attention these three agents have received was well deserved. However, the agents other than these three have received almost no attention in the political socialization literature. The findings from this data set

showed that 42 per cent of the respondents, on the average, named an
individual other than parents, peers, or teachers as significant
others for one of the four political objects. While none of these
other agencies appears important in the political socialization
process by themselves, taken together they do seem to be important
in determining an individual's political orientations.

Overall these data indicate that interpersonal influence
does play an integral part in the formation of a person's political
attitudes. The data have shown that the direction of the respondents'
own political attitude positions are highly correlated with the
direction of the political information provided by all of their
political significant others. This correlation adjusted for measure-
ment error in the attitude indices approaches .60.

The types of individuals named as political significant others
give a good indication of what characteristics make a person a signif-
icant other. Essentially the political significant others are
persons whom an individual typically interacts with while undertaking
his daily activities. The most important categories of political
significant others appear to be the ones whose members the individual
interacts with most frequently in general, not just concerning
political topics. Of course not all of the persons whom an individual
interacts with are significant others for politics. Another quality
of the persons whom individuals interact with appears to differen-

tiate the significant others from the non-significant others.

Significant others tend to talk more about political topics in general

than do individuals who are not political significant others.

It is difficult to tell for sure just how active or passive

an individual is in his own political socialization. The question to

be raised is do individuals consciously seek out political information

or do they just receive political information passively in the context

of primarily non-political interactions? Among the twelfth grade

respondents, there appeared to be a tendency to seek out political

information from their significant others, possibly to better prepare

themselves for their impending role as voters. On the other hand,

there was no indication that the sixth or ninth grade respondents

actively sought out their political information. Possibly individuals

are passively socialized into politics at younger ages, but begin to

more actively seek our political information when they approach and

have attained voting age. The question of active vs. passive social-

ization is one which deserves future research attention.

A persons' sex appears to be of little consequence in his/her

political socialization. Sex does have a slight effect on who a

person's significant others are. Males tend to have male significant

others and females to have female significant others. However, sex

is not related to the direction of a person's political attitudes.

Moreover, sex demonstrated no relation to a person's political

interest or to the number of significant others a person listed for

the topics Political Parties, the Presidency, the War in Vietnam, and

Richard Nixon. Males did seem to exhibit more political attitude

formation than females at the sixth and ninth grade levels, but this

difference was not significantly different for the twelfth grade

respondents.

While a person's sex makes little difference in his/her

political socialization, certain aspects of political socialization

differ with the person's age, at least between ten and eighteen years

of age. During this time the number of political attitudes the person

has, based on a sample of attitudes, increases significantly. In

addition during this time political interest increases significantly.

There is also a relation between a person's age and the types of

individuals who take part in his/her political socialization.

However, like sex, age is unrelated to the direction of the

person's own political attitudes.

Theoretical and Methodological Implications

The theory employed in this report was a combination of major

attitudinal theory approaches in Social Psychology: a synthesis of

consistency theory and reinforcement theory blended together in

Anderson's information theory of attitude formation and change. This

combination afforded a useful tool for measuring attitude formation

in this research. One advantage of this technique is that it allows

for an empirical extension of the consistency paradigm from the usual

two or three cognitions to a large number of cognitions. In addition,

by employing aspects of reinforcement theory, the researcher is able

to differentially weight the components of an individual's cognitive

structure to more precisely define the effect individual cognitions

or pieces of information will have on the individual's various attitude

positions.

The theory presentation touched upon the intriguing topic of

attitude stability and resistance to change. It suggested that the

inertia of an attitude is a direct function of the number of messages

a person has concerning the specific attitude object. It was hypothe-

sized that not only would reinforcing messages (messages in the same

direction as the attitude position) add to stability, but all messages

pertaining to an attitude object regardless of direction would

increase the resistance of that attitude to change.

While this theoretical synthesis has proved invaluable for

this research, it still requires improved specification in future

work. Inclusive weighting schemes are necessary to determine the

effectiveness individual messages have with regard to attitude change

and attitude reinforcement. Similarly the aspect of indirect influ-

ence on attitudes needs to be more clearly delineated. For example,

while it is understood that attitudes can be influenced either

directly or indirectly, the relative effectiveness of either technique

for influencing attitudes is not clear. It is also necessary to more

fully understand the dimensions used by individuals to organize their

attitudes since it is these dimensions through which indrect influ-

ences occur.

One final methodological note will conclude this thesis. The

term attitude has been conceptualized, theorized about, and measured

numerous times since it first appeared in the social scientific liter-

ature. Since attitudes are a characteristic of the mind, they have

proved difficult to validly measure. Many of the currently used

techniques for assessing attitudes were devised thirty years or more

ago. In order to further advance the knowledge of attitudes, their

formation, change, and patterns of organization within the mind, it is

necessary that more refined procedures for measuring attitudes be

devised or that older techniques such as Likert measuring items

be supplemented with appropriate statistical tactics. This thesis

used the latter approach and rescaled responses to several Likert

items with factor analysis to create indices of attitude positions

toward selected political topics. This procedure proved fruitful

both in interpreting the dimension underlying the respondents'

attitudes and in rescaling the Likert item scores into more reliable

attitude scales.

Whichever techniques are employed, it is necessary that

measurement in the social sciences be continually improved and
refined in order to accurately test and evaluate social theory.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRES

This appendix contains the Michigan Public Affairs Battery.
This battery of questions in its entirety was administered to the
primary respondents. The last five pages of the questionnaire, with
some modifications, were administered to the respondents' significant
others. The first thirteen pages of the questionnaire contain the
Significant Other Elicitor. The next nineteen items make up the
Political Attitude Detector. Questions 20, 21, and 22 tap political
interest, frequency of discussing politics, and party identification.
The last page contains the demographic items along with another
party identification question.

The significant others were administered the Political
Attitude Detector and items 20, 21, and 22. Among the demographic
items, the significant others received questions 1, 2, 5, and 6,
along with the party identification question. They were also asked
to list their occupation and level of educational attainment.

THE
MICHIGAN
PUBLIC
AFFAIRS
BATTERY

Student's Name _____

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
ANN ARBOR , MICHIGAN

The following questionnaire is designed to help learn who has assisted you in what you believe. You are to write the full names of persons, their addresses, if you know them (or where they can be found), their relationship to you (for example, mother, father, best friend, teacher, etc.), and their occupation (such as doctor, steel worker, truck driver, etc.).

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

WHO have you talked to about the importance of having your own car?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

WHO do you know who has a car?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Some of the questions may seem the same to you but they really are different when you think about them. Even so, some may have the same answers. You may want to use the same names more than once. This is perfectly all right. Be careful though. Make sure a name really belongs there before you write it down. You do not need to repeat the addresses, relationship, and occupation for names listed more than once.

If you have any questions while you are writing, please raise your hand for assistance. Work as rapidly as possible, but please make sure you answer all the questions.

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY is like? (For example, that it is a conservative party, that it is a good or bad party, that it is the party of "Big Business," etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY does? (For example, that it will hurt the economy, that it ends wars, or that it will raise unemployment, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY is like? (For example, that it is a conservative party, that it is a good or bad party, that it is the party of "Big Business," etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY does? (For example, that it is for the people, that it ended the war, that it helped raise inflation, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY is like?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the duties of the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY are?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what RICHARD NIXON is like?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what RICHARD NIXON does?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what WAR is like?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what WAR does?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the WAR IN VIETNAM was like?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the WAR IN VIETNAM accomplished?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what a POLITICAL PARTY is like? (For example, that it is made up of a lot of powerful people, or it is corrupt, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what a POLITICAL PARTY does? (For example, it tries to win elections, it runs the country, or it helps people, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the DEMOCRATIC PARTY is like? (For example, that it is liberal, or it is the party of the working class, or that it is a good or bad party, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the DEMOCRATIC PARTY does? (For example, it works for social change, or that it restricts big business, or it does not care about the little man, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what a POLITICAL PARTY is like? (For example, that it is good or bad, or it is corrupt, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what a POLITICAL PARTY does? (For example, that it tries to help people, or it tries to win elections, or that it helps run the country, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the DEMOCRATIC PARY is like? (For example, that it is liberal, or that it is good or bad, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the DEMOCRATIC PARTY does? (For example, that it works for social reform, or that it tries to restrict "Big Business," or that it does not care about the little man, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENCY is like? (For example, that it is an important position, that
it is full of corruption, that it contains a lot of power, etc.)

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the duties of
the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY are? (For example, to provide a check on Congress,
to make important decisions, to declare war, etc.)

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what RICHARD
NIXON is like? (For example, that he is a good or bad president, that he is
incapable, that he makes mistakes, etc.)

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what RICHARD
NIXON does? (For example, that he is trying to do his job, that he ignores
domestic problems, that he is wrecking the economy, etc.)

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____
_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY is like? (For example, that it is an important position, that it is a hard job, that it is an interesting position, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the duties of the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY are? (For example, to provide a check on Congress, to make important decisions, to declare war, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what RICHARD NIXON is like? (For example, that he is a Republican, that he is a good or bad politician, that he is insincere,etc

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what RICHARD NIXON does? (For example, that he is trying to do his job, that he ignores domestic problems, that he helped end the war, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what a POLITICAL PARTY is
like?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what a POLITICAL PARTY does?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the DEMOCRATIC PARTY is
like?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the DEMOCRATIC PARTY does?

FULL NAME   ADDRESS   RELATIONSHIP   OCCUPATION

_____   _____   _____   _____

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what WAR is like? (For example, that it is good or bad, that it is bloody, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what WAR does? (For example, that it helps to bring peace, or that it is used to aid imperialism, or that it will ultimately save lives, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the WAR IN VIETNAM was like? (For example, that it was imperialistic, that it was necessary or unnecessary, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO has tried to PERSUADE YOU TO BELIEVE certain things about what the WAR IN VIETNAM accomplished? (For example, that it was useless bloodshed, that it will help bring freedom to the South Vietnamese people, that it only helped "Big Business," etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what WAR is like? (For example, that it is bloody, or that it is necessary or unnecessary, or that it is good or bad, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what WAR does? (For example, that it helps obtain peace, or that it is used to extend imperialism, or that it is useless, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the WAR IN VIETNAM was like? (For example, that it was necessary or unnecessary, or that it was futile, or that it was imperialistic, etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO HAVE YOU TALKED TO about what the WAR IN VIETNAM accomplished? (For example, that it helped stop communism, or that it hurt many people, or that it only helped "Big Business," etc.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY is like?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

WHO do you know who feels the way you do about what the REPUBLICAN PARTY does?

FULL NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP	OCCUPATION

Of all the persons who you know who are about your age, which three do you consider your best friends? (Please write their names and addresses in the spaces below.)

FULL NAME	ADDRESS

The following questionnaire is designed to help find out how you feel about certain political personalities and events in the news. You will be presented with a list of statements. Each statement will be followed by the set of responses

Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Un- Certain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

Please circle the number which best describes your feelings about the statement.

Following these statements are a few questions about you. Please fill in the appropriate information.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Un-Certain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
1. The office of the President of the United States has become too big a job for one man to handle.	1	2	3	4	5	(40)
2. Richard Nixon has done a good job as President.	1	2	3	4	5	(41)
3. The United States did the right thing in entering the Vietnam conflict.	1	2	3	4	5	(42)
4. There is not much difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties today. They both run the country the same way.	1	2	3	4	5	(43)
5. Some have argued that over the years the office of the President of the United States has acquired too much power. It would be better if some of its power were given to other branches of the government like Congress.	1	2	3	4	5	(44)
6. Richard Nixon has not told the American public all he knows about the Watergate affair.	1	2	3	4	5	(45)

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Un-Certain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
7. The United States should have tried to achieve a military victory in Vietnam.	1	2	3	4	5	(46)
8. The Democratic Party represents the needs of the working man better than the Republican Party.	1	2	3	4	5	(47)
9. The office of the President of the United States is a very high position, and any man who has that job automatically earns my respect.	1	2	3	4	5	(48)
10. The Republican Party is better able than the Democratic Party to solve economic problems like poverty and unemployment.	1	2	3	4	5	(49)
11. Richard Nixon is one of the best presidents this country has ever had.	1	2	3	4	5	(50)
12. The War in Vietnam was a waste of the taxpayers' money.	1	2	3	4	5	(51)
13. Political parties are only interested in peoples' votes but not their opinions.	1	2	3	4	5	(52)

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Un- Certain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
14. The Presidents of the United States should only be allowed to serve one six year term as president.	1	2	3	4	5	(53)
15. Richard Nixon has helped to improve the United States' relations with China and Russia.	1	2	3	4	5	(54)
16. The United States will send fighting troops back into Vietnam if the North Vietnamese army invades South Vietnam.	1	2	3	4	5	(55)
17. The Democratic Party is better able than the Republican Party to solve problems of ecology such as air pollution and water pollution.	1	2	3	4	5	(56)
18. Richard Nixon took part in some of the illegal aspects of the Watergate affair.	1	2	3	4	5	(57)
19. Citizens of the United States who went to Canada and other countries to avoid fighting in the War in Vietnam should be allowed to return to the United States without being punished.	1	2	3	4	5	(58)

20. Generally speaking, how interested would you say you are in politics? (Please circle the appropriate number.)   (59)

     1. Very interested
     2. Somewhat interested
     3. Not very interested
     4. Not interested at all

21. How often do you discuss politics with others? (Please circle the appropriate number.)   (60)

     1. Very often
     2. Often
     3. Somewhat
     4. A little
     5. Very little
     6. Never

22. Generally speaking, what do you consider yourself politically? (Please circle the appropriate number.)   (61)

     1. Strong Democrat
     2. Not very strong Democrat
     3. Independent-closer to Democrat
     4. Independent-closer to neither
     5. Independent-closer to Republican
     6. Not very strong Republican
     7. Strong Republican
     8. Other

       The next set of questions is about you and your family. Please fill in the appropriate information.

1. Your age _____   (9-10)

2. Your sex (Please circle) Male-0   Female-1   (11)

3. How many brothers do you have? _____   (12-13)

4. How many sisters do you have? _____   (14-15)

5. With regard to religion, how do you consider yourself? (Please circle)

Protestant	
Roman Catholic	(16)
Jewish	(17)
Eastern Orthodox	(18)
Agnostic	(19)
Atheist	(20)
Other	(21)
	(22)

6. Circle the number which best describes your political position.

Far
Left   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Far Right   (23)

7. How far did your father go in school? _____
   (List the highest grade he completed)   (24-25)

8. How far did your mother go in school? _____
       (26-27)

9. What is your father's occupation? (Please be specific)

_____

10. What industry is that job associated with? (For example, mining, manufacturing, sales, etc.) _____
        (28-29)

11. What is your mother's occupation? (Please be specific)

_____

12. What industry is that associated with? _____
        (30-31)

13. Generally speaking, how do you think of yourself politically? (Please circle)
        (32)

      1. Republican
      2. Democrat
      3. Independent
      4. Other

14. How strongly do you feel about that choice? (Please circle the appropriate number.)

Very Strong	Moderate	Weak
1	2	3

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE PRETESTS

The initial pretest of the Significant Other Elicitor took place in Fall, 1972. The questionnaire was administered to thirty-five students in an introductory Social Psychology laboratory section. This copy of the instrument was slightly different from the final format. As mentioned previously this instrument contained questions to get at the modelling effect of significant others for the political objects Political Party and War in Vietnam. In addition while this form contained questions to tap significant others for Political Party and the Democratic Party, it did not contain questions to elicit significant others for the Republican Party.

The purpose of this pretest was to determine if the question-naire could be filled out in a reasonable amount of time and to examine the utility of the various items. One finding from this pretest was that the questions to determine models for the War in Vietnam and Political Parties appeared to be of little utility. These questions were subsequently dropped from further analysis. In addition the students were easily able to fill out the 47 open-ended questions in

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less than 50 minutes. Although this indicated that college level students could complete the questionnaire, it provide little information concerning the ability of younger students to complete the questionnaire. A month later a slightly revised questionnaire was given to fifteen sixth grade students.

The results indicated that these students were easily able to complete the questionnaire in less than one hour. Interviews conducted with these respondents subsequent to the administration suggested that some of the wording proved troublesome for them. It was at this time that the decision was made to incorporate questions to elicit significant others for the Republican Party on the final instrument.

The next step in the pretest was to undertake a full scale sampling. 55 sixth grade students and 60 twelfth grade students were administered the Significant Other Elicitor, the Political Attitude Detector, and the list of demographic questions. The significant others named by the sixth graders were actually contacted by mail with a copy of the Political Attitude Detector and the demographic questions for significant others.

Both the sixth and twelfth grade students were able to fill out the questionnaire in less than an hour. There was also an encouraging response rate to the mailed questionnaire. 60 per cent of the significant others who were mailed a questionnaire completed and returned it.

A final pretest of the instrument was scheduled for an upper

division Political Science course and an introductory Social Psychology class at the University of Michigan. The significant others named by the respondents were also contacted by mail. This mailing yielded a 65 per cent return rate.

The results from this final pretest administration suggested that the instruments were ready to be used to collect the data for testing the hypotheses of the thesis.

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