POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with political socialization of elementary school children in three public schools located in Pleasantside, Ioco, and Anmore areas in British Columbia. Generally speaking, the study is directed toward answering four main questions: Firstly, how does the moral judgement of the child develop in relation to political issues? Secondly, what is the content of children's attitudes toward various political institutions and the authority figures which occupy major roles in these institutions? Thirdly, which socializing agents are involved in transmitting political attitudes? Fourthly, what is the influence of cognitive growth upon the changes the child undergoes in his orientations to political objects?

Chapter One suggests a workable definition for political socialization.

Chapter Two extends basic notions from social psychology in order to examine political socialization of children within primary groups. In particular, this chapter outlines the psychological process by

which political values are acquired, the main
socializing agencies, and the sources of socialization
failure in the form of parent-child disagreement on
political issues.

Chapter Three presents empirical evidence which
bears upon the theory and the review of the literature
on the topic of political socialization. An attempt
is made to extend the present status of empirical
research on the young child to investigate his
attitude in detail toward the international system.

Chapter Four assesses the utility of certain
socialization models discussed in Chapter Two and
outlines the implications this study has for political
socialization research.

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CHAPTER 1

A BASIC DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

I. Objective

Political science has traditionally concerned itself with the study of political institutions and legal structures. But as the study of political behaviour has emerged as an independent approach within the discipline, the scope of analysis has widened to include, in addition to institutions, the study of attitude and opinion formation, means of communication, processes of decision-making, small group dynamics and political socialization.

The present chapter deals with political socialization as one aspect of political behaviour. The main purpose of this chapter is to adopt a workable definition of political socialization.

II. Political Socialization Defined

Briefly stated, political socialization is concerned with those processes which enable the individual to develop new orientations, or reinforce old ones, in the direction of existing political norms and authority distribution within society. The process

which induces the individual to perceive of his role, latently or manifestly, as political actor will be referred to as political socialization or politicization. In the more specific sense, politicization deals with (1) perception of political authority by the citizen, (2) formation of public opinion, (3) preparation of citizens to participate in their role as political decision-makers when faced with a choice on public issues, and (4) leadership recruitment. These basic components of political socialization, arbitrary though they may seem to be, are consistent with various meanings of the concept as offered by frequent writers on the subject. A synthesis of points of view of a cluster of such writers[1] reveals the following important aspects of politicization. As a social process, it (1) makes visible to the citizen, through participating in decision-making and inducements, a need to identify with the political system and its symbols, (2) affects and modifies, by introducing the citizen to political life, the existing socio-political institutions, (3) inculcates the individual with affective components - such as love, pride and respect for the country's symbols - cognitions - i.e., political knowledge and a sense of judgement related

to public issues - and evaluative or normative orientations which enable the citizen to interpret public policies and decisions by means of an acceptable social norm, and (4) contributes toward the preservation and creation of a stable political culture.

The above processes have implications for the political system when they relate to one or more of the political system levels as outlined by Easton. These levels are: the political community, regime, and government.[2]

Socialization in the direction of the political community refers to the acquisition of attitudes related to "the occupants of those roles through which the day-to-day formulation and administration of binding decisions for a society are undertaken."[3] This type of socialization is singled out by Easton as a crucial phase in early learning of political symbols. Through socialization at the community level, the person familiarizes himself with the major institutions of society and their dominant political symbols. Such symbols include, among other things, the President or Prime Minister, police, flag, and certain abstract concepts such as freedom and love for one's country. Basically, this type of socialization describes one's

attachment in the form of loyalty to the country.

Acquisition of attitudes toward the regime centers around learning how to influence the authority structure within the political system. Socialization on the regime level implies learning the codes of behaviour which are pertinent to eventual involvement in politics, in an attempt to change the course of events.[4]

In adult political behaviour such socialization processes are described in terms of apathy or efficacy, as the case may be. Apathy describes a psychological detachment from the political system built on a feeling of futility and inability to participate politically in order to promote some sort of change. Efficacy refers to a dimension of high to low involvement in political life.

The genesis of these manifestations are found in childhood experiences. Thus, one is able to talk about political efficacy of the child. This dimension is discussed in greater detail in the coming chapter.

Socialization in the direction of the governmental level deals with identification in ideologies and political parties. Here too, research shows that the origin of partisan identification lies within early primary group experiences, mainly the family.[5]

As a behavioural process, political socialization culminates in acquiring knowledge, values, and/or attitudes toward one or more levels of the political system. This Eastonian conception parallels the affective, cognitive, and evaluative components referred to earlier. Knowledge corresponds to the cognitive component; values correspond to the affective component; and attitudes correspond to the evaluative component.

The above framework of socialization to the three levels of the system embodies, according to Hess, the emergence of attitudes toward (1) the nation through its symbols, (2) the governmental figures, (3) compliance to law, (4) the ability of the political actor to influence governmental decisions, and (5) the importance of elections and political parties.[6]

An incorporation of attitudes toward the international system takes us one step beyond the three system levels formulated by Easton. However, this doesn't change the types of orientations discussed above. They remain the same and take the form of attitudes, cognitions and values as basic orientations to the international system.

For the purpose of the study, political social-
ization is a learning process which begins in the
early formative years and continues throughout the
life-cycle, and is directed to the local, regional,
national, and international levels.

In terms of socialization variables - determinants
of socialization - this study focuses attention upon
agencies of socialization and cognitive growth in the
early formative years. A detailed examination of
these variables is the subject of discussion in the
coming chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND RESEARCH ON
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

I. Introduction

The study of children's attitudes toward political objects is a fairly new field of investigation in the rather young branch of political socialization research. The University of Chicago, through joint efforts of its Political Science and Human Development Departments, was the first to pursue large scale investigations on the emergence of political attitudes among children.[1]

Social psychology provides the background for these theoretical discussions, with emphasis on role as a central concept.[2] Generally speaking, the research of the Chicago school attempts to deal with the way the citizen role is learned in the formative years and the sequence of interaction between the child and the political system.

This interdisciplinary research undoubtedly adds a new dimension to political socialization research. Mainly, it contributes toward complimenting existing

research on adult political socialization, thus filling
a gap which, according to Hyman's survey of the lit-
erature a decade ago, was very noticeable. The main
emphasis is on the family and school as primary
institutions for political learning. An inclusion
of non-political institutions in political science
research is a recognition of the need to extend the
political system concept beyond the traditional
boundaries of the formal-legal framework.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the
extensive literature on children's political social-
ization and cast it in some systematic form, with the
hope of concluding with meaningful generalizations
depicting early political attitude formation. The
chapter will include a theoretical discussion on
attitude formation, the relative influence of the
family and school as agents of politicization and
development of the child's political cognitive map,
and finally, the nature of parent-child disagreement
on political issues.

II. Theoretical Framework

A major assumption underlying political system
stability is the ability of early socialization
agencies such as the family and the school to inculcate

the child with a set of norms and expectations which would facilitate a behaviour exchange between ego[3] and alter[4] governed by reciprocity. In this process of early socialization, the child develops an image of political objects, the system in general and his place in it as role-performer. This image of political events takes on a significant dimension only to the extent that it relates to the experience of the child in a personal way.

Political attitudes, according to Hess, emerge in three stages. In the first stage the child identifies political objects. This stage of identification has to do with "the initial experiences that the child has with political objects and the points at which these objects first become important or salient in his awareness, and from this move to the social and cognitive processes which shape his developing orientations about these objects.[5] It is important to add in this regard that identification of the child with political objects, or any other complex cues, need not be supported by rationale and awareness at this stage. At an early age, research has shown that the child adopts political labels without being really aware of their significance.[6]

The second stage of development, referred to as emergence of subjective involvement, includes affective and cognitive orientations toward political objects. This stage is characterized by a basic understanding of the political system, realization and adherence to existing norms, and "perceptions in the mutual inter-action between the citizen and various elements with which he must deal."[7] This stage is crucial since it centers around social learning of political roles and the development of psychological attachment to political objects.

Finally, the third stage is that of overt activity. Although the child is not likely to engage in political action per se, nevertheless it is possible to infer some type of political behaviour by noting whether or not the child talks with his peer group about politics, works or campaigns for a candidate, or listens to political discussions.

Until very recently models for explaining the formation of political attitudes in general, and children in particular, have been lacking. Scattered information and research were available but were not put within the context of a coherent theory. In the most recent publication on politicization of children,

one finds in the work of Hess and Torney useful clues
for analyzing the different types of political
orientations acquired by children.

Attention will be directed first at summarizing
their theoretical framework and secondly at reviewing
empirical findings related to it. Building on the
overall conception of the three-stage attitude devel-
opment discussed above, the authors suggest four
general patterns to understand the processes by which
the actor acquires political information and identifies
with the different levels of the political system.
These models enable us to "examine the content and
level of material the child absorbs, the rate at which
he absorbs it and the sequence in which it is
absorbed."[8]

The first model is the Accumulation Model. It
deals with direct learning whereby the child acquires
information in an additive and an accumulative manner
regardless of his cognitive development and personality
factors. This model does not seek to discover any
logical connections among the attitudes learned by
the child. It assumes that there is some separateness
between the child, his relation to significant others
and the way he organizes political information in his

cognitive framework. Thus, a child may learn about civil rights by memorizing the Constitution or the Bill of Rights, but may fail to detect the significance of the learned material to his everyday contacts with others and to political life in general.[9]

The second model is the Interpersonal Transfer Model. Adapted with modifications from psychoanalysis, the transfer model has been applied extensively in explaining the child's reaction to public authority figures, based on his experiences with immediate socializing agents in primary institutions, e.g., father, mother, and teacher. Mainly, this model attempts to explain the affective component of attitudes which the child has of political leaders.[10]

The third model mentioned by Hess and Torney, referred to as the Identification Model, emphasizes the child's ability to imitate the role of significant others. The main use of this model is to explain the rise of partisan identification. This imitation is based on role-modelling by the parents, rather than on any ideological basis.[11]

Finally, the authors suggest a fourth model labelled the Cognitive-developmental Model. In contrast to the first model, political socialization in

this regard is related to cognitive processes. The
model enables the researcher to trace the logical
sequence of emergence of abstract political ideas
from early simplistic and concrete thought, and the
relationship between age and learning ability. The
main advantage of this model lies in its power to
focus on maturation as a requisite for successful
socialization. In other words, while socialization
is a lifelong process, there are certain roles and
concepts which, in order to learn, the child has to
be of a certain age and phase in his personality
development. For example, the child of the third
grade is restrained by his weak ego-involvement from
relating to the wider social sphere. His orientation
to the world around him is determined by personal
desires and needs. As the child matures, his ego
strengthens and he becomes group oriented. He begins
to relate to others in terms of the group norm and
his position with the group. These developmental
processes have important implications for the poli-
tical behaviour of the child. They will be referred
to in the coming discussions.[12]

In summarizing their discussion of the theory,

Hess and Torney point out:

> The Interpersonal Transfer Model is
> most useful for understanding the
> child's first approach to the poli-
> tical system.... The Accumulative
> Model... is important in under-
> standing the contribution of the
> school in building a fund of know-
> ledge about government process.
> The Identification Model may be
> best to explain party affiliation
> and candidates' performance. The
> Cognitive-developmental Model is
> most useful in understanding how
> the child grasps some of the more
> complex and abstract concepts of
> political processes.[13]

The utility of these models and the theory sug-
gested above will be assessed by means of a discussion
of various findings on children's politicization.
Primary attention will be given to the school and
family as agencies of socialization.

III. Review of the Literature

A. Introduction

In reviewing the literature on political social-
ization, Dawson puts forward the following propositions

regarding age and agents of socialization: (1) The
earliest product of political socialization is par-
tisan identification which "serves as an important
reference point around which later orientations and
socializing experiences are based."[14] (2) Basic
orientations toward all phases of political life are
rooted in the pre-adolescent period. (3) Academic
competence and participation in school activities
relate directly to political competence.[15]

While Dawson's observations are accurate, they
are limited to an over-all view of the types, rather
than the processes by which gradual crystallization
of political attitudes take place. An attempt will
be made to trace the different socializing agencies,
intensity of attitudes, cognitive development, and
the types of orientations the child acquires in re-
lation to the different levels of the political system.

Three main types of "socialization contexts" are
singled out by Hess and Torney. The first type includes
the school, family, and church. Through the application
of Accumulation, Interpersonal and Identification
Modesl, one understands (a) the impact of these
agencies on the acquisition of loyalty and respect to
country and its symbols, (b) the imitation of

parental political roles, and (c) the process by
which the child generalizes from his personal ex-
perience with authority or ego ideals, to use Hyman's
phrase, within the home to outside political authority.
The second socialization context includes social class,
ethnic background, and geographical location. Finally,
socialization depends upon the stages of cognitive
growth. Age and intelligence set limits on the types
of political concepts and ideas which the child is
able to absorb.[16] It is evident that these three
contexts are interrelated. Social class, to a large
extent, determines rearing practices, parental
authority and educational environment. The family
environment in terms of the parent-child relationship
determines to some extent the cognitive development
of the child.[17]

The socialization contexts suggested above provide
an adequate organizing scheme to structure the coming
discussion in the following manner:,

(1) Primary agencies of political socialization: the
family and the school;

(2) Social class, intelligence and sex;

(3) Cognitive map of the child as related to:

(a) subjective involvement in politics: political

efficacy;

(b) orientations to basic understanding of

authority figures and political institutions;

(c) political sophistication among the young;

(d) emergence of abstract political ideas in

adolescents.

In addition to a discussion of socialization in
terms of these three socialization contexts, a brief
discussion will also be devoted to outlining the
failure of such primary groups to transmit political
values. An emphasis will be put upon the child's
place within the school's social structure and the
influence of the peer group.

B. Socialization Contexts

1. Primary Agencies: the Family and the School

(a) The Family

According to Hess and Torney, family politic-
ization acts "to support consensually held attitudes
rather than to inculcate ideosyncratic attitudes."[18]
Thus, the family plays a conserving role by insuring
the transmission of political values across generations,
although this process is not void of any disruption
and cultural discontinuities. This is particularly
true in industrial societies where the impact of
technology and styles of work has significant influences

on the size as well as the structure and values of the
family.[19]

An empirical verification of the transference
hypothesis seems to be supplied by comparing the
child's judgement of his father as an authority figure
to that of public authority figures. There is a
direct relationship between the attraction of the child
to his father and his identification with public
figures. The stronger the father's position in the
family, the more likely it is that the child will be
positively attached to outside political figures.
This is evident in a comparison between middle-and
lower-class children. Since middle class children
usually have more benevolent fathers in contrast to
the permissive lower-class father, it follows that
"the child who has a strong father tends to be more
attached to figures and institutions... than the child
(from the lower class) whose father is relatively
weak."[20]

Strangely enough this conclusion seems to be
challenged in a separate study done by the same authors
on authority perception. There, it is found that
perception of authority figures by children doesn't
vary significantly with socio-economic standing.
Instead, there is a direct relationship with age, sex,
and religious affiliation. With age increasing, both

boys and girls perceive parental authority to be
declining. When sex is considered as an independent
variable, "girls reported the father to be boss in
the family significantly less frequently than boys and
reported that both parents were equal in power sig-
nificantly more frequently."[21]

The family's influence in the socialization process
extends beyond authority perception. The family
provides "examples that children may immulate."[22] The
child imitates the political roles performed by the
parents. Campbell, et. al., report that agreement in
voting between offspring and parents was "somewhat
higher among those people who report one or both of
their parents as having been 'actively concerned' with
politics than among those people whose parents were not
politically active."[23] There is also evidence that
parental role-model influences offspring interest in
politics positively - or negatively - and enhances
recruitment into politics.[24]

Of the different types of familial influences,
the party influence on the offspring seems to be the
most profound. Remmers points out that agreement
between parents and offspring on partisan identification
in the case of both parties indicated correlations

ranging from +.84 to +.89.[25] Although the partisan

phenomena has been established in more than one study,

a few exceptions are in order. The study of Hess

and Torney indicates that the school's influence may

sway the child to prefer independent rather than a

partisan stand: Only "Between 30 per cent and 55 per

cent of the children at all grade levels reported

that their fathers were committed to the same party

they had chosen."[26] This percentage increases when

the child moves from the school to occupational

groups where the influence of the family through its

class affiliation is reinforced.[27] It should be

pointed out, however, that this early partisan iden-

tification is attained without a firm belief in the

party ideology. Ideological identification is con-

tingent upon maturation. This will be discussed in

greater detail in the section on cognitive development.

On non-partisan issues as seen in other research, the

agreement between parents and offspring is much lower.

It is clear that other agencies are at work here,

notably the public school system which is emerging in

the writings of many researchers as the most important

socializing agency.

(b) School

The role of the school is mainly seen through its

ability to develop the cognitive map of the child.
In addition, in the school context, the child ex-
periences an authority structure different from the
one encountered in the home. He learns as a member
of the group, the ritual of pledging allegiance to
the flag which in turn enhances an "attitude of
submission, respect and dependence manifested in the
gesture and words surrounding (the) act."[28] Emphasis
on adherence to law and school regulation has produced
a "failure to progress from early levels of involve-
ment (attachment to nation) to a more vigilant as-
sertive involvement in political activities."[29]
Because of the lack of critical appraisal of politics
and regulations in general, the child is likely to
become dependent and even imitate the values of the
teachers. Indeed it is quite often remarked by
educationalists that, although teachers attempt to be
neutral, their predominently middle-class values are
met by resentment from children who have a lower-class
background. Patrick, in his survey of the literature
on political socialization and the school system,
points out that the curriculum is void of controversial
topics. Books of civics portray the U. S. "as the

world's leading advocate of democracy, morality, and
rationality. Alien political systems or ideologies
are often shown a priori as inferior or immoral."[30] ·
No adequate mention is given to the racial and
economic forces which play a greater role in shaping
the political life of the country.

The teacher's ethical neutrality is evident in
another domain, namely, partisan influence. Few
children are able to distinguish the political parties
in terms of their supporters or ideologies. Parties
are often identified with personalities. It is sig-
nificant, however, that the role of the school in
political education exceeds that of the home,
including proper partisan awareness. Through the
teacher's influence, the children are socialized "away
from a belief in partisan guidance and toward the
belief that it is each citizen's responsibility to
judge the merits of all candidates."[31] But at the
same time, while the teachers play a major role in
inculcating the child with rational non-dependence
thinking, they fail to teach him to appreciate
disagreement and partisan conflict.

Moreover, the attitudes of the teachers in the
classrooms are far from being conducive to democracy.

Authoritarianism and intolerance of basic civil rights
are evident from the following figures: "Only 25 per
cent of secondary teachers responded that police
should not have power to censor books and movies in
their cities."[32] Obedience, respect for authority
and competitive behaviour are given priority by middle-
class teachers over co-operation, creativity and
critical thinking. Jennings remarks, and rightly so,
that this type of over-socialization is in part a
product exerted by the parents upon the teachers and
school administrators. The school thus becomes a
social agency for implementing the pressure of
interest group policies.[33]

An insight into the socialization processes
within the classroom and the impact these processes
have on authority perception and child participation
is provided by Glidwell, et. al.[34] The relevant findings
of the authors point out that classroom social struc-
ture and attitudes of the teacher have a bearing upon
the self-esteem of the child, his perception of other
peer groups, involvement in classroom decision-making
and development of personality traits. A quasi-
substantiated conclusion reached by these authors is
that the classroom behaviour of the child and not his

social class determines his interaction with other
children. "While evidence is not satisfactory, it
seems likely that pupil's choices are more influenced
by classroom behaviour than by a knowledge of social
class as such."[35]

From the evidence presented by Hess and Torney,
the greatest similarity between the teacher's at-
titudes and those of the children emerges toward the
end of the elementary school years. For example,
there is an agreement between an eighth grade and
their teachers regarding independence in decision,
free choice of party identification and that "one
should vote for the best man rather than the best
party."[36] There is also a similarity in the extent
of political efficacy - a feeling of one's ability
to affect political outcomes.

2. Social Class, Intelligence and Sex

Social class and intelligence affect such basic
orientations as the conception of government, level
of information, the compliance system, and authority
structure, but they have little effect upon the af-
fective component of attitude toward the government.
Basic attachment to the nation is not influenced by
intelligence or social class.[37]

Intelligent children are more successful in forming abstract notions of the institutional and legal framework of the political system. Children of low intelligence and lower economic class emphasize absolute rules and show intolerance to ambiguities in the law. However, both the lower and upper class child are socialized in accepting the superiority of the law, and the police is considered as "a representative of the system of law." Because of the greater influence of the school, it is concluded that the family's role is being overshadowed in this instance by that of the school, although compliance to the system of laws is not solely attained by means of school socialization. The child identifies with the President and policeman based on a feeling of helplessness and a need for ego-protection.

Intelligence and social background could have differentiated effects upon the child. For example, responses to the question "How interested are you in current events?" correlates to a greater extent with intelligence and age rather than with socio-economic standing. Actual involvement in politics, however, is related to the atmosphere of the home and the role-model provided by the parents, which in turn are

determined by social class. Also, social class has
a greater impact upon socializing the child into
perceiving the benefits of certain parties than does
his cognitive development. But concerning the norms
of party voting, i.e., the duty to vote, affiliate,
and be loyal to the party, there seems to be no
difference in social classes.[38] This again reflects
the paramount importance of the school in transmitting
political values.

Regarding sex differences, the following ob-
servations are pertinent: (1) boys are more
politically informed than girls and there is a positive
correlation between sex and political interest, with
boys showing the greatest interest, (2) in response
to an open-ended question, "If you could change the
world in any way you wanted, what changes would you
do?" boys give more political answers than girls do,
(3) no statistical difference emerges among boys and
girls regarding the desire to vote and understand the
compliance system, (4) girls, because of the personal
role-model of the mother, develop closer attachment
to the system and its authority structure than boys
do, (5) idealization of public authority figures
varies with sex, but not to a statistical significance.

However, non-idealization does correlate with sex.
When asked to "Name a famous person you don't want to
be like," boys, more often than girls, refrain from
choosing public figures as their ego-ideals, (6) as
a source for advice on voting, the father is singled
out by both sexes more often than the mother.[39] (This
latter finding by Greenstein seems to contradict
information given by adults on their parental influence).

The sources of apparent sex differences in adult
political behaviour have thier roots in early child-
hood socialization. Greenstein points out the dif-
ferent sex-dependent psychological development and
role-playing experienced by girls and boys in their
formative years. Referring to research on child
psychology, he points out that traits such as ag-
gressiveness, sociability, leisure and intellectual
interests take different forms, depending on the sex.
Boys, even in their early period (2 to 4 1/2 years
old) engage in more agressive behaviour than girls do.
Girls, on the other hand, exhibit a greater degree of
interest in establishing personal ties and social
interaction with others. The games which introduce
the child to different roles are different for boys
and girls. Boys imitate adult males, girls imitate

adult females. Different games have different rules and procedures. According to Piaget, games provide the child with the first opportunity to engage in regulative behaviour whereby democratic codes are learned.[40]

No serious attempts have been made to relate non-political role-performance by the child to his conception of political rules. Surely, this type of training is generalized by the child (Interpersonal Transfer Model) to apply to outside compliance systems. A child who is resentful in accepting the reward-sanction system induced by his peer group in game playing is likely to reject, at least psychologically, the consequences of a formal authority system within the school as well as outside it.

3. The Child's Political Cognitive Map

Cognitive processes have their larger effect on political efficacy, the child's ability to differentiate public authority figures in terms of their role-performance as distinct from their personality, to distinguish private from public sectors, to develop abstract political ideas, and to develop multiple orientations to the different levels of the political system.

(a) Subjective Involvement in Politics

Political efficacy, first used as an operational psychological concept by the Survey Research Center in Michigan, has three main components. First, as a norm, it describes the expectations political actors have as members of a democratic political system. Second, as a psychological disposition, it refers to the actor's ability "to internalize the expectation of competence that his political self confidence is not easily eroded."[41] Basically, this component identifies the ego involvement of the actor and his ability to reduce any cognitive dissonance arising from political behaviour. Third, as a behavioural manifestation, it describes the actors conduct in an attempt to influence and shape the actual courses of political events.[42]

In order to measure political efficacy, Easton and Dennis administered to a sample of elementary school children a questionnaire patterned after the SRC political efficacy questionnaire. It concentrates on the first two components. The third component of the efficacy dimension is neglected because of its inapplicability to children. It specifically deals with

the actual interaction process between ego and alter
in pure political contexts, e.g., voting, campaigning,
etc.

Four observable factors characterize political
efficacy examined in Easton's sample. These factors
are:

(1)   perception by the ego (i.e., political actor)
      that alter (i.e., ego's image of the authorities)
      is responsive to ego's cues;

(2)   the ability of the ego to understand in a
      reasonable manner the actor's intentions,
      structure and organization of the political
      process;

(3)   the ability of the ego to identify legitimate
      acts, such as voting, by means of which it would
      be possible to influence the course of political
      events;

(4)   the ego's ability to resist a fatalistic or
      apathetic attitude toward the government.[43]

As a dependent variable, political efficacy of
the child is a function of intelligence, social
position of the parents, age and sex. The findings
of Easton and Dennis reveal the following results:

(1) By grade three the child shows initial signs of a structural attitude toward the government. Although at this stage it is not likely that the child will engage himself in a conscious gathering of political information, it is significant to note that incidental learning within the home and the school has contributed to familiarity with political institutions.

(2) Political efficacy increases in intensity along the dimensions of grade levels. For example, only 16 per cent of all students in grade three exhibit high efficacy, as compared to 44 per cent, 48 per cent and 54 per cent in the 6th, 7th and 8th grade levels respectively.

(3) There is a positive relationship between I.Q. and political efficacy. As a predictor of political information, I.Q. denotes interest and exposure to political cues. Throughout grades 3 - 8 students with low I.Q. show low political efficacy. Those who are high on the I.Q. scale are also high on the efficacy level. This is particularly true between grades 5 - 8.

(4) As expected, there is a positive correlation between socio-economic status and efficacy.

Similarly, high status produces a higher level
of efficacy. However, greater differences ap-
pear between grade levels, rather than between
the three divisions of social class. For example,
43 per cent of those in grade 4 who were low on
the efficacy scale belong to high socio-economic
standing, compared to 70 per cent of the same
grade level who are low on both the socio-
economic and efficacy levels. Only 25 per cent
of them in grade 8 belong to both low categories
and 10 per cent of those in high socio-economic
standing score low on the efficacy scale. More-
over, calculation coefficients don't exceed
25 per cent in all cases and along all grades.

(5) Explanations of sex differences in terms of
efficacy fail to emerge. Whereas in adult
surveys 35 per cent of the men are efficacious
compared to 20 per cent of the women, in children
the efficacy levels differ among boys and girls
in the range of 2 per cent to 3 per cent. The
explanation behind marked differences between
adult men and women is mainly due to later
socialization which stresses the primary role of
the male. For this reason, women on the whole

are not interested in politics to the same
extent that men are. Research on voting behaviour
has substantiated this fact by showing that married
women often adopt their husband's partisan
choice.[44]

(b) The Child's Reactions to Authority Figures and
     Political Institutions

In the political efficacy study discussed above,
Easton and Dennis have tried to reveal the evaluational
aspect of orientation toward the government. Below,
the discussion will focus upon the pure informational
aspect of cognitive development. Here too, Easton and
Dennis, similar to Hess, Torney and others, are trying
to confirm their early hypothesis answering develop-
ment of political awareness among children within the
"community" level of the political system. In this
instance, cognitive development and school social-
ization are creating a type of support needed for the
future maintenance of the political system.

From the discussion so far it is correct to infer
that there are two initial points of contact between
the child and the political system. Firstly, the
child exhibits through his developmental process,
familiarity with the symbols of authority. In

particular he is able to identify the President, policeman, Congress and Supreme Court as key symbols in political life. Secondly, the child manages to extend his curiosity to gather information about different practices and institutions often referred to as the "government" in Easton's framework. In lower grades, children associated government with charismatic figures (Kennedy and Washington). In the primary grades, there is a low percentage of those identifying voting and Congress as institutional symbols of government. However, by the 5th grade the child begins to identify the Congress and voting as primary aspects of government. This shows a marked increase in acquisition of political information.

To test the crystallization of government as a concept, Easton, et. al., posed the following question to students in grades 2 to 8: "Some of you are not sure what the word government means. If you are not sure what the word government means put an X in the box below".[45] The findings indicate an increase in positive responses along grade levels. About 28 per cent of grade 2 answer that they have no idea what the word government means compared to 9.8 per cent of those in grade 8.

One element of paramount importance in the child's perception of government is that it has to do with law-making. Here too research reveals a greater knowledge of the functions of Congress, President and Supreme Court in law-making in upper and intermediate grades. Close to 80 per cent in grade 2 identify the President as law-maker, compared to 5.4 per cent in grade 8.[46]

The "role" as well as the "quality" of the government are revealed to be supportive too. For example, 80 - 84 per cent agree that the U.S. government usually acts in the best interest of its people; 70 - 77 per cent agree that the government ought to give money and food to people out of work; and only 19 - 22 per cent agree that the government should have more power over the people. Positive affect toward the quality of government is indicated by a high agreement on the question that "the government would help if he (the child) needed help".[47]

To summarize so far, research has shown the following results:

(1) The child's conception of government from a personal to an impersonal image develops as he matures. Because of the cognitive growth of the child, he is

able to distinguish the President as a person from the
President as a role-performer. (2) Generally speaking,
by the age of 12, the young child is capable of dif-
ferentiating between certain functions and aspects
of governmental operations. (3) The positive orien-
tations of the child are also felt in the larger
politico-economic sphere. Regardless of social
class standing, the young child condones a welfare
system whereby the government provides aid to the poor
and the unemployed. (4) Children develop affective
knowledge about political leaders prior to factual
information. Usually, there are favourable responses
which describe the leaders as benevolent and caring.
It is important to note in this regard that this
process is psychologically mitigated. Psychoanalytic
writings explain external identification as based on
object-relations with authority figures within primary
institutions such as the home or the school. (5) "In
general," according to Greenstein, "the more important
a political orientation is in the behaviour of adults,
the earlier it will be found in the learning of the
child."[48] While this comment puts emphasis upon
childhood socialization, nevertheless it implicitly

recognizes the likelihood of adult socialization.

(6) Children exhibit a hierarchy of political learning.
They first learn about the executive branch of the
government, followed by the legislative and judiciary
ones. Because of this hierarchy in the learning
process, children tend to place the Presidency in a
position superior to that of Congress. Hess and
Torney point out that through the application of the
Inter-personal Transfer Model the child uses the image
of the President in a functional way to generalize his
perception of the government as a whole. Likewise, he
derives some basic understanding of the citizen's
role from his own personal experiences with immediate
friends.

There is additional evidence that the pre-adult's
cognitive map develops beyond differentiation of
governmental from non-governmental objects, and the
different levels within the national government.
According to Jennings:

> It would follow that his (pre-adult's)
> cognitive development also leads to a
> distinction between and among various
> political systems and governmental levels.[49]

With reference to multiple levels of government
(international, national, state and local) the student
shows some sort of hierarchy in his political iden-
tification. The student orients himself first in
terms of international and national levels of govern-

ment, rather than in terms of state and local levels.
Fifty-three per cent of the students ranked inter-
national politics as more important than the remaining
three types. What is significant about the findings
is that those who orient themselves to international
affairs, also possess more factual knowledge about
world politics, public affairs and affective
evaluation of the U.N.

(c) Political Sophistication Among the Younger Children

Sigel reports political sophistication among
children in the realm of concrete, rather than ab-
stract thought. She notes, contrary to previous
comments on the naivete of children about politics,
that the child is able to perceive beyond the President
as a symbol of politics. In a sample of Negro children,
she discovers that it is possible for the child to
"associate the President with specific political
actions, stands, or cues."[50] The image of the President,
the issues facing him and the specific policies
enacted by him are among the crucial variables she
deals with in order to verify the extent of children's
awareness and political sophistication.

The overall image of the President is more

political in terms of issues than previous research
reveals. For example, when asked, with the absence
of specific political cues, "What can you remember
that President Kennedy did as a President?" about
75 per cent give answers indicating political actions.
Only 18 per cent mention him solely in terms of his
personal traits. Moreover, familiarity with foreign
relations issues and international events is highly
noticed from examining the children's responses.

Age and socio-economic status are related to
political sophistication in a somewhat ambiguous
manner. On the one hand Sigel's study seems to support
previous research which shows that children from
lower classes are less manipulative in their capacity
to associate policies and issues with office holders
than children from upper classes. When asked about
a way to remember the President, lower class children
resort to concrete symbols such as buying souveniers.
They rarely mention abstract symbols. Upper class
children, on the other hand, remember the President
in terms of his policies. But on one point the
author says that "political awareness doesn't seem
to be a function of social class", and she goes on to
say that "working class children--who usually tend to

show much less political interest than upper class
children--were politically aware,"[51] although not to
the same degree as upper class children.

Sigel doesn't offer any argument for the incon-
sistent remarks. It is possible to assume that socio-
economic standing which influences the children by
creating certain climates within the home, acts to
strengthen the child's beliefs on specific, rather than
general issues. The latter is a product of the school,
peer groups, exposure to mass media but not necessarily
the home. The role of the home seems to be weaker in
other domains. Idealization by the Negro child of
the President is based neither on father-child
relationship nor on egocentricism of the child.
Instead, the child identifies the President in terms
of group affiliation. Kennedy is remembered as
benevolent to Negroes in general, and as an initiator
of civil rights.

Age and political cognitions vary directly. The
eighth grade appears again to be of central importance
in molding the child's orientation, "The average
number of political issues recalled for the whole
population is 1.2. For the fourth grade it is .4
and for the sixth, .7, but for the eighth it is 1.4."[52]

From here on the cognitive development increases in less drastic form. There are two percentage points between tenth and twelfth grades in remembering political issues, for example.

(d) Emergence of Abstract Political Ideas

The discussion so far has centered around emergence of concrete and often simplistic political notions. Most often the children are not asked to express abstract and profound political ideas. This is probably a clue to the non-political image adults have formed of children. It should be pointed out that the work of child psychologists in cognitive development and the growth of logical reasoning is by now frequent. Few attempts have been made to apply these studies and trace the emergence of philosophical or sophisticated ideas among pre-adults. The author is aware of one study where a serious attempt is made to verify some of the hypotheses reached by child psychologists regarding concept formation and political ego-identity of the child.

The study of Adelson and O'Neil brings out clearly the chronological development of the child and its impact upon the growth of abstract political ideas. The authors rely mainly on depth interviews of 120

children distributed evenly on the age-range of 11,
13, 15 and 18.[53]

As it is stated by the authors, the purpose of
the study is to trace the "development, in adolescence,
of the sense of community."[54] By a sense of com-
munity, the authors include not only the political
structure known as government, but also include con-
cepts of justice, law, man's obligation to society
and the limits of political authority.

In spite of differences in the socialization
process due to sex, I.Q., and socio-economic status
reported earlier, the authors of this study find no
reason to isolate these variables in an independent
form. Age is singled out as the only relevant fac-
tor in this study. This is quite a departure from the
tradtional ecological approach. Here one should be
able to focus attention solely upon maturation and
cognition so as to understand existing limitations of
socialization theories. In other words, one would
assume that the limits to perform certain roles by
the child do exist, depending on his cognitive
ability.

Between the ages of 11 - 13, the authors report,
the child is engulfed with a sense of "personalism."

Concepts such as government, community, and society assume different meanings depending on the cognitive development of the child. To the child of age 11, the purpose of government is expressed in a personalized form, molded after his immediate environment. He fails at this stage to extend the responsibility of government to society as a whole, and he is also unaware of the consequences of governmental decisions. The government is seen as a prevention mechanism for disorder and chaos. A typical random response reported by the authors about an eleven year old describes the government as needed "to handle the state or whatever it is so it won't get out of hand..., (or) people might get mad or something."[55]

This one-sided and somewhat Hobbesian image of government is replaced by a more constructive and rational one by the time the child reaches the age of thirteen. His ego-involvement increases, thus causing a shift in emphasis from personalism to communitism. At 15, the child's identification with the community widens and he begins to recognize the effects of long-range political action. The immediate concern for the present is substituted for that of the future. Choosing education as "the public enterprise which

most directly links the generations to each other,"
young children see no sense of "continuity" in the
life of the community with education as one of its
main necessities. The older ones, on the other hand,
see education as a functional imperative toward sus-
taining a future society, and a prerequisite "to
becoming cosmopolitan." i.e., oriented to remote
social objects.

When faced with the task of contrasting the ob-
ligations of the state to the citizen, or vice versa,
the young adolescent resorts to authoritarian
solutions rather than to independent self-reached
judgements.

In the words of the authors:

> Younger adolescents are usually insensitive
> to individual liberties and opt for authori-
> tarian solutions to political problems -
> at the same time they are unable to achieve a
> differentiated view of the social order, and
> thus cannot grasp the legitimate claims of the
> community upon the citizen.[56]

A logical process in reasoning accompanies the
maturity of the child. First, he examines "the long
range implications of various courses of action", and
second, he shows a "readiness to deduce specific
choices from general principles".[57] The child thus
proceeds to consider circumstantial evidence for

specific situations after he has established a general
principle. For example, on the issue of private
property, the welfare of the community comes first,
and supercedes that of the individual. However, it
should be remembered that this "ethico-political"
principle is adopted by the child only after he
develops some sort of utility rationale based on
cost-reward analysis.

With this in mind, the child progresses to the
final stage of abstract political thinking. He
begins to evaluate the impact of law enforcement on
such notions as liberty and justice. When con-
fronted with a decision on whether or not personal
autonomy should be sacrificed for the sake of personal
or communal benefit, older children resist application
of law if it interferes with basic individual rights.
This leads the authors to comment that "there is a
gradual increase with age in the philosophical
principles for making political judgements".[58]

In spite of the child's maturation and the in-
fluences of non-familial agencies, the picture
conveyed to us so far by researchers on political
socialization is very static. The hypothesis that
socialization perpetuates the status quo seems to be

verified. "One of the most important factors making for resistance to social and political change," says Almond "is the conservatism of primary groups and the early socialization process."[59] The family and the school play a conserving role by continuously projecting through socialization of offspring archaic patterns of social and occupational status which in turn determine political orientations. Can we then infer that socialization, in the political sense, acts contrary to social change, bearing in mind that social change is an integral feature of a technological era which is inevitably experiencing discontinuities in value diffusion between generations? The fact that social change did take place and continues to do so suggests that the family and the school are not able to preserve--although trying very hard--traditional values which perpetuate old role structures characteristic of a once tradition-directed and inner-directed society, to use Reisman's phrases.

Although the purpose of this study is not to enumerate in detail the sources of cultural discontinuities which are affecting political socialization, the following section intends to reveal the nature and extent of disagreement between parents and their

offspring on political issues. This adds insight to
the apparent failure of primary institutions to cope
with value differences between generations.

C.   Parent-Child Disagreement

Any incongruency in attitudes between parents and
their offspring on social and political issues stems
from all or some of the following factors: (1) sudden
shifts in the country's political climate, due to
economic or political crises which are likely to have
differentiated impacts upon parents and children,
(2) changing patterns in child rearing practices, (3) change
in social mobility which many times affects the party
identification of the offspring, (4) rebellion from
parental authority, although admittedly this is not
a major source of parent-child disagreement on the
American scene, as Robert Lane and others point out,[60]
(5) influence of the peer group, mass media, school
curriculum and teacher's attitudes, (6) cognitive
growth, and (7) weak non-internalized values which
fail to stabilize and transmit incoming political cues.

This section deals with some of the above factors
and attempts to establish their validity with reference
to available empirical work. In particular, this
section tries to show the influence of the school and

the peer group upon rising parent-child disagreement on broad social and political issues.

The authors of a recent study claim that "the public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the U.S."[61] As such the family acts as one socializing agency, among many other agencies of socialization. It should be pointed out, with reference to the school, that its effect could be positive as well as negative. These points will be made clear in the coming discussion.

To test the influence of parents in transmitting political values to their offspring, the authors apply correlational techniques to measure the degree of parent-student agreement of the following four topics: party identification, attitudes towards the role of government in public and private life and to abstract tenets of democracy, evaluation of socio-political groupings, and political cynicism.

The only significant statistical agreement to emerge when the above issues are considered is the one related to party identification ($r_{tau} = .47$).[62] Expressed in percentage of total number of students:

> 59% of all students fell into the same broad category as their parents, and only 7% cross the sharp divide between the Republicans and Democrats.[63]

However, research also indicates that there is a generational difference in voting patterns between parents and offspring. There are 12 per cent more students who favour Independent standing compared to their parents. Defection to an Independent standing is distributed evenly among Republicans and Democrats. Postulating a cause behind this difference, the authors attribute it to the school, teachers and weakening influence of the parents.

On the issue of basic tenets of democracy, there is a low agreement with the children showing more liberal attitudes than their parents. For example, on the question whether or not "Legally elected Communists should be allowed to take office," the coefficient of correlation is .13; on the issue of whether or not "speakers against churches and religion should be allowed," the extent of correlation doesn't exceed .05. In an attempt to explain such low cor- relations, the authors refer to the low saliency of these issues: "Indeed, one might question whether the two statements represent issues at all, as the public normally conceives of issues," and the authors add "It is also possible that abstract issues such as

freedom of speech and press are usually difficult to assess when compared to concrete and salient issues."[64]

The authors give no absolute percentage figures to indicate the exact portion of students tolerating freedom of speech and acceptance of democratic processes. For this reason, I find it appropriate at this stage to refer to the famous Purdue study performed by Remmers and his associates. According to the Purdue study, 41 per cent of pre-adults disagree with basic freedom of the press, 34 per cent believe that the government should have the power to prevent some people from making public speeches; 34 per cent would deny citizens the right to circulate petitions.[65]

There is no doubt that the figures quoted above shed some doubt on the basic values transmitted by the primary institutions of society. The search for an adequate explanation of these rather high percentages leads one to look for the influence of the larger socio-political and economic environment, in particular the failure of the political system to encourage the development that Verba Almond calls the "participant citizen."

The study by Jennings and Niemi also shows a low degree of agreement between students and parents on

evaluations of social groupings and political cyn-
icism. The degree of agreement between parents and
children on major ethnic, racial and economic groupings
within society is reflected in the following figures:

Group	Parent-Student Agreement
Catholics	.36
Southerners	.30
Labour Unions	.28
Negroes	.26
Jews	.22
Whites	.19
Protestants	.15
Big Business	.12

In the above figures, the highest correlation
coefficient, .36, is low compared to .59 shown in
the case of party identification cited earlier. It
is interesting to note that agreement on the saliency
of Big Business as an important social grouping is
the lowest. One is led to wonder how it is possible
that within a corporate society where Big Business
plays a major role in molding the lives of all citizens,
in particular the working-class man, it still has such
low visibility?

A partial answer to this lies in the type of
socialization the child acquires in the early for-
mative years within the elementary school. Hess and
Torney show that the child is not taught to discriminate

the intricacies of political decision-making.[66] Pressure

and interest groups are rarely dealt with in civics

curriculum. According to the authors, "an examination

of the (statistical) means shows that children don't

distinguish among the power of big companies, churches,

rich people and the average voter."[67] To reiterate

what was said earlier, it is obvious that the high

school, similar to the elementary school teachers, is

indulging mainly in transmitting legalistic and for-

mal information, thus avoiding discussion revolving

around controversial topics such as the informal

pressure applied by big business to implement certain

policies.

On the other hand, the reason that Protestants

and whites are not salient is because, according to

the authors, they are:

> ... extremely inclusive categories and among
> large sectors of the public, may simply not be
> cognized or treated in everyday life as groupings
> highly differentiated from society in general.
> They are in a sense, too enveloping to be
> taken as differentiated attitude-objects. If
> they do not serve as significant attitude
> objects, the likelihood of parent-to-child
> transmission would be dampened.[68]

It is obvious, from the data presented, that minority

and ethnic groupings are highly visible on the

American scene. One could argue safely that it is this

ethnic and racial identification reinforced by religious affiliation, which obstructs to a great extent the emergence of polarized or distinct dividing class lives based on economic interests.

The fourth dimension explored by the authors is that of political cynicism. On the whole, the parents proved to be more cynical than the children. The low degree of cynicism among the children is compensated by other socializing agencies such as the school and news media which play a central role in formulating the world view of the child. In spite of frequent discussions on political topics within the home, the correlation co-efficient measuring parent-child agreement didn't exceed 18 per cent. The presence of substantial political cynicism among the adults, and its low magnitude among the offspring is an indication that certain adult political socialization is capable of transmitting new values that are alien to childhood experiences and to the home environment. In concluding their discussion on cynicism, the authors say:

> It may be that the child acquires a minimal set
> of basic commitments to the system and a way of
> handling authority situations as a result of
> early experiences in the family. But it appears
> also that this foundation from which arise widely
> diverse value structures and that parental
> values are extremely variable and often feeble
> guides as to what the pre-adult values will be.[69]

The above quotation undoubtedly negates some of the
psychoanalytical models adopted by Hess, Torney and
Easton concerning authority transferences. According
to Froman, in his criticism of the authority trans-
ference hypothesis in socialization research, reliance
solely on psychoanalytic explanations (1) obscures
the influence of other socializing agencies, (2) doesn't
account for the specific authority relationships
between parents and offsprings and the presence of
disagreement on political issues, and (3) it doesn't
give an adequate description of the assimilation
process and logical connections between the different
components of attitudes.[70]

A final important conclusion reached by the
authors of this study highlights the authority struc-
ture within the family and its influence on role
adoption by the offspring. Attachment to the parents
is not a function of role imitation. Similarly, they
find that power-structure within the family has little
explanatory utility "when laid against parent-to-student
transmission patterns."[71] But the authors go on to
sound a cautionary note by saying:

> This does (not) mean that these characteristics
> are unimportant for the political socialization
> of the young. It does mean that they are of
> little help in trying to account for the
> differentiated patterns of the parent-student
> congruencies.[72]

Jennings is also unclear in his remarks about the parent's role as a socializing agent. With reference to the level of the parent's education and the child's political interest, there is always a positive correlation between the two. But instead of getting an increase in correlation as the parent's educational level increases, there is a decrease, although it remains in the positive range. Consider his own words.

> Significantly, however, the relationship
> declines as parental education increases,
> the gammas being .38 (elementary), .26 (some
> high school), .21 (high school graduate) and
> .18 (some college or more). Thus it seems
> likely that parental education, or rather,
> the concomitants of education does
> affect the linkage between general political
> interest and system-level saliency, but that
> it does not erase the tie.[73]

The mother, as a source of cue-giving in the home, seems to affect in a most significant and consistent way the student who views politics as having low-saliency. Hence "those with mothers of low level of education... tend to be affected (negatively) by their cosmopolitan-local orientations."[74] In considering both parents and offspring on their interests in international, national and state and local politics, the data shows disagreement almost on all ratings. The offspring rate international politics as the most

salient, followed by national, state and local. For

the parents it is local, state, national and inter-

national politics in that order of their saliency. ·

Jennings admits the difficulty in building a model

for political socialization which explains attitude

formation with respect to the life cycle. However,

he poses some explanations for the incongruency of

parent-child attitude which are reminiscent of Hyman's

findings to be discussed in a later part of this

section. The environmental impact and the shift

in attitudes is illustrated in the following

quotation:

> ...the high school seniors - representing a
> cohort with post-World War II birth dates -
> have undergone a quite different set of social-
> ization experiences with respect to orient-
> ations to political domains than was true of
> earlier generations. It is commonly assumed
> that the post WWII generation is being
> molded toward a greater awareness of and
> involvement in larger geo-political domains,
> not the least reason being a figuratively
> shrinking world and threat of world
> conflict. In short, one would expect
> generational changes currently to favour
> a more cosmopolitan outlook among the young.
> Both the life cycle and the generational
> model augur for greater cosmopolitanism
> among pre-adults than adults.[75]

The optimism of Jennings is not documented con-

vincingly by available data. On the contrary there is

evidence which shows that the high school system has

perpetuated a segregated social structure. As Coleman
points out, the creation of sub-culture within the
high school system has been detrimental to effective
politicization.

The peer group within the high school is an
important factor in understanding the declining
influence of the parents. Ziblat and Levin provide
two separate studies to demonstrate the peer group in-
fluence through the school. While Levin's study
focuses attention on voting as an indicator of political
attitudes, Ziblat investigates deeper political
orientations such as the pre-adults degree of trust
in the social system.

Levin's research shows, that although social
status of the parents and their party preference
act to influence the offspring's political orientation,
there are cases when the offspring deviates from his
parents. In the sample studied, Levin discovers that
25 per cent of those with Democratic fathers defected
to the Republican party, while only 7 per cent of the
Republicans defected to the Democratic party. This
defection takes place independent of social status.
The explanation behind these results lies in the
following: (1) the high school climate which acts
to transmit the dominant political sentiment of the

community - in this case the high school is located
in a Republican settlement, (2) the political
climate of the country which reflected a Republican
preference through the charisma of Eisenhower, af-
fected the choice of some offspring regardless of the
family's party preference, (3) the influence of the
school is significant among those who were alienated
from their parents. The peer group, Republican in
nature, acted as a substitute for the family's
political influence.[76]

Ziblat's findings add more weight to Longton's
emphasis on informal processes within the school
structure. Briefly stated, Longton's findings show
that political socialization among high school
children of different social classes acts to transmit
mainly the values from upper to lower class children.
Only in homogeneous groups does he find reinforcement
of lower class children. This is in line with
reference group theory which states that lower social
classes strive to identify with upper classes. It
often happens, however, that lower-class children
are excluded from informal "in-groups" because of
value and background differences. This produces
political cynicism which is demonstrated by Ziblat's
study.[77]

Ziblat finds that it is not the parent's level of education which directly affects the child's trust in the social system. Rather, it is his integration with the school system. A positive significant correlation exists between participation in informal school activities and social trust. Hence, because of the apparent exclusion of lower-class children from school activities, the lower class child develops cynical attitudes toward the teachers, the school system and society in general. Eventually, this could lead to his dropping out of school.[78]

Further evidence about peer influence is provided by Hyman. He refers to a cluster of writings which show that as the child matures the school and peers become more important as socialization agencies in relation to the family. This is evidenced as early as grade 4 to 5.[79]

In a longtitudinal study conducted in 1952 and again in 1954, the relative position of friends within the school increased as a reference group compared to that of the family. Concentrating on 9th and 10th grades in the first phase of the experiment, and again on the same sample when the children reached 11th and 12th grades, Hyman found that although political

discussions between the parents and children increased with age "the direction of such discussion increasingly goes to peers rather than to parents."[80]

Newcomb's famous Bennington study of college students demonstrates the increasing influence of the college climate as the student progresses in his college career. Whereas, in the first two years the students' attitudes coincide with those of their parents, Newcomb found that by the time the student reaches the third and fourth year he has adopted the attitude of his peer group.[81]

The influence of the peer group extends beyond the purely political domain. In a study conducted by Hartshorn and May, the moral influence of peers increases with age. This is not to indicate that the influence of the family has been eliminated. On the contrary, a hierarchy of reference groups occupies the life space of the individual composed of parents, friends, teachers, and occupational groups.[82]

Conclusions

The following is a list of conclusions drawn from the above survey.

(1) Throughout this chapter, politicization of the

child is viewed in terms of two main organizing
principles: agencies of socialization and cognitive
growth. These factors include the family, school,
and socio-economic standing as main socializing
agencies, both primary and secondary, and sex, age, and
personality development as the main features of cog-
nitive growth. In addition to a discussion of social-
ization as a process which facilitates the transmission
of similar political values across generations,
socialization is also considered as a process conducive
to social change whereby parental values fail to pass
from one generation to another. Hence, in line with
Easton's most recent writing on the topic, the study
of political socialization deals not only with system
stability of maintenance, but also with change resulting
from acquiring different values toward the political
system, or failure to transmit existing ones.

(2) With reference to cognitive growth and personality
development, the following chronological sequence
takes place. Research shows that by the age of seven,
or even prior to this, the child develops a sense of
belonging to the "political community", to use Easton's
phrase. While it may have been inferred by students
of socialization that this incidental learning which

first takes place in the home and the early elementary

school years is the most important type of learning,

the evidence in this chapter shows that parent-child ·

agreement weakens as the child matures. This implies

that exposure to non-familial primary groups, e.g., his

ability to reach independent judgements, accounts

for some of the later incongruencies in political

values among parents and their offspring.

By the age of nine, it is reported that the child

begins to associate the community with symbols and

persons, from the political sphere. Non-personal

symbols such as Congress and voting emerge among

fifth graders to be important symbols of government.

By the age of 12-13, the child manages to establish

some sort of intellectual ties with the socio-political

sphere. At this stage, the child shows a noticeable

sense of responsibility and moral obligation built

on acceptance of rules and norms. By the time the

child reaches the 8th grade, a major portion of his

political socialization has been accomplished. From

here on he moves to develop more sophisticated pol-

itical ideas derived from abstract rather than concrete

thinking.

While the cognitive developmental model explains

a great deal of the processes which take place within

the early phase of socialization, nevertheless other

developmental factors related to personality mediate such a process. This is particularly true in relation to the moral judgement of the child.

In the early formative years, the ego-centricism of the child passes through three phases of maturation. First, the child learns to use his motor skills in an asocial way, devoid of any sense of obligation and understanding of social codes. At this stage the child relies mainly on his manipulative skills. Secondly, the child develops a unilateral acceptance of rules and obligations in his dealings with sig-nificant others. The ego of the child is still self-centered. He relies mainly on imitation in per-forming the different roles facing him. In the final stage, the child starts to differentiate with the aid of a somewhat developed cognitive structure - a judgement of what is right and wrong. Acceptance and deference to authority is no longer unilateral; it is accompanied with expectations of reciprocity. At this stage, in his capacity as role performer the child expects the adult figure to reciprocate, whether it be reward, punishment or exchange of information.

In light of the above discussion, it is too simple to say that the child projects his evaluation of public authority figures as a result of his experience

with authority in the primary institutions like the
family and the school. One should specify the par-
ticular age sequence under consideration and the .
intervening psychological variables which mediate
between the stimuli and responses emanating from
the child. Although at the primary level, the child
tends to view public authority figures in a benevolent
way, research bears out the fact that as the child
matures and develops his moral judgement and dis-
criminatory power, his positive image of public
figures is coloured with critical evaluation.

What this brief discussion suggests is that
although the child is influenced by different reference
groups within and without his primary groups, his
individual psychological make-up plays an important
part in helping him to assimilate the learned material
which he is exposed to during the socialization period.
(3) The place of the family and the school as
socializing agencies is particularly important for
acquiring political attitudes because of two main
reasons. First, each one of these agencies provides
the child with basic participatory experiences as a
member of a decision-making group. Families which
practice a democratic form of decision-making whereby
the child is given adequate opportunity to express

himself produce a better citizen in terms of his
future political participation. Similarly, schools
which encourage group participation eventually con-
tribute to a politicized citizen. Secondly, of
particular interest is the influence the authority
structures within these organizations have upon the
character of the child. Authoritarian parents and
teachers tend to produce low self esteem in the child
and make him dependent on authority figures to reach
solutions to certain problems. For this reason, public
authority figures appeal to adults who have been
socialized in their formative years in regimentation,
both within the school and the home.

Parental influence ranks the highest in partisan
identification. This is not to imply that the child
who adopts the party label of his parents grows up
to belong to the same party solely because of parental
party identification. Although both parents and
offspring belong to the same party each one's inter-
pretation of the party ideology could be different.
Other primary groups intervene to make the process
of identification more meaningful. Those groups are
discussed in Chapter One. They include occupational,
educational, and other groups. The family's influence
on the other political issues seems to be much less.

Whereas the family transmits general orientations to political and social life, the school transmits the content of some of these orientations. When one reinforces the other, there seems to be a cumulative effect upon the political attitudes of the child. In the case of cross-pressure, whether it originates inside the home, or between the school and the home, the political attitudes of the child tend to be unstable.

(4) Social class correlates positively with political efficacy and partisan identification. Children from upper classes show a greater involvement with politics and ability to change the course of events than do lower class children. The same observation applies when a comparison between intelligent to less intelligent children is made. Partisan identification has traditionally been divided along class lines, with more working class families belonging to the Democratic party than to the Republican.

(5) Incongruency in political attitudes between parents and their offspring is due in part to the school's influence in the adolescent years, and to the peer group. As the child advances in age, research

has shown that non-familial primary groups become more dominant in shaping his attitudes.

Hence while the school plays a supportive role · in the formative years of socialization, its role changes by the time the child enters the junior high, or high school. The point to be made here is that early socialization doesn't seem to have impenetrable deep-rooted effects such as students of children's socialization tend to make us believe.

(6) What distinguishes the younger child from the adolescent and the adult are the few role-demands facing him. The younger child is surrounded by few socializing agents with the family and school playing major roles. Therefore, it is not expected that cross-pressures are regular features during the formative years.

In the coming chapter, the attention will focus on the Canadian child between the ages of 8 - 14. The main socializing contexts to be considered are the cognitive growth of the child, his family and the school.

CHAPTER 3

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

I. Introduction

The present chapter presents empirical evidence related to the theoretical points made in Chapter II. In this brief introduction to the chapter, the methodology employed in the empirical research and the principal conclusions which spring from it are summarized.

The empirical evidence for this study was obtained from two questionnaires administered to respondents in Pleasantside, Ioco, and Anmore elementary schools in the Port Moody area, British Columbia.[1] One questionnaire was given to the children in a classroom setting and the other was sent to the parents, via the children. All teachers who came in contact with the children participating in the survey were involved in answering the adult questionnaire. Because there were only six teachers, it was not possible to infer meaningful statistical generalizations regarding the teachers' attitudes. The teachers' questionnaires were used for interpretive purposes only.

The children's questionnaire was administered by me in the classroom. It was explained to the children that their responses would not have any effect upon their grades and that they should feel free to write whatever answers they desired. By creating an informal atmosphere, the children were more likely to give a true expression of their opinions. Generally speaking, the questionnaire of the child was constructed in such a manner so as to elicit responses indicating to what extent the child understood the (1) role of public authority figures such as the Prime Minister, premier, mayor, etc. (2) symbols of government, (3) role of the government in securing basic needs for the citizen, (4) Canada's image as a member of the U.N., (5) issues of war and peace, (6) national unity, and (7) partisan information. Few psychological aspects of the child were dealt with, such as his idealization, extent of political efficacy, ego-involvement, and sense of right and wrong.[2]

The adult questionnaire, a combination of the standard questionnaire used by the Survey Research Center at Michigan and other items included in different studies on political attitudes, was set up with some modification so as to suit the specific features of the Canadian scene. The questionnaire

was aimed at revealing the parents' political efficacy,
feeling about national unity, reaction to politics,
and the degree of interaction between parents and
children. In addition to material related to politi-
cization of children, the adult questionnaire sought
the parent's evaluation of national, provincial
and local governments and their ability to retain
basic information about political parties and their
respective leaders. On non-political issues, the
adult questionnaire tried to reveal information about
authoritarianism and basic matters related to freedom
of the press and free speech.

Both questionnaires included open-ended items
as well as multiple choice and "Yes" or "No" answers.
Frequently, I found it necessary to read the questions
orally for the primary grades (3 and 4) and explain
certain terms which were unfamiliar to them. Because
of the length of the questionnaire and in order to
save time and attain accuracy in calculations, the
data were transferred to I.B.M. cards with the aid of
a code book set up for this purpose. Computations of
percentages and frequencies were performed by a
program on I.B.M. 360.[3]

With regard to the children's portion of the
survey, the main variables considered were social

class, age, and sex. An overall breakdown of the
sample in terms of these variables is presented below.

TABLE 1

BASIC DATA

Grade Level	Number of Students	I.Q.	Number of Students
3	36	Below Average	14
4	34	Average	89
5	38	Above Average	58
6	27	Unavailable Information	7
7	33		168
	168		

Sex		Social Class	%
Male	89	Up to $6,000 (Class I)	34
Female	78	$6,000-$10,000 (ClassII)	45
Unavailable Information	1	$10,000 + (ClassIII)	17
	168	Unavailable Information	4
			100.0

An extended description of the methodology, the
sample, and the features of the area containing the
sample is found in Appendix I.

The principal conclusions which are derived from
this empirical research, and which are documented
and discussed in the body of this chapter, may be
summarized at the outset as follows:

(1) With reference to international events, the child
shows a striking concern for world events even though
he lacks adequate information upon which to base his
judgement.

(2) Knowledge about the United Nations as a political
institution is affected by cognitive processes,
social class and sex. Children from upper grades and
socio-economic status exhibit a greater knowledge and
objectivity about the role of the U.N. than the child
from lower grades and socio-economic status. In line
with findings about national politics boys know more
than girls about the United Nations. This is in
agreement with the conclusions summarized in Chapter Two
regarding the child's knowledge about national and
local politics.

(3) The moral judgement of the child on political
issues seems to be mostly affected by his cognitive
growth. Children from upper grades discriminate
political conflicts after evaluation of available
evidence which in turn implies the presence of a

more sophisticated, logical process when compared to
lower grade children. Social class has some bearing
upon the moral judgement. The contrast is particularly
apparent when the two extreme cases, Classes I and III,
are considered. (See Appendix II, Table 10).

(4) Regardless of age, sex or socio-economic status,
Canada's image is perceived in a highly positive
manner by the majority of children. This is not
necessarily the case with the parents. Although, on
the whole the parents agree with Canada's image as
a peacemaker, quite a few express critical opinions
about this image. (See Appendix II, Table 1).

(5) Concerning the issue of separatism, parents as
well as their offspring agree on a united Canada with
Quebec and British Columbia being integral parts of it.

(6) In conjunction with the previous remark, there is,
contrary to what the average person expects, a strong
national identity both among parents as well as their
offspring.

(7) Cognitive processes bear directly upon partisan
information, understanding of public roles, and the
differentiation between the private and public sectors.

(8) There is a lack of political cynicism among
parents and children. Politicians are viewed by

parents in a favourable way.

(9) The roles of public authority figures as well as the government are highly approved by the children.

(10) Political efficacy among children is determined by social class as well as by grade level. In spite of what seems to be highly politicized parents (See Appendix II), efficacy does not emerge in a modal form until at least grade seven. This strengthens the hypothesis put forward by Hess and Torney which states that political efficacy among children is not directly dependent upon the family.

It is clear by now that certain conclusions reached by researchers on children and politics, mainly in the United States, are also valid for the Canadian sample. Moreover, this study shows that the political world of the child is a complex one. It involves him with international affairs and a deep concern for a perpetual conflict. The political attitudes of the child are organized in a hierarchal form with international events ranking at the top. This is in line with Jennings' argument about adolescents' political attitudes.

No interpretation of the data is attempted in terms of either the theory or the models discussed in

Chapter Two. This is the topic of discussion for the next and final chapter.

For the sake of clarity, this chapter will be organized in terms of the child's orientation to two levels of government: international and national levels. Under these main headings the chapter takes the following structure:

II. <u>International Level</u>

    A. Introduction

    B. Subjective involvement in world politics

    C. Moral judgement on political issues

    D. Attitudes toward the U.N.

III. <u>National Level</u>

    A. Canada's image and feeling toward nationalism

    B. Understanding of the "government" as a concept

    C. Identification of the legislative process

    D. Differentiation between the private and public sectors

    E. Partisan information

    F. Evaluation of public authority

    G. Perception of public roles

    H. Political cynicism and idealization of the child

    I. Assessment of the government's role

    J. Political efficacy.

II. The Child's Attitude toward International Affairs

A. Introduction

The major portion of research on politics and children has concentrated so far on discovering the child's attitudes toward national and local politics.[4] Few attempts have been made to extend political socialization research of attitudes to world politics. This is probably due to the simplistic image adults have of children as being non-political. Exceptions to this are shown in two recent studies, discussed in Chapter Two, one by Jennings[5] and the other by Sigel.[6] Although these studies are not intended to deal directly with the child's involvement with international affairs, there is enough evidence to show that the child's curiosity extends beyond his immediate and even national boundaries. Jennings' investigation of the "Pre-adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government" - international, national, state, and local levels - reveals that pre-adults are attracted to international politics to a greater degree than they are to national, regional, or local politics. Cosmopolitanism (involvement with international and national affairs) of the pre-adult is found to vary directly with intelligence, cognitive growth, and to

some extent with the mother's educational attainment.

When compared to their parents, children are found to

be more cosmopolitan. This, according to Jennings, .

is due to generational effects and life cycle of

the parents.[7] Sigel's results, on the other hand, are

drawn from an elementary school sample which approximates

the one discussed in this chapter. She too points to

the child's pre-occupation with international affairs,

mainly with issues of conflict.

> Children's concern for peace and sensitivity
> to the tensions on the international scene
> were marked. There is no doubt that even
> young children were aware that they were
> living in troubled times full of international
> conflicts and dangers of war. Foreign
> affairs and peace together were mentioned
> more frequently than any other issues.[8]

A detailed examination of the child's reaction

to international affairs will be undertaken in the

following section. To begin with, the discussion

presents data which portrays the child's involvement

in world affairs.

B. Subjective Involvement in World Politics

Turning to the findings of this study in the

Port Moody area, Sigel's observations seem to be

verified in the results reported below. The concern

with issues of war and peace is reflected even in

responses by the Port Moody children to a question

of non-political nature. When asked to recall an
interesting story they had read about, seen on
television, or heard over the radio, the majority of
those children giving answers at all mention international
events. Fourteen per cent of the total sample
mention political items out of which 11 per cent recall
news items related to international conflicts.
Likewise, in an answer to two successive items which
follow on the questionnaire - "Can you think of a
news story which made you feel angry?" and "Can you
think of a news story which made you feel happy?" -
19% of the total sample refer to sad war stories, in
particular to the Vietnam conflict, 10 per cent report
happy news stories which reflect hope for ending
international conflicts, especially the Vietnam war.

A representative sample by grade levels of
children's responses to open-ended questions related
to news stories are presented below.

(a)   A third grade boy recalls a news story which "was
      about war". A girl from the same grade is
      saddened by reading about "two countries fighting
      for no reason."

(b)   A fourth grade girl remembers a news story "about
      a war and some children getting bombed." Another
      girl from the same grade mentions listening to
      a "news broadcast of the war in North Vietnam."

(c) An interesting news story to a fifth grade boy is the one about " who will be the Government?" To another boy from the same grade "the tax hike" makes him angry. To a third boy from the same grade the news that "French and English in Canada were fighting about the languages," is a source of anger. A girl from the same grade level would feel happy "when the wars were over."

(d) A series of quotations from children in grade six demonstrate the involvement of the child with international affairs. "Taking pictures of the North Vietnamese soldiers in Hue," or, "a front page story showing the U.S. trying to get back their embassy", or, "when Korea accused the ship Pueblo of being in territorial waters." These "interesting news stories" are matched by expression of concern about the war. A sixth grade girl is saddened because "that war (Vietnamese) was declared by the U.S." Another boy expresses a similar feeling because "the U.S. was spending so much money on war." Finally, a sixth grade boy feels happy upon reading about "a victory for the U.S. in the Vietnam war."

(e) To a seventh grade boy, "the story of the new Prime Minister," was an interesting news item. A girl from the same grade felt sorry because she read stories about "wars and nobody doing much about this or even caring about it." Another girl with similar feeling said with anger "Just hearing about wars and fighting and killing made me mad, why no Peace!!!" A boy from the same grade feels happy upon reading about "the end of the Middle-East war because I feel war is unnecessary."[9]

These quotations, while they don't describe accurately the inner psyche of the child, show, if anything, a deep concern for international conflicts. It is significant that more sad news stories are reported by children than happy news stories. This

is an indication that the child's cognitive map is filled not only with recollections from Little Red Riding Hood, but also with the harsh realities of life.

The awareness of the third and seventh graders differs in scope and specificity. Although children from all grades refer to wars as interesting news items, the third grader talks about wars in general, while the seventh grader names a specific war, the participants involved in it, and even expresses an opinion blaming one side or the other. The ability of the child to deduce specific conclusions from general principles as he matures cognitively is in line with Piaget's argument on logical thinking of the child, and O'Neil's and Andelson's[10] discussion on the growth of political ideas among pre-adults.

The extent of the child's ego-involvement with the world around him is probed by posing the following question to him, with no political cues: "If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make?" Of the total sample, 48 per cent give political answers revolving around ending wars, poverty and hunger. The distribution of responses is as follows: 31 per cent are for ending all wars; 12 per cent are for ending poverty; 12 per cent are for ending prejudices.

Self-centered responses characterize the answers of the low elementary grade student. He wants to change the world so as to make things easier for himself. The child's ego-involvement is inwardly oriented. Many at the lower grades prefer "to keep the world as it is." They show no sense of the future and relatedness to the larger community. Nevertheless, sociocentric attitudes begin to emerge in grade five, and take on a definite outward orientation by the time the child reaches grade seven.

The above attitude toward changing the world in a political sense seems to prevail regardless of age, sex, or social class. Of the girls, 56.4 per cent report a desire to change the world in a political sense, compared to 42 per cent of the boys. It is surprising that a higher percentage of girls express political answers than boys. This is probably due to the inclusion of moral responses in political category answers, whereby girls tend to give more favourable responses than do boys.

With reference to social class, there is a definite relationship between the political development of the child and his social position. Similar to adult political behaviour, the child's society, at

least on the dimension of political change, reflects the characteristics of adult behaviour.   Children from lower or working class families find it difficult to extend their involvement beyond their immediate surroundings. According to Hyman and Sheastly,[11] the lower-class citizen is restricted by his environment, inside as well as outside the home. Child rearing practices of lower-class families foster emphasis on strict discipline, low motivation, and narrow involvement in outside family affairs. Although this may be one factor in explaining responses due to class differences, it is not the only one. Tables #2 and #3 below show that in addition to social class, cognitive growth accounts for a large portion of the child's behaviour at this early stage. This ability to discriminate world problems and suggest solutions to such problems is dependent upon the child's ability to reason. Clearly the responses of the sixth and seventh grades as compared to the third and fourth grades provide evidence that political development is a function of cognitive ability. Considered jointly, social class and age produce a significant effect upon the child's feeling of involvement in political events. A more direct

discussion of the child's source of political ef-
ficacy - his ability to affect the course of political
 events - will be deferred to another section of this
chapter.   There, one also finds that social class and
age have a great bearing on positive involvement and
belonging to the main stream of political life.

TABLE 2

RESPONSES BY SOCIAL CLASS TO QUESTION
CONCERNING HOW THE WORLD SHOULD BE CHANGED

Social class	(a) Total number	(b) Number answered	Total %	(c) %Political answer	%Non-political answer	%No change answer	(d) Didn't answer
I	58	42	100	50	19	31	28%
II	76	56	100	68	13	19	36
III	27	24	100	75	8	7	17

(a) and (b) provide bases for calculating percentages in
(d) and (c) respectively.

(c) % based on the number of children giving answers,
excluding those who didn't answer.

(d) % based on all cases within each social class
division.

TABLE 3

RESPONSES BY GRADE LEVEL INDICATING
PREFERENCE FOR POLITICAL CHANGE

Grade level	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
% giving definite response	14	50	55	56	79
%giving no answer	28	12	39	26	12

The findings reported in Tables #2 and #3 are related to interest in politics. One would expect the more cosmopolitan the student is, to use Jennings' phrase, the more likely he is to be exposed to mass media. Table #4 below presents findings consistent with other research on politicization of children as well as the data presented in the previous two tables. The child from upper grades comes in contact with the mass media more often than the lower grade child. This is also true for the three social classes, namely, that upper class children are exposed to information more than lower class children.

TABLE 4

EXPOSURE OF THE CHILD TO MASS MEDIA
BY AGE, SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS

Last time read a news story	Grade Level					Social Class			Sex	
	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	I	II	III	M	F
% Yesterday	25	50	48	52	61	45	46	56	52	38
Number of cases	36	34	38	27	33	58	76	27	89	78

Exposure by sex is somewhat consistent with the findings summarized by Hyman. He reports that boys are more likely to interest themselves with politics and current events than girls who are usually interested in "home-type literature."[12] Hence, interest in world events is directly related to exposure to mass media. Both exposure and interest depend on cognitive growth, social class and sex.

C. Moral Judgement of the Child

The children respond in a greater degree to more specific and direct questions. On the issue of war, they were asked three interrelated questions: firstly, if they remember a war, secondly to name the participants involved, and thirdly to express an opinion

about the war, e.g., "Whose fault is it do you think that these countries are fighting each other?" With age, social class, and sex controlled, the answers from the entire sample are as follows with respect to the first two items.

TABLE 5

ABILITY TO REMEMBER AND NAME A WAR

Remembered a war %		Named a Specific War %	
Yes	86%	Vietnam War	56%
No	10	Previous Wars	5
Didn't remember	4	Israeli-Arab War	2
		Didn't name any	36
	100%		99%

(Number of cases - 168)

Regarding the third question in the series, 52 per cent of the sample express an opinion as to which country is at fault. With respect to the Vietnam war, the choices are: 26 per cent blame both sides; 8 per cent blame the U.S.; 7 per cent blame North Vietnam; 1 per cent blame the National Liberation Front; 8 per cent blame South Vietnam as

well as Vietnam in general; 1 per cent blame China;
1 per cent blame nobody. The remaining 3 per cent
refer to the Israeli-Arab war, with the blame dis-
tributed evenly; 48 per cent express no opinion on
any war.

From the overall picture presented in Table #5
it is significant that 63 per cent of the entire
sample do name actual conflicts, with some dating
back about fifty years to the First World War. The
distribution by social class, and age is presented
below.

TABLE 6

ABILITY TO REMEMBER AND NAME A WAR
BY SOCIAL CLASS

Can Remember a War			Can Name Countries Involved			
Social class	Yes	No	Can't Rememb.%	Vietnam war	Other wars	Israeli- Arab war	Don't know
I	78%	15%	7%	48%	5%	2%	45%
II	88	10	2	55	7	1	37
III	96	-	4	81	4	4	11

Table #6 shows that the child's level of political
information is related to his social class. Higher
social position accounts for a greater and more

specific level of knowledge. One would also expect
to find, because of cognitive development, a positive
relationship between age and political knowledge.

The figures presented below show a marked decline
with "cannot remember" answers, and increase in the
percentage able to recall one dominant conflict,
namely, the Vietnam war.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN UNABLE
TO NAME COUNTRIES AT WAR

Grade Level	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
% Cannot remember	78	30	29	35	12

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO
CHOOSE THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

Grade Level	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
% ~~Cannot remember~~ Viet Nam War	14	56	66	65	84

Simultaneously, with an increase in the level of
his political information, the child develops a notion
of justice, a sense of right and wrong. From the
figures presented earlier, related to blaming one

side or the other, one would notice that, of the
greatest majority of those children who answer, about
26 per cent put the blame on both sides. Only a   ·
maximum of 8 per cent put the blame on one side or
the other. The distribution of percentages is no
accident. The moral judgement of the child is,
according to Piaget, a function of cognitive devel-
opment. Three main chronological `stages characterize
the growth of the idea of justice;

> One period, lasting up to the age of 7-8 during
> which justice is subordinated to adult authority;
> a period contained approximately between 8-11;
> and which is that of progressive equalitarianism;
> and finally, a period which sets in toward
> 11-12, and during which purely equalitarian
> justice is tempered by consideration of equity.[13]

With reference to the first period, it hardly
applies in the sample discussed here since the average
age of children in grade three approximates $8-8\frac{1}{2}$.
Hence, the two remaining stages should be disconnected
from the responses given by the children. The table
below reaffirms the findings of Piaget - although he
doesn't deal with political topics - and those of
O'Neil and Adelson reported earlier.

TABLE 9

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF JUSTICE

Grade Level	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
% Blaming Both Sides	56	80	47	41	29
% Blaming North Vietnam	-	5	6	18	29
%Blaming U.S.	-	10	12	24	21

Table #9 shows that the child's sense of "equal-itarianism" declines as age increases. The child of the sixth and seventh grade assigns an equal blame on each side less frequently than that of grade three or four. The older child, in making his decision, tends to weigh whatever evidence is available to him. Of course this requires a more complex reasoning process which doesn't emerge until the age of 11-12. (For the influence of social class see Appendix II, Table 10).

It should be recalled that in earlier discussions (see Chapter Two, Sec. 4), it is pointed out by Jennings that the pre-adult structures his political cognitive map in a hierarchal fashion, with interest in international affairs ranking first. Due to the younger average age of this sample, compared to

Jennings', it is difficult to pose questions demanding
accurate historical knowledge from the children on
international affairs. In order to capture whatever.
knowledge and opinion the child has about distant
political objects and the significance these objects
have for him, simple questions of an evaluative as
well as informational nature are included in the
questionnaire.

D. Attitudes Toward the U.N.

In spite of the minimal role the school plays in
formally educating the younger child about such an
institution as the U.N., the responses reveal a basic
understanding of the role of the U.N. as a political
entity. This knowledge is mainly the result of
parental and mass media influences. Of the total
sample, 85 per cent responded positively to the
question, "Have you ever heard of the U.N?" This
high percentage is sustained regardless of grade
level, social class or sex.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WHO
HAVE HEARD OF THE U.N.

Grade Level					Social Class			Sex	
3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	I	II	III	M	F
58%	91%	87%	82%	94%	82%	81%	92%	83%	82%

No significant differences emerge from the above figures, except that the seventh grader knows more, broadly speaking, than the third grader; that those of high social status are more exposed to political discussion and mass media than low status children; that boys - by 1 per cent - exceed girls in their cosmopolitanism. These observations are in line with previous findings concerning development of political knowledge.

An important aspect of the child's understanding of the U.N. as a political institution is his conception of its role. In response to the question, "What does the U.N. do?" the choices are distributed as follows:

TABLE 11

THE ROLE OF THE U.N. BY
TOTAL SAMPLE, GRADE LEVEL,
SOCIAL CLASS, AND SEX

Types of Choices	Total Sample	Grade Level					Social Class			Sex	
		3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	I	II	III	M	F
Makes Peace	15%	16%	9%	17%	24%	26%	9%	21%	19%	20%	10%
Makes War	2	–	–	13	–	–	2	1	7	3	2
Helps Hungry Children	19	28	16	23	15	15	32	13	7	20	18
Makes Peace and Helps Hungry Children	42	29	66	40	52	56	43	40	56	37	49
Doesn't Do Anything	2	3	–	3	–	3	2	3	–	1	3
Don't Know	18	14	9	4	9	–	12	23	11	19	18

From the table above a few conclusions are deemed
necessary: (1) As the child matures he exhibits a
greater degree of role differentiation. The role of
the U.N. as a peace maker increases with age; its
role as solely benevolent - helping hungry children -
decreases with age, in particular when the third grade
is compared to the upper grades. (2) Unclassifiable
and "don't know" answers decrease with age. (3) Social

class has some bearing upon role differentiation, but not in any consistent fashion, except for the two extreme cases (Classes I and III) where there are differences concerning an objective role description (such as "makes peace"), benevolence--with more lower class children describing the U.N. as caring for hungry children--and "don't know" responses. (4) Differences in responses between boys and girls appear in one area. Twice as many boys as girls describe the U.N. in its real political nature, while more girls combine affective and objective description of the U.N. into one (49 per cent compared to 37 per cent). These results, in their overall patterns, correspond very closely to Hess's and Torney's results about the role of the U.N.[14]

The normative description of the U.N., i.e., whether it is good or bad, is indicated by the childrens' response to the question: "Is the U.N. a good thing to have?"

TABLE 12

EVALUATION OF THE U.N.

			Undecided	Don't Know
Total Sample	67%	4%	26%	2%

TABLE 13

EVALUATION OF THE U.N.
BY GRADE, SOCIAL CLASS AND SEX

Type of Response	Grade Level					Social Class			Sex	
	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	I	II	III	M	F
Yes	67%	88%	50%	52%	84%	67%	67%	70%	67%	68%
No	8	-	2	4	-	7	3	-	5	3
Undecided	24	12	48	37	15	26	26	30	23	26
Don't Know	1	-	-	7	1	1	7	-	1	3

The positive orientation which characterizes the
child's attitude toward the national government extends,
in this case, to international affairs. Similar to the
results reached by Greenstein,[15] here too one notices that
the child acquires affective orientation prior to factual
ones. Responses of a normative nature emerge in a greater
percentage in lower grades as compared to objective in-
formation from the same grade levels (See Table #11).

Again, because of the complexity of these issues,
even to adults, questions of a very simple nature are
formulated to test the child's reactions. As Table #14
shows, two thirds of the overall sample favourably des-
cribe Canada's role vis-a-vis the U.N. This seems to be
little affected by sex or social class. However, cognitive
growth does influence the extent of knowledge children

have about the relationship between Canada and the U.N.

TABLE 14

RESPONSES BY PERCENTAGES TO THE ITEM:
"IS CANADA A FRIEND OF THE U.N.?"

Type of Response	Total Sample	Social Class			Grade Level					Sex	
		I	II	III	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	M	F
Yes	67%	66%	66%	74%	67%	71%	48%	70%	82%	69%	67%
No	5	3	4	7	3	12	5	4	-	3	6
Undecided	1	-	1	-	8	-	-	-	-	3	-
Don't Know	27	31	29	29	22	17	47	26	18	25	27
Total%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of Cases	168	58	76	27	36	34	38	27	33	89	78

Regarding the source of information about the
United Nations, the parents as well as the mass media
play the major role in socializing the child about the
U.N. In terms of the total sample, 24 per cent of
the children report to have heard about the United
Nations by means of the mass media; 9 per cent refer
to their parents as the source of information;
14 per cent identify both the parents and the mass
media as a source of information. Only 2 per cent
identify the school as an influencing factor. Because

of the overall favourable response the parents give
about the United Nations, it is logical to conclude
that the parents provide the children not only with
information but also with normative orientations
toward the U.N. For example, 95 per cent of the
total adult sample agree that it is "good to have the
U.N." Likewise, 96 per cent of the adult sample
respond positively to the question "Does Canada have
ties with the United Nations?" For a breakdown of
the parents' sample in terms of social class, education,
and sex, refer to Appendix II.

In concluding this section on the child's
orientation to the international system, the following
observations are relevant. First, although the
child lacks factual information about such things as
the U.N. and Vietnam, he shows serious involvement in
these matters. Second, it is argued in the above
discussion that the child's positive orientation to
international affairs is due to his personal insecurity.
His concern with international conflict is an indication
of his awareness of existing troubled times. Third,
all along, one feels that the child is struggling to
organize in his cognitive map the tremendous amount
of information which he manages to accumulate. His

cognitive development is a major factor in enabling
him to develop a notion of justice, perceive of Canada
in terms of the international system, and to describe
the functions of the U.N.

The following examination of the child's involvement
with national affairs shows more convincingly that the
child's political world is not as simple as adults
think.

III. The Child's Orientations to the National Level

A. The Child's Image of Canada and Feeling toward Separatism

A further step in this study is to ask the
children to visualize the image they have of Canada
and their feeling toward Quebec and nationalism.

Researchers on attitude formation point out that
in order to understand one type of attitude, one has
to consider the total cluster of attitudes which
determines one's orientation not only to political
objects per se, but to social life in general. In
the words of Eysenk, writing about the psychology of
politics,

> There can be no doubt whatever that attitudes
> do not occur in splendid isolation but are
> closely linked with other attidues in some
> kind of pattern or structure. . . . To say
> that a person is a Socialist or a Conservative

immediately reflects that he holds not just
one particular opinion, but rather that his
views and opinions on a large number of
different issues will form a definite pattern.[16]

Hence, one should be able to assume that attitudes

are linked to each other, and the disposition of one

is determined by one or more attitudes.

Turning to children and politics, one should be

able to infer that attitudes toward international

affairs are linked toward national politics. A

feeling of isolationism is likely to be accompanied

by a sense of provincialism. Therefore, it is no

surprise to find that the cosmopolitan feeling of

children is linked to a favourable image the children

have of Canada, and the degree of acceptance of others.

Of the total sample, 93 per cent see Canada as being

a friendly nation and 86 per cent are prepared to

welcome newcomers to live in their neighbourhoods.

These findings don't seem to vary much with social

class or grade level as Tables #15 and #16 show.

TABLE 15

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF CANADA
AS A FRIENDLY NATION

Social Class			Grade Level				
I	II	III	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
98%	96%	100%	92%	97%	92%	92%	91%

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN READY TO
WELCOME NEWCOMERS AS NEIGHBOURS

Social Class			Grade Level				
I	II	III	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
83%	93%	80%	72%	85%	87%	93%	91%

The findings of Tables #15 and #16 reveal a
strong affective attachment to the system. It is a
socialization process directed at the community level
of the political system. The parents' image of
Canada is less unanimous in its positive orientation.
Such a critical outlook by the parents is the result
of later socialization. It is significant, however,
that this critical assessment is not passed to the
children. This shows that the positive perception of
Canada which all children seem to have is the result
of school socialization where they are inculcated with
loyalty to the country. For an examination of the
parents' responses to Canada's image, see Appendix II
Table #1.

Questions pertaining to national unity and
nationalism are also important because of the relevance
these issues have for Canadian political life. In
the data presented below one finds the majority of

children accepting French Canadians, preferring Quebec
to remain a part of Canada, and showing a strong
feeling of being a Canadian. If it is true that the
feeling of Canadian nationalism is weak among adults,
and that there is a preference for separateness, these
sentiments are not rooted in early socialization
processes. They are acquired during adult political
socialization. Even this latter alternative doesn't
seem to be substantiated at least within the adult
sample considered in this study. (The parents'
responses are discussed in Appendix II, Table #2).
However, it suffices to point out, in passing, that
a feeling of provincialism among the parents is weak.
They prefer that B.C. and Quebec stay within the
federal system. Surely, if the parents don't promote
isolationist feelings within their home and don't
advocate provincial feelings, the children are bound
to be affected by the parents' attitudes.

The children's reaction to Quebec is first probed
in forms of reactions to other French Canadian children
and whether or not they, as children from British
Columbia, would be welcomed in Quebec if they were to
vist there. Responses from the entire sample to these
two issues are shown below.

TABLE 17

ATTITUDES TOWARD FRENCH SPEAKING CHILDREN

"Would you mind having French speaking children from Quebec come and spend some time with you in the classroom?"	"If you decide to visit Quebec do you think that you would be welcomed there?"
No, I don't mind 60%	Yes, I would be welcomed 89%
Yes, I do mind 12	No, I would not 10
Don't care 28	No answer 11
Number of cases = 168	

It is significant to note from Table #17 that included in the 10 per cent who feel unwelcomed to Quebec are those who give qualified answers and specific reasons for their choices such as "Because I don't have any friends there," in the words of a third grader, or, according to a seventh grader, "Because we would not be able to communicate with them very easily". Only six out of the ten per cent give unqualified "No" answers. Familiarity with Quebec is evident in the ability of 51 per cent of the total sample to name Quebec City as the capital, compared to 49 per cent who are able to name Ottawa as the capital of Canada and 70 per cent who were able to name Victoria as the capital of British Columbia.

This relatively high percentage of students who are able to recall the capital of British Columbia doesn't reflect any strong regional or provincial preference based on regional political identity. Rather it indicates a cognitive process whereby children first identify national feeling with close geographic localities, and then, with maturation, begin to assimilate information about remote objects. Likewise, 33 per cent are able to name the Premier of B.C., compared to 2 per cent who are able to name Quebec's Premier.

A strong positive feeling about national unity is expressed in response to questions related to the issue of separateness. Of those who answered, 76 per cent gave an affirmative response to the question "Should Quebec stay a part of Canada?" Of those who answered in the negative, 3 per cent did not qualify their answers; 17 per cent answered "No" with specific reasons, mainly having to do with cultural differences; and the remaining 5 per cent give unclassifiable answers. These types of responses sustain themselves in the face of class difference and grade levels.

TABLE 18

"SHOULD QUEBEC STAY
A PART OF CANADA?"

Response	Social Class				Grade Level				
	I	II	III		3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Yes	77%	72%	89%		69%	85%	71%	86%	76%

The lack of strong provincial identity is re-
flected in answers to the question "What is your

nationality?" Thirty-four per cent said they are

British Columbian; 47 per cent said they are Canadians;

7 per cent choose different nationalities, mostly

European, and the remaining 12 per cent don't anser.

A feeling of nationalism is a complex thing. Previous

research on children has indicated that the young

child first acquires a sense of belonging to a nation

through his immediate surroundings, such as the street

he lives on, or the neighbourhood.[14] The feeling of

nationalism is ultimately acquired through civic

education and parental influences.

Regardless of social class, the majority of the

students exhibit a Canadian national feeling. There

is a difference between Class I and the remaining two

classes. The latter show more provincial feeling

than the former. Concerning the last category of

nationalism, more of the working class identify

ethnic origin with national identity. There is no

definite explanation for this, except that these

classes may contain more recent or first generation

immigrants than, let us say, Class III. With this

in mind one expects new settlers to show a greater

attachment to the "old country".

Although there is no consistent relationship

between grade level and feeling of nationalism, it

is evident that the older the child is the more

likely he is to learn in civics that he _is_ a Canadian.

TABLE 19

FEELING OF NATIONALISM

National Identification	Social Class			Grade Level				
	I	II	III	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Canadian	54%	51%	59%	59%	63%	44%	44%	60%
Brit. Columb.	31	41	41	33	27	56	48	29
Other	15	8	-	8	10	-	8	11

B. Understanding the Concept of "Government"

It has been pointed out in Chapter Two that the

child's conception of government changes according

to his cognitive maturity. The younger child conceives

of the government in a personalized form, and describes

its functions in the most ambiguous and general manner.
He is unable to distinguish the complex features of
government. As the child grows older he begins to
show signs of cognitive maturity and ability to des-
cribe the government in specific and political terms.
A look at a representative quotations from grades 3 - 7
demonstrates what Hess and Torney mean when they say:

> the second - or third grade child's image of
> government is largely confined to persons. In
> interviews these young children referred to gov-
> ernment as "the man who signs checks." "The state
> and city government are different men, but they
> both are governments," or, "the government is a
> nice man."[18]

To the question, "What does the government do?" the
responses by grade level are as follows:

(a) Third graders: "He tells you what to do."
                       "He helps the people that are
                       old."

(b) Fourth graders: "He talks about war a lot and
                       he talks about peace a lot too."
                       "Government means a person who
                       tells people if you should do
                       something or not."
                       "A government makes rules for
                       Canada."
                       "He does things like make
                       stupid taxes and gets the
                       money for them."

(c) Fifth graders: "Try to help people and keeps
                       laws."
                       "Raises taxes - makes laws."
                       "The government collects taxes
                       and makes money and does
                       political things."

(d)   Sixth graders: "It helps keep our country from
                          going bankrupt."
                          "The government works on the city
                          like now they are putting in a
                          sewer."
                          "It governs political matters
                          like racial tension, unemployment
                          and communism."
                          "They make money and keep peace
                          and keep the law."

(e)   Seventh graders: "The government divides money
                          around the province when it
                          needs it."
                          "The government makes choices
                          for the people and helps them
                          out."
                          "Government means that more than
                          one person tells us what to do."
                          "He tries to please us, but
                          can't always do it. But he's
                          got no choice."
                          "The government helps make this
                          to be a good nation and tries to
                          make everyone be glad to be part
                          of it."

The percentage figures show that 54 per cent of

the total sample understand vaguely or specifically,

what the word government means. As to the actual

breakdown of a description of the governmental duties,

only 49 per cent of the total sample is able to answer

the open ended portion of the question. Seventeen

per cent refer to the government as benevolent; 28 per

cent describe it in more or less objective fashion;

4 per cent exhibit critical thinking and write down

evaluative statements, e.g., the government is good,

bad, etc. When cognitive development is considered as

a variable, the child from grade seven shows more

understanding of "what the word government means,"
than a child from grade three. Although the pattern
along grade levels does not show a constant decline in
the "No Answer" response, the contrast between the
average percentages of grades three, four, and five
and grades six and seven remains valid. Unfortunately,
these figures depart from the consistent ones offered
by Easton and Dennis on the same question. It is well
to remember that the study of Easton and Dennis doesn't
deal with the open-ended portion of the question. They
rely solely on the first portion, taking the child's
response to the question, "Some of you may not be sure
what the word government means. If you are not sure
what government means, put an X in the box below," at
face value.[19] It is possible that some of the children's
responses are mere guesses and not based on a real
understanding of the concept. In any case the results
of the Canadian and U.S. samples are presented in the
table below for comparison.

TABLE 20

% OF THOSE WHO DIDN'T UNDERSTAND
WHAT THE WORD. "GOVERNMENT" MEANT

Grade	U.S.	Canada
3	19%	58%
4	18	21
5	11	63
6	12	29
7	8	39

In spite of significant discrepencies among the two sets of data, Table #20 confirms Easton's observation regarding early socialization, namely, that the child before he reaches the age of 7 or 8 has formed a simple notion about the government.

The next step in this phase of the research is to seek the child's ability to associate government with certain words. This test of free association shown in Table #21 below is intended to show that as the child matures he moves away from a personal or emotional conception of the government to an impersonal one which reflects a recognition of institutions and legal structures.

TABLE 21

DEVELOPMENT OF COGNITIVE
IMAGE OF GOVERNMENT BY %*xx

Choice	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Bennett	23%	37%	15%	29%	19%
Supreme Court	17	54	44	41	23
Pearson	40	29	19	24	16
Expo '67	33	29	19	24	16
Army	27	29	18	25	16
Parliament	50	100	80	80	85
Voting	30	46	37	50	55
Flag	50	37	26	25	41
Don't Know	27	26	28	31	31

*Percentages do not add to a hundred because of triple choices.
xxThe question asked was: "Pick three names that show best what our government is.

Table #21 above shows the reaction of the children to eight word symbols, in terms of grade level. Cognitive growth should reflect an increase in the identification of abstract symbols. Voting, such a symbol, is perceived by the older child as a salient symbol of government more than by the younger child. According to Easton "this suggests some beginning awareness of the regime rules associated with popular democracy and the role of the ordinary citizen."[20] Parliament, on the other hand, although it doesn't emerge gradually, nevertheless, is the greatest perceived symbol among them all. The contrast is greatest between the third and fourth grades. All of those who answer from the fourth grade choose Parliament as a symbol of government, compared to half of grade three students who answer this question. The symbol of the Prime Minister becomes more noticeable with age, although this is contrary to the finding of Easton and Dennis.[21] It shouldn't be inferred that there is more attachment to the personality of the Prime Minister - in this instance Pearson - than to the institution, the Parliament. In spite of designating the Prime Minister as a governmental symbol with rather a majority among grade seven, the

fact remains that Parliament, as a governmental symbol,
is the most visible. A side explanation to the
identification of the Prime Minister as a symbol lies
in the special feature of Canadian politics. The issue
of national unity is discussed in the classrooms, and
in particular in the upper elementary grades whereby
children are socialized into perceiving Canada as one
nation with the Prime Minister as its "head". Partial
support to this argument is evident by comparing
Bennett to Pearson as symbols of government. Bennett
ranks, as a matter of fact, among the least salient
symbols. This in turn should give additional support
to negate the assumption that provincial identification
looms strong in British Columbia. Non-governmental
symbols such as the army and Expo remain low across
all grade levels and as the child grows older, these
two symbols become less important for him. The graph,
on the next page, shows pictorially the relationship·
between age and governmental symbols.

C. Identification of the Legislative Process

A great proportion of students answer the questions,
"What does the government do?" by referring to its
legal prerogatives. This is evident from the represen-
tative selection of quotations in Sec. B. Whereas

Development of Cognitive Image of Government

111a.
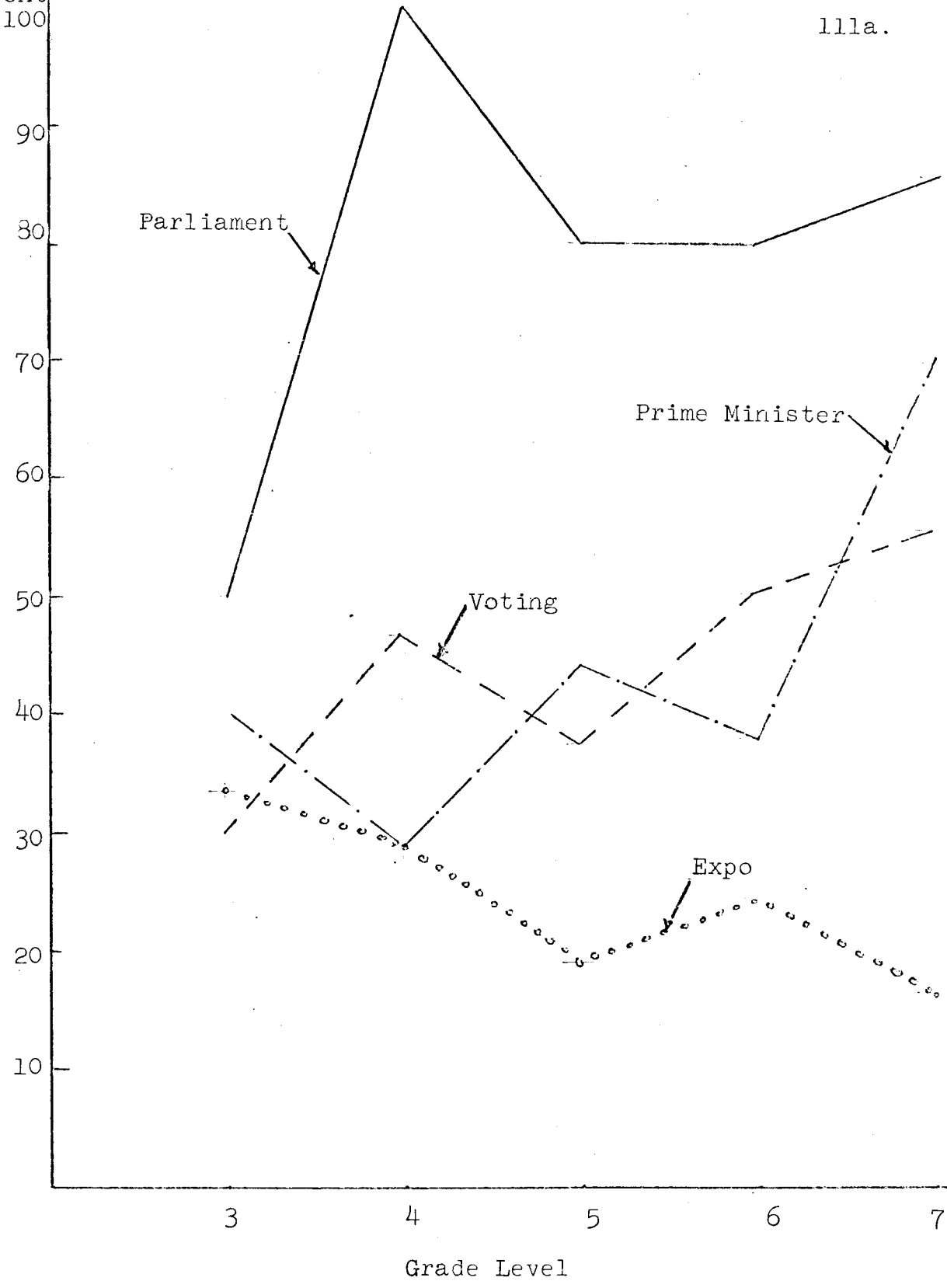
the previous discussion centers around the structure
of government, now the discussion attempts to sup-
plement the structural description by dealing with the
functional aspect. Law-making is singled out as the
most important function of government. Hess and Torney
point out that "as children grow older, they come to
believe that Congress is more important in law-making
than the President."[22] This seems to be true for the
Canadian sample.

TABLE 22

IDENTIFICATION OF THE LAW-MAKER

Grade	Parliament	Prime Minister	Supreme Court	Police
3	22%	36%	7%	35%
4	46	36	6	12
5	30	30	33	4
6	38	24	33	5
7	74	19	7	-

Table #22 shows that as the child matures he
sees the law-making body of government in terms of
an institution rather than in terms of personality.
The image of the policeman as a law-maker declines with
age. This is in line with theories of child development.

The younger child, because of a weak ego involvement seeks protection from authority figures around him and the police is a particularly convenient figure. However, as he grows older, this dependency and need for protection declines. This fact is demonstrated adequately by the marked shift of the policeman's role as seen in Table #22.

D. Differentiation of the Public from the Private Sectors

Another important feature of the child's growing familiarity with government is his ability to distinguish the public from the private sectors. The children are asked to differentiate those who work, from those who do not work, for the government. Following Easton's study, the children are asked to name which one of the following work for the government: milkman, policeman, soldier, judge, postman and teacher.

TABLE 23

FAMILIARITY WITH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Grade	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Milkman	9%	24%	11%	16%	42%.
Policeman	64	91	70	61	88
Soldier	50	55	68	50	82
Judge	66	76	62	69	85
Postman	24	34	35	33	63
Teacher	24	51	41	46	66

The policeman, judge, and soldier receive the greatest percentage of endorsement, while the milkman, clearly a member of the private sector, receives the least endorsement. There is no way of explaining the high percentage of grade seven who choose the milkman as a governmental employee. It is possible that some of the responses are inserted because of cynical behaviour in answering the questionnaire. The role of the teacher remains ambiguous, although he is identified as a governmental employee more by grade seven than any of the lower grades. These results do confirm at least the following observation made by Easton: "Both the soldier and postman - the more nearly exclusively national government workers - increase in the proportion of children endorsing them at successively higher grade levels..."[23]

E. Partisan Information

On the question of partisan information, overall, the level of awareness is quite low. When asked to name the political parties and party leaders, the responses along grade levels are as follows:

TABLE 24

PARTISAN INFORMATION AND
PARTIES AND LEADERS

Grade	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Number of Parties Names					
1	-	9%	6%	8%	3%
2	-	-	-	3	12
3	-	-	-	-	6
4	-	-	-	8	6
Didn't Know	100	91	94	81	73
Number of Party Leaders					
1	8%	6%	6%	9%	21%
2	-	3	6	6	12
3	-	3	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	6
Didn't Know	92	88	88	85	61

The fact that children are unable to retain a
great deal of information about political parties is
by no means indicative of a lack of interst in elemen-
tary school children. In the words of Hess and Torney:
". . . a basic attachment to the nation and political
system, compliance to its authority, norms, and
definitions of the system and the citizen's role are
not functions of party preference or commitment."[24]

In spite of a lack of knowledge about political parties, a great majority answer in the affirmative to the question, "Will you vote when you reach voting age?" The boys and girls answered 79 per cent and 88 per cent respectively saying that they would vote. For a source of advice on voting, the children refer mostly to their parents. Of both boys and girls 70 per cent said they would choose their parents for advice. The percentage remains constant across grade levels. The results of voting intention are similar to the ones obtained by Greenstein, but the latter finding about the source of advice is not in line with what one would expect. Other findings have shown that the role of the parents as a source of information would decline with age.

E. Evaluation of Public Authority

So far, this discussion has dealt with basic familiarity with the political system. The next step is to deal with the evaluative aspect of cognitive development. Here the child is asked to evaluate public authority figures as well as the role of the government toward the citizen.

A basic feature of the child's reaction to public authority figures is the remarkable positive image these figures have in the cognitive map of the child. This is true as far as the importance of the role and

the description of it. Judgement of children regarding the importance of public roles as compared to private roles is provided in the table below.

TABLE 25

CHILDREN NAMING
THE "MOST IMPORTANT" ROLE

Premier	67%	Prime Minister	80%
Mayor	66	Doctor	32
Teacher	22	Police	40
Judge	49	Religious Leader	18

The sequence of role evaluation indicates a realistic assessment of public authority roles. Although admittedly the child is unfamiliar with all the tasks associated with each role, he is capable of differentiating a hierarchy of roles. Whereas, the Prime Minister ranks first in role-importance, he ranks last in responses to the question, "Name people you are afraid of." Table #25 shows almost a reverse rank order from Table #26.

TABLE 26

CHILDREN NAMING PEOPLE THEY
ARE MOST AFRAID OF

Premier	18	Prime Minister	26
Mayor	35	Doctor	46
Principal	55	Religious Leader	24

The rank order of roles remains stable along
grade levels as far as the Prime Minister is concerned.
Table #27 presents, not percentages, but rather rank
orders among the different grade levels.

TABLE 27

RANKING OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
ACCORDING TO IMPORTANCE
BY GRADE LEVEL

Grade	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Prime Minister	1*	1	1	1	1
Mayor	4	3	3	2.5	3
Premier	2	2	2	2.5	2
Religious Leader	8	8	7	8	8
Doctor	6	5.5	4.5	5	6.5
Police Chief	5	5.5	4.5	4	5
Judge	3	4	6	7	4
Teacher	7	7	8	6	6

*Rank-order is based on raw frequency count.

These findings in Table #27 are consistent with
those of Greenstein. With reference to grade four
only, Greenstein points out that the child of nine
(4th grade) is able to perceive of the President's
role as the most prestigious role, with the mayor
ranking second, even though the child has "virtually
no specific knowledge of the presidential or mayoral
roles."[25] It is significant that in spite of age
differences, the three public roles almost maintain
their hierarchy, with the Prime Minister, Premier and
mayor in that order.

G. Perception of Public Roles

An examination of the overall responses in Table #27
below on the description of the tasks associated with
the office of the Prime Minister, Premier, and mayor
shows greater familiarity with roles of local authority
figures such as the principal, chief of police and
mayor. Although the prime minister and premier are
highly visible as symbols of governments, their roles
are not easily described.

TABLE 28

CHILDREN'S DESCRIPTION OF PUBLIC ROLES

Response-Description	Mayor	Premier	Prime Minister	Police	Principal
Benevolence: "Takes care of us," gives us liberty."	22%	12%	12%	20%	21%
Normative role: "Does a good job," "Bad leader."	5	3	4.	2	4
Objective: "Makes laws," "Builds parks," "Straps child."	17	21	26	58	55
Unclassifiable	1	1	2	-	1
No Opinion	55	63	57	20	19

Table #28 shows that more than half of the students are able to describe in an objective manner the duties of the principal and police chief. This is not the case for the remaining public authority figures. It is interesting, however, that perceptions of authority figures as benevolent don't differ much.

Research has shown that the normative description of public roles by the child is expected to increase along grade levels, since it demands critical evaluation of the role. Likewise, perception of authority figures as benevolent is supposed to decline with age. The

first observation is verified from the results in Table #29 below. The second observation, while it holds true for the "mayor" and "premier", does not hold true for the Prime Minister.

TABLE 29

IMAGES OF PUBLIC AUTHORITY ROLE
BY GRADE LEVEL

Grade	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Mayor					
Normative	-	6%	17%	10%	15%
Benevolent	78	50	41	40	37
Objective	72	44	42	50	48
Prime Minister					
Normative	-	9	11	10	15
Benevolent	46	29	11	10	35
Objective	54	62	78	80	50
Premier					
Normative	-	-	11	13	16
Benevolent	36	40	25	25	32
Objective	64	60	64	62	52

H. Political Cynicism and Idealization of the Child

Similar to research conducted in the U.S., the responses from this sample show that at no time do the children exhibit any form of political cynicism and mistrust in politicians. This lack of cynicism is interpreted by students of socialization as resulting from a need by the child to look for adult

authority figures for protection.

Although this study does not dispute this fact, another side explanation seems to be adequate. The family environment provides in this instance a reinforcing element.

Direct contribution to the child's politicization is revealed in a series of questions on parent-child relationships. Of the parents, 95% answer positively to the question, "Is it alright for children to ask questions about politics?" Of those who answer, 81% state that they do answer questions from their children about politics. It was reported by 51% that discussion of politics is frequent in the home and by 77% that they sometimes read the newspaper with their child. There are books available in 55% of the homes which deal with politics and describe the workings of government. Finally, 85% disagree with the question, "Do you believe that politics and politicians are basically bad?"

Regarding idealization of authority, the figures differed by sex. Boys, more often than girls, choose their ego-ideals from public life. Of the boys, 27% refer to political or historic figures as their ideals compared to 10% of the girls in the sample. These findings are consistent with Greenstein's.[26]

I. Assessment of the Government's Role

The child approves not only of governmental figures, but also of the government's role. Regardless of grade level, the child approves of government assistance and the government's ability to reach sound judgements. Objection to unqualified governmental interference is drastically evident even among the lower grades.

TABLE 30

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD
GOVERNMENTAL ROLES
% OF "AGREE" RESPONSES

Item	Overall	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
The government interferes too much with our private lives.	32%	40%	39%	55%	22%	27%
The government usually knows what is best for the people.	72	84	72	70	68	79
The government ought to give money and food to people out of work.	62	83	88	48	40	80
The government should have more power over the people.	20	20	28	30	28	12

Table #30 shows that on the average only about 25% of the sample agree that the government should have more power. These figures are consistent with those of . Easton and Dennis.[27]

Two inferences can be drawn from the above results. Firstly, individualistic attitudes and disapproval of governmental welfare system are products of adult socialization. Secondly, faith in the government is expressed by a majority of the students although it is expected that as the child grows older he becomes more critical. The data in Table #30 which states that "The government usually knows what is best for the country", does not show any consistent decline in percentages among the upper grades. Easton's results don't show this expected decline either.

J.   The Child's Sense of Efficacy

Political efficacy is the final dimension of subjective political involvement to be investigated. The section is mainly inspired by Easton's latent empirical work on children's politicization.[28]

Originally, eight items are considered as comprising the efficacy dimension. They are based on the S.R.C. adult efficacy questionnaire. The children's efficacy items are as follows:

(1) "Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things."

(2) "Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government."

(3) What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.

(4) There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.

(5) My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

(6) I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.

(7) Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

(8) How much do these people (average persons) help decide which laws are made for our country: Very Much, Very Little, or Not at All?

After intercorrelating these with other items in the questionnaire five major attitudinal components emerged. They include items (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7), which comprise a "sense of political efficacy." Speculating behind low factor loadings on the remaining items, Easton refers to the complex nature of the government. ". . . but it may also simply relate to the fact that the government is incomprehensible sometimes to every child, even to those who may otherwise have absorbed into their consciousness the regime norm and who correspondingly feel politically efficacious."[29]

This hypothesis seems to be verified by the data from the Canadian sample. For example, in response to item (2), the children, regardless of grade level, gave answers indicating incomprehensibility, in particular among the upper elementary grades. See Table #31 below.

TABLE 31

"SOMETIMES I CAN'T UNDERSTAND
WHAT GOES ON IN THE GOVERNMENT."

Response	Grade Level				
	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Yes	36%	71%	73%	90%	85%
No	33	22	13	10	9
Don't Know	32	7	14	-	6

While Easton's efficacy scale is based on a coding method similar to the one adopted on the adult efficacy scale,[30] this study presents the raw data in percentage form. Hence, all that can be done is to detect some sort of a pattern in the responses.

The review of the literature in Chapter Two points to a positive relationship between age, socio-economic status and efficacy. Table #32 below presents responses to five items of the efficacy dimension, and they confirm Easton's results regarding age and socio-economic standing as affecting political efficacy.

TABLE 32

POLITICAL EFFICACY
BY SOCIAL CLASS AND GRADE LEVEL

Item* No.	Type of Response	Social Class			Grade Level				
		I	II	III	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
3.	Yes	47%	32%	33%	33%	61%	34%	31%	30%
	No	24	37	41	16	29	26	45	51
	Undec.	39	21	26	51	10	40	24	9
4.	Yes	45	36	26	50	38	32	34	36
	No	24	44	56	19	47	37	44	46
	Undec.	31	20	18	31	15	31	22	18
5.	Yes	35	37	41	39	35	45	26	36
	No	33	42	44	28	47	34	48	42
	Undec.	32	21	15	33	18	21	26	22
6.	Yes	47	41	37	36	47	53	38	34
	No	31	33	56	25	44	23	38	48
	Undec.	22	26	7	39	9	24	24	8
7.	Yes	41	42	41	49	44	41	41	46
	No	30	42	41	20	40	32	57	46
	Undec.	20	16	18	31	16	27	2	8

*For the wordings of these items see Section H.

With reference to items #3 and #4, the percentage
of those disagreeing with these items is much greater
among the upper grades than it is among the lower ones.
The "Yes" responses decline along grade levels, but not
in a very consistent way. The same holds true for the
remaining items. For example, more students from upper
grades reject the idea that citizens don't have a say
in what the government does than students from lower

grades (See item #7). Social class has some influence on efficacy, although not in a significant way. When compared to children of Class I, children from Class III reject in greater percentage the notion of political futility. However, the "Yes" answers do not decline consistently on all items. For example, there are less children from Class III who agree on items 3, 4, and 6 than children from Class I. However, this doesn't hold true for the remaining two items.

The simultaneous influence of social class and age is presented in Table #33 below. The relationship between efficacy and social class is felt in a significant manner in the seventh grade. The responses follow an expected pattern. In making the comparison among children from the seventh grade, those who belong to Class III are more efficacious than those who belong to Class I. This is true for the entire dimension of efficacy. Age remains a contributing factor as it appears in Table #32.

What this discussion implies is that a feeling of efficacy based on social class doesn't emerge in a clear fashion until the child reaches a certain age -- in this instance it is the seventh grade. Hence, both age and social class are determining factors if the child is in his upper elementary grades.

TABLE 33

POLITICAL EFFICACY AMONG CHILDREN
BY GRADE AND SOCIAL CLASS
SIMULTANEOUSLY (RESPONSES ARE IN PER CENT)**

Item*		Grade 3			Grade 4			Grade 5			Grade 6			Grade 7		
		I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
(3)	Yes	26.7	41.2	--	64.3	50	60	60	25	20	23.3	25	50	45.5	23.1	25
	No	13.3	17.6	--	21.4	50	20	20	30	20	50	37.5	50	27.3	61.5	62.5
	Undec.	46.7	23.5	--	14.3	--	20	10	45	40	16.7	31.3	--	27.3	15.4	12.5
(4)	Yes	40	52.9	--	35.7	40	40	30	30	20	66.7	31.3	--	54.5	23.1	37.5
	No	33.3	11.8	--	42.9	50	60	10	50	60	16.7	50	50	9.1	61.5	62.5
	Undec.	13.3	23.5	--	21.4	10	--	60	20	--	16.7	12.5	50	36.4	15.4	--
(5)	Yes	33.3	47.1	--	42.9	20	20	40	50	40	33.3	18.8	25	18.2	38.5	50
	No	33.3	23.5	--	28.6	70	60	30	35	20	50	43.8	75	36.4	53.8	37.5
	Undec.	26.7	17.6	--	28.6	10	20	30	15	20	16.7	31.3	--	45.5	7.7	12.5
(6)	Yes	26.7	41.2	--	50	40	20	50	55	60	66.7	31.3	25	54.5	30.8	25
	No	40	11.8	--	35.7	50	80	20	25	20	16.7	31.3	25	27.3	61.5	62.5
	Undec.	20	35.3	--	14.3	10	--	30	20	--	16.7	31.3	--	18.2	7.2	12.5
(7)	Yes	46.7	58.8	--	47.9	20	60	40	35	40	16.7	50	50	54.5	46.2	25
	No	20	17.6	--	21.4	70	40	20	45	20	66.7	37.5	50	36.4	53.8	50
	Undec.	20	11.8	--	35.7	10	--	40	25	--	16.7	6.3	--	9.1	--	25
N=		15	17	1	14	10	5	10	20	5	6	16	4	11	13	8

* For the wording of these items refer to the last page in the children's questionnaire.

**Those items where the responses do not add to a hundred per cent is because of the students' failure to answer.

These findings somewhat support the conclusions reached by Hess and Torney regarding the minimal role of the family in influencing the child's sense of political efficacy. This conclusion is enhanced by examining the parents' responses to adult efficacy items. While children from lower grades are not greatly influenced by social class, their parents' responses show a noticeable dependency on social class. Parents from Class III score higher on the efficacy scale as compared to those from lower social classes. (See Appendix II, Table #3).

It is safe to conclude that although the parents' social position affects their political efficacy, such a feeling of efficacy is not transmitted to the children, at least in the early formative years. Other factors are at play here, particularly cognitive growth. Hence, the role of the school as a socializing agency is particularly important in the early grades.

But it should be pointed out that parental influence affects the child's interest in politics. Parents who are active in politics, either through campaigning or mere involvement in political discussions, tend to provide what is referred to in Chapter Two as a role-model for the offspring. There is evidence that the parents are quite interested in politics. The tables presented in Appendix #II

show that the parents contact their representatives frequently, engage in compaigning, and also discuss politics in the home.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

In an attempt to assess the utility of the models
suggested by Hess and Torney, this chapter presents an
interpretation of the empirical findings of the previous
chapter in terms of these models, and assessess the
implications of the findings for political socialization
research.

(1) The Moral Judgement of the Child

Although the school socializes the child with
acceptance of rules and conduct, it plays a minimal
role in providing him with solutions to political
issues. With reference to politics, the teachers
maintain ethical neutrality and abstain from discuss-
ing controversial topics.[1]

The mass media is referred to by the children as
the major source of information, followed by the parents.
In either case, it is not likely that the judgement of
the child will be solely dictated by the mass media or
the home. There is no indication that parents, as a
matter of habit, discuss world problems with their off-
spring. Similarly, the role of the mass media is largely
to provide content of information, rather than solutions
to problems.

The ability to absorb information and organize
it cognitively in a logical sense - an important step
in reaching a judgement on any issue - depends mainly,
as is evident from the data, upon the cognitive develop-
ment of the child. In line with Piaget's thinking, the
older child develops, with the aid of a complex reason-
ing process, a means by which he reaches a judgement
based on evidence rather than acceptance of adult
authority judgement.

Hence, while the accumulation model is useful as
a tool to explain initial absorption of information,
the cognitive developmental model accounts for the
emergence of a sophisticated moral judgement in the
child.

(2) Attitude Toward the U.N.

In terms of the models suggested by Hess and
Torney, the accumulation and cognitive developmental
models are adequate in explaining the knowledge as
well as the reaction of the child to the U.N. as an
institution.

The sources of information are the mass media and
the home. The school provides the least amount of
information in this regard.

Initially, the child gathers information through
the mass media without being necessarily able to

rationalize the meaning this information has to his daily life. This information becomes more relevant to the child as he matures and through his ego-involvement begins to relate to remote political objects.

One can also argue that there is some sort of identification which is facilitated by a positive community attitude toward the U.N. This is evident from examining the parents' responses on the U.N. issue. Therefore, the cosmopolitan attitude of the young originates in the larger sphere and then is reinforced in the home.

(3) Canada's Image and National Feeling

Perception of Canada and the presence of a national feeling are influenced mainly by the home and the school. While affective attachment to the country is fostered by the home, the school compliments this role by providing basic information and content to such attachment which later on takes the form of loyalty.

Regardless of age, sex, or social class, the child exhibits a high degree of attachment to the country. This is due to incidental learning and some sort of parental role modelling which the child is exposed to in the home. In addition to this socialization context,

the school transmits knowledge through direct learning.

In terms of the explanatory models, this is basically an identification and accumulative process.

It is also possible to explain the above results in terms of the relationship which exists among attitudes. Since the parents as well as the offspring exhibit internationalistic orientation, it is unlikely that a super-national and/or provincial feeling would be found among them.

(4) Conception of Government

Understanding of the government as a concept, and its functions as an institution, depends on cognitive growth and interpersonal processes.

As the child grows older he moves away from a personal conception of the government to an impersonal one. The government is identified in terms of institution rather than in terms of personalities.

However, the transference process takes place mainly in the lower grades. For example, the child from grade three refers to the police as a law-maker. To the younger child, the police is a significant other. As such he transfers his relationship with the police to that of the larger socio-political sphere.

This holds true in the case of the teacher as well as the parents, although authority transference is not dealt with in an extensive fashion in this study.

(5) Partisan Knowledge

The child's initial approach to parties is in terms of personalities. He generalizes from charismatic figures to institutions. In this way the child is able to simplify the complex nature of the party. For this reason more children, on the whole, are able to recall the names of party leaders rather than parties.

This interpersonal process is not the only factor that accounts for partisan knowledge. While no attempt is made to correlate the parents' partisan identification with that of their offspring's, the data show that the parents provide a role-model for their offspring by participating in campaign activities. The relatively high degree of politicization among the parents makes that identification model useful in explaining the partisan information of the child. Hence, the main socializing context in this regard is the home. (See Appendix #II, Tables 4 and 5).

(6) Political Efficacy

Hess and Torney explain the child's emergence of

political efficacy in terms of the accumulative,
cognitive, and identification models. The family's
influence is mainly in providing the child with political
role-models, thus enhancing his interest in politics.
The authors reject the hypothesis that family training
in decision-making accounts for political efficacy.
For this reason they disregard the interpersonal
transfer model which relies on generalization and
experience from one domain to another to explain involve-
ment in politics. The authors seem to agree with the
authors of The Civic Culture, Almond and Verba, who
conclude that the role of the family in politicization
is less important than it is made out to be. Education
and occupational background account for a great deal
in political competence.[2]

There is no way of verifying the authors' conclusion
from this study, regarding the inapplicability of the
interpersonal transfer model. However, there is evidence
which confirms their initial remarks concerning the
applicability of the remaining models.

Responses indicating undecided opinions decline
with age as well as with social class (See tables #32
and 33). Age influences political efficacy in a more
consistent manner when compared to the influence of

social class. The simultaneous influence of social class and age crystallyze in the upper elementary grades. This supports the assumption that as the child grows older, he acquires a class consciousness. Intelligence, an important factor in explaining efficacy, is not dealt with in this study, although the data are available in unorganized form.

The important point to be made here is that in contrast to references in the literature to the alienation of the working class, the findings of this study do not show any disproportionate feeling of apathy and disinterest in politics. On the contrary, politics is viewed favourably, and there is a feeling among the adults in the sample that there is a way of affecting political change.

(7) Implications for Political Socialization Research

In terms of the problem areas facing political socialization research (there are ten areas outlined by Dennis in a recent article)[3] this study touches upon six areas only. There are the (1) relevancy political socialization has to the stability/instability of the political system, (2) content of the learned material in the course of socialization, (3) phase of the life-cycle, (4) learning process which is mainly reflected

in cognitive growth, (5) <u>agencies</u> of socialization, and (6) group differences (sex and social class).

In the area dealing with "relevancy" it is clear that the young Canadian child, at least in this sample, is socialized into supportive attitudes which act to enhance the stability of the system.

This picture is made more clear through an examination of the content of these attitudes. They are positive in nature and are directed, in addition to the international system, to the three main levels of the political system as outlined by Easton: the government, regime and the community.

The child is socialized to learn about political parties and voting (government), efficacy (regime), and attachment to the country (community).

Because it is a study in early socialization, the overriding factor which helps to explain a great deal of acquisition of political attitudes is the cognitive-developmental model. It is important because it takes into account change in attitude which is an essential feature of understanding system instability and change. For this reason the school ranks first as an agency of socialization and the teacher has an obligation to discuss in the classroom, even on the elementary grade level,

controversial issues. While social norms dictate that no indoctrination of the young should be allowed, and rightly so, one should distinguish between planned indoctrination and a genuine training in dialectical discussion. Since the early period is the most crucial one in terms of cognitive growth, the teacher - in his role as a socializing agent - should train the younger child to develop his ability to discriminate and assimilate the extensive amount of information which the child absorbs in his first seven years of schooling.

As a socializing agent, the school's main role is to facilitate social change. It can do so by promoting discussions on political parties, pressure groups and other informal aspects of political life. This can be done without engaging in indoctrination.

It is obvious from the data presented in this study that the major cause of attitude change in the formative years is cognitive growth. In spite of differences in social classes, all children follow similar patterns in developing their involvement with politics. The models discussed earlier seem to apply in explaining a great deal of what happens to the child in this crucial period. But the question arises: how is it that two years later, the child begins to drift away from the

influence of the school and the home as the review in
Chapter 2 indicates?

This is a crucial phase in political socialization
of the child, although this study doesn't deal with that
particular life-cycle. It seems to me that cross pressures
from peer groups and outside familial agencies takes part
in restructuring previous information held by the child.
As a result of new group membership, the child reinterprets
old and new information in a way which helps his position
within the group. The problem then is to study formation
not only as a product of cognitive growth, but also as
a result of resocialization in other primary groups.
The fact that attitudes do change after the child spends
four years in grades 8 - 12, indicates that socialization
may not have been so deep rooted in the early period
as Easton, Hess and others advocate.

There is no research which describes the process
of attitude change as the child moves from elementary
to secondary grades. Evidence is beginning to accumulate
which shows that parent-child disagreement in the adoles-
cent period is greater than one expects. If the study
of political socialization is to deal with change as
Easton says, then it has to deal with this type of change,
a change in values among generations that is becoming a
feature of Western industrial societies.

APPENDIX I

DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGY, THE SAMPLE AND THE AREA CONTAINING THE SAMPLE

This appendix is divided into the following main sections:

I   Description of the area and the sample

  A.   The area

  B.   The sample

II   Footnotes

I   Description of the Sample and the Area Containing
    the Sample

The Area

Before describing the sample in detail, it would
be useful to give a brief rundown of the area where the
schools studied are located. The special feature of
the area in terms of its socio-economic, religious,
political and ethnic composition will be helpful in
shedding some light on the type of political awareness
present, especially among the working class strata.
The available source of information is the census of
1961. This of course is old information. Although
the population doubled in size in the area as a whole
there are no indications that within such a short
period of time the distribution among the adult popula-
tion would vary much. This is also evident from the
number of registered voters in the three ridings where
the schools are located. Between 1960 and 1966, the
voters list shows an increase in 100 registered voters.
(See page 148 in this appendix.)

The socio-economic breakdown in terms of income
and occupation is a clear indication of the working
class and blue collar characteristic of the area. Table
#1 presents the income distribution.

TABLE 1

INCOME DISTRIBUTION[1]

	Males		Females	
Under $1000	61	4.5%	80	27.0%
$1000-$1999	48	3.5	64	21.5
$2000-$2999	74	5.4	66	22.2
$3000-$3999	171	12.5	60	20.2
$4000-$5999	477	35.0	25	8.5
$6000 and over	266	19.5	2	.1
$6000-$9999	252	18.5	-	-
$10000+	14	1.0	-	-
Total Employed	1363		297	

Within the employed male population, the average
income is about $4600, while for the employed female
population the average income is $2067. Excluding
those with incomes in the last two categories, namely
those falling within the range of $6000-$10000, it
becomes clear that about 80 per cent of the employed
male population falls within the range of $6000 or less.

The occupational breakdown sheds more light on
the manual and blue collar nature of the area as a
whole. Considering the occupational division of males
only, we get the following:

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION[2]

Type of Occupation

Managerial	164	13.4%
Professional and Technical	134	10.9
Clerical	74	6.0
Sales	88	7.1
Service and Recreation	77	6.2
Transport and Communication	99	8.0
Primary	31	2.5
Craftsmen, Production Processes, and Related Works	478	39.5
Labourers	80	6.4
Total	1225	

If we consider the first four occupational types as belonging to the white collar category, then we can safely conclude that about two-thirds of the employed male population are engaged in manual work, with about 45 per cent concentrated in the craftsmen and labourers categories.

The ethnic and religious composition of the area is shown in the two successive tables below.

TABLE 3

DIVISION BY ETHNIC GROUPS[3]

Nationality	Organized (Total)	Organized (Per-cent)	Unorganized* Territories	Unorganized Territories
British Isles	3087	64.5%	463	81.2%
French	293	6.1	22	3.8
German	285	5.9	16	2.8
Scandinavian	249	5.2	19	3.3
Netherlands	127	2.6	12	2.1
Other (Asian, African, etc.)	408	8.6	28	5.1
European (Other)	340	7.1	10	1.8
Total	4789	100.0%	570	100.0%

*Unorganized territories come under the direct jurisdiction of the Province. They live in a rural and semi-rural areas. Taxes and land are usually cheap when compared to organized territories with municipalities.

TABLE 4

DIVISION BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION[4]

	Organized Total	Organized %	Unorganized Total	Unorganized %
Anglican	994	20.7%	190	33.3%
United Church	1857	38.7	256	45.0
Baptist	143	3.0	11	2.0
Lutheran	391	8.3	17	3.0
Presbyterian	155	3.2	30	4.9
Roman Catholic	799	16.0	46	8.2
Other	440	9.6	20	3.6

In the organized territory where one of the schools
is located, 65 per cent are of British origin and about
90 per cent are Protestants. In the unorganized territories,
where the other two schools are located, 81 per cent are
of British origin and 88 per cent are Protestants.
This majority of one-time British immigrants is important
when we briefly consider the role of the union movement
and working class politics which, like the rest of
B.C. has been greatly influenced by the British transi-
tion and unionism.

The transition from a somewhat rural area to a
suburban one brought a significant change in the voting
pattern of the area as a whole. Considering the parties
on the provincial level, with special attention focussed
on the two major ones, the Social Credit and New Democratic
Party (formerly known as the C.C.F.), the voting pattern
shows a marked change from 1952 to 1966. In the early
period when the C.C.F. was strong in other parts of
Canada, its gains in the area were minimal and did not
surpass the contending Social Credit. As a matter of
fact, in 1956 the C.C.F. and Social Credit showed com-
parable strength. As the area became more suburbanized
and migration of manual workers increased in the area,
the vote shifted in favour of the New Democratic Party.

The tables below show the change in voting pattern in three ridings where the respondents of the sample reside for the last six provincial elections.

TABLE 5 (a)[5]

VOTE DISTRIBUTION BY PARTIES IN THE AREA OF THE SAMPLE

	S.C.	N.D.P. (C.C.F.)	Lib.	P.C.	Commun.	Total	% of Registered Voters Who Voted
1952	24%	37%	15%	24%	--	100%	71.5%
1953	30	44	17	9	--	100	65.7
1956	45	42	13	-	--	100	71.0
1960*	31	54	10	5	--	100	83.0
1963	29	53	11	7	--	100	70.3
1966*	29	62	9	-	--	100	69.3

TABLE 5 (b)[6]

PROVINCIAL VOTE DISTRIBUTION

	S.C.	N.D.P. (C.C.F.)	Lib.	P.C.	Other	Total	% of Registered Voters Who Voted
1952	30.18	34.30	25.26	10.0	1.0	100%	68.53%
1953	45.54	29.48	23.36	1.11	.51	99%	70.55
1956	45.84	28.32	21.77	3.11	.41	99.45	65.73
1960	38.83	32.73	20.90	6.72	.82	100	71.84
1963	40.83	27.80	19.98	11.27	.12	100	69.71
1966	45.59	33.62	20.24	-	.55	100	68.28

*In 1960 the number of registered voters was 1416, compared to 1529 in 1966.

By comparing the elections turnout for the province as a whole and the area studied, one notices two things. Voting turnout is similar in both instances. Approximately 70 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots. Compared to the U.S. this turnout is large. Firstly, it is an indication of a vital political climate in B.C. Secondly, 1952 excluded, the Social Credit gained about 45 per cent of the vote on the provincial level. This is not the case in the area studied. The New Democratic Party managed to establish grass roots for an organized socialist party which later on evolved into the working class party, modifying some of its early militant and extreme socialist platform.

A final important feature of the politico-economic life of the area is the influence of unionism. Three major unions are in charge of organizing the blue collar workers of the area: The International Woodworkers of America, Atomic and Chemical Workers Union, and the Longshoremen Union. Most of the respondents in the survey are members of the I.W.A. and A.C.W. Few are longshoremen. Because of the scarce material on the area and the apparent impact of the union movement on the voting pattern, I found it necessary to interview union officials so as to gather first hand information regarding the activities of the union in politicizing its membership[7].

The influence of the A.C.W. is felt in its early
efforts to gain certification as the official bargain-
ing agent for one of the oil refineries which is located
in the area and employs a large portion of the respondents
in the sample. As a result of the union's efforts, the
Imperial Oil Refinery of Port Moody became the first
unionized refinery of its kind in Canada. It continued
to be the only one until very recently. This fact is
a source of pride for the workers and the union officials
whom I talked to.

In addition to early confrontations between the
union and the management prior to certification, two
major strikes took place in the last ten years. It
was also pointed out to me that the issues involved
were not directly related to wage increases. Instead,
they centered around problems caused by automation,
violation of promotion rules and compulsory overtime.

Although there is no apparent official link between
the union and any of the political parties, the fact
remains that the union conducts political information
programmes designed to inform the membership about the
consequences of certain legislations affecting the
workers. As an example, in its latest efforts to inform
the membership about the details of Provincial Bill 33,

the union organized seminars and general meetings where
information and discussions about the bill took place.
Programmes of this sort induce the members to become
increasingly conscious of their status as workers and
perceive of the management, and in this case the
Provincial government, as acting in collusion and
contrary to the welfare of the workers. With a high
percentage attending union meetings (25 per cent on
the local level), the effect of politicization is
expected to be felt on a larger segment of the member-
ship.

The impact of the I.W.A. has been felt through
its efforts to organize the 450 workers in the Port
Moody Mill. Noted for its militancy vis-a-vis manage-
ment and the provincial government, the I.W.A. openly
supported the opposition party, the N.D.P., and in
1952 it campaigned to elect an M.L.A. who is also a
member of the I.W.A. local executive. Like the A.C.W.,
this union too conducts political seminars and it is
on record as having organized four major strikes in
the Port Moody Mill alone. These strikes took place
in 1946, 1952, 1956 and 1959. The issues involved
included proper recognition, right of checkoff and wage
increase. Attendance to the local union meeting reaches
30 per cent.

Similar to other studies on labour and politics, it is evident from the discussion so far that there is a relationship between the leftist vote - in this case the NDP - and membership in the union. Estimates of union officials about union membership with the blue collar workers strata are very high. Of those classified as skilled and semi-skilled workers, 85 per cent are union members. It isn't possible to open union files and record the exact number of those affiliated with the unions.

The Sample

Out of the 120 families who have children in the schools studied, 65 gave a written consent to answer the adult questionnaire. However, only 40 families, i.e., 33 per cent of the sample, returned the question- naires, one for the father and one for the mother. In most cases, the two questionnaires were returned except for those cases when the father was away from home. Because of this, more females than males responded to the questionnaire. No attempt was made to send another wave of questionnaires. The size of the sample should be kept in mind when forming generalizations about the population of 120 families.

There are three elementary schools involved in this study, all within close proximities of each other. Each child in grades 3 to 7 who was present during the survey answered the questionnaire. Hence, the children's sample is 100 per cent, with the number of students totalling 168.

The tables below give the breakdown of the children's sample, totalling 168, by grade, sex, and IQ.

TABLE 6[8]

BREAKDOWN OF CHILDREN'S SAMPLE

Grade	Total
3	36
4	34
5	38
6	27
7	33

Sex	
Male	89
Female	78
Information not available	1

IQ	
Below Average	14
Average	89
Above Average	58
Information not available	7

It is difficult to infer any sort of normality in distribution or association between the variables, such as social class and IQ, or social class and grade level from the above tables. Since the data in Chapter Three are divided along three main dimensions; social class, grade level, and sex, it is essential to justify this choice. Implicit in the choice of these independent variables is that there is no association between them.

A chi-quire test is conducted on the frequency distribution to see whether or not social class is associated with intelligence, or with grade level. These tests are reported below in Tables #7 and #8.

TABLE 7 (a)

TEST OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND GRADE LEVEL

Social Class

Grade	I	II	III
3	f_o=17 f_t=12.6	17 16.52	1 5.8
4	14 10.8	10 14.16	6 5.03
5	10 12.9	20 16.99	6 6.03
6	6 9.7	16 12.75	5 4.52
7	11 11.88	13 15.57	9 5.53

f_o = observed frequency
f_t = theoretical frequency

$$x^2 = 14.0 < x^2_{.05}(8 \text{d.f.}) = 15.5$$

TABLE 7 (b)

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
SOCIAL CLASS AND IQ

Social Class	Below Average	Average	Above Average
I	$f_o= 7$ $f_t= 4.72$	33 31.58	17 20.69
II	5 6.12	39 41	30 26.86
III	1 2.15	15 14.4	10 9.44

$$x^2 = 3.16 < x^2_{.05}(4.d.f.) = 9.49$$

In both cases the null hypothesis of no association is retained. This also holds true for IQ and grade level, although this is an expected result since IQ doesn't vary with age ($x^2 = 2.47 < x^2_{.05}$ (4d.f.) = 9.49).

Income is used as a criteria for devising a social class scheme for the total sample of the children. Reliance on income, rather than occupation, is due to the lack of information on the occupational background of all the adults in the sample. Table #8 below presents percentage distribution according to five income ranges. These are then collapsed into three.

TABLE 8

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

	Name of Students	% Distribution
$3000 or less	2	34%
$3000-$6000	56	
$6000-$10000	76	45
$10000-$15000	22	13
$15000-$20000	5	4.1
Subtotal	161	96.1%
Data Not Available	7	3.9
Total	168	100.0%

Table #8 shows that the blue collar workers are concentrated within the lower ranges of $3000 - $6000, and $6000 - $10000. There are more unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in the former, than in the latter catagory. The two catagories of the blue collar workers are designated as Classes I and II. Those who fall in the upper range, mostly white collar workers, are classified as Class III.

If we compare the distribution within the sample and the population as a whole we notice that the sample is skewed to some degree in the direction of Class III.

This should be expected, since those with a higher income are. more likely to answer the questionnaire than those with a lower income. As a result, four out of the five high income families present in the population answered the questionnaire.

TABLE 9

CLASS DIVISION

	Within the Sample (40 Families)	Within the Population (120 Families)
Class I	29%	34%
Class II	42%	45%
Class III	29%	17%

The occupational background is given for the head of the household in the forty families only. Using Blishen's Canadian scheme for class classification based on occupation and education, we get the following distribution

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN
ACCORDING TO BLISHEN'S SCALE[9]

(a)*	Semiskilled and Labourers:	32%
(b)	Blue Collar Skilled Workers:	35%
(c)	White Collar Workers and Professionals:	33%

* Catagory (a) is based on collapsing classes 6 and 7 in Blishen's scale; catagory (b) is based on collapsing 4 and 5; catagory (c) is based on classes 2 and 3.

Again we notice from Table #10 that similar to the income distribution, we have in the occupational distribution the majority, 70 per cent, clustering in items (a) and (b) which corresponds to Classes I and II referred to earlier. This is somewhat less by 10 per cent than the population of the 120 families.

Another item of data that deserves attention and which highlights the working class character or the sample is the educational attainment of the adults in the sample.

TABLE II

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULTS

Elementary	14%
Secondary	56
2 Yrs of Coll. or Less	5.5
4 Yrs of Coll. or Less	8
Graduate Studies	11
Unclassifiable	5.5

About 70 per cent have secondary education or below. This high percentage is in line with the overall trend of the area. However, there is a relatively high percentage of college graduates in the sample (about 19 per cent). This again indicates a high response

in answering the questionnaire among those with higher education.

The religious composition of the sample is as follows: 65 per cent Protestant; 16 per cent Roman Catholic; 16 per cent no religious affiliation, 8 per cent give no answer.

Finally, the sex composition of the adult sample is as follows: 36 males and 42 females. There are 32 pairs of husband and wife. The rest are divided as follows: 9 females and 5 males.

Hopefully, the above description highlights what seems to be the special features of the area. Firstly, it is a working class area with a sizeable proportion of persons from the lower income and education brackets. Secondly, a majority of the adults are committed to perpetuating a neo-socialist party whose ideology is geared toward the working class. Thirdly, implicit in the above discussion is the presence of politically militant organized unions who have acted jointly with the dominant political party in the area to enhance some sort of class consciousness among the working class. Fourthly, the sample, although it is not representative of the area as a whole - and it wasn't intended to be so - gives an accurate portrayal of the occupational and educational characteristics of the parents whose children are the subjects of this study.

Children's Questionnaire

Directions: The questions you are about to answer are
not part of a school examination. You will
not be graded on the answers you write down.
Do not worry about not answering certain
questions, although it is preferred that
you try and answer them all. If there are
certain questions that you would like to
answer but you don't understand, raise your
hand and someone will help you. Follow the
instructions for each item.

Section I

(1) If you had your choice to choose three friends from
the provinces of Canada, from where would you pick
your first, second, and third friend? Insert
numbers (1), (2), and (3) next to your answers.
Alberta _____   Ontario _____   Quebec _____   Nova Scotia _____
British Columbia _____   New Foundland _____
Saskatchewan _____   New Brunswick _____   Other _____

(2) Do you think that it would be a good idea for children
from other provinces to come and visit your school
in British Columbia? Yes, I think so _____   No,
I do not think so _____

(3) Who do you think has better schools? Answer either (a) or (b).

Children from British Columbia _____

Children from other provinces _____

(4) Do you mind having French speaking children from Quebec come and spend some time with you in the classroom?

Yes, I mind _____   No, I do not mind _____

Do not care _____

(5) If you decide to visit Quebec, do you think that you would be welcomed there? Give <u>one</u> answer only.

Yes, I think so _____   No, I do not think so _____

(6) If your answer to the previous one is no, tell us why. (write in the line below).

_____

(7) Name the capital city of Quebec.

Name _____   Cannot remember the name _____

(8) Name the capital city of British Columbia.

Name _____   Cannot remember the name _____

(9) Who is the Premier of Quebec?

His name is _____   Cannot remember his name _____

(10) Who is the Premier of British Columbia?

His name is _____   Cannot remember his name _____

(11) What kinds of things does the Premier of B.C. do?
Write below.

_____

(12) What kinds of things does the Premier of Quebec do?
Write below.

_____

(13) Do you think that Quebec should stay a part of Canada?

Yes, it should _____   No, it should not _____

Does not make any difference _____

(14) If you think that Quebec should not be a part of
Canada, tell us why you think so. (Write in the
line below).

_____

(15) Can you name the capital city of Canada?

Name _____   Cannot remember the name _____

(16) What is your nationality? Write one answer only.

British Columbian _____   Canadian _____   French _____

British _____   Irish _____   German _____

Section II

(17) Is it true that Canada is a friendly nation which
welcomes tourists and foreigners to visit her?

Yes, it is true _____   No, it is not _____

Don't know _____

(18) Do you mind having as your neighbours newcomers who just arrived to make Canada their home? Write one answer. Yes, I mind _____ No, I don't mind _____

(19) Do you like to make trips and visit other countries?

Yes, I do _____ No, I do not _____ Undecided _____

(20) Have you ever heard of the United Nations? Write one answer only.

Yes, I have _____ No, I have not _____

(21) If you heard about the United Nations, who was it that talked to you about it? Write as many answers as you find necessary.

Friend _____

Father or Mother _____

Radio or Television _____

Other _____

(22) Where is the United Nations located? (,)

Place of location _____ Cannot remember _____

(23) Is the United Nations a good thing to have? Write one answer.

Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

(24) Is Canada a friend of the United Nations?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

(25) What does the United Nations do? Write as many answers as you like.

Makes peace _____ Makes war _____ Helps hungry children _____ Does not do anything _____

(26) Do you remember a war that comes to your mind quite often?

Yes, I remember one _____ No, I cannot remember _____

(27) Who talked to you about this particular war? Write three answers if you can.

Friend _____

Parents _____

Brother or sister _____

Teacher _____

Newspaper _____

Television or radio _____

Other (write name) _____

(28) Can you name two countries who are at war with each other now?

Name of one _____ Name of second _____

Cannot remember _____

(29) Whose fault do you think that these countries are fighting each other.

Fault of first country (write name) _____

Fault of second country (write name) _____

Fault of both countries _____

Fault of nobody _____

Don't know whose fault it is _____

Section III

(30) When was the last time you read a news story on the front page of a newspaper? Write one answer.

Yesterday _____   Last week _____   Long time ago _____

(31) Can you think of a news story which interested you? Tell us about it. It can be from a newspaper, T.V., or radio. Make it short.

_____

_____

(32) Can you think of a news story which made you feel angry? Write below.

_____

_____

(33) Can you think of a news story which made you feel happy? Write below.

_____

_____

(34) Name a famous person you want to be like.

_____

(35) If you had your choice about reading stories on different places, which of the following places would you prefer to read a story about?

Port Moody _____   Victoria _____   Ottawa _____

Montreal _____   Other _____

(36) Check the names of the four most important people
from the list below.

Mayor of city _____

School teacher _____

Judge _____

Prime Minister of the country _____

Premier of B.C. _____

Police chief _____

Religious leader such as priest _____

(37) Check four names people are afraid of:

Mayor of city _____

Police chief _____

Doctor _____

School principal _____

Religious leader _____

Prime minister of Canada _____

Premier of B.C. _____

(38) What kinds of things do you think the principal
does?

_____

(39) What kinds of things does the mayor do?

_____

(40) What kinds of things does the police chief do?

_____

(41) What kinds of things does the Prime Minister of
      Canada do?

      _____

Section IV

(42) Some of you may not be sure what the word govern-
      ment means. If you are not sure what government
      means, put an "X" in the box below.

      ┌─────────────┐
      │   │
      │   │
      └─────────────┘

(43) Tell us, if you can, what does the government do.

      _____

      _____

(44) Pick three names that show best what our government
      is.

      Maple leaf flag _____

      Voting _____

      Lester Pearson _____

      Expo '67 _____

      Army _____

      Parliament of Canada _____

      Supreme court _____

      W. A. C. Bennett _____

      Don't know _____

(45) Think for a minute of the government of Canada.

Now read the following names and tell us which

do you think of these people work for the govern-

ment?

Milkman _____   Police _____   Soldier _____

Judge _____   Postmen _____   Teacher _____

Other _____

(46) Do you agree or disagree with the following state-

ment? Write one answer for each statement. Circle

each answer you choose.

The government interferes too much with our private lives	agree	disagree
The government usually knows what is best for the people	agree	disagree
The government ought to give money and food to people out of work	agree	disagree
The government should have more power over the people	agree	disagree

(47) Who makes the laws of Canada? Check one name only.

Parliament _____

Prime Minister _____

Supreme court _____

Police _____

Don't know _____

(48) Do you think that you will vote when you reach

voting age?

Yes _____   No _____

(49) Can you name the political parties of British Columbia?

Write as many names as you can remember below:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. Don't know _____

(50) Name the most famous leaders in the parties you

mentioned above. List them according to the order

you have above.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. Can't remember any of the names _____

(51) Suppose that you were old enough to vote, whom would

you ask for advice?

A friend _____   Brother or sister _____

Father or mother _____   Teacher _____   Other _____

Section V

(52) What do you like to do most in your spare time?
Write one thing.

_____

(53) How many friends do you like to be with after
school? Write one thing.

very large group _____

large group _____

very small group _____

alone, by myself _____

(54) Whom do you like to be with most weekends?

Your friends _____

Your family _____

Alone _____

(55) Do you like to talk much with your friends? (Write
one thing)

Yes _____

No _____

(56) Name a wish that you would like to come true.

_____

(57) Do you think the punishments given to children are
always fair, or some are fairer than others? Write
one answer.

Are always fair _____

Some fairer than others _____

(58) If you were to make a mistake or anything that is seriously wrong, who should punish you, if anybody at all? Write one thing.

Father _____   Mother _____   Friend _____

Teacher _____   Should not be punished _____

(59) Read this short story very carefully. If there are words that you do not understand raise your hand and I will explain them to you. After you finish reading the story, answer the questions below.

A lot of boys, as they were coming out of school, went to play in the street, and started throwing snowballs at each other. One of the boys throws his ball too far and breaks a window-pane. A gentleman comes out of his house and asks who did it. Because no one of the children answered, the gentleman decided to complain to the teacher. Next day the teacher asks the class who broke the window. But again, no one speaks. The boy who done it says it was not he, and the rest of the children won't tell on him.

Now, what do you think should the teacher do?

(a) Punish all the children _____

(b) Punish no body _____

(60) If you answered either (a) or (b), tell us in one
line about your decision.

_____

(61) If you could change the world in anyway you wanted,
what changes would you make?

_____

Thank you very much for your
cooperation.

Directions: Please check one answer below each question-
naire item. Mark with an "X" in one of the
squares corresponding to the question you
answer. Please remember that there is only
one choice for answering each question.

1. Voting is the only way people like my father and mother
can have any say about how the government runs things.

YES ☐ yes ☐ Don't Know ☐ no ☐ NO ☐

2. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the govern-
ment.

YES ☐ yes ☐ Don't Know ☐ no ☐ NO ☐

3. What happens in the government will happen no matter
what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing
people can do about it.

YES ☐ yes ☐ Don't Know ☐ no ☐ NO ☐

4. There are some big powerful men in the government
who are running the whole thing and they do not care
about us ordinary people.

YES ☐ yes ☐ Don't Know ☐ no ☐ NO ☐

5. My family doesn't have any say about what the govern-
ment does.

YES ☐ yes ☐ Don't Know ☐ no ☐ NO ☐

6. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.

YES ☐   yes ☐   Don't Know ☐   no ☐   NO ☐

7. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

YES ☐   yes ☐   Don't know ☐   no ☐   NO ☐

8. How much does the average person help decide which laws are made for our country?

Very Much ☐   Some ☐   Very Little ☐

Not at All ☐   Don't Know ☐

Parent's Questionnaire

Serial Number _____   Code Number _____

Husband _____   Wife _____

School _____

Please put an "X" in <u>one</u> of the squares corresponding to your answer.

		Agree	Disagree
(1)	I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	☐	☐
(2)	The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.	☐	☐
(3)	Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.	☐	☐
(4)	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	☐	☐
(5)	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	☐	☐

(6) Consider the national government in Ottawa. About how much effect do you think its activities have on your life? Give <u>one</u> answer.

Great effect _____

Some effect _____

No effect _____

Other _____

(7) Consider the local government. About how much effect do you think its activities have on your life? Give <u>one</u> answer.

Great effect _____

Some effect _____

No effect _____

Other _____

(8) Consider the provincial government. About how much effect do you think its activities have on your life? Give <u>one</u> answer.

Great effect _____

Some effect _____

No effect _____

Other _____

(9) Do you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs?

If you do, is it

Regularly _____   Never _____

From time to time _____   Don't know _____

(10) Do you participate in campaign activities?

Regularly _____

Occasionally _____

Only once _____

Never _____

(11) Can you name the political parties in B.C.?

1. _____   2. _____   3. _____

4. _____   5. _____   6. _____

(12) Can you name the leaders of B.C. political parties?

1. _____   2. _____   3. _____

4. _____   5. _____   6. _____

(13) People speak of the obligations that they owe to their country. In your opinion, what are the obligations that every man owes to his country? Write down in the line below.

_____

(14) Do you think that people tend fundamentally to cooperate, or human nature is such that they do not?

They do cooperate _____

Their nature is not so _____

(15) There will always be strong groups and weak groups in our society, and it is best that the strong continue to dominate the weak.

Do you agree with above statement _____ (write yes or no).

(16) Obedience and respect for authority are the most
important thing to teach children.

Yes, I agree _____

No, I don't agree _____

(17) What this country needs most is a few strong,
courageous tireless leaders in whom the people can
put their faith.

I agree _____

I don't agree _____

(18) Controversial people should not be allowed to speak
on mass media such as radio, television or the press.
They also should not be allowed to teach in schools.

Do not agree _____

I agree _____

Undecided _____

(19) Should there be discussion of controversial subjects
in schools and churches?

Yes, there should be _____

No, there should not be _____

Undecided _____

(20) Should the government be allowed to prohibit certain
people from speaking out?

Yes, it should _____

No, it should not _____

Undecided _____

(21) Do you think that Canada will be stronger with or without Quebec? Write <u>one</u> answer.

With Quebec _____

Without Quebec _____

Does not make a difference _____

(22) Do you mind seeing Quebec secede from Canada? Write <u>one</u> answer.

Yes, I do mind very much _____

I mind very little _____

I do not mind at all _____

No opinion at the present time _____

(23) Is B.C. strong enough to be able to support itself without any assistance from the federal government? Write <u>one</u> answer.

Yes, it is very strong _____

Maybe, it can _____

No, it cannot support itself _____

No opinion _____

(24) Canada currently extends foreign aid to other countries. Is this a good thing to do?

Yes, it is _____

No, it is not _____

Undecided _____

(25) If you answered no, tell us why.

_____

(26) If you answered yes, tell us why.

_____

(27) Is the United Nations a good thing to have?

Yes, it is a good thing _____

No, it is not a good thing _____

(28) Does Canada have any ties with the United Nations?

Yes _____

No _____

Don't know _____

(29) Some people think of Canada as a "peace maker".

I agree with this image _____

I don't agree with this image _____

(30) Do you think that it is alright for children to ask

questions about politics and politicians? Write

one answer.

Yes, I do not mind _____

Politics is not for children _____

(31) Do you ever answer questions from your child or

children about politics? Write one answer.

Yes, I do _____

No, I do not _____

They never asked me _____

(32) Is discussion or politics frequent in the home?

Yes, it is frequent _____

Not too frequent _____

Not frequent at all _____

(33) Do you believe that politics and politicians are basically bad?

Yes, I believe that way _____

No, I do not believe that way _____

(34) Do you sometimes read the newspaper with your child?

Yes, sometimes I do _____

Always _____

Never _____

(35) Are there available books in the house which deal and describe the working of governments?

Yes, there are _____

No, there are not _____

(36) Would you encourage your child to write to public figures and find out for himself certain answers for political problems?

Yes, I would if he asked me _____

No, I would not _____

(37) Did you ever write to your representative either in the national, local or provincial government to complain about an issue?

Yes _____

No _____

Your cooperation is
greatly appreciated.

Footnotes to Appendix I

1. Census Tracts, <u>Census: Metropolitan Area of Vancouver</u>, 1961, Table 3, p. 26.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 99.

4. Ibid., p. 102.

5. The figures in Table #5 (a) are based on the <u>Statement of Votes</u>, for the following consecutive periods: June 12, 1952, June 9, 1953, September 19, 1956, September 12, 1960, September 30, 1963 and September 12, 1966.

6. Ibid.

7. No accurate academic assessment of the alliance between the New Democratic Party and the labour movement in British Columbia exists. Paul Phillips' book <u>No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia</u> (1968), highlights the link between the N.D.P. and the labour movement. See also Martin Robin, "The Social Basis of Party Politics in British Columbia," in Thorburn (ed.) <u>Party Politics of Canada</u> (1967), pp. 190-201.

8. The information on the children is provided by the principal from the schools' files.

9. Bernard Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," <u>Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science</u>, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1958), pp. 519-531.

APPENDIX II

The following tables present data which bear upon the children's responses and are referred to in passing at appropriate places in Chapter III. Some of the questions were given in a somewhat modified form to the children to answer. The parents' responses are presented in Tables #1, 2 and 3 below. Tables #4, 5, and 6 contribute toward understanding the family environment and parent-child relationships as they affect the political socialization of the child.

TABLE 1

RESPONSES TO THE U.N. AND CANADA'S IMAGE

Question	Response Type	Overall Sample	Social Class I	II	III	Educ.* I	II	Sex M	F
(a) Is it good to have the U.N.?	Yes	95%	95%	91%	100%	94%	96%	94%	95%
	No	1	–	–	–	2	–	–	3
	Undec.	4	5	9	–	4	4	6	2
(b) Does Canada have ties with the U.N.?	Yes	96	100	91	100	94	100	97	95
	No	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–
	Undec.	4	–	9	–	4	–	3	5
(c) Do you agree with Canada's image as a peacemaker?	Yes	71	81	64	74	72	84	72	69
	No	24	19	27	20	24	16	19	29
	Undec	5	–	9	6	6	–	9	2

* I: completed secondary education or less.
 II: completed four years of college or less.

TABLE 2

OPINIONS OF NATIONAL UNITY

Question	With	Without	No Opinion	
1) Do you think that Canada will be stronger with or without Quebec?	83%	2%	15%	
	Very Much	Very Little	Don't Mind	No Opinion
2) Do you mind seeing Quebec secede from Canada?	73%	12%	8%	7%
	Yes	Maybe	No	No Opinion
3) Is B.C. strong enough to be able to support itself without any federal assistance?	10%	40%	40%	10%

TABLE 3

RESPONSES TO POLITICAL EFFICACY ITEMS
(A high % on items 1,3,4, and 5 indicate a low sense of efficacy. A low score on the remaining second item indicates a high sense of efficacy.)

Item	Social Class I	II	III	Education I	II	Sex M	F
1. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	52%	45%	9%	45%	37%	42%	31%
2. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country	67	61	68	62	63	69	57
3. Voting is the only way people like me can have a say about how the government runs things.	81	45	39	60	36	50	55
4. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	38	33	13	35	21	26	31
5. Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	62	36	43	55	47	42	60

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSION ON POLITICS IN THE HOME

	Social Class			Education	
	I	II	III	I	II
Frequent	55%	36%	43%	48%	42%
Not too Frequent	35	58	43	46	47
Not Frequent at All	10	6	14	6	11

TABLE 5

AVAILABILITY OF PRINTED MATERIAL IN THE HOME

	Social Class			Education	
	I	II	III	I	II
Available	43%	49%	70%	47%	79%
Not Available	52	45	30	47	11
No Answer	5	6	-	6	10

TABLE 6

REACTION TO AUTHORITARIAN SCALE

Implicit Authoritarianism		Soc.Class			Educ.		Sex	
		I	II	III	I	II	M	F
There will always be strong groups and weak groups in our society, and it is best that the strong continues to dominate the weak.	Agree	33	33	43	36	36	39	33
	Disag.	57	64	48	55	64	50	65
	Undec.	13	3	9	9	-	11	2
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important things to teach children.	Agree	90	70	36	73	47	58	69
	Disag.	5	18	52	16	48	31	24
	Undec.	5	12	12	11	5	11	7
What this country needs is a few strong, courageous and tireless leaders in whom the people can put their faith.	Agree	95	73	48	74	53	69	69
	Disag.	-	24	50	20	47	22	26
	Undec.	5	3	2	6	-	9	5
Explicit Authoritarianism								
Controversial people should not be allowed to speak on mass media such as radio, television or the press.	Agree	76	70	80	71	84	72	78
	Disag.	19	8	13	18	5	17	11
	Undec.	5	12	7	11	11	11	11
Should there be a discussion on controversial subjects in schools and churches?	Agree	90	85	96	90	90	83	95
	Disag.	5	3	4	5	-	6	2
	Undec.	5	12	-	5	10	11	3
Should the government be allowed to prohibit people from speaking out?	Agree	10	15	26	16	15	17	14
	Disag.	81	73	65	74	70	70	79
	Undec.	9	12	9	10	15	13	7

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS ABLE TO NAME
POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR LEADERS

| | Parties | | | | |
	2 Part.	3 Part.	4 Part.	5 Part.	None
% Able to Name	3%	11%	31%	49%	6%

| | Leaders | | | | |
	2 Lead.	3 Lead.	4 Lead.	5 Lead.	None
% Able to Name	1%	15%	44%	6%	34%

TABLE 8

POLITICAL COGNITION OF ADULTS

| Question & Response | Social Class | | | Educ. | | Sex | |
	I	II	III	I	II	M	F
Follows Political Affairs:							
Regularly	33%	45%	48%	37%	52%	42%	43%
Occasionally	52	52	39	50	48	53	45
Never	5	–	9	6	–	–	7
No Answer	10	3	4	7	–	5	5
Participates in Campaign Activities:							
Regularly	10	–	–	20	26	3	2
Occasionally	20	12	39	2	13	25	19
Once	–	3	9	74	61	3	4
Never	70	85	52	4	–	69	75
Ability to Name Political Parties:							
Two	10	–	–	4	–	3	2
Three	30	6	4	12	16	18	7
Four	30	30	26	27	16	33	29
Five	20	58	65	50	61	41	55
None	10	6	5	7	7	5	7

TABLE 8 (Cont.)

Questions & Response	Social Class			Educ.		Sex	
	I	II	III	I	II	M	F
Ability to Name Polit. Leaders:							
One	-	-	5	2	-	-	2
Two	19	21	-	18	5	11	17
Three	33	42	52	38	48	48	40
Four	10	3	9	6	11	3	10
None	38	24	34	36	36	38	31

TABLE 9

CONTACT WITH PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES

	Social Class			Education	
	I	II	III	I	II
% Who Write to Representatives	52%	33%	39%	47%	26%

These tables show distribution of children's responses to items referred to in the thesis, but were not included in the main body either because of a space limitation, or because of indirect relevancy. However, this should not dimish the importance of the data in these tables.

TABLE 10

MORAL JUDGEMENT OF THE CHILD
ON THE VIETNAM CONFLICT BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class		
	I	II	III
Fault of the U.S.	8.6%*	6.6%	11%
Fault of the N.V.	5.0	6.6	15
Fault of Both Sides	24.0	26.0	26
No opinion	62.4	60.8	48

* % based on total responses, including the "no opinion" category.

TABLE 11

THE OPINION OF THE CHILD AS TO WHO SHOULD PUNISH HIM

	Social Class		
	I	II	III
Father	53%	62%	74%
Mother	12	21	3.7
Teacher	1.7	2.6	7.4
Friend	3.4	1.3	-
Shouldn't Punish	24	10	11
Depends on Mistake	1.7	-	3.8
No Answer	3.2	1.6	-

TABLE 12

EVALUATION OF PUNISHMENT BY CHILDREN[*]

	Social Class		
	I	II	III
Always Fair	43%	29%	26%
Some Fairer than Others	53	66	74
No Opinion	4	5	-

* The question read as follows: "Do you think the
  punishments given to children are always fair, or
  some are fairer than others?"

TABLE 13

DESIRE TO CHANGE THE WORLD
EGO-INVOLVEMENT BY GRADE AND I.Q.

Type of Response	Gr. 3		Gr. 4		Gr. 5		Gr. 6		Gr. 7	
	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H
Political	13	17	24	100	40	59	44	72	64	93
Non-Political	21	8	49	-	8	8	25	-	-	7
Would Not Change It	33	25	43	-	12	8	6	-	12	-
No Opinion	33	50	14	-	40	25	25	28	24	-

TABLE 14

IDENTIFICATION OF PARLIAMENT AS THE LAW-MAKER
BY GRADE AND I.Q.

Grade Three		Grade Four		Grade Five		Grade Six		Grade Seven	
M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H
29%	25%	38%	71%	20%	33%	19%	46%	65%	75%

TABLE 15

NAMED CORRECTLY THE CAPITAL
OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Grade Three		Grade Four		Grade Five		Grade Six		Grade Seven	
M	H	M	H	H	H	M	H	M	H
9%	70%	62%	71%	80%	82%	70%	100%	82%	90%

TABLE 16

% OF THOSE WHO AGREE TO VOTE
BY GRADE LEVEL AND I.Q.

Grade Three		Grade Four		Grade Five		Grade Six		Grade Seven	
M	H	M	H	H	H	M	H	M	H
70%	83%	90%	93%	76%	83%	81%	90%	93%	90%

TABLE 17

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES
TOWARD GOVERNMENTAL ROLES
% OF "AGREE" RESPONSES

Item	Grade Three		Grade Four		Grade Five		Grade Six		Grade Seven	
	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H	M	H
The government interferes too much with our private lives.	21%	50%	48%	–	48%	33%	31%	9%	23%	31%
The government usually knows what is best for the people.	70	83	70	85	64	75	69	44	88	75
The government ought to give money and food to people out of work.	62	83	81	85	44	50	19	63	64	81
The government should have more power over the people.	16	16	33	–	32	16	31	19	25	–

TABLE 18

POLITICAL EFFICACY BY GRADE LEVEL AND I.Q.*

(RESPONSES IN PER CENT)

Item**	Gr. 3 I.Q. M	Gr. 3 I.Q. H	Gr. 4 I.Q. M	Gr. 4 I.Q. H	Gr. 5 I.Q. M	Gr. 5 I.Q. H	Gr. 6 I.Q. M	Gr. 6 I.Q. H	Gr. 7 I.Q. M	Gr. 7 I.Q. H
3. Agree	25%	50%	52%	71%	48%	8%	50%	18%	37%	26%
Disagree	11	11	31	28	20	33	31	64	37	69
No Opinion	64	33	27	11	22	59	19	18	26	5
4. Agree	54	42	38	28	28	41	31	36	24	30
Disagree	12	33	52	60	40	25	44	45	53	40
No Opinion	34	25	-	12	32	34	25	19	23	30
5. Agree	46	25	30	70	40	58	25	27	47	25
Disagree	25	34	60	-	40	17	50	45	30	55
No Opinion	29	41	10	30	20	25	25	28	23	20
6. Agree	33	33	48	30	48	58	44	27	41	38
Disagree	25	25	52	60	24	25	31	46	47	50
No Opinion	42	42	-	10	28	17	25	27	12	12
N =	24	12	21	7	25	12	16	11	17	16

* Because of the relatively small number of students in each class, it is not statistically recommended to rely on small size frequencies. For this reason the I.Q. is dichotomized along two dimensions, rather than three.

**For the wording of these items refer to the last page in the attached questionnaire.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

1. Anyone who follows the development of political
    socialization research notices the continual shift
    in emphasis from defining political socialization as
    a process which deals with stability to one which
    deals with change.

    In his latest theoretical writing on the topic,
    Easton expresses the opinion of contemporary students
    of socialization by recommending the application of
    "persistance" theory which is capable in dealing
    with social change. In the words of Easton, "we
    need a more comprehensive conception of the theoreti-
    cal relevance of socialization for the political
    system, one in which change is not interpreted as
    a failure of the system to reproduce itself but in
    which change is viewed in positive terms." Refer
    to, David Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of
    Political Socialization," Canadian Journal of
    Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 2, (June, 1968),
    pp. 125-146.

    It is strange that Easton warns the student of
    socialization not to yield to functional analysis
    when not long ago he and Dennis defined political
    socialization functionally as "a major response
    mechanism through which political systems typically
    seek to avert any serious decline in the level of
    support for an existing regime. . ." Refer to
    "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political
    Effiacy," The American Political Science Review,
    Vol. 61 (March, 1967), pp. 25-38.

    This emphasis on change is evident in research on
    children's political socialization. Cognitive growth
    is emphasized as causing a change in the political
    orientation of the child, particularly in the early
    formative years. Refer to, R. Hess and J. Torney,
    The Development of Political Attitudes in Children
    (1967), p. 12, Jack Dennis, Occasional Paper No. 8:
    A Survey and Bibliography of Contemporary Research
    on Political Learning and Socialization, (April, 1967),
    p. 2. Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics (1965),
    p. 12.

The application of these recent trends which stress
developmental aspects and cognition to the study of
adolescents and adults is lacking. A decade ago
Hyman pointed out the need to supplement contemporary
ecological studies with those that deal with organiza-
tion of attitudes and personality factors. In his
own words, "psychological analysis involving concepts
from the area of motivation and personality would be
required to complete our treatment of the psychology
of politics" Refer to Herbert Hyman, Political
Socialization (1959), p. 188.

With reference to Hyman's remarks, Almond and Coleman
in Politics of the Developing Areas (1960), pp. 27-28,
formulate a definition of political socialization
which, although functional in nature, takes into
account cognition:

> Political socialization is the process
> of induction into the political culture.
> Its end product is a set of attitudes --
> cognition, value standards, and feelings
> -- toward the political system, its roles
> and role-incumbents. It includes know-
> ledge of values affecting, and feeling
> toward the inputs of elements and claims
> into the system, and its authoritive out-
> puts.

For a similar, although more refined definition --
one that attempts to take into account cognitive and
evaluative orientations, see G. Almond and S. Verba,
The Civic Culture (1965), pp. 270-273.

For a satisfactory review of the historic evaluation
of different definitions and concepts in political
socialization, refer to Richard Dawson's comprehensive
examination of the field, "Political Socialization,"
Political Science Annual, Vol. 1 (1966), pp. 1-84,
for a review of the literature in general, see
I. Child, "Socialization," in G. Lindzey (ed.),
Handbook of Social Psychology (1954.

2. This is not the place to go into a detailed examination
of Easton's framework. The reader is advised to refer
to his volume, A Systems Analysis of Political Life
(1965). Briefly stated, political socialization is

viewed by Easton as the process whereby the citizen
develops public support and projects his demand
upon the system. These inputs determine to a great
extent the decision-making process within the govern-
ment level and the formulation of public policies,
or outputs. It is the duty, Easton contends, of
the "political community" to socialize its younger
generation in basic political orientations. Expressed
schematically, in terms of orientations and levels of
the political system, nine cells become apparent in
Easton's typology. They are presented schematically
below.

TYPES OF POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

Levels of a Political System	Types of Orientations		
	Knowledge	Values	Attitudes
Community			
Regime			
Government			

See also Easton, and R. Hess, "Youth and the Political
Systems," in Lipset and Lowenthal (eds), Culture and
Social Character (1962), pp. 226-251.

3. D. Easton and R. Hess, "The Child's Political World,"
   Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6, No. 3,
   (August, 1962).

4. In his Survey and Bibliography of Contemporary Research
   on Political Learning and Socialization, Dennis refers
   to his study with Easton, "The Child's Acquisition of
   Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," op. cit., as being
   an example of an examination of political socialization
   in the regime level of the political system.

5. This is the oldest type of research in political
   behaviour. Most of the voting studies are identified
   with the study of socialization that bears upon
   partisan and ideological identification. A major
   portion of Hyman's survey deals with socialization
   along these lines.

6. R. Hess, and J. Torney, op. cit., p. 24.

Chapter 2

1. Actually, Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago
   wrote on the topic of political socialization as early
   as the 1930's. His book, The Making of Citizens: A
   Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training (1931),
   although neglected for a long time by political
   scientists, has enough in it to provide the impetus
   for research on children and politics. Not until
   the mid-50's do we find a systematic treatment of
   the topic. The works of David Easton from the
   University of Chicago's Political Science Department
   provided a starting point for what is becoming a major
   area of research. Easton was later on joined by
   Robert Hess from the same institution (Human Develop-
   ment Department). Graduate students in both departments
   were encouraged to research in the area of children's
   politicization. For an adequate bibliographical list
   concerning research on early political socialization,
   see Dennis's, Occasional Paper No. 8, pp. 11-12.
   Fred Greenstein's book, Children and Politics; R. Hess
   and J. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes
   Among Children. An informal discussion on the topic
   by leading writers on politics and education sponsored
   by Tufts University is useful and now available under
   the title, Joint Committee on Civic Education Research
   and Theory Working Committee.

2. Application of role analysis in understanding attitude
   and personality development in children is discussed
   by O. Brim, "Personality Development or Role-Learning,"
   Personality Development in Children, ed. I. Iscoe, &
   H. Stevenson, (1960), pp. 127-160. See also, R. Wolters,
   & A. Bandura, Social Learning and Personality Development
   (1963); F. Elkin, The Child and Society: The Process
   of Socialization (1965); T. Parsons, and R. Bales,
   Family Socialization and Interaction Process (1955).

3. Parsons defines ego as an "actor taken as a point of
   reference in his relation to another actor referred
   to as alter." In the same token, ego structure "is
   to be viewed as the establishment of a relatively
   specific, definite, and consistent system of need -
   dispositions operating as selective reactions to the
   alternatives which are presented to him (child) by
   his object situation or which he organizes for himself
   by seeking out new object situations and formulating
   new goals." T. Parsons, Toward a General Theory of
   Action (1951), pp. 15-18.

4. An alter is defined by Parsons as being a social
    object that interacts with the ego. The role-per-
    formance of the ego and alter are determined by each
    other's expectations. For this reason, "the system
    of interaction [between the two] may be analyzed ·
    in terms of the extent of conformity of ego's action
    with alter's expectation and vice versa." Ibid, p. 15.

5. Robert Hess, Models of Political Socialization,
    Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago.
    A paper prepared for The Theory and Research Working
    Committee of the Joint Committees on Civic Education.
    (Tufts University, Medford University, Massachusetts,
    June 26, 1967). p. 5.

6. J. Smith, A. Kornberg, D. Bromly, Patterns of Early
    Political Socialization and Adult Party Affiliation.
    A paper presented to The Annual Meeting of the
    Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association,
    Calgary, June 6-7, 1968. p. 18. See also A. Strauss,
    and K. Schuessler, "A Study of Concept Learning by
    Scale Analysis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15
    (December, 1950), pp. 752-62; A. Strauss, and
    K. Schessler, "Socialization, Logical Reasoning, and
    Concept Development in the Child," American Sociological
    Review, Vol. 16 (August, 1951), pp. 514-523.

7. Robert Hess, Models of Political Socialization, p. 5.

8. Ibid., p. 8.

9. Ibid., p. 19.

10. Ibid., p. 20.

11. Ibid., p. 21.

12. See the results in Chapter 3.

13. R. Hess & J. Torney, Development of Political Attitudes
     in Children, pp. 21-22.

14. Richard Dawson, op.cit., p. 28.

15. Ibid., pp. 27-35.

16. Jean Piaget, The Moral Judgement of the Child (1966). See also R. O'Neil & J. Adelson, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1966), pp. 295-306.

17. Robert Hess and Virginia Shipman, "Early Experiences and Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children," Child Development, Vol. 36 (1965), pp. 869-886. See also with reference to the influence of low income and ethnic affiliation upon socialization of children, R. Hess, B. Bloom & A. Davis, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation (1965).

18. R. Hess & J. Torney, Development of Political Attitudes of Children, p. 98.

19. W. Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (1959), p. 90. According to this writer, the family has been reduced from an "extended kinship system" to an "isolated conjugan unit," which ultimately "limits the public meaning of the family . . . and diminishes its capacities for relating the Individual to the larger society."

20. R. Hess & J. Torney, op.cit., p. 101.

21. R. Hess & J. Torney, "Religion, Age, and Sex in Children's Perceptions of Family Authority," Child Development, Vol. 33 (1962), p. 788.

22. R. Hess & J. Torney, op.cit., p. 96. See also Smith, Kornberg, & Bromely, "Patterns of Early Political Socialization.

23. A. Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller, D. Stokes, The American Voter (1960), p. 147.

24. According to Stephen Wasby, "High parental interest does not guarantee high interest on the part of the offspring, but low interest apparently operates as a block to the development of psychological involvement," in "The Impact of the Family on Politics: An Essay and Review of the Literature," Family Life Coordinator, (January, 1966), p. 9. See also R. Hess and J. Torney where they point out the parents may affect the "competitive and emotional involvement," of the offspring with the candidate. p. 99.

25. H. Remmers, "Early Socialization of Attitudes" in Burdick and Brodbeck (eds), American Voting Behaviour (1959), p. 60.

26. R. Hess and J. Torney, op.cit., p. 90.

27. Wasby in his review, op.cit., points out that although the parent-child agreement is not too high, "the stability of patterns between generations," held by socio-economic status and religious affiliation is nevertheless significant. p. 8.

28. R. Hess and J. Torney, op.cit., p. 106.

29. Ibid., p. 111.

30. John Patrick, "Political Socialization of American Youth: A Review of Research with Implications for Secondary School Social Studies," High School Curriculum Center in Government, (Indiana University, March, 1967), p. 31.

31. R. Hess, and J. Torney, op.cit., p. 84.

32. Patrick, op.cit., p. 32.

33. K. Jennings quoted in op.cit., p. 35. Glidwell, et.al., (see below) stated 92.5 to 98% of teachers come from middle class background and they transmit middle class values. pp. 237-238.

34. J. Glidwell, M. Kantor, L., Smith, L. Stringer, "Socialization and Social Structure in the Classroom," Review of Child Development Research, Vol. 11 (1966), pp. 221-256.

35. Ibid., p. 249. This opinion is not shared by Hollingshead. In his families study, Elmstown's Youth, he shows that class differences perpetuate itself with the classroom structure.

36. Hess and Torney, op.cit., p. 113.

37. Ibid., p. 129.

38. Ibid., p. 162.

39. Fred Greenstein, op.cit., pp. 119.

40. Jean Piaget, op.cit., pp. 13-108.

41. D. Easton, J. Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, Vol. LXI (1967), pp. 25-38.

42. Ibid., p. 26.

43. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

44. In their summary of different voting studies, the authors of Voting point out that "The influence toward family homogenity in vote is from husbands to wives." Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Voting (1954), p. 335.

45. D. Easton, J. Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," The Annals, Vol. 361 (September 1965), p. 44.

46. Ibid., p. 48.

47. Ibid., p. 52.

48. Fred Greenstein, op.cit., p. 56.

49. M. Jennings, "Pre adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 11, No. 3 (August, 1967), p. 293.

50. Gabriel Almond, The Appeals of Communism (1954).

51. R. Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of School Children," The American Political Science Review, Vol. LXII (March, 1968), p. 218.

52. Ibid., p. 232.

53. J. Adelson and R. O'Neil, op.cit., p. 295-306.

54. Ibid., p. 295.

55. Ibid., p. 297.

179.

56. _Ibid._, p. 295.

57. _Ibid._, p. 302.

58. _Ibid._, p. 295.

59. Almond, G., _The Appeals of Communism._

60. Robert Lane, "Father and Sons: Formulators of Political Belief," _American Sociological Review_, Vol. 24 (1959), p. 502-511.

61. R. Hess, J. Torney, _op.cit._, p. 101.

62. K. Jennings, R. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," _American Political Science Review_, Vol. LXLXII (March, 1968), p. 173.

63. _Ibid._, p. 173.

64. _Ibid._, p. 175.

65. H. Remmers, D. Radler, _The American Teenager_ (1962), p. 178-207.

66. Hess and Torney, _op.cit._, p. 66-68.

67. _Ibid._, p. 67.

68. Jennings, Niemi, _op.cit._, p. 176.

69. _Ibid._, p. 179.

70. Lewis Froman, "Learning Political Attitudes," _Western Political Quarterly_, Vol. 15 (1962), p. 304-313.

71. Jennings, Niemi, _op.cit._, p. 181.

72. _Ibid._, p. 181.

73. Kent Jennings, "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple System of Government," _op.cit._, p. 306.

74. _Ibid._, p. 309.

75. _Ibid._, p. 313.

76. Martin Levin, "Social Climates and Political Socialization," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25 (1961), p. 561-604.

77. David Ziblatt, "High School Extra-curricular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals, Gigel, R. (ed.), Vol. 361 (September, 1965) p. 29.

78. Ibid., p. 30.

79. Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 32-49.

80. Ibid., p. 92-119.

81. T. Newcomb, reported in Ibid., p. 102.

82. Ibid., p. 107-108.

Chapter 3

1. The children's questionnaire was set up after
   consulting the questionnaires used by Greenstein;
   Hess and Torney, and Dennis and Easton. Samples
   of these questionnaires are found in F. Greenstein,
   Children and Politics (1965), pp. 173-179; R. Hess
   and J. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes
   and Values toward Government and Citizenship During
   the Elementary School Years, Part I, Cooperative
   Research Project No. 1078, University of Chicago
   (1965), Appendix H, pp. 473-493. David Easton
   and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime
   Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political -
   Science Review, Vol. 61 (March, 1967), p. 29.

   The adult questionnaire was set up after consulting
   different voting studies, in particular G. Almond
   and S. Verga, The Civic Culture, and A. Campbell,
   P. Converse, W. Miller, D. Stokes, The American
   Voter (1966). See copies of original questionnaire
   at the end of Appendix I.

2. With reference to the child's moral judgement,
   few questions were included after consulting Jean
   Piaget, The Moral Judgement of the Child (1965).

3. For a useful and simple discussion on punching
   and coding techniques in political science research,
   see Kenneth Janda, Data Processing: Applications
   to Political Research (1965).

4. It is surprising to find that in the most extensive
   research on political socialization of children that
   the topic of international politics assumes in-
   significant dimension. In R. Hess & J. Torney,
   The Development of Political Attitudes in Children,
   only one minor section of the book deals with the
   U.N., pp. 30-31.

5. Kent Jennings, "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple
   Systems of Government," Midwest Journal of Political
   Science, Vol. 11, No. 3 (August, 1967), pp. 291-317.

6. Roberta Sigel, "Image of a President: Some In-
    sights into the Poltical Views of School Children,"
    The American Political Science Review, Vol. 62
    (March, 1963), pp. 216-226.

7. Kent Jennings, op.cit., p. 291.

8. Roberta Sigel, op.cit., p. 218.

9. Responses to all open-ended questions are available
    for inspection.

10. Joseph Adelson & Robert O'Neil, "Growth of Political
    Ideas in Adolesence: The Sense of Community,"
    Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,
    Vol. 4 (1966), pp. 295-306.

11. H. Hyman and P. Sheatsly summarized in Herbert
    Hyman's Political Socialization, p. 45. For a
    more detailed discussion of working class values
    and the influence of social structure, refer to
    Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different
    Classes," in Class, Status, and Power (1966),
    pp. 488-499; Herbert Hyman and Paul Sheastly,
    "The Current Status of American Public Opinion,"
    National Council for Social Studies Yearbook, Vol.
    21 (1950), pp. 11-34, reported in F. Greenstein,
    Children & Politics, p. 105-106.

12. Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 32.

13. Jean Piaget, The Moral Development of the Child,
    p. 315.

14. R. Hess and J. Torney, The Development of Political
    Attitudes in Children, p. 30.

15. Fred Greenstein, op.cit., p. 35.

16. H. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (1963), p. 107.

17. Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas
    about Country and Nationality, Part II: National
    Symbols and Themes," The British Journal of Educational
    Psychology, Vol. 33 (1963), pp. 143-153.

18. Hess and Torney, op.cit., p. 33.

19. David Easton & Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," op.cit., p. 44.

20. Ibid., p. 42.

21. Ibid., pp. 45-48.

22. R. Hess & J. Torney, op.cit., p. 33.

23. D. Easton & J. Dennis, op.cit., p. 50.

24. R. Hess & J. Torney, op.cit., p. 198.

25. F. Greenstein, op.cit., p. 32.

26. Ibid., pp. 27-54.

27. D. Easton, J. Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," op.cit., p. 53.

28. D. Easton & J. Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Poltical Efficacy," op.cit., pp. 25-38.

29. Ibid., p. 31.

30. For a brief description of this method see Ibid., p. 33.

Chapter 4

1. After interviewing the teachers and inspecting their
    responses to the items on the adult questionnaire,
    a few observations are relevant:

    (a) The teachers stress discipline and conventional
         teaching methods.

    (b) With reference to discussion on politics and
         controversial issues, the teachers usually
         take a neutral stand and usually avoid discussion
         about politics in general.

    (c) The children receive adequate attention and they
         don't encounter a breakdown in teacher-student
         communication which is characteristic of urban
         schools.

    (d) Although civics is not taught in a formal manner
         in the school, the teachers encourage discussion
         on current events and the bulletin boards in
         some classrooms show newspaper clippings.

    (e) The teachers as well as the principal emphasize
         the cooperation of the parents. Even though it
         is a working class area and the average income
         is not high, the principal makes it explicit
         that the parents do their best to provide the
         children with their school necessities.

2. Gabrial Almond and Sidny Verga, The Civic Culture,
    pp. 186-265.

3. Jack Dennis, "Major Problem in Political Socialization
    Research," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 12,
    No. 1 (February, 1968), pp. 85-114.

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