

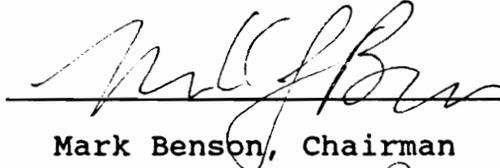
PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG LATE
ADOLESCENTS

by

Ramona Dollins

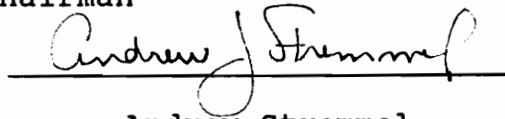
Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
Family and Child Development

APPROVED:


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January, 1993
Blacksburg, Virginia

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(ABSTRACT)

The relationship between parenting style and political socialization was examined in 258 college students with an average age of 19.6. Political socialization approaches along with Erik Erikson's Eight Stages of Man comprised the theoretical framework in this study. Regression analysis was used to determine the relationships between maternal and paternal parenting style, political party affiliation, attitude to authority, political conservatism (racial/social conservatism, religious fundamentalism, and punitiveness), and political identity. Results indicated that high levels of maternal acceptance were related to a conservative political party affiliation, high scoring on overall political conservatism, and high levels of religious fundamentalism. High levels of maternal psychological control were linked to a conservative political party affiliation, pro-attitudes to authority, high levels of overall political conservatism, and higher punitiveness. High levels of paternal firm control were related to political identity achievement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express sincere appreciation for my committee Mark Benson, Cosby Rogers, and Andrew Stremmel for their support and input during this process. Mark has my deepest respect and gratitude for providing excellent encouragement, advice, humor, and camaraderie. He has been absolutely superb.

I would also like to recognize Cosby Rogers, Joan Riessen, Shannon Cassidy, Meg Young, Jami Pond, Arleen Dodd, Brian Arundel, Jane Siegle, Jane Keppel-Benson, Tara Snyder, and Sandie Klute who selflessly gave of their time to further progress in my research from data collection to draft revision. I give special thanks to Mom and Dad who, at times, probably doubted the existence of this thesis!

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the faculty and/or staff of the Family and Child Development Department, Virginia Tech Child Development Labs, and New River Valley Head Start for their patience and support.

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Introduction

Political socialization is broadly defined as the process by which individuals develop their political values, attitudes, and beliefs within the ecosystem in which they live (Greenberg, 1970). The necessity for a broad definition of political socialization stems from the interdisciplinary nature of the field (political science, psychology, sociology, and child development to name a few) and from the lack of consensus among researchers in the field concerning a theoretical approach or model of political socialization.

There are four psychological approaches to the study of political socialization (Gallatin, 1980). The first is the social learning or behavioral approach which considers parents, schools, peers, and other figures of authority to be the active agents in transmitting a political identity. For the most part, proponents of this approach believe that political socialization is largely complete by the time the child reaches early adolescence. Research considering parental influence on political socialization has relied upon correlations between political socialization and items which are believed to influence the child such as political

party affiliation and political attitudes. These correlational studies have produced inconsistent findings and, according to Nielsen (1987), have not been able to sufficiently prove a solid relational model of the parent as a political socialization agent. This research is discussed in more detail below.

The second approach to the study of political socialization is the sociological or "generational" approach. This approach concentrates on the causes of change in political ideology and generational differences. Unlike social learning political theorists, the generational theorists consider late adolescence as an especially critical period in political socialization. Shortcomings in sociological research include the lack of an empirically founded generation gap between parents and their children (Glass, Bengston, & Dunham, 1986; Nielsen, 1987).

The third approach is called the psychodynamic approach. Researchers using this approach consider the psychological make-up of the individual and consider political ideology to be an extension of the individual's personality. This approach concentrates on the individual's approach to political thinking such as apathy, authoritarianism, political conservatism, and so forth. Psychodynamic studies focus on adults, although more recent

studies have begun to include adolescents. Several studies have found links between political ideology and cognitive sophistication, moral development, and gender. These studies are addressed in more detail below.

The fourth and final approach to the study of political socialization, the cognitive-developmental school, considers the individual's **interaction** with agents of political socialization as the transmitter of political ideologies. This approach is based on Piaget's theory of cognitive development highlighting assimilation, accommodation, and equilibrium. Due to the difficulty of assessing the interaction between individuals and their environment, this research is limited to studies using small sample sizes which decreases the reliability of the findings (Gallatin, 1980; Nielsen, 1987). However, Piaget's writings suggest that political socialization and formal thought are related to one another (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958).

Recently, researchers have developed a cognitive development model based on the cognitive theory of Lev Vygotsky. This approach follows the movement in the child development field toward Vygotsky's theory and addresses many of the limitations of Piaget's mindset in both research design and overall assumptions of development. See Cook (1985) and Torney-Purta (1989) for a more comprehensive

review of this approach.

In addition to the psychological approaches to political socialization are political theories. Often, these theories are based on political mindsets such as Marxism, Capitalism, or Democracy. Very rarely do these two approaches converge (for one example, see Roshchin, 1986), which is problematic when searching for a theoretical basis for research.

Researchers in political socialization must decide if they wish to follow one or more of the psychological schools or to shift paradigms between psychological theories and political theories. Whether to follow one school or to draw from several schools is also disputed among researchers in the field. In 1989, Human Development devoted a special edition to this dilemma. Cook (1989) disputed that political socialization research is in its infancy and the development of a normal science between political and psychological theories is "hasty . . . before we have, in effect, finished our pre-tests" (p. 32). Additionally, Cook suggested a bottom-up approach to the study of political development (1989). Moore (1989) is in favor of following several psychological theories (namely, the social learning and Piagetian cognitive development approaches), feeling that each is limited in explaining political socialization

in its entirety. Finally, Turney-Purta (1989) advocates the Vygotsky cognitive development approach.

This study drew from several schools of political socialization research. Concentrating on the social learning approach, portions of the psychodynamic approach were also addressed. As discussed, the psychodynamic approach concerns aspects of an individual's personality with political ideology formation. Identity formation is a multi-faceted process which, according to Erik Erikson, begins in "adolescence, and is in many ways determined by what went before and determines much that follows" (Erikson, 1968, p. 23).

The fifth stage of Erik Erikson's eight stages of man is the conflict between identity and repudiation versus identity diffusion. This stage follows the first four stages where trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry are the successful outcomes. If the adolescent has reached a sense of order in stage five where identifications from former stages are solidified into one identity, then the person has reached identity and repudiation. Identity diffusion is present if the adolescent feels confusion, lack of central control, or an inability to integrate former identities.

Successful outcomes of the first four stages and,

therefore, positive identifications to integrate during the fifth stage, are dependent upon the childrearing practices of the developing child's parents (Miller, 1989). For example, children with non-demanding, self-centered parents are likely to feel a sense of mistrust rather than trust and shame and are likely to feel doubt rather than autonomy. Similarly, a child whose parents respect the child's ideas and have expectations of the child are likely to feel initiative and industry rather than guilty and inferior. Attitudes are a part of a person's identity and political movements are one aspect of an adolescent's life where he or she may seek a stable identity (Miller, 1989). The formation of political attitudes or social knowledge is a process which begins in childhood (Erikson, 1968). Since parenting style effects identity formation and political ideology is part of a person's identity, it is hypothesized that parenting style will have a significant effect on political socialization.

The study of the relationship between parental influence and individual political socialization was addressed using parenting style as the item believed to influence the political ideologies of the child. Further, the study of parenting style was assessed and involved a measure of communication between the parent and child.

Political ideologies were measured in terms of political conservatism and attitudes to authority while the level of political identity internalization was measured to assess a linkage between formal operations assumed to be present and political development.

The following sections outline the current research in political socialization considering parental influence, attitude to authority, political conservatism, and political identity. The study is mainly designed to address the shortcomings in the social learning approach by taking a broader approach to the aspects of the parents which influence the child.

Political Socialization Research

Political Socialization and Influences within the Family

Erikson's theory provides an overall view of how parenting style, attitude to authority, and political conservatism are possibly related. To extrapolate on this possible relation, current literature on parenting style, attitude to authority, and political conservatism will be reviewed. First, parenting style will be defined and reviewed followed by attitude to authority, political conservatism, and political identity.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) outlined four parenting styles in terms of parental support of ideas, the amount of involvement the child is given in the decision making process, nature of disciplinary actions of the parents, and the nature of the affection given by the parent. The fourfold scheme of parenting varies across two continuums: 1) accepting, responsive, and child-centered to rejecting, unresponsive, and parent-centered, and 2) demanding and controlling to undemanding and low in control attempts. The parenting styles are termed as follows: authoritarian, permissive/indulgent, authoritative, and indifferent/uninvolved.

Authoritative parents are defined as accepting, responsive, child-centered, demanding, and controlling. While firm in expectations and discipline, authoritative parents respect their children's ideas, promote independence, and provide affection for their children. Research shows that children of authoritative parents favor independence, high self-esteem, and cooperative interaction on a social level (see Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Permissive/indulgent parents tend to be accepting, responsive, child-centered, undemanding, and low in control attempts. In this type of parenting situation, the children are free to say and do as they wish with little disciplinary action. Children of permissive/indulgent parents lack independence and lack cooperative interaction with peers (Baumrind, 1971). Olweus (1980) found that permissive parenting was linked to higher levels of aggression in boys.

Authoritarian parents are demanding and controlling, but are rejecting, unresponsive, and parent-centered in their affection. Authoritarian parents provide little support for their child's ideas and independent thinking. Children with authoritarian parents tend to be less conscience (Hoffman, 1970) and do not take initiative (Baumrind, 1967). Loeb (1975) studied boys of authoritarian parents and their locus of control. The study suggested

that the authoritarian parenting style was linked to an external locus of control in males, although the authoritarian mothers had a larger influence than authoritarian fathers. Loeb, Horst, and Horton (1980) assert that children of authoritarian parents tend to feel distrusted and incompetent and this is likely to lower their self-esteem.

Finally, indifferent/uninvolved parents are rejecting, unresponsive, parent-centered, undemanding, and low in control attempts. Children of parent-centered families are impulsive, aggressive, and dysfunctional (Pulkkinen, 1982).

It would be ideal to assume that the parenting style within all mother/father dyads were consistent and therefore could be measured as one unit. Realistically, this is not true. However, the majority of researchers studying parental influence have either measured parenting style of the mother and the father as one entity or considered the parenting style of only one parent - typically the mother (Minns & Williams, 1989; Paulson, Lin, & Hansson, 1972). If familial influence is to be included in a model of the process of political socialization, researchers need to measure the impact of the mother and the father separately.

It has been argued that differentiating between the parents will not affect the perception of attitudes (Maccoby

& Martin, 1983; Paulson et al., 1972). However, one study which explored homogeneity of the mother's and father's influence provides an opposing viewpoint. In 1989, Minns and Williams studied the homogeneity of relationships between agents of socialization and attitude change. They looked at the impact of homogeneity between agents of socialization, the probability of attaining a set of homogeneous socialization agents, and assessed which agent had the largest impact on the child.

The agents considered in the study by Minns and Williams (1989) included parents, teachers, and peers and the homogeneity between, not among the agents. For assessing the impact of the parent, the children were told to imagine a parent in a scenario involving political attitude formation, but they were neither asked which parent they had imagined, nor if the outcome would change if the other parent had been imagined. While results showed that homogeneous agreement between socialization agents had the largest impact on opinion change in the child, Minns and Williams found it considerably difficult to obtain this homogeneity. Furthermore, Minns and Williams did not find that one type of agent had a larger influence on an individual than any other type of agent. What the agent does is more important than the type of agent on an

influential level. Therefore, it is important to look at the influence of parenting style as a measure of what the parent does when exploring parental effects on political socialization. Furthermore, it is important to consider the mother and the father as two units to address the difficulty of obtaining homogeneity.

Unlike Minns and Williams, Glass, Bengston, and Dunham (1986) did consider differences within the entity of the family. Their study examined influential differences among generations of the family. Results indicated a significant influence of parental attitudes on the child's political ideology, however, an interesting addition would be consideration of the effect within each generation (mother/father or grandmother/grandfather).

Political Socialization, the Family, and Attitudes toward Authority

The attitude toward authority of an individual measures attitudes toward institutions with authoritarian leadership, preferences for regulation versus freedom, and preferences for leadership versus guidance. A high attitude toward authority indicates a high preference for institutions with authority, leadership, and regulation.

Much of the current research on political socialization

and the family concentrates on specific behaviors of the parent. Three aspects of interaction will be discussed: family communication patterns, parents as socialization agents, and family politicization.

Family communication studies have concentrated on the type of communication within the family. The types of communication patterns revolve around the attitude of the parent toward the child's expression of opinions. The first type, socio-oriented communication pattern, discourages expression of opposing views. A parent using the socio-oriented communication pattern would expect the child to agree with the parents' attitudes without dissention. The second type, concept-oriented communication, encourages the child to develop and express their own opinions. Concept-oriented communication patterns encourage active involvement in discussions regardless of opposing viewpoints.

Another way of viewing communication patterns is in terms of parent-centered versus child-centered childrearing practices. A socio-oriented communication pattern is parent-centered in that the parents' attitudes are considered more important than the child's. Conversely, concept-oriented communication is child-centered because the child is given an equal chance to express their own opinions void of the attitudes of the parent.

A concept-oriented communication pattern in the family was found to be related to social value priorities (Tims, 1986), but not with political knowledge (Meadowcraft, 1986). While these results seem to be contradictory, they are not given the nature of the constructs measured. A person's social values are tenacious, while a person's political knowledge can be fleeting. Attitude toward authority is also tenacious. Since concept-oriented communication patterns had a significant effect on social values, it is expected that open-ended communication between the parent and the child will also affect attitudes toward authority.

Baumrind (1967) found that children whose parents are demanding and use the parent-centered approach tend to be dominated by other children in play and are obedient. These characteristics indicate a dependence on those in a higher position of authority than that of the child. Likewise, children showed the same dependence on authority if their parents were non-demanding and child-centered or non-demanding and parent-centered. On the other hand, children who showed independence from the guidance of an authority figure had parents who were child-centered and demanding (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

The studies reviewed consider specific behaviors of the parent. However, parent/child interaction involves a much

broader range of constructs such as those discussed by Maccoby and Martin. While the study of a specific interaction behavior is helpful in understanding the parental influences on political socialization, a more comprehensive variable is needed for the purpose of developing an adequate political socialization paradigm. Additionally, differences between the mother's and the father's approach must also be considered.

Attitude to Authority, Political Conservatism, Political Identity, and the Family

In defining political conservatism, it is important to differentiate between political conservatism and a conservative, right-wing mindset. The latter is comparable with maintenance of societal tradition, preservation of the establishment, and resistance to abrupt change. On the other hand, political conservatism, which is the construct of interest, involves racism, religious fundamentalism, punitiveness, and both macro and micro economic conservatism.

Sidanius, Ekehammar, and Brewer (1985) considered the emotional interaction between parents and children (among other variables) and its effect on the development of conservatism, xenophobia, and punitiveness. While the

researchers found no correlation between parental emotional interaction and political variables, their methodology was lacking. Sidanius et al. measured five aspects of emotional interaction using one question for each area with five-point scale responses. A broader measure of emotional interaction may result in significant correlations. Furthermore, this study involved Swedish high school students; further research is needed to apply the findings to American adolescents.

Unlike the previous studies mentioned, Sidanius et al. measured the influence of each parent separately and found differential influences between mothers and fathers. Political-economic conservatism of children was highly correlated with parental political party preference and punitiveness, mainly in males, and was related to positive relationships with conservative fathers.

Paulson et al. (1972), considered the influence of the family on the child's feeling toward establishment using 116 Anti-Establishment subjects and 94 Establishment subjects. The Establishment subjects were members in fraternities or elite service organizations on their college campus while the Anti-Establishment subjects were not members of these organizations. Although the study included a measure for which parent had more influence, overall child-rearing

attitudes of both parents were measured as one unit. The results showed a significant effect of family harmony on positive views of the establishment, but a nonsignificant effect of parental authority and involvement. Paulson et al. suggest that using one measure for the attitudes of both parents contributed to the insignificant findings and suggest that future research consider these differences.

No studies known to the researcher have been conducted concerning the childrearing practices of the parent and subsequent level of conservatism in the child. However, inferences can be drawn using current conservatism research coupled with the effects of parenting style on attitude toward authority. Sidanius and Lau (1989) found that high levels of racism (one aspect of conservatism) was related to low levels of cognitive sophistication. Children with permissive parents (nondemanding and parent-centered) scored low on cognitive competence scales (Baumrind, 1967) and therefore, may have high levels of conservatism. On the other hand, a low level of conservatism may be related to children whose parents are demanding due to high levels of cognitive competence.

Hoffman (1970) and Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967) studied the relationship between parenting style and humanistic orientation in children. Relationships were

found between nonmanipulative firm control and higher levels of humanism in children. Additionally, Feather (1988) found a positive correlation between Stage 4 of Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development and conservatism. One aspect of Stage 4 is respect of social authorities (see Green, 1989). Given the hypothesized positive relationship between the negligent and the authoritarian parenting style with attitude toward authority, these parenting styles may be related to high levels of conservatism as well.

As mentioned, high cognitive competence was found in children with authoritative parents (Baumrind, 1967). The finding holds that higher control attempts lead to a higher cognitive competence in both males and females, while high acceptance leads to higher cognitive competence in males. One aspect of cognitive competence, according to Baumrind, is a strong sense of identity. Therefore, it is expected that parenting style will affect the political component of identity.

Conservatism and Gender

Research findings on conservatism has shown that conservatism is significantly affected by gender. A study by Nias (1973) found a stark line between punitiveness and ethnocentrism preferences in boys and religious preferences

in girls. Similarly, Sidanius and Ekehammar (1983) found males to be more fascist while females more humanistic. Another study by Ekehammar and Sidanius (1982) found females to be less conservative, punitive, capitalistic, and racist than males, but more egalitarian and religious. Finally, Maccoby and Martin (1983) hypothesized that the negative effects of the authoritarian parenting style would have a greater effect on males than on females.

One study which found no relationship between political socialization and gender including age was conducted in Israel by Ichilov (1985). Ichilov considered parent's political involvement, encouragement of the child's involvement, parent-child political discussions, perceived passivity/activity and broad/limited governmental influence with the age, gender, and socio-economic status of the child. Ichilov hypothesized that older children and males would be exposed to political activity more so than younger children and females. However, he found no significant evidence to support this hypothesis. Since Israeli adolescents were considered, more research is needed to extrapolate his findings across cultures.

While evidence exists for the significant influence of the family on political socialization variables, the field

is without knowledge of the relationship that a broad familial interaction variable would have with political socialization. A broad familial interaction variable should include overall control attempts and acceptance of each parent as a separate measure as opposed to measuring specific behaviors of the parents as one entity. This study is designed to confront this issue. Using four scales assessing parenting style, attitude toward authority, conservatism, and political identity the relationship between the aforementioned constructs were explored.

Research Questions

Previous research has considered the effects of parenting style on children as well as the effects of numerous agents on political socialization. However, studies considering the effect of parenting style on political socialization variables are scarce. Therefore, the hypotheses will be in the form of questions.

First, which background variables will influence parenting style? Second, will the mothers and fathers differ in parenting styles? Third, which political socialization variables will be affected by the acceptance and control levels of the parents? Parenting style research often considers the influence of parenting style using the fourfold scheme by Maccoby and Martin (1983). However, for the purposes of this study, the individual components of parenting style (acceptance and control) will be examined separately. Fourth, will maternal and paternal parenting style differ in their relationship to political socialization?

Given the gender differences cited, this research also expects to find gender differences in conservatism and attitudes to authority.

In sum, the current study examined which factors influence parenting style and, in turn, how parenting style influences political socialization. Differences between the maternal and paternal parenting style as well as differences between the mother's and father's relationship to political socialization was explored.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 258 students consisting of 44 males (17.1%) and 214 females (82.9%) participated in the study. The students were undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory human development course at a major university located in Southwestern Virginia. The students ranged in age from 17 to 22 ($M = 19.6$, $SD = 1.2$) concentrating mainly in Humanities/Education (51.2%) and Social Sciences (24.4%) (see Table 1).

A majority of the participants (223) listed their biological parents as their primary parents during their adolescent years (86.4%). Of the remaining participants, 14 (5.4%) lived with their biological mother and step-father, 17 (6.6) lived with their biological mother only, 2 (.8%) lived with their biological father only, and 2 (.8%) lived with adoptive parents during their adolescent years. The median income range reported was \$60,000 - \$80,000 although incomes were less than \$20,000 and others over \$100,000. The ethnic background of the participants was 86.8% Caucasian, 7.4% African-American, 4.3% Asian, and 1.6% other backgrounds.

Measures and Procedures

An in-class distribution and collection of a survey in booklet form was conducted early in the semester of classes. Respondents were asked to fill out a short questionnaire requesting demographic information and four additional scales to assess parenting style of the subject's mother and father, attitudes toward authority, political conservatism, and political identity. The booklets contained no identifying marks. Table 2 contains characteristics of the scales used in this study, their means, standard deviations, and internal consistency measures. The scales are discussed in detail below.

Parenting Style. Parenting style of the respondent's parents was assessed using the Child's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory (CRPBI). This scale was first developed in 1965 by Schaefer to provide a measure which required the child to assess parental behavior and to obtain measures for maternal and paternal behavior separately. The original CRPBI was lengthy, containing 26 scales with 10 items each. These scales measured three factors: acceptance/rejection, psychological control versus psychological autonomy, and firm control versus lax control.

Due to the length of the 260 item version of the CRPBI,

many researchers have developed shorter versions of the inventory based on the original version. In 1970, Schludermann and Schludermann developed a 108-item version by deleting those items which were culturally, religiously, or socially biased. This scale consistently held high reliability measures ($< .89$) across several diverse subject groups (Schludermann & Schludermann, 1970, 1971, 1983). Numerous other versions were also developed (Burger & Armentrout, 1971; Kawash & Clewes, 1988). All versions asked the child to assess maternal and paternal behaviors separately and were geared toward shortening the length of time required to complete the inventory. With the exception of Kawash & Clewes' version, all derivations included the same three factors originally developed by Schaefer (1965).

The most recent version was developed by Schludermann and Schludermann in 1988. This version further reduced the number of items to 30 (CRPBI-30; Schludermann & Schludermann, 1988) and maintains the basic goals and factors of the original version.

Schludermann and Schludermann calculated high test-retest reliabilities and alpha coefficients for the 30-item scale. The test-retest reliabilities ranged from .79 to .89 while the alpha coefficients ranged from .63 to .73 for the three factors of the maternal and paternal parenting

behaviors. Using the data obtained in this study, the internal consistency reliabilities were as follows: .93 (mother's acceptance/rejection), .83 (mother's psychological control), .81 (mother's firm control), .94 (father's acceptance/rejection), .82 (father's psychological control), and .81 (father's firm control).

Schludermann and Schludermann define the measures of parental behavior in a comparable manner with Maccoby and Martin's (1983) parenting styles. The accepting/rejecting scale assesses a child centered approach, the parent's acceptance of the individuation of the child, positive involvement, possessiveness, and hostile detachment. Firm control versus lax control involves lax discipline, extreme autonomy, and enforcement. Therefore, Schludermann and Schludermann use the term accepting/rejecting in the same manner as Maccoby and Martin while Schludermann and Schludermann use the term firm control/lax control to denote the demanding/nondemanding approach. Additionally, Schludermann and Schludermann include a third dimension which examines control through guilt, hostile control, inconsistent discipline, rejection, intrusiveness, and withdrawal of relations. This measure is termed psychological control versus psychological autonomy (Schludermann & Schludermann, 1970).

A further refinement in this current study was the addition of two intermediate choice points. The current scale included five choice points from Unlike (1) to Not Sure (3) to Like (5).

Attitude Toward Authority. The Attitude to Authority Scale (AA; Ray, 1971) measures overall attitudes to authority using a 28 statement test. The items include pro-authority feelings toward the military, leaders, and regulation. Reversed scored items assess individual rights, freedom (as opposed to regulation), and whether personal values should be considered above institutional power. The scale uses a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) to assess an attitude to authority score. A high score on the Attitude to Authority scale indicates a proauthority viewpoint.

Lapsley, Harwell, Olson, Flannery, and Quintana (1984) found the AA scale to have a reliability of .89 and was significantly correlated with political conservatism and positive attitudes toward government which suggests strong validity for the scale. The internal consistency measure for the Attitude to Authority Scale in the current study was .77.

Political Conservatism. To measure conservatism, the S6 Conservatism Scale developed by Sidanius (1976) was used.

The original scale consists of 36 items designed to assess conservatism. The scale uses a seven-point scale ranging from negative (1) to positive (7). A higher score denotes a more conservative political position. For the purposes of this study, three outdated items were deleted and replaced with more current issues, three items were reworded, three items were expanded to clarify the item, and one item - abortion - was broken down into prochoice and prolife.

A factor analysis of these 37 items yielded three robust factors with strong item loadings. Therefore, these factors plus an overall conservatism score consisting of the items loading on the first three factors were used in scoring the scale. The items and factor loadings can be seen in Table 3. The factors measured racial/social conservatism, religious fundamentalism, and punitiveness. The internal consistency reliability measures for each factor ranged from .75 to .83 with an overall conservatism reliability measure of .84.

Political Identity. The Political Identity Scale was developed for this research. The development of this measure was guided by the items from the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2) (Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1987).

The eight political identity items from the EOMEIS were

factor analyzed using an extant data set (Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992). Three factors emerged. The first factor reflected noncommitted identity with high loadings on the four EOMEIS items from the EOMEIS diffusion and moratorium items. The two achievement items loaded on the second factor. A weak third factor included the foreclosure items.

Because of the small number of items, reliabilities were low. A series of pilot tests were conducted with the goal of lengthening the scales with valid items reflecting the achievement, noncommitted, and foreclosure factors. The structure of the items from the EOMEIS guided the construction of these pilot items.

Because the interviews with participants in the pilot study indicated that the foreclosure dimension could not be validly assessed using the EOMEIS item structure, foreclosure was dropped from the analysis. The scale meeting pilot test criterion consisted of 9 political identity achievement items and 9 noncommitted political identity items for a total of 18 items. Subsequent factor analysis using the entire sample led to the deletion of three achievement items. The result was a 6-item achievement scale and a 9-item noncommitted scale. Items and factor loadings are shown in Table 4. The achievement scale internal consistency measure was .89 and the

noncommitted scale showed a .92 internal consistency measure (see Table 2).

RESULTS

Comparison Between Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles

To assess differences between the perceived mother and father's parenting styles, t -tests were conducted on each scale of the CRPBI. As seen in Table 5, mothers were higher in perceived acceptance and psychological control than fathers. Next, Table 6 shows the correlations between the mother's and father's perceived parenting styles. Although mother and father dimensions are related, the results suggest that mothers and fathers need to be treated as separate groups. The significantly different means between mothers and fathers adds further support to analysis using separate measures for the mother and the father on all three CRPBI scales.

Regression of Parenting Style on Background Variables

To assess the relationship between background variables, parenting style, and political variables, two sets of regressions were conducted. As implied by the model shown in Figure 1, a first set of regressions used perceived parenting styles as the dependent variables and the background variables as independent variables. In the second set of regressions, the political variables were

regressed on parenting style and background variables.

Results from the first set of regressions are described in this section while results of the second set are detailed in the following section. The analyses were interpreted based on the criteria of significance the simple correlation, $p < .05$, and significance of regression beta weights, $p < .05$. These criteria indicate both a main effect and an effect which holds while controlling for other variables.

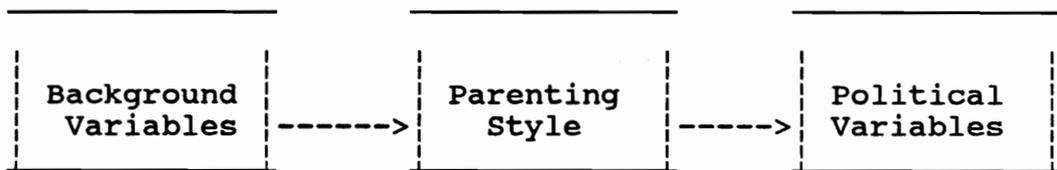


Figure 1 Relationship Between Parenting Style and Political Socialization Variables

First, each parenting style was regressed on the background variables (age, income, ethnic background, gender, and the type of primary parents present during the participant's adolescence). The acceptance, psychological control, and firm control scores for the mother and the father were used for a total of six dependent variables.

Parenting Style - Mother. Results showed that higher

income was associated with greater mother acceptance. Ethnic background had a significant relationship with all aspects of the mother's perceived parenting style. Compared to Caucasians, participants reporting African-American, Asian, or other ethnic backgrounds rated their mothers as using higher levels of psychological control and firm control (see Table 7). On the other hand, Caucasians reported their mothers as more accepting.

Parenting Style - Father. Similar to the mother's parenting style, ethnic background was significantly related to the father's perceived parenting style as seen in Table 8. In comparison to Caucasians, respondents reporting African-American, Asian, or other ethnic backgrounds rated their fathers as using higher levels of psychological control, high levels of firm control, and lower levels of acceptance. Also related to the father's acceptance level was the marital status of the participants' parents during adolescence. Participants whose primary parents during adolescence were their biological father and biological mother reported their fathers as more accepting. Those who reported living with step-parents or adoptive parents during their adolescent years rated their fathers as less accepting.

Regression of Political Variables on Parenting Style and Background Variables

As discussed in the previous section, a second regression was conducted to assess the relationship between background variables and perceived parenting style with the political variables. Age, gender, parents' marital status, family income, and ethnic background were the independent background variables. The six measures of the maternal and paternal parenting style were also entered as independent variables. The dependent variables (political variables) were the participant's political party affiliation, attitude to authority, overall conservatism, racial/social conservatism, religious fundamentalism, punitiveness, political identity achievement, and political identity noncommitment. See Table 9 for the intercorrelations among the dependent variables. Again, only those variables showing a significant correlation and beta weight are interpreted. Results are discussed for each of the eight dependent variables below.

Participant's Political Party Affiliation. Although no background variables were related to the participant's political party affiliation, the mother's acceptance and psychological control were significant. Results suggested

that higher levels of mother's acceptance were related to more conservative political party affiliation (see Table 10). Further, higher levels of the mother's psychological control were linked to a more liberal affiliation in the participant.

Attitude to Authority. Mother's psychological control showed a significant relationship with attitude to authority. Table 11 shows that a higher level of the mother's psychological control was associated with anti-authority attitudes.

Overall Conservatism. Analysis showed that the mother had the highest influence of overall conservatism as shown in Table 12. The mother's acceptance was positively related to overall conservatism. Lower maternal psychological control was also related to higher conservatism scores.

Racial/Social Conservatism. The component of overall conservatism which measures racial and social conservatism was significantly related to ethnic background. As seen in Table 12, this relationship showed higher levels of racial/social conservatism among participants with a Caucasian background.

Religious Fundamentalism. Table 12 shows that the second component of overall conservatism - religious fundamentalism - was significantly related to maternal

acceptance and family income. Higher mother's acceptance was related to religious fundamentalism. Conversely, family income was related to less religious fundamentalism.

Punitiveness. The final component of conservatism was significantly related to the mother's psychological control as shown in Table 12. High levels of mother's psychological control was related to lower punitiveness scores.

Political Identity Achievement. Unlike conservatism which was mostly related to maternal variables, political identity was related to paternal factors. As seen in Table 13, the achievement component of political identity was associated with the father's firm control. Higher levels of paternal firm control were related to higher levels of political identity achievement. The data also showed higher political identity achievement scores for those subjects whose primary parents included step fathers, step mothers, or adoptive parents.

Political Identity Noncommitment. Father's firm control was also significantly related to the noncommitted component of political identity (see Table 13). High paternal firm control was related to noncommitted political identity.

Discussion

The current study explored four main questions:

1) Which background variables are associated with specific perceived parenting styles? 2) How do parenting styles differ between mothers and fathers? 3) How does perceived parenting style affect political socialization variables? 4) Do mothers and fathers effect political socialization differently. Results provide interesting findings which could be used in the development of a paradigm for describing political socialization.

Background Variables Associated with Parenting Style

Ethnic background was related to all aspects of parenting for the mother and the father. For both parents, the current study found that Caucasian respondents reported higher levels of acceptance and lower levels of firm control and psychological control than participants from other ethnic backgrounds. Larger samples of non-Caucasian groups are needed, however, to fully understand the relationship between ethnicity and parenting style differences. While this study is not designed to address these differences in

families, it is an important finding which should be addressed in future research.

Differences in Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles

As hypothesized, participants in this study reported their mothers as more accepting than their fathers. However, results did not indicate that fathers used higher levels of control as hypothesized. Rather, participants reported that their mothers used more psychological control than their fathers, while reporting no difference between their parents' use of firm control.

Higher acceptance levels in mothers could be linked to the traditional nurturant role of the mother. This caring, attentive role may be modeled for females and reinforced as a positive characteristic possibly leading to the higher levels of maternal acceptance reported by the participants. Mothers may also be easier to approach, more inclined to listen openly to their children's worries, and better able to console their children.

Also, this finding could be linked to research findings indicating that adolescents feel a stronger attachment to the mother (Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992). Attachment indicates a feeling of security and trust with a parent which could be present between a mother and child when the

mother is accepting of their children's individuality and expression of thoughts and feelings.

While mothers were higher in acceptance, mothers were also higher in their use of psychological control. The nature of psychological control is manipulative and covert; psychological control relies on means of guilt and shame rather than set, predictable rules and expectations. Social norms may promote the passive-aggressive use of covert power in women because aggressiveness is not considered appropriate behavior for women. A non-assertive or non-direct approach for women may be accepted and reinforced by society which could be linked to the mother's use of covert control measures.

Another factor which could be linked to higher use of psychological control in mothers is the amount of responsibility attached to the contemporary maternal role. The mother may have been responsible for nurturing her children as well as providing additional financial support for the family. Although it is becoming more common for fathers to participate in the nurturing aspect of child rearing, this trend is relatively recent. It is suggested that the sample in the current study is part of the generation of post World War II mothers who began working, but saw no decrease in their former stereotypic role.

Therefore, increased stress and fatigue as a result of additional familial responsibility could be linked to the use of a higher level of psychological control by mothers.

As discussed, the current study indicates that differences in perceived parenting style do exist between mothers and fathers. Although the roles of parents are changing and more recent studies have found that as the father assumes the role of primary care-giver, differences between the mother and father become less salient (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), it cannot be assumed that the father's approach will be the same as the mother's without additional empirical evidence. Furthermore, given the small amount of research on parenting style and political socialization, it is important to continue to explore these possible differences across demographically diverse samples.

Parenting Style Influences on Political Socialization

One shortcoming in political socialization research using the social learning approach was the inconsistent findings reported by correlational studies between parent and child political attitudes (Nielsen, 1987). The current study addressed this issue by approaching parental agent influence in terms of an overall interaction measure encompassing communication, love, control, discipline, and

emotional interaction between the parent and child.

Results of the current study indicate that perceived maternal parenting style is related to political attitudes toward authority and conservatism, while perceived paternal parenting style is related to political identity formation. Higher levels of mother's acceptance was linked to higher levels of conservative political party affiliation, overall conservatism, and religious fundamentalism. The accepting approach to child-rearing may maintain an open, loving approach to the child's individuality and could create an atmosphere of low distress, little questioning of the environment, and satisfaction with the status quo. Feeling this comfort and satisfaction, the child may feel obligated to maintain this environment and develop a sense of social responsibility. In this instance, a sense of social responsibility refers to a sense of social compliance. Socially responsible or compliant children tend to be cooperative and obedient with adults and with peers (Baumrind, 1971). Furthermore, children who showed a high sense of social responsibility tended to be orthodox and resistance to change (Johnson, Hogan, & Zonderman, 1981). A child reared in this tradition of stability and comfort on the micro level could become accustomed to this establishment of little change and may develop an

intolerance of deviations on the macro level. This could promote a desire to maintain societal tradition, preserve the establishment, and resist abrupt change which are components of a conservative political party affiliation.

A child interested in maintaining the establishment of the status quo may also develop an intolerance for individuals who do not adhere to the structure of the status quo. Thus, this intolerance could be extended to persons interested in changing the establishment or who otherwise ignore the authority of the establishment whether it be governmental, police oriented, church related, or social/racial in nature. These are aspects of overall conservatism and religious fundamentalism.

The results also showed that higher levels of psychological control in mothers were related to a less conservative political party affiliation, lower overall conservatism, lower levels of punitiveness, and more negative attitudes to authority. It is plausible to suggest that the use of psychological control, covert in nature, could lead the child to question aspects of the situation, feel higher levels of distress, and feel dissatisfied with the status quo. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that this may lead the child to distrust and rebel against authority figures; Balswick and Macrides (1975) found that

inconsistent discipline is one factor which leads to rebellion. Lack of stability on a micro level may lead to a decreased desire to maintain tradition and preserve the establishment on the macro level, therefore resulting in increased tolerance of change and those who rebel against societal, governmental, judicial, or religious tradition.

The father's perceived parenting style, according to the results of the current study, may be related to political identity formation. The current study found that the father's firm control was positively related to achievement, but negatively linked to noncommitment. The findings complement one another considering that achievement and noncommitment represent opposite ends of the political identity spectrum. The nature of firm control is a solid, strict environment with set rules which the child is expected to follow. According to the theoretical framework of Erik Erikson, parental expectations of the child encourage the child to achieve initiative and industry rather than guilt and inferiority. Successful outcomes in stages three and four lead the child to desire knowledge (industry) and to attempt to carry out the processes of learning or achieving (initiative) (Miller, 1989). An overt use of power in fathers may serve as a model for the developing child and may instill a desire in the adolescent

to consider the type of power they wish to support on a political level. Having reached initiative and industry, the adolescent is then able to achieve a political identity.

A low use of firm control in fathers was related to a noncommitted political identity in the child. Here, the idea of power was not an issue modeled for the child given the permissive nature of child rearing. Furthermore, the absence of set expectations may have hindered successful outcomes in Erikson's stages three and four. Therefore, the adolescent may have neither been disposed to consider the idea of power on a political level nor have the initiative and industry to reach political identity achievement.

The psychodynamic approach to political socialization research concentrates on aspects of the child's personality as the precursor to political ideologies. Previous research discussed in foregoing sections has found that parenting styles are related to personality characteristics in children which, in turn, have been related to political socialization constructs. Based on the possible links found in the current study and those found in previous research, the relationship between parenting style, personality characteristics, and political socialization variables needs to be explored in more depth.

Maternal and Paternal Differences in Influencing Political Socialization

The results of the current study indicate that perceived maternal and paternal parenting style are related to political socialization differently. As hypothesized, findings suggest that mothers seem to influence political attitudes more so than fathers. Other studies which have considered maternal and paternal influence separately have come to this conclusion as well (see Sidanius, Ekehammar, & Brewer, 1985) viewing the amount of time the mother spends with the adolescent as a possible reason for this influence.

Findings also indicated that fathers seem to influence the formation of a political identity more so than mothers. This finding has been suggested in previous research as well. Adams (1985) explored the political identity of mothers/daughters and fathers/daughters using extant data. The results found that political identity achievement in both parents was related to identity achievement in daughters. However, based on additional findings, Adams concluded that fathers may have a greater impact on political identity formation in daughters. While the current study did not explore the political identity of the parents, the findings suggest that the father's impact on political identity formation is more influential than the

mothers's. Furthermore, additional studies by Adams (Adams, 1985; Adams & Jones, 1983; Campbell, Adams, & Dobson, 1984) found identity achievement to be related to the type of discipline found in the adolescent's home. The findings of previous research coupled with the findings of the current study provide an important perspective of the role of the father in political identity formation which should be considered in future research.

Conclusion

Findings suggest that perceived parenting style is linked to the development of attitudes toward authority, political conservatism, and political identity in adolescents. Several implications for future research were mentioned in the foregoing section. To summarize, four studies were suggested. First, ethnic differences need to be explored in terms of parenting style and political socialization influences. Second, samples with diverse demographic backgrounds such as geographic location, education, family income, type of family (intact, nonintact, and gay and lesbian families, for example), and ethnic background need to be considered. Third, exploring links between parenting style, personality characteristics in the child, and political socialization may provide a better understanding of the social learning and psychodynamic approaches to political development. Finally, the father's role in political identity formation needs to be explored in more depth including a measure for the father's political

identity.

The current study provides implications for two additional studies. First, studies including equal sample sizes of males and females are needed to explore gender differences in parental influence and to further understand the overall nature of this influence. This research is also needed to add validity to the current findings which can only be applied to females due to the small number of male respondents.

Second, parenting style, parental political identity, and parental political attitudes need to be explored to determine the interaction between parenting style influences and parental political influences on political ideology development in the child. For example, one interaction hypothesis might be that acceptance in mothers may be related to political conservatism in adolescents, but only in adolescents whose mothers are politically conservative.

Previous social learning correlational studies have emphasized parental political attitudes as the influential variables in the child's political socialization. Coupling the emphasis of previous social learning research with parenting style influence studies will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the parent as a political socialization agent. Furthermore, the addition of parenting

style to studies considering parental political attitudes will add the dimension of interaction between parental political attitudes and parental approaches to child rearing to the parent/child relationship so that the cognitive development view can be studied using larger sample sizes.

The current study emphasizes the need for separate measures of maternal and paternal influence as well as the need for parent/child interaction to be considered in determining the influence of the parent on the political socialization of the child. Extrapolating on the findings in future research may provide a better understanding to the agents of political socialization and help the field advance toward a political socialization paradigm.

TABLES

Table 1

Frequencies on Background Variables

Variable	N	%
Primary Parents during Adolescent Years		
Biological Mother and Biological Father	223	86.4
Biological Mother and Step-Father	14	5.4
Biological Mother Only, No Father Figure Present	17	6.6
Biological Father Only, No Mother Figure Present	2	.8
Adoptive Parents	2	.8
Influence of Parents on Political Attitudes of Participant		
Mother Much More than Father	36	14.3
Mother Somewhat More than Father	32	12.7
Equal Influence	110	43.9
Father Somewhat More than Mother	44	17.5
Father Much More than Mother	29	11.6
Gender		
Male	44	17.1
Female	214	82.9
Family Income		
< 20,000	10	4.0
20,000 - 40,000	31	12.3
40,000 - 60,000	63	25.0
60,000 - 80,000	76	30.2
80,000 - 100,000	40	15.8
> 100,000	32	12.7
Ethnic Background		
Caucasian	224	86.7
African-American	19	7.4
Asian	11	4.3
Other	4	1.6

Table 1 - Continued Frequencies on Background Variables

Variable	N	%
Area of Study		
Social Sciences	63	24.4
Engineering	8	3.1
Physical Sciences	8	3.1
Business	19	7.4
Humanities/Education	132	51.2
Undecided	17	6.6
Other	11	4.3
Current Marital Status of Parents		
Married	195	75.6
Divorced or Separated	54	20.9
One is Deceased	6	2.3
Both are Deceased	1	.4
Other	2	.8
Participant's Political Party Affiliation		
Mostly Liberal	40	16.1
Partly Liberal	42	16.9
In-Between	88	35.3
Partly Conservative	42	16.9
Mostly Conservative	37	14.9
Participant's Mother's Political Party Affiliation		
Mostly Liberal	19	7.8
Partly Liberal	42	17.2
In-Between	51	20.9
Partly Conservative	76	31.1
Mostly Conservative	56	23.0
Participant's Father's Political Party Affiliation		
Mostly Liberal	11	4.6
Partly Liberal	27	11.2
In-Between	50	20.7
Partly Conservative	71	29.5
Mostly Conservative	82	34.0

Table 2

Characteristics of Scales in Study: Formats, Distribution, Internal Consistences

Scale	# of Items	Choice Points	Possible Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Alpha
Child's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory - Mother						
Acceptance	10	5	10-50	42.4	8.5	.94
Psychological Control	10	5	10-50	22.9	8.3	.83
Firm Control	10	5	10-50	30.8	7.6	.81
Child's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory - Father						
Acceptance	10	5	10-50	38.4	10.2	.94
Psychological Control	10	5	10-50	21.0	7.4	.82
Firm Control	10	5	10-50	31.5	7.8	.81
Attitude Toward Authority						
Overall Score	28	5	28-140	83.9	10.0	.77
Conservatism Scale						
Racial/Social Conservatism	10	7	10-70	22.8	7.9	.79
Religious Fundamentalism	8	7	8-56	34.1	9.6	.83
Punitiveness	7	7	7-49	35.5	6.8	.75
Overall Conservatism	25	7	25-175	92.2	17.4	.83
Political Identity Scale						
Achievement	6	6	6-36	22.0	7.0	.89
Noncommitted	9	6	9-54	29.2	11.0	.92

Table 3

Rotated Factor Matrix - Conservatism Scale

Item	1	2	3
21. Increased equality	.752		
12. Racial equality	.728		
30. Social equality	.690		
18. Interracial marriage	.677		
15. Increased support of African liberation movements	.636		
9. White supremacy	.632		
16. Immigration of blacks, Haitians, and others	.547		
24. Apartheid (racial segregation in South Africa)	.448		
23. Social Welfare	.359		
28. Environmental regulation	.355		
37. Prolife (abortion stance)		.765	
14. Prochoice (abortion stance)		.734	
25. Increased religious instruction in schools		.725	
33. Belief in Bible		.704	
7. Cohabitation		.700	
13. Christianity		.676	
36. Homosexuality		.500	
3. Belief in authority		.431	
1. Harder measures against criminals			.768
29. Longer prison sentences			.721
19. Harder police measures			.630
32. Law and order			.607
17. Corporal punishment			.552
6. Increased support of the military			.526
27. Tougher control of foreigners			.474

Table 4

Rotated Factor Matrix - Identity Scale

Item	1	2
14. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own political values, but haven't really found it yet.	.759	
13. There are a lot of different political opinions. I'm still exploring ideas to find the right kind for me.	.752	
18. I'm not sure what politics mean to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.	.732	
6. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.	.709	
4. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.	.707	
8. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.	.696	
15. Politics is confusing to me right now and having firm opinions doesn't matter to me.	.672	
10. I don't have any strong political opinions, and I'm not looking for any right now.	.653	
2. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much.	.569	
9. After considerable thought, I've developed my own political viewpoint and don't believe it will change radically.		.739
16. I've gone through a period of serious questions about political values and can now say I know what I believe as an individual.		.721
7. A person's political philosophy is unique to each person. I've considered it myself, and I know what I believe.		.705
12. I've spent some time thinking about political issues and I've decided what will work best for me.		.692
11. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what my political beliefs are.		.655
17. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view of what my own political ideals will be.		.615

Table 5

T-Test - Maternal and Paternal Parenting Style

	<u>Mother</u>		<u>Father</u>		t Value
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev	
Acceptance	42.58	8.44	38.57	10.07	-7.28***
Firm Control	30.84	7.56	31.61	7.81	ns
Psychological Control	22.83	8.30	21.06	7.38	-4.00***

***p < .001.

Table 6

Correlation Coefficients - Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Mother's Acceptance	-					
2. Mother's Psychological Control	-.521***	-				
3. Mother's Firm Control	-.205***	.294***	-			
4. Father's Acceptance	.591***	-.376***	-.128*	-		
5. Father's Psychological Control	-.308***	.626***	.179**	-.385***	-	
6. Father's Firm Control	-.080	.120	.655***	-.231***	.445***	-

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 7

Regression Analysis - Child's Report of Parental Behavior - Mother

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Mother's Acceptance			
Age	-.032	.184	.025
Household Income	.181**	.950	.136*
Primary Parents during adolescence ^a	-.078	-.794	-.024
Ethnic Background ^b	-.204***	-4.471	-.166*
Gender ^c	.033	1.459	.062
Dependent Variable: Mother's Psychological Control			
Age	.044	.107	.015
Household Income	-.096	-.392	-.059
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	.079	2.376	.075
Ethnic Background ^b	.217***	6.580	.254***
Gender ^c	-.042	-1.149	-.051
Dependent Variable: Mother's Firm Control			
Age	-.057	-.055	-.008
Household Income	-.080	-.381	-.062
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.035	-1.139	-.040
Ethnic Background ^b	.148**	3.545	.150*
Gender ^c	.114*	1.931	.094

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1
 Female = 2

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 8

Regression Analysis - Child's Report of Parental Behavior - Father

Independent Variables	r	b	Beta
Dependent Variable: Father's Acceptance			
Age	-.074	.138	.016
Household Income	.110*	.425	.052
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.197***	-6.571	-.169**
Ethnic Background ^b	-.219***	-5.966	-.188**
Gender ^c	.050	1.599	.058
Dependent Variable: Father's Psychological Control			
Age	.077	.070	.011
Household Income	-.011	.295	.049
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.040	-.557	-.020
Ethnic Background ^b	.310***	8.095	.348***
Gender ^c	-.042	-.332	-.016
Dependent Variable: Father's Firm Control			
Age	-.039	-.387	-.057
Household Income	.011	.234	.037
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.040	.098	.003
Ethnic Background ^b	.141***	4.582	.187**
Gender ^c	.054	.838	.039

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1 Female = 2

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 9

Intercorrelations Among Dependent Variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Political Party Affiliation	-							
2. Attitude to Authority	.294***	-						
3. Overall Conservatism	.544***	.582***	-					
4. Racial/Social Conservatism	.329***	.294***	.675***	-				
5. Religious Fundamentalism	.511***	.423***	.767***	.199***	-			
6. Punitiveness	.306***	.557***	.696***	.285***	.326***	-		
7. Achievement	-.082	-.032	-.071	-.068	-.037	-.051	-	
8. Noncommitted	.044	.045	.040	.061	-.001	.030	-.747***	-

*** $p < .001$.

Table 10

Regression Analysis - Political Party Affiliation

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Participant's Degree of Conservative Affiliation ^a			
Age	.091	.059	.084
Household Income	-.020	-.034	-.052
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^b	-.110*	-.221	-.072
Ethnic Background ^c	-.041	-.174	-.069
Gender ^d	-.061	-.229	-.105
Mother's Acceptance	.160**	.018	.197*
Mother's Psychological Control	-.148**	-.034	-.354***
Mother's Firm Control	.076	.051	.476***
Father's Acceptance	.078	-.006	-.082
Father's Psychological Control	-.094	.029	.268*
Father's Firm Control	-.058	-.046	-.452***

^aScale ranges from Liberal (1) to Conservative (3)

^bBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^cCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^dMale = 1 Female = 2

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 11

Regression Analysis - Attitude Toward Authority

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Pro-Attitudes toward Authority			
Age	.021	-.124	-.014
Household Income	.034	-.115	-.014
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.015	4.783	.122
Ethnic Background ^b	-.044	.507	.016
Gender ^c	-.099	-3.998	-.144*
Mother's Acceptance	.192***	.097	.082
Mother's Psychological Control	-.145**	-.274	-.221*
Mother's Firm Control	.044	.347	.255*
Father's Acceptance	.185**	.158	.157
Father's Psychological Control	-.045	.276	.200
Father's Firm Control	.052	-.160	-.122

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1
 Female = 2

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 12

Regression Analysis - Political Conservatism

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Overall Political Conservatism			
Age	-.033	-1.118	-.072
Household Income	.028	-.711	-.049
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.076	1.135	.017
Ethnic Background ^b	-.100	-.837	-.015
Gender ^c	-.106*	-6.470	-.134
Mother's Acceptance	.255***	.450	.218*
Mother's Psychological Control	-.177 **	-.489	-.227*
Mother's Firm Control	-.054	.560	.237*
Father's Acceptance	.117*	-.034	-.020
Father's Psychological Control	-.069	.428	.178
Father's Firm Control	-.046	-.542	-.238

Dependent Variable: Racial/Social Conservatism

Age	.017	-.082	-.012
Household Income	.092	.065	.010
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	.046	2.672	.090
Ethnic Background ^b	-.210***	-3.703	-.153*
Gender ^c	-.113*	-2.489	-.118
Mother's Acceptance	.188***	.137	.153
Mother's Psychological Control	-.102*	-.083	-.089
Mother's Firm Control	-.167***	.007	.007
Father's Acceptance	.032	-.048	-.063
Father's Psychological Control	-.060	.106	.102
Father's Firm Control	-.119*	-.146	-.147

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1
Female = 2

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 12 - Continued

Regression Analysis - Political Conservatism

Independent Variables	r	b	Beta
Dependent Variable: Religious Fundamentalism			
Age	-.091	-.908	-.106
Household Income	-.105*	-1.292	-.162*
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.167**	-3.560	-.094
Ethnic Background ^b	.067	3.493	.113
Gender ^c	-.042	-2.573	-.096
Mother's Acceptance	.145**	.218	.191*
Mother's Psychological Control	-.114*	-.177	-.148
Mother's Firm Control	.078	.297	.227*
Father's Acceptance	.081	-.043	-.045
Father's Psychological Control	-.028	.056	.042
Father's Firm Control	.070	-.107	-.085

Dependent Variable: Punitiveness			
Age	.022	-.145	-.024
Household Income	.117*	.532	.096
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.016	2.044	.078
Ethnic Background ^b	-.093	-.490	-.023
Gender ^c	-.087	-1.539	-.083
Mother's Acceptance	.237***	.089	.112
Mother's Psychological Control	-.179**	-.233	-.282**
Mother's Firm Control	-.057	.257	.284**
Father's Acceptance	.147**	.061	.091
Father's Psychological Control	-.074	.266	.290**
Father's Firm Control	-.084	-.292	-.335**

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1
 Female = 2

** p < .01. * p < .05.

Table 13

Regression Analysis - Political Identity

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Political Identity Achievement			
Age	.018	-.052	-.009
Household Income	-.128*	-.575	-.102
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	.139**	4.919	.184**
Ethnic Background ^b	.022	.184	.008
Gender ^c	.006	-1.108	-.058
Mother's Acceptance	-.062	-.102	-.125
Mother's Psychological Control	.061	.068	.081
Mother's Firm Control	.113*	-.089	-.096
Father's Acceptance	.032	.144	.210*
Father's Psychological Control	.008	-.110	-.117
Father's Firm Control	.145*	.271	.303*

Dependent Variable: Noncommitted Political Identity

Age	.001	.088	.009
Household Income	.063	.593	.066
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^a	-.071	-2.978	-.070
Ethnic Background ^b	.009	1.151	.033
Gender ^c	.064	2.993	.099
Mother's Acceptance	.043	.162	.126
Mother's Psychological Control	-.000	.002	.001
Mother's Firm Control	-.127*	.216	.147
Father's Acceptance	.028	-.142	-.130
Father's Psychological Control	-.012	.183	.122
Father's Firm Control	-.224***	-.572	-.403**

^aBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^bCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^cMale = 1
Female = 2

** p < .01. * p < .05.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Measurement

Primary Parents during Adolescence

We are first interested in what you think about your family. All of your answers are confidential. There are no right or wrong answers.

First, answer the following questions for your primary parents which you lived with during your adolescent years. Below, indicate their relation to you:

- _____ biological mother and biological father
- _____ biological mother and step-father
- _____ biological father and step-mother
- _____ biological mother only, no father figure present (answer the questionnaire for mother only)
- _____ biological father only, no mother figure present (answer the questionnaire for father only)
- _____ adoptive parents _____ age when adopted
- _____ other (please specify) _____

Child's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory

Using the scale below, determine to what degree the statements are like or unlike the behaviors of your primary parents during your adolescent years.

=====					
Unlike	Somewhat Unlike	Not Sure	Somewhat Like	Like	
1	2	3	4	5	
				Mother	Father
				(1-5)	(1-5)
<hr/>					

During my adolescent years, my Mother/Father was a person who . . .

- | | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| *1. ...made me feel better after talking over my worries with him/her | _____ | _____ |
| *2. ...told me of all the things s/he had done for me. | _____ | _____ |
| *3. ...believed in having a lot of rules and sticking with them. | _____ | _____ |
| *4. ...smiled at me very often. | _____ | _____ |
| *5. ...said, if I really cared for him/her, I would not have done things that caused him/her worry. | _____ | _____ |
| *6. ...insisted that I must do exactly as I was told. | _____ | _____ |
| *7. ...was able to make me feel better when I was upset. | _____ | _____ |
| *8. ...was always telling me how I should have behaved. | _____ | _____ |
| *9. ...was very strict with me. | _____ | _____ |
| *10. ...enjoyed doing things with me. | _____ | _____ |
| *11. ...would have liked to have been able to tell me what to do all of the time. | _____ | _____ |
| *12. ...gave hard punishments. | _____ | _____ |
| *13. ...cheered me up when I was sad. | _____ | _____ |
| *14. ...wanted to control whatever I did. | _____ | _____ |
| *15. ...was easy with me. | _____ | _____ |
| *16. ...gave me a lot of care and attention. | _____ | _____ |

Unlike 1	Somewhat Unlike 2	Not Sure 3	Somewhat Like 4	Like 5		
					Mother (1-5)	Father (1-5)

During my adolescent years, my Mother/Father was a person who . . .

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| ^b 17. ...was always trying to change me. | _____ | _____ |
| ^d 18. ...let me off easy when I did something wrong. | _____ | _____ |
| ^a 19. ...made me feel like the most important person in his/her life. | _____ | _____ |
| ^b 20. ...only kept rules when it suited him/her. | _____ | _____ |
| ^d 21. ...gave me as much freedom as I wanted. | _____ | _____ |
| ^a 22. ...believed in showing his/her love for me. | _____ | _____ |
| ^b 23. ...was less friendly with me, if I did not see things his/her way. | _____ | _____ |
| ^d 24. ...let me go any place I pleased without asking. | _____ | _____ |
| ^a 25. ...often praised me. | _____ | _____ |
| ^b 26. ...would avoid looking at me when I had disappointed him/her. | _____ | _____ |
| ^d 27. ...let me go out any evening I wanted. | _____ | _____ |
| ^a 28. ...was easy to talk to. | _____ | _____ |
| ^b 29. ...if I had hurt his/her feelings, stopped talking to me until I had pleased him/her again. | _____ | _____ |
| ^d 30. ...let me do anything I liked to do. | _____ | _____ |

^aAcceptance Control - Reverse Coded

^bPsychological Control

^cFirm Control

^dFirm

Parental Political Influence

Rate the influence of your parents on your political attitudes:

- Mother much more than Father
- Mother somewhat more than Father
- equal influence
- Father somewhat more than Mother
- Father much more than Mother

Attitudes Toward Authority

Next, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Again, there are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1. It would be much better if we could do without politics altogether. (reverse) . . .	1	2	3	4	5
2. It's important for a leader to get things done even if s/he has to make people unhappy by doing them.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Civilians could learn a lot from the military.	1	2	3	4	5
4. A leader should always change their actions to ensure agreement and harmony in the community. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
5. There's generally a good reason for every good rule and regulation.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I disagree with what the military stands for. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is all right for a leader to do something s/he shouldn't do if s/he is sure it will be for the good of the people in the long run. .	1	2	3	4	5
8. It's always better to try to talk people into doing things, rather than to give them straight out orders. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
9. There is far too much control of people nowadays. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
10. You know where you're going when you have an order to obey.	1	2	3	4	5
11. If a leader is sure of what the best thing to do is, s/he must try to do it even if s/he has to use some pressure on people. . .	1	2	3	4	5
12. There is something wrong with anyone who likes to wear military uniforms. (reverse) .	1	2	3	4	5
13. School children should have plenty of discipline.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
14. When leaders make mass transit run on time, that at least is important thing to achieve.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Service men and women in the military, should not obey an order if it is morally wrong. (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
16. People who say we have enough freedom in the U.S. know what they are talking about . . .	1	2	3	4	5
17. Two years in the military would do everyone a world of good.	1	2	3	4	5
18. People should not be expected to conform as much as they are today. (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
19. If the military allowed more room for individuality it might be a better institution (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
20. People should be guided more by their feelings and less by rule (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
21. The military is very good for straightening people out and smartening them up.	1	2	3	4	5
22. You can be sure that military procedures will be good, because they have been tried and tested.	1	2	3	4	5
23. If there is a disagreement about a policy, a leader should be willing to give it up. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
24. Efficiency and speed are not as important as letting everyone voice their view during decision-making. (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
25. It is most important to have the participation of everybody in making decisions. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5
26. I don't mind if other people decide what I am to do, or how to do it.	1	2	3	4	5
27. A national leader should follow the wishes of the community, even if s/he thinks the citizens are mistaken (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5
28. People should be made to do things on time.	1	2	3	4	5

Political Conservatism

Now, indicate how positive or negative you feel toward the items listed.

	Negative							Positive						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
^c 1. Harder measure against criminals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 2. United States	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^b 3. Belief in authority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 4. Increased socialization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 5. Gun control	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^c 6. Increased support of the military	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^b 7. Cohabitation (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 8. Socialism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 9. White supremacy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 10. Communes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 11. Common market	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 12. Racial equality (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^b 13. Christianity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^b 14. Prochoice (abortion stance) (reverse) . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 15. Increase support of African liberation movements (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 16. Immigration of blacks, Haitians, and others (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^c 17. Corporal punishment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 18. Interracial marriage (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^c 19. Harder police measures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 20. Communist China	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 21. Increased equality (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 22. Capitalism.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 23. Social welfare (reverse).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^a 24. Apartheid (racial segregation in South Africa).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^b 25. Increased religious instruction in schools.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^d 26. Decreased weapons development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							
^c 27. Tougher control of foreigners	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							

	Negative			Positive			
*28. Environmental regulation (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°29. Longer prison sentences	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*30. Social equality (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°31. Nationalized health care (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°32. Law and Order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°33. Belief in Bible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°34. Increased democracy on the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°35. NATO (United States' allies)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°36. Homosexuality (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
°37. Pro-life (abortion stance)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Racial/Social Conservatism °Religious Fundamentalism °Punitiveness
 °Deleted from Analysis

Political Identity

Next, circle the number that describes your thoughts and feelings.

	Disagree					Agree				
^c 1. I think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 2. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^c 3. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 4. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^c 5. There are many reasons for political beliefs, but I choose mine on the basis of values that I've personally decided on	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 6. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^a 7. A person's political philosophy is unique to each person. I've considered it myself, and I know what I believe	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 8. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^a 9. After considerable thought, I've developed my own political viewpoint and don't believe it will change radically.	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 10. I don't have any strong political opinions, and I'm not looking for any right now. . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^a 11. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what my political beliefs are. .	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^a 12. I've spent some time thinking about political issues and I've decided what will work best for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 13. There are a lot of different political opinions. I'm still exploring ideas to find the right kind for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 14. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own political values, but haven't really found it yet	1	2	3	4	5	6				
^b 15. Politics is confusing to me right now and having firm opinions doesn't matter to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6				

	Disagree					Agree					
'16. I've gone through a period of serious questions about political values and can now say I know what I believe as an individual.	1	2	3	4	5	6					
'17. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view of what my own political ideals will be.	1	2	3	4	5	6					
'18. I'm not sure what politics means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.	1	2	3	4	5	6					

'Achievement 'Noncommitted 'Deleted from analysis

Demographic Information

Finally, we would now like to obtain demographic information.

- 1) Birthdate: ___/___/___
- 2) Gender: M ___
 F ___
- 3) Which range best describes the total income of your parent's household?
 ___ < 20,000
 ___ 20,000-40,000
 ___ 40,000-60,000
 ___ 60,000-80,000
 ___ 80,000-100,000
 ___ > 100,000
- 4) What is your ethnic background?
 ___ Caucasian (white)
 ___ African-American
 ___ Asian
 ___ Other (please specify) _____
- 5) Are your biological parents:
 ___ married
 ___ divorced or separated
 ___ one is deceased
 ___ both are deceased
 ___ other (please specify) _____
- 6) What is your area of study?
 ___ Social Sciences
 ___ Engineering
 ___ Physical Sciences
 ___ Business
 ___ Humanities/Education
 ___ Undecided
 ___ Other (please specify) _____
- 7) What is your political party affiliation?
 ___ Mostly Liberal
 ___ Partly Liberal
 ___ In-between
 ___ Partly Conservative
 ___ Mostly Conservative
- 8) What is your Mother's political party affiliation?
 ___ Mostly Liberal
 ___ Partly Liberal
 ___ In-between
 ___ Partly Conservative
 ___ Mostly Conservative

9) What is your Father's political party affiliation?

- Mostly Liberal
- Partly Liberal
- In-between
- Partly Conservative
- Mostly Conservative

Appendix B

Parental Political Party
Affiliation

Independent Variables	<u>r</u>	<u>b</u>	Beta
Dependent Variable: Mother's Degree of Conservative Affiliation ^a			
Age	.045	.082	.113
Household Income	.041	.000	.000
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^b	-.059	.219	.069
Ethnic Background ^c	-.067	-.340	-.130
Gender ^d	.077	.173	.076
Mother's Acceptance	-.016	-.010	-.103
Mother's Psychological Control	.079	-.006	-.064
Mother's Firm Control	.072	.007	.060
Father's Acceptance	.058	.016	.191*
Father's Psychological Control	.118	.029	.262*
Father's Firm Control	.056	-.004	-.035

Dependent Variable: Father's Degree of
Conservative Affiliation^a

Age	.041	.042	.065
Household Income	-.003	.015	.025
Primary Parents during Adolescence ^b	-.039	.214	.076
Ethnic Background ^c	-.022	-.217	-.094
Gender ^d	-.021	-.013	-.006
Mother's Acceptance	-.062	-.010	-.117
Mother's Psychological Control	.018	-.008	-.086
Mother's Firm Control	.064	.000	.009
Father's Acceptance	-.057	.002	.022
Father's Psychological Control	.052	.011	.106
Father's Firm Control	.073	.005	.050

^aScale ranges from Liberal (1) to Conservative (3)

^bBiological Parents = 1 Other = 2 ^cCaucasian = 1 Other = 2 ^dMale = 1
Female = 2

*** p < .001. ** p < .01. * p < .05.

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Job Experience

Home Visitor, Blacksburg Head Start, Blacksburg, Virginia, August 1992 - present

- Responsible for providing Head Start resources to twelve low income families in the Blacksburg area.
- Provide the parent with education on appropriate child development practices, opportunities for personal growth, and opportunities for interaction with other parents in the program.
- Provide the child with social interaction experiences, educational experiences using the High-Scope approach, and nutrition and health activities.

Head Teacher, Virginia Tech Child Development Lab School, Three Year Olds, Blacksburg, Virginia, Summer, 1992

- Planned, prepared, and implemented appropriate activities to encourage autonomy, creativity, and positive emotional, social, physical, and cognitive development in children.
- Evaluated the student assistants in terms of dependability, responsibility, and interaction with the children.

Head Teacher, Virginia Tech Child Development Lab School, Combo Class, Blacksburg, Virginia, 1991-1992 Academic Year

- Planned, prepared, and implemented appropriate activities to encourage autonomy, creativity, and positive emotional, social, physical, and cognitive development in children.
- Conducted parent conferences to discuss the social, physical, emotional, and cognitive development of their child.
- Evaluated the student assistants in terms of dependability, responsibility, and interaction with the children.
- Participated in the NAEYC reaccreditation of the Child Development Lab Schools during 1992.

Fiscal Technician, Treasury Management, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia, April, 1990 - August 1991

- Organized payroll checks for distribution.
- Consulted with employees concerning questions about payment procedures, location of check, direct deposit, and general information via telephone and in-person.
- Distributed checks, salary loans, and departmental payroll lists on bimonthly paydays to employees.
- Prepared detailed instructions on preparation and distribution procedures of payroll checks.

Publications

Dodd, A., Dollins, R., Snyder, T., & Welch, H. (1992). War and peace: Toys, teachers, and tots. Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Services No. ED 348 156).

Presentations

Regional

Dodd, A., Dollins, R., Snyder, T., & Welch, H. (1992, March). War and Peace: Toys, Teachers, and Tots. Paper presented at the Southern Association on Children Under Six Annual Conference, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

State

Dodd, A., Dollins, R., Snyder, T., & Welch, H. (1992, March). War and Peace: Toys, Teachers, and Tots. Paper presented at the Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education Annual Conference, Norfolk, Virginia.

Professional Organizations

National Association for the Education of Young Children
Southern Association on Children Under Six
Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education
Virginia Tech Association for Early Childhood Education

Activities

Peacework, 1992 - Nicaragua
Habitat for Humanity, Vice President, Publicity, 1990-1991
Academic Year
Blacksburg Area Recycling Coop