

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
PARENT-CHILD POLITICAL VALUE CONGRUENCY

by

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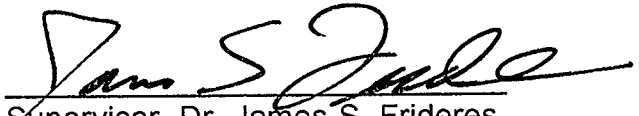
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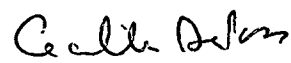
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Parent-Child Political Value Congruency" submitted by Marie Dalhouse in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.


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ABSTRACT

It is often suggested that parents can influence the political ideologies of their offspring through direct transmission or through the indirect mechanisms of the social context of which they belong. Using data from a 1994 random sample of households in Calgary and Vancouver and applying the techniques of path analysis, this research examines the effects of the internal and external components of the family on intergenerational similarity in political orientations among 387 parent-child dyads. The results indicate that the nature of parental influence on political socialization is a complex process. There is evidence which suggests that the external components of parent's political activity, socioeconomic status and family structure are more dominant in determining parent-child political value congruence than the internal elements of the age and gender composition of the family, role of parent, and child's perception of parental control. However, there is also evidence which point to the expressive role of single-parent mothers which results in greater similarity between parents and children in this type of family than in dual-parent families. These results imply that future research should place greater emphasis on family structure - particularly when examining parental influence on children's political orientations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As the social sciences extended its sphere of influence, the study of socialization assumed major importance within the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, political science and sociology. Although each field of study has adapted a specific approach when examining individual growth and change, they share the belief that the socialization process ensures the maintenance of society and the well being of the individual. Generally, the study of socialization emphasizes the ways in which individuals learn skills, knowledge, values, attitudes, motives and roles appropriate to their position in a group or society (Mitsch Bush and Simmons 1981:134). The central focus is on the process of individual change as a result of social influences. Therefore, as individuals interact within social institutions they become exposed to a variety of agents, e.g., parents, schools, peers and the media, which differentially influence the transmission of numerous values, attitudes and beliefs and impact individual development throughout the life cycle.

Through interaction with socializing agents, individuals communicate and share experiences due to their ability to actively take the role of others. Role taking involves the capacity of individuals to view both the social world and themselves from the perspective of others in order to understand others' responses in the development of social relationships (Mead, 1934; Peterson and Rollins, 1987:472). The act of role performance, therefore, provides expectations which guide or constrain behaviour within social relationships.

It should be noted however, that roles provide only guidelines and not specific rules of individual behaviour (Peterson and Rollins, 1987:472). As a result, there is considerable room for individual differences in the acquisition of roles. As Turner (1962) posits, interaction with others therefore involves role

making. He explains that role making allows individuals to explore, improvise and judge appropriate behaviour on the basis of the situation and the responses of others at the moment. With this point in mind, scholars of socialization focus on the process of individual change as a result of agent influence.

An important area of interest in socialization research has been political socialization. Some scholars have argued that schools, media and peers play crucial roles as agents of socialization in the development of individual's political values, attitudes and beliefs (Hess and Torney 1967; Jennings and Niemi, 1968; Ehman, 1980; Steinberg, 1986; Friedkin and Cook, 1990; Liebes, 1992). However, other researchers have emphasized the extent to which parents' political ideologies predict those of their children (Hyman, 1959; Connell, 1972; Tedin, 1974; Acock and Bengston, 1978; Pifer, 1992). These researchers argue that children often define their parents as significant others and tend to mirror their parents on social and political values. This position is consistent with Mead's fundamental point that an individual views the "other" as a generalized entity which he or she uses as a reference point for his or her own behaviour (Meltzer, 1980).

The focus of this study is to examine parent-child political value and attitudinal congruence within the context of the family. According to Rokeach (1973:5) a value, "refers to a single belief about a desirable mode of conduct or a desirable end-state of existence" which provide important criteria to guide and evaluate thought and action. Whereas, an attitude, "involves an organization of beliefs focused upon a single object or situation" (Rokeach 1973:20). Thus, within the context of the family parents might be considered an important agent in forming the basic political orientations of its children due to the various and complex roles they play in shaping their offspring's behaviour, i.e., the content and style of their children's political beliefs. With this in mind, using data from a 1993-94 survey of families in Western Canada, this study will examine some of the internal and external factors associated with the family as an agent of children's political socialization. The goals of this investigation are to provide a clearer understanding of the multiple roles parents play as well as the structure in which

they operate, in the acquisition of their children's political knowledge, values and attitudes, and in so doing contribute to Canadian research in this area.

Previous research on the role of the family as agents of political socialization is characterized by a number of empirical and conceptual issues. For example, Herbert Hyman's (1959) early study on political socialization found parents to be influential in the transmission of political values and knowledge to their children. However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s these findings came into question. Jennings and Niemi (1968), and Connell (1972), claimed that earlier studies on parent-child value congruency were incorrect due to biases in their sampling procedures which overestimated parental influence on children's political attitudes. Acock and Bengtson (1978), also criticized the methodology of earlier studies. In their effort to shed light on the influence of parents on their children's political orientation, they suggested that earlier studies erred in their results due to the lack of measurement reliability. They argued that the methodology of using multiple-item indicators weighted by means for factor analytic techniques was superior to earlier studies that relied only on single-item indicators.

Despite these methodological debates, empirical studies have concluded that the impact of parental influence on the development of children's political values seems related to several factors. Some of the reported findings suggest that political value congruency between parents and children exists due to the degree of specificity of the value or belief in the family (Jennings and Niemi, 1968), the value salience and clarity of the parent's values (Tedin, 1974), the extent of children's accurate perception of the parents' values (Acock and Bengtson, 1978; Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988) and the similarity of social status location between parents and children (Glass, Bengtson and Chorn Dunham, 1986). More recently, family scholars have emphasized the increasing importance of recognizing the diversity of influences on children and the complexities of family relations in modern societies. Proponents of this more current approach have continued to emphasize the impact of structural forces, e.g., socioeconomic status, and degree of political activity, when assessing parent-child value similarity (Glass, Bengtson

and Chorn-Dunham, 1986; Minns and Williams, 1989; Sebald, 1992).

Clearly, researchers have demonstrated that parents play a complex role in the development of their offspring's attitudes and values. Compounding the complexities of parental influence within the socialization process is the changing dynamics of the family. As reported by Statistics Canada (1992), there has been an increase in the number of dual-earner, single-parent and blended families over the past three decades. Concurrently, we have also seen a sharp increase in the number of women attaining post-secondary degrees and those entering the workforce (Statistics Canada, 1992). Consequently, the reconstruction of the family, together with the changing roles of women, could possibly have important impacts on the socialization process, including children's political development.

The increasing complexities of the family may present several unanswered questions with respect to the role of the family as an agent of political socialization. For example, is the ability of parents to transmit political attitudes and values decreasing due to the redefinition of the family? Are children relying on the external agents of socialization, i.e., schools, peers and media, to a greater extent than their parents in matters concerning politics? And, what are the factors associated with the institution of the family as an agent of political value congruence within the parent-child dyad? These questions suggest that a more important research question lies in examining both the internal and external components of our present day family in order to gain a more complete understanding of the determinants of parental influence on children's political values. This approach represents an advance over existing approaches that focus on either internal or external factors, or a limited combination of these factors when examining parent-child value agreement.

The organization of this thesis will follow the following format. Chapter 2 provides an overview of past research on the role of the family as agents of political socialization. This chapter highlights the important factors associated with the internal and external components of the family relevant to parent-child value congruence. Several debates surrounding the impact of these factors will also be

discussed. Overall, this review sets the stage in the development of the models to be tested in this research.

Chapter 3 first presents an outline of the social-psychological theoretical perspective which informs this study. Then, these theoretical insights are combined with variables identified in Chapter 2 to develop the conceptual model for this study.

In Chapter 4 the procedures for operationalizing and testing the model using data from a 1993-94 study of Western Canadians are described. The findings of these tests are discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of this study. Included in this chapter is a discussion of the implications, significance and limitations of the project and proposed directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Research on socialization has provided a number of insights into the role of the family in the development of a child's political awareness. This chapter traces the evolution of the empirical findings on the intergenerational transmission of political values, attitudes and beliefs through the socialization process, drawing attention to methodological and substantive weaknesses of past studies. As will become evident, several debates arise within this body of literature due to the multiple roles parents play within the family and the complex nature of the family and its members.

Early studies on political socialization considered the family to be foremost among agents of political socialization, (Hyman, 1959). Although several other studies have since arrived at similar conclusions (Connell, 1972; Tedin, 1974; Acock and Bengston, 1978; Pifer, 1992), their findings identify a host of variables and conditions which mediate and qualify parental influence in the acquisition of children's values. Of particular importance in this body of literature is a shift in focus from the effects of the internal dynamics of the family, (age and gender composition of the family, parent-child interaction and types of parenting style) to the impact of the social context (particularly, socioeconomic status and the influence of peer groups), in which parent-child values are studied. The section below focuses on the empirical findings with respect to the key internal and external components of the family which are hypothesized to impact parent-child value similarity and difference.

Internal Components of the Family

Gender

Earlier studies on the influence of the family on political socialization emphasized that gender-role socialization may be responsible for parent-child

differences (Hess and Torney, 1967; Acock and Bengston, 1978). This research is based on the argument that traditionally, western societies place great emphasis on the masculine role and devalue the feminine role. Further it is argued that cultural stereotypes such as that of the aggressive, rule-enforcing business world of men and that of the passive person oriented, caretaking role of women are learned from interaction with parents (Hess and Torney, 1967; Shaw and Costanzo, 1970; Holmes, 1988; Mackie, 1987; Michner et al., 1990; Meyers, 1990).

With respect to political roles, the differences between men and women are even more evident in earlier studies. Some scholars, for example, Hess and Torney (1967) assert that within the family the father plays a dominant political role. Hess and Torney, (1967:71) alluded to the notion that "politics is a man's world" which reflected the image of a politically passive role for women. In addition, they found fathers to be more educated and consequently, more politically aware. Generally, the findings posit that women are less politicized than men and are less represented in the political arena (Jennings, 1979;1981).

It should be noted, however, that since the 1970s, the percentage of women holding post-secondary degrees has increased significantly (McKie and Thompson, 1990:100), which would allow women to claim more political awareness. Thus, families in which both parents have attained higher levels of education should provide an atmosphere of increased political learning for their children. Rinehart (1988), found that gender role differences in political orientations do appear to be changing. In her analysis of the political orientations of college students, she asserts that although women still claim less understanding of politics, they intend to be politically active in the future. Her findings provide evidence of the formation of a more active political generation which includes women and which may lead to less gender differences within the political domain.

There is considerable debate in the literature with respect to the relative importance of mothers' and fathers' influence on the transmission of values to their children. Acock and Bengston (1978:525), using multiple item indicators and

covariance analysis, found mothers' political and religious attitudes to be positive predictors of children's similar attitudes later in adulthood. However, Jennings and Niemi (1968:180), whose findings relied on the *tau-b* correlation, found little difference between parents' and children's agreement on political values and attitudes. On the other hand, Whitebeck and Gecas (1988:837), in examining the absolute difference in value rankings of parents and children social values, reported differences in cross-gendered pairs within the parent-child dyad. It is possible that these conflicting findings could be a product of the different statistical procedures used in these studies. In addition, of the three studies cited above, only the Jennings and Niemi (1968) study employed a national probability sample in attaining their results. Consequently, sampling limitations may call into question the findings of the other two studies.

Building on the notion of the importance of the role of significant others to a child's acquisition of role identity, Sebald (1992) stresses the importance of the role of the father in the parent-child relationship. Sebald argues that fathers exhibit role behaviour by exerting parental authority, by engaging in adult work and by carrying out adult responsibility. Chronic father absence results in the omission of these exemplary role models. He suggests that failure to provide good role models is of major concern to social scientists since role confusion may occur when important norms are neither formally taught nor informally visible (Sebald, 1992:62). Because children are highly dependent on their parents' example in acquiring role identity, the physical absence of the father impedes the development of such characteristics as independence and achievement motivation. Sebald appears to concur with Hess and Torney's (1967:97) suggestion that, "families in which the father plays a strong dominant role encourages in the child a different attitude toward authority than do mother dominated families". They also note that children, "from high-status families see their fathers as more powerful in the family and as more instrumental teachers of citizen attitudes than do lower-status children" (Hess and Torney, 1967:100). These earlier findings imply that the instrumental role of fathers is superior to that of the care taking,

nurturant role of mothers within the political arena. Thus, these gender differences, as well as differences in political attitudes might allow fathers to be more influential in transmitting political values to their young.

Overall, these findings identify several important components when considering the impact of gender roles on parent-child value congruence. Of particular importance are the changing roles for women and the importance of the instrumental versus nurturant roles of parents.

Age of Child

Research on value similarity between parents and children has often included the age of the child as a predictor variable (Acock and Bengston, 1978; Glass, Bengston and Chorn-Dunham, 1986; and Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988). The inclusion of age by these researchers was based on the rationale that younger children were more likely to be influenced by their parents than older children. With the exception of Glass, Bengston and Chorn-Dunham (1986), who reported that parental influence decreased with age, these studies found no significant effects of age of child on the relationship between parents' and children's values. However, there seems to be some disagreements within the literature regarding parent-adolescent influences which could account for these findings. Some research on developmental aging asserts that during adolescence there is a greater need for individuation, detachment from the family, and deepening of relationships with peers than during childhood or early adulthood (Rafaelli and Duckett, 1989; Larson and Richards, 1991). These needs result in a period of conflict and stress in the relations between adolescents and their parents. The dominant view of the past century is that, "adolescence is indeed marked by greater turmoil than the preceding and subsequent life stages" (Raffaelli and Duckett, 1989:568). Hence, while younger children and their parents will have congruent values, by adolescent, these values will become divergent.

Other recent literature on adolescents challenges these suggestions (Dornbusch, 1989:249; Gecas and Seff, 1990:942; Sebald, 1992:253; Paterson et

al. 1994:594; Van Wel, 1994:481). These researchers assert that adolescence is not a particularly turbulent time; that relations with parents reflect more harmony than conflict; that self-esteem does not decline; and that most adolescents identify with and like their parents. Studies on peer group influence on adolescent values in the 1980s also found that parent-child interaction and discussion remains stable, interaction with peers did not replace the interaction with parents on important daily issues and parents have greater influence on adolescents than do peers (Gecas and Seff, 1990:942; Larson and Richards, 1991; Galambos and Almeida, 1992:745; Van Wel, 1994).

A number of researchers suggest that these contradictory positions, i.e., conflict versus harmony in parent-adolescent relationships, may be due to social changes. Glass et al., (1986) argue that rapid social changes, for example, revolutions, economic recessions, and technological advances, may encourage children to seek nonparental sources for support and guidance, thereby increasing the likelihood of parent-child conflict. Similarly, Sebald (1992) found a curvilinear pattern in adolescents' orientation to parents throughout the 1960s-1980s due to the effects of major social changes during these three decades.

Other researchers suggest that another possible explanation for differences in adolescent-parent relations may be due to differences in single versus dual-parent families. The literature on adolescent-parent conflict indicates that compared to dual-parent families, single-parent families are more likely to be characterized by conflict. This conflict is seen to be related to the dual roles of single-parent mothers, i.e., their domestic and labour force responsibilities. It is argued that these mothers are less able to adequately supervise and manage their children's out of school activities. As a result, children's risk for involvement in nonproductive and perhaps even deviant activities increases. (Dornbusch, 1989; Gecas and Seff, 1990; Barber and Eccles, 1992). However, Barber and Eccles (1992) contend that findings that support these arguments remain relatively unsubstantiated due to methodological weaknesses inherent in these studies. Clearly, the validity of such findings are questionable if they are based on the

empirical indication of number of parents, i.e., single-parent versus dual-parent, and it is unknown whether or not single-parent family structure was due to divorce, father absence or some other mediating factor. Some researchers emphasize that high levels of congruence between parents and their adolescent children is based on the adolescents' perception of their parents values (Demo, Small and Savin-Williams, 1987; Whitbeck and Gecas, 1988). These researchers assert, that the greater adolescent perceptions of parents' values imply greater similarities rather than differences in attitudes between parents and children. Acock and Bengston's (1978), analysis of children's perceptions of their parents' values and the parents' actual values concluded that perceived dissimilarities held by children between themselves and their parents were greater than actual dissimilarities. Other studies have also reported that the perceptions held by youth with respect to their parents values were important in the formulation of value transmission (Smith, 1981:189; Acock and Bengston, 1980; Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988:838).

Although the earlier literature generally implied that the age of the child did not significantly affect parent-child value congruence, more recent studies on the adolescent-parent relationship suggested the contrary. These debates suggest that the age of child might indeed be an important factor in understanding parent-child value agreement.

Parental Control

An important aspect of parental influence in the transmission of political values is parental control. Jennings and Niemi (1968) found that in more democratic parent-child relationships political value differences were less evident. Generally, the literature on parental influence on the transmission of occupational, educational, religious and political values implies that higher levels of parent-child congruence results in families in which parents exercise nurturant, supportive and inductive, e.g., laissez faire, rather than coercive, e.g., authoritative, techniques (Smith, 1983; Peterson and Rollins, 1987; Asmussen and Larson, 1991; Ellis and Petersen, 1992; Hayes and Pittelkow, 1993; Hoffman, 1994). These findings also

suggest that kinds of parental support or control determines the use of parents by children rather than peers as a reference group (see for example, Gecas and Seff 1990).

Some researchers have argued that the degree of parental control is also related to family structure (Wilson 1987; Barber and Ellis 1992). These researchers feel that compared to dual-parent families, the "overloaded" single-parent family is characterized by a lack of parental support and control for children that results in deviant and delinquent behaviour.

Overall, parental control appears to be an important internal factor in the understanding of parent-child value similarity, particularly when considering differences in the types of control, i.e., inductive versus coercive, as well as the impact of family structure on the type of parental control exercised within the family.

External Components of the Family

Contemporary research suggests that the varying responses by children to political orientations of their parents may be viewed more as the result of structural forces that influence the inheritance of family social status rather than as the product of individual psycho-social influence (Jennings, 1984 Glass et al., 1986; Acock, 1984; see Books and Prysby, 1988). In other words, parent-youth value congruence is determined by the family's location in the broader social structure. A number of critical structural factors have been identified.

Socioeconomic Status

Research on political values and social class posits that high-status families support conservatism, protecting the status-quo, while low-status families supported liberalism, thereby seeking change (Greenstein, 1967; Himmelstein and McRae, 1988; Mackee, 1988; Arbowitz, 1990). Hess and Torney (1967:224) found that the most important implication of social class differences in families is the

"tendency for lower-status children to feel less efficacious in dealing with the political system than do children from high-status homes." In addition, they confirmed in their American study that "children from working class homes tend to have a higher regard for policemen and for the President than do children from high-status homes" (Hess and Torney, 1967:224). They also suggested that children from high social status reported more parental interest in government and national affairs and more participation in political discussion within the family environment than children from other social classes.

Some researchers argue that the ideology and conceptualization of gender roles differs by class status (Gecas, 1981). Gecas (1979) suggests that differences in family socialization patterns between middle and lower class families are due to the more flexible role systems, more egalitarian ideology and the emphasis of child rearing practices based on individual autonomy rather than conformity which are inherent in middle-class families. In a review of the literature of the 1980s, Gecas and Seff (1990) state that these family differences are based on increased occupational and educational attainment of the middle class and the nature of the social networks within which these families are located. As mentioned earlier, educational attainment is seen to be positively related to political knowledge. On the other hand, families with lower incomes and in lower social classes are often less educated and may demonstrate less political awareness (Jennings and Niemi 1981; Paulsen, 1991). It should also be noted that parents within these lower income families may have less disposable time to interact with their children compared to higher income parents since lower status parents spend the majority of their time in the work force or in completing a variety of household tasks.

Of importance within the body of literature on the effects of social status on parental influence are the findings with regard to female headed families. According to the Canadian Advisory Council on the status of Women, 85 percent of all lone-parent families are headed by women of which nearly 50 percent are poor (Women and Poverty Forum, 1992). In addition, to this factor is the current

problem of the "feminization of poverty." According to Ishwaran (1986:66), "single mothers command the lowest average family income and spend more of their total income on 'reasonable' shelter than other forms of families." More than half of single-parent, female-headed families have incomes below the poverty line (Ishwaran, 1986). Therefore, without the economic and emotional support of another adult, these families are faced with great pressures which create stressful situations for women and children. Like mothers in lower class families, these mothers in single-parent families will have even less time to interact with their children than mothers in dual-parent families. The lack of political involvement and the burden of the sole responsibility of the family on the mother, place these families at a disadvantage within the political domain. Consequently, there will be less parent-child political value correspondence in lone-parent than in husband-wife families.

From these findings it seems that parents political awareness and socialization patterns may vary due to social class status and family structure. In addition, children from different social classes tend to hold divergent political views. With this in mind, the investigation of socioeconomic status is of great importance when examining political socialization.

Peer Group Influence

Early research argued that peer groups competed with parents in the socializing of the young. However, by the 1980s greater emphasis on harmony rather than conflict in parent-child relations seemed to emerge. Perhaps one of the reasons for the reported parent-adolescent congruency in values (Gecas and Seff, 1990; Larson and Richards, 1991) might be due to the role of parents in directing their children's activities. For example, parents in dual-parent families may be more likely to dictate their younger children's activities and to choose their friends, more often than with their older children. Older children are also exposed to a variety of external influences when their new experiences, e.g., post-secondary education or the work force, takes them outside their immediate community. Consequently,

the members within the younger children's peer groups are more likely to share similar attitudes and values than peers of their older siblings. In addition, parents often ensure a homogeneous environment for their children by living in communities where the neighbours, teachers and peers all tend to share a common outlook (Minns and Williams, 1989). Minns and Williams argue that because of their more intense exposure to a homogeneous environment, younger children would share more value similarity with their parents than older siblings who have more opportunities to encounter heterogeneous environments.

Minns and Williams also stress that it is difficult for parents to ensure consistency in political messages in divorced and remarried families due to the greater inevitability of a heterogeneous environment for children in these families. Therefore, this trend might not necessarily be as evident in single-parent families. The above findings might imply that age of child as well as family structure may be important considerations when examining the influence of peer groups on the transmission of values. Peers, rather than family, may be more influential for older rather than younger children and in single-parent families (vs. dual-parent families) in understanding parent-child value similarities.

Summary

In summary, the literature on the role of the family on parent-child value congruence reveals mixed evidence regarding the levels of agreement in political values between parents and children. Indeed, value agreement appears to be heavily influenced by a number of internal and external factors affecting the family including gender, age of child, parental control, socioeconomic status and peer group influence. Generally, for the internal components of the family gender issues include gendered roles of parenting and political knowledge and participation. Although it has been argued that fathers play the dominant roles, changes in women's education and labour force participation may be resulting in the increased influence of mothers in the transmission of political attitudes. Age of child may be particularly important when distinguishing adolescents from older

and younger age cohorts. The relative importance of parents and peers may be related to these stages of children's development. Children's perceptions of parental values may also be critical considerations as greater congruence in values would be expected when children have more accurate perceptions of their parents' attitudes.

Socioeconomic status would appear to be a critical external component in class variations in education, occupation, income, parenting roles, political awareness and activity and may affect value transmission. The structure of the family (single vs. dual-parent) also seem to be a crucial consideration for understanding the influence of both internal and external components of the family.

Overall, all of these components appear essential to furthering understandings of the process of political value transmission between parents and children. In the next chapter, following a discussion of the theoretical approaches to explaining the importance of the family as an agent of socialization, these various components will be combined to form the conceptual model to be tested in this study.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND MODEL DEVELOPMENT

This Chapter is organized into two major sections. In the first section, the social psychological perspective which informs this study will be outlined. In the second section, variables identified in Chapter 2 will be combined with these theoretical insights in the development of the study's conceptual model.

Theoretical Explanations for the Family as Primary Agents of Socialization

Sociological definitions of socialization emphasize the ways in which individuals learn to fit into society. Holmes (1988:71) defines socialization as the "processes by which individuals selectively acquire skills, knowledge, attitudes, values and motives current in the groups of which they are or will become members". These processes may vary for each individual depending on a number of variables such as age, gender, primary versus secondary socialization, and/or the relationships between the agent of socialization, the individual and the context of socialization (Gecas, 1981). Generally, there is substantial agreement that socialization serves to maintain social groups by promoting the adaptation of the individual to them. Individuals continuously strive for recognition and approval of others by conforming to the norms and values within the group. Wrong (1961), however, criticizes the idea that individuals have a choice in how they become socialized. He argued that the end result of the socialization process is the "oversocialized individual". He suggested that as people internalize social norms they become indoctrinated which constrains individuals and robs them of their freedom. In his view, socialization not only serves to maintain social groups by promoting adaptation of the individual to them, but it may also act as a constraining force. Regardless of whether socialization is seen as adaptive or

constraining, appropriate roles, behaviours, values and attitudes must be transmitted to ensure the reproduction of society with each succeeding generation (Gecas, 1981).

Studies on political socialization are based primarily on two schools of thought. Some scholars interested in parent-child congruence of political orientation have employed cognitive developmental theory based on Piaget's cognitive development stages. The focus of this perspective is on the structure and the development of the individual's thought processes as well as the ways in which those processes can affect the person's understanding and expectations of his or her world. Some advocates of this approach assert that the levels or stages of political understanding may be similar to Piagetian stages of the individual's cognitive development (Moore, 1989; Pifer, 1992).

Piaget (1970) argued that there are four major stages to the developmental sequence of intellectual growth. Each of these age-related stages consist of certain features which permits certain types of thinking. In the first stage of development, infants use senses and motor abilities to understand objects within their world, but they are limited to the actions they can perform toward these objects. By preschool years, the second stage of development, children begin to think symbolically - for example in their use of language and pretending. During the third stage, when children reach school age, they begin to think logically, but only with regard to the real and concrete features of their world. Lastly, in the fourth stage, adolescents and adults are able to think hypothetically and abstractly: they can think about thinking and can coordinate ideas (Berger, 1988).

Based on his work on the theoretical implications with respect to children's political learning, Moore (1989:11) argues that the weakness of the cognitive development model is that it does not adequately explain the mechanisms or factors which propel individuals from one learning stage to another. He suggests that this weakness could be overcome through insights from a second theoretical approach found in studies of political socialization - the social learning perspective.

Social learning theory is an extension of socialization theory which also employs the symbolic interactionist's view of the "significant other" relationship in the development of one's identity. Proponents of this model are persuaded by the fact that children reflect what they learn through experiences with family and social institutions (Hess and Torney, 1967; Acock and Bengston, 1978; Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988; and Moore, 1989). This perspective is based on the assumption that human behaviour is partially learned by observation through modelling. The modelling-identification theory of Bandura (1976), asserts that through observational learning children are capable of adopting both the behaviours and the internal standards of their parents (or other models). The basic assumptions of this theory are: 1) that the primary mechanism for the acquisition of behaviour is the imitation of a model under conditions of "vicarious reinforcement" and, 2) the conditions under which imitation occurs includes a prestigious or powerful model and a positive affective relationship between the individual and the model (Bandura, 1976:171).

Bandura's more recent work on abstract and conceptual learning provides additional guidelines explaining how children grasp the more abstract complexities of their political world. According to Bandura (1986:106):

Through the process of abstract modelling observers extract the rules underlying behaviour that goes beyond what they have seen and heard.... In abstract modelling judgemental skills and generalizable rules are being learned by observation.

Bandura posits that during the early phases of cognitive development difficult concepts are more easily learned by providing concrete referents in conjunction with conceptual expressions. The actual events are presented together with their abstract counterparts (Bandura, 1986:102). For example, with respect to political learning, children should gain a greater understanding of political party differences during elections. Therefore, the current active political climate in Canada would provide concrete referents for political discussion by parents within the family unit regarding party preferences.

Social learning theory also implies that observation by children is facilitated by certain attributes of the model. Bandura suggests that models who are perceived to be nurturant and powerful are most effective in prompting others to imitate their behaviour. Thus, within the family, parents become significant models whose performance is imitated by their children.

The larger social context is another important aspect of the role of parents as powerful models. According to Peterson and Rollins (1987:480), these external social forces provide,

values, meanings and goals that are translated into expectations for role behaviour within the parent-child dyad.... The roles occupied by parents in the larger social context influence the child rearing techniques they use, the meanings they convey to their children and the outcomes that the children exhibit.

Overall, social learning theory serves as a useful model for understanding how children acquire the concrete and abstract dimensions of political knowledge. Unlike the cognitive development approach which limits one's investigation of this issue at the individual level, the social learning perspective provides insight on the influences of the multiple roles parents play throughout the complex process of socializing their young within the family unit. Therefore, this perspective will guide the development and testing of the conceptual model for this study and the analysis of its findings.

Conceptual Model

The model developed by the author to test the internal and external influences of the family on the extent of political value congruency between parents and children is based on the social learning perspective. This model, presented in Figure 1, includes the factors (and the dimensions of these factors), identified previously in Chapter 2 which are proposed to be important for understanding how the family, as a agent of socialization, affects children's political orientation. Figure 1 outlines the ascribed attributes of parents and children which affect the parenting style employed by parents and the roles which these parents

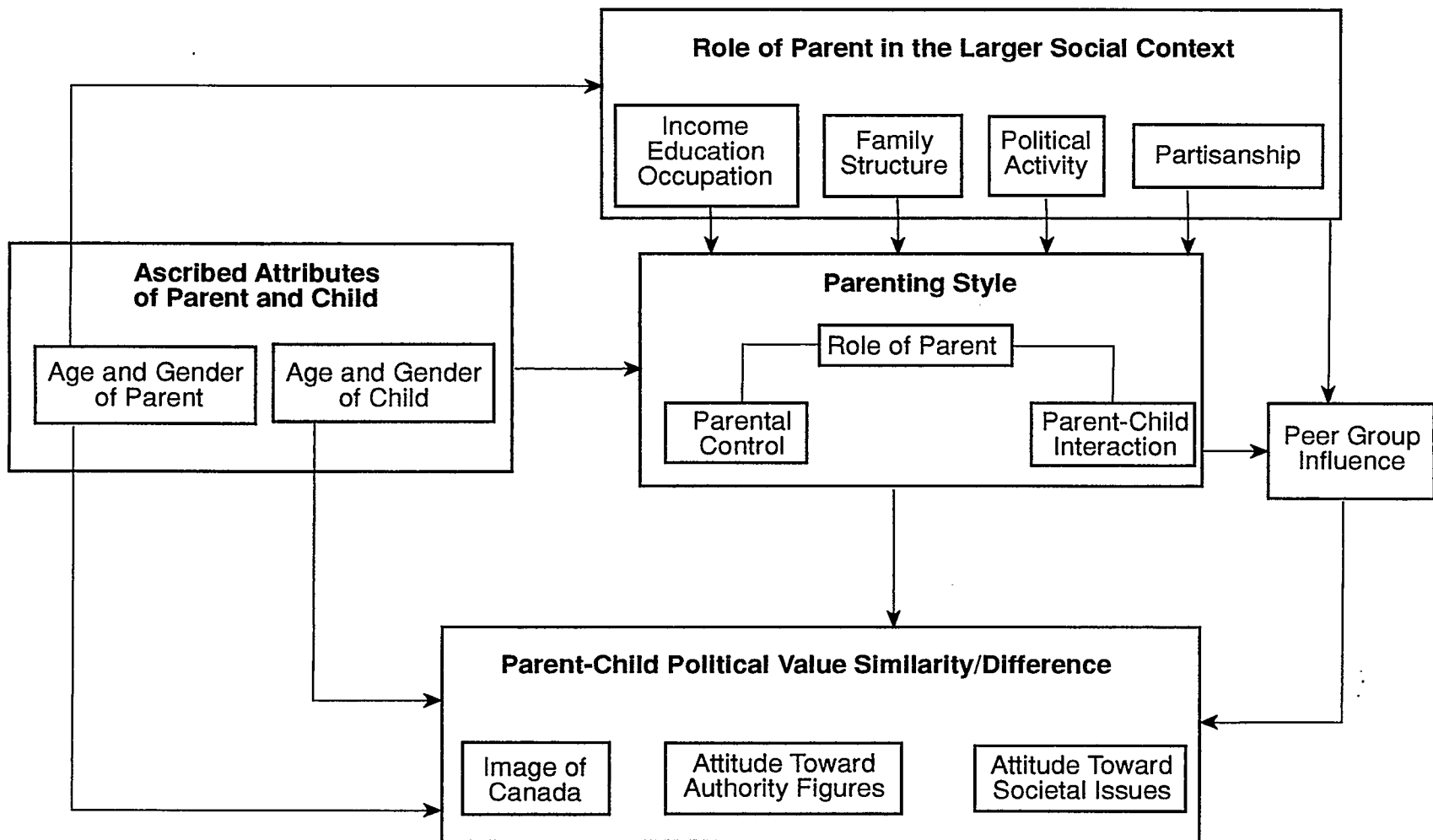


Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Parental Influences on Parent-Child Political Congruence

play in the larger social context. These characteristics may vary within each family, thereby resulting in differences in a child's political learning.

It is expected that in dual-parent families whose adults are more politically involved, and which occupy a higher location in the larger social context will experience more political value saliency than single-parent families in a lower class status with less political awareness. These attributes within the family will also have an impact on the type of parental control and the amount of parent-child interaction encountered by family members. We assume, for example, the parenting style employed by mothers and fathers will differ depending on the age and gender of the child as well as the parents location in the larger social context.

Similarly, as outlined within the socialization literature, these characteristics of the individuals within the family will influence the child's activities and friendship groups. The monitoring of children's activities and peer groups by parents will lead to friends who share similar values and attitudes. This in turn provides a homogeneous environment for childhood political development. If behaviour is partially learned through the imitation, observation and modelling of others, then the characteristics of the family will provide a climate which will determine the level of political value similarity/difference evident between parents and their offspring. A more detailed discussion of the model and the application of social learning theory to its components is provided below.

Ascribed Characteristics of Parent and Child

Age of Child

Starting at the far left of the model, we identify the first variable. Age of child is important when examining parental influence on parent-child value similarity. It is expected that parent-child political value similarity will decrease between children and parents as children become older. However, researchers have found that fathers have more influence on older children (age 19 and older) suggesting that fathers' influence may increase with age of the child (Acock and Bengtson, 1978:525). The literature on parent-adolescent congruency on political issues is

not clear on this topic. Some scholars stress the existence of a "generation gap" between parents and children of this age group (Traub and Dodder, 1988; Gecas and Seff, 1990), while others report that there is the tendency for adolescents' values to be more in harmony with their parents' values on important issues (Sebald, 1992:249; Paterson et al. 1993:593; Van Wel, 1994:841). Age of child will also determine the amount of parental control and the degree of parent-child interaction within the family (Peterson and Rollins, 1987). Based on the tenets of social learning theory, it is expected that younger children, will exhibit more parent-child political value congruence than older children. Parents usually have more opportunity to exhibit control and interact with younger children which enhances observational learning.

Gender

The social learning perspective also sets guidelines for the influence of gender in the parent-child relationship. Traditionally, men and women have experienced different roles within the family and within the larger social context. Therefore, as significant others, parents transmit these differences in male and female roles to their children who internalize and exhibit these gender specific behaviour patterns (Peterson and Rollins, 1987).

Currently, however, there are some arguments that differences in gender role socialization is diminishing. According to Ward (1994), the convergence of gender role socialization is associated with the increases in mothers' employment and father's involvement in child-rearing, even though the latter is quite low. These changes might explain conflicting findings in the literature on the effects of gender on socialization. For example, Acock and Bengston (1978:525), and Acock (1984:161) report mothers to be more influential than fathers, while Whitebeck and Gecas (1988:837) conclude that mothers and fathers attribute their values more to daughters than to their sons. Due to the changing roles of mothers and fathers in our society, the goal of this study is to examine the current effects of gender on parent-child political value agreement to allow further insight into this area.

Parenting Style

As discussed earlier, Bandura's learning theory emphasizes that observational learning by children is best achieved through nurturant positive models. This point implies that the role of parent, that is instrumental vs. nurturant, will have an impact on the transmission of values to their offspring. Acock and Bengtson (1978), in their study regarding parental influence on political and religious socialization, found that mothers were more influential than fathers in the development of their offspring's values. Mothers typically have a higher frequency of interaction with offspring along with greater control of immediate reinforcement. However, mothers in single-parent families, due to the additional responsibilities of child-rearing and the lack of emotional and financial support of another adult, have less disposable time for the interaction with and supervision of children. Therefore, their parental role might be more instrumental than expressive. If one accepts that the internalization and/or imitation of behaviour is best achieved through the nurturant behaviour of individuals, then one can expect more parent-child value difference within single-parent families than in dual-parent families. As pointed out earlier, parental influence is also determined by the type of parental control and the degree of parent-child interaction experienced by the child. As reported by Whitebeck and Gecas (1988), the parenting style which includes support and inductive control techniques results in an increase in children's perceptions of their parents' values. Their research also concluded that the more accurate the perceived parental values by their children, the higher the correspondence in actual values between parents and children. In light of these arguments, parents who demonstrate supportive and inductive control techniques are more likely to increase parent-child political value agreement than in families where coercive control is more prevalent.

Role of Parent in the Larger Social Context

Socioeconomic Status

Social learning theory emphasizes that structural forces will impact the significant other relationship between parents and children. One of the most important structural factors influencing the socialization process is socioeconomic status. The concept of socioeconomic status describes how members of social groups are ordered in relation to each other. It is argued that parents from similar SES share similar definitions of social realities, while parents from different SES levels develop different conceptualizations of social reality, experience different life conditions and develop different expectations of their role in the socialization of their children (Peterson and Rollins, 1987). These experiences are observed by children and set guidelines for future behaviour.

Therefore, with respect to children's political orientation, it is argued that parents with higher education, occupation and income levels tend to demonstrate more political activity, awareness, and partisanship than parents from lower status homes. Research also implies that parenting style differs by social status. If parents in high status families are more politically involved and they exercise a parenting style which is more conducive to the transmission of attitudes, values and beliefs, then more political value congruence should be evident within these families compared to lower status families. The fact that many single-parent families are often of lower status suggests that family structure is also related to this factor.

Peer Group Influence

With respect to peer group influence on children's political attitudes and values, several studies have concluded that parents are more influential than peers, particularly with the adolescent age group (see Gecas and Seff, 1990). In their study on the influence of agent socialization, Minns and Williams (1989:185) also suggest that parents continue to play a dominant role in a child's political learning due to the homogeneous nature of the community in which they live.

However, according to Gecas and Seff (1990) in their review of the literature on parent-adolescent influence, these findings may be related to the fact that most of the studies on adolescence focus on middle class families. Taking both of these points into account it is expected that peer influence will be greater within lower class families than middle or upper class families. This type of influence may be especially evident in single-parent families, due to less effective parenting style and less political awareness which is argued to be typical of this type of family.

Parent-Child Political Value Similarity /Difference

Past studies on the similarity between the political values of parents and their children have usually focussed on limited aspects of political values such as specific political issues, authority figures or party identification, i.e., partisanship. These different operationalizations or measures of political values suggest that the concept is multidimensional. Therefore, rather than focus on these dimensions alone, this study will use comprehensive operationalizations of three dimensions of the political value construct. These dimensions include 1), parent-child image of Canada 2), their attitude toward authority figures and 3), their attitude toward societal issues. As the literature suggests, value transmission between parents and their offspring is largely determined, among other things, by the degree of specificity of the value of belief in the family (Jennings and Niemi, 1968; 1981). and the saliency and clarity of the parent (Tedin, 1974), Therefore, given Canada's recent political climate, these three dimensions may be particularly salient in Canadian families. If we accept that behaviour is learned, as the social learning theory suggests, then a comparison of parent-child agreement on these issues would allow a more comprehensive evaluation of parent-child political value congruence.

Summary

Figure 1 has illustrated a conceptual model of parental influences on parent-child value agreement. The association between the components of this model can be summarized with a series of hypotheses. As outlined by the literature review and the theoretical perspectives of social learning theory, parenting style has been found to be a consistent predictor of parent-child political value similarity. It is expected that inductive control techniques, the expressive rather than the instrumental role of parents and high levels of parent-child interaction will predict greater parent-child political value agreement.

Age of child was also included as being influential in the model. Although some studies place less emphasis on the age of child (Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988), than others, (Glass, Bengston and Chorn Dunham, 1986), it is expected that parent-child political value similarity will decrease between children and their parents as children become older. Gender is included for exploratory purposes and no predictions are made about its effects.

Socioeconomic status is suggested to be a predictor of parent-child value congruence. The association between the family's social location and parent-child political value similarity and difference have been attributed to varying levels of political awareness, income, education and occupational levels which exist among the different classes. It is expected that higher levels of political activity and partisanship as well as income, education and occupational levels will result in greater parent-child political value congruence. Thus, parent-child political value similarity should be greater in upper class families than in lower class families. The role of parents in the larger social context is also expected to affect parenting style, that is in terms of the type of parental control and the amount of parent-child interaction. Therefore, it is anticipated that parents from high status homes will employ inductive (*laissez faire*) control techniques and interact with their children to a greater extent than lower status parents.

The decision to include family structure in the model was based on the changing dynamics of the family unit within our society. Because of these family

changes and work overload, mothers in single-parent families might experience more difficulty in transmitting political values to their children than the combined efforts of both parents in dual-parent families. As a result, it is hypothesized that parent-child value agreement will be greater in dual-parent families than in single-parent families.

Following the reports by Gecas and Seff (1990), peer group influence is not expected to have a strong impact on parent-child political values congruence. However, it is expected that its observed influence will be greater in lower class families than in upper class families.

These hypothesized relationships reflect the complexity that is inherent in understanding the role of the family in the process of political socialization. This model also allows for the examination of indirect and direct effects of both the internal and external elements of the family to allow for a more complete understanding of the influences of parents as socializing agents. In the next chapter the operationalization and testing of the conceptual model is presented.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This chapter outlines how data from a 1993-94 study of Western Canadians was used to operationalize the conceptual model of parental influence in political socialization presented in Chapter 3. These operationalizations are reflected in the empirical model presented in Figure 2. In assessing multidimensional aspects of parent-child political value congruence, eight different models will be tested, one for each operationalized dimension of the dependent variable. The larger empirical model illustrated in Figure 2 is designed to help explain the central research problem of the determinants of parent-child political value similarity/difference in western Canada.

Empirical Model

The recursive model presented in Figure 2 outlines the combined internal and external elements of the family which have been identified as critical in this study for understanding how children have similar or different values, attitudes and images than their parents.

Following the findings of past empirical studies and the theoretical perspective outlined earlier, it is expected that more parental supervision, increased parent-child interaction and the nurturant role of mothers in dual-parent families will predict greater parent-child value similarity. Therefore, the variable, role of parent, i.e., instrumental vs. nurturant, will have an indirect effect on parent-child political value and attitude congruence mediated by the variables parental control and parent-child interaction. The child's perception of parental control will also be influential and will then have an indirect effect on parent-child political agreement mediated by the variables parental control and parent-child interaction.

In addition, the effects of the demographic variables of age and gender of parent and child will also be investigated. It is expected that younger children, in

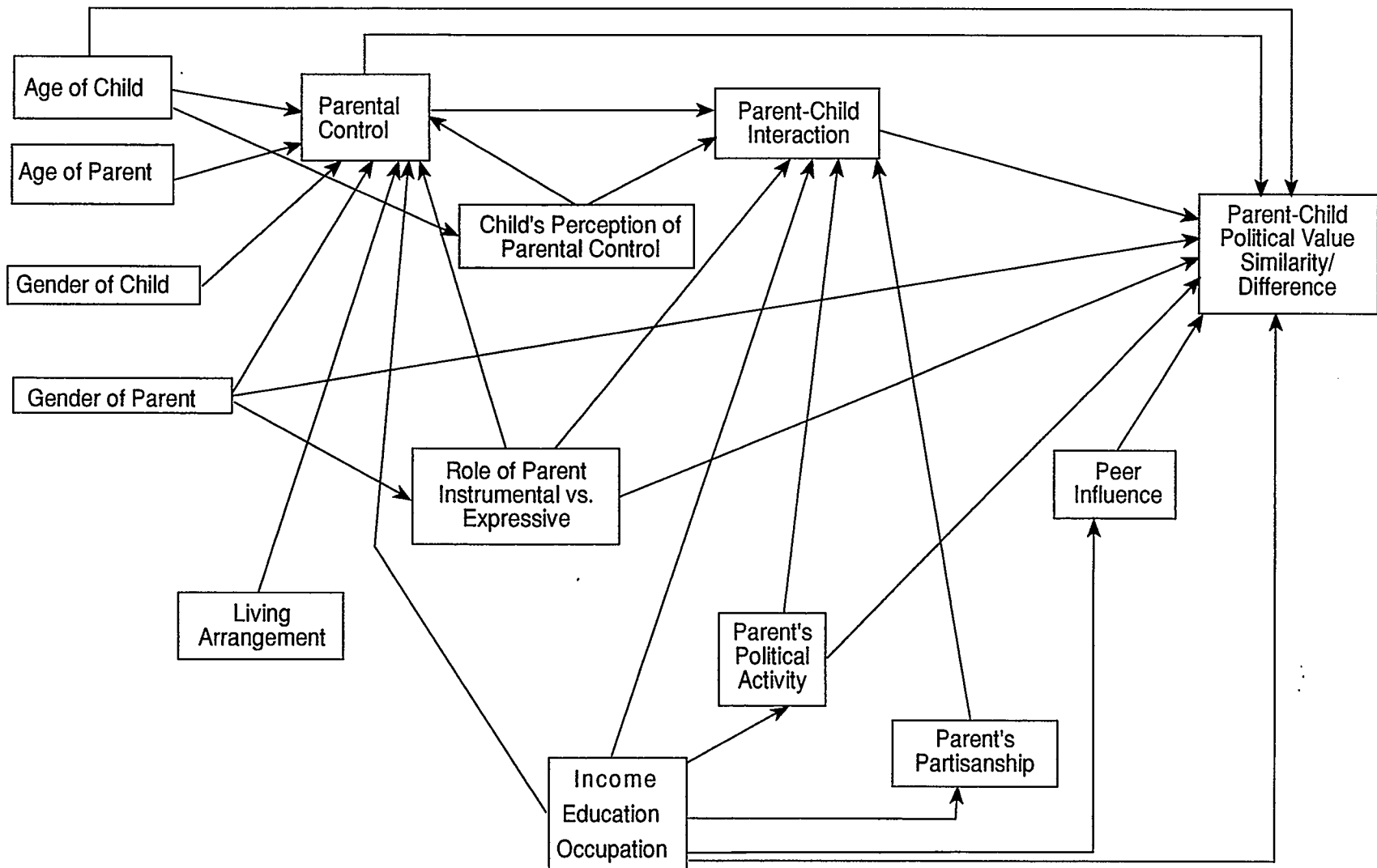


Figure 2. Empirical Path Model for Variables Affecting Parent-Child Political Value Congruence

dual-parent families will demonstrate more value and attitude similarity with their parents than older children. As outlined in the theoretical approach, value similarity is expected to be less among children from single-parent families due to the different parenting style of this type of family and the location of the family within the class system.

Gender of the child and parent appears to be an important variable but the effects of this variable as discussed in the literature remains unclear. The examination of this variable might nevertheless help to clarify the role of gender within the socialization process. The model in Figure 2 postulates that gender of child and gender of parent will have an indirect impact on parent-child political value similarity mediated by parental control, parent-child interaction and role of parent.

Age of parent is expected to have an indirect effect on parent-child value similarity due to cohort effect. For example, older parents within the sample may have more traditional views on the roles of parents than younger parents. As demonstrated in Figure 2, age of parent will also have an indirect effect on the extent of parent-child political value agreement mediated by parental control and parent-child interaction.

The external factors of the family structure will include the variables income, occupation, and education which will identify the socioeconomic status of the family. As mentioned earlier, fathers within high-status families play a more powerful and instrumental role than fathers within low-status homes. It is expected that there will be more parent-child value agreement in higher status families than in lower status families due to greater parent-child interaction, greater political activity and partisanship experienced in higher status homes. Therefore SES will have an indirect effect on parent-child value similarity mediated by the variables parental control, parent-child interaction, parents' political activity and partisanship.

It is expected that parental political involvement will increase the saliency of political issues within the family through discussion by its members. Therefore, parental political activity and participation and partisanship will have an indirect

relationship on parent-child value congruence mediated by parent-child interaction.

Peer group influence will have a weak positive effect on political value similarity such that increased peer group interaction will result in more parent-child value similarity due to the influences of the antecedent variable, socioeconomic status. Using the premise of social learning theory which draws attention to attitudinal similarity, it is expected that SES will indirectly effect parent-child political value similarity mediated by peer group influence. For example, children from higher status homes will interact with peers who are more similar to themselves as parents within this status group tend to have more control over the choice of their children's friends than those from lower status homes.

Parent-child political value similarity/difference will be divided into the three dimensions of parent-child image of Canada, parent-child attitudes toward authority figures and parent-child attitude toward societal issues. These three dimensions are used to reflect the argument that the construct of political values is multidimensional. Comparisons among the dimensions may provide greater insights into the assessment of parent-child political agreement than in previous studies where limited operationalizations were used.

Additionally, based on the findings of past research and the tenets within the social learning perspective a number of these variables are also expected to have direct effects on parent-child value similarity. As illustrated in Figure 2, age of child, gender of parent, parental control, role of parent, parent's political activity and their socioeconomic status should directly influence the degree of value agreement between parents and their offspring.

Sampling and Data Collection

The data for this analysis are taken from a broader 1992-1994 longitudinal panel study of political values and attitudes of parents and children in two major Canadian cities. The sample for this larger study, which was conducted by the University of Calgary, consisted of 275 households representing 275 adult and 387

children respondents selected randomly in Calgary and Vancouver¹. Although there might be regional differences in the Calgary and Vancouver samples the decisions to combine these samples was based on the rationale that the combined sample was representative of western Canadians and a larger sample would allow for more confident findings. Criteria for inclusion in the original 1992 sampling frame were households having at least one child living at home between the ages of eight and eighteen. In addition, the adult and child had to agree to participate in the survey on an ongoing basis.

Data was collected through self-administered questionnaires. The survey instrument was written in English and French to accommodate Canada's bilingual population. The questionnaires consisted of structured close- and open-ended questions and were completed by one parent and by one or two of their children within the target age group. The questionnaire required approximately thirty minutes to complete. Interpreters were hired to assist other ethnic families in the translation of the questionnaires whenever necessary. When more than two children fell within the target age group, children that were currently under-represented in the sub-sample were included based on gender and age criteria. Initially, an option was given to either parent to respond to the questionnaire. However, as the survey unfolded, either the mother or father were encouraged to participate depending on the ratio of parents surveyed. Respondents were asked standard socio-demographic questions while the primary focus of the research was on political values, attitudes toward authority figures, images of Canada and several other questions with respect to political and social issues in Canada.

Data from the Vancouver and Calgary samples are combined and used in this cross-sectional design. The 1994 data for these Western Canadians

¹ The original sample in the 1992 wave of the Calgary study consisted of 125 families. In 1993, eight of these families dropped out and were replaced using random sampling procedures. Similar procedures were used in the 1994 wave when two of the original families were replaced to allow the total number of families to remain constant at 125 families.

represents the third wave of the study for Calgarians (first wave was 1992), and the first wave for respondents in Vancouver. Consequently, the ages of the children in Vancouver sample range from 8 to 18 while some of the children in the Calgary sample are in their early 20s in 1994. A period of twelve months elapsed between each wave of the Calgary study. This combined sample consisted of 387 matched parent-child pairs representing 275 families and their children. Seventy one percent of the families who participated in the survey consisted of one parent and one child, while 29 percent of these families included one parent and two children.

Measurement of Concepts

Measures for all constructs were constructed from questions found in parents' and children's questionnaires of the 1993-1994 version of the University of Calgary Study. The specific questions can be found in Appendix 1.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study was degree of parent-child similarity/difference in political values and attitudes. This variable was operationally defined as the absolute difference in parent-child scores on three attitudinal dimensions: 1) attitudes toward Canada as a country, 2) attitude toward authority figures and 3), attitude towards Canadian social issues.

The similarity/difference between parent's and their children's image of Canada was measured by responses to a question which addressed the level of patriotism by Canadians. This question used a semantic differential to present 8 images of Canada, i.e., fair/unfair, peaceful/violent, safe/unsafe, clean/dirty, rich/poor, friendly/unfriendly, powerful/weak, and energetic/lazy (see Appendix 1, Question #9). A scale ranging from 1 (positive image) to 5 (negative image) was employed for each item. Because the unit measure is the difference in scores between parents and children, the scores for each parent and child were summated and the absolute difference was calculated providing a scale from 0 to

32, where 0 represents no difference in attitude between parent and child and 32 represents maximum opposite viewpoints between parents and their offspring.

The concept of attitude towards authority figures was measured by responses to four questions tapping positive and negative attitudes towards the roles played by police officers, the Prime Minister, the government, and the Supreme Court (see Appendix 1, Question #14). The responses to these questions ranged from 1 (positive attitude) to 6 (negative attitude). Items c and d of each of these questions were recoded to provide uniformity in the direction of the responses. Scores were summated and absolute differences calculated in order to develop a scale ranging from 0 to 20, where 0 represents no difference in attitude between parent and child and 20 represents maximum opposite viewpoints between parent and child.

The variation in attitudes toward Canadian social issues by parent and children was determined by responses taken from a series of 15 questions which referred to a number of current societal issues of interest to the Canadian population including Canada's Native issues, its defense force, employment and sovereignty (see Appendix 1, Question #12). The rationale for selecting these particular items was based on the fact that while issues concerning both our Native Indians and sovereignty have been debated within our society during the period of the study, issues concerning Canada's defence force and employment have not received as much attention. This fact facilitates a comparison between these issues to determine whether or not the saliency of the issue is consequential when examining parent-child political value similarity. Responses to these questions ranged on a 5 point scale from 1 (very important) to 5 (not at all important). The absolute difference in parent-child values were calculated providing a scale which ranged from 0 (no parent-child difference) in attitude to 4 (maximum opposite view points between parent and children).

It is important to note that most studies on value correspondence between parents and children report either the "relative" or "absolute" agreement within the parent-child dyad (see Tedin, 1974:1580 and Acock, 1984:156). Relative

agreement indicates that the agreement is relative to one's group. In other words, a comparison of the child's position relative to the distribution of other children while the parents' position is compared relative to the distribution of other parents (Acock 1984). These kinds of comparisons do not report differences between the child's views and those of the parent's. On the other hand, absolute agreement means a child's response is compared to the response of his/her parent. This approach, which entails using matched pairs, i.e., matching each parent and their children, does facilitate assessment of the degree of parent-child congruence. The absolute agreement approach has been used in this study. Consequently, the statistical procedures in the present study will focus on absolute pair agreement in the analysis of parent-child political value "similarity" or "congruence".

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this analysis were age and gender of parents and children, role of parent, living arrangement, income, education and occupation.

The ages of both the parent and child were represented by single continuous variables measured in years. Gender was a dummy variable, coded 1 if the respondent was male (see Appendix 1, Question #1 and #2). Family structure was operationally defined as whether or not the family type was that of a dual-parent or single-parent family (see Appendix 1, Question #6). Family structure was also a dummy variable coded 1 if the living arrangement was dual-parent family.

The variable, role of parent was measured by parents' responses to the question with respect to the decision maker in the family (see Appendix 1, Question #7). Responses to the question ranged from 1 (husband only - instrumental role) to 5 (wife only - nurturant role).

The social status variables used to predict similarities and differences in political values between parents and children are educational attainment, income and occupational prestige (see Appendix 1, Questions 3, 4 and 5). These

variables were used separately in the analysis to allow for the comparison of the effects of the internal family variables with the external components of parent's social status (Glass, Bengston and Chorn Dunham, 1986:690). Original responses to educational attainment were recoded on a point scale ranging from 1 (less than high school diploma) to 6 (university doctorate degree). Household income was determined by thousands of dollars of gross income. Occupational status was measured using Blishen, Carroll and Moore's (1987) socio-economic index which ranged from 1 (low occupational prestige) to 101 (high occupational prestige).

Intervening Variables

The intervening variables used in this study included child's perception of parental control, parent-child interaction, parental control, parents partisanship, parents political activity and peer group influence.

Parent-child interaction was operationalized by the parents' response to questions which referred to the extent of political discussion with their children, i.e, "talk about a candidate", "talk about our countries problems" and "discussing political views". Responses were coded 1 (yes), and 0 (no). Summated scores were then employed to develop a scale ranging from 0 (low parent-child interaction) to 3 (high parent-child interaction).

Parental control was measured by responses to the question: "how much freedom do you give your children to make their own decisions?" Children's perception of parental control was determined by the question: "How much freedom do you have to make your own decisions"? (see Appendix 1, Question 8). Scales were constructed ranging from 1 (a lot) to 4 (none). Thus, low scores represent minimal parental control.

A measure of partisanship was constructed from responses to the questions: for adults, "which party did you vote for in the last election?" and for children, "which party would you vote for?" (see Appendix 1, Question #10). These items were coded on a scale from 1 to 4 reflecting right to left in the political spectrum. Those who identified with the Conservative Party were coded 1, those

who identified with the Reform Party were coded 2, Liberal supporters were coded 3, and those who identified with the New Democratic Party were coded 4.

Multiple indicators were available to construct a measure of parents' political activity. Parents were asked to indicate what they did to teach their children good citizenship. These questions included the following items: "join a political party", "vote", "encourage others to vote" and "actively try to change things which are not good in government". Responses were used as a measure of parents' political activity. Those parents who responded yes were coded 1 and those whose response was no were code 0. The responses for all four questions were then summated, providing a score which ranged from 0 (no political activity to 4 (high political activity).

Peer group influence was operationalized by the responses of the children to question #13 which asked for the amount of perceived influence of best friend on a variety of social issues. A composite scale was used ranging from 1 to 9. The scores were summated to determine the level of best-friend influence ranging from 4 (low influence) to 36 (high influence).

Statistical Analysis

The goal of this study is to examine the effects of the internal and external components of the family on parent-child political value congruence. In order to obtain this information it was imperative to assess both indirect and direct effects of the independent variables on the dependent variables. The direct effects of an independent variable on a dependent variable are the effects which are not mediated by other variables, whereas the indirect effects are the effects of the independent variable which are mediated by another variable or variables. Since multiple regression does not allow the examination of indirect effects, path analysis which facilitates the analysis of both indirect and direct effects was used (Pedhazur 1982). Path analyses were conducted on a series of eight empirical models, one for each of the operationalized dimensions of the dependent variable. For clarity,

only the significant paths at the .05 level are reported. The interpretation of the effects in the various models are based on predictions of absolute differences. The results of these tests are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

This Chapter first outlines the descriptive findings of the study and then presents the results of the eight path analyses on the factors affecting parent-child similarity and difference with respect to; 1) their image of Canada, 2) their attitude toward authority figures and 3), their attitude toward societal issues. A summary and comparison of the results of these three dimensions of parent-child political value congruence is also incorporated into the discussion of these results.

To accommodate this analysis, the examination of the direct and indirect effects of the internal components of the family was conducted which included the following variables: gender and age of parents and children, living arrangement, role of parent (instrumental versus expressive), parental control (laissez faire versus authoritative), childrens' perception of parental control and parent-child interaction. Simultaneously, the examination of the effects of the external components of socioeconomic status, parent's political activity and partisanship as well as childrens' peer group influence was also conducted to further assess the impact of both the internal and external components of the family on the dimensions of parent-child political value congruence.

Descriptive Results

The means and standard deviations for the variables included in the empirical model are presented in Appendix II, and the correlations between these variables are listed in Appendix III. The results of this study were obtained from the responses of 170 (62%) mothers and 105 (38%) fathers. There was an even split between male (50.3%) and female (50.6%) children whose ages ranged from 8 to 21 with a mean age of 13 years. Almost 30.7% of these children were between 8 to 12 years old, 48.3% were within the 12 to 16 age cohort and 20.4%

were over 17 years of age. The parents' age ranged from 26 to 60 with a mean of 43 years. The percentage of single-parent families in the sample was 12.6%, which is consistent with Census Canada's reports at the national level,² thus representative of the population at large. The median household income was between the category \$51,000 and \$60,000. It should be noted that Statistics Canada (1993) reports the median income for all families in Calgary and Vancouver to be \$50,589 and \$49,596, respectively. Therefore, the current sample is fairly representative of the population in both these cities, at least on the basis of the data we could compare with the 1991 Census. However, because 21.5% of households in our sample, had incomes over \$91,000, this group maybe somewhat over represented. The majority of the respondents (70.8%), had a Bachelor's degree or higher.

A scale of 0 to 32 was used on the dimension image of Canada, in which the average difference between parents and children was 6.55 with a standard deviation of 3.976. Forty five percent of the differences in scores between parents and children ranged from 0 to 5 points, 37 percent ranged from 5 to 10 points, and 18 percent ranged from 10 to 17 points. The attitude toward authority figures scale ranged from 0 to 20. The mean and standard deviation of these scores with respect to the following variables were: parent-child attitude toward the government (mean = 2.83, standard deviation = 2.199), parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister (mean = 3.73, standard deviation = 1.951), parent-child attitude toward the Supreme Court (mean = 3.73, standard deviation = 3.495). On this dimension of parent-child political congruence 90 percent of the differences in scores within the parent-child dyad were between 0 and 5 points. The scale ranged from 0 to 4 on the dimension attitude toward societal issues. On average the difference in these scores between parents and children with respect to the following variables were: attitude toward Native issues, (mean = 1.19, standard deviation = .954),

²Statistics Canada (1993) reports that 13.1% of all census families consisted of lone-parent families.

sovereignty (mean = .96, standard deviation = .913), employment (mean = .67, standard deviation = .802) and Canada's defence force (mean = 1.15, standard deviation = .917). Overall, 93 percent of the differences in these parent-child scores ranged from 0 to 2 points. Generally, based on the above scales and the reported means, parents and children appeared to demonstrate agreement on the issues investigated in this research.

Path Analysis Results

This section of the results is organized as follows: first, a discussion of the findings will be presented on the three dimensions of parent-child political congruency as outlined in this study. This will be followed by a comparative discussion of the findings on these three dimensions.

Image of Canada Dimension

This model examines parent-child attitude toward Canada and represents the variation in attitude between parents and children with respect to their positive and negative image of Canada as a country. The results of the path analysis (illustrated in Figure 3) are presented in Table 1. Two variables, parent's political activity and peer group influence were found to have significant³ direct influences on parent-child congruence on the image of Canada as a country. The direct influences are depicted in Figure 3 by solid black arrows from these variables and the numbers above the arrows indicate the standardized beta coefficients for the paths.

As indicated in Figure 3, there is a direct path of $-.122$ from political activity to parent-child attitude toward Canada, indicating that when all of the other variables in the model are held constant, as parents political activity increases so does the similarity in attitudes between parents and their offspring with respect to

³Throughout the reported findings the word "significant" denotes statistically significant effects.

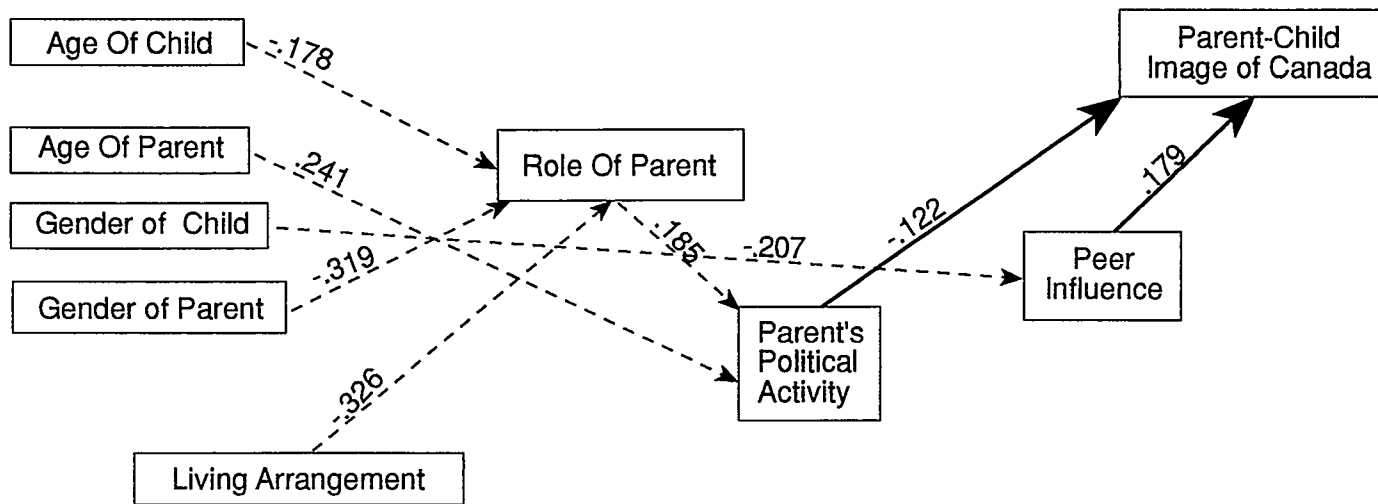


Figure 3. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference Regarding Image of Canada

their image of Canada. Peer group influence also had a significant direct effect on parent-child attitude of Canada. The positive sign of the path of .179 means that the greater the peer influence, the more children and their parents differ regarding their image of Canada.

In addition to these direct effects, a number of variables in the model have significant indirect effects on parent-child agreement regarding their image of Canada. These indirect effects are illustrated by the dotted lines in Figure 3. A summary of direct, indirect and total effects of the variables is presented in Table 1. Starting at the far left of Figure 3, gender of child had the largest indirect effect on the degree of parent-child congruence on the image of Canada mediated by peer influence. The direct effect of gender of child on peer influence (-.207) indicates that boys were less likely to be influenced by their peers than girls. The total effect of gender of child on parent-child agreement on the image of Canada -.037 (see Table 1), suggest that boys tend to share more similar attitudes with their parents regarding the image of Canada than girls.

Age of child, gender of parent and living arrangement had significantly lower indirect effects (.004, .007 and .007 respectively), on similarities and differences in parents' and children's image of Canada. These indirect effects were mediated by the role of parent and by political activity (see Figure 3). Age of parent had a direct effect on political activity of .241, while role of parent had a direct effect on political activity of .185.

Although the age and gender of parents and children appeared to have had significant indirect effects on parent-child value congruence in this model, the external forces of political activity and peer influence were dominant in determining whether parents and children shared the same images of Canada as a country.

Parent-Child Attitude Toward Authority Figures Dimension

The second dimension of parent-child political similarity/difference is measured by parent-child attitude toward authority figures. The authority figures chosen represent both Canada's political and legal systems. Parent-child attitudes

Table 1.

Path Analytical Results				
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Image of Canada as a Country				
Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		
		Standardized Indirect	Total	Unstandardized Total
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	- .029	- .029	- .021
Age of Child	.000	.004	.004	.005
Gender of Parent	.000	.007	.007	.057
Gender of Child	.000	- .037	- .037	- .270
External Family Influences				
Peer Influence	.179	.000	.179	.114
Political Activity	- .122	.000	-.122	- .457
Living Arrangement	.000	.007	.007	.065
R-squared .05				
Effects are significant at the .05 level				

toward Canada's Prime Minister and its government reflect their attitude toward authority figures. Parent-child attitude toward authority figures in the legal system was represented by their attitude toward the police force and the supreme court. Because the path analysis with respect to attitude toward the police force resulted in only one significant path - the direct effect of education $-.043$, this model is not presented in detail. Differences in the path analyses for the three remaining authority figures were readily apparent in determining parent-child attitudinal similarity/ difference toward authority figures (see Figures 4, 5, and 6 and Tables 2, 3 and 4). Three variables in Figure 4 were found to have significant direct paths to parent-child similarity/difference in attitude toward the Prime Minister. The largest direct effect on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister was from gender of parent $.160$. This finding indicates that fathers were less likely to share similar attitudes toward the Prime Minister with their children than mothers. The second largest direct path of $-.148$ was observed from age of child, suggesting that as children become older there is an increase in attitudinal similarity between parents and their children with respect to the role of the Prime Minister. The size of the path from political activity to parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister is exactly the same ($-.122$) as was evident in the model for parent-child image of Canada as a country.

There were no significant direct or indirect effects of gender of child on parent-child attitude toward the four measures of authority figures. Age of child, gender of parent and living arrangement were predictors of role of parent. Living arrangement was more influential on role of parent ($-.338$) than was gender of parent ($-.318$) and age of child ($-.199$). The direct effect of living arrangement on role of parent of $-.338$ suggest that parents in dual-parent families were more likely than those of single-parent families to play more of an instrumental role in caring for their children. Age of parent had a positive direct effect on parent's political activity ($.280$) indicating that political activity increased with age of parent.

The results outlined in Table 2 suggest that the largest total effect on attitude toward the Prime Minister was gender of parent ($.167$), with age of child

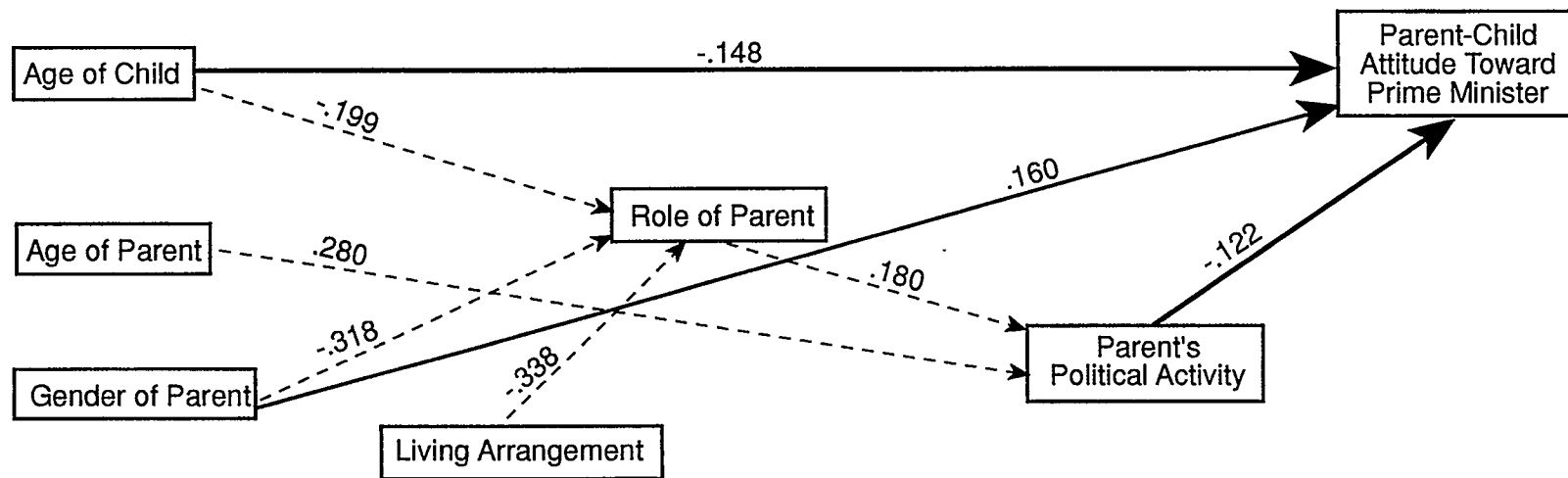


Figure 4. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference in Attitude Toward The Prime Minister

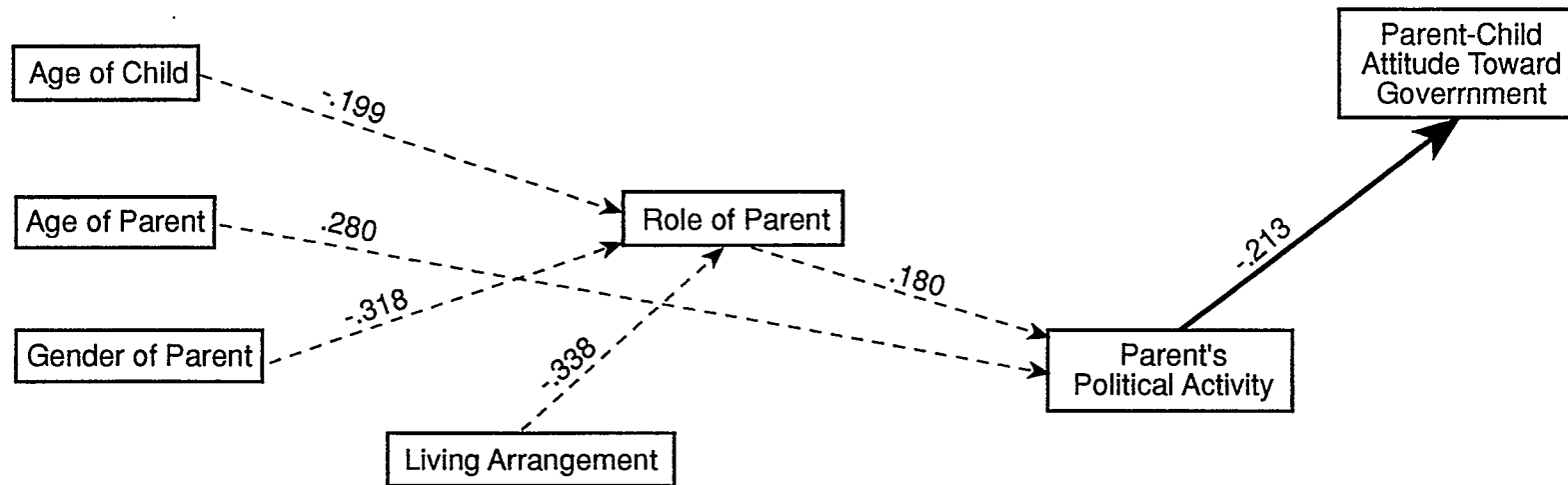


Figure 5. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference in Attitude Toward Government

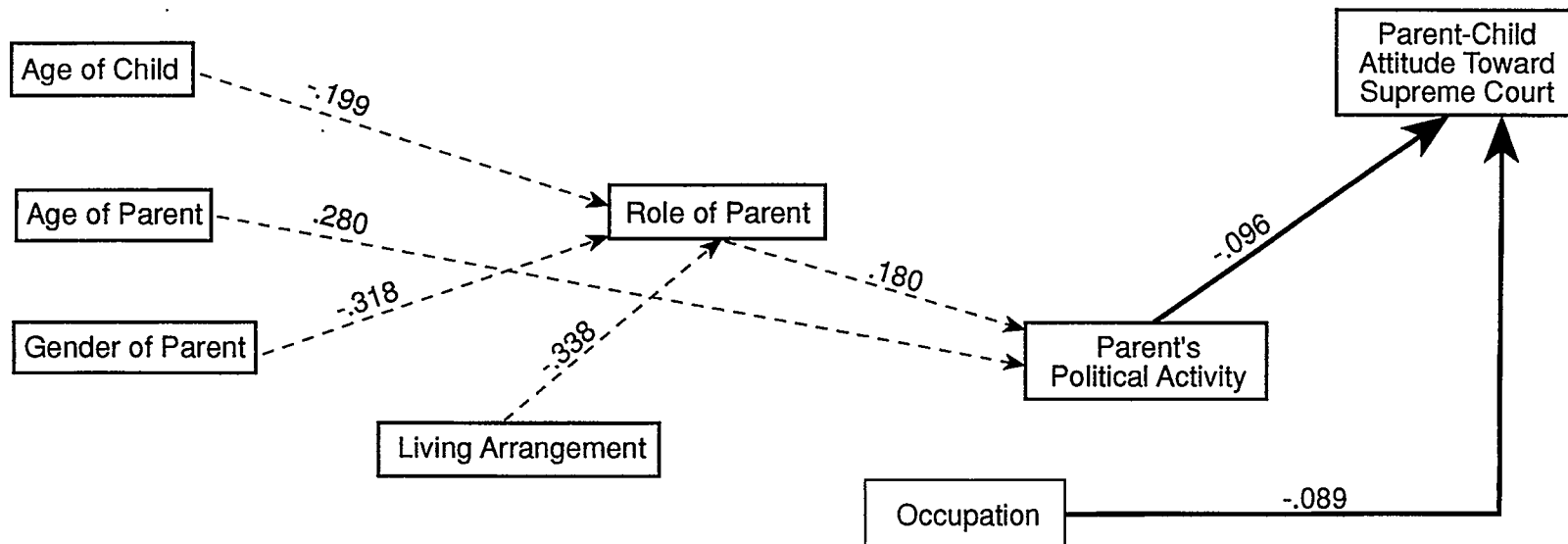


Figure 6. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference in Attitude Toward Supreme Court

Table 2.

Path Analytical Results
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude toward the Prime Minister

Independent Variables	COEFFICIENTS			Unstandardized Total
	Direct	Standardized Indirect	Total	
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	- .034	- .034	- .019
Age of Child	-.148	.004	- .144	- .088
Gender of Parent	.160	.007	.167	.670
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.000	.007	.007	.003
Political Activity	- .122	.000	-.122	- .224

R-squared = .07

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

Table 3.

Path Analytical Results				
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude toward the Government				
Independent Variables	COEFFICIENTS			Unstandardized Total
	Direct	Standardized Indirect	Total	
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	-.059	-.059	-.023
Age of Child	.000	.008	.008	.006
Gender of Parent	.000	.012	.012	.054
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.000	.013	.013	.066
Political Activity	-.213	.000	-.213	-.441

R-squared = .05

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.

Path Analytical Results				
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude Toward the Supreme Court				
Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		
		Standardized Indirect	Total	Unstandardized Total
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	- .027	- .027	- .016
Age of Child	.000	.003	.003	.004
Gender of Parent	.000	.005	.005	.036
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.000	.006	.006	.048
Political Activity	- .096	.000	-.096	- .316
Occupation	- .089	.000	-.089	- .015

R-squared = .02

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

having the second largest total effect (-.144) on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister. The indirect effect of living arrangement on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister of .007 indicates that children and parents in dual-parent families experience greater differences in attitude toward the role to the Prime Minister than those in single-parent families.

The Path analyses of parent-child attitude toward the government (Figure 5) and toward the Supreme Court (Figure 6) reveal the importance of similar variables. However, some differences are evident in the effects of the two models. For example, the size of the paths from political activity and occupation to parent-child attitude toward the Supreme Court are unlike the model on parent-child attitude toward the Government. The direct effect in Figure 5 on parent-child attitude toward the government from parents' political activity is -.213, while in Figure 6 the direct effect of political activity on parent-child attitude toward the Supreme Court is -.096. Additionally, there is a direct effect of occupation (-.089) on parent-child attitude toward the Supreme Court which is not evident in Figure 5. The total effects of these variables are reported in Tables 3 and 4. This finding indicates that as parents' occupational status increases there are less differences experienced between parents and their offspring in their attitude toward the Supreme Court.

The most important difference between the model on parent-child image of Canada and the three models illustrating parent-child attitude toward authority figures was the direct effect of age of child (-.148) and gender of parent (.160) on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister. These two variables had no direct effects on the other dimensions of parent-child value similarity/difference present in Figures 3, 5 and 6. The relative size and direction of the indirect path coefficients in the model on parent-child image of Canada and those of the models illustrating parent-child attitude toward authority figures are almost similar. The size of the direct paths from age of child, gender of parent and living arrangement to role of parent are -.178, -.319 and -.326 respectively, in Figure 3 and -.199, -.318 and -.338 respectively, in Figures 4, 5, and 6. In addition, the size of the direct

path of role of parent to parent's political activity is .185 in Figure 3 and .180 in Figures 4, 5, and 6.

Parent-Child Attitude Toward Societal Issues Dimension

The third dimension of parent-child political value congruence was parent-child attitude toward societal issues. The decision to use this dimension was based on the findings of Tedin (1974), who reported that the saliency of the issue was an important consideration in parent-child value similarity. Parent-child attitudinal similarity was analyzed using the following four current societal issues in Canada, 1) Settling disagreements with Canada's Native Indians, 2) Improving Canada's Defence Force, 3) Improving the employment rate and, 4) Sovereignty.

Attitude Toward Canada's Native Issues

The most statistically significant results were obtained from the path analyses observed with respect to Native issues and Canada's defence force. In the model on the Native issues (see Figure 7), four variables had direct effects. As with the previous models, political activity had a direct effect (-.192) on parent-child attitude toward Native issues. However, in this model, role of parent and parent-child interaction both have direct effects of -.267 and .198 respectively, on parent-child attitude toward Native issues. These findings suggest that parents and children experience similar attitudes with respect to Native issues within families in which parents play a more expressive role. The positive total effect of parent-child interaction indicates that parents and children have different attitudes regarding Native issues as parent-child interaction increases.

The direct effect of gender of child of .112 on parent-child attitude toward Native issues indicate that more differences in attitudes tend to exist between parents and boys on this issue, than between parents and girls.

The total indirect effects, outlined in Table 5, of age of parent -.029, gender of parent .073, living arrangement -.103 and income -.036 on parent-child attitude toward Native issues present interesting and complicated results. Although the

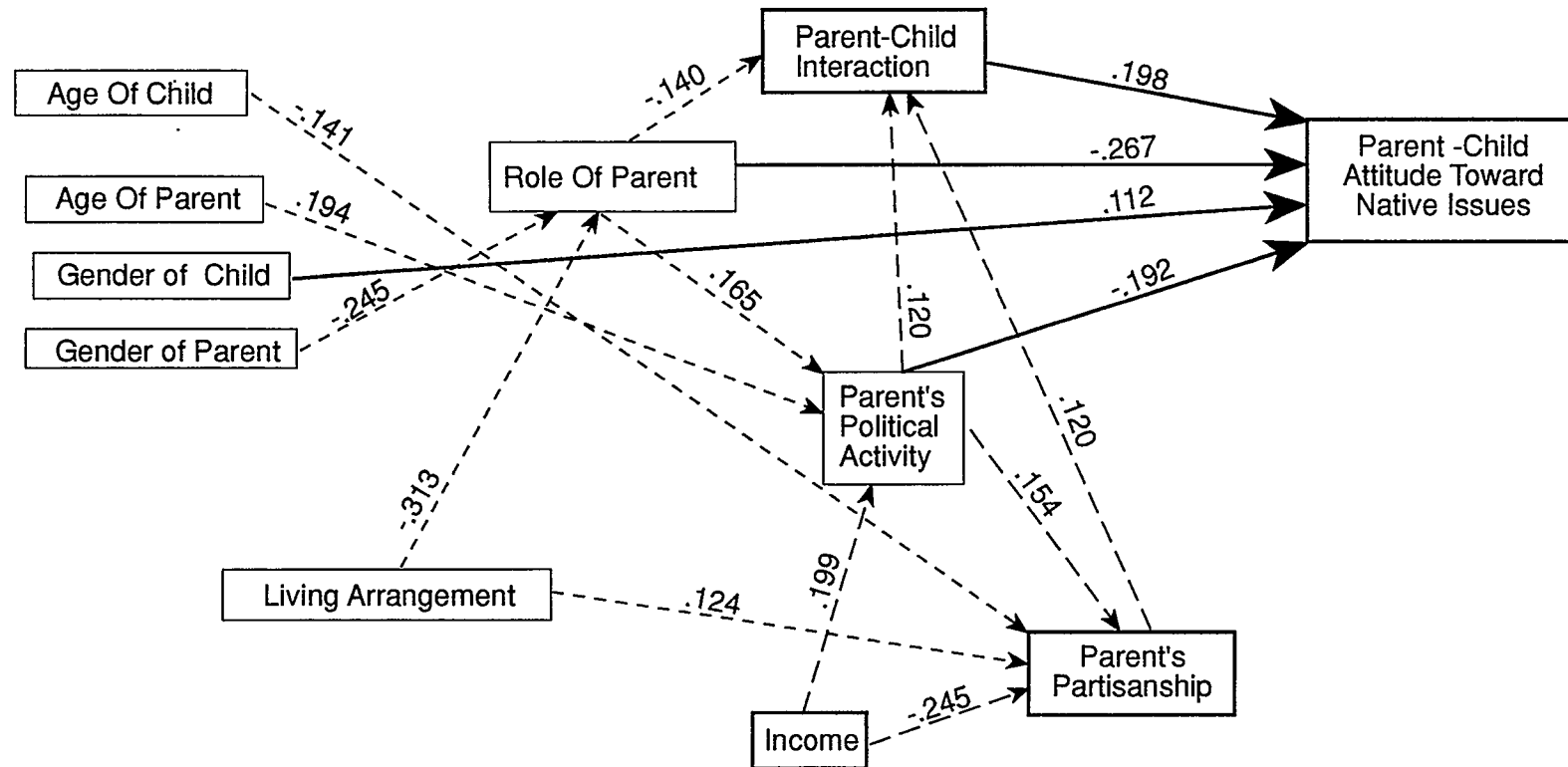


Figure 7. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Siimilarity/Difference Regarding Attitude Toward Native Issues.

Table 5.

Path Analytical Results				
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude Toward Canada's Native Issues				
Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		Unstandardized Total
		Standardized Indirect	Total	
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	- .029	- .029	- .005
Age of Child	.000	- .003	- .003	- .001
Gender of Parent	.000	- .057	.073	.143
Gender of Child	.112	.000	.112	.196
P-C Interaction	.198	.000	.198	.276
Role of Parent	-.267	- .031	-.298	-.286
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.000	- .103	- .103	- .229
Political Activity	- .192	.000	-.192	- .172
Income	- .000	- .036	-.036	- .007

R-squared = .12

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

total indirect effects of age of parent, living arrangement and income suggest parent-child agreement with respect of Native issues, the many routes each of these variables take tend to indicate that in some cases parents and children agree on this issue while in other cases they disagree. This finding might suggest that the overall indirect effects of each of these variables are cancelling each other. For example, if we examine the indirect effects of age of parent on parent-child attitude toward Native issues, the routes through political activity and parent-child interaction result in differences in attitudes between parents and children. On the other hand, the route through political activity result in similarities between parents and their children. A number of other cancelling effects occur in the total indirect effects of living arrangement and income on parent-child attitude toward Native issues. It seems the more complicated the routes these variable take the more evident the inconsistencies in the patterns of these effects.

Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force

In comparison to the model on parent-child attitude toward Native issues, the model outlined in Figure 8 on parent-child attitude toward Canada's defence force demonstrated some interesting differences. The results in Table 6, suggest that four variables, child's perception of parental control, parent-child interaction, education and occupation all had significant direct effects on parent-child similarity/difference in attitude toward Canada's defence force. The relative size of the direct path of parent-child interaction on parent-child attitude toward Canada's defence force of .131 is some what less than in the model on parent-child attitude toward Native issues of .198 (see Table 5).

Interestingly, for the first time the child's perception of parental control appears to have had a significant direct effect on parent-child attitude congruence. The direct path of this variable (.142) on parent-child attitude toward the defence force implies that children who perceive their parents to be more authoritative are more likely to disagree with their parents on this issue.

Also, for the first time evidence of significant direct effects of one's social

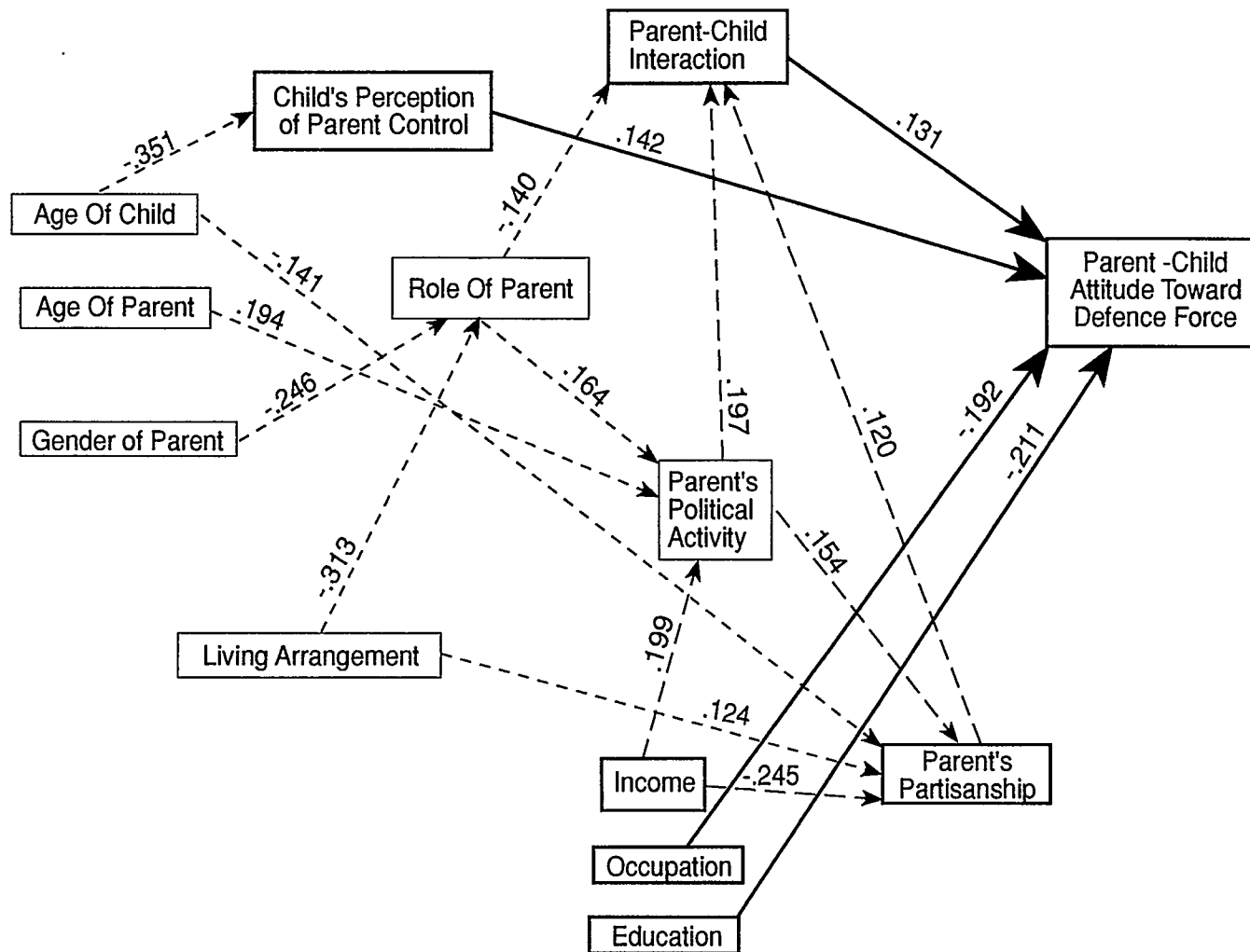


Figure 8. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference Regarding Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force

Table 6.

Path Analytical Results
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude Toward Canada's
Defence Force

Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		
		Standardized Indirect	Total	Unstandardized Total
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Parent	.000	.006	.006	- .001
Age of Child	.000	- .052	- .052	- .015
Gender of Parent	.000	- .004	- .004	- .007
P-C Interaction	.131	.000	.131	.176
Child's perception of Parental Control	.142	.000	.142	.153
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.000	.007	.007	.015
Income	.000	- .027	- .027	- .005
Education	- .211	.000	- .211	- .175
Occupation	- .192	.000	- .192	- .008

R-squared = .08

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

status on parent-child attitude agreement is observed. Education (-.211) and occupation (-.192) both had significant effects on parent-child attitude toward Canada's defence force. The size and direction of the direct path of education on this issue means that of these two variables, education is more significant in determining parent-child attitudinal agreement on this issue. This finding implies that higher levels of education result in more parent-child value similarity.

Unlike the earlier models, the total direct and indirect effects of education -.211, occupation -.192 and income -.027 were evident in the model on parent-child attitude toward Canada's defence force (see Table 6). An increase in parents education, income and occupation appeared to result in parent-child agreement.

The indirect effects of age of parent .006, gender of parent -.004, age of child -.052, living arrangement .007 and income -.027 once again are evident. However, in this model the total indirect effects of these variables on attitude toward Canada's defence force are somewhat less than were observed in the model on parent-child attitude toward Native issues. Overall, these findings are consistent with Tedin's (1974), findings on the effects of salient issues in value transmission between parents and children. Recently in Canada, Native issues have received great attention within our government and the media and therefore could be the reason for the higher values presented in Table 5. However, because of this attention parental influence alone may not be responsible for these findings. There may be some confounding effects of the media.

Parent-Child Attitude Toward Employment

Three variables, age of child, gender of parent, and child's perception of parental control, were found to have direct paths to parent-child attitude toward employment. The direct path from child's perception of parental control (.183) on parent-child attitude similarity and difference toward employment is the largest direct effect of the three variables (see Figure 9). The second largest direct effect on parent-child attitude toward employment was that of gender of parent (-.159). Fathers were more likely than mothers to share similar attitudes with their children

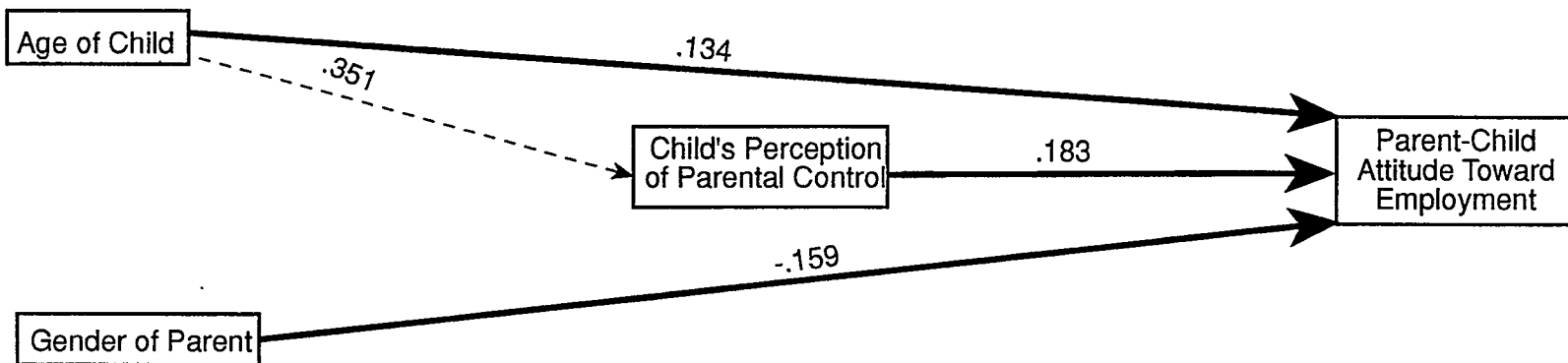


Figure 9. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference in Attitude Toward Employment

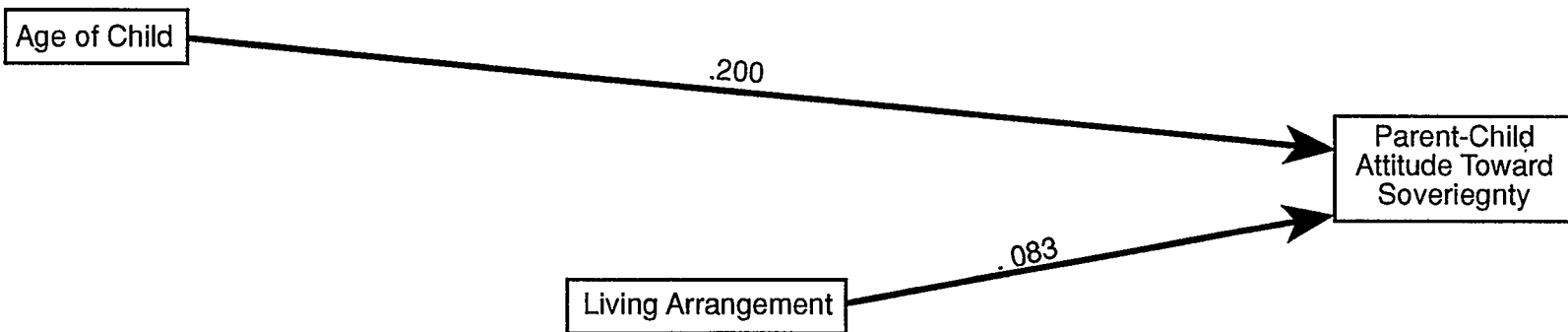


Figure 10. Factors Affecting Parent-Child Similarity/Difference in Attitude Toward Sovereignty

regarding employment. The total effects of age of child of .070 on parent-child attitude toward jobs means that the older the children become the more their attitudes differ between themselves and their parents on this issue. (See Table 7).

Parent-Child Attitude Toward Sovereignty

In this model only age of child and living arrangement were found to have significant effects on parent-child attitude toward keeping Canada together. Age of child and living arrangement both had direct effects on this issue. Like the model on parent-child attitude toward employment, age of child had a slightly higher direct effect (.200) on parent-child attitude toward keeping Canada together (see Figures 9 and 10). Once again parents' and children's values appear to differ the older children become. The direct effect of living arrangement on keeping Canada together of .083 in this model indicates that differences in attitudes on this issue between parents and their offspring are more likely to occur in dual-parent families than in single-parent families (see Table 8).

Comparison of the Three Dimensions of Parent-Child Political Value Congruence

In order to compare the relative impact of the internal and external variables within the family, standardized beta coefficients were used in this analysis. However, to allow for the direct comparison of the size of the effect of one variable across the models and the interpretation of dummy variables, total unstandardized beta coefficients must be calculated⁴ (see Appendix II, for the Standard Deviation of the variables).

⁴Langford (1994), reports total unstandardized beta coefficients in his study on Union Membership to allow for the interpretation of the effects of dummy variables. The formula used to convert total standardized beta coefficient to total unstandardized beta coefficients is $b_{Tot} = \text{Beta}_{Tot}(sy/sx)$ (Pedhazur, 1982).

Table 7.

Path Analytical Results
 Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude Toward Canada's
 Employment Rate

Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		
		Standardized Indirect	Total	Unstandardized Total
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Child	.134	-.064	.070	.018
Gender of Parent	-.159	.000	-.159	-.262
Child's Perception of Parental Control	.183	.000	.183	.173

R-squared = .06

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

Table 8.

Path Analytical Results
Dependent Variable = Parent-Child Congruence of Attitude Toward Sovereignty

Independent Variables	Direct	COEFFICIENTS		
		Standardized Indirect	Total	Unstandardized Total
Internal Family Influences				
Age of Child	.200	.000	.200	.057
External Family Influences				
Living Arrangement	.083	.000	.083	.177

R-squared = .05

Effects are significant at the .05 level.

The data on the internal variables presented in this analysis seem to suggest parent-child disagreement across most of the variables (see Table 9). Negative effects of age of child (-.088) on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister, gender of parent (-.262) on parent-child attitude toward employment and role of parent (-.286) on parent-child attitude toward Canada's Native problems are the only exceptions.

The only effects of parent-child interaction were with respect to societal issues. It should be noted that the direct effects of parent-child interaction on parent-child political value congruence indicates that the increase in parent-child interaction results in differences in political values within the parent-child dyad. Consequently, the several indirect routes taken through parent-child interaction could result in similar cancelling effects as previously mentioned. It is also possible that this finding could be due to the nature of the secondary data. More reliable questions measuring the content of political discussion between parents and children could possibly provide different results. Additionally, no direct measure of child's perception of political discussion with parents was provided in the data. More recent studies have found children's perception of discussion with parents to be more influential than that of parental reports of their actual levels of discussions with their children (Pifer, 1992:163, Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988:838).

The external family variables appeared to have been more influential in determining parent-child value similarity than the internal family variables (see Table 10). Parent's political activity had the largest effect (-.457) on parent-child agreement regarding attitude toward Canada as a country. It had the smallest effect (-.172) on parent-child agreement regarding Native issues. These effects suggest that increased political activity results in higher levels of parent-child agreement with respect to their image of Canada and their attitude toward Canada's Native problems. The findings presented in Table 10, seem to suggest that this variable was the most dominant in determining parent-child agreement. The second most dominant external family variable was living arrangement. It had the largest effect on parent-child attitude toward Native issues-.229 and the smallest

Table 9

Comparison of Effect of Predictor Variables of Parent-Child
Political Value Similarity/Difference

Predictor Variables	Unstandardized beta Coefficients				
	PM	DF	NI	EMP	SOV
Internal Family Variables					
Age of Child	-.088	----	----	.018	.057
Gender of Child	----	----	.196	----	----
Gender of Parent	.670	----	----	-.262	----
P-C Interaction	----	.176	.276	----	----
Role of Parent	----	----	-.286	----	----
Child's Perception of Parental Control	----	.153	----	.173	----

Key: PM = Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Prime Minister
 DF = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force
 NI = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Native Issues
 EMP = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Employment Rate
 SOV = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Sovereignty

Table 10

Comparison of Effect of Predictor Variables of Parent-Child
Political Value Similarity/Difference

Predictor Variables	Unstandardized beta Coefficients						
	CA	PM	GOV	SC	DF	NI	SOV
External Family Variables							
Peer Influence	.114	----	----	----	----	----	----
Political Activity	-.457	-.224	-.441	-.316	----	-.172	----
Living Arrangement		.003	.066	.048	.015	-.229	.177
Occupation	----	----	----	-.015	-.008	----	----
Income	----	----	----	----	-.005	-.007	----
Education	----	----	----	----	-.175	----	----

Key: CA = Parent-Child Image of Canada as a Country
 PM = Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Prime Minister
 GOV = Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Government
 SC = Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Supreme Court
 DF = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force
 NI = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Native Issues
 SOV = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Sovereignty

effect .003 on parent-child attitude toward the Prime Minister. In only one case, the effect of living arrangement $-.229$ on parent-child attitude toward Native issues, was the effect of dual-parent families more likely to result in similar attitudes between parent and children than single-parent families. In the models where income, occupation and education were significant, the effects of these three variables generally resulted in parent-child agreement with respect to the societal issues examined.

Generally, the effects of the external family variables appeared to have been more dominant than the internal variables in this analysis in determining parent-child political value similarity and difference. The overall results with respect to the proposed hypotheses regarding the family as an agent of socialization will be summarized in Chapter 6. This summary will be followed by a discussion of the limitations associated with this research and the implications for future research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Parental influence within the socialization process has been critically researched and debated during the past three decades. Many questions surrounding the degree to which parents transmit social, educational, occupational religious and political values to their young still exist. For researchers of political socialization some of these questions focus on whether parents play a crucial role in the development of their children's attitudes and values (Hyman, 1959; Connell, 1972; Whitebeck and Gecas, 1986; Pifer, 1992), or whether the influences of other agents outside the family, such as schools, peers and media are more important in determining their children's political learning (Hess and Torney 1967; Jennings and Niemi, 1968 Steinberg, 1986). Those who support the influences of external agents often overlook the complex nature of the family as a unit and the multiple roles parents play in the socialization process.

The purpose of this study was to examine the roles parents play in the political socialization process. The model on parent-child political congruence was developed and hypotheses tested based on the central tenets of the social learning perspective. This theoretical approach emphasizes the crucial but multiple roles parents play as significant others which children use as referents in the development of their values and attitudes. The findings of this study have shown that the nature of parental influence is more complex than has been reported in the literature.

The overall findings suggest that certain components of the conceptual model point to the particular importance of the relationship between parents' gender, their political activity, socioeconomic status, role of parent, living arrangement and parent-child political value congruence. The findings indicate that parents have direct influences on parent-child political value similarity through their political involvement, their social status and their role as parents. Parent's political

activity was found to be crucial in determining shared values between parents and children with respect to their image of Canada, their attitudes toward authority figures and their attitude toward Native issues. The occupational and educational levels held by parents directly influenced the similarity and difference within the parent-child dyad with regard to attitudes toward the Supreme Court and Canada's defence force, while the expressive role of parent directly affected the similarity of attitudes toward Native issues. On all the dimensions of parent-child political value congruence used in this study, indirect parental influences were evident with respect to parent's gender, their role as parents and living arrangement.

The impact of children's age also was an important determinant of similarity and difference in all the dimensions of parent-child political value congruence used in this study. On the other hand, the impact of children's gender and their perception of parental control was only observed to influence parent-child attitudes regarding employment, Canada's defense force and Native issues. Notwithstanding the low correlations evident in the statistical analysis, the findings suggest that the pattern of influence demonstrates a complex network of relationships between parents and children.

The first question in this study concerned the impact of parenting style on parent-child political value congruence. In support of the underlying assumptions of the social learning approach, discussed in Chapter 3 which emphasizes that learning is enhanced by the influence of the positive, expressive role of parents, the results of this study suggest that the more expressive the role of parents, the more likely political value agreement occurs. In addition, the expressive role of parents was also related to increased parent's political activity and parent-child interaction. Although parental control was not found to be statistically significant, the child's perception of parental control demonstrated significant direct effects on parent-child value congruence. These findings implied that children who perceived themselves as having freedom to make their own decisions were more likely to share their parents' attitude with respect to the issues on Canada's defence force and employment. These findings were consistent with past research which

reported the accuracy of children's perceptions lead to greater parent/child value agreement (Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988) and suggest that inductive parental control enhances parent-child value agreement (Smith, 1983).

There was no evidence in support of the hypothesis that increased parent-child interaction would result in greater parent-child political value similarity. Significant direct effects of parent-child interaction were only observed on parent-child attitude toward Canada's Native issues and its defence force. The observed results regarding parent-child interaction could be due to the limitations of the data set. The items used to measure parent-child interaction did not directly address parent-child political discussion about the societal issues identified within this dimension of the dependent variable. Although the measure used in this study did capture some degree of political interaction between parents and children, a more comprehensive measure would have been desirable. This limitation must be taken into account when interpreting these results.

The relative predictive power of the age of the child with respect to the three dimensions of parent-child value congruence also was examined. The concern was that political value congruence between children and their parents is different within the adolescent age group compared to an older age cohort. As indicated by the social learning perspective, a crucial component of observational modelling is that the nurturing role of parents is enhanced through parental control and through their interaction with their children. These characteristics of parental influence usually diminish as children mature.

There was no evidence in support of the effects of the age of child on parental control and parent-child interaction. There was evidence, however, that the age of child influenced the role of parents. In every case where age of child was observed to have significant effects on the role of parent, the findings suggested that parents played more of an instrumental role with older children than with younger children.

These findings are consistent with recent literature on parent-adolescent relationships. In their review of research conducted on parent-adolescent

relationships during the 1980s, Gecas and Seff (1990) report that earlier findings of conflicting relationships between parents and adolescents have been challenged by findings that support more harmonious relationships between parents and their teens. In addition, Larson and Richards (1991), provide evidence that interaction with peers did not replace interaction with parents. As the present findings seem to suggest, peer group influence as a potential rival had very little impact on parental influence. Peer influence was observed to have a direct significant effect only on the dimension of parent-child image of Canada, where it led to increased differences in attitudes between parents and children on this issue.

Overall, the findings with respect to the age of the child support previous research. The results demonstrate that generally younger children share more parent-child political value congruence with their parents than older children. Evidence of age of child as a predictor of parent-child political value agreement was found in their attitude toward the Prime Minister, employment and sovereignty. On each of these dimensions, parent-child differences increased with the age of children. This finding was not unexpected given the assumptions within social learning theory that the relationship between parenting style and age of child should have a positive influence on parent-child agreement.

The impact of family structure on parent-child political value similarity and difference was also examined in this study. Many of the studies which focus on family structure differentiate between the instrumental role of the father and the expressive role of the mother. For example, Hess and Torney (1967) presented the prevailing opinion that fathers play a dominant role in socializing their children's political orientation. Likewise, Sebald (1992) stressed the role of the father in the parent-child relationship with his argument that father absence may impede the development of such characteristics as independence and achievement motivation in children.

There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that political value similarity between parents and children would be greater in dual-parent families than in single-parent families. Only on the dimension parent-child attitude toward

sovereignty was living arrangement found to have a significant direct effect. The observed results suggested greater differences between parents and children's political values in dual-parent families than in single-parent families. However, living arrangement did have indirect effects on parent-child political value similarity/difference mediated by role of parent, parent-child interaction, political activity and partisanship in two of the three dimensions which measured parent-child agreement. The findings suggest that parents in dual-parent families were more likely to play an instrumental role in caring for their children than parents in single-parent families. The indirect effects of living arrangement demonstrated that parents and children in dual-parent families were more likely to experience differences in political values than those in single-parent families. However, one exception was observed. With respect to parent-child attitude toward Native issues, parents in dual-parent families were more likely to agree on this issue than parents and children in single-parent families.

The instrumental role played by parents in dual-parent families in these results might be one explanation for the differences occurring within the parent-child dyad. However, consideration should also be given to the fact that the number of children in single-parent families is often lower than in dual-parent families. As report by Lero and Brockman (1993:101), most single-parent families have only one child under 13 years of age. In contrast, most dual-parent families are more likely to have two or more children younger than 13 years of age⁵. Thus, contrary to the findings of other studies, mothers in single-parent families, although under heavy child rearing and household responsibilities, appear to play more of an expressive than instrumental role. Since most single-parent families are headed by women, perhaps the traditional nurturant role of women allow mothers to overcome the internal demands that might be expected in this type of family.

This finding also questions the earlier reports by Hess and Torney (1968),

⁵ The reported statistics on the ages of children within these families are based on the 1992 National child Care Study and reproduced by Lero and Brockman (1992).

and Sebald (1992), on the dominant role of fathers within the political arena. Contrary to their conclusions, it appears that women no longer play a passive political role. Focusing the indirect effects of gender, the results suggest that mothers were more influential than fathers when assessing agreement. This might be due to the increased political awareness of women in the 1990s. At the very least, the findings point to the importance of the nurturing, expressive role of parents as outlined in social learning theory. The predictive powers of mothers in single-parent families seem to be more influential on parent-child value congruence than of both parents in dual-parent families.

It is important to note that some caution should be taken when interpreting effects that involve family structure. The limitations of the data set allowed only the identification of one or two parent families. Further information on the circumstances which resulted in single-parent family structures such as divorce, death of spouse, or children born out of wedlock could have resulted in different findings. In cases where single-parent families were a result of death of spouse or divorce, the latent effects of the earlier influences of the father figure may still be prevalent. Consequently, it may be necessary to take the amount of time since the disruption of the family into account.

The effects of parents' social status on political value similarity/difference within the parent-child dyad were also observed. The social learning perspective suggests that the roles occupied by parents in the larger social context will influence their children by way of their child rearing techniques and the meanings they convey to their children. With respect to the political orientations of children, Hess and Torney (1967), argued that parental political activity and knowledge was more evident in families of higher socioeconomic status than within families of lower socioeconomic status. The direct effects of the social status variables such as income, education and occupation were not statistically significant in all the dimensions on parent-child political value similarity/difference. However, all five cases where direct significant effects were observed, the influences of these variables led to an increase in parent-child political value similarity.

It is important to note, that although Statistics Canada (1992) reports that single-parent families tend to be of lower socio-economic status, the findings of this study suggest that the internal components within these types of families are more influential than their social location. This finding points to the importance of closer examination of both internal family variables and family composition in future research in order to gain a deeper understanding of the variables impacting parent-child value congruence.

Political activity as measured in this study increased with the level of income. Surprisingly, occupation and education did not result in similar effects as reported by other studies. This finding suggests that although parents political activity seem to be very influential when studying parent-child political value congruence it is not necessarily determined by one's social status. Overall, the age of the parent seemed to have had more of an impact, with older parents being more politically active.

It should be noted, that the findings presented in this paper indicate the predictive aspects of the variables and not causal generalities. A truly causal analysis of parent-child value congruence would require the methodological use of a longitudinal panel design to allow for the analysis of any changes in political values between parents and children over time (Kidder and Judd, 1986:33). A longitudinal study could also tap into the effects of the reciprocal relationship between parents and their offspring and the degree to which children influence their parents' political values.

Although the conclusions drawn from this research are limited by measurement limitations often associated with the use of secondary data analysis, the study has provided useful information on the determinants of parental influences within the political socialization process. Future research in this area could address the measurement limitations of this data set by examining the broader effects of family structure on political socialization. Due to the increase in dual-earner and blended families a more complete understanding of parental influence could be gained by examining parent-child relationships within these

family types and the impact of these family structures on parent-child political value congruence. Concurrently, additional information with respect to the impact of the length of time since the disruption in the family, for example, due to death, divorce or mobility is needed. To further investigate the impact of family structure, future research could also include design procedures to increase the number of both single-parent and dual-parent families in order to facilitate a statistical comparison between these families types. Similarly, an increase in the number of pre-adolescents, adolescents and post-adolescents age groups would allow a more detailed examination of the effects of the age of child across these three age cohorts. Future studies could also gain a more complete understanding of parent-child value congruence by supplementing quantitative information with indepth interviews with parents and children to gain insight into the meaning of parent-child political value similarity and difference and to determine whether or not they feel they share similar political values and attitudes. More accurate conclusions may also be drawn if the sample in future studies included both parents. Based on past studies, women are exhibiting a more active voice within the political domain. Thus, women may not agree with their husbands on political matters. The diverse political views of both parents could have severe consequences when assessing parent-child political value similarity. Acock (1984:16), concurs when he proposes that "parents are not redundant sources of influence [and that] both parents should be included when studying parental influence".

In this study, the examination of the degree of political value congruence between parents and their children in Western Canadian families has a number of important implications. Firstly, it has contributed to the sparse Canadian findings to date on political value congruence and suggested directions for future research. Secondly, the conceptual model developed represents advances from previous research as it emphasizes the complexities of the internal and external components of the family, and their relationships to parent-child political value congruence. Future research informed by this model could contribute to further understandings of the value transmission process. Thirdly, the direct and indirect

effects of the variables tested within this model suggested that parents play important multiple roles in socializing offspring. Therefore, rather than abandon the role of the family as an important agent of socialization, we need to emphasize the family and its changing dynamics as central to the socialization process.

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**APPENDIX I - CANADIAN VALUES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY STUDY
PARENT'S AND CHILD'S QUESTIONNAIRE ^b**

1. In what year were you born? _____

Child's question:

How old are you? _____

2. Are you a:

☐ Male ☐ Female

Child's question:

Are you a:

☐ Boy

☐ Girl

3. What is your occupation? _____

4. From the following list of educational qualifications, please indicate your highest educational attainment by circling the appropriate number.

1. PhD
2. Masters Degree
3. Bachelor Degree
4. Other post secondary (college/technical diploma)
5. High School Diploma
6. Less than High School Diploma

^b Selected questions from the Canadian Values Study are presented with frequencies for questions 7 to 14.

5. From the list of income categories below, please indicate your family's gross annual income by circling the appropriate number:

1. < \$10,000
2. \$11,000 - \$20,000
3. \$21,000 - \$30,000
4. \$31,000 - \$40,000
5. \$41,000 - \$50,000
6. \$51,000 - \$60,000
7. \$61,000 - \$70,000
8. \$71,000 - \$80,000
9. \$81,000 - \$90,000
10. \$91,000+

6. What is your current living arrangement?

- ☐ Single-Parent Family
☐ Dual-Parent Family

7. Who initiates most of the decisions in you family?

- ☐ .5%] Husband only.
☐ 29.5%] Wife only.
☐ 40.6%] Both fairly equal but husband more.
☐ 13.6%] Both fairly equal but wife more.
☐ 2.6%] Both equal.
☐ .8%] I cannot answer.

N=287, Missing=12.9%

8. How much freedom do you give to your children to make their own decisions?

[36.4%] A lot
 [58.4%] Some
 [1.6%] Very little
 [0 %] None

N=387, Missing=3.6%

Child's question:

How much freedom do you have to make your own decisions?

[38.0%] A lot
 [44.2%] Some
 [6.5%] Very little
 [.5%] None

N=387, Missing=4.6%

9. Here are some words with opposite meanings that some people use to describe Canada. Circle the number that best describes how you think about Canada.

		CANADA						
		5	4	3	2	1		
Fair	P =	84	217	70	9	3	Unfair	N=379
	C =	71	181	117	12	2		N=383
Peaceful	P =	122	187	60	9	1	Violent	N=379
	C =	100	164	87	26	7		N=384
Safe	P =	61	210	92	16	0	Dangerous	N=379
	C =	43	190	111	29	9		N=382
Clean	P =	112	222	43	3	0	Dirty	N=379
	C =	60	166	121	31	6		N=384
Rich	P =	63	154	133	24	1	Poor	N=379
	C =	35	137	174	30	5		N=381

		CANADA						
		5	4	3	2	1		
Friendly	P =	96	191	87	6	0	Unfriendly	N=379
	C =	117	176	74	14	4		N=385
Powerful	P =	16	68	191	85	20	Weak	N=380
	C =	35	132	150	55	8		N=380
Energetic	P =	26	126	176	39	12	Lazy	N=379
	C =	85	120	128	31	17		N=381

10. Which party did you vote for in the last political election? (Choose One.)

- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Liberal
- ☐ New Democrat
- ☐ Reform
- ☐ Other
- ☐ I didn't vote

11. Please check off the things you do which show your child(ren) what good citizenship is.

- a. ☐ Join a political party. [30.0]
 - b. ☐ Vote. [31.8]
 - c. ☐ Encourage others to vote. [15.8]
 - d. ☐ Activity try to change things which are not good in government. [2.8]
- Not politically active [19.4] N=387, Missing= .3%

12. The following sentences are issues in Canada. Put an X in the column which describes how IMPORTANT you think this issue is for Canada.

	Very Important	Quite Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
Keeping Canada together as one country.	P=202 C=214	95 93	58 52	15 16	4 5
Making sure people have jobs.	270 219	78 103	27 46	1 12	1 0
Making sure that Canada has modern armed services to defend the country.	47 73	80 112	139 108	104 74	6 13
Settling disagreements with Canada's Native Indians.	82 123	105 98	140 103	38 39	9 13

13. On a scale of -4 to +4 how much has your best friend influenced on the following issues. A negative value would refer to their influence on you which make you more negative toward the issue, while a positive value would indicate they make you more positive (the value 0 means they had no influence on your decision).

- a). Cleaning up the environment.

C= 8 7 9 19 109 75 55 62 30

Best-Friend: _____
N=372 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4

- b). Settling disagreements with Canada's Native Indians.

C=30 12 21 23 186 35 23 23 18

Best-Friend: _____
N=366 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4

- c). Making sure that Canadians have a chance to learn English and French.

C=33 21 17 22 142 66 27 21 26

Best-Friend: _____
N=375 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4

- d). Helping poorer countries.

C=10 11 15 12 149 60 48 29 40

Best-Friend: _____
N=374 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4

14. Read each sentence and put an X in the column that shows how you feel about the sentence.

Police Officers

		Always	Almost	Usually	Some-	Rarely	Never
a. How often would police officers want to help you?	P=105 C=149	172 120	69 61	22 24	4 15	1 8	
b. How often do police officers make important decisions?		41 82	137 155	121 86	61 40	11 18	2 1
c. How often do police officers make mistakes?		1 11	9 22	10 32	312 203	39 105	1 7
d. Can police officers punish you?		9 74	25 65	33 71	118 60	98 41	89 79

The Government

a. How often would the government want to help you?	P= 11 C= 31	28 83	100 77	135 99	87 80	17 12
b. How often does the government make important decisions?	73 135	144 134	102 65	49 31	9 11	1 6
c. How often does the government make mistakes?	10 15	48 31	67 62	244 184	6 76	1 13
d. Can the government punish you.	42 56	38 57	69 74	135 84	51 54	35 55

The Prime Minister

		Always	Almost	Usually	Some- times	Rarely	Never
a. How often would the Prime Minister want to help you?	P= C=	8 33	35 72	74 72	107 108	116 63	33 31
b. How often does the Prime Minister make important decisions?		42 98	152 134	112 78	63 52	4 12	3 7
c. How often does the Prime Minister make mistakes?		7 19	26 33	71 62	248 182	18 78	0 5
d. Can the Prime Minister punish you?		5 27	10 28	22 49	130 71	103 96	98 108

The Highest Court (Supreme Court) in Canada

a. Does the court want to help you?	P= C=	45 89	89 99	103 87	79 52	36 34	15 6
b. How often does the court make important decisions?		132 195	142 118	61 42	30 10	4 3	0 1
c. How often does the court make mistakes?		3 6	5 14	7 24	193 145	154 167	6 13
d. Can the court punish you?		110 216	84 63	61 33	93 24	11 17	8 13

APPENDIX II - MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR VARIABLES WITHIN THE PATH ANALYSES

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age of Parent	43.66	5.606
Age of Child	13.43	3.191
Gender of Parent	----	----
Gender of Child	----	----
Role of Parent	2.86	.787
Parental Control	1.63	.514
P-C interaction	2.87	.683
Child's Perception of Parental Control	4.52	.849
Living Arrangement	----	----
Peer Influence	28.49	6.239
Political Activity	1.52	1.062
Partisanship	2.32	1.006
Occupation	39.10	22.633
Education	2.91	1.106
Income	6.91	2.799
Parent Child Image of Canada	6.55	3.976
Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Prime Minister	2.55	1.951
Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Government	2.83	2.199
Parent-Child Attitude Toward the Supreme Court	3.73	3.495
Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada' s Native Issues	1.19	.945
Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force	1.15	.917
Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Employment	.67	.802
Parent-Child Attitude Toward Sovereignty	.96	.913

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
1. P-C Image of Canada																
2. P-C Interaction	.028															
3. Peer Influence	.184	.139														
4. Role of Parent	-.070	-.068	-.098													
5. Partisanship	-.090	.045	-.038	.087												
6. Living Arrangement	.026	-.045	.098	-.354	.077											
7. Education	.098	-.118	-.003	-.066	.018	.165										
8. Income	.123	-.020	-.006	-.063	-.246	.190	.356									
9. Occupation	.104	-.133	-.088	-.115	.042	.052	.472	.231								
10. Political Activity	-.129	.178	-.037	.149	.114	-.068	.114	.175	.035							
11. Gender of Parent	-.005	.021	.085	-.336	-.102	.095	.006	-.034	.318	.030						
12. Gender of Child	.092	-.047	-.207	-.129	-.029	-.043	.005	.042	.139	-.054	-.007					
13. C-Percept'n P-Control	.005	-.006	.044	.152	-.027	-.152	.030	-.038	.095	.043	.011	-.101				
14. Parental Control	-.012	.076	.069	.030	.099	-.017	-.009	-.110	-.076	-.170	.017	-.096	.077			
15. Age of Parent	.012	.027	-.044	-.150	-.027	-.017	.165	.108	.140	.213	.088	.101	-.178	-.166		
16. Age of Child	-.061	.038	-.140	-.149	-.181	-.010	-.096	-.048	-.092	.015	-.080	.079	-.281	-.237	.366	

APPENDIX III. CORRELATION AMONG EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

Model 1. Parent-Child Image of Canada

[illegible]

Model 2. Parent-Child Attitude Toward Authority Figures.

1. P-C Attitude Toward NI	<u>1.</u>																		
2. P-C Attitude Toward S	.099	<u>2.</u>																	
3. P-C Attitude Toward E	.062	.241	<u>3.</u>																
4. P-C Attitude Toward DF	.283	.181	.012	<u>4.</u>															
5. P-C Interaction	.130	.022	.115	.123	<u>5.</u>														
6. Peer Influence	.018	-.016	-.070	-.110	.118	<u>6.</u>													
7. Role of Parent	.208	-.013	.095	.087	-.106	-.090	<u>7.</u>												
8. Partisanship	.031	-.084	-.009	.142	.129	-.016	.068	<u>8.</u>											
9. Education	-.054	-.095	-.071	-.126	-.033	-.003	-.004	.034	<u>9.</u>										
10. Income	-.091	-.026	.002	-.064	.038	-.049	-.006	-.192	.351	<u>10.</u>									
11. Occupation	-.026	-.041	-.058	.076	-.091	-.105	-.029	.035	.493	.261	<u>11.</u>								
12. Living Arrangement	-.100	.079	-.154	-.016	-.032	.090	-.334	.076	.144	.164	.039	<u>12.</u>							
13. Political Activity	-.126	.022	.024	-.087	.189	-.041	.133	.091	.142	.224	.070	-.069	<u>13.</u>						
14. Gender of Parent	-.047	-.060	-.165	-.020	.012	.026	-.272	-.081	-.032	-.011	.297	.084	.065	<u>14.</u>					
15. Gender of Child	.089	.064	.087	-.042	-.034	-.154	-.102	-.021	.054	.010	.115	-.041	-.054	-.006	<u>15.</u>				
16. C-Percept'n P-Control	.108	.012	.138	.151	.017	.051	.157	-.017	-.034	-.054	-.003	-.139	.018	-.008	-.067	<u>16.</u>			
17. Parental Control	.111	-.021	.055	-.035	.071	.048	-.016	.050	-.008	-.116	-.087	-.014	-.091	.024	-.059	.087	<u>17.</u>		
18. Age of Parent	-.147	.044	-.040	-.150	.064	-.013	-.159	-.007	.144	.131	.134	-.016	.195	.064	.089	-.159	-.151	<u>18.</u>	
19. Age of Child	-.110	.199	.074	-.016	-.033	-.112	-.117	-.147	-.065	.010	-.008	-.017	-.004	.029	.026	-.351	-.275	.337	<u>19.</u>

Key: P-C Attitude Toward NI = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Native Issues
P-C Attitude Toward S = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Sovereignty
P-C Attitude Toward E = Parent-Child Attitude Toward Employment
P-C Attitude Toward DF= Parent-Child Attitude Toward Canada's Defence Force
P-C Interaction = Parent-Child Interaction

Model 3. Parent-Child Attitude Toward Societal Issues