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Bourdieu, Gender and Political Socialization

by

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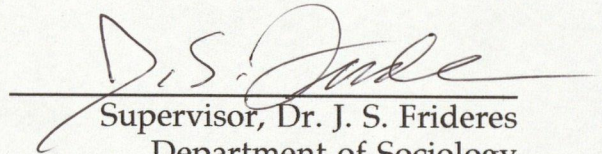
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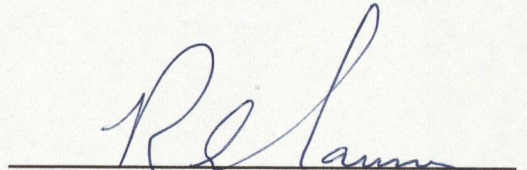
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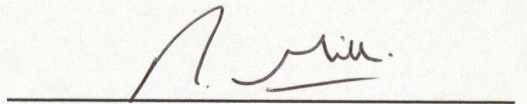
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ABSTRACT

Beginning with the premise that action and structure are recursively connected, this thesis sets out to employ reflexive sociology (Bourdieu, 1991) in order to quantify the factors that impact upon the development of childrens' political outlooks.

Arguing that social structure is both a medium and an outcome of subjective action, this thesis asserts that childrens' political outlooks, measured by the concept of efficacy, is implicated in the production and reproduction of gendered social structure such that relations of dominance are perpetuated and are subjectively embedded as of categories of perception.

The data are secondary, and were collected randomly from residents of the City of Calgary. Path and Factor Analyses were used to explore the causal factors related to efficacy.

The analysis revealed a poor fit between the data and habitus. While technical impediments may have produced poor results, several shortcomings of Bourdieu's theory are explored.

DEDICATION

To Deb. For your constant support, patience and understanding. I simply
could not have done it without you.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Context of Investigation

Because of its ethnic and racial diversity, the Canadian mosaic is an ideal medium for the study of political socialization. Unlike the American situation, heralded by the "melting pot" philosophy, a hegemonic political climate is non-existent in Canada. This is reflected not only by the three party system as opposed to the polarity in the States, but also by regional political cultures (Simeon and Elkins, 1974; Almond and Verba, 1963). For example, Western Provinces are historically characterized by political alienation from the rest of Canada, Quebec is marked by nationalist sentiments, while the Maritimes are characterized by a degree of marginalization (Simeon and Elkins, 1974:387-398).

An interest in a Canadian study of political socialization extends far beyond a North American contrast. Studying political socialization will provide an understanding of how present political systems are maintained, illuminate the forces which change political processes, and provide insight into the evolution of political processes in Canada. On a deeper sociological level, a study of socialization will function to uncover the fundamental factors that not only shape our political system but the very values inherent in Canadian society; it will shed light upon the formation of values and how these values are implicated in the production and reproduction of social structure. Based on this, extrapolations may be made to aid in

understanding more complex social structural inequalities. The study of socialization can act as a window which permits a glance into the heart of the Canadian political system, and may serve as a light that illuminates the character of Canadian society.

In any study of socialization there are many avenues to explore, ranging from the reproduction of inequalities to the maintenance of the status quo. However, this thesis will focus on the issue of gender inequality. This thesis will analyze the political socialization process in attempt to see how it is implicated in the reproduction of gender inequalities that have been revealed in the broader socialization literature (Mackie, 1987). Specifically, this thesis will seek uncover the role of the political socialization process by asking the question: how does the political socialization process differ for females and males, and what consequences do such differences produce?

Differences observed between women and men tend to be vast. For example, in emergencies, men are more likely to render assistance than women (Baron and Byrne, 1984:301). In relationships, women are more likely to report emotional symptoms of love, such as feeling euphoric, having trouble concentrating, or feeling as though they are "floating-on-a-cloud", while men tend to have more "severe" emotional responses (Peplau, 1983: 242). Research has also revealed that men and women regard each other in terms of distinct stereotypes: men are seen as

dominant and aggressive and women are perceived as passive and submissive (Broverman et al., 1972). Supporting these perceptions, Eagly (1978), and later, Sev'er (1991), show that both women and men tend to feel that *men* exercise more influence through speech, and make better contributions to conversation than women--even when the quality of contributions is not different from those made by women. Not only are these scripts widely accepted, but evidence suggests that women who act outside these gender scripts often face stigmatization and negative sanctions (Kanter, 1977:984).

Researchers have come to understand these differences in perception in terms of a disparity in the ways men and women develop and acquire ideology. Following the developmental work of psychologists such as Piaget, Gilligan (1982) holds that women and men demonstrate fundamental differences that cannot be explained by social learning alone. For Gilligan, these differences indicate that women encounter, perceive, and interpret the world in ways that are truly unique and stand apart from masculine interpretations. Similarly, many brands of feminist epistemology and methodology suggest that women's physiology and social position yield unique forms of knowledge that may also serve to oppose what is normatively understood as 'knowledge' itself (Smart, 1989; Harding et al., 1987).

These illustrations of gender differences, brief as they are, serve as an

illuminating backdrop for a discussion of the relationship between gender and socialization--and more importantly--as a backdrop for a examination of the relationship between gender and *political socialization*. Specifically, the problem of interest stems from a lack of understanding about the specific role and effect which gender plays in the formation of political attitudes, as well as the role which parents play in this process. This thesis will regard gender as a primary or exogenous explanatory variable, with parental, media, schooling, and peer influences as endogenous independent variables¹. A number of hypotheses will be tested which will assess the influence of these factors on the development of childrens' political attitudes.

1.2 Theoretical Considerations

Although not dealing with socialization specifically, the work of Bourdieu (1984,1990)² provides interesting insight into the processes of socialization. Focusing primarily on differences between members of different social groups, Bourdieu asserts that people are guided within fields of experience by *habitus*, a framework of perception and classification that disposes individuals towards strategies of action. The *habitus* is learned, and is a function of social position, upbringing, education, and tempered by individual aptitude (Jonsson, 1987). The *habitus* provides individuals with

¹A discussion of additional control variables will be undertaken later in this chapter.

²Please note that a more extensive discussion of Bourdieu's work will be carried out in subsequent chapters.

a *feel for the game*³ that enables actors to blend formal rules of action with personal strategies, using *capital* to advance through arenas of social space, termed *fields*⁴.

Capital, is the currency of social action--it is what is at stake in social interaction and is therefore not solely economic in nature. Although certain capital may be accessible to all, only those with specific *habitus* may be able to fully exploit it and use it successfully. A good example of this discriminating use of capital, or *distinction*, may be seen in the way people use art galleries. Although art galleries are often open to the public, it takes a certain kind of *habitus* to successfully use the experience as capital. This capacity for acquiring capital and deploying it strategically is stratified across factors such as race, gender, and class, with more dominant groups having greater success in acquiring and deploying capital the dominated groups. Even across similar levels of interest and experience, members of dominated status groups often lack the *feel for the game* necessary to successfully translate an experience at the gallery into an investment of capital. Importantly, these differences between status groups are not necessarily based in the amount of knowledge or experience possessed by group members. The critical distinction is in their differential ability to recognize appropriate occasions in which to employ their knowledge, and

³A *feel for the game* is derived from the *habitus* and provides actors with an intuitive awareness of their location within social interactions and with an instinctive sense of how to act.

⁴Fields are forms of interactions and interaction settings.

how their knowledge should be presented. For example, during a job interview, it might be inappropriate to comment: "hey, I saw that painting in your lobby at the gallery yesterday!". However, one might create a favourable impression by commenting: "I must say, I really admire the Van Gogh hanging in your waiting room". As taste for *legitimate*⁵ culture is unevenly distributed, so is the ability to convert *culture* into *capital*⁶.

The point of this is that the distinction between status groups is a function of differences in socialization. Differences in the ability to strategically deploy and acquire capital appear as the result of individual aptitude. However, this is only a façade because this aptitude is stratified across social groups and is a function of domination. In the example of the job interview, the first individual demonstrates their affinity for art, and the ability to recognize the works of different artists and perhaps work of different periods. The second individual, however, shows all of this, but is able to frame this knowledge differently and appear more as a *connoisseur* than as an enthusiast. This means that if the interviewer shares the taste of the second individual, they will recognize each other as members of dominant status groups, while the first individual will likely commit a *faux pas* in the eyes of the interviewer. The game of *distinction* is based around

⁵*Legitimate* refers to the nomenclature and system of classification established by socially dominant groups to evaluate and define genres, and ultimately, to establish the rules for evaluating appropriate action.

⁶It is because this struggle over the classification of the world is clothed in terms of *taste* and *individual aptitude* that the overtly oppressive nature of this classification, the exclusion of dominated groups as *illegitimate*, is concealed.

the differential capacity for strategic deployment and conversion of capital, which is structurally based in relations of domination, and it is veiled under the auspices of aptitude so that the oppressive nature is concealed. It is on this point, that of latent domination, which makes Bourdieu's theory of habitus relevant for the study of gender and political socialization.

Many theorists have conceived gender divisions as subsets of class (Armstrong and Armstrong 1988, Bourgeault 1991, Majoribanks 1977). This might lead to the question: what is to be learned from a study of gender and habitus? The relevance of Bourdieu's theory of habitus for the study of gender and political socialization is clear: gender must be understood as a fundamental component in the orientation of *habitus* (Jerkins, 1992). Under this theory, gender, ethnicity, race and social position are not merely subsumed under the aegis of class but, together, compose class directly. Therefore, using *habitus* as a starting point for this investigation will not only serve to uncover the impact which gender has on the formulation of political attitudes, but it will situate the acquisition of these attitudes in the context of struggles for social dominance within gendered social structure.

1.3 Literature Review: Political Socialization

Perhaps the most fundamental sociological issue that emerges from a discussion of socialization is that of the reproduction of social structure and the maintenance of social order in the face of change. Thirty-two years before political socialization was a legitimate field of research, Mannheim

grappled with this question of order which he labelled *the problem of generations* (Demartini, 1985; Kegan, 1956). The problem of generations emerged from an attempt to justify the persistence of culture in spite of inter-generational innovation and conflict. Attempting to solve this problem, Mannheim reasoned that people of the same generation shared a common location in the social historical process. Intergenerational discontinuity in culture and in attitudes was thought to result from the different historical interpretations between generations. Subsequent generations could discard and reinterpret previous experience and cultural heritage--competing to achieve ideological dominance--creating strain between conflicting generations. For Mannheim, the key for understanding cultural consistency laid in understanding the dynamics of this generational strain⁷. Understanding group dynamics as strain was a unique approach to the study of social order, and laid the ground-work for several theoretical approaches to the study of political socialization. In spite of Mannheim's conflict orientation, much recent research in political socialization has followed a *functionalist* perspective.

Although Mannheim was the first to provide a theoretical framework for understanding inter-generational conflict and transmission of culture, political socialization was not systematically investigated until the late 1950's. Drawing from a large number of empirical studies, Hyman

⁷Here the similarity between Bourdieu's emphasis upon the struggle over *legitimacy*, and the strain between conflicting *historical interpretations* described by Mannheim is noteworthy.

(1959) provided an inventory of findings pointing to the sources of people's political outlooks. Arguing that political outlooks were learned, Hyman emphasized the importance of pre-adult experiences as antecedents to adult political attitudes, and stressed the role of the family as a socializing agent (Hyman, 1959:25). Hyman also observed some crude differences between boys and girls, however, gender was not conceptualized as a causal factor in the development of political ideas. Nevertheless, Hyman's conclusions sparked the interest of psychologists who provided backing for this "socialization" thesis with theories that emphasized parents as "orientational others" in the attitude formation process (Khun, 1964). With its psychological appeal, Hyman's preliminary investigation of political socialization created an active new field in sociology and political science.

Following Hyman's research, most endeavours focused on assessing children's attitudes toward government and authority figures⁸ (Greenstien, 1965; Easton and Dennis, 1969; Hess and Torney, 1967; Dawson et al, 1977). This phase of research tended to catalog childrens' political attitudes, but did little to test Hyman's hypotheses. The particular failing of work done in this vein was that it tended to begin, *prima facie*, with the premise that childhood was a vital period for inculcating political attitudes and one in which the family played a central role. Having such a starting point, explanations for political ideas ignored possible alternatives such as the

⁸Such as the President and police officers.

effect of media (Ribak and Leibes 1991; Haq, 1983; Rubinstein and Sprafkin, 1982), schooling (Hess and Torney, 1967), parents (Jennings and Niemi 1968, 1974; Haq, 1983; Dunnaway and Cullen, 1991), peers (Haq, 1983; Campbell, 1980), and the specific effect of gender⁹. In addition, this work systematically ignores theoretically relevant issues such as attitude instability in childhood. Further, the 'systems analyses', so frequently employed, is inept at dealing with generational conflict. Lastly, the paucity of longitudinal data prevents detailed examination of the *process* of attitude development. As a result, much of the early work carried out in political socialization only serves to restate the problems presented by attitude development: why do attitudes develop in various ways? what are the most important influences in attitude development? why do males and females differ in certain attitudes?

Where others had failed to address the more important issues, Jennings and Niemi (1968) attempted to quantify the relationship between parent's and children's political ideas. Continuing in the functionalist tradition, they uncritically conceptualized the family as a support mechanism for consensually held values and partisan attachment (Jennings and Niemi, 1968:170). Their study surveyed subjects on partisanship,

⁹Easton and Dennis (1969) do inventory some gender differences in attitudes. However, their inventory does not permit the discussion of gender as an *explanatory variable* in the political socialization process.

attitudes on "general political issues"¹⁰, and on cynicism¹¹s. Their analysis showed low correlations between parents and children on general issues and in cynicism; only partisanship appeared to be 'transferred' from parents to children (Jennings and Niemi, 1968:176). Later, through the use of LISREL techniques, it was revealed that moderate relationships between the political idea of parents and children were masked by low indicator reliability (Dalton, 1980:422). Nevertheless, there were other significant failings of the Jennings and Niemi (1968) study.

First, evidence suggesting the importance of childhood in the development of political values as Hyman had insisted (Hess and Torney, 1967; Greenstien, 1965; Easton and Dennis, 1969¹², Dawson et al., 1977), was ignored as their sample consisted of high-school seniors. Further, their cross-sectional design did not allow for any inferences to be made about the *development* of attitudes, or the broader socialization factors at work. Lastly, even in spite of the subsequent LISREL application, the data do not suggest that parents have a deterministic impact upon their children (Dalton, 1980:429). As a result, Jennings and Niemi (1968) can have only a limited utility for the present analyses of political socialization.

¹⁰Such general issues consisted of attitudes toward civil rights, and other social justice issues.

¹¹"Cynicism" was purported to measure the degree of trust or confidence that subjects held toward government and officials.

¹²Easton and Dennis view childhood as an *apolitical* stage, with important formative influences for *adult* political values and outlooks (Easton and Dennis, 1968:77). Greenstien, on the other hand, views childhood, particularly from 9-13 years old, as the most important period of political learning. As Dawson et al. (1977:56) concur: "by early teens the child is likely to have acquired the major components of a mature political self".

1.4 Further Research

After Jennings and Niemi's (1968) failure to confirm Hyman's assertions, other research examining political socialization proceeded cautiously. Some research attempted to salvage the work of Jennings and Niemi (1968), proposing weak theoretical alternatives that might have accounted for the 'failed findings' (Connell, 1972¹³; Beck and Jennings, 1975). Other research attempted to replicate Jennings and Niemi's (1969) quantification using a qualitative approach, but were as unsuccessful as their predecessors (Woelfel and Haller, 1971). However, the most relevant work which followed attempted to create theories and typologies that could *explain* the 'failed findings' and that returned to examining the issues of socialization and order established by Mannheim.

Specifically, three premises were developed to explain *the problem of generations* apparent in political socialization research: 1) **Shared Destiny**--cohorts that share common socio-historical experiences and interpretations tend to have more similar political outlooks. 2) **Life Cycle**--political values change across one's life according to the different experiences and roles acquired. 3) **Generational Conflict**--attitudes form in opposition to those held by the preceding generation (Samuels, 1977).

A variation on Samuels' (1977) ideas was developed by Alwin and Krosnick (1991). They propose the following hypotheses regarding attitude

¹³Connell also suggests that low correlations observed by Jennings and Niemi could have resulted from low reliability: a proposition tested and proven by Dalton (1980).

formation: 1)**Aging-Stability**--political attitudes grow more trenchant as one matures. 2)**Generational Succession**--prevailing attitudes are replaced by the attitudes of emerging generations, and, 3)**Generational Persistence**--subsequent generations adopt the values and outlooks of their predecessors. In seeking to test these hypotheses, Alwin and Krosnick draw heavily from the work of Sears (1983).

Sears (1983) distinguishes between symbolic and nonsymbolic attitudes¹⁴. Related to the notion of *attitude salience* (Jennings and Niemi, 1968; Easton and Dennis, 1969; Glenn, 1980), symbolic attitudes are typically formed early in life, are highly stable and are formed with a strong affective base (Sears, 1983). Symbolic attitudes tend to consist in terms of images or idealic conceptions such as feelings towards the nation's flag and the country's leader (Easton and Dennis, 1969), partisanship, liberal-conservative ideology, and attitudes towards social groups (Sears 1983:88). Nonsymbolic attitudes tend to involve more cognitive reasoning, are more pliable than are symbolic, and are formed later in life¹⁵.

When tested alongside the three hypotheses presented by Alwin and Krosnick (1991), Sears' (1983) theory of symbolic politics had measured success. Using panel studies, only weak support was found for the notion that attitudes are the most mutable in young adulthood, with partisanship

¹⁴The similarities between Bourdieu's *habitus* and Sears' *symbolic attitudes*, both as framing (Goffmann, 1972) structures, suggests that theoretical framework of this paper is nicely suited to test Sears' assertions.

¹⁵eg. attitudes towards public policy issues.

being the most vulnerable to fluctuation¹⁶. Also, no increases in attitude stability were found after young adulthood (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991:182-183). When testing the youngest groups against all others on highly symbolic attitudes there proved to be no significant relationship between age and attitude stability (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991:183). Further, in later life, symbolic attitudes were no more stable than nonsymbolic attitudes, and in early childhood, some nonsymbolic attitudes were more stable than attitudes such as partisanship (Alwin and Krosnick 1991:191). Therefore, Sears (1983) conception of symbolic politics gained some support and disconfirmation, suggesting the nature of symbolic politics should be reconceptualized (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991:191)¹⁷. Despite the possible subversion of Sears (1983), the findings are still relevant: Alwin and Krosnick's generational hypotheses, as well as Sears' (1983) notion of symbolic politics will prove useful in investigating gender differences in the process of political socialization.

The findings presented by Alwin and Krosnick suggest that, all things being equal¹⁸, parents will have a strong influence upon the political attitudes of their children. This claim was supported by Dunnaway and Cullen (1991) in their study of parental transference of crime ideology.

¹⁶This finding is surprising in that Sears (1983) touts partisanship as highly symbolic.

¹⁷While illuminating, the validity of Alwin and Krosnick's (1991) findings should be regarded with some suspicion due to the problems with assessing reliability over time (Zeller and Carmines, 1980).

¹⁸eg. controlling for the effect of schools, peers and the media.

Based on a sample of university students, their analysis revealed high parental transference of certain ideologies (Dunnaway and Cullen, 1991:547). It also was found that daughters *more often* held the attitudes of their parents than did sons--a finding consistent with others in the field (Jennings and Niemi, 1968)--although this may not be taken as the kind of sex-role typing described by Hyman (1959), or by Easton and Dennis (1968)¹⁹. Also, mothers and fathers were found to influence crime ideology equally (Dunnaway and Cullen, 1991:544). Interestingly, when separate equations were run for fathers and mothers, only the influence of mothers was significant in the transmission of conservative ideology, lending some support to view mothers as the primary socializing agent (Levy, 1991; Hurrelmann, 1988; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Jarmon, 1976; Beck and Jennings, 1975). However, these results cannot be taken with a great deal of enthusiasm. Their failure to control for other independent variables, such as peer, media, and school influences may have resulted in the systematic biasing of the error terms, violating an assumption of regression analysis (Hardy, 1993; Goldenberg, 1992). Also, their cross-sectional design, and selection of college students severely limits the generalizability of their findings, regardless of its "consistency with past political socialization research" (Dunnaway and Cullen, 1991:547).

¹⁹Hyman (1959:31) held that boys were more likely to be involved and aware of politics than were girls; Easton and Dennis (1968:338) found that girls (between the ages of 7-13 yrs.) were more uncertain about "what government means", than boys.

1.5 Research Objectives

Despite the volume of available research in the field of political socialization there exist several deficiencies. First, there has been little success in quantifying the effects of parental influence net of other effects. While parental influence has been investigated, the results have not been precisely quantified, nor have theories been adequately adapted to deal with this phenomenon in a formal sociological context. Much research has been informed by simplistic systems theory that has focused more on the consequences of value orientations rather than on the processes which inform the development of these orientations. Characteristically, this work merely inventories political outlooks among groups and overlooks the relevant sociological question: what factors are responsible for these outlooks in the first place?

Most importantly, there is a dearth of research focusing on the specific *effects* of gender on the acquisition of political ideas. Differences in the ways girls and boys are socialized have been clearly observed in other areas (Mackie, 1987), and limited evidence of gender differences have been uncovered in the political socialization literature. However, little effort has been made to unravel the complexities of the socialization processes to which girls and boys are subjected.

The aim of this research will be to employ a more sophisticated theoretical model to study the effects of gender in the process of developing

political attitudes, namely, one which is constructed around Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. With this theoretical context in mind, there are three *a priori* propositions that will establish the context for the investigation of gender and political socialization. These propositions are:

#1 political attitudes must be viewed as forms of capital that may be used within fields to advance in or augment social position

#2 political attitudes are distributed and employed²⁰ so as to reproduce and *legitimate* structure--where the distribution of political attitudes is not simply the result of the force of macro-structural elements, but is **also** the result of *individual* strategies of action constructed through the *habitus*.

#3 inculcation of political attitudes must not be viewed as a passive consequence of every-day life, but as the *direct result* of every-day life **within** gendered social structure.

These three propositions will be used to develop three imperatives which will guide both the theoretical framework and the empirical investigation into gender and political socialization.

1.6 Research Design

The dependent variable for this project is children's political attitudes. The secondary data used in this project contains questions aimed at tapping both parents' and childrens' political outlooks on a number of positions and issues. Rather than employing an item-by-item analysis of each variable, it will be more useful to construct composite variables, or factors which can summarize the effects of groups of individual items. Past research suggests

²⁰The extent to which 'political capital' is employed in the fields by members of different status groups can not be tested in this project due to limitations with the data. This project should provide the groundwork for such an investigation.

four important factors which together, constitute a persons' political outlook: Partisanship, Efficacy, Trust (or Cynicism), and Specific Issues²¹ (Jennings and Niemi, 1968, 1974; Simeon and Elkins, 1974; Campbell, 1980; Dash and Niemi, 1992). Of these four factors, the notion of efficacy has received a great deal of treatment in the literature. Because efficacy has been argued to accurately reflect the character and structure of an individuals' political ideas, and because of its links to the structure of habitus, efficacy will serve as the dependent variable²². The dependent variable will be constructed by selecting appropriate items through principal component factor analysis.

Hypotheses

- 1) *The effect of gender on efficacy will vary such that, males will have higher levels of efficacy than will females.*

This hypothesis is based around the second and third propositions stated on page 17. Within social structure that is dominated by a male influence, legitimacy will favour male strategies of action and applications of capital. As a disposition under the habitus²³, higher levels of efficacy will better equip individuals to advance through social space. The symbolic structure of legitimacy will mediate the use and acquisition of efficacy in order to

²¹Although "specific issues" is listed here as a factor, an item-to-item comparison between parents and children might yield more meaningful results than through factor analysis.

²²A more detailed explanation, and literature review of this concept will be presented in chapter three.

²³The rationale for arguing for efficacy as a disposition under the habitus will be provided in chapter two and three.

reproduce the gender relationships that perpetuate that structure.

Therefore: males will possess greater levels of efficacy than will females

2) *Fathers will have a greater influence on childrens' efficacy than will mothers.* The literature suggests that mothers, as primary socializers, have a greater formative influence on children than do fathers (Beck and Jennings, 1975; Jennings and Niemi, 1969). However, from the standpoint of legitimacy, it is likely that males (fathers) will possess a greater ability to successfully negotiate through social space. As such fathers will be more likely to be role models for children than mothers, because the fathers experience will be seen as more relevant and important to future action than the experience of mothers.

3) *As age increases, gender will become increasingly influential on efficacy, such that males will have increasingly higher levels of efficacy than females* ²⁴. This is based in the premise that gender differences in socialization tend to increase as individuals move towards more gendered and legitimate adult roles (Mackie, 1987). Typically, the opportunities for distinguishing oneself tend to increase as one moves from childhood towards adulthood. Because of the systemic limitations of gendered social structure, an individual's gender will become increasingly imbued with the symbolic meanings imposed by the framework of legitimacy, thereby continually augmenting the impact of gender on strategies of action.

²⁴This hypotheses will also implicitly test Sears' (1983) notion of *symbolic attitudes*, in that initial ideologies, inculcated mostly by mothers, should be the most immutable.

Method of Analysis

A number of control variables will be adopted in order to isolate the effect of gender. Age, socio-economic status, single vs. dual parent families, ethnicity, education, and religion, will serve as exogenous control variables. Peer influence, media influence, and school influence will serve as endogenous controls. Using path analysis, the aim of this research will be to assess the influence of the parent on the child through parental influence variables (PIV), consisting of a number of items which tap parental encouragement and aspirations for their children. It is hoped that this technique will be sensitive enough not only to reveal differences between males and females, but also to uncover the ways political socialization differs for males and females, should differences exist.

1.7 Thesis Outline

The second chapter will concentrate on defining and establishing the relevance of the theoretical framework chosen for this thesis, and illustrate the connection between it and the hypotheses being tested. This chapter will also outline the ways the theoretical framework can be brought to shed light upon the existing literature, and to demonstrate the connection between habitus and the concept of efficacy. The third chapter will detail the methodological implications of, and rationale for the construction of the dependent variable, as well as the statistical measures taken in this construction. The fourth chapter will detail the statistical

findings and interpret them, establish the links between the theory and the data, explain the implications of the findings, suggest further research endeavours, and end with concluding remarks.

2.0 Theoretical Considerations

2.1 Three Imperatives

Theory is an indispensable tool in social research. Methodologically, substantive issues and theoretical imperatives should complement one another. When this methodological parsimony is achieved, the end product is a type of research which is more coherent, defensible and sophisticated. To reach this ideal within a study of political socialization, there are three critical issues or *problematics* which must be considered. This chapter will begin with a presentation of these three problematics, move to a discuss how the theoretical framework of this project will satisfy the problematics, and conclude by contrasting this framework with Giddens' theory of structuration.

One of the main sociological problems that emerges from the study of socialization is *the problem of generations* (Demartini, 1985; Kegan, 1956). The problem of generations stems from the paradox between cultural consistency and generational strain and conflict. Developed by Mannheim, the problem of generations holds that each generational unit, or birth cohort, faces unique events and experiences that shape their outlooks. Dominant cohorts dominate the outlooks of other groups. However, when succeeding generations reach maturity, generational units not only compete for material resources, but also for this ideological dominance. This conflict over the struggle for ideological supremacy produces a strain between

generations. Sociologically, generational strain is important because it presents a *problematic*¹.

Successive groups compete to assert their ideological dominance against competing generations. In spite of this strain, social structure is often reproduced between generations: considerable cultural and systemic consistency prevails despite struggles over dominance. While Mannheim throws light on an interesting problematic, he did not outline a specific framework for determining how this paradox could be resolved. Mannheim was more interested in drawing attention to the process of socialization as a mechanism of conflict than in offering explanations for the reproduction of culture across generations. The relevance of Mannheim's problem for the present study is clear:

i) a theoretical framework which is brought into socialization research must be capable of explaining the consistency of social processes and culture across generations, as well as the strain which may occur between them.

Out of the first problematic, a second emerges. It is, that despite the structural consistency which may result between generational units, one cannot deny that social structures evolve over time and *across* generations. Concurrent with this reproduction, variations in structure can also emerge - from the most minor cultural evolutions to massive societal upheavals. Thus the second theoretical criterion necessary for this project is:

¹A problematic is best described as a conceptual point of contention; an issue deserving of conceptual and empirical investigation.

ii) An ideal theoretical framework must account for and shed light upon the evolution of social structure--either through generational succession or through more radical or revolutionary means.

The final imperative attempts to address the fundamental sociological debate between *structure* and *agency*. Agency and structure represent two divergent theoretical and methodological currents that may be seen to underpin sociological investigation. There are undoubtedly many interpretations of this debate, however, *structure* will be understood as an approach that is concerned with the systematic quantification of social interaction in terms of processes that is sought through an abstracted level of analysis in which individuals are studied in aggregate. Structural approaches tend to favour analysis with greater breadth than depth, focusing more on aggregate generalizations than on individual understanding. The *agency* perspective will be understood to be a less positivistic one that focuses on the systematic understanding of social interaction in terms of the subjective meanings of and motivations for action, in which the level of analysis is typically the individual. Such micro-interpretive approaches are characterized by greater depth than breadth, focusing more on subjective meanings and constructions of the world than on broader generalizations..

An examination of the *agency*\ *structure* debate is important. A study of socialization is uncritical and methodologically unsound unless the ramifications of individual actions upon social structure are analyzed

along- side the influence of structure on individual actions. Simply, society cannot be regarded as a "Parsonian monolith" that mechanically elicits behaviours, nor can it be viewed as a motley of tenuously woven micro-theatres of subjective action, bound together merely by "co-presence" (Goffman, 1963:17). Society must be viewed as a duality between subjective and objective forces (Giddens, 1984:258). Therefore, the most useful theoretical framework for research in socialization must embody the third imperative:

iii) An ideal framework must be capable of balancing the most important requisites posed both by agency **and** structure.

In political socialization research, one of the major shortcomings is that Functionalist perspectives dominate. This results in the over-determination of structure, at the expense of the agency and intentionality of human action. Alternatively, more ethnographic theoretical approaches are equally inadequate because of their over-determination of subjective meanings that reduce social structure to the visceral product of human will-while there is merit to Thomas' dictum², clearly there are structural imperatives that exert their influence on human action independently of the actors' definition of the situation (Goldenberg, 1992). Importantly, adopting this stance should not be viewed as a panacea to the larger debates between structuralists and micro-interpretivists. Rather, a unique

²That a situation is real if it is defined as such by the actor. One response to this from structuralists has been the notion of 'reality testing': no matter how much a person believes their house *is not* on fire, the presence of smoke and flames will quickly convince them otherwise (Goldenberg, 1992).

theoretical alignment is sought--one that is designed to better understand the processes of socialization in both structural and subjective terms.

Attempting to satisfy the above three criteria within the parameters of this study is a daunting task. And while it might be argued that a single theoretical framework could not sufficiently satisfy all these imperatives, the theoretical perspective that **best** fulfils these criteria is offered by Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1985, 1991).

2.2 Anatomy of Bourdieu's Theory of Habitus

Understanding the social world using Bourdieu's framework is not an easy one because of his complex ideas, as well as his complicated and pedantic writing style. Perhaps as a result of this, Bourdieu's work is often misunderstood (Bourdieu, 1990). Of his ideas, the notion of reproduction of social structure is most susceptible to misunderstanding.

Bourdieu's approach to social structure is unique. Though he relies upon the work of prior theorists such as Levi-Strauss, Durkheim, Sartre, and Weber, to name a few, Bourdieu expands upon the ideas of these thinkers and generates a theoretical approach which is truly novel. Social structure for Bourdieu exists in a relation between material objects and subjective action. More than a duality of different types of resources (Giddens, 1984), social structure is something which exists only in and through practice. While actors are situated within objective structures, social structures are also subjectively embedded within individuals. A solid

grasp of this subjective inculcation of structure, termed *habitus*, is vital for understanding Bourdieu's vision of social structure.

The habitus is a system of acquired dispositions³ derived from an individual's structural position or location. Unlike the unconscious framework of *doxa*⁴, habitus is a filter that allows the perception of the world that functions as an organizing framework for social action that situates the actor as a knowledgeable operator in the construction of the world (Bourdieu, 1990:13). The very aetiology of habitus, latin for the habitual or usual condition linked to that of the body, suggests a close relationship between structure and the individual that is forged through habit or practice. Habitus clearly marks Bourdieu's departure from Durkheim's *conscience collective* (Durkheim, 1990) or Giddens' *structuration* (Giddens, 1984) because actors do not just confront objective structures but are part of them (Jenkins, 1992:70).

When deconstructed, habitus is trichotomous: it is a synthesis of i)the social position in which actors were born and raised, ii)the actors current location within social structure, and iii)the practice that is produced through the habitus (Brubaker, 1985:760). This means that while the habitus is *acquired* from structure, it is not a simple reflection of structure.

³Dispositions are characteristics, perspectives and orientations that colour one's perception, such as that which is represented by the concept of efficacy.

⁴*Doxa* is the perceptual framework which subsumes social action and is not open to conscious inspection.

This is because the habitus is a cognitive system of *generative* dispositions that are objectively adjusted to correspond to the social space occupied by individuals, allowing actors to generate **subjective** action strategies in line with the material conditions actors face. On this point, Bourdieu resembles Marx, in that what people do has more meaning than they know. But habitus is more sophisticated than Marx's theory of class because the relationship between objective structures and subjective action is reflexive rather than deterministic.

The habitus tends to construct a continuity between subjective strategies and objective structures. However, subjective strategies are not deterministically linked to structural imperatives. This is because as people act, they reinforce their place within structure as well as act to reproduce structure--and in so doing, they may change structure⁵. Bourdieu's theory of habitus is recursive, such that the structure/agency perspectives are balanced as a unity. Yet, despite the role given to habitus, Bourdieu does not reify. Habitus cannot exist outside the practice in the real world, and can only operate within material interaction settings called *fields*.

2.3 Fields, Social Space, and Legitimacy

Fields are types of interaction settings, within which *capital* is at stake. Similar in form to Luhmann's (1982) *functional subsystems*, fields

⁵At the root of this relationship between subjective strategies and objective structures lies the notion of social advancement--the notion of change is built into Bourdieu's theory in **both** structural and subjective terms.

are sites upon which strategies of action are realized. Distancing himself from Marx, Bourdieu argues that fields are not *solely* economic in nature, but also can be cultural, intellectual and educational (Bourdieu, 1985:723). Fields are relatively independent but are also homologous, existing as a network that forms a single structure. In spite of this linkage, fields are often autonomous: different fields may have disparate rules of action, and offer different forms of capital (Brubaker, 1985). However, it is because of the homology between fields that certain capital may be applied across different fields. For example, in religious fields, the most coveted resource may be possession of sacred objects (Bourdieu, 1991; Eliade, 1959). The greater the accumulation of and capitalization on this resource, the greater one's *legitimacy* within the field. While the sacred is vital, it is not the only capital at stake. Other capital may be instrumental for advancing through the religious field: money, political prestige, or public notoriety may also have currency in themselves or as vehicles for the acquisition of the sacred. Similarly, capital may be convertible for use in other fields. For instance, religious eminence might be used to attract developers, or to persuade political figures in order to produce economic effects such as job creation. While this notion of fields suggests a largely structural model, the influence of agency is observable by examining the relationship between fields and *social space*.

Fields do *contain* social spaces, but fields should not be mistaken *for*

social spaces. Fields embody objective probabilities⁶ through which strategies of action are realized--they are the sites upon which social spaces are created. Fields contain sets of objective relations which are translated into social space through the subjective action of the habitus. The habitus enables actors to perceive the relationship between the objective probabilities (field) and practices (strategic action) (Bourdieu, 1984:101); the habitus translates objective probabilities into strategies of action, stratifying actors across hierarchically ordered social spaces. Although fields contain structural materials⁷ required for action, they are not "objective" to the degree that they are *sui generis*. Social spaces and fields may be differentiated on the grounds that social spaces are hierarchically ordered and may extend across several fields. Fields are not ordered and are not directly involved in the subjective determination of individuals in society. Fields provide the raw materials which are consumed by the habitus in the production of subjective strategies. Therefore, social spaces are directly implicated in the subjective formation of the habitus.

Social life is objectively constrained by the parameters of the field, while subjective action reflexively creates social spaces that shape the habitus. In this way, social space is a synthesis of subjective strategies of action and of objective probabilities that locates individuals in a specifically

⁶Bourdieu uses this term not only to refer to the material factors confronted by actors, but to the chances for mobility that material factors present to actors.

⁷Objective probabilities and relations.

ordered manner. Importantly, this order is cognitively justified by the symbolic framework of *legitimacy*, which is reflected in the notion of *practical logic*.

Practical logic is characterized by a type of organization and orientation that delineates the rules and parameters of social action unique to each field. Practical logic codifies the *types* of strategies necessary for maximal success in each field. In a way, it is similar to Marx's *mode of production*, in that practical logic specifies the ways people must negotiate fields in order to maximize the chances for advancement through social space: under capitalism one is much better off as a factory owner, than as a labourer. The objective dimension of practical logic is manifest through its grounding in the field, but its subjective nature is connected to the notion of *legitimacy*.

Legitimacy is the power to classify and to influence the practical logic of the field: every field is the site of the struggle over the legitimate principles of the division of the field in which capital is the ammunition. (Bourdieu, 1985:734; Jenkins, 1985:85). A symbolic framework, legitimacy determines the propriety and value of strategies employed in the field as well as the relative weight and value of capitals. Securing the power of legitimacy means dictating and controlling the dominant classification, thereby affording control over the formation and value of social space. Like social spaces, ways of classifying the world are stratified along a continuum

of legitimacy. The more prestigious, important, or honoured the social spaces the greater the likelihood that people in these spaces will be capable of producing action that will be perceived as legitimate: highly valued social space is associated with dominant forms of habitus and vice versa. But this hegemonic classification involves more than the control of capital and the means by which it is obtained. It involves an ordering of social space where the objective distance between social spaces are mediated by a symbolic structure and are ranked on a value-laden scale such as valuable\worthless, or important/incidental. Social positions are endowed with a certain symbolic value, and it is a certain kind of habitus which will facilitate or hinder action within these spaces: habitus and social space are mutually reinforcing.

2.4 Habitus: That's an Empirical Issue

Where Mannheim focussed on shared historical interpretations, Bourdieu focuses on common frameworks of classification, or habitus, among those in similar social spaces. Bourdieu uses the term status group to refer to types of social spaces and groups of people within them, rather than Marx's theory of classes and class *consciousness*. Bourdieu's understanding of class is fundamentally different from Marx. The crucial difference, aside from Marx's emphasis on economic factors (Sayer, 1989), is that there are more meaningful criteria that determine a persons location in social space besides economic criteria (Anyon, 1981:4). Instead, Bourdieu

views status groups as real mobilized groups (Bourdieu, 1985:725). For Bourdieu, Marx's *realist* definition of class is inadequate and reductionist because it leads to the notion that there is a quantifiable number of *petite bourgeoisie*, or that there are ostensible and objective boundaries that determine who is and who is not a member of the *proletariate*--Marx's definition is essentially outside the lived experience of those who are subject to his classification: whether you are a bourgeoisie or proletariat is independent of your thinking you are or are not one.

Rather than conceptualizing classes "on paper", Bourdieu believes theorists can apprehend the true nature of status groups through an understanding of the logic of practice and the social spaces in which people exist. This method of understanding, or *verstehen*, lends insight into how people understand and classify **themselves**, should they think of themselves in terms of groups like "classes" (Bourdieu, 1990:50; Bourdieu, 1985:728). Status groups are unique and are empirically relevant because they are composed directly by race, social position, age, gender or ethnicity. The notion of the status group is important for the ways that control variables that will be used in this project and for mapping out divisions in social space and strata of legitimacy within the context of gender and political attitudes.

Struggles for legitimacy are status group-based conflicts over different meanings for nominal resources. Dominant status groups tend to establish

their classification framework as the prevailing framework (Brubacker, 1985). Thus, social life is more than a series of conflicts over material resources but is a battle over meanings for these resources: material struggles over resources are mediated by symbolic frameworks that define certain resources, practices, and activities in terms of legitimacy (Brubacker, 1985:749). Dominant groups acquire the privilege of dividing the fields of action and of defining the boundaries of legitimacy--delineating what is acceptable practice, and what kinds of capital are worth having. This system of domination affords dominant groups a mechanism that preserves and reproduces their position in society--because domination is symbolically mediated, the oppressive nature of status group domination is obfuscated. The seeming success and prevalence of dominant groups appears as an intrinsic ability of groups members, rather than as status group based oppression.

Domination is perceived as a natural state because power relations are embedded in peoples' minds as categories of perception of the objective world, not as oppressive objective relations (Bourdieu, 1985:729). In fact, domination is possible because both dominant and dominated status groups alike believe in the classification framework that is imposed. Because of this it is impossible to regard status groups as static fractions. They must be conceptualized as groups which exist both in objective reality, and in cognitive symbols that modify and temper objective reality (Bourdieu,

1990:75). Consequently, people distinguish themselves in the course of action without necessarily realizing they are creating and institutionalizing economic and socio-cultural distance between status groups. This distance, instead, appears as a natural aptitude rather than as a status group based subordination. In Bourdieu's words:

[t]he structure of objective positions which is the source of the view which the occupants of each position can have of the occupants of the other positions and determines the specific form and force of each group's propensity to present and receive a groups' *partial truth as if it were a full account of the objective relations between the groups* (Bourdieu, 1984:13--emphasis added).

It is vital to bring an understanding of the struggle over classification and symbolic domination to the study of political socialization. It is a well established fact that, classes for example (in the Marxist sense), distinguish themselves through their political preferences, and outlooks. The rich tend to be more conservative and feel more efficacious in the political process, while the less wealthy tend to be more to the left and feel less efficacious (Kimmeldorf, 1985; Simeon and Elkins, 1974:414; Guterbak and London, 1983:441). This is not to say that, leftist politics are any less valid than conservative views. However, to **advance** in a system that is dominated by certain status groups necessitates the adoption of certain positions, attitudes and strategies of action that are approved by those groups: legitimacy is a symbolic mediation that is not solely a product of the capital used but *who uses it and how it is used*. Examining the notion of *taste* will be illustrative of this point.

Members of status groups are distinguished by, and distinguish themselves from each other, through taste. Taste is a concept which has meaning only in relative terms. It refers to the affinity for or proximity to *legitimate* culture. In *Distinction* (1984:17), Bourdieu breaks down taste into three varieties: i) Legitimate taste ii) Popular taste iii) Middle-brow. Using a musical analogy, this trichotomy might be represented by Debussy's *Claire de la Lune*, Gershwin's *I've Got rhythm*, and by Perl Jam's *Jeremy*. But weighing the merit of these songs is not an exercise of judging the complexity of composition, the level of difficulty in the score, or the harmonies used. Distinctions between these pieces are symbolic: Debussy is viewed as more artistic than the other two and is therefore something to be appreciated as legitimate, as a work of art in its own right. The others, while they may prove to be musically aesthetic or pleasing, are not symbolically recognized to have an artistic appeal by dominant groups: *Claire de la Lune* is awarded an air of legitimacy that the other are not. Successful and *distinguished* members of society are more likely to attend and desire to *be seen* attending a symphony of Debussy's work than they are to attend a Perl Jam concert. Legitimate taste is more likely to be associated with the dominant groups, and the others with dominated groups (Bourdieu, 1984). Simply, status group members are distinguished by their taste⁸.

⁸Some have argued that this relationship between habitus and social space creates a tautology: that habitus produces social space which in turn is responsible for the creation of habitus (Berger, 1986:1447; Gartman, 1991:436). The habitus, though structurally determined, is subjectively internalized and acts to reproduce agents within their social space--yet, the habitus is not necessarily static and can change, thus leading individuals to transcend their social position and therefore, to distinguish themselves from other

This is not to argue that members of dominated groups can not appreciate *legitimate* culture, or for the dominant to have a liking for middle brow or popular culture. However, legitimacy carries with it a symbolic capital which bridges the gap between the objective position of the consumer of the object, e.g. a concert goer, and the object itself, e.g. the music: the essence of legitimacy and symbolic domination extends beyond **mere** appreciation for legitimate objects. The key issue in domination and in social advancement lies in the ability to *capitalize* on symbolic capital--an ability which is unevenly distributed across status groups: only people from certain status groups tend to acquire the knowledge of *how to use capital* to maintain or gain legitimacy. Bourdieu defines this guiding knowledge in the use of symbolic and other capitals as a *feel for the game*.

A feel for the game bears directly on strategies of action employed in fields. It is derived from the habitus and enables actors to locate themselves within the social space, and to have an intuitive awareness of appropriate actions. The meaning of "appropriate actions" is a relative term that is based in one's status group and habitus. Applying the musical analogy, it is clear that anyone can listen to and enjoy classical, contemporary or 'pop music'. But only those with a certain habitus and feel for the game will be able to capitalize on their appreciation for legitimate music. Only the *proper* appreciation of legitimate music will be perceived as legitimate and will be

useable as capital. For example, an appreciation of the complete works of impressionist composers such as Debussy, only translates into a proclivity or hobby with no real value in the field. Such an appreciation becomes extrinsically valuable when a proclivity is realized as capital in an opportunity to advance in stature, in social position, in legitimacy. In essence, it is not important to just enjoy the music, or to attend concerts. The importance lies in knowing how to translate one's taste into usable capital: knowing how to discuss the music, with whom to discuss it, when such discussions are appropriate, and *how to be seen* as someone with a taste for legitimate music.

In this way, Bourdieu sets himself apart from Marx. Under Marx's framework, class members appear to be at the behest of the mode of production that neatly relegates individuals into class positions complete with (false) class consciousness, without much regard for individual agency. Under Bourdieu's framework, the opposite is true. It is no coincidence that dominant groups tend to have a taste for legitimate objects and that dominated groups lack such tastes because taste is a direct function of the control over the naming of what is legitimate. This is why members of dominant status groups might instinctively realize that a board meeting is not the time to discuss the concert at which they spotted their superiors; members of dominated status groups might not apprehend this rule of decorum and commit a *faux pas*. Instead, the former individuals might

choose a more auspicious time to bring up the concert to display their knowledge of impressionist composers. This could act to make a favourable impression of themselves in the minds of their superiors as someone who is *like their superiors*--someone who is, therefore, more deserving of rewards than others less *ostensibly* like their superiors, in spite of similar affinities and experiences.

2.5 The Reproduction of Society

While a feel for the game is determined through the habitus, it is vital to note that it is learned primarily through socialization. Therefore, it is not *exclusively* a quality of dominant groups. Bourdieu's theory is predicated upon the premise that peoples dispositions are determined through their social position⁹. This means that people from dominated groups will have less of a productive appreciation¹⁰ for *legitimate* culture than those from dominant groups. It does not mean that such appreciation is unattainable for people who have not been 'born' with it. Despite charges of ahistoricity and of an over-determination of structure, Bourdieu's theory does allow for changes location in social space, in habitus and corresponding changes in the feel for the game.

The taste possessed by members of dominated status groups is evidence of their success in the struggle for *legitimacy*--as that which is less

⁹The influence of Sartre on Bourdieu is strongest on this point.

¹⁰Productive in the sense that they may be able to capitalize upon their appreciation, rather than appreciate legitimate objects for aesthetic purposes alone.

respected and valued. The symbolic domination under legitimacy relegates their interpretations of the world below that of other groups. As a result, members of dominated groups are hindered from achieving the prominence enjoyed by dominant groups. Thus, the positions in social space and the distance between status groups functions to symbolically denigrate certain status groups (Bourdieu, 1989:16). This is unlike Marx's class domination in which the lower classes are purposely exploited and appear as victims. It is, however, very similar to Foucault's (1979) *carceral archipelago* (Inglis, 1979:365), in that *legitimacy* stands as a system of symbolic domination in which both the dominant **and** the dominated uphold an oppressive structure and who perceive this system as appropriate and natural.

The reproduction of structures of domination is carried out by all in society. Social structure and social processes are maintained because people tend to reproduce themselves in the positions of their beginnings. Cultural and ideological transmission is a form of *pedagogic action*, where people are socialized through educative strategies and in mundane practices to acquire a habitus that corresponds to their status group (Swartz, 1977:546). In this light, Bourdieu's framework clearly addresses the first theoretical imperative (p.22), that theory must account for the perpetuation of culture across generations. However, Bourdieu's framework is weak in addressing the second imperative regarding social change.

Bourdieu touches on the subject of change in examining the relationship between social space and habitus. He states that individual dispositions are not determined wholly or mechanically by the relationship to objective positions alone. The monopoly over *legitimate* naming is never completely hegemonic: there are always **struggles** over classification--however uneven or unbalanced they may be (Bourdieu, 1989:23). Consequently, social position and habitus can be changed through and by action (Bourdieu, 1985:739). Not only mobility, but objective relations between positions in the field are necessarily dynamic because of the reflexive relationship between material resources and the symbolic/subjective frameworks that exist along side them. As a result, social change in the structure of objective positions is not only possible but is built into the recursive structure of society itself and is subjectively embedded in the form of the drive for social advancement.

2.6 Bourdieu and The Problematic of Political Socialization

Attempting to apply Bourdieu's theory to Mannheim's problem of generations appears problematic because of the lack of similarity between their approaches to society; Mannheim deals with disparate historical interpretations between adjacent generations while Bourdieu speaks of difference in classification that distinguish among *status groups*. Based on a framework of habitus, one would expect to find greater similarities within generations of the same status groups, opposed to similarities between

generations: similar habitus means similarities in dispositions and classification. Thus, the generational strain described by Mannheim does not seem possible under Bourdieu's theory of habitus. However, there is a theoretical fit between Bourdieu and Mannheim that can be seen by examining the constitution of habitus.

Status groups are characterized by similarities in habitus, and are drawn together by their common dispositions and practice. The link that exists between Mannheim and Bourdieu lies in their focus on the same point of inquiry: they both speak of common dispositions based on common location. However, Bourdieu understands these differences in terms of categories of status groups, not in terms of generations. This leads to a more interesting and fruitful analysis, because status group categories, such as age, gender or ethnicity overlap and to bond with each other from a subjective standpoint. The advantage of this perspective is that allows the researcher to view people as they are likely to view themselves: that *actors themselves* may not recognize divisions between demographic categories, such as to see race distinctly from gender. This stands as one of the main reasons Bourdieu's theory of habitus can operate on both structural and subjective levels. This does not mean that gender is theoretically inseparable from race or age, just that distinctions between categories within status groups are not as clear-cut as they appear theoretically. The implications for this research project are clear: care must be taken in drawing the boundaries

between and within status groups so that inferences made about status groups are done so as to not reify individual attributes as though they embody status groups alone.

On this point, some authors caution the use of status group based analysis based on the recursive nature of Bourdieu's theory. The caution is based on the charge of tautology: habitus cannot reflect, create, and reproduce practical divisions in social space (status groups), and be influenced by that which it creates (Gartman, 1993). Indeed, it is tautological to say, for example, that taste=status groups and status groups=taste. However, this is a simplification. The relationship between status groups and habitus is reciprocal: they are mutually influential, but they do not necessarily presuppose one another. Evidence for this may be found in discontinuities between social position and habitus, such as the "blue collar worker" who wins the lottery, the aristocrat who is ostracized by their community because of scandal, or the uncultured and ill-mannered aristocrat. The theory of habitus offers interesting insight without being tautological.

Framing an analysis of political socialization around status group differences does not deny that habitus can be oriented around birth cohort characteristics in part. But to focus solely on birth cohorts is myopic and is to deny the overlapping of elements of status groups. The transmission of culture and maintenance of social structure must be understood as a

function of the dispositions of the habitus and elements of status groups--not solely through the interpretive struggles between "generational units".

The relevance of Bourdieu for the study of political socialization lies in viewing the habitus as the primary framework through which people acquire *political views* of the world. Conceptually, this approach is unique because it combines both subjective and objective orientations in the calculus of political outlooks: political views are the product of personal strategies and the material situations in which people act, such as quality of education, social position, parental education, race, gender and so forth. However, the most necessary connection required between the data and the theory in this project is that between gender and habitus. The connection between the two is not explicit in Bourdieu's work, and only through inferences can this connection be made clear.

Relevant Literature

In his examination of cultural capital and school performance, Dimaggio (1982) examines the effect of status group participation and the accumulation and use of cultural capital¹¹. In this study, he found that returns on cultural capital were highest for females from higher status homes and lowest for women in lower status homes (Dimaggio, 1982:195). He also found that males had a higher degree of mobility than women (Dimaggio, 1982:196). Majoribanks (1977:15) unearthed similar findings in

¹¹Cultural capital was operationalized as an affinity for and involvement in art, music, and literature.

his study of educational deprivation, which suggest that females are more dependent upon social class origins than are males. This finding was supported by Dunnaway and Cullen (1991:543) who found that daughters were more likely to hold the values of their parents than sons¹². Similarly, research in politics has revealed significant gender differences both in transmission of outlooks from parents to children (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Campbell, 1980), and in the quality and volume of knowledge passed on (Hyman, 1959, Easton and Dennis, 1969).

The research suggests that men and women possess disparate levels and qualities of capital. However, Dimaggio reveals an apparent inconsistency, that males have a higher mobility, but that females from higher status backgrounds have *better returns* on cultural capital than men and lower status women. *A priori*, Bourdieu's framework should predict that *men* will be more mobile and have greater returns on cultural capital because of their dominant position over women. From a classification standpoint, males are generally held in higher standing in society than are women. And, because high culture is something that teachers regard as *legitimate* (Dimaggio, 1982:190), higher status groups should not only have higher volume of cultural capital, but better grades as a function of that capital.

From Dimaggio's (1982) results, a crucial theoretical quandary is

¹²Dunnaway and Cullen's (1991) study focused on transmission of crime ideology.

raised. Dimaggio operationalizes status groups around economic factors and on gender. His findings suggest that there is not only a differential ability to exploit cultural capital by gender and "class", but that "class" and gender are perceived as components of the students *ability* by teachers. This suggests that gender is a basis for status groups, but it may also be considered to be a form of capital. In this sense, one could use his *maleness* to succeed where women with the same objective abilities must acquire additional capital to make up for their lack of "maleness". While appealing, this conceptualization presents a theoretical problem: under Bourdieu's framework, gender cannot be the basis for status group formation, a component in habitus, **and** capital used in strategic action. If this is done, then status groups and habitus are indistinct and are rendered useless. Examining McCall's adaptations of the theory of habitus will demonstrate this point.

McCall (1992) adopts this conceptualization of gender, capital and habitus. In doing so, she draws attention to the lack of operational specificity given to capital which leaves it open to interpretation (McCall, 1992:840). She argues that capital can be understood in a material sense, that which can be accumulated transformed and spent, *or* it may be taken as an "organizing variable" for positions within social space (McCall, 1992:849). In this second sense, gender acts as a mediating capital in the distribution.

and application of material capital (McCall, 1992:849)¹³. McCall also calls for the recognition of a form of habitus based around gender: a feminist habitus. Similar to Smith's (1990) notion of *standpoint*¹⁴, McCall argues that gender functions as a disposition that frames experience, creating a unique form of perception and classification common to women. This application of habitus initially appears to be a logical application of Bourdieu's ideas. However, it is clear that McCall reformulates Bourdieu's framework into her own theoretical typology.

While they are appealing, McCall's reformulations of Bourdieu are methodologically flawed. First, although there is a certain lack operational specificity given to the concept of capital, capital refers to something very specific. Bourdieu is elusive about the specific forms that capital can have, but he is very specific about its character and functions. Capital is situated deep within complex struggles for legitimacy and advancement—for power in society. The notion that there are struggles towards these ends in which capital is the ammunition necessitates that capitals are assets that are *possessed* directly. The presence of struggle also means that capitals can be won and lost. Defamation and scandal can strip one's title, honour, and credibility. A change in the market can divest people of wealth and bestow

¹³For example, being male or female would be viewed to augment or diminish the weight or currency of material capital.

¹⁴Simply, standpoint is a framework of perception that positions inquiry but has no specific content. It is a mode of inquiry that begins from women's experience.

it on others. All these forms of capital are overwhelmingly possessed by dominant groups but are never irrevocably endowed. Gender, for the most part, is a constant--an unchangeable fact of objective reality. A person's nobility may only have currency within certain fields, a person will always be either male or female across every field. Further, capital must be convertible into other forms of capital. While gender may influence the types and amounts of capital acquired, gender cannot be converted directly into other forms of capital. The effect that gender may have on the effectiveness of personal strategies within different fields will vary according to the degree of symbolic mediation. This does not make gender a form of capital.

The pitfall which I believe confounds McCall's argument is her reference to certain gate-keeping strategies which have barred women from entering certain sectors of society, restricting women's action in certain fields. On this basis she argues that "maleness" is a capital *and* interpretive framework used to gain access to fields, which women can never possess. Alternatively, "woman-ness" is a capital and framework unique only to women, thus the feminist habitus. Unfortunately, accepting this conceptualization would condemn every existential condition to the status of capital. Not only does this stray from the meaning given to capital in the first place but renders every material condition as a potential capital as well. The clothing worn, facial expressions, hair and eye colour and so on might

all be viewed as capital under McCall's reasoning.

Such factors cannot be seen as forms of capital because they are part of the logic of practice that constitute the conditions of social action. The probability of an applicant getting a job dressed in shoddy clothing is lower than another applicant who is dressed elegantly. Similarly, in a gendered society, a woman applying for a traditionally male job is less likely to acquire the job than a male. The point is that the habitus informs actors as to appropriate action--what is and is not legitimate action. Thus, those who have been socialized '*properly*' will know that one should dress appropriately when applying for jobs or their chances will be greatly reduced. Similarly, in a gendered society, women should expect disappointment in traditionally male jobs. Systemic barriers point to the structure of dominant classification schemes in place and do not make the criteria upon which these schemes are based forms of capital, but objective manifestations of the elements of legitimacy. Clothes worn, gender, or eye colour mean nothing outside the cognitive framework of symbolic mediation. Therefore, gender, in itself, cannot be viewed as capital.

Unlike her notion of gender as capital, McCall's feminist habitus seems more plausible. Since gender is not only an element around which status groups are formed but is also a basis of classification, the notion of a female oriented habitus is plausible. To have such a framework means that gender, among other factors, has a strong influence upon the classification

framework. It does not mean, however, that people have different habitus under different fields, as McCall suggests (McCall, 1991:851). This is not to say that people do not hold different views under different circumstances, in public and in private life for example. It does mean that different ideologies must be derived from a **single** habitus--that while there are many dispositions under the aegis of the habitus, there is a homology which connects them all. Thus, different dispositions may guide action in different fields, for example efficacy may guide the formulation of political attitudes, but they are all linked to form a coherent perceptual framework. The importance of viewing habitus in this way can be demonstrated by applying Bourdieu's theory or habitus to the formation of political attitudes.

2.7 Political Capital: Perpetuating the Dominant Framework

While McCall's analysis appears misguided on several accounts, her work serves to raise several important points which are relevant to the study of gender and political socialization. First, it is vital to recognize that the orientation of dominant classification is inherently male. The mundane functions of classification schemes vary across fields, but systemically, dominant 'male' schemes prevail. The most successful applications or conversions of capitals should coincide with the dominant framework. As Bourdieu found in his study of the Kybele society (Jenkins, 1992), gender is a fundamental principle around which classification

schemas are formulated: historically, society tends to be bifurcated in a way that produces categories such as female, bad, unclean, on the one hand, and male, good, clean on the other. Such divisions transcend fields and pervade all social action: gender is the most basic and fundamental disposition of the habitus because it is pre-social¹⁵. In an analysis of political socialization, gender must be seen as an organizing framework around and through which political outlooks and knowledge are employed as capital.

It seems difficult to regard political outlooks as a form of capital because they seem incidental: they are not like money, fame or prestige which are more tangible and seemingly more advantageous for the purposes of social advancement. However, the systematic subordination of women to men is the result of complex classification schemas and practices that involve sweeping structural inequalities as well as individually held biases and prejudices. Political outlooks should be viewed as a forms of capital that are situated *within* struggles for legitimacy, where they are nurtured and employed in such ways as to perpetuate the dominant classification framework.

2.8 Habitus and Efficacy: A Conceptual Homology

Practically, the task of operationalizing habitus is taunting. There are innumerable dispositions that make up the habitus, and to even attempt to capture these dispositions in a single project is an exercise in failure. Even

¹⁵Pre-social in the sense that it is a global variable and is therefore not a product of interaction.

in a political context, the number of potentially relevant influences upon the parts of the habitus active in these fields are too great to measure, especially when the specific number dispositions active in the political field are not known. In spite of these difficulties, the theory of habitus can be used to assess gender differences in political socialization. The key to the utility of this theory lies in the connection between habitus and the concept of efficacy.

One of the two major characteristics of the habitus are that, one, the habitus is a systems of dispositions united by a homology that produces a consistency in behaviour throughout divergent fields, and two, that the habitus is generative, producing attitudes, behaviours, and ways of viewing the world that are consistent with social position. Individual dispositions of the habitus would not display the first characteristic--this could only be manifest by the total structure of habitus. However, because of the homology linking dispositions, even an individual disposition will allow us to view the nature of the larger habitus. The literature on efficacy has demonstrated it to be such a generative disposition that is implicated in the acquisition and orientation of political attitudes¹⁶, and ways of understanding the political process.

The homology that binds efficacy with other dispositions of the habitus will permit a glimpse of the habitus in the specific setting of the

¹⁶A more detailed discussion of the literature on the concept of efficacy will be undertaken in the next chapter.

political field. The conceptual limitation of this approach is that this individual disposition may not fully represent the total character of habitus-
-efficacy may only represent certain aspects of the total structure of habitus. In addition, it is likely that efficacy may not be the only disposition active in the political field. However, the data for this project easily enable the operationalization of the concept of efficacy. Ideally, the entire structure of habitus should be measured. However, this ideal cannot be achieved with this secondary data. Therefore, isolating a single disposition, the concept of efficacy, will serve as a suitable variable to represent the habitus in the political field.

2.9 Empirical Applications

The most successful uses and conversions of capital are those made within the structure of the dominant mode of classification. On average, males will be better equipped to make these investments and conversions than females. However, the data for this project are limited in that they do not tap the ways people use their political outlooks directly; development of the dispositions that are used to acquire capital will be measured as a means of assessing the *potential* for acquiring capital. Therefore, males should not only more developed dispositions (greater levels of efficacy), but should be better socialized to employ the capital acquired through this disposition. This theoretical distinction should manifest itself in two ways. First, males should feel more efficacious within the political process than will women.

Secondly, males should draw on more sources for the formation of their outlooks than will women, indicating a more comprehensive and highly developed outlook¹⁷. Similarly, women should draw their ideas and opinions more from their parents than from external sources.

Although differences in socialization between men and women are imposed while children are very young, differences between men and women tend to increase as people approach adulthood (Mackie, 1987). It should therefore be expected that greater similarities in the structure of the habitus across status groups will be observed early in life--prior to the complete inculcation of the symbolic structure of legitimacy. Differences should be the smallest in childhood, and increase as individuals move towards more gendered roles. Further, it should be expected that members of the same status group, regardless of gender, will have similarities in dispositions, and therefore, in their opinions and outlooks.

In regards to parents, general socialization research suggests that the mother's influence upon children is greater than that of the father's (Levi, 1992, Hurrelmann, 1988). While this may be the case for early childhood, the present theory suggests that as individuals move towards adulthood, influence of the father will become greater in both males and females. This is based in the logic that the fathers experience may appear more relevant or *practical* than the mothers; fathers will more often have an intuitive

¹⁷The inference here is that a more highly developed political outlooks are those which are more adapted for successful use in the field.

understanding of the logic of practice and feel for the game than mothers, and will be better able to equip their children for future action.

2.9 A Note to the Critics: Bourdieu vs. Giddens

It was stated that the theory of habitus was the most appropriate framework for this research. However, others have suggested that Giddens' (1984) theory of *structuration* not only rivals that of habitus, but is superior to it (Gartman, 1993). Indeed, there are similarities to be found between *structuration* and *habitus*, however, it is erroneous to argue for the superiority of *structuration* over *habitus* because of the theoretical and empirical advantages offered by habitus.

Giddens coins the term "structuration" to represent the essence of his "new" theoretical approach. Structuration is the process by which social structure is regarded as a recursive duality between the material/objective facts of social existence and the subjective imperatives of social action. Necessarily, structuration views social structure as both the condition and outcome of human action. Essentially, structuration sets out to reveal the logical implications for the recursive study of structure *and* agency. Thus, structuration puts to rest the need to distinguish between micro/macro theoretical approaches because they are linked as a unity.

Giddens reduces the material conditions of existence, or structure, into forms of rules and resources. These material conditions are seen to be implicated in structuration in that they are employed in social action,

routinized, and are therefore recursively implicated in social reproduction. This duality of structure is both enabling and constraining in terms of agency: actions are limited by the conditions of their inception, but through action rules and resources are recursively implicated to reproduce and change structure.

Agency for Giddens entails the capacity to make a difference: the ability to command and mobilize resources and to maximize the benefits of structural rules constitute power. Contrary to the Foucaultian notion (Foucault, 1979), power is material, but like Foucault, Giddens recognizes the importance of position and positioning in the process of domination. Domination, the control over authoritative and allocative resources, is reflected by structural properties. To a great degree, social positions and positioning within structure reflects relations of domination.

While structures are both enabling and constraining for Giddens, structuration theory does not provide a calculus for human action. Under his framework, structure determines action and actions determine structure: this recursive model successfully avoids the deterministic overtones present in other structural-functional writings, but Giddens is elusive as to the specific location of subjective action *within* structure. Using Goffmanesque and Freudian terminology such as co-presence and unconscious motivation, Giddens attempts to formulate an understanding of the subjective processes which determine individual action within the

broader structural context. While structuration does this to a degree, it is markedly unsuccessful in demonstrating **how** action is produced on a subjective level--a task which must be accomplished if his theory is to obviate the agency/structure debate. This oversight constitutes a significant failing of Giddens. It is on this point where the theoretical formulation of Bourdieu stands as a significant improvement over Giddens.

Bourdieu's habitus is a concept that provides a method of subjectively understanding human action while locating it within objective structures. The habitus not only reflects structural divisions in society, such as that between classes, but is *actively* implicated in maintaining, changing and reproducing social structures. Bourdieu not only provides a framework for an understanding of human action on subjective level, but allows us to view how structural imperatives act on and shape human action--something which Giddens does not provide.

In defence of Giddens on this point, Gartman (1991) argues that Bourdieu's habitus condemns human action to a Durkhiemian artifact of structure, rather than as an independent entity within society. In contrasting Bourdieu and Giddens, Gartman is critical of the relationship Bourdieu establishes between objective positions and subjective classification. Gartman accuses Bourdieu of creating a tautology, in that class implies taste and taste implies class. He is further critical of Bourdieu's emphasis upon capital. Gartman (1991) views culture as a product of praxis

rather than culture as structure which is his interpretation of Bourdieu's approach.

Such criticism should inevitably follow when such traditional divisions are challenged. However, such charges are unfounded. It is true that taste implies class and vice versa, but this does not constitute a tautology. A relationship can be recursive without being tautological. To accuse Bourdieu of tautology is to ignore the mutually influential relationship between structure and subjective action. That Bourdieu is guilty of economic determinism is also unjustified, and stems from a misunderstanding of Bourdieu's notion of capital. Although capital can be economic nature, the term covers a vast variety of forms including cultural and intellectual forms. And while positions in society are determined through the use of capital and reflect relations of domination, they are not solely economic. Relations of domination stem from a fundamental principle, that of legitimacy, which is prior to the use and accumulation of capital. Thus, capitals may be transformable into economic forms, but social mobility is not reducible to economic forms. This is because the criteria around which social groups, classes and status groups are formed are diverse--ranging from economics, ethnicity to gender.

With measured credit to his detractors, it must be stated that there are certain pitfalls that would plague any theoretical project which attempts to construct a "grand theory". Sufficed to say, that Bourdieu is preferable over

Giddens because of the conceptual advantages provided by Bourdieu's *calculus* which was not only developed out of empirical research, but is that which has demonstrated its efficacy through empirical testing many times (Dimaggio, 1982; Jonsson, 1987). Some might argue that Structuration has certain advantages over habitus, yet failed attempts at applying Giddens framework speak to its impracticality.

2.10 Conclusions

The theoretical framework outlined will facilitate a unique approach to the study of political socialization. Bourdieu's framework clearly fulfils the three essential requirements mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In addition, it also allows the researcher to view the subjects under study as knowledgeable actors in fields of experience, rather than as automatons engulfed by structural forces. Specifically, the habitus is the key which allows the researcher to break away from the structure\agency dichotomy by facilitating a form of inquiry situated on **both** objective and subjective levels. Rather than mutually exclusive, these two modes of analysis are used here to play off one another, not one against the other. The result is a more fruitful and complete theoretical schema that is more empirically useful, and one which will augment the relevance and defensibility of this project.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In a project based solely around secondary data, a chapter on methodology might seem superfluous; the design and method of data collection is unchangeable. However, the construction of the dependent variable, political efficacy, has involved choosing among several methodological options, such as selecting indicators from a large pool of items, and must be defended. This chapter will begin with a review of some of the literature on political efficacy, and present the results of the principal component factor analysis used to create an index of political efficacy from the data.

The model being tested revolves around the notion of habitus, in the context of the political field (Fig. 3.1a and 3.1b). However, in this project habitus cannot be accurately measured in its entirety because of limitations of the data¹. However, efficacy has been argued to be a disposition under the habitus, that determines a particular form of action--that of acquiring political attitudes--in the political field. Therefore, the model being tested involves the use of efficacy as a *manifestation* of habitus in a political context (see figure 3.1a and 3.1b). This is not to argue that efficacy is a *substitute* for habitus, but it is to say that the homology between dispositions under the habitus allow a snapshot of certain aspects of the

¹Accurately measuring habitus itself would require an additional qualitative component that does not exist in this data set.

Figure 3.1a: Internal Efficacy Path Model

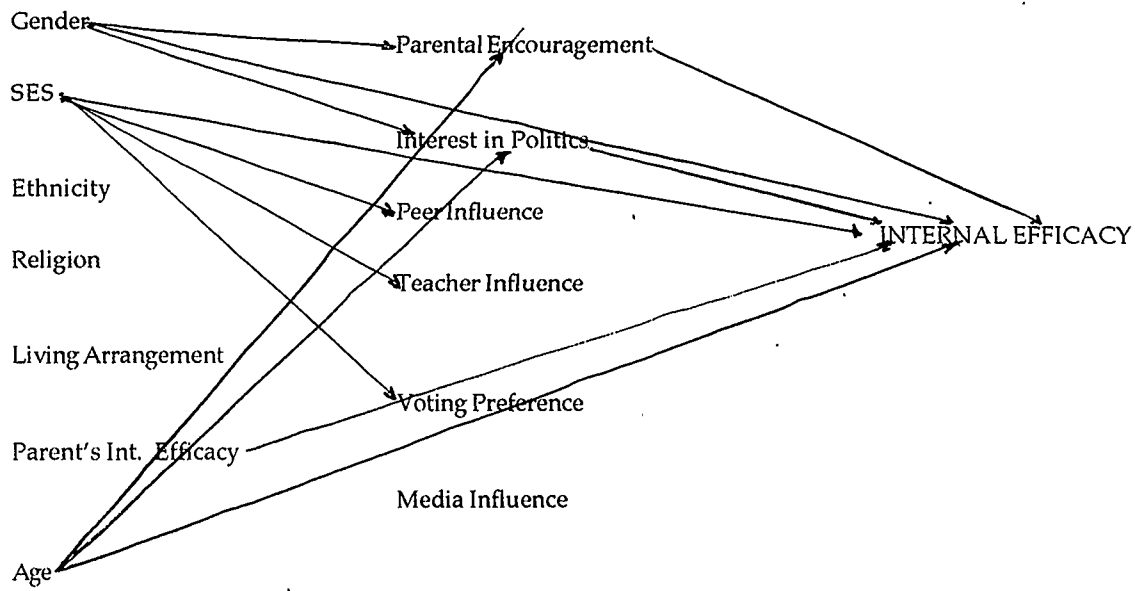
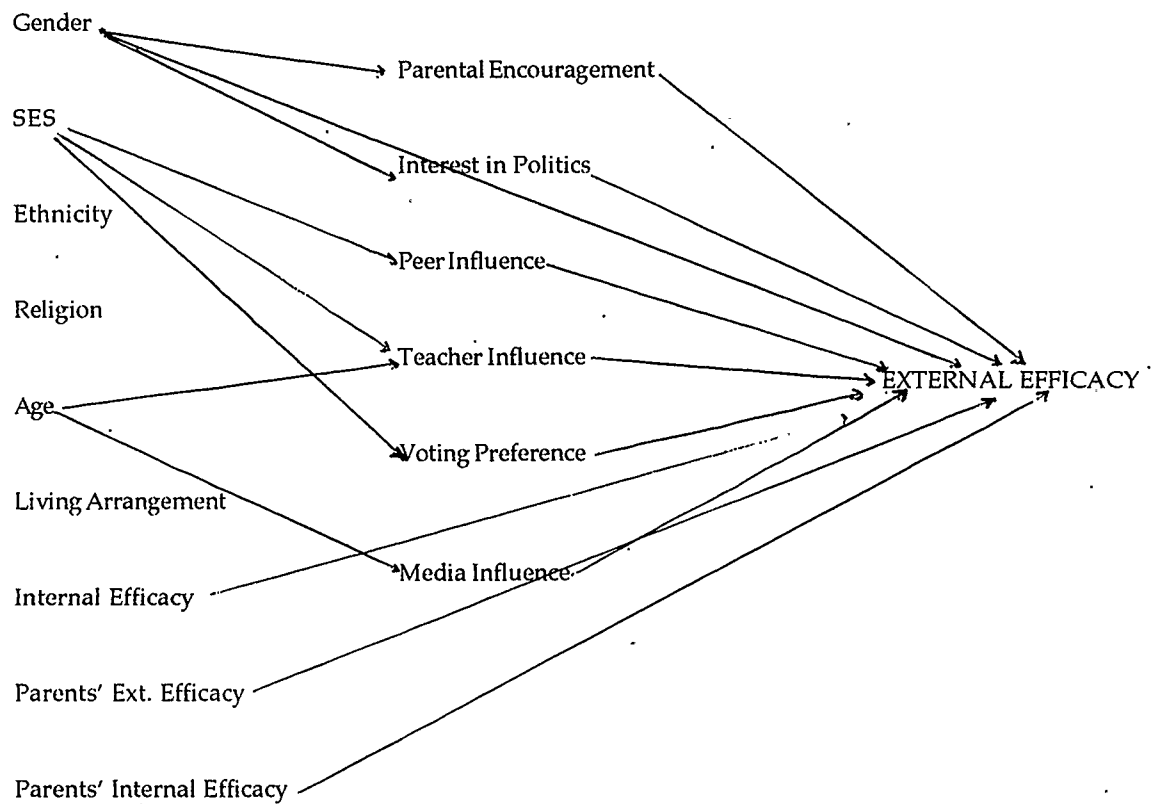


Figure 3.1b: External Efficacy Path Model



habitus in the political field through an analysis of efficacy. The control variables used are intended to isolate the effects of status groups on efficacy, and fall into two groups: status group variables, and mundane socialization variables.

The mundane socialization variables will be used in attempting to capture influences on efficacy that are not deep seated or subjective characteristics, but are those that reflect situational or environmental influences. These mundane socialization variables are of particular importance because many have typically been omitted in past research. These variables are parental encouragement, childrens' interest in politics, peer influence, teacher influence, voting preference and media influence². It is acknowledged because of the small sample size, the number of degrees of freedom taken away by including these controls could adversely affect the outcome of this analysis. However, it is vital that these controls be included in order to improve upon the omissions of previous research in political socialization, and to avoid the systematic biasing of the error terms that would result from omitting significant predictors of efficacy. In addition, past research has also frequently omitted many demographic, or status group variables.

Clearly, all possible status group variables cannot be included in this project. However, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion and age

²For a description of the coding strategies used for the control variables, please see appendix C.

represent among the more basic status groups. These variables are considered to be exogenous. Other exogenous variables will be single vs. dual parent families and parental efficacy levels. If Bourdieu is correct in asserting that the development of habitus is the result of direct inculcation and mundane socialization, the inclusion of parental efficacy is important because parents are likely "orientational others" (Khun, 1964) after which children may model themselves. Because this may be the case, whether both or only one parent heads the family should be important. The inclusion of the parental efficacy variables will also allow the testing of the second proposed hypothesis, that *fathers will have a greater effect on childrens' efficacy than will mothers.*

Of these exogenous variables, it is expected that gender, socio-economic status and age will have direct and indirect effects on the dependent variables. The direct effects are expected because these variables represent among the more fundamental criteria of distinction in society. By virtue of this, these variables should be directly implicated in determining efficacy. In addition, these variables should also affect more situational or environmental factors that may influence efficacy. The third major theoretical proposition stated in chapter one, states that the inculcation of political attitudes should be viewed as the result of every-day life in gendered social structure. In this light, the reproduction of this structure should be manifest by the encouragement children receive to

pursue political issues from teachers, the degree to which parents encourage their children to learn about politics, which should affect the interest children have in politics: parental encouragement, interest in politics and teacher influence³ will mediate the relationship between gender and efficacy.

Like gender, SES is also a characteristic around and within which the symbolic structure of legitimacy actively functions in the battle for distinction, and therefore should directly affect the internal efficacy. SES will also be mediated by peer influence and teacher influence, although there will only be an indirect effect for external efficacy.

Age is also a fundamental orientation that is intimately involved in struggles for legitimacy, as evidenced by Mannheim's *problem of generations* (Demartini, 1985; Kegan, 1956), and will have a direct effect on internal efficacy. Age will also be mediated by media influence, parental encouragement and political interest in both models. The rationale for this is more pragmatic than theoretical. It is, that elements of aptitude and comprehension are intimately tied to these endogenous variables and develop gradually over childhood. Therefore age should be central to understanding the variation in these variables⁴.

³However, the influence of teachers will only be a factor with external efficacy. This is because, internal efficacy (as the literature review will show) is a more stable disposition, while external efficacy is more susceptible to fluctuation from endogenous factors such as changes in political climate.

⁴Please note that ethnicity and religion will be used as exogenous control variables. Because ethnicity is more of a fundamental characteristic around which status groups emerge, a direct path to the internal efficacy will be predicted. On the other hand, because religion is a less deep seated characteristic, it

To test this model, path analysis will be used. The advantage of this method is that it allows the computation of indirect effects on the dependent variable which may be vital in providing an understanding of the socialization factors that bear on the development of efficacy. However, the deficiency of this method, is that the panel design can not be fully exploited. Introducing indicators for each time point will result in autocorrelation that may render the findings uninterpretable. Instead, each time point will be analyzed individually and cross-wave comparisons will be made only generally and with great caution: *specific quantifiable differences between coefficients will not be analyzed due to statistical limitations of this method of analysis*. Admittedly, this is not the strongest approach possible, but it is felt that it will at least provide a basic impression of any changes over time⁵.

3.2 Description of the Sample and Data Collection

The data for this project are secondary. The data were collected over a period of two years following the same panel and form three time points. The sample size varies slightly between waves, with N=187 in wave one (1992), N=190 in wave two (1993) and N=184 in the last wave (1994). The population consisted of the residents of Calgary. Individuals were sampled by first randomly selecting postal codes, and then by randomly selecting

will be included as a control only with no paths emanating from it.

⁵Please see appendix D for descriptive data on the major variables.

households within a given postal code. When a household was selected two of the oldest children over the age of seven were selected automatically (given parental consent), and parents were selected randomly⁶. Voluntary participation was secured over the phone, and the survey instrument was administered in the homes of the participants. At the start of this project the youngest children were seven years old and the oldest were sixteen. Of the total sample in the first wave, 121 (65%) were children, and of these 71 (59%) were females and 50 (41%) were males. In the second wave, there were 124 (65%) children, of these 73 (59%) were female and 51 (41%) were male. In the third wave, 118 were children, and of these 68 (58%) were female, and 50 (42%) were male.

3.3 The Dependent Variable: Efficacy

Political efficacy is a term which has been studied extensively (Bernadette and Bean, 1993). While specific measures of efficacy seem to vary, efficacy is generally portrayed as a barometer of the overall health of a democratic political system (Bernadette and Bean, 1993:260). Originally, the term was coined to refer to one's personal sense of "competence" within politics (Bernadette and Bean, 1993:261). However, the term has undergone an evolution in meaning and in application since its inception. More recently, efficacy has been linked not only to practices such as political involvement and participation, but to deeper concepts such as alienation,

⁶In single parent homes the parent living with the children was automatically selected.

trust and support of the current political regime (Simeon and Elkins, 1972:405; Guterbock and London, 1983:440; Cole, 1973:810). Efficacy is more than a feeling of personal competence. Efficacy is best understood as the perception of one's *capacity* to personally influence the political system in a variety of different ways. Such a definition, broad as it is, is supported by the literature. Empirically and theoretically, efficacy has been implicated in the production of political action (or inaction) in democratic societies. Thus, the advantages of basing this project around measures of efficacy extend beyond prediction of political action or election outcomes to a more theoretical utility--especially with regard to the concept of habitus.

The primary object of this investigation is to examine the habitus. However, such aims are difficult, as it has been acknowledged that it can only be measured in part the disposition of efficacy. The main advantage in using the concept of efficacy, is that it can serve represent aspects of the habitus. Without falling into the type of argument posed by McCall (1991), efficacy should stand as a valid indicator because it is a reflection of habitus in that it is generative. As such, inferences based upon measures of efficacy should provide a "snap-shot" of individuals' habitus. Hopefully, this will provide insight into the socialization processes involved in the acquisition of political attitudes.

While the use of efficacy is theoretically *grounded*, there are also empirical advantages to using efficacy. First, measures of efficacy are

indices; the methodological advantages of using a composite variable are clear: they facilitate more accurate data analysis through triangulation⁷, enabling the researcher to make generalizations which would not otherwise be possible if individual measures were used. However, the use of efficacy is more than heuristic because it will also facilitate causal arguments. For example, measuring individual attitudes on policy issues would not easily facilitate causal arguments--the analysis would be limited to correlations only without allowing statements of effect. On the other hand, if more 'specific' concepts were measured, such as alienation, regime support, and trust, over-all generalizations as to structure of political outlooks would be difficult because of the lack of theoretical parsimony between the concepts. Values on individual concepts would be quantifiable, but the connection between concepts would likely be obfuscated, making generalizations across concepts difficult.

3.4 The Dimensions of Efficacy

The concept of efficacy was first used by the Survey Research Centre (SRC) in Michigan. It is not surprising that because efficacy is a complex disposition, rather than a simple attitude, efficacy was conceptualized as an index, consisting of four items. Originally, the four items were⁸:

⁷It is hoped that the this measure will facilitate a higher degree of construct validity in approximating the habitus through measures of efficacy.

⁸The items used in the index have varied with use. As a result, the specific phrasing of each item is not wholly consistent from study to study.

- i) Sometimes politics are too complex for me to understand (COMPLEX).
- ii) Voting is the only way to influence the government (VOTING)
- iii) Public officials don't care what people like me have to say (NO CARE).
- iv) People like me have no say about how the government is run (NO SAY)⁹.

When this index was first used, it was believed to be both stable and valid¹⁰ (Wright, 1975:219). However, later replication and investigation revealed that the index was in fact unreliable. Much of this unreliability was likely the result of ignoring the dualistic nature of efficacy by measuring it as a single concept.

Despite the original definition as "sense of personal competence", political efficacy can be broken down into **external** and **internal** efficacy (Bernadette and Bean, 1993; Acock, Clark and Stewart, 1985; Finkel, 1985; Pollock, 1983, Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; McPherson, Welch and Clark, 1977; Welch and Clark, 1975). Internal efficacy is characterized by the original definition for political efficacy: a sense of personal competence, that is empirically measured by a persons' perception of the complexity of the government (COMPLEX) and the perception of the relative power of ones' vote (VOTING). Interestingly, there is confusion in the literature as to the stability and validity of internal efficacy. Finkel shows that many of the problems with early models can be overcome when two dimensions of

⁹Please note that the statements are followed, in brackets by their abbreviations in order to facilitate discussion.

¹⁰The original SRC index was shown to have an inter-item reliability coefficient (alpha) of 0.635 (Wright, 1975:220).

efficacy are employed. Finkel also finds argues that internal efficacy, like partisanship (Abramson, 1983), is highly stable over time (1985:899). This finding is especially important, as it would seem to support Sears (1983) notion of "symbolic politics", and cast some doubt on Alwin and Krosnick's (1993) disconfirmation of Sears' (1983) hypotheses. However, other findings cast some doubt on Finkel's claims.

Indeed, the item measuring the belief in the power of ones' vote was revealed to be a poor indicator of internal efficacy, suggesting that each indicator of internal efficacy should be weighted appropriately according to the strength of their factor loadings (Acock et al., 1985:1072). Further, the structure of internal efficacy was found to be *invariant* across race and gender (Acock et al., 1985:1074)--a particularly interesting finding in light of the present theoretical context of the status group-based habitus. This evidence was supported by Bernadette and Bean (1993:275) who found no significant effect of gender across levels of efficacy and participation. However, Bernadette and Bean (1993:266) did confirm the dualistic dimensionality of the concept using an adapted and expanded scale of the original efficacy items.

The notion of external efficacy has been given equal treatment, and produced similar confusion. Research suggests that external efficacy is represented by the items measuring the degree to which people believe the government cares about what they think and how much input people feel

they have towards the way the country is run, reflect the degree to which individuals believe in the *responsiveness* of the Government and government institutions (Bernadette and Bean, 1993; Acock, Clark and Stewart, 1985; Finkel, 1985; Pollock, 1983, Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; McPherson, Welch and Clark, 1977; Welch and Clark, 1975). Unlike internal efficacy, external efficacy is thought to be highly sensitive to external factors such as election outcomes. Moreover, there is a relationship of reciprocal causation between voting behaviour and levels of external efficacy (Finkel, 1985). External efficacy has also been shown to be highly correlated with the notion of political trust (Bernadette and Bean, 1993; Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; Finkel, 1985). However, trust has been revealed as a poor predictor of political behaviour suggesting that external efficacy should be regarded with similar suspicion (Pollock, 1983:400)--indeed, it is unclear whether the distinctions between political trust and external efficacy need be made at all (Cole, 1973). In spite of this, contrary evidence suggests that external efficacy indices are actually highly reliable--so much so that they are more stable than measures of *internal efficacy* (McPherson et al., 1977:516).

In order to construct accurate indicators for this project, the evidence must be weighed carefully. And because of the contradictions within this body of evidence, indices for this project will be constructed first theoretically, and tested empirically through factor analysis. This approach

is intended to construct more accurate indicators and to provide suggestions for resolving some of the contradictions that exist in the literature.

3.5 The Contentious Issue of Reliability

What is evident in the efficacy literature is that there are doubts about the reliability of the indices that have been used. Most recently, indices used tend to be comprised of six items, three for each dimension. However, the literature is unclear about the stability of the measures themselves; some assert the stability of internal over external efficacy, and some argue the opposite: there are inconsistencies between studies and with the same measures employed over time. However, the problem this poses for the current project is minimal. This is because inconsistencies which exist in the literature may be the result of the frequent reformulation of efficacy measures, rather than inherent reliability problems. Indeed, it is a good thing that indicators of efficacy have undergone constant examination and revision because current measures will likely be *more valid* and precise as a result. Importantly, the emphasis should be on the validity and the internal consistency¹¹ of the measures--even if there are inconsistencies in measurements, these errors can be estimated statistically and corrected if necessary (Zeller and Carmines, 1980).

Outside of replication, many have found measures of efficacy to have poor alpha reliability levels. Much of this is undoubtedly the result of

¹¹eg. alpha correlation levels.

specification errors which were made in testing a unified efficacy construct. Also, internal inconsistencies may be due to errors in sampling or other systematic sources of error that were not taken into account by other authors. This does not provide much guidance in constructing efficacy indices for this project, but it does lend sufficient warning to carefully test the alpha levels of the items being used.

Empirically, the literature suggests that internal efficacy is a more fundamental orientation and is less susceptible to external factors than external efficacy. Unlike external efficacy, it is thought that internal efficacy is a reflection of more immutable political orientations that are not as susceptible to changes in political climate. This is reflected in the path model (figure 3.1a and 3.1b). Figure 3.1a shows that internal efficacy is affected more by fundamental orientations, primarily status group characteristics, that are likely begin to be inculcated early in life, while there are less endogenous and indirect effects. Figure 3.1b shows that external efficacy is more affected by endogenous and indirect effects, where only gender and the child's internal efficacy are direct exogenous effects. In this light, internal efficacy would appear to be more deeply connected to the habitus because it is thought to be more immutable than external efficacy. However, the literature indicates that external efficacy is linked to the acquisition of political attitudes. Therefore, in spite of the apparent differences in mutability, a study of **both** dimensions of efficacy is justified.

3.5 The Complexities of Validity

The survey instrument contains several efficacy indicators that bear close similarities to previously used items. The items measuring internal efficacy are:

- i) Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government (UNDSTGOV)
- ii) People can help the government decide how to run the country by: voting (VOT), going on strike (STRK), signing petitions (PETITION), demonstrating (DEMON), writing letter to the government (LETTER), being friends with people who work in government (FRIEND)¹².

The items measuring external efficacy are:

- i) If you write to the Prime Minister, how much does he care about what you think? (WRTPM)
- ii) My family doesn't have any say about what the government does. (FAMSAY--for children only)
- iii) Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government (CITZSAY--for parents only).¹³

The items measuring the degree to which people believe they have a say in government (CITZSAY), the extent to which they believe the Prime Minister cares what they think (WRTPM) and the degree to which people understand what goes on in government (UNDSTGOV), employ scales that permit a higher degree of variability than were used in the original studies, and do so without introducing neutral responses. This additional

¹²Initial factor analyses revealed that the letter, petition and friend items were not significantly related to the dimensions of efficacy. Therefore, they are not included in the figures presented in this chapter.

¹³COMPLEX, NOSAY are both measured on four point likert scales ranging from agree totally, agree sometimes to disagree totally. All elements of VOTING are measured on yes/no/don't know scales, and NOCARE is a force choice of either a lot, some, a little and not at all.

variability will hopefully yield more precise data than a simple agree/disagree scale could provide. The item measuring the perceived power of ones vote (VOTING) employs a slightly different strategy. Most recently, Acock et al. (1993) revealed that this item was a poor measure of internal efficacy. The root of this problem likely stems from poor measurement validity. The original item reads: "Voting is the only way the average person can decide how to run the government". The problem with this item is that it is ambiguous. It is possible that this question taps a person's belief as to the relative power of his or her vote, *or*, it might *also* measure subjects' belief in, or awareness of, one potential way to influence the government. It is possible that the lack of conceptual specificity due to the wording of this item could be responsible for the problems observed by Acock et al. (1993). In order to remedy this problem, several separate ways people may influence government are given. Furthermore, the items from the current instrument include a third category "I don't know", along with yes/no responses which will hopefully increase the precision of measurement.

3.7 Measuring Efficacy

Alpha reliability coefficients were employed for both parent and child data on both measures of efficacy, for all three waves. In the original data, each parent and child is treated as a separate case. However, there is important information possessed only by the parents, like SES and ethnic

background that must be applied to the child. To solve this problem, children were paired with their parents. The consequence of this manoeuvre is that parents with more than one child in the study were counted twice. This will not significantly affect the results because parents are counted only in reference to individual children and are not analyzed independently. Also, dual child families account for approximately 20% of the data, therefore any potential problem would be fairly small and unlikely to affect the results.

Reliability Analysis

The 1992 data yield consistently moderate alpha levels¹⁴. For both child and parent data, internal efficacy appears less reliable than external efficacy, with parents scoring lower than children, with a standardized alpha level of .1802 and .284 respectively. On external efficacy, parents and children are both much higher, with standardized alpha coefficients of .3407 and .3437 respectively. The 1993 data suggest similar interpretations, that the indicators are sufficiently reliable. Again, internal efficacy seems slightly less reliable. In this wave, the coefficients are also higher than in wave one. Parents were lower than children on both indicators; .278 for internal and .3039 for external. The scores for children on internal efficacy were .3197, and .6024 for external. Finally, the 1994 data yield mixed results. In this wave the coefficients for internal efficacy for both child and parent

¹⁴Although the original SRC measures have been shown to have alpha levels as high as .6, such expectations are optimistic for attitudinal data.

are low, at .1643 and .0336 respectively. For external efficacy parents have a value of .9486 and children of -1.0557¹⁵.

The implications of this reliability check are three. First, while alpha levels vary between waves, it is felt that the coefficients are high enough to support the use of the indices. Second, because the alpha reliability levels fluctuate across waves it is possible that the attitudes possessed by the respondents are changing across time. Although there is no empirical method of distinguishing unreliability and actual attitude change over time, factor analysis will enable the researcher to determine if the **dimensions** being measured change; if the dimensions are changing then there is a stronger case to support the changing of attitudes across time, rather than unreliability. Lastly, it should be considered that the changes in the coefficients between waves could be the result of changes in sample size between waves. However, the attrition from wave to wave is low, and is not likely to have affected the results.

Factor Analysis

Despite the strong theoretical support for the dimensions of internal and external efficacy in the literature it would be incautious to proceed without confirming this duality through factor analysis. Principal component factor analysis was chosen over common factor analysis for this

¹⁵Cronbach's alpha has an absolute value of one. However, it is likely that low sample sizes and the high degree of overlapping of the indicators used may have affected the accuracy of the reliability coefficient (Zeller and Carmines, 1980). In this light, the coefficients produced should be regarded with suspicion.

task because it is more versatile in its application and facilitates interpretation more readily¹⁶. The efficacy items were run through four different factor rotations to determine the best fit for the data on all three waves¹⁷. Separate analysis were run for parents and children, but the data presented are for parents only. The rationale for this is theoretical. The task of approximating the habitus requires that the subjects tested *actually possess* fully developed dispositions. If the childrens responses were to be analyzed in this way the lack of stability in their views (Greenstien, 1963; Easton and Dennis, 1969) would make the results difficult to interpret and justify theoretically.

Wave 1: 1992

The analysis of this wave reveals three factors, where only two were expected. It is likely that the third factor is a distinct but related concept, such as political trust. However, attempting to establish the nature of the third factor is speculative at best. Since the use of factor analysis in this project is confirmatory, the nature of the third factor will be left to speculation, and therefore, remain unanalyzed.

¹⁶Please see Zeller and Carmines (1980:19-46) for a detailed explanation.

¹⁷Varimax, Quartimax, Equimax and Oblimin rotations were employed. A Varimax rotation yielded the best fit for the data for waves one and three, and an Oblimin rotation yielded the best fit for the second wave. However, because the use of different rotations causes problems with comparing measures of efficacy between waves the varimax configuration will be used for all waves.

Table 3.1

Wave One: Dimensions of EfficacyROTATION: VARIMAX

Variable Name	Factor One	Factor Two	Factor Three
VOT	-.73709	.27696	.09277
DEMON	.24017	.36447	-.55546
STRK	-.18468	.52945	.12711
UNDSTGOV	.08774	.10237	.68535
WRTPM	.01459	-.52424	.07570
CITZSAY	.441	.25793	.27520

Despite the presence of three factors, however, the two dimensions of efficacy are clearly visible. The literature suggests that the item measuring the level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV) should line up with the items tapping the perception of the power of ones' vote (VOT, STRK, DEMON)¹⁸. The item measuring the degree to which people believe they have a say in running the government (CITZSAY) should align with the items measuring the degree to which people believe the Prime Minister cares about what they think (WRTPM) and the level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV) **and** with the items measuring the perceived power of ones' vote (VOT, STRK, DEMON). In the first wave the item measuring whether people believe they have a say in the government (CITZSAY) is moderately related to all three factors. The level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV) correlates highly with factor three, although the belief in voting as a means of effecting change in

¹⁸Initially, the factor analysis was performed including the other items measuring ways to affect change in government—writing a petition to government (PETITION), being friends with someone in government (FRIEND), and writing a letter to government (LETTER). However, the factor analysis did not reveal any of these items to be significantly related to any of the factors. They were therefore removed from the analysis.

the government (VOT) is poorly related to factor three. The alignment of the item measuring individual input into government (CITZSAY) and level of understanding (UNDSTGOV) under factor 3 along with a belief in striking as a method of effecting change (STRK) and demonstrating (DEMON) suggests that factor 3 represents internal efficacy. The item measuring a belief in voting (VOT) loads highly on factor one and aligns with the perception that ordinary citizens have a say in government (CITZSAY), and a belief in demonstrating (DEMON) and striking (STRK) as avenues for political change, which load relatively low on this factor. This suggests that either factor one or three could be interpreted as internal efficacy. But, taking into consideration the typical instability of items measuring ways of effecting change (VOT, PETITION, DEMON), the relative stability of the item measuring the level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV), and the untested performance of the alternative voting items, factor three best fits the definition of internal efficacy.

The factor analysis shows that writing to the Prime Minister (WRTPM) and having a say in the way government is run (CITZSAY) load highly on factor two, along with all the items in the analysis. This suggests that factor two represents external efficacy. The fact that other items load with relative strength on this factor does not disconfirm this assertion, rather, it supports it. This is because the literature indicates that internal

efficacy is be causally related to external efficacy (Bernadette and Bean, 1993, Acock, et al., 1993). This would mean that the indicators measuring internal efficacy would correlate with external efficacy, but that measures of external efficacy would not correlate well with internal efficacy¹⁹. The factor analysis confirms this assertion. Having acknowledged factor three as representing internal efficacy, it is clear that items measuring writing the Prime Minister and having a say in government do not load highly on this dimension. Therefore, factor two will be considered to represent external efficacy.

Wave 2: 1993

The factor analysis for the second wave of the data suggests only two factors:

Table 3.2

<u>Wave Two: Dimensions of Efficacy</u> ²⁰		
ROTATION: VARIMAX		
Variable Name	Factor One	Factor Two
VOT	.04980	-.35552
DEMON	.42590	-.05614
STRK	.50771	.03519
UNDSTGOV	.06795	.60616
WRTPM	.09584	.56969
CITZSAY	.52778	.11057

However, items that typically represent *both* dimensions of efficacy load

¹⁹Although this causal reasoning is supported by the literature, it is interesting to note that no studies were found to successfully test this reasoning, and the use of internal efficacy indicators for measuring external efficacy (outside of citzsay) is not supported by in literature. Nevertheless, an index of external efficacy with the voting items was tested and found to perform poorly in regression analysis.

²⁰Originally, an oblimin rotation was used to obtain the best fit to the data in this wave. However, using a different rotation, and different indicators in the construction of the dependent variable makes inter-wave comparisons of effects difficult.

highly on factor two, and not on factor one--understanding of what goes on in government (UNDSTGOV) and writing the Prime Minister (WRTPM), align with belief in the power of the vote (VOT). Belief in demonstrating (DEMON), whether citizens have a say in the functioning of the government (CITZSAY) load with strength under factor one. These findings are troubling because they contravene what is known about the dimensions of internal and external efficacy; the results suggest that efficacy would best be measured with a unified concept, rather than separate dimensions. Further, these results of may support the argument that the measures are unreliable--which may not have been seen earlier due to the limitations with the reliability analysis--or, it may suggest that the factor structure has changed over time. However, the analysis of the third wave will reveal a pattern that will be useful for constructing an appropriate index for all waves.

Wave 3: 1994

In the third wave there are additional changes:

Table 3.3

Wave Three: Dimensions of Efficacy

ROTATION: VARIMAX

Variable Name	Factor One	Factor Two	Factor Three
VOT	.04088	.01911	.75761
DEMON	-.10523	.62105	.20123
STRK	.0254	.49343	-.33997
UNDSTGOV	.49423	-.20872	-.37684
WRTPM	-.53649	.06411	-.1767
CITZSAY	.42398	.2296	.09261

In this wave, the analysis reveals three factors. Unlike wave one and two, level of understanding of the government loads with strength on factor one **and** three. As well, under factor two level of understanding of the government and say in the government align without writing the Prime Minister, suggesting that factor two best represents internal efficacy. Yet, the factor loadings are uncharacteristically low relative to the previous waves. Factor one conforms to the external efficacy pattern in the previous two waves. However, under factor two and three differ from previous waves. It should be expected that some external efficacy items will align with the internal efficacy items--but not the reverse. As in other waves this appears to be the case under factor one and three--suggesting a conceptual relationship between these dimensions. This suggest that factor three could represent the concept of political trust--although this is speculative. Nevertheless, taking this into account, and the fact that writing the Prime Minister does not load well on factor two, factor two should be considered to be the best configuration for internal efficacy, consisting of level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV), say in government (CITZSAY), believing in striking (STRK) and believing in demonstrating (DEMON).

The implications of the analysis of the factor analysis are two. Clearly, the duality of the concept of efficacy is confirmed two of three waves. The presence of a third factor in waves one and three may

complicate matters, but excluding this factor has been justified theoretically. Second, the factor analysis also indicates that the structure of efficacy may have changed between waves. This could be the result of unreliability, or the small sample sizes may have allowed the factor analysis to produce the observed factor structures by chance alone. While these statistical limitations are unavoidable, it is important to note that the factor analysis was conducted for confirmatory purposes only. In spite of these limitations, the factor structure indicated in the first and third waves are supported by the literature--the findings of the factor analysis should be regarded with care as a result of the statistical limitations, yet it is plausible to construct the index of both dimension of efficacy based on waves one and three while essentially ignoring the results of the second wave in order to achieve measurement consistency. The fact that the literature supports construction of these scales demonstrates that they can be used with more confidence than would be possible if the factor analysis was used as the sole justification.

3.8 Conclusions

Factor analysis is an heuristic tool that can only be used with confidence guided by theory (Zeller and Carmines, 1980:20). In this case, a serious attempt was made to theoretically guide the principal component factor analysis to confirm the dimensionality of efficacy and to suggest an appropriate measurement strategy for these dimensions. Therefore, the

measures of efficacy which have been constructed from this process will not only be more statistically viable, but have a greater degree of construct validity than they might have if they were constructed in a less theoretical context.

4.0 Results

4.1 Introduction

The most appropriate method of presenting the findings of this analysis is to show the results of each hypothesis in turn. The connection between the data and the theoretical imperatives outlined in chapter four will be drawn within the context of discussions regarding the hypotheses. Further, the time dimension of this project also will be addressed within the context of each hypothesis, rather than examining each wave individually. This approach to the time dimension is intended to avoid a disjointed inventory of findings which would result if each wave was examined individually; it is felt that a more theoretically coherent picture of the results will be constructed as a result.

4.2 The Empirical Meaning of Efficacy

The indicators for internal and external efficacy do not constitute ratio level data; the indices were composed primarily from ordinal level data. The items measuring belief in voting (VOT), striking (STRK) and demonstrating (DEMON) were converted into dummy variables, comparing "yes" responses to "no" and "I don't know" responses. The items measuring the level of understanding of the government (UNDSTGOV), writing the Prime Minister (WRTPM) and having a say in the government (CITZSAY) were operationalized as four point likert scales. These variables were re-coded so that higher scores reflect high levels of efficacy and low scores reflect lower

levels of efficacy. The way internal efficacy was constructed, the lowest possible score is two and the highest is ten; those with efficacy values approaching ten possess a greater degree of internal efficacy than those with values approaching two. For external efficacy, only two indicators were used in the index: writing the Prime Minister (WRTMP) and say in government (CITZSAY). For this variable the minimum value is two, and the maximum value is eight.

4.3 Data Analysis and Status Group

In Bourdieu's theory of habitus, the status group stands out as an "organizing variable". Habitus orients itself around various bases for status groups such as gender, class, and ethnicity. The theory claims that the capacity to hold and effectively employ capital is distributed unevenly across status groups on a continuum of *legitimacy*: the more or dominant a status group, the greater their capacity to possess and successfully employ capital. One of the most fundamental factors around which status groups are formed is gender. Differences between men and women have been among the most basic and long lasting divisions in human history. Despite the persistence of these divisions, there is a difficulty in operationalizing status groups generally. This difficulty stems from attempting to objectively categorize people into status groups based on demographic characteristics alone while ignoring what it means to belong to a status group on a subjective level. Even the briefest examination of feminist literature, for example, will bear

this out: there is no consensus as to what it means *to be a woman*, let alone to be a *feminist*--even the definition of *sisterhood* can be a contentious matter. Overcoming this difficulty in the context of socialization research requires that objective imperatives faced by the researcher--the demographic characteristics which suggest a certain status group--must be balanced in the face of the subjects perceptions as members of certain groups. If this difficulty is not overcome, then the result is an abstraction which is wholly misaligned with the third theoretical imperative (p. 24), and is ultimately incomplete and short-sighted.

Unfortunately, to sufficiently over-come this difficulty, descriptive data is required, and therefore, such an endeavour is beyond the scope of this project. However, this does not mean that this project is without merit. Simply, although more blunt measures of status groups have been implemented, this project can still provide valuable information for further future qualitative investigations.

4.4 Hypothesis Testing

i). *Being male will affect efficacy to a greater degree than will being female, such that males will possess greater efficacy than will females.*¹

The direct effect of gender on internal efficacy varies across waves,

¹Please note that the bivariate relationship between gender and efficacy was explored by testing the difference of means for males and females on both dimensions of efficacy--no relationship was revealed (please see appendix D).

however, in no wave does the effect observed achieve statistical significance². The lack of relationship here is likely due to a combination of small sample size and of the large standard errors associated with these coefficients in each wave. However, the absence of a direct effect in this case does not necessarily require that the hypothesis be rejected, as there are indirect effects of gender on internal efficacy through intervening variables. However, a definitive statement about the indirect effect of gender is difficult because the factors which mediate gender to the dependent variable change across waves.

In the first wave, gender is mediated in two paths:

Table 4.1

<u>Wave One: The Effect of Gender on Internal Efficacy</u>				<u>Indirect Coefficients from Gender</u>		
R Square=.2003				Gender through Political Interest:		
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0946	.1678	.30	.6474	.2356	.05
Ethnicity	.3205	.0995	.51			
SES	.0102	.1548	.39			
Teacher Influence	.0694	.0503	.72	Gender through Voting Preference:		
Peer Influence	.0504	.0180	.89	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Religion	-.3762	-.1184	.43			
Gender	-.7764	-.2392	.13	-.6315	-.2455	.03
Media Influence	.5201	.3447	.05			
Living Arrangement	.2305	.0444	.77	Com through Media Influence:		
Political Encouragement	-.0110	-.1184	.95	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Parent's Efficacy	.2447	.2097	.18			
Political Interest	-.2097	-.1757	.37			
Voting Preference	-.4805	-.3167	.06	.3773	.4769	.00

In this wave, gender is mediated by voting preference, political interest **and** media influence. Adding the indirect effect in these two paths amounts to a standardized coefficient of $\beta = (.03872) + (.0925) = .1312$. This indicates that being female accounts for modest increase in efficacy. In wave two, interest

²Note that a relatively large error level has been selected for this project (.10) because of the small sample size.

in politics drops out as a mediating factor along with voting preference and media influence:

Table 4.2

Wave Two: The Effects of Gender On Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.1739	.3546	.02
Ethnicity	.2329	.0819	.52
SES	-.0022	-.0271	.83
Teacher Influence	-.0508	-.0354	.78
Peer Influence	.0756	.0338	.78
Religion	.0219	.0077	.95
Gender	-.2405	-.0805	.54
Media Influence	.2879	.2627	.04
Living Arrangement	-.4764	-.1208	.37
Political Encouragement	.3357	.3835	.00
Parent's Efficacy	.0872	.0670	.61
Political Interest	.1805	.1749	.21
Voting Preference	-.0156	-.0177	.94

The findings in this wave indicate that there is neither a direct or indirect effect between gender and internal efficacy.

In the third wave, the findings change slightly:

Figure 4.3

Wave Three: The Effects of Gender On Internal Efficacy

R Square=.1559

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0277	.0599	.59
Gender	.3017	.1051	.32
Living Arrangement	.0406	.0107	.91
SES	.0013	.0210	.38
Religion	.0183	.0063	.94
Political Encouragement	.0602	.0608	.54
Peer Influence	.6181	.2561	.01
Ethnicity	.0961	.0331	.73
Teacher Influence	.0908	.0669	.52
Parent Int. Efficacy	.0497	.0461	.64
Voting Preference	-.0435	-.0304	.76
Media Influence	-.0364	-.0266	.80
Political Influence	.1774	.1450	.19

This wave, gender returns as a good predictor of political interest, however, the relationship between political interest and internal efficacy does not

appear, suggesting that gender has no significant effect on the dependent variable.

A possible interpretation of the divergence in the findings between waves may be obtained by addressing the issue of reliability. The alpha reliability coefficients for internal efficacy decline steadily from wave one to three. This may be because the indicators were based upon the parents' data to avoid the problems associated with instability of childrens' attitudes (Greenstien, 1965), in an attempt to ensure a more valid measure efficacy. This unreliability in childrens' attitudes, coupled with small sample sizes may be responsible for the variations between waves.

The findings for external efficacy show greater variability between waves than was revealed for internal efficacy. Analysis of the 1992 data shows that gender has an indirect effect on external efficacy through the political interest variable, and through voting preference:

Table 4.4

Wave One: The Effect of Gender on External Efficacy

R square:.489

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Internal Efficacy	.4243	.5791	.00
Political Encouragement	-.0818	-.0925	.38
Teacher Influence	.1359	.1330	.19
Gender	.0940	.0398	.73
Peer Influence	-.1293	-.0667	.51
Religion	-.3707	-.1605	.13
SES	.0065	.1288	.28
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.1702	-.1908	.18
Age	.0901	.2136	.05
Ethnicity	-.0349	-.0147	.89
Media Influence	.0569	.0500	.67
Living Arrangement	.1763	.0539	.65
Political Interest	-.0953	-.1094	.37
Voting Preference	-.0603	-.0540	.66
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	-.0477	-.0464	.76

Diverging from the pattern observed with internal efficacy, there is no indirect effect between gender and external efficacy, nor is there a direct effect.

Figure 4.5

Wave Two: The Effect of Gender on External Efficacy

R square=.367

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Internal Efficacy	.3961	.4279	.00
Living Arrangement	.1151	.0346	.81
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.3933	-.3588	.04
Peer Influence	-.0235	-.0125	.92
Religion	.1996	.0833	.55
Gender	.4915	.1951	.17
Teacher Influence	.0557	.0461	.73
Age	.0038	.0093	.95
Ethnicity	.0277	.0115	.98
Media Influence	-.0278	-.0302	.82
SES	.0068	.1028	.45
Political Encouragement	-.0798	-.1081	.46
Political Interest	.0897	.1024	.50
Voting Preference	.2289	.1874	.22
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.3083	.3012	.08

Again, an absence of intervening effects is observed. Childrens' internal efficacy, child's internal efficacy and the internal and external efficacy of the parents accounts for approximately 37% of the variation in external efficacy.

In wave three, gender influences the dependent variable indirectly through voting preference and political interest: Table 4.6

Wave Three: The Effects of Gender on External Efficacy

R square=.3789

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>Sig T</u>
Internal Efficacy	.396051	.5152	.00
Media Influence	-.021842	-.0245	.78
Voting Preference	.22729	.2447	.00
Teacher Influence	-.006456	-.0073	.93
Ethnicity	-.054432	-.0290	.72
Parent's Int. Efficacy	.080996	.0757	.41
Living Arrangement	.270634	.1086	.18
SES	.0008	-.0189	.81
Political Encouragement	-.022968	-.0368	.66
Peer Influence	-.210086	-.1423	.09
Religion	.226983	.1195	.15
Gender	-.000846	.0045	.99
Age	.049105	.1622	.08
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	-.049727	-.0578	.54
Political Interest	-.166832	-.2107	.02

Indirect Coefficients from Gender

Gender through Political Interest:

<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
.6474	.2356	.05

Gender through Voting Preference:

<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
-.6315	.2455	.03

Multiplying the standardized coefficients along the paths, and then adding the results $(-.1079) + (-.1419)$, produces an indirect effect of $\beta = -.2498$ of gender on external efficacy. Consistent with the findings from the first wave analyzing *internal* efficacy, these data indicate that females have greater levels of efficacy than do males.

The hypothesis, *that males will possess greater levels of efficacy than will females*, been met with disconfirmation. With regard to *internal efficacy*, the data suggests that females tend to have greater levels, while the analysis of external efficacy suggests the same conclusion based on the third wave of the data. In spite of the fact that the data reveal no relationship in most of the waves, it is clear the data do not support the hypotheses. Therefore, not only must the hypothesis be rejected, the conclusion of the reverse, that *females* tend to have greater levels of efficacy than males should be proposed³.

These findings provide further insight into gender differences in the political field. They suggests that the relationship between political interest and gender may be stable, indicating that females may tend to have a greater interest in politics than do males. Further, one of the time points reveals that an increase in interest lowers levels of external efficacy. This might be

³Please note that the data do suggest patterns between gender and efficacy. However, because of poor significance levels, it is not possible to discuss these patterns.

taken as rudimentary support of DiMaggio's (1982) claim that females must seek greater opportunities in order to realize the same or less capital possessed by males.

ii) Differences in levels of efficacy between males and females will become more pronounced as children age, such that males will have increasingly greater levels of efficacy than females.

The testing of this hypothesis required that the assumptions under path analysis to be briefly stretched in order to allow the construction of an interaction term. This is defensible because the indirect path coefficients leading from this variable were not computed (please see appendix A)⁴. The indirect effects leading from this term to the dependent variable were not analyzed because the interaction term was not statistically significant in all three waves and within both dimensions of efficacy. This suggests that the hypothesis that males will have increasingly greater levels of efficacy as children age must be rejected⁵.

Despite the failure of this hypothesis, age does seem to have an effect on internal and external efficacy--just not within categories of gender. With respect to external efficacy, the effect of age is direct in wave one and three (Fig.4 and Fig.6), having standardized coefficients of $\beta=.1622$ and $\beta=.2136$

⁴If the interaction term turned out to be statistically significant, then the model would have had to have been re-estimated to include this term.

⁵An alternative to the interaction term was attempted, that of merely selecting age-groups from the data, but this method also failed to reveal statistically significant results.

respectively. In wave one, the effect of age is also mediated by the political interest variable (COM), and amounts to $\beta = -.0556$. Therefore the total effect of age on external efficacy in this wave is $(.1622) + (-0.0556) = 0.1066$. With respect to internal efficacy, age exerts an impact in each wave. In every wave the effect is indirect. In the first and second wave, the effect of age passes through the political interest variable and the peer influence variable, producing a coefficient of $\beta = .0618$ in the first, $\beta = .0848$ in the second and $\beta = .0457$ through peer influence in wave three.

Examining the effect of age on the dependent variables allows us to assess Sears (1983) theory of symbolic politics. Sears conceived political attitudes to fall into two divergent categories: symbolic and nonsymbolic. Symbolic political attitudes were characterized by Sears to be affective impressions and ideal conceptions about politics formed early in life that were highly immutable, such as partisanship. Nonsymbolic attitudes were based on a rational process that could be easily influenced. Nonsymbolic attitudes were thought to be more susceptible to external influences, such as election outcomes or changes in social climate. Placing the dimensions of efficacy over Sears' theory, internal efficacy may represent a *symbolic framework*--that is more immutable--and external efficacy may represent a *less symbolic framework*--that which less immutable and susceptible to change. While the literature supports this conceptualization, the data seem to both disconfirm and support Sears theory.

The data are disconfirming in that different slopes in the level of **either** dimensions of efficacy were not revealed when the data were analyzed by cohort. The fact that this might be interpreted as a type of stability in the *symbolic* framework is misleading because symbolic and nonsymbolic frameworks should differ in this regard if Sears is correct--and they do not. However, the data may be supportive of Sears, in that external efficacy seems to be more sensitive to changes in political climate than internal efficacy. This sensitivity was measured by the voting preference variable. In waves one and two, this variable is not a significant predictor of external efficacy. However, in the third wave, after an election year, knowledge of voting preference becomes a significant explanatory factor, where there is no corresponding change with internal efficacy. Therefore, following Alwin and Krosnick (1993) in their appraisal of Sears' theory of political attitudes, this potential support and disconfirmation of the theory suggests that the nature of symbolic politics itself may require reconceptualization before it can be used appropriately as in the study of political socialization.

iii) Fathers will have a greater influence upon childrens' attitudes than will mothers.

Although this hypothesis was one of the most interesting from the researchers point of view, it was also the one which was regarded with greatest trepidation. This is because of the design of the questionnaire and the sampling strategy employed in administering the survey. Both parents

and children were sampled in this representative panel study. However, parents were selected randomly. This means that there was no way of securing the participation of the key socializing parent. Therefore, the testing of this hypothesis is restricted to comparisons of parental influence without knowing if the children themselves regard the parent that filled out the survey as influential--or, in cases of dual parents families, whether both parents had an equal influence⁶. Thus, to definitively argue about the effect of parental influence in based on these findings is not possible as it would likely function to misrepresent the specific roles of the parents in this study.

Attempting to test this hypotheses involved stratifying the data across levels of parent choice to determine the influence of parents' efficacy scores. Similar to the results of the previous cohort analysis, a clear relationship did not appear when the data were analyzed by parent choice. Parent's internal efficacy significantly affected internal efficacy for children that selected the mother as their choice only in the first wave ($\beta=.3664$, significant @ $P=.047$), and neither was it a significant predictor of external efficacy (please see appendix tables B.4-B.6). Similarly, parent's external efficacy also failed to reach significance. For external efficacy, the strongest explanatory variable was consistently the child's *internal efficacy* score which was significant in

⁶Attempts to overcome this difficulty were made by asking the children to state their parent of choice. However, this does not resolve the methodological barriers which prevent the accurate testing of these hypotheses.

⁷Please see appendix table B1

all three waves--a finding which is consistent with the notion common in efficacy literature, that internal efficacy is causally related to external efficacy.

In addition to the failure of the parental efficacy variables, the parental encouragement variable was significant only in the second wave for internal efficacy on those choosing mothers ($\beta=5576$, significant @ $P=.028$). This was not expected. This variable was constructed to measure the level of encouragement parents give their children to seek out information about politics and current events, which would seem to be tied closely to parental influence to learn about political issues. In light of this, it was expected that this variable would be highly influential on both dimensions of efficacy. Although the effect of this variable in wave two is relatively strong and positive, the fact that such an effect is not observed in any other wave suggests that direct parental encouragement to learn about politics is not a relevant predictor of efficacy--regardless of whether children choose mothers or fathers. Therefore, in light of data, the hypothesis that fathers will influence children more than mothers must be rejected.

4.5 The Implications for Validity

The results obtained for both dimensions of efficacy are highly relevant. On an empirical level, the variation in internal efficacy much more difficult to explain when compared to external efficacy. In both cases, however, there is still a substantial proportion of variance that remains

⁸Please see appendix table B.2.

unexplained. Despite this, there are important discoveries which have been revealed by this research. It was stated earlier that the poor ability to predict internal efficacy may be the result of conceptual discontinuity between the way parents and children perceive internal efficacy. Evidence for this may be found in the fact that the literature suggests that higher levels of parents' efficacy are associated with higher levels of childrens' efficacy, yet, the results of this project do not support this notion. If parents' scores on efficacy should be systematically related to childrens' efficacy scores, then the data do not reflect this.

Theoretically, internal efficacy should predict external efficacy quite well. Barring unforeseen factors, if this study has employed valid measures of both internal and external efficacy, then this theoretical prediction should be born out by the data. In this vein, the data show that internal efficacy is the strongest predictor of external efficacy in every wave. This suggests that there is a conceptual fit between internal and external efficacy--potentially indicating that they are valid measures of efficacy. However, the factor analysis revealed variant results, indicating that the measures may be low in reliability. Yet, the difficulties encountered in predicting efficacy, may lie in a conceptual discontinuity between measuring dispositions of adults and the dispositions of children.

Tapping *childrens'* dispositions may involve addressing more salient or topical matters relevant to the experience of children than the indices

currently assess. For example, as nonvoters, children do not have any say whatsoever in the way the government is run. Therefore, children are essentially disenfranchised from participatory democracy, except through indirect avenues such as participation in interest groups for example. Rather than assessing whether children feel they have a say in the functioning of the government, or whether the Prime Minister cares if they write letters to him or her, valid measures of efficacy might revolve around more pragmatic and salient issues in the childrens' life. The task of augmenting the validity of the measures could focus on the child' belief in the responsiveness of the government *in the context of* specific issues in the childs' scope of interest, such as the responsiveness of the government to gang violence, action or stance on abortion, restrictions on driving, drinking alcohol, or smoking. Essentially, the validity of a measure of a concept may be highly dubious when that measure deals with matters outside the experience of those under study.

4.6 Assessing the Utility of the Status-Group

It was hypothesized that status groups with greater legitimacy would possess higher scores on both dimensions of efficacy, and that the effect of status groups would be more apparent on internal efficacy than on external efficacy. The analysis demonstrates this to be mostly true. While the effect of status groups on internal efficacy tend to be indirect, status groups play a stronger role in determining internal efficacy than they do in determining

external efficacy. Although status groups such as gender and age affect levels of external efficacy indirectly in the third wave, the overall effects and explanatory power on the dependent variable are low, compared to internal efficacy. In addition, the appearance of voting preference in the third wave of external efficacy and not in the same wave of internal efficacy suggests that external efficacy is more susceptible to "external factors", while internal efficacy appears to be more resistant to such influences. However, the status group does not appear to offer a distinct advantage in the analysis of dispositions under the habitus. With both dimensions of efficacy, status group variables do not impact upon the dependent variables directly, and do so indirectly only in one wave respectively. This indicates that either Bourdieu's notion of status group, and his theory of habitus, require significant reconceptualization, or that there are formidable impediments which have masked the utility of the theory of status groups. In searching for an answer to this dilemma, it will be instructive to review the theory in light of the theoretical imperatives introduced in chapter two.

4.7 Theoretical Conclusions

In chapter two, three theoretical imperatives were stated. Essentially, they were: i) theory must be capable of explaining consistency of social processes and culture across generations, as well as the strain which may occur between generations (p. 22); ii) theory must account for and shed light upon the evolution of social structure (p. 22); iii) theory must be capable of

balancing the most important requisites posed both by agency and structure (p. 24). This project was not constructed to concretely operationalize these propositions, but to orient this investigation. It is therefore vital that these imperatives be employed in the contextualization of the findings.

Cultural Consistency

In theoretical terms, cultural consistency is manifest as similarities in habitus, social space, legitimacy and distinction. Practically, it is manifest as similarities in dispositions, in approaches to viewing the world, in taste and in manner⁹. The theory understands the persistence of culture in terms of the persistence in the hegemony of dispositions under the habitus which are mediated by the symbolic *domination* of legitimacy. Persistence of culture means the persistence of relations of domination in social space that are internalized as categories of perception in peoples' minds. It has been argued that this domination should be reflected in the acquisition of political efficacy, argued to stand as a proxy to the character of the habitus in the political field. In this regard the analysis of the data pose interesting theoretical quandaries. The data indicate that levels of parental efficacy are not effective predictors of childrens' efficacy. The difficulty arising from this is in attempting to define this apparent conflict, and justify it in terms of cultural consistency. The absence of a relationship between parent and child efficacy may offer support for a *conflict* explanation, that views the child's

⁹Clearly this list is not exhaustive, but reflects the range of possible manifestations.

emerging political outlooks as opposing their parents'. Such an interpretation would seem to disqualify Bourdieu's approach that predicted a similarity in dispositions according to positions in social space. This may be a reality, but there may be alternative explanations that revolve more around the limitations of the data, than around the propriety of the theory.

First, the lack of an observed relationship between parents' and childrens' efficacy may not be indicative of a conflict; while this may point to the *possibility* of conflict, these findings may simply mean that childrens' efficacy could vary in a way current measures of efficacy do not assess. Second, if these findings *are* understood in terms of differences in parent/child efficacy, such differences might be explicable in terms other than conflict. This possibility speaks to the limitations of the measures, in that they could be too blunt to assess the similarities which may exist between parents and children despite differences in efficacy. Support for this may be obtained by examining the social climate of the late 1960's. These times were characterized by a generalized rebellion against the *status quo* by members of the "younger generation". Social analysts remarked that such dissonance reflected a broader malaise heralded by a degeneration of traditional mores governing good citizenship, sexuality, and social acceptability of conduct. Indeed, it is doubtful if there has been another period in history which has been characterized by such a great deal of apparent generational conflict. However, closer examination reveals that a great deal of cultural consistency

abounded within this "apprehended generational conflict"; much of the cultural dissonance observed in this period can be understood in terms of broadly held "democratic" values. Many researchers have now come to understand the apparent conflict of the 60's as a manifestation of the democratic values that were thought to be so frequently contravened. Thus, it is possible to have variations, and even opposition in dispositions and maintain consistency at the root of the dispositions. This means that if the lack of relationship between parents and childrens efficacy is understood to reflect a difference, this difference could possibly be a reflection of the habitus which is instilled from parent to child--not constituting a change in culture. In other words, observed differences might be superficial and function to mask more deep seated commonalities.

Despite the intuitive appeal of this argument, there is a fundamental limitation of it, in that it cannot be tested with this data. To test this assertion, social position, domination, and legitimacy are key factors that must be measured empirically; only differences in these areas could definitively point to possible discontinuities or similarities of the habitus. As it stands, the present analysis can only stand as a preliminary starting point for such research; that differences may be suggested, but that are not clearly manifest can be supported, and used as the basis of further research. This limitation also stands as evidence of the utility of efficacy as a proxy for dispositions under the habitus. The notion that efficacy may be located as a

disposition under the habitus may not be disputed. However, these findings do speak to the difficulties involved in predicting such a complicated and deep seated orientation, based on abstracted and *global variables*. To fully apprehend the nature of this disposition and the role it plays in struggles over legitimacy, attention must be paid not only to the mundane *duree* in which these orientations are inculcated, but to the specific fields in which this orientation is used to effect and employ capital.

Social Change

Closely related to the cultural consistency, the theory of habitus promotes understanding of social change in terms of the quest for advancement. Actors that continually strive to improve their location in social space, to achieve a sense of legitimacy, social space is re-oriented in light of these successes and failures. Again, one of the major problems in addressing social change in this project comes from the difficulty justifying the objective social space people *are seen* to occupy, and the space they subjectively occupy in practice. Essentially, to draw broad conclusions based solely on demographic characteristics is to deny the fact that people may perceive their location in social space quite differently in the practice of the real world. To draw such conclusions would be to contravene one of the most important rules of Bourdieu's sociology, that of reflexivity; to apply the act of sociological investigation to the act of investigation itself, is to recognize the potential for abstraction and of the risk for diluting the

importance of subjective understanding with the sterile jargon of sociological discourse.

Despite this indictment, this project has implications for social change. This project has endeavoured to focus on the influence of gender on efficacy and on exploring the problem of generations; the few time points of this panel data have provided only a rudimentary picture of what possible changes might occur over time. However, the present analysis has done little in it self to further an understanding of social change, but there have been important discoveries that have accompanied it. The most important of which revolves around the recognition of a new problematic.

The *problem of generations*, posed by Mannheim is an important point of inquiry in socialization research because it necessitates the investigation into one of the most basic and interesting issues in sociology: that of social order. A similar problematic has emerged through this project. The problematic arises when attempting to justify the objective probabilities for social mobility through social fields with the subjective desire for advancement. In speaking on how the habitus orients human action, Bourdieu avoids the creation of a deterministic theory by situating action within a struggle for human action in which the probabilities for advancement are never zero, and that the privilege of legitimacy, which harboured by certain groups, is never irrevocably endowed. Thus, Bourdieu builds in an avenue for social change through the quest for advancement,

and avoids creating a deterministic calculus of human action. However, this avenue for advancement does pose an interesting problem for the notion of order, akin to Manheim's *problem of generations*. In short, the problem is: how can a model of social change be based upon chance deviations from essentially deterministic dispositions of the habitus? While this may appear as a reduction of Bourdieu, it is not. Bourdieu clearly argues that habitus is created from the conditions of its inception, the social space it currently occupies and views the perpetuation of existing positioning as the result of a pedagogic action of mundane daily processes; the structure of legitimacy is inculcated by the oppressed and the oppressors because it is a generally held belief. The challenge of adopting this framework lies in understanding the tension produced by advancement, and in explaining how the system of oppression can be upheld in spite of advancement--how can people acquire new dispositions, replacing older more *illegitimate* ones, without resulting in the most brief introspective glance at the oppressive nature of the new dispositions?

The present study does not permit investigation into this *problem of legitimacy*, but it does offer suggestions of how such a project might be conducted. First, the role of subjective understanding of social position and of legitimacy must be explored. This study offers some evidence for specifically oriented categories of perception which may stand as a starting point for more qualitative investigations into the ways people experience

legitimacy in practice. Such would be justifiable, for even Bourdieu does not fully explore the ways people come to understand and experience legitimacy in the context of advancement except to say that it is viewed as a function of personal aptitude rather than as a function of systemic imperatives. The point is that legitimacy must be experienced as more than a vague notion of competence if boundaries between the dominant and dominated are as real as Bourdieu claims--regardless of how they are perceived. Only by exploring the perception of legitimacy can the application of capital, the construction of social space, be understood in a truly reflexive manner.

Agency vs. Structure

The issue of agency vs. structure is the most difficult to satisfy. The greatest impediment comes from defending the use of a highly quantitative data set which has not permitted the collection of the qualitative data necessary to completely fulfil the obligations to this theoretical requirement. However, it is believed that a sensitivity to this imperative has served to critique various aspects of this project, and aid in providing plausible suggestions for further research. The most important of which is the need for qualitative data that examines the subjective experiences of individuals as knowledgeable actors situated in struggles for distinction. The objective and structural counterpart to such a study, to which this project has attempted to aspire, is not without its merit; each approach possesses both strengths and weaknesses which are complimentary to that of the other. When these

approaches are combined, the result should be a comprehensive and reflexive investigation into the heart of human action.

4.8 Justifying the Theory of Habitus

If the ideal in social research is to garner overwhelming support either for or against a premise, then this project has not attained this goal. What has been accomplished is an apparent disconfirmation the theory. At best, the lack of conclusive evidence demonstrates that the theory of habitus does not serve as a useful tool for understanding gender differences; at worst, the data indicate that the theory simply incorrect: the finding that females possess more adept or *legitimate* habitus than males suggests a discontinuity between the theory and the lived experience the participants. These findings are provocative. However, I do not believe that the theory of habitus is without merit. Successful applications of the theory of habitus in the context of gender studies has given support to the types of hypotheses generated in this project (Dimaggio, 1982). The conclusions drawn from this project should not consist in a refutation of the theory--even in spite the findings contrary to what was predicted.

In spite of the results of this project, it is my contention that the theory of habitus can offer great insights into the reproduction of inequalities in society, and into the study of gender inequalities specifically. However, the acceptance of the theory does not go unquestioned, nor is it intended to explain away the findings in this study; the findings of this project stand as

warning lights that may indicate serious problems with the testability, and applicability of habitus in gender research. This project has made the researcher highly cognizant of the potential shortcomings of the theory as it has been used in this project, and has functioned to generate some valuable insights on how further research could improve upon the testing of habitus.

4.9 Suggestions for Further Research

In spite of the faith of the researcher, it is clear that, either, technical problems have suppressed the successful testing of an accurate theory, or, the theory has failed and requires reformulation. Several methodological and technical weaknesses have already been discussed. In fairness, however, it is likely that these shortcomings are not totally responsible for the observed ambiguities and contraventions of the theory. It is therefore vital that the potential weaknesses of the theory be examined so that future studies of the theory of habitus will yield a greater degree of clarity. To this end, there are two central issues.

The first issue revolves around the practicality of basing a project around habitus. While Bourdieu *does* offer an attractive calculus for the systematic understanding of social action, there is a difficulty with **using** habitus empirically--especially with aggregate data that are not supported by qualitative data. The problem stems from the fact that habitus is a *global variable*, in the sense that it is comprised of a vast number of elements. As Bourdieu claims, the habitus is formed through mundane socialization

factors in conjunction with individual aptitude and the initial conditions in which an individual was reared. By this, Bourdieu essentially states that the habitus is created and perpetuated by everything in human experience. While Bourdieu may not be wrong in this estimation, empirically, this makes habitus exceedingly difficult to operationalize; not only does the formation of habitus occur on three separate levels, but nothing can be automatically excluded as a non-relevant influence upon the habitus. Because almost anything in human experience could be a relevant factor in the determination of habitus an empirical assessment of habitus is prone to measurement error due to the omission of potentially relevant causal factors. This potential shortcoming may be particularly relevant in project, such as this, which do not allow for the addition of indicators, or for the contextualization of the findings with descriptive data. Technical issues aside, Bourdieu's formulation of habitus also poses conceptual difficulties.

The conceptual problems with habitus stem from Bourdieu's emphasis of the reflexive process in which habitus is situated. Habitus is steeped in a reflexive process which involves the play of structural forces and subjective action on one another, producing a simultaneous reformulation of habitus and of social structure. It is this reflexivity that poses great empirical difficulties. This is because it is virtually impossible to know where to begin one's research within this recursive cycle. This is problematic, not only in terms of causality, but because it is

incommensurable with the linear nature of empirical research; if it is the reflexive process itself which is paramount, then the abstraction of individual elements involved in this process cannot be relevant in addressing the process as a whole. This is not to say there is no value in an empirical investigation into the habitus. However, it is to acknowledge that it is something different to study the component parts of habitus in order to gain an understanding of the kinds of elements involved in the construction of habitus, than it is to employ an analysis on these elements as *substitutes* for habitus. In this case, it is likely that the whole is greater than the sum of its' parts.

The second difficulty with the theory of habitus might stem from the suitability of the study population. Bourdieu's theory of habitus was developed primarily through studies of French society. Ideally, social theory should transcend cultural and territorial boundaries. However, the problem with the theory of habitus may be that social divisions, classification schemes, and methods of distinction in Canada may not be commensurable with those of Parisian society; having never had a formal class system or an aristocratic society, Canada may employ different rules and strategies than are employed in France--even small cultural variables such as language and demographics could confound the application of Bourdieu's theory in a Canadian context. This is not to argue that the theory of habitus has no application outside of French culture. However, this could indicate that any

application of the theory of habitus must be reconceptualized if it can be applied successfully.

The process of reconceptualizing habitus would have to begin by testing for the cultural specificity of the theory. Such research would seek to uncover whether the criteria of legitimacy varies significantly between cultures. If differences do exist, the task would then be to find out if the broad framework of habitus is suited to cultures that diverge from French culture. This research would focus primarily on the specific relationship between social space and legitimacy, as well as examine how the use and acquisition of capital is produced and implicated in this relationship. Further, quantitative methods would first have to be employed, in order to deconstruct the habitus, revealing its component parts. This would then provide the basis for a subject-oriented qualitative analysis that would determine the nature of the recursive cycle of habitus. It is likely that this qualitative component would be the more difficult of the two, and would consist of two stages.

The first stage of this research would focus on how individuals perceive themselves as members of status groups. Bourdieu is clear that status groups need to be defined in terms of the subjective experiences of status group members and not by abstracted demographic characteristics¹⁰. However, Bourdieu does not sufficiently *reveal* the subjective process that

¹⁰The present analysis seems to confirm this assertion, as no discernable links were found between status group characteristics and the ways individuals are socialize to acquire efficacy.

gives rise to individual perceptions of belonging to a status group. This analysis would seek to uncover the decision making processes that individuals undergo to allow them to think of themselves as members of status groups.

From this first stage, this research would move to uncover the subjective implications of changes in status group affiliation, in social space and in habitus. Bourdieu states that the drive for advancement, for *distinction*, is an inherent aspect of the human character. Yet, Bourdieu does not provide a subjective account of how people come to change. This research would strive to answer the question posed by Bourdieu's reasoning: if individuals perceive status group divisions across a number of demographic variables, does a change in social position necessarily lead to a change of status group? To this end, research would attempt to track people as they climb the ladder of legitimacy, documenting any changes in *taste* and corresponding strategic action, to see if individuals truly internalize the symbolic structure of legitimacy as they ascend.

4.10 Concluding Remarks

This project has endeavoured to weave a comprehensive theoretical approach with secondary data in order to uncover basic differences in the socialization of political outlooks. Arguing that dimensions of efficacy stand as generative structures in the production of political outlooks, an attempt has been made to establish efficacy as a proxy measure of dispositions under

the habitus in the political field. The results obtained are both encouraging and daunting at the same time; limited support was obtained for some status group based similarities, but other evidence pointed to no differences in the effect of status group on political outlooks.

Studies of this kind are useful in a period when widespread cultural communication has increased the circulation of symbols, culture, and methods of distinction. The fast paced world of the information highway may be only the beginning in a rapidly expanding world of information that will accelerate and broaden this circulation. The implications of these new mediums for students of social change and order are unending, and the possibility that studies of social order will be conducted on a global scale seems more and more plausible. This possibility for rapid and wide-spread change offers a significant challenge to students of social change, and only restates the continual importance of research into the processes of socialization. In this faced pace context, the theory of habitus, and the calculus for understanding human action which it provides can serve as a valuable tool for understanding these processes and for emphasizing the importance of the sociological imagination in an increasingly complex world.

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Appendix A

TABLE A.1 Wave One: Testing for the Effects of Interaction Terms on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.2843	.5930	.55
Ethnicity	-1.076	-.3665	.16
SES	-.0037	-.0617	.82
Teacher Influence	.0221	.0178	.93
Peer Influence	-1.033	-.4719	.05
Religion	-.7904	-.2762	.26
Gender	-4.185	-1.425	.26
Media Influence	-.1255	-.1068	.69
Living Arrangement	-.8498	-.1503	.56
Political Encouragement	-.1589	-.1852	.34
Parent's Efficacy	.6685	.6192	.60
Political Interest	.2063	.2099	.47
Voting Preference	-.1874	-.1483	.55
Gender x Age	.3391	1.528	.24
Parent Eff. x Age	-.0927	-1.537	.34

TABLE A.2 Wave Two: Testing for Interaction Terms on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.1119	.2281	.71
Ethnicity	.2677	.0942	.48
SES	.0062	.0203	.95
Teacher Influence	-.0170	-.0119	.92
Peer Influence	.0973	.0434	.72
Religion	.0780	.0274	.83
Gender	-3.217	-1.076	.12
Media Influence	.2601	.2373	.06
Living Arrangement	-.6539	-.1658	.24
Political Encouragement	.3805	.4348	.00
Parent's Efficacy	.0604	.0464	.93
Political Interest	.1791	.1735	.21
Voting Preference	.0015	.0010	.99
Gender x Age	.2092	1.041	.14
Age x Parent's Efficacy	.0001	.0025	.99

TABLE A.3 Wave Three: Testing for the Effect of Interaction Terms on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.3754	.9713	.32
Ethnicity	.3222	.1287	.45
SES	-.0045	-.0724	.71
Teacher Influence	-.1245	-.0981	.60
Peer Influence	.4439	.1806	.43
Religion	.0855	.0323	.88
Gender	-.0686	-.0271	.98
Media Influence	.0279	.0289	.89
Living Arrangement	1.042	.1751	.47
Political Encouragement	-.0920	-.1061	.62
Parent's Efficacy	1.308	1.064	.25
Political Interest	.3491	.3096	.13
Voting Preference	.3223	.2454	.21
Gender x Age	-.0117	-.0717	.96
Parent Eff. x Age	-.0830	-1.626	.29

TABLE A.4 Wave One: Testing for the Effects of Interaction Terms on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.2795	.6618	.21
Ethnicity	.1484	.0628	.58
SES	.0047	.0941	.44
Teacher Influence	.1838	.1798	.09
Peer Influence	-.1869	-.0965	.36
Religion	-.5073	-.2196	.05
Gender	-.1667	-.0705	.90
Media Influence	.0168	.0147	.90
Living Arrangement	.2046	.0627	.61
Political Encouragement	-.1023	-.1156	.29
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.8733	-.9793	.26
Political Interest	-.0352	-.0404	.75
Voting Preference	-.1025	-.0918	.46
Internal Efficacy	.4128	.5731	.00
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	1.342	1.307	.11
Gender x Age	.0164	.0953	.86
Parent's Int. Eff x Age	.0552	1.090	.31
Parent's Ext. Eff. x Age	-.1023	-1.852	.17

TABLE A.5 Wave Two: Testing for the Effects of Interaction Terms on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.0241	-.0989	.67
Ethnicity	-.0682	-.0423	.83
SES	.0078	.1444	.57
Teacher Influence	-.2916	-.3563	.13
Peer Influence	.1175	.0888	.61
Religion	-.3375	-.2017	.33
Gender	.4783	.2426	.28
Media Influence	.0074	.0134	.94
Living Arrangement	-.3109	-.0983	.68
Political Encouragement	.1218	.2656	.94
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.3763	-.5247	.05
Political Interest	.0794	.1418	.44
Voting Preference	-.0548	-.0686	.81
Gender x Age	-.0508	-.0354	.78
Parent's Int. Eff x Age	-.0920	-.0884	.74
Parent's Ext. Eff. X Age	.0774	.1034	.65

TABLE A.6 Wave Three: Testing for the Effects of Interaction Terms for External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficients</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age			
Ethnicity	.1504	.4968	.39
SES	-.0256	-.0137	.87
Teacher Influence	.0069	-.0164	.84
Peer Influence	-.0134	-.0153	.86
Religion	-.2877	-.1949	.03
Gender	.1186	.0624	.47
Media Influence	1.012	.5439	.19
Living Arrangement	-.0197	-.0222	.80
Political	.3310	.1328	.12
Encouragement	-.0309	-.0495	.57
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.5162	-.6007	.16
Political Interest	-.1572	-.1985	.04
Voting Preference	.2786	.3001	.00
Internal Efficacy	.3280	.5179	.00
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.8579	.8023	.12
Gender x Age	-.0745	-.6074	.15
Parent's Int. Eff x Age	.0339	.9144	.17
Parent's Ext. Eff. x Age	-.0547	-1.143	.14

Appendix B

TABLE B.1 Wave One: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Mothers on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.1550	-.2368	.15
Ethnicity	2.072	.6019	.00
SES	.0076	.1019	.54
Teacher Influence	.0193	.0126	.93
Peer Influence	.1018	.0335	.83
Religion	-1.170	-.3429	.04
Gender	-1.805	-.5243	.00
Media Influence	-.0600	-.0300	.87
Living Arrangement	1.823	.4399	.03
Political Encouragement	.2851	.1633	.30
Parent's Efficacy	.4815	.3664	.04
Political Interest	-.0602	-.0430	.79
Voting Preference	-.8229	-.4693	.01

TABLE B.2 Wave Two: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Mothers on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>b coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P Value</u>
Age	.279948	.1099	.022
Parent's Internal Efficacy	-.024134	-.2001	.905
Voting Preference	.269132	.2450	.289
Political Encouragement	.455936	.1361	.004
Media Influence	.258294	.1667	.142
SES	.002866	.0103	.78
Teacher Influence	.150778	.1884	.436
Ethnicity	-.088622	-.4242	.837
Living Arrangement	-.71969	-.4583	.137
Peer Influence	-.482161	-.2875	.114
Religion	.753087	.4686	.128
Gender	.557849	.4742	.257
Political Interest	-.33127	-.1852	.094

TABLE B.3 Wave Three: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Mothers on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0153	.0383	.81
Ethnicity	.0344	.0144	.92
SES	.0062	.1213	.40
Teacher Influence	.0455	.0433	.78
Peer Influence	.1087	.0633	.66
Religion	-.1219	-.0510	.72
Gender	-.0496	-.0208	.88
Media Influence	.1814	.1327	.41
Living Arrangement	.1969	.0721	.60
Political Encouragement	.0834	.1088	.45
Parent's Efficacy	-.1217	-.1141	.44
Political Interest	.0743	.0737	.65
Voting Preference	-.0362	-.0316	.83

TABLE B.4 Wave One: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Fathers on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.1143	-.2385	.34
Ethnicity	-.9856	-.3357	.19
SES	-.0153	-.2521	.27
Teacher Influence	-.0151	-.0122	.95
Peer Influence	-1.008	-.4307	.05
Religion	-1.063	-.3715	.12
Gender	.0692	.0236	.91
Media Influence	-.1295	-.1102	.68
Living Arrangement	-.2488	-.0440	.85
Political Encouragement	-.2008	-.2339	.23
Parent's Efficacy	-.4977	-.4609	.07
Political Interest	.2402	.2445	.39
Voting Preference	-.2703	-.2139	.37

TABLE B.5 Wave Two: Testing for the Effect of Parent Choice--Fathers Only

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0789	.1707	.54
Ethnicity	.5983	.1962	.40
SES	-.0069	-.0675	.32
Teacher Influence	-.3526	-.2274	.82
Peer Influence	.2041	.0815	.91
Religion	-.0815	-.0257	.22
Gender	-1.148	-.3076	.21
Media Influence	.2310	.2213	.33
Living Arrangement	.2195	.0367	.84
Political Encouragement	.2144	.2467	.89
Parent's Efficacy	.0575	.0423	.38
Political Interest	.2823	.2661	.85
Voting Preference	.0985	.0648	.67

TABLE B.6 Wave Three: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Fathers on Internal Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.0170	-.0441	.83
Ethnicity	.3565	.1424	.39
SES	-.0035	-.0568	.76
Teacher Influence	-.0735	-.0579	.75
Peer Influence	.3872	.1575	.44
Religion	-.1066	-.0403	.83
Gender	-.3129	-.1238	.50
Media Influence	-.0159	-.0165	.93
Living Arrangement	1.587	.2667	.23
Political Encouragement	-.1371	-.1581	.41
Parent's Efficacy	.1402	.1141	.56
Political Interest	.3458	.3066	.12
Voting Preference	.3333	.2537	.16

TABLE B.7 Wave One: Testing for the Effects of Choosing Mothers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0697	.1644	.32
Ethnicity	-.3419	-.1533	.42
SES	.0082	.1693	.33
Teacher Influence	.3241	.3260	.05
Peer Influence	-.2199	-.1118	.49
Religion	-.2016	-.0912	.58
Gender	.1243	.0557	.78
Media Influence	-.0480	-.0371	.84
Living Arrangement	-.4369	-.1627	.46
Political Encouragement	.0635	.0561	.72
Parent's Int. Efficacy	.1435	.1685	.51
Political Interest	-.2206	-.2433	.15
Voting Preference	-.2656	-.2338	.25
Internal Efficacy	.4221	.6582	.00
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	-.1394	-.1658	.54

TABLE B.8 Wave Two: Testing for Effects of Choosing Mothers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.0027	-.0042	.99
Ethnicity	.2331	.0773	.77
SES	-.0022	-.0276	.91
Teacher Influence	.3173	.2144	.43
Peer Influence	-.2165	-.0958	.70
Religion	.7626	.2528	.40
Gender	.3603	.1195	.70
Media Influence	-.2723	-.2027	.41
Living Arrangement	.4562	.1302	.65
Political Encouragement	-.3586	.1104	.25
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.8017	-.5740	.17
Political Interest	.0494	.0423	.90
Voting Preference	.1778	.1104	.74
Internal Efficacy	.4160	.3709	.29
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.7543	.6262	.22

TABLE B.9 Wave Three: Testing for Effects of Choosing Mothers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.0163	-.0513	.71
Ethnicity	-.1606	-.0851	.47
SES	-.0033	-.0807	.50
Teacher Influence	-.0602	-.0723	.57
Peer Influence	-.2267	-.1664	.17
Religion	.2806	.1482	.21
Gender	.1208	.0641	.60
Media Influence	-.0819	-.0756	.56
Living Arrangement	.0871	.0403	.72
Political Encouragement	-.0278	-.0459	.70
Parent's Int. Efficacy	.0694	.0821	.56
Political Interest	-.1464	-.1832	.17
Voting Preference	.3406	.3751	.00
Internal Efficacy	.3768	.5726	.00
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.0718	.0638	.64

TABLE B.10 Wave One: Testing for Effects of Choosing Fathers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficients</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.1207	.2871	.27
Ethnicity	.0688	.0266	.92
SES	.0030	.0570	.81
Teacher Influence	.0598	.0549	.80
Peer Influence	-.0098	-.0051	.98
Religion	-.3354	-.1336	.59
Gender	.2184	.0847	.71
Media Influence	.1078	.1047	.70
Living Arrangement	.7560	.1518	.57
Political Encouragement	-.1799	-.2389	.24
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.1916	-.2022	.51
Political Interest	-.0297	-.0345	.91
Voting Preference	-.0662	-.0597	.81
Internal Efficacy	.4056	.4704	.06
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	-.0658	-.0461	.85

TABLE B.11 Wave Two: Testing for the Effects of Choosing Fathers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	-.0241	-.0989	.67
Ethnicity	-.0682	-.0423	.83
SES	.0078	.1444	.57
Teacher Influence	-.2916	-.3563	.13
Peer Influence	.1175	.0888	.61
Religion	-.3375	-.2017	.33
Gender	.4783	.2426	.28
Media Influence	.0074	.0134	.94
Living Arrangement	-.3109	-.0983	.68
Political Encouragement	.1218	.2656	.94
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.3763	-.5247	.05
Political Interest	.0794	.1418	.44
Voting Preference	-.0548	-.0686	.81
Internal Efficacy	.2355	.4461	.05
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.0774	.1034	.65

TABLE B.12 Wave Three: Testing for the Effect of Choosing Fathers on External Efficacy

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B coefficient</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>P value</u>
Age	.0761	.2616	.17
Ethnicity	-.0442	-.0235	.88
SES	-.0031	-.0676	.69
Teacher Influence	-.0328	-.0343	.83
Peer Influence	-.2849	-.1541	.42
Religion	.0022	.0012	.99
Gender	-.2551	-.1341	.44
Media Influence	.0831	.1142	.54
Living Arrangement	1.240	.2769	.17
Political Encouragement	-.1055	-.1616	.36
Parent's Int. Efficacy	-.1489	-.1610	.39
Political Interest	-.1151	-.1356	.47
Voting Preference	.2095	.2119	.21
Internal Efficacy	.3393	.5287	.00
Parent's Ext. Efficacy	.0695	.0688	.69

Appendix C

Coding Strategy

VARIABLE	TYPE	REFERENCE CATEGORY OR DESCRIPTION
Gender	dummy	Male
SES	continuous	Composed of Education, Family Income, and Occupational Prestige
Ethnicity	dummy	Canadian
Religion	dummy	Catholic
Living Arrangement	dummy	Dual Parent Families
Internal Efficacy	continuous	Composed of understanding of government, degree to which citizens have a say, demonstrating and striking
External Efficacy	continuous	Composed of writing the prime minister and degree to which citizens have a say
Parental Encouragement	continuous	Composed of six variables measuring extent to which parents discuss issues political issues with children, how tax money is spent, and how to change the government
Interest in Politics	continuous	Composed of four variables that measure the degree to which children talk about politics with parents, discuss political problems with their parents, whether they read about politics and discuss the problems of the country with friends
Peer Influence	continuous	A single variable that measures how much children learn about politics from friends
Teacher Influence	continuous	A single variable that measures how much children learn about politics from their teachers
Voting Preference	continuous	Lower scores represent more socialist party preferences, higher scores represent more conservative party preferences
Media Influence	continuous	Composed of four variables that

measure the degree to which children
learn about politics through T.V.,
radio, newspapers and magazines

Appendix D

TABLE D.1 *Bivariate Relationships Between Gender and Efficacy*

INTERNAL EFFICACY

Wave One

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.337	1.385	.144
Males	5.5263	1.383	.142

F=.066 P=.797

Wave Two

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.5934	1.238	.130
Males	5.5842	1.451	.144

F=2.201 P=.140

Wave Three

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.7053	1.287	.132
Males	5.7935	1.134	.118

F=2.378 P=.125

EXTERNAL EFFICACY

Wave One

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.163	1.216	.127
Males	5.383	1.237	.128

F=.756 P=.386

Wave Two

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.6742	1.146	.121
Males	5.3168	1.086	.108

F=.002 P=.961

Wave Three

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Standard Error of Mean</u>
Females	5.5171	.920	.094
Males	5.6044	1.031	.108

F=1.109 P=.294