

Political Socialization: A Cross National Comparison

by James W. Kolka

B. S., Wisconsin State University at Eau Claire, 1960

J. D., University of Wisconsin, 1963

Professor in Charge

Herman D. Lujan

Committee Members

John G. Grumm

Robert D. Tomasek

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: A CROSS
NATIONAL COMPARISON

JAMES W. KOLKA

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: A CROSS NATIONAL
COMPARISON

by

James W. Kolka

B.S., Wisconsin State University at Eau Claire, 1960

J.D., University of Wisconsin, 1963

Submitted to the Department of
Political Science and the Faculty
of the Graduate School of the
University of Kansas in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:

Herman D. Lujan
Chairman

James G. Gorman

Robert D. Tomasek

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his debt of gratitude to the many persons who contributed to the furtherance of this investigation. In particular, I want to thank my advisor, Professor Herman D. Lujan, for his suggestion that a pilot study be undertaken and for his helpful guidance from the inception to the completion of this study. I want to thank the other members of the committee, Professor John G. Grumm, Professor Robert D. Tomasek, Professor J. Eldon Fields, and Professor Duane S. Knos for their counsel and encouragement at the different stages of this investigation.

I owe a special thanks to the Ford Foundation for providing two summers of experience in empirical research in Central America and for permitting the author to gain the necessary skills to undertake an investigation of this magnitude.

I want to thank the Graduate School of the University of Kansas for providing financial assistance to complete the Canadian portion of this study and for granting the author a dissertation fellowship to complete the analysis and writing of this dissertation.

This investigation would not have been possible without the permission and cooperation of education officials

in the four countries chosen for analysis.

In Canada, I want to thank Mr. J. O. Lees, Superintendent of Public Schools, Fort William, Ontario, for permission to use Fort William as a test site and his kind assistance in arranging a testing schedule.

In the United States, I want to thank Dr. Robert Ramsey, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Lawrence Unified School District No. 497, Lawrence, Kansas, for permission to use Lawrence as a test site and his letter of introduction to the school personnel of the district.

In Costa Rica, I want to thank Lic. Guillermo Malavassi Vargas, Ministro de Educación Pública for permission to use Cartago as a test site. I also want to thank Don Luis Alfonso Arguedas A., Asesor General de Segunda Enseñanza, Ministerio de Educación Pública for assistance in developing the questionnaire, Professor Milton Clarke Binns, Universidad de Costa Rica for his evaluation of the questionnaire, and Lic. Rodrigo Fournier whose warm friendship and perceptive evaluation contributed to the successful completion of this stage of the investigation. For assistance in obtaining permission and distributing the questionnaire, I owe a special debt of gratitude to John and Alicia Helwig.

In Nicaragua, I want to thank Profesora Eva Castellón Barreto, La Inspección Departamental de Educación Pública de León for permission to use León as a test site

and for her assistance in arranging a testing schedule. I also want to thank Dr. Mariano Fiallos, Decano, Facultad de Ciencias y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua, whose friendship and assistance was invaluable in completing this stage of the investigation.

For putting these handwritten labors into readable form, I want to thank Phyllis McEldowney, a most patient friend, typist, and proofreader.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, whose understanding and encouragement made an aspiration a reality.

To Mary Ellen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Development of the Field of Political Socialization	1
Political Socialization Theory	26
II. RESEARCH DESIGN	50
Objectives	50
Questionnaire	55
Operational Definitions	59
Hypotheses	65
III. CANADA	75
Image of Authority	77
Knowledge of Authority	81
Political Judgment	87
Political Efficacy	93
Spatial Perception	99
Party Identification	106
Political Perception	110
Summary for the Canadian Sample	116
IV. UNITED STATES	127
Image of Authority	129
Knowledge of Authority	134
Political Judgment	139
Political Efficacy	145
Spatial Perception	153
Party Identification	161
Political Perception	164
Summary for the American Sample	168

Chapter	Page
V. COSTA RICA	181
Knowledge of Authority	184
Political Judgment	187
Political Efficacy	192
Spatial Perception	198
Party Identification	207
Political Perception	210
Summary for the Costa Rican Sample	213
VI. NICARAGUA	226
Knowledge of Authority	228
Political Judgment	233
Political Efficacy	238
Spatial Perception	246
Party Identification	258
Political Perception	263
Summary for the Nicaraguan Sample	268
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	281
Academic Aptitude	282
School Peer Group	287
Socio-economic Status	291
Sex	297
Party Identification	302
Knowledge of Authority	310
Political Judgment	311
Image of Authority	312
Political Efficacy	312
Spatial Perception	312
Political Perception	313
Conclusions	314
APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRES	329
APPENDIX B: CODED QUESTIONNAIRES	356
APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE IN PER CENT	381
APPENDIX D: POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE	404
BIBLIOGRAPHY	425

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Images of Authority in Per Cent	78
2. Knowledge of Political Leaders in Per Cent, A.	81
3. Knowledge of Political Leaders in Per Cent, B.	83
4. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B.	85
5. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B.	86
6. Political Judgments in Per Cent	88
7. Sex X Judgment	92
8. Political Efficacy in Per Cent	95
9. School Peer Group X Efficacy	98
10. Political Unit Description in Per Cent	102
11. Collapsed Spatial Perception Table	102
12. Academic Aptitude X Spatial Perception	104
13. School Peer Group X Spatial Perception	105
14. Party Identification in Per Cent	107
15. Child's Party ID X Friends, Father, Mother	108
16. Political Perception--Analysis of Variance	112
17. Knowledge of Political Leaders	115
18. Knowledge of Political Problems	115
19. Image of Authority in Per Cents	130
20. Knowledge of Political Leaders in Per Cent, A.	134
21. Knowledge of Political Leaders in Per Cent, B.	136

Table	Page
22. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B	138
23. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B	138
24. Political Judgments in Per Cent	140
25. School Peer Group X Judgment	142
26. SES X Judgment	143
27. Political Efficacy in Per Cent	147
28. Academic Aptitude X Efficacy	148
29. School Peer Group X Efficacy	149
30. SES X Efficacy	151
31. Sex X Efficacy	151
32. Political Unit Description in Per Cent	155
33. Collapsed Spatial Perception Table	155
34. Academic Aptitude X Spatial Perception	158
35. School Peer Group X Spatial Perception	158
36. SES X Spatial Perception	159
37. Party Identification in Per Cent	161
38. Child's Party ID X Friends, Father, Mother	163
39. Political Perception--Analysis of Variance	166
40. Knowledge of Political Leaders	168
41. Academic Aptitude: Strength of Relationship.	172
42. School Peer Group: Strength of Relationship.	173
43. Socio-Economic Status: Strength of Relationship	173
44. Sex: Strength of Relationship	174

Table	Page
45. Knowledge of Political Leaders in Per Cent . . .	185
46. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, A	186
47. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B	186
48. Political Judgments in Per Cent	188
49. Political Efficacy in Per Cent, A	193
50. Political Efficacy in Per Cent, B	194
51. School Peer Group X Efficacy	195
52. Political Unit Description in Per Cent, A . . .	199
53. Political Unit Description in Per Cent, B . . .	201
54. Collapsed Spatial Perception Table	201
55. Academic Aptitude X Spatial Perception	203
56. School Peer Group X Spatial Perception	204
57. SES X Spatial Perception	205
58. Sex X Spatial Perception	205
59. Party Identification in Per Cent	208
60. Child's Party ID X Friends, Father, Mother . . .	209
61. Political Perception--Analysis of Variance . . .	212
62. Academic Aptitude: Strength of Relationship . . .	216
63. School Peer Group: Strength of Relationship . . .	217
64. Socio-Economic Status: Strength of Relationship	217
65. Sex: Strength of Relationship	218
66. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, A	230

Table	Page
67. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, A	231
68. Knowledge of Political Institutions in Per Cent, B	231
69. Political Judgments in Per Cent	234
70. School Peer Group X Judgment	236
71. SES X Judgment	237
72. Sex X Efficacy	237
73. Political Efficacy in Per Cent, A	239
74. Political Efficacy in Per Cent, B	240
75. Academic Aptitude X Efficacy	241
76. School Peer Group X Efficacy	242
77. SES X Efficacy	244
78. Sex X Efficacy	244
79. Political Unit Description in Per Cent, A	247
80. Political Unit Description in Per Cent, B	249
81. Collapsed Spatial Perception Table	249
82. Academic Aptitude X Spatial Perception	253
83. School Peer Group X Spatial Perception	254
84. SES X Spatial Perception	255
85. Sex X Spatial Perception	256
86. Party Identification in Per Cent	259
87. Child's Party ID X Friends, Mother, Father	261
88. Political Perception--Analysis of Variance	265
89. The Nicaraguan Congress	267

Table	Page
90. Political Efficacy	267
91. Academic Aptitude: Strength of Relationship . .	271
92. School Peer Group: Strength of Relationship . .	271
93. Socio-Economic Status: Strength of Relationship.	272
94. Sex: Strength of Relationship	273
95. Academic Aptitude: Strength of Relationship . .	283
96. School Peer Group: Strength of Relationship . .	288
97. Socio-Economic Status: Strength of Relationship.	292
98. Sex: Strength of Relationship	298
99. Party Identification in Per Cent	304
100. Child's Party ID X Father, Mother, Friends . . .	306
101. Difference Between Political Parties in Per Cent	309
102. Political Perception Scores For All Countries .	313
103. Academic Aptitude X Socio-Economic Status . . .	324
104. Academic Aptitude: Treatment Table	407
105. Academic Aptitude: Summary Table	407
106. Socio-Economic Status: Treatment Table	407
107. Socio-Economic Status: Summary Table	408
108. Sex: Treatment Table	408
109. Sex: Summary Table	408
110. School Peer Group: Treatment Table	409
111. School Peer Group: Summary Table	409
112. Academic Aptitude: Treatment Table	412
113. Academic Aptitude: Summary Table	412

Table	Page
114. Socio-Economic Status: Treatment Table . . .	412
115. Socio-Economic Status: Summary Table	413
116. Sex: Treatment Table	413
117. Sex: Summary Table	413
118. School Peer Group: Treatment Table	414
119. School Peer Group: Summary Table	414
120. Academic Aptitude: Treatment Table	417
121. Academic Aptitude: Summary Table	417
122. Socio-Economic Status: Treatment Table . . .	417
123. Socio-Economic Status: Summary Table	418
124. Sex: Treatment Table	418
125. Sex: Summary Table	418
126. School Peer Group: Treatment Table	419
127. School Peer Group: Summary Table	419
128. Academic Aptitude: Treatment Table	422
129. Academic Aptitude: Summary Table	422
130. Socio-Economic Status: Treatment Table . . .	422
131. Socio-Economic Status: Summary Table	423
132. Sex: Treatment Table	423
133. Sex: Summary Table	423
134. School Peer Group: Treatment Table	424
135. School Peer Group: Summary Table	424

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

In the life cycle of a human being, the period called childhood has a special significance. As with lower animal forms, a new addition serves to perpetuate the species. However, the ecological setting in which a human organism is situated is more complex than that which confronts the lower species.¹ Perhaps this is best described by George Herbert Mead, ". . . the behavior of an individual can be understood only in terms of the whole social group of which he is a member, since his individual acts are involved in larger social acts which go beyond himself and which implicate the other members of that group."²

I

A child is usually a member of a social group, the family. Survival of the group is contingent on the child's socialization and his subsequent activity as a socializing agent. By relating this abstraction of the social role of the child to the broader level of a political system and assuming that the child's group affiliations are among those comprising the system, the process of socialization acquires added political significance. It is this conceptualization which provides the basis for the study of political socialization.³

The role of children in the political world is a point often discussed in classical political literature and cited in studies on political socialization.⁴

Probably the most obvious example is Plato's concern for civic education as described in The Republic. However, the field of political socialization is of more recent vintage. It appears to have received its impetus from four major sources.

First, early investigations in voting behavior revealed a close relationship between a voter's party identification and that of his parents.⁵ This observation has been confirmed in subsequent studies by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.⁶ In addition to party identification, a few of the early studies also dealt with the influence of educational background and primary and secondary group affiliation on voting behavior.⁷ Since the antecedents for some of these influences lay in the voter's adolescence, child political attitudes provoked considerable interest.⁸ Utilizing this same method of retrospective analysis (asking an adult to recall his earliest interest in politics), Heinz Eulau examined the socialization patterns of state legislators.⁹

Second, in depth analysis has revealed attitudes which appeared to have had their origin in childhood.

Perhaps the earliest research in this area was Harold Laswell's pioneer work examining the psychological antecedents of political behavior.¹⁰ Donald Matthews and Robert Lane stand in a more contemporary position to the development of political socialization as an area of interest. Matthews devoted his energies to a biographical study of legislative decision makers, with some emphasis on the specific patterns of political socialization.¹¹ Of greater significance was Lane's use of in depth analysis to describe the psychological dynamics of human political behavior, particularly his childhood experiences.¹²

Third, research began to emerge which empirically examined the political attitudes of children. These early investigations concentrated on child perceptions of the President and of political authority.¹³ While these studies constitute the first attempts to examine directly child behavior in the political process, the most significant early contribution to the field of political socialization was the work of Herbert Hyman.¹⁴ Although Hyman did not initiate data collection in the field, he brought together all of the empirical studies which in some manner touched upon the political perception of children. His efforts provided an overview and an inventory of the field of political socialization. The publication of this synthesis offered a central focus for subsequent research. It also provided a bridge between the emerging field of

political socialization and the larger field of socialization as studied in the area of Social Psychology.¹⁵

Fourth, political scientists began to show theoretical curiosity in the possible correlation between the political attitudes of children and adult political behavior. The range of these early theoretical concerns is rather broad. Almond, Pye and Easton concentrated primarily on the political system and the role that political socialization played in the perpetuation of the system.¹⁶ Almond's functional categories described political socialization as an input essential to systems survival.¹⁷ Although Easton later developed an extensive theoretical framework of the political system and the role played by political socialization in that system, his earliest work concentrated on the internal process of socialization.¹⁸ In collaboration with Robert Hess, he proposed that one of the means by which a system acquires and perpetuates support is political socialization.¹⁹ The authors described three cognitive levels of a political system: the government, the regime and the community. They hypothesized that the longitudinal development of attitudes supporting a political system roughly paralleled these levels of cognition. Thus, as children progress in age they will also progress in their knowledge of each successive level. Applying this framework, a young child in elementary school will probably be capable of identifying

political leaders (the government level), political structures and rules (the regime level) and their role as future members of the polity (the community level).²⁰

The foregoing review describes the early evolution of the field of political socialization. Although interest in comparative socialization comes at a somewhat later stage, mention should be made of this development. It is possible to distinguish four major sources as seminal in contributing to comparative analysis.

First, those efforts which basically are descriptive in nature. As related earlier, Almond and Pye are responsible for some of the early theoretical generalizations. Using political socialization as a functional variable, they applied this conceptualization to descriptions of comparative political systems.²¹ Similarly, Robert A. LeVine explored the complexities which arise when primitive socialization patterns encounter a developing political system.²² He suggested that difficulties arise when a child is nurtured in a family authority pattern which is not congruent with authority patterns in the polity.²³ The results of this conflict can be observed in the new nations of Asia and Africa. He speculates that cultural homogeneity is conducive to a smooth process of socialization, whereas cultural heterogeneity presents difficulties which could affect the stability of a political system.²⁴

The field of voting behavior began to utilize comparison in observing adult socialization patterns. Philip E. Converse and George Dupeux collaborated in a survey of the French and American electorates.²⁵ Their vehicle for distinguishing socialization patterns was a comparison of a voter's party identification and political interest, and that of his parents. Using the father as a pivotal figure in this analysis, the authors found significant differences between their two nation samples. While American voters experienced little difficulty in relating their fathers' affiliations, French voters either refused or could not recall paternal attachments. The French responses also contrasted sharply with an earlier Norwegian sample which revealed patterns similar to those of voters in the United States.²⁶ Converse and Dupeux found this discovery to be especially helpful in describing differences between the political systems.²⁷

Thirdly, is the work of Robert D. Hess.²⁸ Although his findings were less significant in their initial impact on the field, they are more directly concerned with the subject of comparative political socialization. With one exception to date, this work stands as the only attempt to examine pre-secondary socialization patterns with cross national samples.²⁹

Using the product of a previous collaboration with David Easton, Hess compared the results of a United States

study with student test samples in Chile, Puerto Rico, Australia and Japan.³⁰ The major focus of this study was a comparison of child attitudes toward authority. Using the President or a comparable political figure (in Puerto Rico - the Governor), he discovered slight differences from country to country. Although he found considerable similarity in the visibility of authority figures to all the children, he concluded that American children are socialized earlier and with more intensity than is true in the other nations.³¹

Probably the most significant study in its impact on comparative analysis was the work of Almond and Verba.³² The authors hypothesized that, "a major element of a democratic political orientation is the belief that one has some control over political elites and decisions."³³ With this basic assumption, adult respondents in five countries were asked to describe their ability to participate in family and school decisions during adolescence.³⁴ A pattern emerged from the data. As an individual moved from family to school to job experiences, the correlation increased between his ability to participate and his feelings of political competence. This suggested that one's present social setting was the most accurate indicator of feelings of political efficacy.³⁵ There was a correlation between early socialization and present behavior, but this could be offset by increased levels of

education.³⁶ Likewise, the authors discovered that family experience may have played a lesser role where a gap existed between family attitudes and attitudes of the polity.³⁷ Basically, this was the same observation of Levine in his African research, related earlier in this chapter.³⁸

In order to relate Almond and Verba's research to earlier efforts in political socialization, it is helpful to make the following two observations. One, in a homogeneous political system, socialization patterns move along a fairly smooth continuum. Early levels of participation are harmonious with one's present job situation. This pattern is interrupted by added education which increases an individual's feelings of competence and place him in a setting where higher political participation is the norm.³⁹ Two, in a heterogeneous political system, the continuum is broken by the lack of correspondence between early socialization patterns and the polity one confronts as an adult. In this setting education gives the child his first experience with the norms of the political system. As in the previous case additional education offers upward social mobility, a greater expectation of political activity and generates higher feelings of political competence.⁴⁰

The foregoing review describes the inception and early evolution of the field of political socialization. To expedite an analysis of the contemporary literature, the focus will be directed to those findings which are

relevant to the design of this dissertation. For purposes of clarification, the literature is divided into two segments: (1) agents of socialization and moderating factors in socialization, and (2) political socialization theory.

"Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family."⁴¹ After ten years, the question is whether Hyman's statement is accepted as valid. The answer to the question is yes and no. Voting behavior studies in the United States reveal a close relationship between a voter's party identification and that of his parents.⁴² When both parents share party affiliation, approximately three-fourths of their children will retain the same identification.⁴³ If the parents display a high level of interest in political matters the impact on their children is substantial.⁴⁴ In the only cross national attempt to match a voter's party ID with his father's party ID, Converse and Dupeux found striking differences. In the United States' sample, 91 per cent of the voters could classify their father's party preference and 75 per cent could classify their own party preference.⁴⁵ In France, about 50 per cent could classify their own party preference and only 29 per cent could recall that of their fathers.⁴⁶ Unfortunately the authors do not reveal how many voters continue to vote as their fathers. What can be concluded is that party identification patterns vary in the two countries. Where the voter is capable of

recalling his father's identification and interest, it would appear to exert an influence on his own voting behavior.

On the question of party identification, Hyman's statement remains unchallenged.⁴⁷ The most astonishing point to consider here is the lack of research outside of the United States. The few examples, which can be cited, are descriptive of adult behavior. However in child attitude studies, no recorded attempt has been made outside of the United States to see if party identification or parental interest is similar to the American pattern. This is especially puzzling when party identification provides the strongest direct index of parental impact on adult voting behavior.

Most of the research on the family as a socializing force has concentrated on the nature of family influence. One aspect more frequently studied has been father dominance. Those political scientists who use individual psychology or personality concepts as a basis for explaining individual political behavior regard the father as a major figure in the transmission of political beliefs.⁴⁸ Some of the more recent studies lend support to this position. The massive work of Robert Hess and Judith Torney unearthed some interesting data in this regard. "Children who see their fathers as powerful tend to be more informed and interested in political affairs."⁴⁹

More important in this connection, children from high status families rate their fathers more powerfully than do low status children. "The ratings of the father showed pronounced social class differences. . . ." ⁵⁰ Two additional studies reveal pronounced father dominance.

Kenneth Langton's research in Jamaica discovered that the absence of a father in the home reduced a secondary student's feelings of political efficacy. ⁵¹ Dean Jaros and colleagues found "father absence is associated with more favorable valuations in Appalachian children." ⁵² Children without fathers in Appalachia do not acquire the negative attitudes toward government normally experienced with an increase in age. That the father exerts influence seems obvious. However, the results are fragmented and the precise nature of the influence remains in the primary stage of exploration.

Another area where the family exerts influence is on a child's perception of authority. As related earlier in this chapter, considerable attention has been directed to this point. At present, one is struck by the amount of controversy generated by this topic. The earliest studies reported that children accorded persons of authority with a high degree of benevolence. ⁵³ Most recent efforts suggest this conclusion was hasty.

In adapting an authoritarian model to his research, Dean Jaros unearthed a "coercion-oriented" perception of

political authority among children. "Given the role of executive figures in the political world of the young, it does not take much imagination to determine that this perception would involve the ability of the President to compel obedience."⁵⁴ He hypothesizes added dimensions along which children view authority, quite possibly unrelated to family experience.⁵⁵

Using sibling pairs, Hess and Torney find a high congruence between children's political attitudes and those of their parents. They suggest that the family directly influences party preference and indirectly, "to influence attitudes toward authority, rules and compliance."⁵⁶ More important, their results indicate that family influence has been exaggerated in previous research.⁵⁷

Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi matched parent and student samples to observe family impact on the attitudes of high school seniors.⁵⁸ Using a political cynicism scale as a measure, they found, "a remarkably lesser amount of cynicism among students than among parents."⁵⁹ The student sample was virtually independent of parental attitudes. They concluded that party identification and little else was transmitted by parents to their children.⁶⁰

Attitudes toward authority may not be solely a product of parental influence. Drawing upon college samples in Belgium, France and Holland, Frank Pinner argues

that cultural patterns may influence parental behavior and ultimately child political attitudes.⁶¹ "Thus, in a culture where overprotection is the rule, parental behavior will be appraised with reference to what is considered to be normal parental behavior (even though an outsider may regard it as abnormally and excessively protective)."⁶² In Belgium and France where parental overprotection is frequent, child distrust of political processes is high. Pinner's discovery is fascinating, he suggests that parental influence is a cultural product, with parents merely reflecting cultural behavior patterns.

This final point substantiates a finding discussed earlier in this chapter. Family authority patterns are influenced by their respective cultures.⁶³ In developing nations, family influence is high where parental authority patterns agree with patterns of authority in the polity.⁶⁴ In heterogeneous settings, family authority is superceded by other agents more in tune with demands of the polity. In this regard, it is interesting to note the similarity between cultural and socio-economic influences on political socialization. This relationship will be examined at greater length, later in the chapter.

The role of schools and education in political socialization has received considerable attention from political scientists. Schools have long been regarded as instrumental in the process of civic education.⁶⁵ In addition,

they have been used to inculcate political values and ideologies.⁶⁶ The question to be considered is whether these curricular energies accomplish their intent as socializing agents.

On the basis of samples in adult populations, strong correlations have been found between a person's level of education and his political interest and activity.⁶⁷ The five nation study of Almond and Verba lends this observation cross cultural significance. "In particular, our data suggest that education on the secondary level or above can replace family participation and to some extent school participation as a factor leading toward political competence."⁶⁸ The authors speculate that education increases a person's potential for participation and places him in a setting where higher participation is expected.⁶⁹

In research on the development of political attitudes among children, schools have been found to be important agents of socialization. Most notable among these endeavors is the work of Hess and Torney. By matching student attitudes with those of their respective teachers, they revealed some interesting correlations, ". . . the results of the comparison show that eighth graders hold attitudes highly similar to teachers on most items in the questionnaire."⁷⁰ The differences which appeared were a less cynical attitude toward politics among teachers and a greater teacher regard for authority.⁷¹ They conclude,

". . . the school stands out as the central salient, and dominant force in the political socialization of the young child."⁷²

When studying the importance of education or schools, it is necessary to interject a perspective from which to view its impact. The research of Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings raises questions which are unanswered in the literature.⁷³ Using a sample of high school seniors, they found no significant relationship between the amount of civics coursework and political attitudes.⁷⁴ The relationship that appeared was a correlation between the parents' level of education and that of their children. They suggest that post primary education may not be the crucial factor. Rather, children of higher educated parents may be demonstrating a perceptual framework influenced by family, peer groups and social status.⁷⁵ Education per se is not as important as the fact that it represents a social milieu. If the schools function as a socializing agent as previously suggested, it is apparently restricted to the primary levels.

While education is considered to be important as a socializing force, its use as a factor raises some unique methodological questions. In some of the developing nations few children ever achieve much schooling. For example, in Uganda less than two per cent of the school age population is in secondary school, as opposed to 95 per cent in the

United States.⁷⁶ This suggests that in some nations, schools play a limited role for the majority of the population. Quite probably in such areas, student studies reveal the impact of schools on the socialization of political elites.⁷⁷ Not that studies of school populations are irrelevant in such circumstances, to the contrary elite populations will probably be the prime moving force in political development. The note of caution is interjected for two reasons.

1. When interpreting adult responses in developing areas, the accessibility of education should be noted. Although education may be important in explaining the behavior of a particular respondent, it may also indicate that he is a member of a select group or social class.
2. For studies of political attitudes among student populations, the same point should be acknowledged. Otherwise, one is led to assume that the research is based on like populations and has comparability to work done in the United States.

During the same metamorphic period when a child confronts school influence, he is also subjected to peer group pressures. Although this topic has received considerable descriptive attention, little data has been produced to document the extent and nature of the peer group as a socializing agent.⁷⁸ One variable which hints at peer group influence is social participation and positive attitudes toward the political system.⁷⁹ Although such contacts appear to make a student feel more politically efficacious, it also appears that this type of participation corresponds

with a high socio-economic background.⁸⁰ While this does not negate the utility of such findings, it certainly renders them tenuous without further research.

Another means used to observe peer group influence is to compare a respondent's political attitudes with those of his friends.⁸¹ In the few instances where this device has been adopted, significant relationships appear. Unfortunately, this method has been little employed among children and when employed poorly reported.⁸² The utility of this approach awaits further investigation.

The most significant study of peer group influence as a socializing force is Kenneth Langton's research among secondary students in Jamaica.⁸³ He discovered that heterogeneous classrooms produced a significant change in political attitudes among low socio-economic students. When these same students were confronted with a homogeneous school setting, attitude change did not occur. He suggests that a confrontation between high and low socio-economic students has the effect of changing the political attitudes of the latter to agree more closely with their high socio-economic counterparts.⁸⁴ Ironically, this attitude change posed a threat for Jamaica, as higher class students tended to be more politically alienated and distrustful of the political system.⁸⁵

Finally, one additional socializing influence deserves consideration in relation to a child's schooling, namely

the impact of intelligence as a mediating factor in a child's socialization. The striking feature of research in this area is the lack of agreement in the three studies which use this factor as a basis for explanation.⁸⁶ The difference of opinion is most apparent where the respective authors examine the relationship between intelligence and social status and their impact upon a child's feelings of political efficacy.⁸⁷ Elliott White concludes his research by stating, "Aside from grade, the single best predictor of a sense of political efficacy in primary school age children is individual intelligence."⁸⁸ He then observes when I.Q. is held constant, social class has little or no impact on a child's feeling of political efficacy.⁸⁹ Hess and Torney conclude with this statement, "Perhaps the most marked social class difference in these data is the tendency for low-status children to feel less efficacious in dealing with the political system than do children from high-status homes."⁹⁰ They quite vividly demonstrate their point by graphing the differences between high and low status children when I.Q. is held constant.⁹¹ High I.Q. children of low status families display lower feelings of efficacy than is true of their counterparts in the middle and high status groups. David Easton and Jack Dennis conclude that both social status and I.Q. are important in explaining a child's feeling of political efficacy.⁹²

Since the three studies were based on virtually identical sample size, geographic distribution, used the same efficacy scale, used the same method to convert I.Q. scores to a common score, and originated from the same university, one is left bewildered, to say the least. It certainly provokes skepticism as to the efficiency of efficacy and intelligence scales for measuring socialization.

Unfortunately White, Dennis and Easton did not correlate intelligence with many other variables.⁹³ Consequently, it is more profitable to examine the work of Hess and Torney for clarification. One pattern does seem to emerge from their analysis. Intelligence is more important than social class in a child's capacity to comprehend the political system.⁹⁴ In this context, intelligence scales aid in detecting the child's cognitive process. It appears that an intelligent child has a greater capacity to respond to the socializing effects of the school.⁹⁵ When a child relates the political activity and interest of his parents, intelligence declines and social status ascends in its ability to explain child attitudes. Children from low social status backgrounds participate less in political discussions and show a lower interest in contemporary political events.⁹⁶ Intelligence is stronger as a cognitive influence and social class is stronger as an activity influence.

Hess and Torney close their study with a curious observation, ". . . schools in working class areas have a disproportionate number of children with relatively low I.Q.'s."⁹⁷ The context of this statement implies that intelligence and social class are not necessarily related. It is remarkable to witness the reluctance of political scientists to correlate low I.Q. with low socio-economic status. It seems to be the product of a paradigm in psychology which views an individual as a self-contained, perceptual entity, little influenced by his social environment.⁹⁸

Another mediating factor exerting influence on the development of political attitudes is socio-economic status. Two points are apparent from the literature. The difference in the political socialization of high and low status children differs in degree and it differs in pattern.

First, Greenstein observed that low status children display lower verbal and scholastic ability than high status children.⁹⁹ This conclusion is consistent with investigations on social participation in the schools.¹⁰⁰ In fact one study draws a specific relationship between the degree of social participation and student attitudes toward politics. Low status youngsters demonstrate a lower level of participation and a greater mistrust of politics.¹⁰¹

Second, high status children view politics more actively and show a greater awareness of their contemporary

political world.¹⁰² This observation corresponds with the research of Hess and Torney discussed earlier in this chapter.¹⁰³ Greenstein found issue awareness to be higher in "upper-SES" children, regardless of the child's age.¹⁰⁴ The only instance where high and low status children display the same information level concerns political material discussed in the school.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, most children show little difference in their knowledge of the formal political system, and when differences do appear they correlate highly with the child's intelligence. The most marked social class differences occur with political activity, political participation and non-school political information.¹⁰⁶

One difference alluded to earlier is the great deference shown by low status children toward political authority.¹⁰⁷ In general, considerable print has been devoted to the benevolent attitudes which youngsters accord to objects of political authority.¹⁰⁸ In light of such research, it is interesting to note a deviation from these findings. Utilizing the Appalachian subculture as a test region, Dean Jaros and his colleagues at the University of Kentucky found the children of this area, "less favorably disposed toward political objects than are their counterparts in other portions of the nation."¹⁰⁹ Although the majority of their test population would be considered low social status, they found culture to be the mediating

factor--thus the socialization process is an important linkage in the acquisition of political attitudes.¹¹⁰ The authors convincingly demonstrate the existence of a homogeneous socio-political sub-culture which exerts a pervasive influence on the development of political attitudes in Appalachian children.

The Appalachian study finds support in two empirical studies which examine culture as a mediating factor. As noted earlier, Robert Hess' five nation sample revealed national differences in children's attitudes toward authority.¹¹¹ Hess concluded that the differences are explained by cultural variations in the five socio-political systems.¹¹² Another example of sub-cultural deviation is Duane Marvick's discovery that Negro and white populations differ in their perceptions of authority.¹¹³ Using matched adult sub-samples, he found that whites displayed a greater expectation of fair treatment than their black counterparts.¹¹⁴

The interesting point here is the similarity in the influence exerted by culture and socio-economic status on political socialization. For purposes of explanation, it is helpful to formulate a theoretical perspective from which to view the impact of these two factors. Such a perspective is provided by symbolic interaction theory as developed in the field of social psychology, especially the work of George Herbert Mead.¹¹⁵ By borrowing Mead's

concept of interaction and applying it to child acquisition of political attitudes, the following explanation is generated.¹¹⁶ When the process of interaction moves along a homogeneous continuum, a child does not encounter severe deviation from his past experiences. In fact, the accumulation of like interactions probably strengthens his existing set of political attitudes. Thus, when a child moves from family, to school, to peer group associations in this pattern, he does not experience an interaction unexpected or unexplainable from his previous encounters. However, when a child interacts with a pattern quite different from his earlier socialization pattern, this new encounter disrupts the continuum and assumes a major influence in his attitude acquisition sharply diminishing his earlier experiences.¹¹⁸ Thus, a social status experience such as a heterogeneous peer association or a cultural experience such as a new authority pattern provided by his teacher or school will act as a disruptive influence.¹¹⁹ The same sort of experience would be provided by social mobility away from his previous cultural or social milieu.¹²⁰

One facet of Mead's theory of interaction is the importance of recent experiences.¹²¹ What has been added here is the notion that new experiences are more important for explaining political socialization when they deviate from past behavioral experiences. Naturally, the degree of the deviant interaction will determine its level of

importance. The deviation may be out of a social or cultural strata; it is similar in effect, merely different in behavioral origins. This perspective is offered both as an aid to understanding the similarity in social and cultural experiences, and for its adaptability to empirical research.

The final mediating factor to be examined is the role which sex differences play in the development of political attitudes. Investigations in political socialization reveal three levels at which sex differences appear important as an explanatory variable.

First, voting studies reveal that women vote in a lesser proportion than men.¹²² With an increase in education the propensity to vote increases, although it remains at a lower level than men of like educational background. It should be noted however, that among adults with secondary or higher education, sex differences in voting behavior are less extreme than is the case with lower educated adults.¹²³ Whether this is a product of higher education, high social status, or a different role perception is not specified in the literature. One source infers that it is a combination of all three factors.¹²⁴

Second, among children sampled in the United States, sex differences in political attitudes are also evident. Girls show a lower interest in political issues and identify less frequently with political parties than do

boys.¹²⁵ Likewise, sex differences are evident in perceptions of political authority. "Girls emphasize the protective quality of personal figures and are attached to them, while boys stress protection by more impersonal and institutionalized structures."¹²⁶ Regardless of the differences listed thus far, girls do not display lower feelings of efficacy toward the political system nor are they different, "in their knowledge of the processes and norms of the system."¹²⁷ Therefore, while girls do not demonstrate as high a partisanship level as boys, they do not feel ineffective toward political matters. The various studies in sex differences describe the pattern as a product of youngsters' social-sexual roles in American society.¹²⁸

Third, sex differences in political socialization are affected by the cultural setting. Almond and Verba discovered that American and British women recorded a higher frequency of political discussion and interest in politics, than did their counterparts in Germany, Italy and Mexico.¹²⁹ In fact their level of interest was not only higher, but almost equal to male response in the two countries. This observation tends to counter Duverger's unkind remarks about the mental infancy of all women toward political matters.¹³⁰ Women do not demonstrate any consistent pattern from country to country. Rather, what emerges from the investigations is a portrait of political sex roles

in different cultures.¹³¹ An interesting footnote to the influence of culture is the variation in voting patterns exhibited in the United States between women in the South and other regions of the country. The authors of the American Voter offer the following explanation for the lower vote turnout among women in the South. "This differential probably reflects a lag in sex-role change in this area, relatively sheltered as it seems to be from many modern cultural innovations."¹³²

Although cultural environment plays an obvious role in sex-related political differences, increased education can reduce this effect. In the studies cited, increased education correlated strongly with increased female political awareness.¹³³ Whether increased awareness is a product of education or an indication of higher social status is not specified in the literature. However, since education among women is frequently a mark of high social status, it would appear that, in part, this is the case.¹³⁴

II

Political socialization theory involves concepts of micro and macro-analytic levels. Macro-analytic is used here to describe those political scientists who are interested in constructing a broad theory to explain the political process. In these efforts political socialization is not the major source of concern, rather it

is viewed as one of the variables comprising any political process.¹³⁵ Most prominent among macro-analytic approaches are the systems theorists who describe political socialization as an input in the political system.¹³⁶ While this would appear to place these men in theoretical harmony, the precise meaning of the concept, "input," varies among them.

Adopting a structural functional framework, Almond describes political socialization as a functional unit in any political system. "We mean that all political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through time, and that they do this mainly by means of the socializing influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the young of the society pass in the process of maturation."¹³⁷ "Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture."¹³⁸ In a later work, he labels this process "systems maintenance and adaptation" and he considers it as integral in the functioning of a political system.¹³⁹

Almond has gone the furthest of any theorist in specifying the functional components of a political system. In a different but related work, he and Verba concentrate on the political socialization.¹⁴⁰ Every political system has underlying propensities in addition to its actual performance. "We refer to these propensities or this psychological dimension of the political system as the

political culture."¹⁴¹ Thus, when he describes the process of political socialization, one of his major concerns is its function as a transmitter of the political culture which he defines as the, "psychological orientation toward social objects."¹⁴² "When we speak of the political culture of a society, we refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluation of its population. People are inducted into it just as they are socialized into non-political roles and social systems."¹⁴³

Easton's approach is less explicit by design. For him political socialization is generalized as an input function which develops "diffuse support" for the political system.¹⁴⁴ "This is a type of support that continues independently of the specific rewards which the member may feel he obtains from belonging to the system."¹⁴⁵ Political socialization is the mechanism whereby the child accords legitimacy to a system, recognizes a general welfare, and develops a sense of political community. By this behavioral process, a compliance is wrought to the political system.¹⁴ In his most recent essay Easton sharply differentiates his approach from functional analysis. "In effect, the functional analysis of socialization represents an effort to understand the way in which persons learn to fit into a pre-existing pattern of roles or culture as though the structure and culture were out there

just waiting to be reproduced on some "table-rasa' of the child."¹⁴⁷

Easton faults the functional approach on one further count: it is committed to interpreting socialization as contributing to systems stability. He argues that it is possible a child will be socialized into an evolving system where change and instability are a way of life.¹⁴⁸ With this in mind he proposes a neutral definition of political socialization, "as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior."¹⁴⁹ This proposition is made for its theoretical neutrality and its unbiased research utility. Finally, in what seems to be a change from earlier writing, Easton suggests his neutral definition is made, "without regard to its consequences or presumed function for the system as a whole."¹⁵⁰

The second type of approach to political socialization theory is micro-analytic in perspective. In this area, the major concern is the development of theoretical frameworks to explain the internal process of socialization. All of the studies described in this chapter have developed some sort of analytical framework in order to interpret their respective findings. Most of these efforts have been directed to some aspect of socialization, such as the influence of agents on attitudes toward authority, or the impact of moderating factors on political attitude

development. Since these findings and analyses have already been discussed, they will not be repeated at this point in the chapter. Instead, attention will be directed to those studies which attempt to develop a theoretical framework for the overall socialization process. Only two studies are prominent in this regard, the works of Easton and Hess, and Hess and Torney.

Easton and Hess describe political socialization as the development of shared political orientations.¹⁵¹ This shared perception, or consensus, is directed toward three levels of the political system. First, "the government level" describes, "the occupants of those roles through which the day-to-day formulation and administration of binding decisions for a society are undertaken."¹⁵² Second, "the regime level" refers to, "the slower changing formal and informal structures through which these decisions are taken and administered, together with the rules of the game or codes of behavior that legitimize the actions of political authorities and specify what is expected of citizens or subjects."¹⁵³ Third, "the political community level" describes, "a group of persons who seek to solve their problems in common through a shared political structure."¹⁵⁴ They hypothesize that the acquisition of political attitudes occurs at the three levels. Furthermore, the type of orientation at these

levels may be in the form of political knowledge, values and attitudes.

The utility of this type of framework is its concentration on the internal workings of the political socialization process. In regard to their three levels, Easton and Hess have found a perceptual progression from first, to second, to third as a child matures.¹⁵⁵ The authors view this as confirmation of the existence of such perceptual levels. The importance of their approach does have broader implications, since they assume that a certain amount of consensus is essential among adult populations for systems maintenance and change.¹⁵⁶ What we are witnessing among children is the development of this consensus. One could argue, as Easton has already done, that such a pre-existing framework can be a self-fulfilling prophecy.¹⁵⁷ However, any theoretical framework possesses this inherent danger.¹⁵⁸ This in no way lessens the utility or necessity of theoretical frameworks for synthesizing and directing research, it merely serves as a caution. In light of Easton's recent remarks, one suspects that divorcing empirical research in political socialization from macro-analytic frameworks is now one of his paramount concerns.¹⁵⁹

The research of Hess and Torney is quite different from Hess' earlier collaborations with Easton. This work in no way refers to larger analytic enterprises. The authors

recommend four models to, "describe in different ways the acquisition, change, and stabilization of political attitudes."¹⁶⁰ "These are not formal explanatory models but devices for examining the attitudes the child brings to the socialization process and the ways he utilizes experience in the development of political roles."¹⁶¹ Children confront the socialization process differently depending upon the particular attitude which is being considered. Therefore, the authors suggest that the four models aid in describing this confrontation. The Accumulation Model describes, "the addition of units of knowledge, information, attitudes and activities."¹⁶² The Impersonal Transfer Model, "assumes the child approaches explicit personal socialization already possessing a fund of experience."¹⁶³ The Identifications Model stresses child imitation of adult behavior where adults have not attempted to teach a behavior pattern.¹⁶⁴ The Cognitive Development Model is used to describe correlations between a child's attitude development and his cognitive structure.¹⁶⁵ Utilizing these models, the authors relate different aspects of the political socialization process.

In conclusion, the literature illustrates that an abundance of energy has been devoted to a study of political socialization. Save for a few exceptions, it is evident that the development of this field has been scattered, achieving a shotgun effect. The same scales

are rarely duplicated to see whether they achieve the same results under different conditions or in different samples. This is especially true in the area of comparative research. In part, this is the fault of the prevailing standards in the literature, which rewards newness or difference (frequently called innovation) more than it rewards consistency with previous research efforts. It is still very difficult to lend confidence to writings which give authoritative descriptions of political socialization. One of the tasks of this dissertation is to consider some of the existing conceptualizations in a cross national study and observe the results obtained.

FOOTNOTES

¹W. C. Allee, Animal Aggregations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 1.

²George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 6.

³Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 4-6.

Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 14-17.

Roberta Siegel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 2.

⁴Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 5-7.

Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 2-4.

James Steintrager, "Political Socialization and Political Theory," Social Research, XXXV (Spring, 1968), 115.

⁵Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (3rd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 140-45.

Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 99.

Bernard B. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 88-93.

Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews, and Anton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 23-39.

⁶Campbell, Gurin and Miller, The Voter Decides, pp. 70-73, 99.

Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), pp. 146-48.

Angus Campbell, et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 279-82.

⁷ Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudent, The People's Choice, pp. 145-49.

Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, Voting, pp. 93-109.
Maccoby, Matthews and Morton, "Youth and Political Change, pp. 31-39.

⁸ Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 11-12.

⁹ Heinz Eulau, "Socialization of American State Legislators," Midwest Journal of Political Science, III (May, 1959), 188-206.

¹⁰ Harold D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

¹¹ Donald R. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision Makers (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954).

¹² Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Paperback edition; New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 204-18.

¹³ David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "Youth and the Political System," in Culture and Social Character, ed. by Seymour M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthal (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 226-51.

Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), 934-44.

Fred I. Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 648-54.

Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

¹⁴ Hyman, Political Socialization.

¹⁵ Irvin L. Child, "Socialization," in Handbook of Social Psychology II, ed. by Gardiner Lindzey (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 655-92.

For a more recent discussion of this relationship see, Fred I. Greenstein, "Socialization: Political Socialization." International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XIV, 551-55.

¹⁶ David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," World Politics, IX (April, 1957),

383-400.

Lucian W. Pye, "Political Modernization and Research on the Process of Political Socialization," Social Science Research Council Items, XIII (September, 1959), 25-28.

Gabriel A. Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in The Politics of the Developing Areas, ed. by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 3-64.

¹⁷Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," pp. 16-17.

¹⁸Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," pp. 383-400.

Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 632-44.

Easton and Hess, "Youth and the Political System," pp. 226-51.

¹⁹Easton and Hess, "Youth and the Political System," pp. 226-51. The basis for this article originally appeared in mimeographed form and received a wide circulation.

David Easton, "Problems in the Study of Political Socialization" (unpublished manuscript, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and the University of Chicago, 1957).

²⁰David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (August, 1962), 229-246.

For a discussion of Easton's "cognitive levels" see, Richard E. Dawson, "Political Socialization," in Political Science Annual I, ed. by James A. Robinson (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), p. 15.

Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 45.

Jack Dennis, "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (February, 1968), 95.

²¹Pye, "Political Modernization and Research on the Process of Political Socialization," pp. 25-28.

Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," pp. 3-64.

²²Robert A. Levine, "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems," Behavioral Science, V (October, 1960), 295.

Robert A. Levine, "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies," Human Organization, XIX (Summer, 1960), 51-58.

²³LeVine, "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems," p. 294.

²⁴Robert A. LeVine, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," in Old Societies and New States, ed. by Clifford Geertz. (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 280-303. A somewhat similar analysis can be found in S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation (New York: The Free Press, 1956), Chapter 12.

²⁵Phillip E. Converse and Georges Dupeux, "Politization of the Electorate in France and the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1962), 1-26.

²⁶Georg Karlsson, "Voting Participation Among Male Swedish Youth," Acta Sociologica, III (Fasc. 2-3, 1958), 98-111.

²⁷Converse and Dupeux, "Politization of the Electorate in France and the United States," pp. 1-26.

²⁸Robert D. Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, XV (No. 4, 1963), 542-59.

²⁹The other work is a pilot study which examined children's attitudes toward authority, the nation and feelings of efficacy in two Columbian cities, contrasting the findings with Easton's research in the United States. The results are incomplete as only one or two questions were used for the three scales. The rest of the data was gleaned from child essays. Reid Reading, "Political Socialization in Columbia and the United States: An exploratory Study," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (August, 1968), 352-81.

³⁰The earlier sample was described in, Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 632-44. For the sample used in this study see, Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," p. 543.

³¹Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," pp. 554-55.

³²Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

³³Ibid., p. 368.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 368-74.

³⁵Ibid., p. 371.

³⁶Ibid., p. 370.

³⁷Ibid., p. 373.

³⁸Le Vine, "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems," pp. 291-96.

³⁹Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p. 371.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 368-74.

⁴¹Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 69.

⁴²Herbert McCloskey and Harold E. Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty," American Political Science Review, LIII (September, 1959), 757-66. Also see Supra, notes 5 and 6, p. 28.

⁴³Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 96.

⁴⁴Kenneth P. Langton, "Political Partisanship and Political Socialization in Jamaica," British Journal of Sociology, XVII (December, 1966), 422-23.

Karen Orren and Paul Peterson, "Presidential Assassination: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Political Socialization," Journal of Politics, XXIX (May, 1967), 403-04.

The greatest influence is exerted when both parents share the same party identification and level of interest in politics. This was substantiated in a study using 1964 election data from the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. James W. Kolka, "Parental Influence on Party Identification in the 1964 Presidential Election," Seminar paper prepared for Professor John G. Grumm, University of Kansas, 1966. (Typewritten)

⁴⁵Converse and Dupeux, "Politization of the Electorate in France and the United," pp. 9, 12.

⁴⁶Ibid. In separate studies of Norwegian and Swedish samples, the level of identification corresponded with the American Pattern. The Swedish study also found that male youth were capable of recalling their father's identification, at a level similar to that in the United States.

Georg Karlsson, "Voting Participation Among Male Swedish Youth," pp. 98-111. Angus Campbell and Henry Valen, "Party Identification in Norway and the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 505-25.

⁴⁷Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 78-91.

⁴⁸James C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 10-19.

⁴⁹Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 101.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 100. For a similar observation, see David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 24-28.

⁵¹Kenneth P. Langton, "The Political Socialization Process: The Case of Secondary School Students in Jamaica" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1965), pp. 113-17.

⁵²Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederick J. Fleron Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture," American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 575.

⁵³Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," pp. 934-44.

Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President."

Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 12.

Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 632-44.

⁵⁴Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics, XXIX (May, 1967), 386. For an expansion on these findings, see Dean Jaros, "Explorations into Children's Orientations Toward Political Authority" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1966).

⁵⁵Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," pp. 384- 386. Roberta Sigel suggests children not only have images of authority, but they also possess knowledge of issues and policies related to a specific President. Roberta S. Sigel, "Image of a President:

Some insights into the Political Views of Children," American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), 224-25.

⁵⁶ Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of Children," p. 217. Also, see Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 96.

⁵⁷ Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary Years, Part I. (Cooperative Research Project No. 1078, U.S. Office of Education, 1965), pp. 193, 200.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 217.

⁵⁸ M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), 171.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 178, 177-79, 182.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 183.

⁶¹ Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals. CCCLXI (September, 1965), 69-70. For a similar description of authority mistrust among French children in Grenoble, see Charles Roig and F. Billon-Grand, La Socialisation Politique des Enfants (Paris: Armand Colin, 1968).

⁶² Ibid., p. 67.

⁶³ The conclusion that political socialization is lower in the Appalachian sub-culture than in the United States as a whole, substantiates this view. Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture," pp. 564-75.

⁶⁴ LeVine, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," pp. 280-303.

LeVine, "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies," pp. 51-58.

LeVine, "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems," pp. 291-96.

⁶⁵ Charles E. Merriam, The Making of Citizens (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

⁶⁶James S. Coleman, "Introduction to Part II" in Education and Political Development, ed. by James S. Coleman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 226-27.

Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 69-75.

Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 141-80.

⁶⁷V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), chapter 13.

⁶⁸Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p. 370.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 370-71.

⁷⁰Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 112, 101-15.

⁷¹An interesting point in this regard are the findings of Jennings and Niemi. They discovered that adults are more cynical in attitude than their children. They attribute the difference to school influence. Jennings and Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," p. 178.

⁷²Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 219.

⁷³Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, LIII (September, 1967), 852-67.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 865-67.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 865-66.

⁷⁶Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 145.
A similar observation can be found in a study on the effectiveness of schools for citizenship training in Kenya and Tanzania. David Koff and George Von Der Muhl, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania--A comparative Analysis," Journal of Modern African Studies, V (May, 1967), 16-18.

⁷⁷Daniel Goldrich attempted to circumvent this problem by focusing on the attitudes of political elites in a

high status secondary school in both Costa Rica and Panama. Unfortunately, his work was not directed to studying political socialization patterns, and consequently it has little comparative value. Daniel Goldrich, Sons of the Establishment (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966).

⁷⁸Dawson, "Political Socialization," pp. 55-71.

⁷⁹Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 121.

Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," pp. 30-31.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 724-28, 731.

⁸⁰Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," pp. 24-31.

⁸¹Dawson, "Political Socialization," pp. 57-63.

⁸²Greenstein used such an approach in his questionnaire, but at no place do the results appear in his book. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 178 (Question No. 16).

⁸³Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 754-55.

Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, Voting, p. 91.

Maccoby, Matthews and Morton, "Youth and Political Change," pp. 33-36.

McCloskey and Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty," pp. 757-66.

Campbell, et al., The American Voter, pp. 459-60.

For a more recent investigation of voter mobility, see Arthur S. Goldberg, "Social Determinism and Rationality as Bases of Party Identification," American Political Science Review, LIII (March, 1969), 22-25.

⁸⁵Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," p. 758.

⁸⁶Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 126-71.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," pp. 710-31. For a larger exposition of White's research, see Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and

Political Behavior: A Case Study in Political Socialization" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1966).

David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38.

⁸⁷This is especially confusing when one notes that White's data is derived from a study originally co-directed by Easton and Hess. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 710.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 731.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 224.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 150.

⁹²Using a first order partial correlation holding I.Q. and then SES Constant, the authors arrived at the conclusion that both factors exert virtually identical patterns of influence on feelings of political efficacy.

Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 34-36.

⁹³He used social participation and sex, in addition to those variables already mentioned. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," pp. 710-31. Easton and Dennis concentrated on efficacy. Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," pp. 25-38.

⁹⁴Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 152-164.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 165.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 224.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 225. This same observation appears in Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 35, n. 18, 36.

⁹⁸For a description of the influence of paradigms on scientific reasoning, see Kuhn's provocative essay. Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolution, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

⁹⁹Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 88-89.
For a similar observation, see Lane, Political Life,
pp. 45-96, 220-34.

¹⁰⁰Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 165.

Martin Levin, "Social Climates and Political Socialization," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Winter, 1961), 596-606.

Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," pp. 20-31.

¹⁰¹Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," pp. 20-31.

¹⁰²Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 94-106.
Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 154-72.

¹⁰³Specifically, the discussion of the relationship between IQ and SES. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁴Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 95.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 97-98.
Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 165.

¹⁰⁶Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 94-98.
Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 154-55, 165.

¹⁰⁷Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 99-106.

¹⁰⁸Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," pp. 934-44.

Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," pp. 648-54.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 3.
Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 632-44.

Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," pp. 368-87.

¹⁰⁹Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," pp. 574-75.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 564-66.

111 Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," pp. 542-59.

112 Ibid., pp. 556-57.

113 Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 112-27.

114 Ibid., pp. 116-20. Likewise, Negroes show lower feelings of efficacy toward the political system. Jennings and Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," pp. 860-61. For a descriptive review of socialization patterns in the American black sub-culture, see A. W. Singham, "The Political Socialization of Marginal Groups," International Journal of Comparative Sociology VII (September, 1967), 182-98. It would be remiss to leave this point without suggesting the review of subcultural problems in, Report on the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Otto Kerner, Chairman (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968).

115 Mead, Mind Self and Society.

116 For a description of interaction and the "Act," see Mead, Ibid., pp. 98-100.

George H. Mead, The Philosophy of the Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 432-35.

117 The smooth or homogeneous pattern can be observed in the following works:

Karlsson, "Voting Participation Among Male Swedish Youth," pp. 98-111.

Georg Karlsson, "Political Attitudes Among Male Swedish Youth," Acta Sociologica, III (FASC. 4, 1958), 220-41.

LeVine, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," pp. 280-303.

LeVine, "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies," pp. 51-58.

118 Naturally this depends on the life pattern of the child. Should he revert to his earlier associations, it is quite possible that this interaction will be diminished in importance and the old pattern re-established.

119 Langton, "Peer Group and the School and the Political Socialization Process," pp. 751-58.

Langton, "Political Partisanship and Political

- Socialization in Jamaica," pp. 419-29.
- LeVine, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," pp. 280-303.
- LeVine, "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems," pp. 291-96.
- ¹²⁰McCloskey and Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty," pp. 757-66.
- ¹²¹Mead, Mind, Self and Society, pp. 98-100.
Mead, The Philosophy of the Act, pp. 432-35.
Mead, The Philosophy of the Present, p. 23.
- ¹²²Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order, pp. 254-55.
Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order, pp. 254-55.
Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 485.
Campbell, Gurin and Miller, The Voter Decides, p. 70.
Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Voting, p. 61, n. 5.
- ¹²³Campbell, et al., The American Voter, p. 486.
- ¹²⁴Ibid.
- ¹²⁵Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 190-91.
- ¹²⁶Ibid., p. 177.
- ¹²⁷Ibid., p. 187.
- ¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 193-94.
Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 126.
For the same observation on the adult level, see Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 484-85.
- ¹²⁹Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 390-93.
- ¹³⁰Maurice Duverger, The Political Role of Women (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), p. 129.
- ¹³¹Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 387-400.
Langton, "The Political Socialization Process: The Case of Secondary Schools in Jamaica," pp. 113-17.
Frederick W. Frey, "Socialization to National Identification Among Turkish Peasants," Journal of Politics, XXX (November, 1968), 856.

- 132 Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 485.
- 133 Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 390-94.
Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 485-88.
Frey, "Socialization To National Identification
Among Turkish Peasants," pp. 955-56.
In this same respect, increased IQ among girls,
reduces the differences found in the political attitudes
of male and female children.
Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of
Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 36-38.
White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political
Efficacy in Children," p. 731.
- 134 Langton and Jennings, "Political Socialization
and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States,"
pp. 857-59, 865-67.
- 135 For a description of the theoretical efforts in
political socialization, see Dennis, "Major Problems of
Political Socialization Research," pp. 89-114.
- 136 Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative
Politics," p. 17.
Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political
Systems," p. 397.
William C. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York:
The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 146.
- 137 Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative
Politics," p. 27.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr.,
Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston:
Little, Brown and Company, 1966), pp. 29-30.
- 140 Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, Chapter 12.
- 141 Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics: A
Developmental Approach, p. 23.
- 142 Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p. 14.
- 143 Ibid.
- 144 David Easton. A Systems Analysis of Political Life,
(New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 274. Also,

see David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 124-25.

Mitchell describes his approach in much the same way, ". . . political socialization has much to do with shaping the inputs of demands, expectations, resources and support that enter the polity." Mitchell, The American Polity, p. 146.

¹⁴⁵ Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis, p. 125. Also, see Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, pp. 272-74.

¹⁴⁶ Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis, p. 125.

¹⁴⁷ David Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization," Canadian Journal of Political Science, I (June, 1968), 135.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 142-44.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 146. He probably considers this statement to be a refutation of Almond's theoretical position.

¹⁵¹ Although brief reference is made to the political system, their research concentrates on the socialization process. Easton and Hess, "The Child's Political World," pp. 229-46. From his latest writing, it would appear that Easton considers his earlier research theoretically neutral in this regard. Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization," pp. 125-46.

A few additional micro-analytic works deserve recognition. Gerald Bender establishes four analytical categories, but they are nothing more than divisions of the field established for discussion purposes and have little theoretical utility. Gerald J. Bender, "Political Socialization and Political Change," Western Political Quarterly, XX (June, 1967), 390-407.

Lewis Froman concentrates on the use of personality as an intervening variable to explain the socialization process. Basically, he is critical of existing research from a psychological perspective. Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Personality and Political Socialization," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 341-71. Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, XV (June, 1962), 304-13.

¹⁵² Easton and Hess, "The Child's Political World," p. 233.

153 Ibid.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid., pp. 229-46.
Easton and Hess, "Youth and the Political System," pp. 226-51.

Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 632-44.

David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 40-57.

156 Easton and Hess, "Youth and the Political System," pp. 229-30.

157 Easton could very well be charged as having hoisted himself on his own critical petard of functional analysis.

Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization," p. 135. In this regard also, see Bender, "Political Socialization and Political Change," p. 407.

158 Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolution, pp. 43-51.

Albert Einstein, Relativity: The Special and General Theory (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1961), pp. 5-8.

159 Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization," pp. 125-46.

160 Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 19.

161 Ibid., p. 19.

162 Ibid., p. 19.

163 Ibid., p. 20.

164 Ibid., p. 21.

165 Ibid., p. 21.

CHAPTER II RESEARCH DESIGN

The objective of this dissertation is to examine the political attitudes of sixth grade children in four nations, observing the differences and similarities which appear. The vehicle used to accomplish this objective was a questionnaire administered to a random sample of sixth grade classrooms in a city selected in each of those four countries. (See Appendix A).

The four countries chosen for investigation were: the United States, Canada, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Since the majority of studies in political socialization have been concentrated in the United States, it was considered essential that one portion of this study constitute a United States sample. This offered a common base for comparison with most of the empirical research in political socialization and provided a base from which to measure whatever differences might appear between the four samples.

Canada was chosen, both for its geographic proximity to the United States and because it provided an English speaking population to match with the English speaking population in the United States' sample. The second point is important, as the Canadian sample offered a means to check for cultural bias in a questionnaire formulated and pretested in the United States.¹

The two Central American countries were chosen for similar reasons. Nicaragua provided a base for measuring the cultural bias which might appear in a Spanish questionnaire developed from pilot studies conducted in Costa Rica.² Furthermore, while the two countries share a common border, they have marked differences in their respective political histories and cultural compositions.³ Thus, the countries chosen provided a linguistic cross comparison in addition to a four nation comparison.

In each of the countries identified a city was chosen in the 25,000-50,000 population category: Fort William, Ontario, Canada; Cartago, Costa Rica; León, Nicaragua; Lawrence, Kansas, United States.⁴ These specific cities were chosen for the following reasons.

First, none of the cities selected is a national or independent regional political center.⁵ It was hoped that the selection of a non capital city would provide response patterns more representative of each national population, and not reflect the unique political climate of a capital city.

Second, cities of the size described are more amenable to research with limited economic resources available for investigation.

Third, the overwhelming amount of research in political socialization has been concentrated in cities of 100,000 or

greater populations. The majority of these studies have been conducted in large metropolitan centers in the United States.⁶ Thus, the choice of smaller population centers would allow an examination of the reliability of information gleaned from large urban units.

Fourth, to achieve a degree of uniformity of city size, it was necessary to conform to the contingencies of the countries selected. In Costa Rica and Nicaragua, aside from the national capitals, the second largest urban units were the cities selected for examination. Thus, the size of the Central American cities acted as a determinant on the selections made in Canada and the United States.

In each of these cities, a random selection was made of the sixth grade school populations. This constitutes the sample for each country. The sixth grade was chosen for the following reasons.

First, in Costa Rica and Nicaragua this is the final grade in which these countries require compulsory attendance.⁷ Consequently, the largest number of students representing the national socio-political spectrum would be found at this level. Secondary school populations tend to be more representative of an elite population, even though schooling is free to those who pursue a post primary education. Furthermore, sufficient empirical evidence exists to suggest that little is added to school attitude development beyond the primary level.⁸ Therefore,

investigation of sixth grade populations would offer an impression of child political attitudes at the culmination of a formative socialization period.

Second, scholastic examinations are generally oral at the elementary grade level in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Thus, sixth grade children, who have had a few encounters with a written test format, would experience less difficulty in responding to a written questionnaire than their younger counterparts.⁹

The total sixth grade population in each city and the test population selected were as follows: Fort William, Ontario, Total - 656, Test - 228; Cartago, Costa Rica, Total - 620, Test - 223; León, Nicaragua, Total - 323, Test - 218; Lawrence, Kansas, Total - 607, Test - 209.¹⁰ As is evident, the ratios differ between the countries. For design purposes, the objective was to secure at least one third of the total student population in the sixth grade. In each test case, the random selection provided a complete socio-economic cross section of the city. While the Canadian, American and Costa Rican samples accomplish this objective, the Nicaraguan population is greater than one half of the total student population in the sixth grade.

The possible explanations for the differences that arise are several. School District No. 497 in Lawrence, Kansas is an aggregate of the city and surrounding rural populations. Thus the stated total student population is

a composite of an area greater than metropolitan Lawrence. In Fort William the same fact is true, except that the district boundaries do not extend into the surrounding rural areas as extensively as the United States' example. Almost all of the Canadian student population is accounted for by the greater metropolitan area.¹¹

In the Central American test areas, the central city is more narrowly defined and does not include rural areas or some of the suburban populations. However, an additional observation must be offered in this respect. Regardless of the laws compelling school attendance, enforcement does not appear to be as effective as in the North American examples. As one walks about the streets of these cities, it is evident that some of the primary age youngsters are not in attendance and in fact are employed in the working population. This would probably affect the lower ends of the socio-economic spectrum. Unfortunately, no empirical data exists on this point. Consequently, one is compelled to rely on impressions after having lived in these areas.

Another factor to be considered in Central America is the number of private schools operating in each of these cities. However, one of the reasons prompting selection of cities in this population category was the low number of private schools. Most of these schools are concentrated in the capital cities. From discussions with school officials it was apparent that few children in either

Cartago or León attended private schools either in the local area or in the capital cities.¹²

The questionnaire adopted for use in this investigation was a product of four pilot studies, two in the United States and two in Costa Rica. As a starting point, Greenstein's New Haven questionnaire was adopted, modified and then distributed to a test sample in Lawrence, Kansas.¹³ On the basis of this initial effort, a questionnaire was developed which was more amenable to statistical analysis and consistent with the prevailing research interests in the field of political socialization. To maintain a degree of continuity with previous studies, some of the scales used in political socialization research were incorporated in the questionnaire design in addition to new scales which evolved from the pilot research.¹⁴ The design attempted to maintain a degree of consistency with research in political socialization and provide a cross national sample in which these scales could be tested for their utility in revealing political attitudes in countries other than the United States.

The same questionnaire format was used in all four countries to provide a common instrument for comparison. Thus, the national questionnaire containing the fewest number of responses (Nicaragua), corresponds with a like response in the other three questionnaires. (See Appendix A.) The latter statement suggests a variation in

questionnaire size. This was a result of the following:

First, the existence of a greater number of political parties in some of the countries produced a larger number of party questions. The most notable example of this is the Canadian five party system in contrast to the Nicaraguan two party system.

Second, certain of the questions were culturally relative to the two English speaking populations. For example, the efficacy question was deleted which stated: "What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government." In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the concept of weather is not a topic of interest in the sense intended. One official in Nicaragua observed that it was always hot and the only variation which occurred was the presence or absence of rain.¹⁵ Consequently, the concept of weather change is meaningless in this ecological setting and would not be understood by the students.

Third, the questionnaire and some of the questions were shortened in Central America to avoid student fatigue.¹⁶ As mentioned previously in this chapter, this experience was one of the few times these youngsters were confronted with a written examination. While the students and their teachers responded enthusiastically to this experience, it was feared that a lengthy questionnaire would be both

confusing and exhausting. Thus, an efficacy scale was used in all of the countries, but in Costa Rica and Nicaragua it contained fewer items.¹⁷ However, these items were identical to those included in Canada and the United States.

Likewise, the number of responses to some of the questions was reduced at the advice of local school officials. In questions which asked for a judgment of a political official or institution, the Canadian and American questionnaires allowed a response pattern as follows: Don't Know, Very Good, Fairly Good, Not Very Good, and Bad. The Central American equivalent allowed an abbreviated version of this pattern: bien, regular, mal, no sé.¹⁸

Fourth, the political culture in Costa Rica and Nicaragua was sensitive to certain types of questions. An example of this point were the authority questions which scaled the president's competency and compared him to the child's father. These questions were eliminated in Central America as they aroused considerable consternation among political and school officials.¹⁹ Ironically, no objection was raised to judging the President or other political officials on scales ranging from good to bad. Consequently, by an indirect route the same sort of information was obtained. Fortunately the changes were few in number and did not affect the ambition of the comparative research design.

The procedure for administering the questionnaires varied among the four countries. In Canada and the United States, the author personally distributed and administered the questionnaires. The appearance of an investigator in the classrooms did not produce an unusual or unsettling affect upon the students. In Fort William, Ontario, the presence of an American was not a unique encounter for the youngsters, and consequently did not disrupt their concentration on the questionnaire.

Both of the Central American countries presented a different situation. As a result of discussions with school officials, it was decided that the presence of an American in the classroom would provoke considerable excitement among students and teachers alike and might affect questionnaire response.²⁰ To avoid this problem, a different strategy was employed. In both Cartago, Costa Rica and León, Nicaragua a teacher was hired whose classroom was not among those tested. After an interview and brief training period, the teacher then distributed and administered the questionnaires. The strategy was quite successful, as the presence of a native did not result in any disturbance within the classroom. Likewise, the classroom teachers were not motivated to interfere with the examination process, which might have occurred with the presence of a foreign national in the classroom.

For purposes of this dissertation, political socialization will be operationally defined in terms of the political information, judgments, preferences and demographic data elicited by the questionnaires. The following operational definitions will constitute the limits of these terms as used in this investigation.

Academic Aptitude. This term was operationally defined by having the classroom teacher evaluate the academic performance of each student on a basis of high, medium or low.²¹ The reason this procedure was adopted in place of IQ scores is quite obvious. While intelligence tests are relatively common in Canada and the United States, they are virtually non-existent in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. In order to preserve continuity in scaling among the four countries, the only alternative approach was teacher evaluation. It should be added, that the placement of students in the three groups named is a common procedure in all four countries.

Broken-Home. This term was operationally defined on the basis of the child's home environment. If a youngster came from a home where there lived only one parent, the parents were divorced or separated, then it was recorded as a broken home as opposed to a non broken home. Naturally, this information was secured from the teachers or school records and not from the child involved. Unfortunately, this specific information was confined to Canada and the

United States. In Central America this type of information was unavailable, either because the teachers did not wish to divulge the data, they did not know or record such information, or it was considered privileged information. Whatever the cause, it was simply unavailable in these two countries.

Political Efficacy. This term was operationally defined by the students' response to questions on their feelings of efficacy in the political system.²² The specific questions in the questionnaire will be related in the analysis of this item in subsequent chapters. Efficacy questions appeared in all of the questionnaires. However the number of questions in the scale was seven in Canada and the United States and four in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. This is a result of the reasons described earlier in this chapter. Since children do not generally participate directly in political decisions, the questions were worded so that the youngsters would appraise their family's efficacy toward the political system.²³

Judgment Scale. This term was operationally defined by student response to questions which requested that the students judge certain political figures and institutions in their respective countries. Their willingness to judge was gauged by response to these questions.²⁴ In Canada and the United States the number of judgments was six and in Costa Rica and Nicaragua it was four.

Mobility. This term was operationally defined by response to a question which asked for the student's city of birth. While this only provided a crude index, it nevertheless facilitated some insight on the respondent's geographic background. Naturally, causes for mobility vary from one city to the next. This aspect of the questionnaire will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Party Identification. This term was operationally defined by the student's response to the following question, "If you were old enough to vote now, which party would you favor most of the time?"²⁵ In each country, the major active political parties were listed with an additional item stating "another party" should the respondent wish to designate a party not included on the list. In addition to questions on their own party affiliation, each child was asked to designate the affiliation of his friends, and his father and mother. In this manner it was possible to observe the relationship between a respondent's party behavior and that of his peers and parents. (See Appendix A.)

Political Authority. This term was operationally defined by response to questions which requested student appraisal of the President or Prime Minister. In Canada and the United States this item included six questions, four which asked for a judgment of the primary political

leader, and two which asked for a comparison of the leader to the child's father.²⁶ As related earlier in this chapter, these were the questions which were deleted in Costa Rica and Nicaragua due to the sensitivity of the political climate. In order to gain some knowledge of child attitudes toward the President in Central America, it was necessary to compare responses to the judgment question which asked for a judgment of the President, ranging from good to bad. While this does not provide an equivalent measure to the procedure used in the two North American countries, the fact that the same judgment question appeared in all four countries at least allows some comparative measure of child perception of political authority.

Political Perception. This term was operationally defined by the student's performance on a series of questions which asked for information on contemporary political events, political personalities and political institutions.²⁷ The number of questions varied from a high of thirty in Canada to a low of nineteen in Nicaragua, depending upon the number of political parties and institutions in each country.²⁸ The responses to questions on the Political Perception scale were judged to be accurate or inaccurate and then a score was given to each respondent. Naturally, the score was a product of the total number of correct answers. By this procedure it was possible to give each student a per cent score depending upon his total and

the total possible correct responses to that national questionnaire. Thus, in Canada a score of thirty was given a 100 per cent rating and a score of twenty a 66 per cent rating. In this manner it was possible to compare response patterns to the political perception scale in all four countries.

Socio-Economic Status. This term was operationally defined by examining parental occupations and placing these occupations into a dichotomy of either High/SES or Low/SES. The justification for adopting this procedure is twofold.

First, this particular technique has been widely used in research in political socialization and found to be successful in discriminating between social status groups.²⁹ The same procedure was adopted in pilot studies preparing for this investigation and it proved to be statistically capable of differentiating between high and low socio-economic backgrounds.

Second, while this particular methodological process has proven its utility as a discriminating technique, the approach has a strong theoretical justification.

The British sociologist, T. H. Marshall, observes that income and income groupings are not the most effective methods of separating social class. He suggests that social status is, "a man's general standing vis-a-vis the other members of a society or some sections of it."³⁰

". . . We are concerned not only with the objective of acts, such as rights, wealth, or education, but also with the way in which two people regard each other, that is to say with reciprocal attitudes expressed in reciprocal behavior."³¹

This latter point is particularly important in regard to comparative analysis. In each of the communities examined, it was necessary to ascertain which professions were accorded deference as high or low social status occupations. For example, it was necessary to acknowledge that certain skilled occupations in Central America are rewarded economically and socially with a deference which they do not receive in either Canada or the United States.³² Thus it was possible to place parental occupations into brackets of High or Low/SES, only after a detailed examination of occupational status in each country.

Spatial Perception Scale. This term was operationally defined by response to questions about the child's community, nation, and his reaction to other national and international political units. This particular scale was devised after examining the work of Gustav Janoda on attitudes toward nation among elementary school children in Scotland.³³ Although four of the questions in each questionnaire asked whether a student had heard of a particular political unit, these responses were followed by an open ended request to describe that particular political unit. These

eight responses, when coupled with an open ended request to describe the respondent's local and national political units, provided a means by which to measure their political perceptions of their political world vis-a-vis the outside world.

The answers received on open ended questions were divided into nine brackets, which best described the nature of the response. These specific nine categories were selected after a preliminary reading of the response patterns which appeared in all four countries. In this manner it was hoped that a natural breakdown would be achieved, rather than allotting each response to a pre-determined category.³⁴

On the basis of the pilot studies and the review of the literature in the first chapter, it is possible to suggest the following General Hypothesis; a high similarity will be found in the political attitudes held by sixth grade children in the four countries selected for this investigation.³⁵ This hypothesis infers that children in these countries undergo a similar process of induction into their respective political worlds. Under this general hypothesis, it is possible to offer additional hypotheses, more specific in their expectation.

1. On the basis of previous research in political socialization, it is expected that a strong relationship will be found between a child's party

identification and that of his parents.³⁶ Since this will be the first comparative attempt to test this relationship among primary school children, it will be interesting to observe whether youngsters in the other three countries will respond in the same manner as their American counterparts.

2. From preliminary findings in the pilot studies, it is expected that socio-economic status will be a major explanatory variable in describing differences in socialization patterns.

3. Sex differences have been repeatedly used to describe variations in the development of political attitudes in children.³⁷ While it is expected that sex differences will appear in questionnaire response, it is also expected that its importance as an explanatory variable will be greater in those countries where sex roles are more traditionally separated, such as Nicaragua.

4. On the basis of the pilot studies, it is expected that Academic Aptitude will be important in explaining variations in question response. Where differences occur, they will probably relate more strongly to questions of a cognitive nature.³⁸

The strategy for the subsequent chapters will follow a fairly simple format. In four of the chapters, each

national sample will be examined independently to observe the specific response patterns which occur. This will provide a profile of each country. The four countries will be compared to one another to observe the differences and similarities in response patterns. Finally, the concluding chapter will correlate these findings with existing research in the field of political socialization to observe what this investigation contributes to an understanding of political attitudes in children.

FOOTNOTES

¹The first pilot study was conducted in June, 1966 in Lawrence, Kansas. James W. Kolka, "Political Socialization: A Pilot Study," seminar paper prepared for Professor Herman D. Lujan, University of Kansas, 1967. (Typewritten) This questionnaire was revised and again pretested in Lawrence, Kansas in February, 1968.

²The Costa Rican pretests were both conducted in San José, Costa Rica in the summer of 1967. The first of these tests was submitted to a longitudinal sample of elementary children in July, 1967. The revised questionnaire was tested on a sixth grade sample in August, 1967.

³For an historical treatment of these two countries see, Lorenzo Montúfar, Reseña Histórica de Centro America. Tomo Cuarto. (Guatemala: El Progreso, 1881), Capitulo IX-Nicaragua, Capitulo XVI-Costa Rica.

For a cultural-geographical description see, Robert C. West and John G. Augelli. Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 1-19, 427-51.

For political descriptions see, James L. Busey, "Foundations of Political Contrast: Costa Rica and Nicaragua," Western Political Quarterly, XI (September, 1958), 627-59.

James L. Busey, Notes on Costa Rican Democracy, University of Colorado Studies, Series in Political Science, No. 2 (Boulder Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1962).

Robert L. Peterson, "Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua," in Political Forces in Latin America, ed. by Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 57-90.

Robert D. Tomasek, "Costa Rica," in Political Forces in Latin America, ed. by Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 91-114.

José Francisco Trejos, Origen y Desarrollo de la Democracia en Costa Rica (San José: Editorial Trejos Hermanos, 1939).

⁴The specific populations for each of these cities are as follows:

Fort William, Ontario - 48,208, Ministry of Trade and Commerce, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book Division. Canada Yearbook 1968 (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1968), p. 201.

Cartago, Costa Rica - 52,075 for the Canton Central. However, for the Central City the figure is approximately 30,000, Ministerio de Industria y Comercio, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. Población Total de la República de Costa Rica por Provincias, Cantones y Distritos: Calculo al 1 de Enero de 1967 (San José, Costa Rica: Sección de Publicaciones, 1967), p. 10.

León, Nicaragua - 45,000. Paul C. Roberts and Takako Konda eds. Statistical Abstract of Latin America 1966, 10th ed. (Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California Los Angeles, 1967), p. 58.

Lawrence, Kansas - 31,705. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Population of Kansas, January 1, 1968: As Reported by County Assessors (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1968), p. 4.

It should be noted that the Kansas Census, unlike the U.S. Census, does not include the population of the University of Kansas located within the city. The inclusion of this group, approximately 15,000 in 1968, would increase the population of Lawrence to 48,000.

⁵ Although Cartago is the capital of the Province of Cartago and León the capital of the District of León, neither city constitutes an independent political base in the manner of an American state capital such as Topeka, Kansas or a Canadian provincial capital such as Toronto, Ontario. Costa Rica and Nicaragua are governed centrally from their respective national capitals of San José and Managua. All appointments to regional posts in Cartago and León are made by the National Presidential administrations. See the political references in n. 3 of this chapter.

⁶ A review of the sources cited on political socialization in Chapter I illustrates this point.

⁷ For Costa Rica see, Costa Rica, Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Costa Rica, Articulo 78, Titulo VII.

The information for Leon was obtained from Profesora Eva Castellón Barreto who is the department chief of, La Inspección Departamental de Educación Pública de León, June, 1968.

⁸ Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 50-52. For the importance of education among the elementary grades see, Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children

(Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 219. For the observation that the secondary years are not formative see, Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, LIII (September, 1967), 865-66.

⁹Dr. Mariano Fiallos, Decano, Facultad de Ciencias y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua, June, 1968. The fact that younger children experience difficulty with written examinations was apparent in the pretest of fourth and fifth grade children in San José, Costa Rica, July, 1967.

¹⁰The information for Fort William, Ontario, Canada was obtained from Mr. J. O. Lees, Superintendent of Public Schools, Fort William, Ontario, April, 1968.

The information for Cartago, Costa Rica was obtained from Ministerio de Educacion Publica, Departamento de Estadistica, San José, Costa Rica. August, 1968.

The information for León, Nicaragua was obtained from Profesora Eva Castellón Barreto, La Inspección Departamental de Educación Pública de León, June, 1968.

The information for Lawrence, Kansas was obtained from Dr. Robert Ramsey, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Lawrence Unified School District No. 497, Lawrence, Kansas. March, 1968.

¹¹The exact populations served by the respective school districts is probably the most difficult information to obtain. They closely approximate the figures listed in n. 4. From discussions with school officials in León, Nicaragua, it appears that this is the most strictly defined district in being confined to the Central City.

¹²The figures on the number of private schools in Cartago and León were not particularly high. The approximate figure would be less than ten per cent of the school populations of these cities. As stated, school officials in both of these cities observed that the largest number of private schools are found in the national capitals of San José and Managua.

¹³Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 174-179. Also see n. 1 of this chapter.

¹⁴The specific scales used will be specified later in this chapter when they are discussed in greater detail.

¹⁵Dr. Mariano Fiallos, June, 1968.

¹⁶This procedure was adopted at the recommendation of Dr. Fiallos in Nicaragua and in Costa Rica at the recommendation of Don Luis Alfonso Arguedas A., Asesor General de Segunda Ensenanza, Ministerio de Educacion Publica, San Jose, Costa Rica. August, 1967. Likewise, it was apparent that such a step was necessary after evaluation of the Costa Rican pretests of 1967.

¹⁷The number of questions in the efficacy scale for Canada and the United States was seven. In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the number was four. (See Appendix A.)

¹⁸The reduction in question size was also made at the recommendation of school officials and after evaluation of the pretests. (See Appendix B.)

¹⁹The decision to delete these questions was made for two reasons:

1. School officials in Nicaragua were skeptical that a questionnaire could be administered with the inclusion of such questions. They feared it would raise political problems.
2. After the pretests in the summer of 1967, a random sample was drawn, and 400 questionnaires distributed among selected schools in San Jose, Costa Rica. Although sixty of these questionnaires were returned, the Ministry of Education halted all research projects in the schools before the remaining questionnaires were collected. This resulted from a number of reasons, most of them dealing with the problems between the Ministry, the Press and the teachers. However, at that time, it was suggested that certain questions caused considerable anxiety among school officials. With their deletion in 1968, no difficulties whatsoever were experienced.

²⁰Officials, teachers and students appeared to be enthusiastic about the questionnaire. It was feared that the presence of a foreigner in the classroom might prompt coaching or instruction by elementary teachers. The method devised diminished the foreign presence. Consequently, no difficulties were experienced in questionnaire administration.

²¹This strategy was applied in the pilot study and worked quite successfully. For studies using I.Q. as a

measure see,

David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 34-36.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

²²This scale was originally used in student samples by, Easton and Dennis, "The Childs Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," 25-38. It has also been used in the following studies.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 34-36, 68-69, 149-50.

Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch and Frederick J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 566-67.

Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review LXII (September, 1968), 856.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy," pp. 710-31.

²³This same procedure of rewording the questions for youngsters was done by Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," pp. 28-31.

Easton and Dennis recommended the use of boxes and circles as answering devices in efficacy questions to assist children in conceptualizing the strength of their responses. While this worked successfully in Canada and the United States, it only succeeded in confusing youngsters in Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

Therefore, in the latter two countries, responses were simplified and placed in a written format, which asked for answers of, agreement, disagreement or don't know. (See the four country questionnaires in Appendix A.)

²⁴This approach was used in the pilot study and found to be successful in yielding response patterns. It was originally prompted by the questionnaire in Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 174-79.

²⁵This is a format similar to the one used by Greenstein, Ibid., p. 178.

²⁶This type of approach was originally formulated in, Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing

Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

Using the findings of this study, it was then applied to a cross national sample, Robert D. Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, XV (No. 4, 1963), 542-59. The scale adopted for use in this investigation is shorter than those used by Easton or Hess. Likewise, a "no answer" category was added, which did not exist in either of their research designs. (See Appendix B for the questionnaire keys.)

²⁷This strategy was developed in the pilot study and found to be quite successful describing response patterns. It provided the only instance where correct responses could be tallied and a score awarded to each student. Thus, a student who scored twenty correct answers in Canada has five more correct responses than a student who scored fifteen.

²⁸The specific number of questions and possible correct answers will be described in the subsequent chapters examining each country.

²⁹Some examples of this approach can be found in the following studies.

Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," p. 35, n. 17.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 228-29.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 714.

For purposes of simplification, social status was dichotomized into groups of high and low rather than trichotomized into high, medium and low as done in some of the studies cited. This strategy worked most successfully in the pilot study and various pretest routines.

³⁰T. H. Marshall, Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Anchor Books (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 197.

³¹Ibid.

³²The placement of occupations into social status groups was accomplished with the aid of school officials in these countries. Also I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Mariano Fiallos, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua and Profesor Milton Clarke Binns, Universidad de Costa Rica.

³³Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality: Part I: The Conceptual Framework," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (February, 1963), 47-60.

Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality: Part II; National Symbols XXXIII (June, 1963), 143-53.

³⁴For a detailed description of the nine categories, see the spatial perception questions in the coded questionnaire key in Appendix B.

³⁵The basis for this hypothesis are the preliminary findings in the pretests in Costa Rica and the United States. In the only other cross national study, Hess found perceptions of authority to be similar in the five countries sampled. Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," pp. 542-59.

³⁶This too was evident from the pretests in Costa Rica and the United States. For a review of parental influence upon child party identification see, Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 195-211, 219.

³⁷Ibid., Chapter 8.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 6.

³⁸Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 171.

CHAPTER III

CANADA

The Canadian site selected for this investigation was Fort William, Ontario. It is a city with a population of 48,208, situated at the Canadian lakehead on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, 865 miles west of the provincial capital of Toronto, and 190 miles northeast of Duluth, Minnesota.¹ The economic base of the metropolitan area is industrial, with bulk storage and shipping providing the major source of employment. Fort William, along with its sister city of Port Arthur, serves as the storage terminal and lake ports for the agricultural and mining output of the Canadian prairie provinces.²

A random selection of sixth grade classrooms in Fort William resulted in eight test schools out of the thirteen elementary schools in the city. A breakdown of the socioeconomic populations served by the schools, produced the following results: two of the schools were located in upper income residential areas, three were located in middle income residential areas, and three were located in lower income residential areas.³

None of the sixth grade youngsters tested had been exposed to a formal course in government or civics. Although the teachers could have discussed political matters in studies of current events, the classroom teachers

suggested that most of their time was directed to formal coursework.⁴ Thus, the questionnaire primarily tested information gleaned from informal learning channels, such as parents, peer group associations and media contact. One additional factor should be mentioned in regard to this particular sample. The questionnaires were distributed from May 22-24, 1968. Prime Minister Trudeau had called a national election for June 25, 1968. Since this event was the major focus of Canadian television, radio and the press, it is possible the immediacy of the event had some impact on questionnaire response. If such an impact exists, some trace of this fact should be visible in the response patterns.

Before examining the scale items, it would be instructive to briefly outline the demographic characteristics of the sample population. The academic ranking of students by their teachers produced the following percentages: High - 27.6, Medium - 45.6, Low - 26.7. While the age of the youngsters ranged from ten to fifteen, 82.4 per cent were concentrated in the eleven to twelve age bracket.⁵ Socio-economic status was obtained after evaluating the father's occupation. This procedure yielded the following SES breakdown: High - 34.2 per cent and Low - 65.7 per cent. Two-thirds (68.4 per cent) of the youngsters identified Fort William as their place of birth. Information provided by the teachers revealed that ten per cent

of the students came from broken homes. Finally, the sex of the respondents is as follows, male - 56.4 per cent and female - 43.4 per cent.⁶

IMAGE OF AUTHORITY

As described in the first chapter, one of the earliest and most persistent themes attracting interest in political socialization, is the image of authority held by children. To maintain a degree of continuity with previous research efforts, some of the "Image of Authority" questions developed by Easton and Hess were included in the Canadian and American questionnaires.⁷ The pilot studies indicated a degree of confusion among the youngsters as to the meaning of a few of the questions. For that reason, the wording was simplified to aid response. The responses to these questions were coded in four categories, high, medium, low, or no answer. For questions 7-10, high means that the children regard the Prime Minister higher than most men, medium means that they regard him the same as most men, and low means that they regard him lower than most men. For questions 11-12, high means that the child regards his father higher than the Prime Minister, medium means that the father and the Prime Minister are regarded equally and low means that the child's father is regarded lower than the Prime

Minister. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 1.⁸

7. The Prime Minister is more honest, as honest, less honest than most men.
8. The Prime Minister works harder, as hard, does not work as hard as most men.
9. The Prime Minister is concerned with just about everybody, is concerned with people the same as everybody else, is not concerned with many people.
10. The Prime Minister is smarter, as smart, not as smart as most people.
11. My father works harder, works as hard, works less hard than the Prime Minister.
12. My father is more honest, as honest, not as honest as the Prime Minister.

TABLE 1
IMAGES OF AUTHORITY IN PER CENT

Question No.	High	Medium	Low	No Answer
7.	25.8	72.3	1.3	0.4
8.	51.3	39.0	8.3	1.3
9.	58.7	36.8	3.0	1.3
10.	33.7	62.2	3.0	0.8
11.	6.5 ^a	64.9	19.2	3.9
12.	6.5 ^a	85.5	5.2	2.6

^aIn this instance high refers to the child's father vis-a-vis the Prime Minister.

From a reading of questions 7-10, it is apparent that the Prime Minister fares no worse than most men and

in questions 8-9 he is regarded higher than most men by at least one-half of the students. While these responses indicate that the Canadian children's view of the Prime Minister is positive, the judgments are not as high as the results found by Hess and Easton in their United States sample. Hess and Easton found that 67-75 per cent of their sixth grade sample regarded the President higher than most people. Furthermore, they found that only 2-4 per cent of their sixth grade sample regarded the President lower than most people.⁹ This latter point compares equally with the Canadian sample except for question eight where 8.3 per cent stated that the Prime Minister did not work as hard as most men. The contrast is evident, the Canadian sample preferred to judge the Prime Minister as the equal of most men, and in two instances at least one-half of the youngsters judged the Prime Minister higher than most men. Hess and Easton found that at least two-thirds of their sample regarded the President higher than most men.

In the comparison between the child's father and the Prime Minister, an interesting phenomenon develops. When related to a specific man, the child's father, the Prime Minister emerges on more of an equal footing. Of course, it is possible that the child regards his father much higher than most men. In this sense, the comparison complements the image held of the Prime Minister and

suggests that a child's father is an authority figure of similar importance at this grade level. However, these findings also deviate from the results found by Hess and Easton. Although 19.2 per cent of the Canadian children stated that the Prime Minister worked harder than their fathers, 42 per cent of the sample examined by Hess and Easton made the same declaration.¹⁰ Question 12 comparing the Prime Minister's honesty to the father's honesty, received a response pattern virtually identical to the pattern observed by Hess and Easton. As with the previous questions comparing the Prime Minister to most men, the children in the Canadian sample also preferred to judge the Prime Minister as the equal of their fathers.

To summarize for image of authority,

1. Except for questions eight and nine where at least one-half of the Canadian sample stated that the Prime Minister worked harder than most men and he is concerned with just about everybody, Canadian children prefer to judge the Prime Minister as the equal of most people. This contrasts with the findings of Hess and Easton where at least two-thirds of their sample judged the President higher than most men.¹¹

2. When comparing the Prime Minister to their fathers, Canadian children prefer to consider the two men equal. This contrasts with the findings of Hess and Easton where

42 per cent of their sample stated that the President worked harder than their fathers.¹²

KNOWLEDGE OF AUTHORITY

An examination of the children's knowledge of Canadian political leaders offers an additional insight on their image of political authority. To unearth this information, two types of questions were used.¹³ The first type, of which there are three asked whether the children "had heard" of the Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson the previous Prime Minister, and of Robert Lorne Stanfield. (Stanfield was the leader of the major opposition party in the 1968 elections, the Progressive Conservative Party.) The responses are coded as yes, no, or no answer.¹⁴ The specific questions used are as follows, with the results in Table 2.

- 4. a. Have you heard of the Prime Minister of Canada?
- 13. a. Have you heard of Robert Lorne Stanfield?
- 34. a. Have you heard of Lester Pearson?

TABLE 2

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT. A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
4. a.	97.3	0.4	2.1
13. a.	79.8	16.6	3.5
34. a.	96.9	3.0	0.0

^aThe letter A is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

It is evident from Table 2 that questions placed in this format received a large number of students who claimed knowledge of the two leaders. In Table 3, a new dimension has been added. For these questions, the children were asked to either identify a political leader or describe his job. The responses were coded as accurate, inaccurate, don't know or no answer.¹⁵ The specific questions are as follows, with the results appearing in Table 3.

- 4. b. What is his name? (Refers to the Prime Minister of Canada.)
- 5. What is the main job of the Prime Minister of Canada?
- 13. b. What does he do? (Refers to Robert Lorne Stanfield.)
- 15. Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?
- 16. What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do?
- 21. Name one member of the House of Commons from the Province of Ontario.
- 22. Who is the Mayor of Fort William, Ontario?
- 23. What kinds of things does the Mayor do?
- 34. b. What does he do? (Refers to Lester Pearson.)

Table 3 is interesting from a number of perspectives. The two questions referring to Stanfield, No. 13. a. in Table 2 and No. 13. b. in Table 3 raise a methodological question about the use of a close-ended question format.

TABLE 3
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT. B.^a

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
4. b.	80.2	7.0	0.8	11.8
5.	64.9	1.7	2.6	30.7
13. b.	33.3	13.1	7.0	46.4
15.	30.2	18.8	45.1	5.7
16.	37.2	10.5	4.3	47.8
21.	10.9	18.4	63.1	7.4
22.	68.4	7.8	20.1	3.5
23.	63.5	3.0	1.7	31.5
34. b.	60.0	10.9	0.8	28.0

^aThe letter B is used to refer to those open questions which were coded in four categories.

Although 13. a. seeks knowledge of the man and 13. b. seeks knowledge of his job, the sharp drop in correct response from 79.8 per cent to 33.3 per cent suggests that students could choose a yes response to a question (13. a.) which they would have difficulty formulating if left to their own devices (13. b.).

Questions 5, 13. b., 16, 23, and 34. b. suggest, that in general, it is more difficult to respond with descriptions of political function than it is to identify a political figure.¹⁶ The exception to this rule is the children's greater facility in describing the Prime Minister's function and a lower facility in identifying

him by name. While this stands as an exception, it should also be noted that only 30.2 per cent of the sample were capable of identifying the Provincial Prime Minister by name and only 37.2 per cent were capable of identifying his function. Accurate responses to both of these questions are quite low.

Canadian children also demonstrate a greater awareness of the dominant national political figure, the Prime Minister of Canada, than they do of other political figures. To illustrate this point, 80.2 per cent of the sample successfully identified the National Prime Minister. This contrasts sharply with the 70.5 per cent who were unable to name a member of the House of Commons, the 53.4 per cent who were unable to identify Robert Stanfield as a political leader of the opposition party, the 50.8 per cent who were unable to identify the Provincial Prime Minister, the 23.6 per cent who were unable to identify the mayor of Fort William, and the 28.8 per cent who were unable to identify Lester Pearson as the former Prime Minister of Canada.

Superficially, Table 3 would appear to substantiate Greenstein's axiom that, "children clearly are first aware of federal and local government."¹⁷ However, to draw a general conclusion in Canada from a city so distant from the provincial capital seems hasty, without sampling other cities more proximal to the regional center of power.

Thus far, the analysis has been directed toward knowledge of political figures. The next set of questions examines children's awareness of political institutions, in this case the Parliaments of Canada and the Province of Ontario, and the Canadian Cabinet. First, are those questions which ask whether the youngsters "have heard" of these institutions.

3. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of Canada?
 36. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of the Province of Ontario?
 41. a. Have you heard of the Canadian Cabinet?

TABLE 4

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT. A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
3. a.	81.1	14.4	4.3
36. a.	60.5	33.7	5.7
41. a.	55.2	37.7	7.0

^aThe letter A is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

Following each of these questions is a request to describe the respective functions of the two Parliaments. These questions are reprinted below with the results in Table 5.

3. b. What does it do? (Refers to the Parliament of Canada.)
 36. b. What does it do? (Refers to the Parliament of the Province of Ontario.)

41. b. What does it do? (Refers to the Canadian Cabinet.)

TABLE 5

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT. B.^a

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
3. b.	50.4	1.7	3.0	44.7
36. b.	25.0	2.1	4.3	68.4
41. b.	15.3	1.7	10.5	72.3

^aThe letter B is used to refer to those open questions which were coded in four categories.

Three things are evident from these tables. There is a sharp drop in per cent when the students are asked to describe the function of a political institution. The youngsters in Fort William show a greater awareness of the national parliament and its political function than of the provincial parliament and its political function. Finally, the fact that only 15.3 per cent of the sample were successfully able to describe the function of the Canadian Cabinet suggests that the Cabinet is an unknown entity among Canadian children.

To summarize for knowledge of authority,

1. Canadian children are more familiar with their National Prime Minister than they are with other national political figures, provincial political figures, or the major local political figure.

2. Canadian children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in identifying his function. In the singular exception to this rule (the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario), both responses identifying name and function proved to be low.

3. Canadian children demonstrate a greater awareness of their National Parliament and a lower awareness of their provincial Parliament of the Canadian Cabinet.

4. Canadian children show a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in identifying its function.

POLITICAL JUDGMENT

Another device used to assess children's image of authority was to question their judgment of institutions of political authority and of individuals who occupy positions of political authority. These questions are a modification of a format developed by Greenstein.¹⁸ The responses are coded as follows: VG - very good, FG - fairly good, NVG - not very good, B - bad, DK - don't know, NA - no answer.¹⁹ The six judgment questions are listed below with the results appearing in Table 6.

6. Do you think the Prime Minister has been doing things that are good for Canada?
17. What kind of job has the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario been doing?

24. Has the mayor been doing a good job?
27. If Robert Lorne Stanfield becomes Prime Minister in 1968, do you think he will be a good Prime Minister?
43. Do you think the Parliament of Canada makes laws that are good for the country?
44. Do you think the Parliament of the Province of Ontario makes laws that are good for the Province?

TABLE 6
POLITICAL JUDGMENTS IN PER CENT

Question	VG	FG	NVG	B	DK	NA
6.	27.1	46.0	5.2	0.4	19.2	1.7
17.	29.8	42.1	2.1	0.4	20.1	5.2
24.	41.6	42.9	3.9	0.8	10.0	0.4
27.	17.5	36.4	6.1	4.8	34.6	0.4
43.	38.5	46.0	2.2	1.8	10.7	1.3
44.	34.5	45.6	1.8	1.8	15.0	1.3

It is apparent from responses to the judgment questions that Canadian children hold a positive image of persons and institutions of political authority. Except for question 27, judging Robert Lorne Stanfield's capabilities as a Prime Minister, the remaining five questions received at least a 70 per cent favorable response. It

will be recalled from Table 2, that only 33.3 per cent of the students were able to accurately recall Stanfield's political function, yet in Table 6, 53.9 per cent judged him favorably. From these responses it would appear that sixth grade students in Fort William hold a positive attitude toward persons and institutions of political authority, even though they find it difficult to describe some of their functions.

Even though Canadian children favorably judge political leaders and institutions, at least one-fifth of the sample did not give judgments for the prime ministers of Canada and the Province of Ontario. In addition, one-third of the sample did not judge Robert Lorne Stanfield. This development is particularly interesting, because these are the three national political figures included in this set of questions. In contrast, the mayor of Fort William, and the Parliaments of Canada and the Province of Ontario received at least an 80 per cent favorable response and also a lower number of don't know and no answer responses.

Another question to be considered in relation to the student's judgment of political personalities and

institutions is the influence of Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, SES and Sex upon response patterns.²⁰ To obtain this information, each of the named factors was placed in a series of contingency tables with the responses to the six judgment questions. Each of the contingency tables was then subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis.²¹ By this procedure it was possible to test the significance and the strength of the relationship. To aid interpretation of these tables, each of the contingency coefficients was divided by the maximum coefficient that could be obtained for the table in question. In this manner it was possible to obtain uniformity for the contingency coefficients. Therefore, it can be assumed that each of the coefficients ranges between 0-1 when interpreting the results in this chapter.

Academic Aptitude x Judgment

Of the six contingency tables examined, only one proved to be significant. Question 43 asked whether the student thought the Canadian Parliament made laws which were good for the country.²² At ten degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 19.6867, the relationship is significant at the .05 level of probability.²³ While it is possible to reject the null hypothesis that no significant relationship exists between Academic Aptitude and response to question 43, a contingency coefficient of .33 suggests that the relationship is not very strong.²⁴ For this

reason, and the fact that the other five contingency tables proved to be non significant, it is concluded that Academic Aptitude did not significantly influence the children's judgments of political personalities and institutions.

Judgment x School Peer Group

For purposes of examination, School Peer Group is operationally defined as the elementary school of which the student is a member. In Fort William, eight sixth grade classrooms were sampled.²⁵ As in the previous example, the responses to the six judgment questions were placed in a series of contingency tables with the school breakdown to observe whether a significant relationship existed. None of the six tables proved to be significant. Therefore, it was concluded that school peer group did not influence the students' judgments of political personalities and institutions.

Judgment x SES

In this situation, response to the judgment questions was measured against the socio-economic background of the students. None of the six contingency tables was significant, and it was concluded that socio-economic background did not influence the children's judgments of political personalities and institutions.

Judgment x Sex

Two of the six contingency tables proved to be significant when the response patterns to the judgment

questions were broken down by sex. Question No. 43 asked whether Parliament made laws which are good for Canada and No. 44 asked whether the Provincial Parliament made laws which are good for Ontario.²⁶ With five degrees of freedom at the .05 level of probability, both response patterns proved to be significant. The chi-square and contingency coefficient for each is listed in Table 7.

TABLE 7
SEX X JUDGMENT

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
43.	5	12.5000	.05	.28
44.	5	12.1088	.05	.28

Even though it is possible to reject the null hypothesis that no significant relationship exists between sex differences and judgment of the two Parliaments, the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are not very strong. Thus, it is concluded that sex differences exert minimal influence on the students' judgments of political personalities and institutions.

To summarize for political judgment,

1. Except for the question on Robert Lorne Stanfield, where 53.9 per cent of the students gave a favorable judgment, at least 70 per cent of the Canadian students judged their political leaders and institutions to be doing a very good or fairly good job.

2. At least 80 per cent of the sixth grade children in Fort William judged their mayor and the two Parliaments to be doing a very good or fairly good job. This contrasts with their judgments of national political leaders, where one-fifth did not judge the national and provincial Prime Ministers, and one-third did not judge the leader of the major opposition party.
3. Except for their judgment of the Canadian Parliament, Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in the students' judgments of political leaders and institutions in Canada.
4. School Peer Group is not a significant factor in explaining the judgments of political leaders and institutions by the Canadian children.
5. Socio-economic status is not a significant factor in explaining the judgments of political leaders and institutions by the Canadian children.
6. For the Canadian children, sex is of minimal significance in explaining their judgments of political institutions and of no significance in their judgment of political leaders.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

The next step in the analysis of the political attitudes held by the Canadian sample, is their feeling of efficacy toward the political system. This procedure was

originally applied to studies of political socialization by Easton and Dennis.²⁷ To maintain a degree of continuity, the same type of questions were used in this cross national investigation. As in the case of examining political judgments, the questions were placed in a series of contingency tables and tested against the four mediating factors named in the evaluation of political judgments. The responses are coded as follows: SY - strong yes, WY - weak yes, WN - weak no, SN - strong no, DK - don't know, NA - no answer. To answer each question the youngsters must check a square, rectangle or circle which presumably corresponds to their perception of its strength vis-a-vis the other responses.²⁸ The seven efficacy questions are listed below with the per cent response appearing in Table 8.

14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country.
19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government.
25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government.
28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.
33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people.
38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.

42. How much influence do most people have on making laws for Canada? (For this question the responses are: very much, some, very little, none, don't know, no answer.)

TABLE 8
POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT

Question	SY	WY	WN	SN	DK	NA
14.	47.8	22.3	4.3	6.1	17.9	1.3
19.	34.2	31.1	14.9	6.5	10.0	3.0
25.	14.4	10.5	21.4	28.9	23.2	1.3
28.	17.9	17.9	17.9	21.4	22.8	1.7
33.	10.5	10.5	23.2	36.8	17.5	1.3
38.	19.2	15.7	25.0	20.1	19.2	0.4
42.	26.3	45.6	11.4	2.2	12.7	1.8

Note that questions 14 and 42 are worded positively so that a yes answer indicates a high feeling of efficacy toward the political system. The rest of the questions are worded negatively so that a yes response indicates a low feeling of efficacy. Table 8 is most interesting, in that 70.1 per cent of the children state that voting is the best way their families can influence the government and 71.9 per cent state that their families do exert some influence on making laws for Canada. In spite of this apparent declaration of political efficacy, 65.3 per cent state they can't understand what goes on in the government and at least one-third of the students state their families have no influence on the government and

the government doesn't care what their families think. In addition to these responses, at least one-fifth of the children accept the idea that the government is run by powerful men who don't care about ordinary people and that there is nothing people can do about the government. These rather mixed feelings of efficacy for the Canadian children are further confused by the fact that approximately one-fifth of the sample didn't answer or know how to respond to five of the seven questions. From examining Table 8, it is apparent that no specific pattern emerges in response to the seven questions. The explanation could lie, (1) in the children's ability to cope with the efficacy question format, (2) a uniformity in response pattern for the Canadian sample or, (3) in the influence of mediating factors upon feelings of efficacy. If it is the latter, the results should appear in the following comparisons. To obtain this information the four mediating factors were placed in a series of contingency tables with each of the efficacy questions to test the significance and strength of the relationships.

Academic Aptitude x Efficacy

Only one of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy response was compared to academic background. Question 28 asked the student whether he thought his family had a voice in governmental matters. At ten degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 22.0388, the

relationship is significant at the .02 level of probability. Although it is possible to reject the null hypothesis of no significant relationship between Academic Aptitude and response to question 28, a Contingency Coefficient of .34 suggests that the relationship is not very strong. Therefore, it is concluded that, aside from this question, no significant relationship exists between Academic Aptitude and feelings of political efficacy as measured by the seven questions.

School Peer Group x Efficacy

Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response patterns to the efficacy questions were broken down by classroom. Question 14 asked the student whether he thought voting was the best way for his family to participate in political decisions, question 25 asked whether he thought the government would operate regardless of his family, and question 42 asked how much influence he thought his family had in making laws for the country. The degrees of freedom, chi-square, and contingency coefficient for each is listed in Table 9.

For these three questions it appears that the student's classroom enrollment and peer associates influence his feelings of political efficacy or at least his response to these efficacy questions. It is impossible to reject the null hypothesis for each question. Furthermore, the

TABLE 9
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
14.	28	56.2511	.01	.48
25.	28	56.1861	.01	.48
42.	28	52.8805	.01	.47

strength of the contingency coefficients suggests that a moderate relationship exists for each question.

SES x Efficacy

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

Sex x Efficacy

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

To summarize for Political Efficacy,

1. Canadian children demonstrate no specific pattern in their responses to the questions on political efficacy. While it would appear that 70 per cent of the sample is confident that their families exercise some influence in the Canadian political system, these statements are contradicted by their mixed appraisal of their understanding of the system and their families' role in the system. In addition, approximately one-fifth of the sample responded with don't know or did not answer five of the seven questions.

2. Except for the question asking the students whether they thought their family had a voice in government matters, Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in explaining the Canadian students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.
3. School Peer Group is a major factor in explaining the Canadian students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system. This finding is particularly significant, because peer influence is a factor generally ignored in research on political efficacy.²⁹
4. Socio-economic Status is not a significant factor in explaining the Canadian students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.
5. Sex is not a significant factor in explaining the Canadian students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Another aspect to be considered in the development of political attitudes among children is their perception of their local, national and other national and international political units. To obtain some insight of children's spatial perception of their political world vis-a-vis the outside world, they were asked a series of questions to tap this dimension.³⁰

Four of the questions simply asked whether the children "had heard" of a particular political unit. The responses were coded as yes, no and no answer. The questions are listed below.

- 18. a. Have you heard of Mexico?
- 20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations?
- 26. a. Have you heard of France?
- 35. a. Have you heard of the United States?

Since the lowest yes response to any of these questions is 93.4 per cent, it is not profitable to consider them further. The Canadian students indicated that they were aware of these units.³¹

The remaining six questions were placed in an open-ended format so that each student could "in his own words" describe the unit in question. After reviewing the answers to these questions to observe what natural breakdowns appeared, the responses were divided into nine categories. The responses are coded as follows: political description, spatial description (describes the geographic location of the unit), scenic description, size description, economic description, internal description (it is peaceful, violent, free), dynamic description (describes behavior toward other nations), don't know, no answer.³² The six open-ended questions are listed below with the per cent response in Table 10.

1. What words would you use to describe Canada?
2. What words would you use to describe Fort William?
18. b. What do you think it is? (Refers to Mexico.)
20. b. What do you think it is? (Refers to the United Nations.)
26. b. What do you think it is? (Refers to France.)
35. b. What do you think it is? (Refers to the United States.)

A visual examination of Table 10 reveals two response patterns. The children describe Fort William and Canada more in terms of their scenic qualities, physical size or their qualities as places in which to live. The descriptions of the United Nations and three foreign countries are related as political units (it is a country) and occasionally in spatial, scenic, internal or dynamic terms depending on the unit in question. In addition to the two response patterns, note that 41.1 per cent of the students recorded don't know or no answer as a response when asked to describe the United Nations. Apparently this particular political unit caused some difficulty for the Canadian children.

As noted in the preceding paragraph, a visual reading of Table 10 reveals two types of response patterns, one for the students' perception of their local and national political units, and another for the students' perception of other political units. This raises the question of

TABLE 10
POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT

Question	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Canada	3.9	1.3	38.5	22.3	7.0	18.8	1.7	0.4	5.7
Fort William	5.7	2.6	20.1	25.8	4.3	27.6	0.0	0.4	13.1
Mexico	40.7	17.5	18.4	2.6	7.0	3.9	0.0	3.0	6.5
United Nations	33.7	0.8	0.4	1.7	0.0	21.9	0.0	15.3	25.8
France	42.1	17.1	4.8	4.8	0.4	7.0	0.4	7.4	15.7
United States	34.2	11.8	4.8	10.0	0.4	12.2	12.2	0.4	13.5

TABLE 11
COLLAPSED SPATIAL PERCEPTION TABLE

Political Unit	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Canada	11	5	67	55	13	53	2	1	21
Other	90	27	16	11	5	26	7	18	28

whether the difference in response patterns proves to be statistically significant when collapsed into a category of Canadian political units and a category of other political units. To accomplish this task the table was collapsed into these two categories and averaged so that the resulting contingency table could be subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis. Naturally, the original frequencies were used in creating the table. The results appear in Table 11.

At eight degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 145, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected that there is no significant difference in the students' perception of Canadian political units and other political units. Furthermore, a contingency coefficient of .59 indicates that the relationship is strong. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between Canadian children's perception of Canada and their perception of other political units.

To see whether the spatial descriptions were affected by mediating factors, the responses were placed in a series of contingency tables to test for significance and strength of relationship.

Academic Aptitude x Spatial Perception

Four of the contingency tables yielded significant chi-squares when the response to the six questions was

broken down by high, medium and low Academic Aptitude.

The results are listed in Table 12.

TABLE 12
ACADEMIC APTITUDE X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Canada	14	30.7887	.01	.40
Mexico	14	32.1777	.01	.40
United Nations	12	26.9280	.01	.38
France	12	36.7041	.001	.42

^aThe variation is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

It is possible to reject the null hypothesis for these four questions and the contingency coefficients would be considered weak to moderate. The results suggest that Academic Aptitude exerts an influence on perception of these units. This observation coincides with discussions in the literature which relate cognitive ability with intelligence.³³

School Peer Group x Spatial Perception

As in the previous discussion, four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the six questions was broken down by classroom. The results appear in Table 13.

It would appear that the student's classroom environment and peer associations have an influence over response

TABLE 13
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Canada	42	76.3032	.01	.53
Mexico	49	73.9250	.02	.53
United Nations	42	73.3882	.001	.53
France	42	76.60628	.01	.54

^aThe variation is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

to these four questions. The null hypothesis is rejected for each question and the strength of the contingency coefficients indicate a moderate to strong relationship. This suggests that the school exerts a degree of influence over the youngster's perceptions of these political units.

SES x Spatial Perception

One of the questions, specifically the description of the United Nations, proved to be significant when dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. At six degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 17.7567, the relationship is significant at the .01 level of probability. However, a contingency coefficient of .33 indicates that the relationship is not very strong. Because none of the other contingency tables were significant, it was concluded that no strong relationship existed between SES and Spatial Perception.

Sex x Spatial Perception

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

To summarize for Spatial Perception,

1. Children in Fort William perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they do in other nations and the United Nations.
2. Academic Aptitude is of weak to moderate importance in explaining Canadian children's perception of political units.
3. School Peer Group is of moderate to strong importance in explaining Canadian children's perception of political units.
4. Except for their description of the United Nations, Socio-economic Status is not a significant factor in the Canadian children's perception of political units.
5. Sex is not a significant factor in the Canadian children's perception of political units.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Political socialization research in the United States has repeatedly demonstrated the ability of children to identify their political party preferences.³⁴ So far no comparative effort has been made to see whether the same high level of party identification exists among children in other nations. To obtain this information the following

question was asked, "If you were old enough to vote now, which party would you favor most of the time?"³⁵ This question was followed by a request that they identify the party preference of their friends, father and mother.³⁶ The major active political parties were then listed so that they could check the appropriate response.³⁷ These responses are coded in the following manner: LP - Liberal Party, PCP - Progressive Conservative Party, NDP - New Democratic Party, SCP - Social Credit Party, NUP - Nationale Union Party, Other - other party, DK - don't know, NA - no answer. The results appear in Table 14.

TABLE 14
PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN PER CENT

Question	LP	PCP	NDP	SCP	NUP	Other	DK	NA
Child	50.8	14.4	10.5	0.0	1.3	0	22.8	0.0
Friends	46.0	10.9	8.3	0.0	0.8	0	33.7	0.0
Father	42.9	12.7	2.2	0.4	1.3	0	28.0	2.1
Mother	44.7	16.6	10.9	0.0	0.8	0	25.8	0.8

By collapsing the rows in Table 14 the following profile emerges: 77 per cent identified with a political party, 66 per cent identified their friends' party preference, 68.5 per cent identified their father's party preference, 73 per cent identified their mother's party preference. It is quite evident that Canadian children demonstrate an ability to identify with a political party

and are capable of identifying the party affiliations of their friends, father and mother. As a base of reference, Greenstein found that approximately sixty per cent of his sixth grade sample identified with a political party.³⁸ Thus, it is apparent that a larger number of Canadian children are willing to declare a party affiliation than is true of their counterparts in the United States, as described by Greenstein.

The next step in this analysis is to observe whether the youngsters share the party preferences of their peers and parents. To obtain this data the children's party identifications were placed in contingency tables and cross tabulated with the preferences of their peers and parents. The results appear in Table 15.

TABLE 15

CHILD'S PARTY ID X FRIENDS, FATHER, MOTHER

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Friends	16	182.6773	.001	.75
Father	16	357.7966	.001	.86
Mother	16	425.0622	.001	.89

^aThe variation is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

Table 15 rather forcefully demonstrates the influence exerted upon the children by their parents. Furthermore, it would appear that the youngsters perceive their

friends as sharing the same party preferences. Question 32 asked the children who they would ask for advice on how to vote. Combining responses, 52.1 per cent said they would ask their parents, father or mother for advice. While this is lower than their actual party choice, it again serves to illustrate the influence of parents on the children in this sample.³⁹

The final point to be considered in relation to party identification is the possible influence exerted by Academic Aptitude, Broken Home, School Peer Group, SES and Sex upon party choice. When these variables were cross tabulated with the child's party identification only Broken Home proved to be significant. With four degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 11.9351, the relationship is significant at the .02 level of probability. However, the contingency coefficient is only .28, far too weak to consider the relationship meaningful.

To summarize for Party Identification,

1. Canadian children indicate that they are willing to state a political party preference. This is demonstrated by the fact that 77 per cent of the youngsters identified with a political party.
2. The family is a major influence in the party identification of Canadian children.
3. Children in Canada perceive their friends as sharing in their political party preferences.

4. Broken Home is a factor of minor importance in explaining the party identification of the Canadian children.

POLITICAL PERCEPTION

One of the procedures developed in the pilot study proved to be quite successful as a device to analyze the influence of mediating factors on the development of political attitudes in children.⁴⁰ In each country a series of questions was scattered throughout the questionnaire to obtain some measure of the political information level of the students. This set of questions was operationally defined as a Political Perception Scale. For Canada the scale consists of thirty items which are trichotomized into the following groups:

1. Political leaders and their functions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a political leader (in some cases the name was requested), and in all but one case a description of his duties was requested.
2. Political institutions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a particular institution and then requested a description of its function.
3. Political Parties--first, the student was asked to identify the most important political problem in the world and then asked whether each of the five parties agreed with this evaluation; second, the youngsters were asked to name the most important member of each party; third they were asked to describe the difference between the parties. (For a complete list of the questions in this scale see the Canadian Section of Appendix D.)

It is apparent from the above description that both open and closed questions were included in the scale. The closed questions are self explanatory; if a student "had heard" of a particular person or institution, the answer was listed as correct. For those questions which asked whether a political party agreed with his or her evaluation, either a yes or no answer was listed as correct. Finally, for those questions which asked for a descriptive response, any answer touching upon political duties or functions was accepted as correct. By this procedure it was possible to add the number of correct answers for each respondent. Since the number of items in the scale varied from country to country, a per cent score was awarded to each student depending upon his total and the total number of possible correct responses.⁴¹ In this manner it was possible to compare the response patterns for the political perception scale in all four countries.

To observe the influence exerted by mediating factors on political perception, the per cent scores were divided into groups, depending upon the factor in question. The statistical procedure adopted for analyzing the influence of each factor was a one-way analysis of variance.⁴² The results appear in Table 16.⁴³

TABLE 16
POLITICAL PERCEPTION--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE^a

Mediating Factor	df	F-Score	Probability
Academic Aptitude	2 x 225	15.1822	.001
School Peer Group	7 x 220	4.5662	.001
Socio-economic Status	1 x 226	24.4232	.001
Sex	1 x 226	2.1772	Not significant

^aFor a breakdown of the analysis of variance for each mediating factor see the treatment group tables and summary tables in the Canadian section of Appendix D.

The results of Table 16 are particularly interesting. It is possible to reject the null hypothesis that Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, and Socio-economic Status do not significantly influence the youngster's political perception scores. It will be recalled that Academic Aptitude and School Peer Group have been found to be significant in some of the earlier comparisons, but this is the first time that SES has proved to be significant for the Canadian sample. In spite of the frequent citation of the influence of sex differences on the political socialization process in the United States, this factor does not appear to be significant among sixth grade children in Fort William.⁴⁴

To summarize for Political Perception,

1. Academic Aptitude is of major significance in explaining the Canadian students' acquisition of information about

their political system.

2. School Peer Group is of major significance in explaining the Canadian students' acquisition of information about their political system.

3. Socio-economic status is of major significance in explaining the Canadian students' acquisition of information about their political system.

4. Sex is of no significance in explaining the Canadian students' acquisition of information about their political system.

As a final step in the analysis of each country, the responses to the questionnaires were intercorrelated and the resulting correlation scores were factor analyzed to observe what questions clustered to comprise a common factor. The specific program found to be most satisfactory for this data was the Biomedical Computer Program, BMD03M, which "performs a principal component solution and an orthogonal rotation of the factor matrix."⁴⁵ The advantage of the principal component program is that it accounts, "for the maximum amount of variance in the variables."⁴⁶ In addition, Harry Harmon suggests that it is suited to political data of unrelated types.⁴⁷ This particular strategy was adopted as it provided a rough measure of their relationship among responses to questionnaire items.

For the Canadian sample this procedure resulted in a 79 x 79 factor matrix. Of those factors which could

be named and which accounted for at least five per cent of the total variance, two factors emerged.⁴⁸ Both of these factors demonstrate that Canadian children acquire political information in cognitive blocks. That is, if a student is incapable of answering a particular question, he will probably be incapable of answering certain other related questions.

The first factor suggests that information about political leaders is interrelated. Although this factor contains one question about the provincial Parliament, the remaining questions request that the students identify political leaders or describe the function of certain political leaders. It is apparent that an inability to answer one of these questions is matched by an inability to answer certain other related questions.

The second factor suggests that information about political problems is interrelated. This factor has a dual character. First it includes a question asking the students to describe the most important political problem in the world today. Second, it includes three questions which ask the students whether members of the political parties would agree with their definition of the problem. The three party questions which appear in Table 18 constitute the three major active political parties in the Province of Ontario. The results appear in Table 18.

TABLE 17
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS

Factor Loading	Question
-0.68612	13. b. What does he do? (Refers to Robert Lorne Stanfield.)
-0.66102	15. Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?
-0.57463	16. What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do?
-0.49011	21. Name one member of the House of Commons from the Province of Ontario.
-0.58073	36. b. What does it do? (Refers to the Ontario Parliament.)
-0.55020	39. a. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Liberal Party?
-0.53000	39. c. Who do you think is the most famous member of the New Democratic Party?
-0.69775	39. d. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Progressive Conservative Party?

Amount of Total Variance Explained: 13.82 per cent.

TABLE 18
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Factor Loading	Question
-0.64532	37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today?
-0.88821	37. b. Would members of the Liberal Party agree with you on this problem?
-0.93280	37. e. Would members of the Progressive Conservative Party agree with you on this problem?

Amount of Total Variance Explained: 5.701 per cent.

To summarize for the Canadian sample,

1. One-half of the Canadian students think that their Prime Minister works harder than most men and is concerned with just about everybody. The rest of the time they prefer to consider him the equal of most men.
2. When comparing the Prime Minister to their fathers, Canadian children prefer to consider the two men as equal.
3. Canadian children are more familiar with their national Prime Minister than they are with other national political leaders, provincial political leaders, or the major local political leader.
4. Canadian children as a rule demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his political function.
5. Canadian children demonstrate a greater awareness of their national Parliament and a lower awareness of their provincial Parliament or the Canadian Cabinet.
6. Canadian children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution, and a lower facility in describing its function.
7. Except for a question on Robert Lorne Stanfield, where 53.9 per cent of the sample judge him favorably, at least 70 per cent of the Canadian students judge their political leaders to be doing a very good or fairly good job.

9. Canadian children demonstrate no specific pattern in their per cent response to the questions on political efficacy. Although 70 per cent of the sample are confident that their families influence the Canadian political system, these declarations are contradicted by their statements that they do not understand the system and their negative appraisal of the role their families play in the political system.
10. Children in Fort William perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they do other nations and the United Nations.
11. Canadian children indicate that they are willing to state a political party preference. This is demonstrated by the fact that 77 per cent of the youngsters identified with a political party.
12. The family is a major influence in the party identification of Canadian children.
13. Children in Fort William perceive their friends as sharing in their political party preferences.
14. For Canadian children Broken Home proved to be a minor influence in their statement of political party affiliation.
15. The factor analysis suggests that for the Canadian sample, information about political leaders is interrelated. The students' inability to provide information about one

political leader is related to their inability to describe other political leaders.

16. The factor analysis also suggests that for the Canadian students, information about political problems is interrelated. Inability to respond to one of the questions is related to an inability to respond to other related questions.

17. For Canadian children Academic Aptitude proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale and a moderate influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale. Academic Aptitude did not prove to be a significant influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale or the Political Efficacy Scale.

18. For Canadian Children, School Peer Group proved to be a major influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale and the Political Perception Scale. School Peer Group also proved to be a moderate influence in the students' response to the Political Efficacy Scale and of no significance in their response to the Political Judgment Scale.

19. For Canadian children, socio-economic status proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale. This factor did not prove to be significant in the students' response to the other three scales.

20. For Canadian children, sex did not prove to be a significant factor in the students' response to any of the four scales.

FOOTNOTES

¹For the population see, Ministry of Trade and Commerce, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book Division. Canada Yearbook 1968 (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1968), p. 201.

The precise geographic location of Fort William, Ontario, Canada is 48.20N, 89.20W. Goodes World Atlas (12th ed.; Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968), pp. 87, 201.

²This information was provided by Mr. J. O. Lees, Superintendent of Public Schools, Fort William, Ontario, May, 1968.

³Ibid. The total number of students in the Canadian sample was 228.

⁴This information was provided by Mr. Lees and from discussions with each of the classroom teachers.

⁵See Appendix C for the total percentage breakdown by age.

⁶For additional information, see the Canadian section of Appendix C.

⁷Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

⁸For a detailed breakdown of the code for questions 7-12, see the Canadian section of Appendix D.

⁹Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 636-37. Hess and Easton found that 67-75 per cent of their sixth grade population regarded the President highly, compared to 25-60 per cent for this Canadian sample. In the low column, they found four per cent regarded the President lower than most men, compared to an average of three per cent for this sample. (The one exception being the students' regard for the working ability of the Prime Minister.) Unfortunately, Hess and Easton excluded children who didn't answer from their analysis, therefore a comparison is not possible on this point.

Note--because these per cents were rounded off, they will total slightly less than 100 per cent for each row.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 640.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 636-37.

¹²Ibid., p. 640.

¹³This procedure was adopted to maintain a degree of continuity with some of the items on the Greenstein questionnaire. Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 173-179.

¹⁴See the key for the Canadian Questionnaire in Appendix B.

¹⁵See Appendix B for a description of the coding of these questions.

¹⁶Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 61-63. Greenstein arrived at the same conclusion on the basis of his New Haven data.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 60. Greenstein's conclusion seems to be hastily drawn, considering that it was based solely on responses to a questionnaire administered in New Haven, Connecticut.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 173-179.

¹⁹See Appendix B for the coded questionnaires.

²⁰For an operational definition of these terms see the discussion in Chapter II.

²¹The computations were performed on a G.E. 635 computer. These particular statistical analyses were performed by the computer library program, "BMD02S: Contingency Table Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2., BMD: BioMedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 341-46. The Contingency Coefficient C was selected for two reasons: (1) it was already performed by this program, (2) it is considered to be more applicable for distributions larger than 2 by 2. Because C does not obtain unity, it is necessary to give a maximum value for these tables. This was accomplished by dividing each contingency coefficient C by the maximum value that could be obtained for the table in question. By this procedure it was possible to obtain coefficients which ranged between 0 and 1. For those tables which were uneven, e.g. 2 x 5, the maximum coefficient was obtained by

interpolating between the maximum value for a 2 x 2 and 5 x 5 table. The particular utility of the contingency coefficient for this type of analysis is apparent in the following statement, "When the number of categories is large (at least five each way), C approaches the Pearson r in size." J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 338.

Since most of the contingency tables used in this investigation are 5 x 5 or greater, the use of contingency coefficients is particularly suitable.

For additional reference on the use of this technique, see the following materials:

W. G. Cochran, "Some Methods for Strengthening the Common Chi-square Tests," Biometrics, X (December, 1954), 417-51.

A. W. Kimball, "Short-cut Formulas for the Exact Partition of Chi-square in Contingency Tables," Biometrics, X (December, 1954), 452-58.

John G. Peatman, Introduction to Applied Statistics (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 136-39.

Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics: for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 196-202.

C. E. Weatherburn, Mathematical Statistics (2nd ed.; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1961), Chapter IX--Chi-square and Some Applications.

In addition I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Professor Gary Maranell, University of Kansas, and Professor Duane Knos, University of Kansas.

²² See Appendix C for the question and the per cent response.

²³ The Chi-square table used to establish significance for Chi-square relationships in this chapter is Table IV from: Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (5th ed.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 45.

²⁴ See the discussion in footnote 21.

²⁵ See the Canadian questionnaire in Appendix C for the per cent breakdown.

²⁶ See Appendix C for the response breakdown.

²⁷ David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38. The

scale used in this study is an adaptation of efficacy scales used in adult voting studies, Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 190.

²⁸ See the Canadian questionnaire in Appendix A.

²⁹ The one major exception to this rule is, Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

For additional materials discussing the influence of mediating factors on feelings of political efficacy see the following:

Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 34-36.

Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

³⁰ This particular procedure evolved from the pilot study. For an elaboration on this point see the discussion in Chapter II.

³¹ See Appendix C for the per cent breakdown for each question.

³² For a more detailed breakdown see the coded questionnaire in Appendix B.

³³ For a discussion on this point see, Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 131-72.

For a more general treatment of cognitive influence on socialization see David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 112-28, 343-51.

³⁴ For a discussion on the party preferences of children see, Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 71-78.

Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 111-15.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political

Attitudes in Children, Chapter 9.

Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 74.

³⁵This question is a modification of the question used in the Greenstein questionnaire, Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 178.

³⁶See questions 29, 30, and 31 in the Canadian questionnaire in Appendix A.

³⁷For a discussion of Canadian political parties see, Robert R. Alford, Party and Society (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1963), Chapter 9.

Frederick J. Englemann and Mildred J. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1967.)

³⁸Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73. Also see the discussion in, Hyman, Political Socialization, Chapter III.

³⁹This per cent corresponds with research conducted in the United States. For an elaboration on this point see the discussion on party identification in Chapter I.

⁴⁰The procedure was originally developed in the pilot study in order to make the Greenstein questionnaire a more useful instrument for statistical analysis.

⁴¹I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Robert Urban, University of Kansas in developing a program to accomplish this task.

⁴²This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMDQIV: Analysis of Variance For One-way Design," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 486-94.

For additional discussion of Analysis of Variance and its application see, Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 242-53.

Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 187-90; 196-98.

Weatherburn, Mathematical Statistics, pp. 209-26.

⁴³The F-Scores were tested for significance on Table V, Fisher and Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research, pp. 46-55.

⁴⁴When considering the impact of SES, the question arises whether SES is related to Academic Aptitude. To obtain this information the two mediating factors were placed in a contingency table to see whether a relationship existed. At four degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 19.6372 the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. Even though it is possible to reject the null hypothesis, a contingency coefficient of .37 suggests that the relationship is not very strong. The other mediating factors did not prove to be significant when cross tabulated.

For material discussing sex differences, see Chapter I. A few of the major studies which have examined sex differences are,

Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, pp. 335-43.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 7.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 8.

⁴⁵This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMD03M: General Factor Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 169, 169-84.

⁴⁶Harry H. Harmon, Modern Factor Analysis (2nd ed. rev.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 136.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 165-66.

For an illustration of the application of factor analysis to a political socialization questionnaire see, Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 62-68.

For a more general discussion of the application of factor analysis to research of this type see,

C. J. Adcock, Factorial Analysis (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1954), pp. 48-67, 81-84.

J. P. Guilford, Psychometric Methods (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.) pp. 533-35.

⁴⁸As a cross check for the efficiency of the factor analysis program adopted for this investigation, two of the national questionnaires were also factor analyzed by the Alpha Factor Analysis Program developed by Charles Bangert, Computation Center, University of Kansas. The factors were orthogonally rotated using Kaiser's Normal Varimax procedure. The results of this analysis were identical to those found by the principal component program. Furthermore, the factor loadings were at the same strength level as those identified in Tables 17-18.

⁴⁹This particular factor is most interesting, as it coincides with recent speculation on the importance of peer groups in attitude acquisition.

The analysis of peer group influence among Jamaican secondary students is probably the most significant contribution to this area. Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

For additional information on peer group influence see the discussion in Chapter I.

⁵⁰While this finding deviates from some of the studies conducted in the United States, it is not inconsistent with the notion that sex roles may vary from one culture to another. See the discussion in Chapter I and the studies cited in n. 129, n. 131 and n. 132.

CHAPTER IV UNITED STATES

The site in the United States selected for this investigation was Lawrence, Kansas. It is a city with a population of 31,705, situated near the center of the continental forty-eight states, 21 miles east of the state capital of Topeka and 40 miles west of metropolitan Kansas City, Missouri.¹ Aside from a few light industries and regional service facilities, the major economic resource of the community is the University of Kansas.

A random selection of sixth grade classrooms in Lawrence resulted in nine test schools out of the eleven elementary schools located in the city. A breakdown of the socio-economic populations served by the school produced the following results: three of the schools were located in upper income residential areas, three were located in middle to lower income residential areas, and three were located in lower income residential areas.²

Although none of the sixth grade children in Lawrence had been exposed to a formal course in government or civics, discussions of politics and political events would occasionally occur in studies of current events. The amount and nature of this exposure was contingent upon the teaching strategy of each classroom teacher. Thus, in addition to the informal political information channels

of family, peers and media contact, it is necessary to aid the possible influence of a formal channel, the teacher.³ As is the case with the Canadian sample, it is necessary to acknowledge an intervening factor in regard to the United States' sample. The questionnaires were distributed from May 13-17, 1968. The 1968 Presidential election was a topic of considerable interest for American television, radio and press. Although the Canadian election was more immediate to the test period, the reporting of political primaries and conventions probably produced a similar level of awareness among children in Lawrence. If these events produced some impact on questionnaire response, a trace of the effect should be visible in response patterns by heightening the level of awareness of the respondents. Thus if awareness is not high, the actual level should be assumed lower than what is actually found.

A brief outline of the demographic characteristics of the Lawrence sample population produced the following results. The teachers academically ranked their students in the following three categories: High - 30.1 per cent, Medium - 44.9 per cent, Low 24.8 per cent. Although the age of the children ranged from eleven to thirteen, 97.0 per cent were either eleven or twelve years old. The evaluation of the father's occupational background yielded the following socio-economic breakdown: High - 43.0

per cent, Low - 56.9 per cent. Discussions with classroom teachers revealed that 20 per cent of the children came from broken homes. Approximately one-half (49.2 per cent) of the youngsters identified Lawrence as their place of birth. Finally, the sex of the respondents is as follows: male - 44.9 per cent, female - 55.0 per cent.

IMAGE OF AUTHORITY

The questions used to obtain an impression of the children's image of authority are the same as those used in the Canadian questionnaire, except that the President, rather than the Prime Minister, is the subject of attention. As related in Chapter III, these questions were included to maintain a degree of continuity with research efforts in political socialization, in this case the work of Hess and Easton.⁴ The wording of some of the questions was simplified to make them more understandable to sixth grade youngsters.

The responses to these questions are coded in four categories: high, medium, low, no answer.⁵ For questions 7-10, high means that the children regard the President higher than most men, medium means they regard him the same as most men, and low means that they regard him lower than most men. For questions 11-12, high means that a child regards his father higher than the President, medium

means that the father and the President are regarded equally, and low means the child's father is regarded lower than the President. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 19.⁶

7. The President is more honest, as honest, less honest than most men.
8. The President works harder, as hard, does not work as hard as most men.
9. The President is concerned with just about everybody, is concerned with people the same as everybody else, is not concerned with many people.
10. The President is smarter, as smart, not as smart as most people.
11. My father works harder, works as hard, works less hard than the President.
12. My father is more honest, as honest, not as honest as the President.

TABLE 19
IMAGE OF AUTHORITY IN PER CENTS

Question	High	Medium	Low	No Answer
7	19.6	74.1	5.2	0.9
8	56.4	33.0	10.5	0.0
9	54.0	39.7	5.7	0.4
10	32.5	58.8	8.6	0.0
11	10.5 ^a	44.0	41.6	3.8
12	15.7 ^a	74.6	7.1	2.3

^aFor these two questions High means the child regards his father higher than the President.

The responses of the Canadian and American youngsters are quite similar when asked to judge the Prime Minister or President vis-a-vis most men. At least 90 per cent of the students in both countries regard their major national political leader as equal to or better than most men. In both countries slightly more than one-half of both samples stated that the Prime Minister or President works harder than most men and is concerned with just about everybody. When asked whether these men are more honest or smarter than the rest of the population, the majority in both samples preferred to judge them equal. The only difference which appears in the two samples is the larger number of negative judgments recorded by the American youngsters. At least five per cent of the sample in Lawrence judged the President to be worse than the rest of the population, and ten per cent stated that the President did not work as hard as most men. Prime Minister Trudeau fared slightly better in this regard as only eight per cent of the Canadian students stated that he did not work as hard as the rest of the population, and only three per cent ranked him negatively on the other three questions.

Although the two samples differ in this respect, it is also apparent that the differences are not large. The Canadian enchantment with a popular new Prime Minister and the waning popularity of President Johnson probably

account for the two per cent difference in the negative response of the two populations.

Comparing these results with the findings of Hess and Easton, some rather sharp contrasts appear. They found that 67-75 per cent of their sample regarded the President as better than most men.⁷ Only 50 per cent of the American and Canadian youngsters were willing to make the same judgment on two of the questions. On the remaining two questions, the majority of the children in both countries preferred to judge the President and Prime Minister as equal to most men. It is difficult to pinpoint the reason for these differences. It could be the product of a sample tested a decade earlier or it could be the product of a low sample size. The sixth grade sample tested by Hess and Easton totaled 57, compared to the Canadian sample of 228 and American sample of 209 tested in this investigation.⁸

In the comparison between the child's father and the President, an interesting pattern appears. Ten per cent of the American students said their fathers worked harder than the President and fifteen per cent said their fathers are more honest than the President. As a point of contrast, only six per cent of the Canadian students were willing to make the same declaration in both questions. Although this gives the impression that American children

hold a more negative view of authority than their Canadian cohorts, this impression is countered in the following comparison. In the American sample, 41.6 per cent of the students stated that the President works harder than their fathers. Only 19.2 per cent of the Canadian sample were willing to make the same statement about the Prime Minister. On the question of the President's honesty, at least three-fourths of the samples in both countries found their fathers to be equal to the President and Prime Minister. On this aspect of the children's image of authority, the performance of the American sample is parallel to the findings described by Hess and Easton.⁹

To summarize for Image of Authority,

1. Except for questions eight and nine, where at least one-half of the American sample stated that the President worked harder than most men and that he is concerned with just about everybody, a majority of American children prefer to judge the President as the equal of most people. The same result was observed for the Canadian sample.
2. When comparing the President's honesty with their father's honesty, American children prefer to consider the two men equal. When asked whether the President worked harder than their fathers, approximately forty per cent of the American sample concurred, and forty per cent stated that the two men are equal in this regard. The

Canadian children preferred to consider their fathers equal to the Prime Minister on both questions.

KNOWLEDGE OF AUTHORITY

To provide additional insight on the children's perceptions of political leaders, two types of questions were included in the questionnaire.¹⁰ The first set of questions asked whether the youngsters had heard of three political leaders who were prominent in the news at the time of the questionnaire administration. The responses are coded as yes, no, and no answer.¹¹ The questions are listed below with the results in Table 20.

- 4. a. Have you heard of the President of the United States?
- 13. a. Have you heard of Richard Nixon?
- 34. a. Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy?

TABLE 20

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT, A.

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
4. a.	99.5	0.4	0.0
13. a.	86.6	12.4	0.9
34. a.	87.0	12.4	0.4

It is evident from response to the questions in Table 20 that a large number of children claimed knowledge of the three leaders. The second set of questions added a different dimension to the students' knowledge of

political authority. In these questions the youngsters were asked to identify certain political leaders and describe their political jobs. The responses are coded as accurate, inaccurate, don't know, or no answer.¹²

The questions are listed below with the results in Table 21.

- 4. b. What is his name? (The President)
- 5. What is the main job of the President of the United States?
- 13. b. What does he do? (Richard Nixon)
- 15. Who is the Governor of Kansas?
- 16. What kinds of things does the Governor do?
- 21. Name one of the United States Senators from the State of Kansas.
- 22. Who is the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas?
- 23. What kinds of things does the mayor do?
- 34. b. What does he do? (Eugene McCarthy)

Table 21 provides an interesting array of responses. As was the case in Canada, the American youngsters also experienced difficulty when asked to move from "having heard" of a political leader, to identifying him by name. The one exception in both countries was the ability of students in Lawrence to identify the President.

Questions 5, 13b, and 34b indicate that it is more difficult to describe the job of a political leader than it is to identify him by name.¹³ The single and rather

TABLE 21

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT, B.

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
4. b.	99.5	0.0	0.4	0.0
5.	80.8	0.9	3.3	14.8
13. b.	42.1	19.6	13.8	24.4
15	73.2	3.3	21.5	1.9
16	62.6	8.6	7.6	21.0
21	9.5	14.8	73.2	2.3
22	1.9	15.3	80.3	2.3
23	53.1	3.3	14.3	29.1
34. b.	45.9	11.4	11.4	31.1

striking exception to this rule was the ability of 53.1 per cent of the youngsters to describe the function of the Mayor of Lawrence, while only 1.9 per cent could recall his name. Quite obviously this runs counter to Greenstein's conclusion that, "children clearly are first aware of federal and local government."¹⁴ In Lawrence, the students displayed a higher awareness of the dominant national and state political leaders and their respective functions. This is illustrated by the fact that 99.5 per cent of the students were able to identify the President by name and 80.8 per cent were able to describe his political function; 73.2 per cent were able to identify Governor Docking of Kansas and 62.6 per cent were able to describe his function. As noted earlier, less than

two per cent were able to identify the Mayor of Lawrence and 53.1 per cent were able to describe the mayor's political function.

It is apparent from the discussion in the preceding paragraph, that children in Lawrence do not demonstrate a greater level of awareness of their national, local and last, state governments as suggested by Greenstein.¹⁵ Instead of dividing awareness into three levels, it might be more profitable to examine the relative circumstances affecting the visibility of a political leader. In Lawrence, Kansas, the mayor's legal role is less apparent than the role of the city manager. In addition, the mayor is a figure infrequently discussed in the local press and the single radio station serving the city. In Fort William, Ontario the mayor's legal role is stronger and he receives considerable exposure from the local television station, press and radio stations.

The next set of questions examines the children's awareness of political institutions, in this case, the Congress of the United States and the Kansas State Legislature. First are those questions which ask whether the youngsters "have heard" of these institutions. The questions are listed below and the responses appear in Table 22.

3. a. Have you heard of the Congress of the United States?

36. a. Have you heard of the Kansas State Legislature?

TABLE 22

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
3. a.	87.5	9.0	3.3
36. a.	69.8	28.7	1.4

^aThe letter A is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

Following these two questions is a request to describe the respective functions of the two legislative bodies. The questions are listed below and the responses appear in Table 23.

3. b. What does it do? (Congress of the United States)

36. b. What does it do? (Kansas State Legislature)

TABLE 23

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
3. b.	71.7	2.8	3.8	21.5
36. b.	33.4	1.4	24.4	40.6

^aThe letter B is used to refer to those open questions which were coded in four categories.

To summarize for Knowledge of Authority,

1. Sixth grade children in Lawrence, Kansas are more familiar with the President of the United States and the Governor of Kansas than they are with the mayor and other

national and state political leaders.

2. In all but one instance, the American sixth grade children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his political function. (The one exception was the Mayor of Lawrence, where less than two per cent were able to identify him by name, yet 53.1 per cent were able to describe his function.)

3. American children demonstrate a greater awareness of the Congress of the United States and a lower awareness of the Kansas State Legislature.

4. American children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function.

POLITICAL JUDGMENT

The next step in the analysis of political authority was to observe the students' judgments of institutions of political authority and of individuals who occupy positions of political authority. As related in Chapter II, these questions are a modification of a format developed by Greenstein in New Haven.¹⁶ The responses are coded as follows: VG - very good, FG - fairly good, NVG - not very good, B - bad, DK - don't know, NA - no answer.¹⁷ The six judgment questions are listed below with the results appearing in Table 28.

6. Do you think the President has been doing things that are good for the United States?
17. What kind of job has the Governor been doing?
24. Has the mayor been doing a good job?
27. If Richard Nixon is elected President in 1968, do you think he will be a good President.
42. Do you think Congress makes laws that are good for the country?
43. Do you think the Kansas State Legislature makes laws that are good for the state?

TABLE 24

POLITICAL JUDGMENTS IN PER CENT

Question	VG	FG	NVG	B	DK	NA
6.	17.2	52.1	17.2	3.8	9.5	0.0
17.	29.6	32.5	2.8	1.4	32.0	1.4
24.	17.7	29.1	2.8	1.9	46.8	1.4
27.	12.4	23.4	13.3	12.4	37.3	0.9
42.	40.9	46.2	3.8	1.0	8.1	0.0
43.	28.8	33.7	1.0	1.4	34.6	0.5

Unlike Canadian sixth grade youngsters, the American children do not hold a positive opinion of all their political leaders and institutions. Except for a high positive judgment of Congress, the remaining five questions received lower judgments than was true in Canada. In Fort William at least one-half of the students held positive opinions of their leaders, which was not the case in the United States. In Lawrence, 21 per cent

judged the President unfavorably and 25.7 per cent judged Richard Nixon unfavorably. However, the biggest difference in judgment response in the two countries was the larger percentage of American students who gave "don't know" as a response.

It is apparent from Table 24 that no pattern appears for the entire sample, as was the case in Canada. The next question is whether the mediating factors of Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, Socio-economic Status and Sex might assist in explaining the response patterns to the judgment questions.¹⁸ To obtain this information, each of these factors was placed in a series of contingency tables with responses to each of the six questions. The contingency tables were then subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis.¹⁹ By this procedure it was possible to test the significance and strength of each relationship.

Academic Aptitude X Judgment

Of the six contingency tables examined, only one proved to be significant. Question 42 asked the student whether he thought Congress made laws which were good for the country. At eight degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 25.9079, the relationship is significant at the .01 level of probability.²⁰ The null hypothesis is rejected and a contingency coefficient of .39 indicates that a weak to moderate strength relationship exists. Because the

other five tables did not prove to be significant, it is difficult to draw any general conclusion, except to suggest that Academic Aptitude influenced the students' judgment of this one institution.

School Peer Group x Judgment

It will be recalled that School Peer Group is operationally defined as the elementary school which the student attends. In Lawrence, nine sixth grade classrooms were sampled.²¹ Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant in this section. The students' judgments of the mayor (24), Richard Nixon (27) and Congress (42) suggest that their school environment was a factor in their reaction to these questions. The results are listed in Table 25.

TABLE 25

SCHOOL PEER GROUP X JUDGMENT

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
24.	40	59.3968	.05	.51
27.	40	80.6907	.001	.57
42.	32	57.1320	.01	.50

^aThe variation is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each question. Furthermore, the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are moderate to strong. This suggests

that the student's classroom environment and school peer associations exert an influence on his response to these three questions.

SES x Judgment

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when the youngsters' socio-economic background was matched with their responses to the judgment questions. Their opinions of the President (6), Richard Nixon (27), Congress (42) and the Kansas State Legislature (43) were affected by their high or low SES environment. The results appear in Table 26.

TABLE 26

SES X JUDGMENT

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
6.	4	10.2800	.05	.27
27.	5	22.0088	.001	.38
42.	4	16.8970	.01	.34
43.	4	14.4986	.02	.31

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the four questions. The contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships vary from weak to moderate in strength. While these relationships are not as strong as those of the School Peer Group factor, they at least suggest that

students' socio-economic origins exert a mild influence over their judgments of political leaders and institutions.

Sex x Judgment

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

To summarize for Political Judgment,

1. The American sixth grade children do not demonstrate a consistent pattern in their judgments of political leaders and institutions. At least 60 per cent of the youngsters judge the President, Governor, the Congress, and the Kansas State Legislature to be doing a very good or fairly good job. However, at least one-third of the children state they don't know or do not answer the questions about the Governor, Mayor, Richard Nixon, and the Kansas State Legislature. Finally, at least one-fifth of the children judge the President and Richard Nixon to be doing a not very good or bad job as political leaders.

This contrasts with the Canadian children who judged their political leaders and institutions more positively than their American cohorts.

2. Except for their judgment of the Congress of the United States, Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in the students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.

3. For the American children, School Peer Group is a major factor in explaining their judgments of political leaders and institutions.
4. For the American children socio-economic status is a factor of minimal to moderate importance in explaining their judgments of political leaders and institutions.
5. Sex is not a significant factor in explaining the American students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

The next step in the analysis of the American youngsters is to evaluate their feelings of efficacy toward their political system. As described in Chapter II, this type of analysis was first applied to research in political socialization by Easton and Dennis.²² To maintain continuity with their research and subsequent research in this area, the same type of questions were included in the questionnaire. These questions were placed in a series of contingency tables in the same manner as described in the section on political judgment. The responses are coded as follows: SY - strong yes, WY - weak yes, WN - weak no, SN - strong no, DK - don't know, NA - no answer. To answer these questions, the students were asked to check the square, rectangle, or circle which best represented their reaction to the question. Presumably, these geometric

shapes presented a psychological dimension which corresponded directly to the strength of their response.²³ The seven efficacy questions are listed below, and the per cent response appears in Table 27.

14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country.
19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government.
25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government.
28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.
33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people.
38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.
41. How much influence do most people have on making laws for the United States? (For this question the responses are: very much, some, little, none, don't know, no answer.)

Note that questions 14 and 41 in Table 27 are worded positively so that a yes answer indicates a high feeling of efficacy toward the political system. The other questions are worded in a negative format so that the reverse is true. As with the Canadian response patterns, it is evident that the American youngsters do not demonstrate a consistent pattern in their response to these

TABLE 27
POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT

Question	SY	WY	WN	SN	DK	NA
14.	45.9	23.4	5.2	5.7	19.1	0.4
19.	25.8	40.1	10.0	6.2	16.2	1.4
25.	14.3	9.0	16.2	32.5	26.7	0.9
28.	16.2	14.8	17.2	27.7	22.4	1.4
33.	13.8	14.8	13.3	28.2	28.7	0.9
38.	17.7	13.3	22.4	20.5	24.8	0.9
41.	28.2	35.9	18.7	2.9	13.3	1.0

questions. Although 69.3 per cent of the children state that voting is the best way for their families to influence the government and 64.1 per cent state that their families influence the making of laws for the United States, 65.9 per cent state that sometimes they do not understand what goes on in the government. While a lack of understanding is not necessarily inconsistent with a feeling of family influence, the remaining efficacy responses indicate that the children's declarations of influence are not certain. Approximately forty per cent of the youngsters state that people can do something about the government, their families have a voice in government actions, the government cares about ordinary people, and the government cares what their families think. However, at least one-fifth of the children disagree with each of these statements and at least another fifth either don't know or do

not give an answer..

In order to ascertain the children's feelings of efficacy toward the political system, it will be necessary to turn to the analysis of the mediating factors for an explanation.

Academic Aptitude x Efficacy

Six of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy response was matched with the students' academic background. The results of this comparison are presented in Table 28.

TABLE 28

ACADEMIC APTITUDE X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
19	8	31.5872	.001	.42
25	8	42.4850	.001	.48
28	8	26.5393	.001	.39
33	8	43.6583	.001	.48
38	8	21.0136	.01	.35
41	8	29.0779	.001	.40

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of these questions and the contingency coefficients indicate a moderate relationship for the contingency tables. Table 28 provides a rather striking demonstration of the influence exerted by the child's academic ability or his feelings of efficacy toward the political system. These results substantiate the research on political efficacy

in the United States.²⁴ However, they also illustrate another deviation from the conclusions reached in Chapter III, as the Canadian sample demonstrated little or no relationship between response to questions on political efficacy and the child's academic ability.

School Peer Group x Efficacy

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the efficacy questions was broken down by school. Question 19 asked the student whether he could understand what goes on in the government. Question 25 asked whether he thought the government would make decisions regardless of his family's action, question 28 asked whether his family had any say in governmental matters and question 33 asked whether the government cared much about his family's thoughts. The results of this comparison are listed in Table 29.

TABLE 29
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
19.	32	58.6936	.01	.50
25.	32	72.7088	.001	.55
28.	32	71.7295	.001	.54
33.	32	80.5648	.001	.57

The four questions listed in Table 29 suggest that the students' peer group associations influenced their

response to these questions on political efficacy. In addition to a rejection of the null hypothesis, the contingency coefficients indicate a strong relationship exists between the students' school environment and their feelings of political efficacy.

SES x Efficacy

Six of the contingency tables proved to be significant when socio-economic status was matched with the students' response to questions on political efficacy. In addition to the four questions described in the previous section, they also reacted to question 41 which stated that people in the government have little concern for the thoughts of the respondent's family and question 42 which asked the respondent to describe the amount of influence his family exerted on making laws for the United States. The results appear in Table 30.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions and the strength of the contingency coefficients indicate a series of moderate relationships. Quite obviously there is a relationship between the socio-economic backgrounds of these students and their reaction to the efficacy questions. Once again this substantiates some of the findings of research on political efficacy in the United States.²⁵ However, this again points to a difference in response between the Canadian and American samples,

TABLE 30
SES X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
19.	4	18.5736	.001	.35
25.	4	41.4408	.001	.50
28.	4	30.5245	.001	.44
33.	4	33.0749	.001	.46
38.	4	18.1495	.01	.35
41.	4	22.3658	.001	.38

as this factor did not significantly influence efficacy response in Canada.

Sex x Efficacy

Three of the efficacy questions proved to be significant when broken down by male, female response patterns. The results are stated in Table 31.

Although it is possible to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship between sex differences and these three efficacy questions, the low contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are not very strong. At best it is an indication that sex may be a factor in feelings

TABLE 31
SEX X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
19.	4	11.6081	.05	.28
25.	4	12.7182	.02	.30
38.	4	13.0550	.02	.30

of political efficacy, but certainly not as important as the three factors examined in Tables 28-30.

The responses to the efficacy questions are most interesting. The importance of academic ability and socioeconomic status has been the focus of a few investigations in the United States. The results here correspond to those findings.²⁶ Sex has been described as exerting little or no influence on efficacy responses. Again this corresponds to the information contained in Table 31. School Peer Group is a factor which has not received the attention of scholars in this area, yet this is the one factor which proved to be significant in both Canada and the United States.²⁷

To summarize for Political Efficacy,

1. American children demonstrate no specific pattern in their responses to the questions on political efficacy. While approximately two-thirds of the students are confident that their families exercise some influence in the American political system, these statements are contradicted by their mixed appraisal of the understanding of the system and their families' role in the system. In addition, approximately one-fifth of the sample responded with don't know, or did not answer five of the seven questions.
2. Academic Aptitude is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the American students' feelings of efficacy

toward their political system.

3. School Peer Group is a major factor in explaining the American students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

4. Socio-economic status is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the American students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

5. Sex is a factor of minor importance in explaining the American students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

SPATIAL PERCEPTION

The next aspect of political attitude development to be considered, are the children's perceptions of political units. To obtain this information the students were asked questions about their city and nation, other nations, and the United Nations.²⁸

Four of the questions merely asked whether the students "had heard" of a particular political unit. The responses are coded yes, no, and no answer. The questions are listed below.

18. a. Have you heard of Mexico?

20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations?

26. a. Have you heard of France?

35. a. Have you heard of Canada?

The lowest yes response to any of these questions was 99 per cent. Therefore, they will not be examined any further.²⁹

The remaining six questions were open-ended so that the students could describe the countries in their own words. After a preliminary reading of all of the questionnaires, the responses were coded into nine categories. This procedure was adopted to avoid placing the students' descriptions into preconceived categories. The nine natural breakdowns which appeared were coded as follows: political description; spatial description--describes the geographic proximity of the unit in question; size description; economic description; internal description--describes the internal behavior of the unit in question, e.g. peaceful, violent; dynamic description--describes the behavior of the unit toward other units, e.g. it is the most powerful nation in the world; don't know; no answer.³⁰ The six open-ended questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 32.

1. What words would you use to describe the United States?
2. What words would you use to describe Lawrence?
18. b. What do you think it is? (Mexico)
20. b. What do you think it is? (United Nations)
26. b. What do you think it is? (France)
35. b. What do you think it is? (Canada)

TABLE 32
POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT

Question	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
United States	4.2	0.4	19.1	19.1	5.7	42.5	4.2	0.9	4.2
Lawrence	0.9	0.4	25.3	29.1	2.3	39.3	0.0	0.4	2.3
Mexico	55.9	11.9	7.1	1.4	3.3	8.6	0.9	2.8	8.1
United Nations	32.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	29.1	0.9	22.9	15.3
France	52.6	16.7	3.8	2.3	0.9	8.1	1.4	2.8	11.4
Canada	51.6	14.8	4.3	6.2	0.4	9.0	0.9	4.7	8.1

TABLE 33
COLLAPSED SPATIAL PERCEPTION TABLE

Political Unit	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
United States	5	2	46	50	8	85	4	2	7
Other	99	23	8	5	3	29	2	17	23

A visual examination of Table 32 reveals two response patterns. The children described Lawrence and the United States in terms of their scenic qualities, physical size and as pleasant locations in which to live. They described the other four units primarily as political entities, and secondarily by the geographic proximity of the country, its scenic qualities, or the internal qualities of the unit. Naturally, descriptions of the United Nations were more limited in scope, to its organizational structure, its peacemaking function, and occasionally to a description of the building in New York. In addition to the breakdown in response patterns, it is interesting to note that 38.2 per cent of the children recorded don't know or no answer when asked to describe the United Nations. This same difficulty was observed for the Canadian students at virtually the same per cent level. Apparently this particular political unit caused some difficulty for both the Canadian and American children.

As noted in the preceding paragraph, a visual examination of Table 32 reveals two types of response patterns, one for the students' perception of their local and national political units, and another for the students' perception of other political units. This raises the question of whether the difference in response patterns proves to be statistically significant when

collapsed into a category of American political units and a category of other political units. In order to accomplish this task, the table was collapsed into these two categories and each column averaged so that a contingency table would be produced which could be subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis. Naturally, the original frequencies were used in constructing the table. The results appear in Table 33.

At eight degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 218.7463, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected, that there is no significant difference in the students' perception of American political units and other political units. In addition, a contingency coefficient of .71 suggests that the relationship is strong. Thus, it is concluded that there is a difference between American children's perception of Lawrence and the United States, and their perception of other political units. In order to observe whether the students' descriptions were affected by the four mediating factors, the responses were placed in a series of contingency tables with each factor to test for significance and strength of relationship.

Academic Aptitude x Spatial Perception

Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the six questions was trichotomized by high, medium, and low academic ability. The results

are listed in Table 34.

TABLE 34
ACADEMIC APTITUDE X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
United States	12	29.8554	.01	.41
United Nations	8	54.9199	.001	.54
France	12	43.9631	.001	.47

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each question. The moderate contingency coefficients suggest that the students' perceptions of these particular units is affected by their academic ability. As noted in Chapter III, these results correspond with discussions in the literature which link cognitive ability with intelligence.³¹

School Peer Group x Spatial Perception

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was broken down by school.

TABLE 35
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Lawrence	32	59.5534	.01	.51
United Nations	32	100.4181	.001	.62
France	42	98.9779	.001	.60
Canada	48	78.4692	.01	.56

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected and the contingency coefficients indicate a strong relationship for these four questions. Both in Canada and the United States the children's peer group influenced response to the spatial questions.

SES x Spatial Perception

Five of the contingency tables proved to be significant when the responses were dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. The results appear in Table 36.

TABLE 36
SES X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
United States	6	19.7835	.01	.36
Mexico	7	19.9004	.01	.36
United Nations	4	48.7134	.001	.55
France	7	32.9053	.001	.45
Canada	6	19.1139	.01	.35

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each question and the strength of the relationships vary between weak and moderate. Although the contingency coefficients are not particularly high, they at least point to a minimal relationship between the children's socio-economic status and their perceptions of political units. While SES exerted little or no influence over the Canadian students' spatial perceptions, it does appear to be of minor

importance in explaining the perceptions of the American sample.

Sex x Spatial Perception

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

The responses to the spatial perception questions again provide a measure of the difference between the Canadian and American students. Both samples indicated that academic ability and school peer associations were factors influencing response to some of the questions. In the United States, socio-economic status also appears to be of some importance in evaluating response patterns. Sex was not an important factor in either country.

To summarize for Spatial Perception,

1. Children in Lawrence, Kansas perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they do other nations and the United Nations.
2. Academic Aptitude is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the American children's perception of political units.
3. School Peer Group is a factor of major importance in explaining the American children's perception of political units.
4. Socio-economic status is a factor of weak to moderate importance in explaining the American children's perception of political units.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

As related in Chapter I, political socialization research in the United States has consistently recorded the ability of children to form party attachments.³² Since this finding has never been tested in comparative socialization research, all four countries were subjected to the same set of questions to observe whether the pattern persists outside of the United States. To obtain this information, the following question was asked. "If you were 21 years old now, which party would you favor most of the time?"³³ This question was followed by a request that the respondent identify the party preference of his friends, father and mother.³⁴ The major active political parties were then listed so that the child could check the appropriate response.³⁵ The responses are coded as, Democrat, Republican, Don't Know, and No Answer. The results appear in Table 37.

TABLE 37
PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN PER CENT

Question	Democrat	Republican	Don't Know	No Answer
Child	38.7	27.7	32.5	0.9
Friends	26.3	23.4	49.2	0.9
Father	32.5	30.6	30.6	6.2
Mother	33.0	34.9	29.6	2.3

By examining the responses in Table 37, it is apparent that 66.4 per cent of the students identified with a political party, 49.7 per cent identified the friends' party affiliations, 63.1 per cent identified their father's party preference, and 67.9 per cent identified their mother's party preference. While the American students' level of party identification corresponds with previous research done in the United States, it is ten per cent lower than the party identification level observed for the Canadian students.³⁶ (77 per cent of the Canadian students identified with a political party.) The number of students who were able to identify their parents' party attachments is approximately five per cent lower than was observed for the Canadian students. Finally, one-half of the American children sampled were unable to identify their friends' party attachments. In Canada, only 33.7 per cent of the sample recorded the same response. This suggests that party attachments are high in both countries, but slightly higher in Canada.

The next step is to observe whether the youngsters share the same preferences as their peers and parents. To obtain this information, the children's party identification responses were placed in contingency tables and cross tabulated with the responses of their friends and parents. The results appear in Table 38.

TABLE 38

CHILD'S PARTY ID X FRIENDS, FATHER, MOTHER

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Friends	6	272.1819	.001	.87
Father	6	137.6246	.001	.73
Mother	6	196.9236	.001	.80

Table 38 indicates that the children are significantly influenced by their peers and parents. It should be noted that the cross tabulation matches all responses so that it is possible to observe whether "don't know" and "no answer" responses are interrelated in addition to the interrelation between party responses. This procedure produced one especially interesting result. Even though one-half of the students were unable to list their friends' party attachments, a contingency coefficient of .87 suggests that the children shared their friends' response to the question on party identification. The null hypotheses are rejected and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are strong. Thus, in both Canada and the United States a strong relationship is found between a child's party affiliation and the affiliation of his parents and peers. Question 32 asked the students who they would ask for advice on how to vote. Combining responses, 49.7 per cent indicated they would ask their parents, father or mother. While this is lower

than might be expected, it provides some measure of parental influence, although not as strong an index as the interrelationship between response patterns found in Table 38.

As a final step, each of the mediating factors was placed in a contingency table with the child's party identification response. However, none of the tables proved to be significant. Consequently, parental and peer influence stand as the major factors influencing the party choice of the United States sample.

To summarize for Party Identification,

1. American children indicate that they are willing to state a preference for a political party. This is demonstrated by the fact that 66.4 per cent of the students identified with a political party.
2. The family is a major influence in the party identification of American children.
3. Children in the United States perceive that their friends share in their willingness or unwillingness to identify with a political party.

POLITICAL PERCEPTION

Another measure used to gauge the influence of mediating factors upon the political attitudes of children was a scale which tested the political information level of the students.³⁷ As related in Chapter III, these

questions were scattered throughout the questionnaire and were operationally defined as a political perception scale. In the United States this scale consists of twenty-two items which are divided into the following three categories.

1. Political leaders and their functions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a particular leader (in some cases the name was requested).
2. Political institutions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a particular institution, and then requested a description of its function.
3. Political parties--first, the student was asked to identify the most important political problem in the world and then asked whether both parties agreed with this evaluation; second, the youngsters were asked to name the most important member of each party; third they were asked to describe the difference between the parties. (For a complete list of the questions in this scale, see the United States section of Appendix D.)

Both open and closed questions were included in the scale. Naturally, if a student stated that he "had heard" of a particular person or institution, his answer was marked correct. For those questions which asked whether a political party agreed with his evaluation of the world, either a yes or no answer was listed as correct. Finally, for those questions which requested a descriptive response, any answer touching upon political duties or functions was accepted as correct. In this manner, it was possible to add the number of correct answers for each respondent

and award a score. Because the number of items varied from country to country, a per cent score was given to each student depending upon his total and the total number of possible correct responses. By this procedure, it was possible to compare political perception scale scores for all four countries.

In order to observe the influence exerted by mediating factors on political perception, the per cent scores were divided into groups, depending upon the factor in question. Each factor was then statistically evaluated using a one-way analysis of variance.³⁸ The results appear in Table 39.³⁹

TABLE 39

POLITICAL PERCEPTION--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE^a

Mediating Factor	df	F-Score	Probability
Academic Aptitude	2 x 206	37.6220	.001
School Peer Group	8 x 200	11.1782	.001
Socio-economic Status	1 x 207	156.9426	.001
Sex	1 x 207	6.2497	.05

^aFor a breakdown of the analysis of variance for each mediating factor, see the treatment group tables and summary tables in the United States section of Appendix D.

It is evident from reading Table 39 that all four of the mediating factors isolated for analysis proved to be significant. The null hypothesis is rejected that each factor did not significantly influence the youngsters'

performance on the political perception scale.⁴⁰ Although sex would appear to be the least significant factor, its appearance in this table points to another difference between the Canadian and American samples. At no point in the analysis of the Canadian children did sex difference appear to be an important variable in the political socialization process. This is the second appearance of the sex variable in the American analysis. (The first appearance was in the analysis of political efficacy.)

To summarize for Political Perception,

1. Academic Aptitude is a significant factor in explaining the American students' acquisition of information about their political system.
2. School Peer Group is a significant factor in explaining the American students' acquisition of information about their political system.
3. Socio-economic Status is a significant factor in explaining the American students' acquisition of information about their political system.
4. Sex is a significant factor in explaining the American students' acquisition of information about their political system.

As related in Chapter III, the final step in the examination of each country was a factor analysis of responses to the questionnaire in order to observe what questions clustered on a common factor.⁴¹ It is a rough

measure of the relationship among responses to questionnaire items and was designed to complement the analysis presented earlier in the chapter.⁴² For the American sample, this strategy produced a 72 x 72 factor matrix. Of those factors which could be named and which accounted for at least five per cent of the total variance, only one factor emerged.

The single factor which appears for response to the American questionnaire suggests that knowledge about two of the political leaders is interrelated. Furthermore, it appears that if a student is incapable of answering one of these questions, he will probably be incapable of answering the other three questions. It will be recalled that the same type of factor also appeared in the Canadian Analysis. The results appear in Table 40.

TABLE 40
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS

Factor Loading	Question
-0.75012	13. a. Have you heard of Richard Nixon?
-0.57655	13. b. What does he do? (Richard Nixon)
-0.70287	34. a. Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy?
-0.51951	34. b. What does he do? (Eugene McCarthy)
Amount of Total Variance Explained: 12.97 per cent.	

To summarize for the United States' sample,

1. A majority of the American students state that the President works harder than most men and that he is

concerned with just about everybody. The rest of the time the students prefer to consider the President as the equal of most men. This same result was observed for Canadian children.

2. When comparing the President's honesty with their father's honesty, American children prefer to consider the two men equal. When asked whether the President worked harder than their fathers, approximately forty per cent of the American sample agreed and another forty per cent stated that the two men are equal in this regard. The Canadian children preferred to consider their fathers equal to the Prime Minister on both questions.

3. The American sixth grade children are more familiar with the President of the United States and the Governor of their state than they are with the mayor and other state and national political leaders. In Canada, the children demonstrated a greater awareness of, first their national government, second their local government, and last their provincial government.

4. In all but one instance, the American sixth grade children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his political function. (The one exception is the Mayor of Lawrence, where less than two per cent were able to recall his name, yet 53.1 per cent were able to describe

his function.) A similar result was observed for the Canadian children.

5. American sixth grade children demonstrate a greater awareness of the Congress of the United States and a lower awareness of the Kansas State Legislature. A similar result was observed for the Canadian children with the national and provincial parliaments.

6. American sixth grade children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function. The same result was observed for Canadian children.

7. The American sixth grade children do not demonstrate a consistent pattern in their judgments of political leaders and institutions. At least sixty per cent of the youngsters judge that the President, Governor, the Congress, and the Kansas State Legislature are doing a very good or fairly good job. However, one-third of the children did not respond to questions about the Governor, Mayor, Richard Nixon, and the Kansas State Legislature. Finally, at least one-fifth of the children judge the President and Richard Nixon to be doing either a not very good or bad job as political leaders. This contrasts with the Canadian children who judged their political leaders and institutions more positively than their American cohorts.

8. American sixth grade children demonstrate no specific pattern in their responses to the questions on political efficacy. While approximately two-thirds of the students are confident that their families exercise some influence in the American political system, these statements are contradicted by their mixed appraisal of their understanding of the system and their families' role in the system. In addition, approximately one-fifth of the sample responded with "don't know," or did not answer five of the seven questions. A similar result was observed for the Canadian children.
9. American children perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they do other nations and the United Nations. This same result was observed for Canadian children.
10. American children indicate that they are willing to state a political party preference. This is demonstrated by the fact that 66.4 per cent of the students identified with a political party. In Canada, student party identification was ten per cent higher than for the American sample.
11. The family is a major influence in the party identification of the American children. The same result was observed for Canadian children.
12. Children in the United States perceive that their friends share in their willingness or unwillingness to

identify with a political party. A similar result was observed for the Canadian children.

13. The factor analysis suggests that for the American sample, information about political leaders is interrelated. The students' inability to provide information about one political leader is related to their inability to describe other political leaders.

14. For the American children, Academic Aptitude proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale, and a moderate influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale and Spatial Perception Scale. Table 41 compares this pattern of influence with the pattern observed for the Canadian sample.

TABLE 41

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
United States	Not Significant	Moderate	Moderate	Strong

15. For the American children, School Peer Group proved to be a moderate influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale, and a major influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale, Spatial Perception Scale, and Political Perception Scale. Table 42 compares this pattern of influence with the pattern observed for the Canadian sample.

TABLE 42

SCHOOL PEER GROUP: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong	Strong
United States	Moderate	Strong	Strong	Strong

16. For the American children, Socio-economic Status proved to be a minor influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale, a moderate influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale and Spatial Perception Scale, and a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale. Table 43 compares this pattern of influence with the pattern observed for the Canadian sample.

TABLE 43

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant	Strong
United States	Weak	Moderate	Moderate	Strong

17. For the American children, sex proved to be a minor influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale and a moderate influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale.⁴³ Table 44 compares this

pattern of influence with the pattern observed for the Canadian sample.

TABLE 44

SEX: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Weak	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant
United States	Not Significant	Weak	Not Significant	Moderate

FOOTNOTES

¹For the population of Lawrence see, Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Population of Kansas, January 1, 1968: As Reported by County Assessors (Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1968), p. 4. Although the population of Lawrence is listed as 31,705, the Kansas Census, unlike the U.S. Census, does not include the population of the University of Kansas, located in the city. Including the University, approximately 15,000 in 1968, would increase the population of Lawrence to 48,000.

The precise geographic location of Lawrence, Kansas is 38.57°N, 95.13°W. Goodes World Atlas (12th ed.; Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968), pp. 73, 227.

²The total number of students in the United States' sample was 209. The total number of students in the sixth grade in Lawrence, Kansas at the time of testing was 607. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Ramsey in providing this information and for granting permission to conduct research in the Lawrence school system. Dr. Robert Ramsey, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Lawrence Unified School District No. 497, Lawrence, Kansas, March, 1968.

³This information was obtained from discussions with the individual classroom teachers.

⁴Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

⁵For a breakdown of the coding of these questions, see the United States Questionnaire in Appendix B.

⁶See the United States Questionnaire in Appendix A for the precise wording of these questions.

⁷Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," pp. 636-37. (Also note that the row per cents will total slightly less than 100, because they were rounded off in computation.)

⁸Ibid., pp. 636-40.

⁹Ibid., pp. 639-41.

¹⁰As related in n. 13 in Chapter III, this procedure was adopted to maintain a degree of continuity with some of the items on the Greenstein questionnaire. Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 173-79.

¹¹See the coded questionnaire in the United States section of Appendix B.

¹²See Appendix B.

¹³Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 61-63. The same phenomenon was observed by Greenstein in his work with children in New Haven.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁵Perhaps Greenstein was a bit hasty in reaching his conclusions on the basis of examining children's attitudes in one city. Certainly, other factors arise (media exposure) which are more important in some locales than others, due to a concentration of media in certain cities and the degree of exposure which certain political figures receive. Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 60-63.

Quite obviously the mayor is not well known to children in Lawrence. An additional observation can be made in this regard. In Lawrence, the children study United States History in Grade 5, and Kansas History in Grade 4. It is quite possible that these formal exposures produced a higher awareness of the state and national level, or that the awareness is a product of informal and formal contacts.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 173-79.

¹⁷See Appendix B for the coded questionnaire.

¹⁸For the operational definition of these terms, see the discussion in Chapter II.

¹⁹These computations were performed on a G.E. 635 computer. The statistical analyses were performed by the computer library program, "BMD02S: Contingency Table Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 341-46. As related in n. 12, Chapter III, the Contingency Coefficient C was selected for two reasons: (1) the operation was already performed by this program, (2) it is considered

to be more applicable for distributions larger than 2×2 . Because C does not obtain unity, it is necessary to give a maximum value for these tables. This was accomplished by dividing each contingency coefficient C by the maximum value that could be obtained for the table in question. By this procedure, it was possible to obtain coefficients which had a value between 0 and 1. For those tables which were uneven, e.g. 2×7 , the maximum coefficient was obtained by interpolating between the maximum value for a 3×3 and 5×5 table. The particular utility of using the contingency coefficient C for this type of analysis is apparent in the following statement. "When the number of categories is large (at least five each way), C approaches the Pearson r in size." J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (4th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 338.

Since most of the contingency tables used in this analysis are 5×5 or greater, the contingency coefficient is particularly suitable.

For additional materials discussing chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis, see n. 21, Chapter III.

²⁰The chi-square table used to establish significance for chi-square relationships in the chapter is Table IV from, Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (5th ed., London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 45.

²¹See the United States Questionnaire in Appendix C for the per cent breakdown.

²²David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38. The scale used in this study is an adaptation of efficacy scales used in earlier adult voting studies, Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954, p. 190.

²³For an illustration of the use of the geometric shapes, see the United States Questionnaire in Appendix A.

²⁴For materials discussing the relationship between intelligence and efficacy, see the following: Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 34-36.

Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine

Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

²⁵For a discussion of the relationship between socioeconomic status and political efficacy, see, Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 150, 224.

²⁶See the materials cited in n. 24 of this chapter.

²⁷Probably the most significant work discussing peer group influence is Langton's research on Jamaican secondary students. Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

These results provoke two tentative observations: (1) the students' school environment and peer associations exert a degree of influence on their feelings of political efficacy, (2) factors which exert an influence on children's feelings of efficacy in the United States may not be important in other countries. This suggests that the agents of socialization for one political culture may not play the same role in other political cultures. A confirmation of these two tentative observations will have to await the analysis of the two Central American countries.

²⁸This particular procedure evolved from the pilot study conducted in Lawrence, Kansas. For an elaboration on this point, see the discussion in Chapter II.

²⁹See Appendix C for the per cent breakdown of each question.

³⁰For a more detailed description of these categories, see the coded questionnaire in Appendix B.

³¹For a discussion on this point, see Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 131-72.

For a general treatment of the relationship between cognitive development and socialization, see David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 112-28, 343-51.

³²For a discussion on the party preferences of children, see Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 71-78.

Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 111-15.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 9.

Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 74.

³³This question is an adaptation of a party question developed by Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 178.

³⁴See questions 29, 30, and 31 in Appendix A.

³⁵Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 178-79. For a general treatment of American political parties, see Frank J. Sorauf, Party Politics in America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968).

³⁶In the American sample, 66.4 per cent identified with a political party. This is approximately the same per cent identification for sixth grade children found by Greenstein. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73. However, at least 77 per cent of the Canadian youngsters identified with a political party.

³⁷This procedure was originally developed in the pilot study in order to make the Greenstein questionnaire a more useful instrument for statistical analysis.

³⁸The statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, BMD0IV: Analysis of Variance For One-Way Design," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 486-94.

For additional materials discussing Analysis of Variance see n. 26, Chapter III.

³⁹The F-Scores were tested for significance in Table V, Fisher and Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research, pp. 46-55.

⁴⁰When evaluating the impact of socio-economic status, the question is raised whether SES is related to Academic Aptitude. To obtain this information, the two factors were placed in a contingency table to observe if a relationship existed. At two degrees of freedom and a

chi-square of 55.0677, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected and a contingency coefficient of .60 suggests a strong relationship. Although the other mediating factors did not prove to be significant, the results indicate that Socio-economic Status and Academic Aptitude are interrelated in the American sample. This contrasts with the weak relationship found for the Canadian sample. For a discussion of the latter see n. 44, Chapter III.

⁴¹The statistical analysis was performed by computer library program, "BMDO3M: General Factor Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 169-84.

⁴²Harry H. Harmon, Modern Factor Analysis (2nd ed. rev.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 136. For an illustration of a similar application of factor analysis to a political socialization questionnaire, see Frank A. Pimner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 62-68.

For a more general treatment of the application of factor analysis to research of this type, see the discussion in n. 47, Chapter III.

⁴³It is apparent that sex does not prove to be as significant a factor in the development of political attitudes of children as originally estimated by Greenstein. Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 353-71.

This same material also appears later in his book, Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 6. However, it should also be noted that subsequent research in the United States indicates that sex is less important than originally expected in the development of political attitudes.

Hess and Torney find sex differences to be more important on questions of political involvement and activity, but less significant in relation to political learning. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 8.

Also, see the discussion of sex differences in Chapter I.

CHAPTER V COSTA RICA

The Costa Rican site for this investigation was Cartago, Costa Rica. Although the Central Canton of Cartago contains a population of 52,075, the population of the central city is closer to 30,000.¹ The community is located in the Cartago basin of the Reventazón River Valley, fifteen kilometers southeast of the national capital of San José. (Both of these cities are geographically situated on the densely populated Meseta Central of Costa Rica.)² Economically, the metropolitan area contains some light industry and serves as a marketing center for the agricultural produce of the surrounding region. Historically, Cartago was at one time the capital and only urban unit in Costa Rica. However, the national government was moved to San José in 1823 and the city was demoted to the political role of acting as the administrative capital for the Province of Cartago.³ The political importance of a province in Costa Rica should not be confused with its Canadian or American counterparts; provincial offices, such as the Governor, are filled by appointment of the President of Costa Rica, and not by popular elections.⁴

A random selection of sixth grade classrooms in Cartago resulted in four test schools out of the six

elementary schools in the city. A breakdown of the socio-economic populations served by the schools produced the following results: one of the schools was located in an upper income residential area, two of the schools were located in middle to lower residential areas, and one school was located in a lower income residential area.⁵

None of the sixth grade youngsters in Cartago had been exposed to a formal course in government or civics. Discussions with school officials and classroom teachers revealed that the daily classroom routine concentrated on formal coursework and did not devote time to discussions of current events. Furthermore, the children had not been exposed to a series of national and local history courses that are typically found in American elementary schools. Thus, the questionnaire primarily tested information gleaned from informal learning channels, such as parents, peer group associations, and media contact. The questionnaires for this sample were distributed from August 20-28, 1968. Unlike the Canadian and American situations, Costa Rica was not in the midst of a political campaign for national or local offices.

A brief outline of the demographic characteristics of the Costa Rican sample reveals the following information. The sixth grade students were ranked by their teachers into three groups: High - 36.7 per cent,

Medium - 46.1 per cent, Low - 17.0 per cent. Although the age of the youngsters ranged from ten to fifteen, 84.6 per cent were either eleven or twelve years of age. The socio-economic breakdown of the sample by the father's occupation yielded the following dichotomy: High - 50.2 per cent, Low - 49.7 per cent. Approximately three-fourths (76.6 per cent) of the children identified Cartago as their place of birth. Finally, the sex breakdown of the sample revealed that 58.7 per cent were males, and 41.2 per cent were females.⁶

It will be recalled from the discussion of the research design in Chapter II, that the Image of Authority questions were deleted from the questionnaires in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. This strategy was adopted because questions evaluating the President's competence aroused considerable anxiety among school officials in these countries. Quite plainly, they feared political repercussions which could jeopardize their jobs and most certainly the administering of the questionnaire. As mentioned earlier, no difficulties were experienced in either country with the revised questionnaires. Since the judgment questions were considered acceptable, a discussion of the students' evaluation of the President will be made in that section of this chapter.

KNOWLEDGE OF AUTHORITY

To obtain the children's knowledge of political leaders, two types of questions were used.⁷ The first type, of which there is one, asked whether the children had heard of the President of Costa Rica. The entire sample of 223 answered this question affirmatively. The second type of question, of which there are seven, asked the youngsters to either identify a political leader or describe his job. The responses are coded as accurate, inaccurate, don't know, or no answer.⁸ The specific questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 45.

4. b. What is his name? (President of Costa Rica)
5. What is the main job of the President of Costa Rica?
6. Do you know the name of the candidate who lost in the 1966 elections?
7. Do you know what this person is doing now in Costa Rica? (Refers to Daniel Oduber, the presidential candidate who lost the 1966 election.)
8. Do you know the name of the Governor of the Province of Cartago?
9. What kinds of things does he do? (Refers to the National Deputies in the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly.)

Except for an inability to describe the political role of Daniel Oduber, the 1966 losing presidential candidate, at least one-half of the youngsters were able to either identify a political leader or describe his job.

TABLE 45
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
4. b.	99.1	0.8	0.0	0.0
5.	82.9	1.8	3.5	11.6
6.	91.4	1.3	4.4	2.6
7.	21.9	7.6	34.5	35.8
8.	57.8	12.1	6.2	23.7
9.	66.3	0.8	6.2	26.4
14.	59.1	14.7	12.1	13.9

It is also apparent that they were more familiar with their national political leaders than they were with the Governor of the Province or members of the Legislative Assembly.⁹ Ironically, 66.3 per cent could describe the Governor's duties, but only 57.8 per cent could give his name. This is similar to the American sample, where fifty per cent could describe the duties of the Mayor of Lawrence, but only two per cent could recall his name. There is no question in Costa Rica requesting information about the mayor, because in provincial capitals the Governor serves the dual function of chief administrative officer for both the province and the capital city of the province.¹⁰

The next set of questions examined the students' awareness of political institutions, in this case the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica and the municipality

of Cartago. The first type of questions ask whether the youngsters "have heard" of these institutions. The questions are listed below with the results in Table 46.

3. a. Have you heard of the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica?
24. a. Have you heard of the Municipality? (Refers to the Municipality of Cartago.)

TABLE 46

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
3. a.	89.6	8.9	1.3
24. a.	95.5	3.1	1.3

^aThe letter A is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

Following each of these questions was a request to describe the function of the institution. The questions appear below with the results in Table 47.

3. b. What is the function of the Assembly? (Refers to the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica.)
24. b. What do you think the Municipality is? (Refers to the Municipality of Cartago.)

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
3. b.	66.3	3.1	5.3	25.1
24. b.	86.9	1.7	3.5	7.6

^aThe letter B is used to refer to those open questions which were coded in four categories.

from the pattern observed in Canada and the United States. In Costa Rica, the students indicate a greater awareness of the municipality of Cartago than they do of the national Legislative Assembly. The two North American samples contrast with this, as they indicated a greater awareness of their national institutions than of their local or regional institutions.¹¹

To summarize for Knowledge of Authority,

1. Costa Rican children are more familiar with the President of Costa Rica than they are with their local or regional political leaders.
2. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his function.
3. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater awareness of their municipal government and a lower awareness of the national Legislative Assembly.
4. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function.

POLITICAL JUDGMENT

To assess the children's attitudes toward authority they were asked to judge institutions of political authority and persons who occupy positions of political authority.¹² In Costa Rica four judgment questions

were placed at different intervals in the questionnaire to obtain this information.¹³ The responses are coded as follows: Good, Regular, Bad, Don't Know, No Answer. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 48.

10. What do you think of his work? (Governor of the Province of Cartago.)
18. What do you think of the works the President of the Republic has been making for Costa Rica?
25. What do you think of the work of the municipality in the City of Cartago?
33. What do you think of the laws that the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica makes?

TABLE 48

POLITICAL JUDGMENTS IN PER CENT

Question	Good	Regular	Bad	Don't Know	No Answer
10	75.7	10.7	0.8	12.1	0.4
18	65.0	24.2	3.5	6.2	0.8
25	70.4	22.9	4.9	1.8	0.0
33	73.4	17.0	1.8	7.3	0.5

It is apparent from Table 48, that Costa Rican children judge their institutions and leaders positively. The President receives a slightly lower positive judgment than did the chief executives in Canada and the United States. However, he was also awarded fewer negative judgments than those appearing in the other two countries.

Overall, the responses in Costa Rica are slightly higher than those in Canada and the United States. These results correspond quite closely to the evaluations of American children by Hess and Easton, and are more positive than was true in the other two countries.¹⁴

The next question to be considered is whether the mediating factors of Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, Socio-economic Status and Sex exert any influence over response to the judgment questions.¹⁵ To obtain this information, each of these factors was placed in a series of contingency tables with responses to the four judgment questions. Each of the contingency tables was then subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis. In this manner it was possible to test for significance and gauge the strength for the relationship.¹⁶

Academic Aptitude x Judgment

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

School Peer Group x Judgment

It will be recalled that School Peer Group is operationally defined as the elementary school which the student attends. In Cartago, four sixth grade schools were sampled.¹⁷ One of the contingency tables proved to be significant when judgment response was broken down by

school. Question 10 asked the students to judge work of the Governor of the Province of Cartago. At nine degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 27.0293, the relationship is significant at the .01 level of probability.¹⁸ A contingency coefficient of .38 indicates that the relationship is not very strong. Since none of the other tables proved to be significant, it is difficult to generalize on the importance of this factor, other than to suggest that a student's school environment and peer associations appear to influence his judgment of the Governor's performance.

SES x Judgment

One of the contingency tables proved to be significant when responses to the judgment questions were dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. (Question 18 asked the students to evaluate the type of works which the President had been making for Costa Rica.) At four degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 11.7587, the relationship is significant at the .02 level of probability. Although it is possible to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship exists, a contingency coefficient of .28 suggests that the relationship is not very strong. At best, it suggests that socio-economic background may exert some influence on the student's judgment of the President.

Sex x Judgment

As with the previous mediating factor, one of the contingency tables proved to be significant when responses to the judgment questions were broken down by sex. Once again the performance of the Governor of the Province of Cartago elicited a difference in response patterns. At three degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 9.8327, the relationship is significant at the .05 level of probability. Naturally, the null hypothesis is rejected, but a contingency coefficient of .26 suggests that it is not a strong relationship. As with the previous factor, it is merely suggestive that sex differences may influence the student's evaluations of the Governor.

The mediating factors demonstrate no particular pattern of influence for the Costa Rican sample. Looking again at Table 48, it appears that the positive judgments of political leaders and institutions is, for the most part, a characteristic of the total sixth grade sample in Cartago, as it was for the Canadian sample in Fort William.

To summarize for Political Judgment,

1. At least 85 per cent of the Costa Rican students judge their political leaders and institutions to be doing a good or regular job.
2. Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in explaining the Costa Rican students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.

3. Except for their judgment of the Governor of the Province of Cartago, School Peer Group is not a significant factor in the students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.
4. Except for their judgment of the President of Costa Rica, socio-economic status is not a significant factor in the students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.
5. Except for their judgment of the Governor of the Province of Cartago, sex is not a significant factor in the students' judgments of political leaders and institutions.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

The next step in the examination of political attitudes held by the Costa Rican sample is an evaluation of their feelings of efficacy toward their political system. As related in Chapter III, this procedure was originally applied to research in political socialization by Easton and Dennis.¹⁹ Each of the four efficacy questions was placed in a contingency table with the four mediating factors to observe if a relationship existed. It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter II that it was necessary to simplify responses to the efficacy questions in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. This procedure produced two types of efficacy questions for use in Central

America. The responses to the first type are coded for Table 49 as follows: Yes, No, Don't Know, No Answer.²⁰ The three efficacy questions using this type of response are listed below and the per cent results appear in Table 49.

11. Do you think the elections are the best way that people can influence the government?
15. Do you think that no matter who rules, the government always acts the same; it is not concerned about the poor people?
17. In reality, my family has no influence in what the government does.

TABLE 49

POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Answer
11	87.8	3.1	6.7	2.2
15	17.9	60.5	17.0	4.4
17	34.0	43.0	20.1	2.6

^aThe letter A is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only four types of response.

Note that question 11 is worded positively so that a yes response indicates a high feeling of efficacy. Questions 15 and 17 are worded negatively so that a no response indicates a high feeling of efficacy.

The second type of efficacy question, of which there is one, allowed for one additional response. It is coded Much, Little, None, Don't Know, and No Answer.²¹ The

question is printed below and the response appears in Table 50.

27. Do you think it matters much to those who govern, what the people think?

TABLE 50

POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT. B.^a

Question	Much	Little	None	Don't Know	No Answer
27	38.6	26.9	17.5	15.7	1.3

^aThe letter B is used to refer to closed questions which permitted only five types of response.

Obviously, question 27 is worded positively. No specific pattern appears in the two tables. Although 87.8 per cent of the students think that elections are the best way to influence the government, at least one-third think that their family has no influence over government actions, and over forty per cent think that people's thoughts matter little or nothing to political officials. The next step is to ascertain whether the four mediating factors exert an influence on response patterns. To obtain this information, the factors were placed in a series of contingency tables with each of the efficacy questions to test the significance and the strength of the relationships.

Academic Aptitude x Efficacy

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

School Peer Group x Efficacy

Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy responses were broken down by school. Question 15 stated that the government was not concerned with poor people no matter who ruled. Question 17 stated that the student's family had no influence over government actions, and question 27 asked whether the government cared much about the people's thoughts. The results appear in Table 51.

TABLE 51
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
15	9	23.6780	.01	.34
17	9	20.6710	.02	.36
27	12 ^a	22.6275	.05	.34

^aQuestion 27 contains one additional response item.

The null hypothesis is rejected and the contingency coefficients indicate that a weak relationship exists between School Peer Group and responses to these three efficacy questions. Thus, it appears that the students' classroom environment and peer associations exert a minimal influence on their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. This finding corresponds with the Canadian and American patterns. In all three countries peer influence has been found to be important in explaining children's feelings of political efficacy, although the strength of the relationship is lower in Costa Rica than was found in the other two countries.²²

SES x Efficacy

None of the contingency tables proved to be significant.

Sex x Efficacy

One of the contingency tables proved to be significant when responses to the efficacy questions were dichotomized by sex. Question 15 stated that the government acts the same no matter who rules, it is not concerned with poor people. At three degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 9.5689, the relationship was significant at the .05 level of probability. However, a contingency coefficient of .26 indicated that the relationship was not very strong. Since none of the other tables proved to be significant, it is only possible to suggest that a relationship may exist between the student's sex and his or her response to question 15.

The Costa Rican response to the efficacy questions closely paralleled the results found in Canada. In both countries, peer associations emerged as the only factor which explained response to the questions on political efficacy. For the American sample, efficacy response was also influenced by the student's academic ability, socio-economic background and to a lesser degree by sex difference. While the American results correlate with research on political efficacy, the Costa Rican and Canadian results do not.²³ This point will be considered

at greater length in Chapter VII. What does emerge from the data is the fact that peer group influence is important in explaining children's feelings of efficacy in all three countries. Since this is the first time that peer influence has been tested against efficacy, the finding is significant.

To summarize for Political Efficacy,

1. Costa Rican children demonstrate no specific pattern in their response to the questions on political efficacy. Although 87.8 per cent of the students think that elections are the best way to influence the government, at least one-third think that their family has no influence over government actions, and 44.4 per cent think that the people's thoughts matter little or nothing to those who govern.
2. Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in explaining the Costa Rican students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.
3. School Peer Group is a factor of minor importance in explaining the Costa Rican students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.
4. Socio-economic Status is not a significant factor in explaining the Costa Rican students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.
5. Except for their response to the statement that the government acts the same no matter who rules; it is

not concerned with poor people, sex is not a significant factor in the Costa Rican students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

SPATIAL PERCEPTION

The next question to be considered is the student's perception of political units, specifically Cartago, Costa Rica, other nations, and the United Nations. To obtain this information, two types of questions were placed in the Questionnaire.²⁴

The first type of question, of which there are four, simply asked whether the students "had heard" of a particular political unit. The responses are cited as Yes, No, and No Answer.²⁵ The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 52.

- 12. a. Have you heard of Mexico?
- 13. a. Have you heard about the United Nations?
- 16. a. Have you heard of France?
- 23. a. Have you heard of the United States?

Table 52 was included in this chapter because the Costa Rican youngsters demonstrated some difficulty in answering these questions. It will be recalled that both the Canadian and American samples experienced little difficulty with these particular questions (at least 93 per cent answered yes in Canada, and 97 per cent answered yes in the United States). The two political units

TABLE 52
 POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
12. a.	96.4	2.2	1.3
13. a.	89.2	9.8	0.8
16. a.	76.6	21.9	1.3
23. a.	97.3	2.2	0.4

^aThe letter A refers to those open questions which permitted only three types of response.

giving the greatest difficulty to the Costa Rican students were France and the United Nations.

The second type of question, of which there are six, was open-ended so that each respondent could "in his own words" describe the unit in question. The responses to each of these questions were divided into nine categories. They are coded as follows: political description; spatial description--describes the geographic location of the unit; size description--physical size of the country; economic description; internal description--relates that the country is free, tranquil, nice place to live; dynamic description--relates the behavior of the unit toward other nations; don't know; no answer.²⁶ The six open-ended questions are listed below and the per cent response appears in Table 53.

1. What words would you use to describe Costa Rica?
2. What words would you use to describe Cartago?
12. b. What is Mexico?
13. b. What do you think the United Nations is for?
16. b. What do you think France is?
23. b. What do you think the United States is?

A visual examination of Table 53 reveals that the youngsters describe Costa Rica and Cartago as political units (it's a city), scenic places in which to live, pleasant places in which to live (it's tranquil), and by the size of the unit (it's a small country). Although no specific pattern emerges for the other political units, it appears that the Costa Rican children experienced some difficulty in describing France and the United Nations. This is indicated by the fact that 28.6 per cent of the students were unable to provide a descriptive answer for the United Nations, and 35.3 per cent were unable to provide a descriptive answer for France. It will be recalled that Canadian and American youngsters also experienced difficulty in describing the United Nations.

As noted in the preceding paragraph, Table 53 reveals that the Costa Rican children perceive their city and country in a different manner than the other political units. This raises the question of whether the difference in response patterns proves to be statistically significant

TABLE 53
POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Costa Rica	5.8	2.6	5.1	13.9	3.5	17.4	0.9	0.4	4.4
Cartago	19.2	4.0	37.1	12.1	4.0	17.4	0.9	0.4	4.4
Mexico	5.8	10.7	49.3	14.7	5.8	6.7	0.0	1.7	4.9
United Nations	21.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	33.1	15.6	0.0	14.7	13.9
France	4.4	12.1	25.1	11.6	8.5	1.3	1.3	15.2	20.1
United States	3.5	5.3	20.1	23.3	21.0	5.3	14.3	1.3	5.3

^aThe letter A refers to those open-ended spation perception questions which were coded in nine categories.

TABLE 54
COLLAPSED SPATIAL PERCEPTION TABLE

Political Unit	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Costa Rica	28	7	98	29	9	39	2	10
Other	20	16	53	28	38	16	9	25

when collapsed into a category of Costa Rican political units and a category of other political units. To accomplish this task, the table was collapsed into the two named categories and averaged so that the resulting contingency table could be subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis. Naturally, the original frequencies were used in creating the table. The results appear in Table 54.

At eight degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 71.8876, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected that there is no significant difference in the students' perception of Costa Rican political units and other political units. A contingency coefficient of .45 indicates that the relationship is moderate in strength. It will be recalled that a similar observation was made for the Canadian and American students, except that the relationship proved to be stronger in those two countries. The next step in the analysis is to observe whether the descriptions are affected by the four mediating factors. To obtain this information, each of the six responses was placed in a series of contingency tables with the four factors to test for significance and strength of relationship.

Academic Aptitude x Spatial Perception

Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the questions was broken down

by high, medium and low academic ability.²⁷ The results are listed in Table 55.

TABLE 55
ACADEMIC APTITUDE x SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Cartago	12	23.9791	.05	.36
United Nations	10	40.0608	.001	.46
France	14	32.3992	.01	.41

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions in Table 55, and the contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are weak to moderate. From this data it appears that the students' Academic Aptitude does exert some influence on their perceptions of political units.²⁸

School Peer Group x Spatial Perception

All six of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was broken down by school. The results are listed in Table 56.

It is evident from Table 56 that the students' school environment and peer associations influenced their perceptions of the six political units. The null

TABLE 56

SCHOOL PEER GROUP X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Costa Rica	18	37.5256	.01	.43
Cartago	18	45.2977	.001	.46
Mexico	18	39.8758	.01	.44
United Nations	12	60.0255	.001	.52
France	21	68.9699	.001	.54
United States	21	68.2460	.001	.54

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

hypothesis is rejected, that no relationship exists between spatial perception and peer interactions. The contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are moderate to strong.

SES x Spatial Perception

Two of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions were dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. The results appear in Table 57.

The null hypothesis is rejected for the two questions and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are weak to moderate. This suggests that the students' socio-economic backgrounds do exert some influence on their perceptions of these political units.

TABLE 57
SES X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
United Nations	5	20.9158	.001	.33
France	8	32.3442	.001	.43

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

Sex x Spatial Perception

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was dichotomized by sex. The results appear in Table 58.

Table 58 suggests that sex differences do exert an influence over the children's perception of political

TABLE 58
SEX X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Mexico	7	16.2292	.05	.32
United Nations	4	25.9056	.001	.40
France	7	24.6140	.001	.39
United States	7	25.8704	.001	.39

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

units. Two aspects of this relationship are interesting:
(1) the units in question are non Costa Rican (apparently

descriptions of Costa Rica and Cartago are not affected by the respondent's sex), (2) this is the first country in which sex differences have influenced response to the spatial perception questions.²⁹ Naturally, the null hypotheses are rejected, and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are weak to moderate in strength.

The response patterns to the spatial perception questions are most interesting. It is evident from the tables in this section, that school peer group is the major factor influencing the children's perceptions of political units. School peer group also proved to be important in Canada and the United States. However, in the United States all four factors proved to be of some importance in describing spatial response patterns. Whereas, in Canada only the school related factors of peer association and academic ability were significant. In the United States, these two factors were important, but socio-economic status emerged as a major explanatory variable in describing the children's perceptions of political units.

To summarize for Spatial Perception,

1. Children in Cartago perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations.

2. Academic Aptitude is a factor of weak to moderate importance in explaining Costa Rican children's perception of political units.
3. School Peer Group is a factor of moderate to strong importance in explaining Costa Rican children's perception of political units.
4. Socio-economic status is a factor of weak to moderate importance in explaining Costa Rican children's perception of political units.
5. Sex is a factor of weak to moderate importance in explaining Costa Rican children's perception of political units.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

The next stage of analysis in this chapter is an evaluation of the children's party identification. As related in Chapter I, political socialization research in the United States has repeatedly demonstrated the ability of children to identify their political party preferences.³⁰ Since no comparative appraisal has been made of this phenomenon, one of the objectives of this investigation was to observe whether the pattern persisted outside of the United States. To obtain this information, the following question was asked of each respondent, "If you were old enough to vote, which party would you vote for most of the time?" This question was followed by a request

to identify the party preference of the respondent's friends, father and mother.³¹ Each of the major active political parties was then listed so that the children could check the appropriate response. The responses are coded in the following manner: PLN - Partido Liberación Nacional, PUN - Partido Unión Nacional, PRN - Partido Republicano Nacional, Other, Don't Know, NA - No Answer.³² The results are in Table 59.

TABLE 59
PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN PER CENT

Question	PLN	PUN	PRN	Other	Don't Know	No Answer
Child	46.1	36.8	2.2	5.8	4.5	4.5
Friends	39.0	28.3	8.1	5.4	15.6	3.5
Father	45.3	30.5	7.6	5.4	5.8	5.3
Mother	43.5	34.1	6.7	4.0	4.9	6.7

By collapsing the rows in Table 59, it is possible to construct the following profile: 90.9 per cent of the children identified with a political party, 80.8 per cent identified their friends' party preference, 88.8 per cent identified their father's party preference, 88.3 per cent identified their mother's party preference. These results are most extraordinary. Only 66.4 per cent of the American sample and 77 per cent of the Canadian sample identified with a political party. Quite obviously,

sixth grade youngsters in Costa Rica form party affiliations. Furthermore, these affiliations are held by a larger percentage of children than indicated by previous research on political socialization in the United States.³³

The next question to be considered is whether these youngsters share the party affiliations of their peers and parents. To obtain this data, the children's party preferences were placed in contingency tables with the preferences of their peers and parents. The results appear in Table 60.

TABLE 60

CHILD'S PARTY ID x FRIENDS, FATHER, MOTHER

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Friends	25	116.6633	.001	.64
Father	25	223.7196	.001	.76
Mother	25	223.5757	.001	.76

Table 60 further substantiates the findings in Canada and the United States, that parents exert a considerable influence on the party identification of sixth grade youngsters.³⁴ Also, it would appear from this table, that Costa Rican children perceive their friends as sharing the same party preference.

The final point to be considered in relation to party identification is the influence exerted by the mediating factors on the children's party choice. Each

of the factors was placed in a contingency table with the student's party response, to test for significance and strength of the relationship. Since none of the contingency tables proved to be significant, it is concluded that the major influence upon children's party identification in Costa Rica is the family.

To summarize for Party Identification,

1. Costa Rican children indicate that they are willing to state a political party preference. This is demonstrated by the fact that 90.9 per cent of the youngsters identified with a political party.
2. The family is a major influence in the party identification of Costa Rican children.
3. Children in Costa Rica perceive their friends as sharing in their political party preferences.

POLITICAL PERCEPTION

As related in Chapter III, one of the products of the pilot study was the development of a scale to measure the influence of mediating factors upon the political attitudes of children.³⁵ In each country, a series of questions was scattered throughout the questionnaire to obtain some measure of the political information level of the students. This set of questions was operationally defined as a political perception scale. For Costa Rica the scale consists of twenty-one items which are

trichotomized into the following groups.

1. Political leaders and their functions--these questions asked if the students "had heard" of a particular leader, then asked them to name the leader, and then requested a description of his function.
2. Political institutions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a particular institution, and then requested a description of its function.
3. Political Parties--first, the student was asked to identify the most important political problem in the world and then asked whether each of the parties agreed with this evaluation; second, the youngsters were asked to name the most important member of each party; third, they were asked to describe the difference between the parties.³⁶

Both open and closed questions were included in the scale. The closed questions are self explanatory, if a student "had heard" of a particular person or institution, the answer was listed as correct. For those questions which asked whether a political party agreed with the student's evaluation, either a yes or no answer was listed as correct. Finally, for those questions which asked for a descriptive response, any answer which touched upon the political duties or functions was accepted as correct. By this procedure, it was possible to tally the number of correct answers for each respondent. Because the number of items in each scale varied from one country to another, a per cent score was awarded to each respondent based upon his total and the total number of correct responses. This made it possible to compare the response patterns to the

political perception scales of all four countries.

In order to observe the influence exerted by the mediating factors on the students' political perception, the per cent scores were divided into groups depending upon the factor in question. The statistical procedure adopted for analyzing the influence of each factor was a one-way Analysis of Variance.³⁷ The results appear in Table 61.³⁸

TABLE 61
POLITICAL PERCEPTION--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE^a

Mediating Factor	df	F-score	Probability
Academic Aptitude	2 x 220	8.3275	.001
School Peer Group	3 x 219	6.4826	.001
Socio-economic Status	1 x 221	92.1751	.001
Sex	1 x 221	16.9751	.001

^aFor a breakdown of the Analysis of Variance for each mediating factor, see the treatment group tables and summary tables in the Costa Rican section of Appendix D.

A survey of Table 61 reveals that all four factors significantly influenced the students' performance on the political perception scale. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected for each factor. What is interesting is that in Costa Rica, all four factors are significant at the same level of probability.³⁹ This is in contrast to

Canada, where sex did not prove to be significant and to the United States where sex was only significant at the .05 level of probability. This point will be discussed in greater detail in the summary of this chapter.

To summarize for Political Perception,

1. Academic Aptitude is a factor of major significance in explaining the Costa Rican students' acquisition of information about their political system.
2. School Peer Group is a factor of major significance in explaining the Costa Rican students' acquisition of information about their political system.
3. Socio-economic Status is a factor of major significance in explaining the Costa Rican students' acquisition of information about their political system.
4. Sex is a factor of major significance in explaining the Costa Rican students' acquisition of information about their political system.

As related in Chapter III, the final step in the analysis of each country was a factor analysis of questionnaire response to observe what questions clustered on a common factor.⁴⁰ This strategy was adopted, because it provided a rough measure of the relationship among response items.⁴¹ In Costa Rica, this procedure produced a 55 x 55 factor matrix. Unlike the Canadian and American samples, the responses of the Costa Rican youngsters did not produce

a factor which could be named and which accounted for at least five per cent of the total variance.

To summarize for the Costa Rican sample,

1. Costa Rican children are more familiar with the President of Costa Rica than they are with other national political leaders, local political leaders, or regional political leaders. A similar result was observed in Canada and the United States.
2. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his function.
3. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater awareness of their municipal government and a lower awareness of the national Legislative Assembly. In Canada, the children demonstrated a greater awareness of first their national government, second their local government, and last their provincial government. In the United States the children demonstrated a greater awareness of first their national government, second their state government, and last their local government.⁴²
4. Costa Rican children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function. The same result was observed in the other two countries.
5. At least 85 per cent of the Costa Rican students judge their political leaders and institutions to be doing a

good or regular job. United States and Canadian students judged their political leaders and institutions more negatively than their Costa Rican cohorts.

6. Costa Rican children demonstrate no specific pattern in their response to the questions on political efficacy. Although 87.8 per cent of the students think that elections are the best way to influence the government, at least one-third think that their families have no influence over government actions, and 44.4 per cent think that the people's thoughts matter little or nothing to those who govern. A similar result was observed for Canadian and American children.

7. Children in Cartago perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations. A similar result was observed for children in Canada and the United States.

8. Costa Rican children indicate that they are willing to state a political party preference. This is demonstrated by the fact that 90.9 per cent of the youngsters identified with a political party. The level of party identification is higher for Costa Rican children than it is for children in Canada and the United States.

9. The family is a major influence in the party identification of Costa Rican children. This same result was observed in Canada and the United States.

10. Children in Costa Rica perceive their friends as sharing in their party preferences. This same result was observed in Canada and the United States.

11. For Costa Rican sixth grade children, Academic Aptitude proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale and a moderate influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale. Table 62 compares the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in Canada and the United States.

TABLE 62

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
United States	Not Significant	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong

12. For Costa Rican children, School Peer Group proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale, a moderate influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale, and a minor influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale. Table 63 compares the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in Canada and the United States.

TABLE 63

SCHOOL PEER GROUP: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong	Strong
United States	Moderate	Strong	Strong	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Weak	Moderate	Strong

13. For Costa Rican children, Socio-economic Status proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale, and a moderate influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale. Table 64 compares the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in Canada and the United States.

TABLE 64

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant	Strong
United States	Weak	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong

14. For Costa Rican children, sex proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale, and a moderate influence in their response to

the Political Perception Scale. Table 65 compares the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in Canada and the United States.⁴³

TABLE 65

SEX: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Weak	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant
United States	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong

FOOTNOTES

¹Ministerio de Industria y Comercio, Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos, Población Total de la República de Costa Rica por Provincias, Cantones y Distritos: Calculo al 1 de Enero de 1967 (San José, Costa Rica: Sección de Publicaciones, 1967), p. 10.

²Robert C. West and John G. Augelli, Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 437-39.

The precise geographic location of Cartago, Costa Rica is 9.52° N, 83.56° W. Goodes World Atlas (12th ed.; Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968.

³Editada por el Comite Organizador del IV Centenario de Cartago, Jorge Didier Picado H., Director, Cartago: Revista Conmemorativa (Cartago, Costa Rica: Los Talleres Tipograficos Del "Covao," 1964), pp. 3, 14-16.

The city of Cartago was founded in 1543 and organized as a city in 1564. For additional data on the historical significance of the city, see the following sources.

Ricardo Fernández Guardia, History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica trans. by Harry Weston van Dyke (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1913), pp. 169, 185-87.

Salomé Fil (José Milla y Vidaurre), Historia de la America Central, Vol. I (Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografia Nacional, 1937), pp. 151, 164, 577.

José Matá-Gavida, Anotaciones de Historia Patria Centro Americana (Guatemala: Cultural Centroamericana, S.A., 1953) Capitulo LXX.

Lorenzo Montúfar, Reseña Historica de Centro America. Tomo Cuarto. (Guatemala: El Progreso, 1881), Capitulo XVI Costa Rica.

⁴Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Costa Rica, Artículos 168, 169, Titulo XII.

⁵For assistance in gathering this information and distributing the questionnaires, I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Alicia Helwig and John F. Helwig, University of Kansas. For permission to use Cartago as a test site, I wish to thank, Lic. Guillermo Malavassi Vargas, Ministro de Educacion Publica, San José, Costa Rica, August, 1968.

The total sixth grade sample in Costa Rica was 223 out of a total sixth grade enrollment of 620.

⁶For additional information on the demographic characteristics of this sample, see the Costa Rican Section of Appendix C.

⁷This procedure was adopted to maintain a degree of continuity with some of the items on the Greenstein questionnaire. Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 173-79.

⁸For an explanation of the coding of these questions, see the Costa Rican questionnaire in Appendix B.

⁹Ibid., pp. 61-63. Greenstein arrived at the same conclusion based on his New Haven data. Likewise, both the Canadian and American samples in this investigation showed a higher awareness of national officials, than of state or local officials.

¹⁰Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Costa Rica, Articulo 169, Titulo XII.

¹¹This aspect of the Costa Rican data runs counter to Greenstein's conclusion that the national level is the best known among children. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 60.

¹²As related in Chapter III, these questions were originally a modification of a format developed by Greenstein. Ibid., pp. 173-79.

¹³See the Costa Rican questionnaire in Appendix A.

¹⁴Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

¹⁵For the operational definitions of these terms, see the discussion in Chapter II.

¹⁶The computations were performed on a G.E. 635 computer. These particular statistical analyses were performed by the computer library program, "BMD02S: Contingency Table Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 341-46. The Contingency Coefficient C was selected for two reasons; (1) it was already performed by this program, (2) it is considered to be more applicable for distributions larger than 2 by 2. Because C does not obtain unity,

it is necessary to give a maximum value for these tables. This was accomplished by dividing each contingency coefficient C by the maximum value that could be obtained for the table in question. By this procedure, it was possible to obtain coefficients which ranged between 0 and 1. For those tables which were uneven, e.g. 3 x 5, the maximum coefficient was obtained by interpolating between the maximum value for a 3 x 3 and 5 x 5 table. The particular utility of the contingency coefficient for this type of analysis is apparent in the following statement. "When the number of categories is large (at least five each way), C approaches the Pearson r in size." J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 338.

Since many of the contingency tables used in this investigation are 5 x 5 or greater, the use of contingency coefficients is particularly suitable. For additional material on these statistical procedures, see the sources cited in n. 21, Chapter III.

¹⁷ See the Costa Rican questionnaire in Appendix C for the per cent breakdown by school.

¹⁸ The table used to establish significance for the chi-square relationships in this chapter is Table IV from, Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (5th ed.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 45.

¹⁹ David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38. The scale used in this study is an adaptation of efficacy scales originally developed in adult voting studies, Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 190.

²⁰ For the exact wording of these questions in Spanish, see the coded responses in the Costa Rican section of Appendix B.

²¹ Ibid.

²² As related in Chapter I, the most significant study of peer group influence is Langton's research on Jamaican secondary students. He also used school as the basic peer unit to determine peer influence. Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

²³In addition to the work of Easton and Dennis cited in n. 15 of this chapter the other major works on political efficacy are:

Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

²⁴This particular procedure evolved from the pilot study conducted in Lawrence, Kansas. For an elaboration on this point, see the discussion in Chapter II.

²⁵For the wording of these questions in Spanish, see the Costa Rican questionnaire in Appendix A.

²⁶For a more detailed description of these categories, see the coded questionnaire in Appendix B.

²⁷In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the three categories were placed in numerical sequence at the top of the questionnaire. This procedure had two distinct advantages: (1) the grading system in these two countries is numerical, consequently it was quite simple to adopt their categories; (2) this allowed the classroom teacher to check the proper numerical category as the questionnaire was handed in by each student. In this manner, it was possible to avoid asking for the names of the students, which was a point of concern to school officials in these countries.

²⁸This corresponds with discussions in the literature which relate cognitive ability with intelligence. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 131-72.

David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 112-28, 343-51.

²⁹This finding corresponds with Greenstein's research in the United States. Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 6.

Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 353-71.

However, it should also be noted that sex was of no significance for the Canadian sample and of minor significance for the American sample. (See the discussion in Chapters III and IV.) This provides a tentative confirmation of the hypothesis that sex is a more important

variable in those countries where sex roles are more traditionally separated.

³⁰For a discussion of the party preferences of children, see Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 71-78.

Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 111-15.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 9.

Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 74.

For information about Costa Rican political parties, see, Franklin D. Parker, The Central American Republics (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 265-77.

James L. Busey, Notes on Costa Rican Democracy, University of Colorado Studies, Series in Political Science, No. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press), pp. 20-29.

³¹See questions 19, 20, and 21 in the Costa Rican Questionnaire in Appendix A, for the exact wording of these questions in Spanish.

³²Occasionally, the children identified Partido Unificacion Nacional as the "other" party. Actually, it is not a party, but instead a coalition between Partido Union Nacional and Partido Republicano Nacional, formed to promote a candidate for President in the 1966 elections. As soon as the election was over, the coalition was terminated.

³³Greenstein found that approximately sixty per cent of his sixth grade sample identified with a political party. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73.

³⁴This, of course, corresponds with research in the United States which has described the influence of the family on party identification. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 219.

Hyman, Political Socialization, Chapter IV.

Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews, and Anton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 27-31.

³⁵As related in n. 24, Chapter III, this procedure was originally developed in the pilot study in order to make the Greenstein questionnaire a more useful instrument for statistical analysis. Naturally, it has been revised from its initial inception.

36

For a complete list of the questions included in this scale, see the Costa Rican section of Appendix D.

37

This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMD0IV: Analysis of Variance for One-way Design," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 486-94.

For additional materials discussing these statistical procedures see n. 26, Chapter III.

38

The F-scores were tested for significance on Table V Fisher and Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research, pp. 46-55.

39

In considering the impact of SES, the question was raised whether SES was related to Academic Aptitude. To obtain this information, the two factors were placed in a contingency table and tested for significance. At two degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 22.1880, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected and a contingency coefficient of .40 suggests that a weak to moderate relationship exists. None of the other factors proved to be significant when subjected to the same type of analysis. Therefore, it is concluded that SES may exert an influence on the students' academic performance. The same conclusion was reached in Canada. However, in the United States the relationship proved to be fairly strong between the two factors.

40

This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMD03M: General Factor Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 169-84.

41

Harry H. Harmon, Modern Factor Analysis (2nd ed. rev.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 136, 165-66. For a similar application of factor analysis to a political socialization questionnaire, see: Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 62-68. For additional discussions of the application of factor analysis to this type of research see n. 31, Chapter III.

⁴²This finding casts Greenstein's statement in a different perspective. In a comparative study, it is not possible to declare that children's knowledge of government progresses from national to local to regional. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 60. In Costa Rica the problem is more complex, as it depends on whether one is referring to a perception of political leaders or to institutions.

⁴³The finding in Costa Rica corresponds more closely to Greenstein's research in the United States, than did the other two samples. Ibid., Chapter 6.

Greenstein, "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," pp. 353-71.

However, it should be mentioned that more recent research on the importance of sex in political attitude development corresponds with the finding in the United States' sample.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 8.

Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, pp. 335-43.

CHAPTER VI NICARAGUA

The Nicaraguan site selected for this investigation was León, Nicaragua. It is a city with a population of 45,000 located on the Pacific lowland plain, 70 kilometers northwest of the capital city of Managua.¹ The metropolitan area contains some light industry. However, the major economic importance of the community is its role as an administrative and marketing center for the agricultural produce of the surrounding region. León also contains the main campus of the University of Nicaragua. Historically, the city was in 1786 the second major political center in the Spanish Colonial Audiencia de Guatemala, which ruled Central America.² However, a series of clashes with the rival city of Granada forced a compromise and the capital was moved to Managua in 1845, half way between the two competing cities.³ This reduced León to the role of administrative capital for the District of León. (The political importance of a District in Nicaragua is similar to that of a province in Costa Rica. In both countries the major regional political posts are filled by Presidential appointment and not by popular election.)

A random selection of sixth grade classrooms in Nicaragua resulted in five test schools out of the seven elementary schools located in the city. A breakdown of

the socio-economic populations served by the schools produced the following results: one of the schools was located in an upper income residential area, two of the schools were located in middle to lower income residential areas, and two of the schools were located in lower income residential areas.⁵

None of the sixth grade youngsters in León had been exposed to a formal course in government or civics. Discussions with school officials and classroom teachers revealed that the children concentrated on formal coursework and did not devote time to discussions of current events. Although Nicaraguan history was a subject of study in school, it was primarily oriented to discussions of early national history and did not discuss contemporary historical or political events. Thus, the questionnaire primarily tested information acquired from informal learning channels, such as parents, peer group associations, and media contact. The questionnaires for this sample were distributed from June 24-28, 1968. Nicaragua, like Costa Rica, was not in the midst of a political campaign for national office during 1968.

A brief outline of the demographic characteristics of the León sample population produced the following results. The teachers academically ranked their students in the following three categories: High - 29.3 per cent, Medium - 44.0 per cent, Low - 26.6 per cent. The age of

the youngsters ranged from ten to fifteen: ten - 7.2 per cent, eleven - 14.6 per cent, twelve - 25.2 per cent, thirteen - 23.3 per cent, fourteen - 24.7 per cent, fifteen - 4.5 per cent. Nicaragua was the only country, out of the four examined, where a large per cent of the children were older than eleven or twelve years of age. The evaluation of the fathers' occupational backgrounds yielded the following socio-economic breakdown: High - 44 per cent, Low - 55.9 per cent. Approximately five-sixths (86.6 per cent) of the children identified León as their place of birth. Finally, the sex of the respondents is as follows: male - 41.2 per cent, female - 58.7 per cent.

As related in Chapter V, the Image of Authority questions were deleted from questionnaires in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, because questions about the President's competence were considered to be objectionable by school officials in these two countries. Since the judgment questions were considered acceptable, an evaluation of the children's attitudes toward the President will be made in the judgment section of this chapter.

KNOWLEDGE OF AUTHORITY

To obtain the children's knowledge of political leaders, two types of questions were used.⁶ The first type, of which there is one, asked whether the children had heard of the President of Nicaragua. To this

question, 99.5 per cent of the sample answered yes. The second type of question, of which there are seven, asked the youngsters to identify a political leader and to describe his political function. The responses are coded as accurate, inaccurate, don't know, or no answer.⁷ The seven questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 66.

4. b. What is his name? (President of Nicaragua)
5. What is the main job of the President of Nicaragua?
6. Do you know the name of the candidate for President who lost in the 1967 elections?
7. Do you know what this man does in the Government now? (Refers to the candidate who lost in the 1967 presidential elections.)
8. Do you know the name of the Political Chief of the Department of León? (This is a position equivalent to that of a Governor.)
9. What kinds of things does he do? (Refers to the Political Chief of the Department of León.)
14. Give the name of a Deputy or Senator from the city of León.

Except for an inability to describe the function of the Political Chief for the Department of León, at least fifty per cent of the children were able to identify the political leaders and their functions. It is apparent from reading Table 66 that the children are more familiar with their national political leaders than they are with local political leaders. Likewise, they demonstrate more

TABLE 66

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN PER CENT

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
4. b.	97.7	2.2	0.0	0.0
5.	75.2	2.2	5.9	16.5
6.	92.2	2.7	3.2	1.8
7.	53.6	8.7	17.4	20.1
8.	71.5	8.7	5.0	14.6
9.	38.5	0.4	13.7	47.2
14.	65.5	8.2	3.6	22.4

facility in identifying a person by name than they do in describing his function.⁸ The responses to these questions compare closely to the response pattern observed in Costa Rica. In both of the Central American countries, however, the youngsters show a greater familiarity with political leaders and functions than is true of their North American counterparts.

The next set of questions examined the students' awareness of political institutions. The first type of questions ask whether the youngsters "have heard" of these institutions. The questions are coded Yes, No, or No Answer. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 67.

- 3. a. Have you heard of the National Congress of Nicaragua?
- 24. a. Have you heard of the Municipal Council?

TABLE 67
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, A^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
3. a.	66.0	30.2	3.6
24. a.	77.9	9.1	12.8

^aThe letter A refers to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

Following each of these questions, was a request to describe the function of each institution. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 68.

3. b. What is its function? (Refers to the National Congress of Nicaragua.)
24. b. What is its function? (Refers to the Municipal Council.)

TABLE 68
KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Accurate	Inaccurate	Don't Know	No Answer
3. b.	41.7	1.3	17.8	38.9
24. b.	53.2	0.9	5.5	40.3

^aThe letter B refers to those questions which were coded in four categories.

Tables 67 and 68 indicate that the Nicaraguan youngsters are aware of their national and local political institutions. Furthermore, they demonstrate that it is more difficult to describe an institution's political function, than it is to state whether they "have heard"

of an institution. Although the Nicaraguan sample answered these questions at a level similar to the Canadian sample, they did not perform at the same per cent level as their Costa Rican counterparts. In Costa Rica, each of the questions about political institutions received an additional 20 per cent positive response. For example, in Nicaragua only 41.7 per cent could accurately describe the function of the National Congress. Whereas, in Costa Rica 66.3 per cent successfully described the function of the national Legislative Assembly.

In addition to the comparisons discussed in the preceding paragraph, the questions on political institutions present some interesting patterns when contrasted with the other three countries. It is apparent from Tables 67 and 68 that Nicaraguan sixth grade students display a greater awareness of their municipal government than of their national congress. The identical pattern also appeared in Costa Rica. However, in the United States and Canada, the children demonstrated a greater awareness of their national legislative institutions, than of their regional legislative institutions. On this point, the two Central American samples differ from the two North American samples.⁹

To summarize for knowledge of authority,

1. Nicaraguan children are more familiar with their national political leaders than they are with their local

or regional political leaders.

2. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a leader by name and a lower facility in describing his function.

3. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a greater awareness of their municipal government than of the National Congress.

4. Nicaraguan children show a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function.

POLITICAL JUDGMENT

To evaluate the children's attitudes toward authority, they were asked to judge the performance of political institutions, and persons who occupy positions of political authority.¹⁰ In Nicaragua, four questions were placed at different intervals in the questionnaire to obtain this information.¹¹ The responses are coded as follows: Good, Regular, Bad, Don't Know, No Answer. The questions are listed below and the per cent results appear in Table 69.

10. Do you think that he does good work? (Political Chief of the Department of León.)
18. Do you think the President of the Republic has been doing things that are good for Nicaragua?
25. Do you think that the Council does good work for the city of León?

32. What do you think about the laws that the National Congress makes?

TABLE 69
POLITICAL JUDGMENTS IN PER CENT

Question	Good	Regular	Bad	Don't Know	No Answer
10.	50.9	10.1	2.9	25.6	10.5
18.	62.8	21.5	5.5	7.2	2.8
25.	58.7	19.3	11.5	8.3	2.3
32.	46.3	18.3	2.9	25.1	7.3

From Table 69, it is apparent that at least 60 per cent of the Nicaraguan youngsters judged their leaders and institutions to be doing a regular or good job. The judgment of the President of Nicaragua is similar to the judgment of the President of Costa Rica. However, in evaluating the Political Chief of the Department of León and the National Congress, the Nicaraguan students issued a larger number of don't know and no answer responses than their Costa Rican cohorts. In this respect, their response pattern resembles the patterns observed in Canada and the United States. It is evident from Table 69 that Nicaraguan students, except for their judgment of the President, are less positive in their evaluations of leaders and institutions than are Costa Rican students. However, they are not as negative as their American counterparts. In order to offer a base for comparison, the Nicaraguan evaluations correspond more closely to the judgments recorded for the Canadian sample.¹²

The next stage in the analysis of political judgments is an examination of the influence exerted by the mediating factors of Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, Socio-economic Status and Sex.¹³ To obtain this information, each of the factors was placed in a series of contingency tables with responses to the four judgment questions. The contingency tables were then subjected to chi-square and contingency coefficient analysis in order to measure the significance and the strength of each of the relationships.¹⁴

Academic Aptitude x Judgment

Of the four contingency tables examined, only one proved to be significant. Question 32 asked the students to judge the type of laws which the National Congress made for Nicaragua. At eight degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 20.5657, the relationship is significant at the .01 level of probability.¹⁵ The null hypothesis is rejected, and a contingency coefficient of .34 indicates that the relationship is weak to moderate in strength. Because the other three tables did not prove to be significant, it is difficult to draw any general conclusion, except to suggest that the students' academic abilities influenced their judgment of this one institution.

School Peer Group x Judgment

It will be recalled that School Peer Group is operationally defined as the elementary school which the

student attends. In León, five sixth grade classrooms were sampled. All four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the judgment questions was broken down by school. The results are listed in Table 70.

TABLE 70
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X JUDGMENT

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
10	16	54.1363	.001	.52
18	16	59.0105	.001	.50
25	16	49.3671	.001	.48
32	16	36.3521	.01	.42

The null hypothesis is rejected for each question. Furthermore, the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are moderate to strong. This suggests that the students' school environment and school peer associations exert an influence on their judgments of political leaders and institutions. The only other country in which a comparable result appeared was the United States. In Canada and Costa Rica, School Peer Group proved to be of little or no significance when matched with response to the judgment questions.

SES x Judgment

Two of the contingency tables proved to be significant when responses to the judgment questions were

dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. The results appear in Table 71.

TABLE 71
SES X JUDGMENT

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
25.	4	12.2337	.02	.29
32.	4	10.7296	.05	.27

The null hypothesis is rejected and the contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are weak.

Sex x Judgment

All four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the judgment questions was dichotomized by sex. The results are listed in Table 72.

TABLE 72
SEX X JUDGMENT

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
10	4	35.0193	.001	.46
18	4	31.9509	.001	.45
25	4	28.3741	.001	.42
32	4	14.9260	.01	.32

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are weak to moderate in strength.

To summarize for political judgment,

1. At least sixty per cent of the Nicaraguan students judge their political leaders and institutions to be doing a good or regular job.
2. Except for their judgment of Congress, Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in the students'

judgments of political leaders and institutions in Nicaragua.

3. School Peer Group is a major factor in explaining the judgments of political leaders and institutions by Nicaraguan children.

4. For Nicaraguan children, socio-economic status is of minimal significance in explaining their judgment of political institutions and of no significance in their judgment of political leaders.

5. Sex is a moderate factor in explaining the judgments of political leaders and institutions by Nicaraguan students.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

The next step in the examination of political attitudes held by the Nicaraguan sample, is an evaluation of their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. As described in Chapter III, this procedure was first applied to research in political socialization by Easton and Dennis.¹⁶ Each of the four efficacy questions was placed in a contingency table with the four mediating factors to observe if a relationship existed. It will be recalled from the discussion of this scale in Chapter II that it was necessary to simplify responses to the efficacy questions in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. This procedure resulted in two types of efficacy questions for the

Central American samples. The responses for the first type of question are coded yes, no, don't know and no answer.¹⁷ The three efficacy questions using this type of response are listed below. The results appear in Table 73.

11. Do you think the elections are the best way that people can influence the government?
15. Do you think that no matter who rules, the government always acts the same--it is not concerned about the poor people?
17. In reality, my family has no influence in what the government does.

TABLE 73

POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	Don't Know	No Answer
11.	54.1	13.1	26.1	5.8
15.	26.1	41.7	24.3	7.7
17.	33.4	20.1	41.7	4.5

^aThe letter A refers to those questions which permitted only four types of response.

Note that question 11 is worded positively so that a yes response indicates a high feeling of efficacy. Questions 15 and 17 are worded negatively so that a no response indicates a high feeling of efficacy.

The second type of efficacy question, of which there is one, permitted one additional response. It is coded in the following manner: Much, Little, None, Don't Know,

No Answer. The question is printed below and the response appears in Table 74.

27. Do you think it matters much to those who govern, what the people think?

TABLE 74
POLITICAL EFFICACY IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Much	Little	None	Don't Know	No Answer
27.	22.9	22.9	21.6	26.1	6.4

^aThe letter B refers to closed questions which permitted only five types of response.

Question 27 is worded positively. A visual reading of Tables 73 and 74 reveals no consistent response pattern to the four efficacy questions. Slightly more than one-half of the students think elections are the best way to influence the government, forty per cent think the government cares about poor people, only twenty per cent think their families influence the government, and over forty per cent think that people's thoughts matter little or nothing to political officials. Two features distinguish the Nicaraguan children's feelings of political efficacy when compared to the Costa Rican sample. (1) Nicaraguan children do not feel as efficacious as Costa Rican children. For questions 11, 15, and 17, the positive response of the Nicaraguan sample is at least twenty per cent lower for each question than was true in Costa Rica. For question 27, the positive response of the Nicaraguan sample is at

least sixteen per cent lower than the Costa Rican sample. (2) The number of don't know and no answer responses is at least ten to twenty per cent higher in Nicaragua than in Costa Rica.

Except for question 17, where 46.2 per cent of the children answered either don't know or no answer, the response patterns to the efficacy questions in Nicaragua are similar to the patterns observed for Canada and the United States. The next step in the analysis of the Nicaraguan sample is to ascertain whether the four mediating factors exert an influence on response patterns. To obtain this information, the factors were placed in a series of contingency tables with each of the efficacy questions to test the significance and strength of the relationships.

Academic Aptitude x Efficacy

Two of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy response was compared to academic background. Question 17 stated that the student's family had no influence over government actions, and question 27 asked whether the government cared much about people's thoughts. The results are listed in Table 75.

TABLE 75

ACADEMIC APTITUDE X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
17.	6	12.6996	.05	.28
27.	8 ^a	20.7868	.01	.35

^aQuestion 27 contains one additional response item.

The null hypothesis is rejected and the contingency coefficients indicate that a weak relationship exists between Academic Aptitude and response to these two questions. Table 75 suggests that a child's academic ability may influence his feelings of efficacy toward the political system. The only other country in which a comparable result appeared was the United States. However, in the United States a moderate relationship was found between efficacy and academic ability. In Canada and Costa Rica, Academic Aptitude proved to be of little or no significance when matched with response to the efficacy questions.

School Peer Group x Efficacy

All four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy response was broken down by school. The results appear in Table 76.

TABLE 76
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
11	12	39.1763	.001	.44
15	12	48.7401	.001	.49
17	12	47.1077	.001	.48
27	16 ^a	50.1935	.001	.48

^aQuestion 27 contains one additional response item.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions in Table 76. Furthermore, the contingency

coefficients indicate that the relationships are moderate in strength. It is evident that the students' classroom environment and peer associations exert an influence on their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. This finding corresponds with the relationships observed for Canada, the United States and Costa Rica. Thus, in all four countries peer influence has been found to be important in explaining children's feelings of efficacy.¹⁸ Since this is the first time that efficacy has been matched with peer associations, the finding is most significant.¹⁹

SES x Efficacy

Three of the contingency tables proved to be significant when efficacy response was dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. Question 11 stated that the best way to influence the government was through elections. Question 17 stated that the student's family had no influence over government actions, and question 27 asked whether the government cared much about people's thoughts. The results are listed in Table 77.

Although the null hypothesis is rejected for each of the relationships, the contingency coefficients indicate that they are minimal in strength. This suggests that there may be a relationship between the students' socio-economic background and their feelings of political efficacy. Only in the United States did a comparable result

appear. However, for the American sample the relationship between social status and efficacy was found to be moderate in strength.

TABLE 77
SES X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
11.	3	15.9366	.01	.33
17.	3	8.3689	.05	.24
27.	4 ^a	14.9366	.01	.32

^aQuestion 27 contains one additional response item.

Sex x Efficacy

All four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the efficacy questions was dichotomized by sex. The results appear in Table 78.

TABLE 78
SEX X EFFICACY

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
11.	3	25.3489	.001	.41
15.	3	16.4398	.001	.34
17.	3	39.7392	.001	.50
27.	4 ^a	10.3691	.05	.27

^aQuestion 27 contains an additional response item.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions and the contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are weak to moderate in strength. It would appear that sex does exert an influence on the students' feelings of political efficacy in Nicaragua. This finding is most interesting. Only in the United States was a similar relationship found, but it proved to be of minimal importance. In Nicaragua sex has emerged as a factor of moderate importance in explaining the students' judgments of leaders and institutions, and their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. In both instances, it is the first time that sex has proved to be an important factor for either of these scales.²⁰

To summarize for Political Efficacy,

1. Nicaraguan children demonstrate no specific pattern in their response to the questions on political efficacy. Although fifty per cent of the students think elections are the best way to influence the government, only forty per cent think the government cares about poor people, only twenty per cent think their families influence the government, and over forty per cent think that the people's thoughts matter little or nothing to political officials.
2. Nicaraguan children do not feel as efficacious as Costa Rican children. The number of positive responses to questions on political efficacy is lower in Nicaragua than in Costa Rica. The responses of Nicaraguan children to the questions on political efficacy are similar

to the responses observed for the Canadian and American samples.

3. Academic Aptitude is a factor of minor importance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

4. School Peer Group is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

5. Socio-economic Status is a factor of minor importance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

6. Sex is a major factor in explaining the Nicaraguan students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system.

SPATIAL PERCEPTION

The next question to be considered is the students' perception of political units, specifically León, Nicaragua, other nations, and the United Nations. To obtain this information two types of questions were placed in the questionnaire.²¹

The first type of question, of which there are four, simply asked whether the students "had heard" of a particular political unit. The questions are listed below and the results appear in Table 79.

12. a. Have you heard about the United Nations?
 13. a. Have you heard of Mexico?
 16. a. Have you heard of France?
 23. a. Have you heard of the United States?

TABLE 79

POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT, A.^a

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
United Nations	74.3	17.4	8.1
Mexico	84.8	8.2	6.8
France	66.5	23.8	9.5
United States	88.9	5.0	5.9

^aThe letter A refers to closed questions which permitted only three types of response.

Table 79 was included in this chapter because the Nicaraguan youngsters, like their Costa Rican cohorts, exhibited difficulty in answering the questions. It will be recalled that both the Canadian and American samples demonstrated little difficulty with these particular questions. (At least 93 per cent answered yes in Canada and 97 per cent answered yes in the United States.) The two political units causing the greatest difficulty for the Nicaraguan students were the United Nations and France. However, it should be noted that the Nicaraguan sample scored lower than the other three national samples. Each of the four units received approximately ten per cent

fewer yes responses than was true in Costa Rica. It is evident that the Nicaraguan students display a lower level of knowledge about other political units than their counterparts in Canada, Costa Rica, and the United States.

The second type of question, of which there are six, is open-ended so that each respondent could "in his own words" describe the unit in question. The responses to each of these questions are divided into nine categories. They are coded as follows: political description; spatial description--describes the geographic location of the unit; size description--physical size of the unit; economic description; internal description--relates that the country is free, peaceful, nice place to live; dynamic description--describes the behavior of a unit toward other units, e.g. it's the most powerful nation in the world; don't know' no answer.²² The six open-ended questions are listed below and the per cent response appears in Table 80.

1. What words would you use to describe León?
2. What words would you use to describe Nicaragua?
12. b. What do you think the United Nations is for?
13. b. What is Mexico?
16. b. What do you think France is?
23. b. What do you think the United States is?

A visual examination of Table 80 reveals that the Nicaraguan youngsters perceived these six political units

TABLE 80
POLITICAL UNIT DESCRIPTION IN PER CENT, B.^a

Question	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Nicaragua	33.0	15.2	24.2	2.3	5.1	4.6	2.3	4.1	9.2
León	35.5	1.8	28.3	3.7	2.3	10.6	0.0	5.9	11.8
Mexico	31.1	2.3	22.9	5.1	11.9	3.2	0.0	5.4	18.0
United Nations	16.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.4	15.2	0.0	15.2	36.2
France	6.9	2.3	19.2	2.8	5.1	2.3	2.3	16.5	42.6
United States	16.8	2.3	12.3	5.5	14.6	3.2	21.1	5.5	18.7

^aThe letter B refers to these open-ended questions which were coded in nine categories.

TABLE 81
COLLAPSED SPATIAL PERCEPTION TABLE

Political Unit	Political	Spatial	Scenic	Size	Economic	Internal	Dynamic	Don't Know	No Answer
Nicaragua	75	19	58	7	7	16	2	11	23
Other	39	3	30	7	26	13	13	23	64

in a manner quite unlike the children in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States. First, they responded to the questions on León, Nicaragua, and Mexico with similar answers. In the other three countries, the questions concerning the students' country and city received tourist type descriptions, e.g. it's a country, or it's pretty. A few of the students described Nicaragua by its geographic location in Central America, and ten per cent described León as a nice place in which to live. The rest of the responses are scattered.

Second, the Nicaraguan youngsters recorded a higher number of don't know and no answer responses to these questions than was true in Costa Rica, Canada and the United States. This is most apparent for the question on France, where 59.1 per cent did not respond, and the question on the United Nations, where 51.3 per cent did not respond. At least twenty per cent did not respond to the questions on Mexico and the United States. Even more surprising, 19.7 per cent did not describe the city of León. The questions on the United Nations and France caused some difficulty in all of the countries. However, in the other three countries, at least 60 per cent were able to describe the United Nations and 65 per cent were able to describe France. For the remaining four questions at least 85 per cent were able to give a response. Tables 79 and 80 reveal that Nicaraguan children possess

a lower level of information about the six political units than do children in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.

Table 80 reveals two other response patterns which deserve a brief discussion. First, 21.1 per cent of the Nicaraguan youngsters described the United States in dynamic terms, e.g. it is the most powerful country in the world. This is the largest response which this category received in any of the four countries examined in this investigation. Perhaps this is the residue of American military presence in Nicaragua in the first three decades of this century.

Second, the youngsters' descriptions of the United Nations show a marked difference from their descriptions of the other political units. The same pattern appears in all four countries with one exception. In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the United Nations received an economic response from the youngsters. (Sixteen per cent in Nicaragua and 33.1 per cent in Cost Rica.) This reflects the United Nations' role in the economic development of these two countries. Naturally, the UN does not play a similar role in Canada and the United States. It is not surprising that the responses to the United Nations concentrate in the political, economic, and internal categories. This reflects its position as an international

organization, agency for political development, and an organization to maintain peace in the world. In this respect, the UN is a political unit unlike the other units included in the Spatial Perception Scale.

It will be recalled from the discussion in the preceding chapters that students in Costa Rica, Canada and the United States perceived their community and nation in a different manner than other political units. Although the Nicaraguan students did not describe their community and nation in precisely the same manner as youngsters in the other three countries, the question remains whether there is a significant difference in their perception of the Nicaraguan political units and other political units. In order to accomplish this task, the Nicaraguan units were combined to make one category, and the other units were combined to create the second category. The column totals were averaged in both categories so that the resulting contingency table could be subjected to a chi-square of 74.7866; the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected that there is no significant difference in the students' perception of Nicaraguan political units and other political units. Furthermore, a contingency coefficient of .46 indicates the relationship is moderate in strength. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference in the Nicaraguan children's

perception of Nicaragua and their perception of other political units.

The next step in the analysis is to observe whether the descriptions are affected by the four mediating factors. To obtain this information, each of the six responses was placed in a series of contingency tables with the four factors to test for significance and strength of relationship.

Academic Aptitude x Spatial Perception

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when broken down by high, medium and low academic ability.²⁴ The results are listed in Table 82.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the questions in Table 82, and the contingency coefficients

TABLE 82

ACADEMIC APTITUDE X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Nicaragua	16	35.0460	.01	.42
León	14	36.7274	.001	.43
United Nations	8	19.2502	.02	.33
United States	16	41.3524	.001	.45

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

suggest that the relationships are weak to moderate. It is apparent that academic ability does exert an influence

on the students' perceptions of these four units. This finding corresponds with the results observed in the other three countries. Thus, in the four countries examined in this investigation, Academic Aptitude has proven to be a significant factor in the students' perceptions of political units.²⁵

School Peer Group x Spatial Perception

All six of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was broken down by school. The results appear in Table 83.

TABLE 83
SCHOOL PEER GROUP X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Nicaragua	32	81.8158	.001	.57
León	28	49.2940	.01	.47
Mexico	28	81.3534	.001	.57
United Nations	16	79.6230	.001	.57
France	32	69.7445	.001	.54
United States	32	90.8544	.001	.59

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

Table 83 gives a rather clear indication that the students' school environment and peer associations

influenced their descriptions of the six political units. The null hypothesis is rejected and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are strong. Once again School Peer group has proven to be a major factor in explaining the students' response to the Spatial Perception Scale. This same factor also appeared as a major influence in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States. Thus, on the basis of these four samples, it can be concluded that peer associations are a major influence on children's perceptions of political units.

Sex x Spatial Perception

Four of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was dichotomized by high and low socio-economic status. The results are listed in Table 84.

TABLE 84

SES X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df ^a	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Nicaragua	8	26.4038	.001	.40
León	7	22.1957	.01	.37
United Nations	4	17.3709	.01	.34
France	8	18.8499	.02	.34

^aThe variation in degrees of freedom is accounted for by the absence of response in certain categories.

The null hypothesis is rejected for each of the four questions in Table 84, and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are not very strong. This suggests that in Nicaragua, the students' socio-economic background does exert an influence on their perceptions of political units. This same result was found in Costa Rica and the United States, but not in Canada. However, it should be noted that in Costa Rica only two of the tables proved to be significant. The response pattern exhibited by the Nicaraguan youngsters more closely approximates the response pattern found in the United States, except that the relationship proved to be stronger in the United States.

Sex x Spatial Perception

Two of the contingency tables proved to be significant when response to the spatial perception questions was dichotomized by sex. The results appear in Table 85.

TABLE 85
SEX X SPATIAL PERCEPTION

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Nicaragua	8	25.6545	.01	.39
United States	8	42.6042	.001	.49

Table 85 suggests that sex differences exert an influence on the children's perceptions of these two

political units. The null hypothesis is rejected for both questions and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are weak to moderate in strength. The only other country in which a comparable result appeared was Costa Rica. However in Costa Rica, four of the tables proved to be significant. Irrespective of the difference in the number of significant relationships, the fact that sex appears as an explanatory factor in Costa Rica and Nicaragua is instructive. This suggests that in these two countries sex plays a more significant role in this aspect of political attitude development than it does for their North American counterparts.²⁷

To summarize for Spatial Perception,

1. Children in León perceive their community and nation in a different manner than was observed for children in Costa Rica, Canada and the United States. At least one-third of the Nicaraguan sample described these units in political terms, e.g. it's a country. This contrasts with the tourist type descriptions which prevailed for these same units in the other three countries.
2. Nicaraguan children possess a lower level of information about political units than do children in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.
3. Children in León perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations.

3. Children in León perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations.

4. Academic Aptitude is a factor for moderate importance in explaining Nicaraguan students' perceptions of political units. The same result appears in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.

5. School Peer Group is a major factor in explaining Nicaraguan students' perceptions of political units. This same result appears for children in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.

6. Socio-economic Status is a factor of minor importance in explaining Nicaraguan students' perceptions of political units. This factor proved to be stronger in Costa Rica and the United States. This factor is not important in Canada.

7. Sex is a factor of moderate importance in explaining Nicaraguan students' perceptions of political units. This same result appears for children in Costa Rica. This factor is not important in Canada and the United States.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

The next stage of analysis in this chapter is an evaluation of the children's party identification. As related in Chapter I, political socialization research in the United States has consistently recorded the

ability of children to form party attachments.²⁸ Since no comparative examination has been made of this phenomenon, all four countries were subjected to the same set of questions to observe whether the pattern persists outside of the United States. To obtain this information in Nicaragua, the following question was asked of each respondent, "If you were old enough to vote, which party would you vote for most of the time?" This question was followed by a request to identify the party preference of the respondent's friends, father and mother.²⁹ Each of the active political parties was then listed so that the children could check the appropriate response. The responses are coded in the following manner: Liberal, Conservative, Other, Don't Know, No Answer. The results appear in Table 86.³⁰

TABLE 86

PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN PER CENT

Question	Liberal	Conservative	Other	Don't Know	No Answer
Child	72.9	14.7	0.9	10.6	0.9
Friends	57.8	17.4	0.5	22.5	1.8
Mother	72.0	11.5	0.5	11.9	4.1
Father	69.3	13.3	0.9	12.8	3.7

By collapsing the rows in Table 86, it is possible to construct the following profile: 88.5 per cent of the children identified with a political party, 75.7 per cent identified their friends' party preference, 84.0 per cent

identified their father's party preference, and 83.5 per cent identified their mother's party preference. These results are fascinating when contrasted with the patterns observed in the other three countries. In Costa Rica, 90.9 per cent of the children identified with a political party, 77 per cent of the Canadian children identified with a party, and only 66.4 per cent of the American children identified with a party. The significance of this finding will become more apparent when it is noted that the American sample is within five per cent plus or minus, of the number generally recorded for child party identification in the United States.³¹ In other words, the American sample included in this investigation is not an exception to the rule. On the basis of these four samples it can be concluded that the party identification of sixth grade children is at least twenty per cent higher in Costa Rica and Nicaragua than in the United States, and at least ten per cent higher in Canada, than in the United States.

The next question to be considered is whether these youngsters share the party affiliations of their peers and parents. To obtain this information, the children's party preferences were placed in contingency tables with the preferences identified for the friends, father and mother. The results appear in Table 87.

TABLE 87

CHILD'S PARTY ID X FRIENDS, MOTHER, FATHER

Question	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Friends	4	240.1180	.001	.81
Father	4	275.0635	.001	.84
Mother	4	278.7422	.001	.84

Table 87 corresponds to the results found in the other three countries. Parents (or family) exert a considerable influence on the party identification of sixth grade youngsters.³² In addition, it would appear that Nicaraguan children perceive their friends as sharing their party affiliation. Naturally, the null hypothesis is rejected for each question, and the contingency coefficients suggest that the relationships are strong.

The final point to be considered in relation to party identification is the influence exerted by the four mediating factors on the children's choice of political party. Each of the factors was placed in a contingency table with the students' party response to test for significance and strength of the relationship. Of the four factors, only sex proved to be significant in the party choice of Nicaraguan children. At two degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 36.0533, the relationship is significant at the .001 level of probability. Furthermore, a contingency coefficient of .49 indicates that the

relationship is moderate in strength. This particular finding is most revealing. In the Nicaraguan sample sex also proved to be an important factor in explaining the children's judgments of political leaders and institutions and their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. The importance of this finding takes on added significance when it is recalled that none of the mediating factors proved to be significant in explaining party identification in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.

To summarize for Party Identification,

1. Almost 90 per cent of the Nicaraguan sample identified with a political party. This same level of identification also appeared in the Costa Rican sample. These two samples contrast with Canada, where 77 per cent identified with a party, and the United States where 66.4 per cent identified with a political party. Party identification is higher among sixth grade youngsters in two Central American countries than it is in the two North American countries.
2. The child's family is a major influence in party identification in Nicaragua. This same result was also found in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.
3. Children in Nicaragua perceive their friends as sharing in their party preferences. This same result was found in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.

4. Sex is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the party identification of Nicaraguan children. This factor was not important in the other three countries examined.

POLITICAL PERCEPTION

As related in Chapter III, one of the products of the pilot study was the development of a scale to measure the influence of mediating factors upon the political attitudes of children.³³ In each country, a series of questions was scattered throughout the questionnaire to obtain some measure of the political information level of the students. This set of questions was operationally defined as a political perception scale. For Nicaragua the scale consists of nineteen items which are trichotomized into the following categories.

1. Political leaders and their functions--these questions asked if the students "had heard" of a particular leader, then asked the students to name the leader, and then requested a description of his function.
2. Political institutions--these questions asked if the student "had heard" of a particular institution, and then requested a description of its function.
3. Political parties--first, the students were asked to identify the most important political problem in the world and then asked if each of the parties agreed with this evaluation; second, the youngsters were asked to name the most important member of each party; third, they were asked to describe the difference between the parties.³⁴

Both open and closed questions are included in the scale. The closed questions are self explanatory. If a student stated that he "had heard" of a particular person or institution, the answer was recorded as correct. For those questions which asked whether a political party agreed with the student's evaluation, either a yes or no answer was recorded as correct. Finally, for those questions which asked for a descriptive response, any answer which touched upon the political duties or functions was accepted as correct. By this procedure, it was possible to tally the number of correct answers for each respondent. Because the number of items in each scale varied from one country to another, a per cent score was awarded to each respondent based upon his total and the total number of correct responses. This made it possible to compare the response patterns to the political perception scale in all four countries.

In order to observe the influence exerted by mediating variables on political perception, the per cent scores were divided into groups, depending upon the variable in question. Each variable was then statistically evaluated using a one-way analysis of variance.³⁵ The results appear in Table 88.

A survey of Table 88 reveals that only two variables significantly influenced the students' performance on the political perception scale. Of these two, socio-

TABLE 88

POLITICAL PERCEPTION--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE^a

Mediating Factor	df	F-score	Probability
Academic Aptitude	2 x 215	1.4974	Not significant
School Peer Group	4 x 213	4.0081	.01
Socio-economic Status	1 x 216	20.6874	.001
Sex	1 x 216	0.0160	Not significant

^aFor a breakdown of the analysis of variance for each mediating variable, see the treatment group tables and summary tables in the Nicaraguan section of Appendix D.

economic status appears to be the major factor explaining the children's acquisition of political information.³⁷

This is a direct contrast with the results observed in the other three countries. In Costa Rica, all four factors were significant at the .001 level of probability. In the United States the same result occurred, except that sex was significant at only the .05 level of probability. In Canada, the first three factors listed in Table 88 proved to be significant at the .001 level of probability, but sex did not prove to be significant.

To summarize for Political Perception,

1. Academic Aptitude is of no significance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' acquisition of information about their political system. This contrasts with Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States where this factor proved to be of major significance.

2. School Peer Group is of moderate significance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' acquisition of information about their political system. In the other three countries, this factor proved to be of major significance.
3. Socio-economic Status is of major significance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' acquisition of information about their political system. The same result was found in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.
4. Sex is of no significance in explaining the Nicaraguan students' acquisition of information about their political system. The same result was found in Canada. In Costa Rica this factor proved to be of major significance and in the United States it proved to be of minor significance.

As related in Chapter III, the final step in the analysis of each country was a factor analysis of the responses to the questionnaire to observe what questions clustered on a common factor.³⁸ This strategy was adopted, because it provided a rough measure of the relationship among response items.³⁹ In Nicaragua, this procedure produced a 54 x 54 factor matrix. Of those factors which could be identified and which contributed at least five per cent of the total variance, two types of factors emerged.

The first factor indicates that the two questions concerning the Nicaraguan National Congress are

interrelated. Those students who were incapable of answering the first question will probably be incapable of responding to the second question. The result appears in Table 89.

TABLE 89
THE NICARAGUAN CONGRESS

Factor Loading	Question
-0.76443	3. a. Have you heard of the National Congress of Nicaragua?
-0.68322	3. b. What is its function?
Amount of Total Variance Explained: 12.347 per cent	

The second factor indicates that there is a relationship between three of the efficacy questions and one of the political judgment questions. This suggests that the response patterns to these four questions are related. The results appear in Table 90.

TABLE 90
POLITICAL EFFICACY

Factor Loading	Question
0.71229	10. Do you think that he does good work? (Refers to the Political Chief of the Department of León.)
0.66396	11. Do you think that the elections are the best way that the people can influence the government?
0.64053	15. Do you think that no matter who rules, the government always acts the same; it is not concerned about the poor people?
0.54494	17. In reality, my family has no influence in what the government does.
Amount of Total Variance Explained: 7.383 per cent	

To summarize for the Nicaraguan sample,

1. Nicaraguan children are more familiar with their national political leaders than they are with their local and regional political leaders. This same result was observed in Canada, Costa Rica, and the United States.
2. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a person by name and a lower facility in describing his political function. This same result was observed in the other three countries.
3. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a greater awareness of their municipal government than of their national government. This same result was observed in Costa Rica. In Canada, the children demonstrated a greater awareness of first their national government, second their local government and last their provincial government. In the United States the children demonstrated, first a greater awareness of their national government, second their state government, and last their municipal government.⁴⁰
4. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in describing its function. The same result was observed in the other three countries.
5. At least sixty per cent of the Nicaraguan students judge their political leaders to be doing a good or regular job. This result compares with the answers recorded for

the Canadian sample. Costa Rican students judged their leaders and institutions more positively. United States students judged their political leaders and institutions more negatively.

6. Nicaraguan children demonstrate no specific pattern in their response to the questions on political efficacy. Although fifty per cent of the students think elections are the best way to influence the government, only forty per cent think the government cares about poor people, only twenty per cent think their families influence the government, and forty per cent think that the people's thoughts matter little or nothing to political officials. A similar result was observed in the other three countries. However, the other national samples were not as pessimistic as the Nicaraguan children about their feelings of political efficacy.

7. Nicaraguan children do not feel as efficacious as Costa Rican children. Not only are the number of positive responses lower in Nicaragua, the number of don't know and no answer responses are higher. A result similar to the Nicaraguan sample was observed in Canada and the United States.

8. Nicaraguan children perceive their community and nation in a different manner than was observed in the other three countries. At least one-third of the Nicaraguan sample described these two units in political

- terms. Tourist type descriptions were given for these same units in Canada, Costa Rica, and the United States.
9. Nicaraguan children possess a lower level of information about Mexico, France, the United States, and the United Nations than do children in the other three countries.
 10. Children in León perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations. A similar result was observed in the other three countries.
 11. Nicaraguan children demonstrate a higher level of party identification than do children in the United States and Canada. The same result was observed for Costa Rican children.
 12. The family is a major influence on party identification for Nicaraguan children. The same result was observed in the other three countries.
 13. Children in Nicaragua perceive their friends as sharing in their party preferences. The same result was observed in the other three countries.
 14. For Nicaraguan children, Academic Aptitude proved to be a minor influence in their response to the Political Efficacy Scale and a moderate influence in their response to the Spatial Perception Scale. Table 91 illustrates the relationship of this pattern to the patterns observed in the other three countries.

TABLE 91

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
United States	Not Significant	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Not Significant	Weak	Moderate	Not Significant

15. For Nicaraguan children, School Peer Group proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale, and the Spatial Perception Scale. The factor proved to be a moderate influence in the children's response to the Political Perception Scale and Political Efficacy Scale. Table 92 illustrates the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in the other three countries.

TABLE 92

SCHOOL PEER GROUP: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong	Strong
United States	Moderate	Strong	Strong	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Strong	Moderate	Strong	Moderate

13. For Nicaraguan children, socio-economic status proved to be a minor influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale, Political Efficacy Scale, and Spatial Perception Scale. It proved to be a major influence in their response to the Political Perception Scale. Table 93 illustrates the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in the other three countries.

TABLE 93

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant	Strong
United States	Weak	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Weak	Weak	Weak	Strong

It is interesting to note the similarity between Nicaragua and the United States in Table 93.

14. For Nicaraguan children, sex proved to be a moderate influence in their response to the Political Judgment Scale, Efficacy Scale and Spatial Perception Scale. Table 94 illustrates the relationship of this pattern of influence to the patterns observed in the other three countries.

TABLE 94

SEX: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Weak	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant
United States	Not Significant	Weak	Not Significant	Moderate
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Not Significant

In addition to the items listed in Table 94, sex also proved to be a moderate influence on the children's party identification in Nicaragua. Thus, for Nicaraguan children sex exerts its greatest influence on their evaluation of the political system and identification with the parties of that system. This contrasts with Costa Rica, where sex influenced their knowledge of the political system, but not their evaluation of the system.

FOOTNOTES

¹Paul C. Roberts and Takako Kohda eds., Statistical Abstract of Latin America 1966, 10th ed. (Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California Los Angeles, 1967), p. 58.

For a geographic description of Nicaragua and the region around León, see, Robert C. West and John G. Augelli, Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 428-36.

The precise geographic location of León, Nicaragua is 12.28 N, 86.53 W. Goodes World Atlas (12th ed.; Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968), pp. 92, 228.

²Franklin D. Parker, The Central American Republics (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 57, 223.

The city of León was discovered in 1523 and founded as a city in 1524. José Matá-Gavida, Anotaciones de Historia Patria Centroamericana (Guatemala: Cultural Centroamericana, S.A., 1953), pp. 103, 138-40.

For additional materials discussing the historical significance of León see,

Salomé Fil (José Milla y Vidaurre), Historia de la America Central, Vol. I (Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografía Nacional, 1937), pp. 169, 388-94.

Lorenzo Montúfar, Renseña Histórica de Centro America, Tomo Cuarto. (Guatemala: El Progreso, 1881), Capitulo IX - Nicaragua.

³Mata-Gavida, Anotaciones de Historia Patria Centroamericana, pp. 363-64.

⁴Parker, The Central American Republics, pp. 220-22.

⁵For assistance in gathering this information and distributing the questionnaires, I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Mariano Fiallos, Decano, Facultad de Ciencias y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua, León, Nicaragua. For permission to use León as a test site and assistance in selecting a random sample I wish to thank Profesora Eva Castellón Barreto, La Inspección Departamental de Educación Pública de León.

The total sixth grade sample in Nicaragua was 218 out of a total of 323. As related in Chapter II, León is more strictly defined as an education district, being confined primarily to the central city and not including the larger suburban population.

⁶This procedure was adopted to maintain a degree of continuity with some of the items on the Greenstein questionnaire. Fred I Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 173-79.

⁷For an explanation of the coding of these questions, see the Nicaraguan section of Appendix B.

⁸Ibid., pp. 61-63. Greenstein arrived at the same conclusion based on his New Haven data. Likewise, the Costa Rican, Canadian and American samples in this investigation showed a higher awareness of national officials than of state or local officials.

⁹The performance of the two Central American countries also runs counter to Greenstein's conclusion that the national level is the best known among children, Children and Politics, p. 60.

¹⁰As related in Chapter III, these questions were originally a modification of a format developed by Greenstein. Ibid., pp. 173-79.

¹¹See the Nicaraguan Questionnaire in Appendix A.

¹²Hess and Easton found their sample held positive opinions of the President of the United States. At least 67-75 per cent of the sample responded with an affirmative evaluation. Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly XXIV (Winter, 1960), p. 636. This matched the responses of the Costa Rican sample discussed in Chapter V. However, it is apparent from the data that Nicaraguan children are not as high in their evaluation of political leaders in general, or the President in particular.

¹³For the operational definitions of these terms, see the discussion in Chapter II.

¹⁴The computations were performed on a G.E. 635 computer. These particular statistical analyses were performed by the computer library program, "BMD02S: Contingency Table Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 341-46. The Contingency Coefficient C was selected for two reasons; (1) it was already performed by this program, (2) it is considered to be more applicable for

distributions longer than 2 by 2. This was accomplished by dividing each contingency coefficient C by the maximum value that could be obtained for the table in question. By this procedure, it was possible to obtain coefficients which had a value between 0 and 1. For these tables which were uneven, e.g. 6 x 9, the maximum coefficient was obtained by interpolating between the maximum value for a 6 x 6 and 9 x 9 table. The particular utility of using the contingency coefficient C for this type of analysis is apparent in the following statement. "When the number of categories is large (at least five each way), C approaches the Pearson r in size." J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 338.

For additional material on these statistical procedures, see the sources cited in n. 21, Chapter III.

¹⁵The table used to establish significance for the chi-square relationships in this chapter is Table IV from Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (5th ed.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 45.

¹⁶David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38. The scale used in this study is an adaptation of efficacy scales originally developed in adult voting studies, Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 190.

¹⁷For the exact wording of these questions in Spanish, see the Nicaraguan section of Appendix B.

¹⁸As related in Chapter I, the most significant study of peer group influence is Langton's research on Jamaican secondary students. He also used the school as the basic peer unit to determine peer influence. Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

¹⁹In addition to the work of Easton and Dennis cited in n. 16 of this chapter the other major works on political efficacy are,

Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

²⁰Sex has not proven to be a significant factor in research on political efficacy in the United States. Easton and Dennis, The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy, pp. 36-38.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 186-87.

White, Sense of Political Efficacy in Children, p. 731.

²¹This particular procedure evolved from the pilot study conducted in Lawrence, Kansas. For an elaboration on this point, see the discussion in Chapter II.

²²For a more detailed description of these nine categories, see the coded Nicaraguan Questionnaire in Appendix B.

²³Parker, the Central American Republics, pp. 225-34.

²⁴In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the three categories were placed in numerical sequence at the top of the questionnaire. This procedure had two distinct advantages; (1) the grading system in these two countries is numerical, consequently it was quite simple to adopt their categories; (2) this allowed the classroom teacher to check the proper numerical category as the questionnaire was handed in by each student. In this manner, it was possible to avoid asking for the names of the students, which was a point of concern to school officials in these countries.

²⁵This corresponds with discussions in the literature which relate cognitive ability with intelligence.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 131-72.

David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 112-28, 343-51.

²⁶For a discussion of the importance of socio-economic status in political socialization research in the United States see,

Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, pp. 343-49.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 5.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 7.

Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), Chapter X.

²⁷This finding corresponds with Greenstein's research in the United States. Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 6.

Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 353-71.

However, it should also be noted that sex was of no significance for the Canadian sample and of minor significance for the American Sample. (See the discussion in Chapters III and IV.)

²⁸For a discussion of the party preferences of children, see,

Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 71-78.

Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 111-15.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 9.

Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 74.

For a discussion of Nicaraguan political parties see, Charles W. Anderson, "Politics and Development Policy in Central America," Midwest Journal of Political Science, V (November, 1961), 332-50.

James L. Busey, "Foundations of Political Contrast: Costa Rica and Nicaragua," Western Political Quarterly, XI (September, 1958), 627-59.

Parker, The Central American Republics, pp. 222-34.

²⁹See questions 19, 20, and 21 in the Nicaraguan Questionnaire in Appendix A.

³⁰It is interesting to note that children in León identify so strongly with the Liberal Party. This is an indication that the ancient ties with the Liberal Party, which forced a move of the capital to Managua in 1845, still persist for this generation. For additional discussion on the historical background of the Liberal Party in León see the materials cited in footnotes 2, 3, 4, and 28 of this chapter.

³¹Greenstein found that approximately sixty per cent of his sixth grade sample identified with a political party. Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73.

Also see the discussion in, Hyman, Political Socialization, Chapter III.

³²This corresponds with research in the United States which has described the influence of the family on party

identification. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 219.

Hyman, Political Socialization, Chapter IV.

Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews, and Anton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 27-31.

³³As related in n. 24, Chapter III, this procedure was originally developed in the pilot study in order to make the Greenstein questionnaire a more useful instrument for statistical analysis. Naturally, it has been revised from its initial inception.

³⁴For a complete list of the questions included in the Political Perception Scale, see the Costa Rican section of Appendix D.

³⁵This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMD0IV: Analysis of Variance for One-way Design," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, ed. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 486-94.

For additional materials discussing these statistical procedures see n. 26, Chapter III.

³⁶The F-scores were tested for significance on Table V, Fisher and Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research, pp. 46-55.

³⁷In considering the impact of socio-economic status, the question was raised whether this variable was related to Academic Aptitude. To obtain this information, the two variables were placed in a contingency table and tested for significance. At four degrees of freedom and a chi-square of 13.1846, the relationship is significant at the .01 level of probability. The null hypothesis is rejected and a contingency coefficient of .31 suggests that a weak relationship exists. Thus, it is concluded that a relationship exists between Academic Aptitude and Socio-economic Status for Nicaraguan sixth grade children. A stronger result was observed in the United States. In Costa Rica and Canada a relationship was also found, but it proved to be of minor strength in both cases, as was the finding in Nicaragua.

³⁸This particular statistical analysis was performed by the computer library program, "BMD03M: General Factor Analysis," University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2, BMD: Biomedical Computer

Programs, ec. by W. J. Dixon (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 169-84.

³⁹Harry H. Harmon, Modern Factor Analysis (2nd ed. rev.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 136, 165-66. For a similar application of factor analysis to a political socialization, see,

Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 62-68. For additional discussions of the application of factor analysis to this type of research see n. 47, Chapter III.

⁴⁰This finding casts Greenstein's statement in a different perspective. In a comparative study, it is not possible to declare that children's knowledge of government progresses from national to local to regional.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 60. In Costa Rica and Nicaragua the problem is more complex, as it depends on whether one is referring to a perception of political leaders or to institutions.

CHAPTER VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One rather salient fact emerges from the analysis in the preceding four chapters; political socialization (or the acquisition of political attitudes) exists in each of the national samples examined in this investigation. However, the factors which contribute to attitude acquisition are different in each of the countries. These differences can be measured in two ways: (1) intensity and (2) substance. To clarify, an example will be provided illustrative of this point. Sex proved to be a factor of moderate importance in both Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Measured in intensity, sex is equally significant in both countries. This ignores the substantive nature of sex as a factor influencing the development of political attitudes among sixth grade children.

In Costa Rica sex proved to be a significant factor in the students' acquisition of political information about their own country (Political Perception) and their perception of political units (Spatial Perception). Therefore, in Costa Rica it can be concluded that sex influenced the students' information about political units, their own and others.

In Nicaragua, sex proved to be a significant influence in the students' judgments of political leaders and

institutions (Political Judgment), their feelings of efficacy toward the Nicaraguan Political System (Political Efficacy), and their perception of political units (Spatial Perception). Therefore, in Nicaragua it can be concluded that sex exerts its greatest influence on the students' evaluations of their political system, and their perception of political units.

The importance of this finding is more apparent when one recalls that sex did not influence the acquisition of political information in Nicaragua and it did not influence student evaluation of the political system in Costa Rica. Thus, even though sex is a factor of moderate intensity in both countries, it exerts a different type of influence on the development of political attitudes of children in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Further examination of the influence of sex on the acquisition of political attitudes will be made later in this chapter. For the present, it serves to demonstrate the complexity of evaluating the meaning of a specific factor.

ACADEMIC APTITUDE

The influence of academic ability as a mediating factor has been the focus of some of the more recent research efforts in political socialization.¹ Because this research has been confined to the United States, one of the objectives of this investigation is to examine the

factor in a comparative context. To assist the reader the summary table used in Chapter VI has been reprinted to aid in visualizing the findings of this study.

TABLE 95
ACADEMIC APTITUDE: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
United States	Not Significant	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Not Significant	Weak	Moderate	Not Significant

Before examining the comparative implications of this factor, the findings in the United States' sample will be related to the results of earlier research on academic ability. By this procedure it will be possible to ascertain whether the instrument used in this investigation (the questionnaire) substantiates the observations of previous studies, and whether this comparison is based on an instrument of similar efficiency to those used in previous studies.

Two observations emerge from the literature on the importance of intelligence in political attitude development. First, intelligence is one of the major factors affecting the children's feelings of efficacy toward the political system. This is reflected in the following

statement, "Aside from grade, the single best predictor of a sense of political efficacy in primary school age children is individual intelligence."² While some political scientists would take issue with the word "single," they would not dispute the importance of academic ability as one of the factors influencing a child's feelings of efficacy toward the political system.³ Second, intelligence is one of the major factors influencing a child's capacity to comprehend the political system.⁴ In other words, intelligent children demonstrate a greater capacity to absorb information about their political system.

Turning back to Table 95, it is apparent that Academic Aptitude is a factor of moderate strength in the American children's response to questions on Political Efficacy. Thus, the first observation in the literature is confirmed. The scale in this investigation designed to test the children's knowledge about their political system is the Political Perception Scale.⁵ It is evident that Academic Aptitude is of major significance in the students' response to this scale. Thus, the second observation in the literature on political socialization is confirmed. On the basis of these two findings, it is possible to be reasonably confident of the efficiency of this questionnaire as an instrument to detect the influence of academic ability in the development of political attitudes in children.

The third scale which appears significant for the American sample in Table 95 is the Spatial Perception Scale. This scale is designed to test the students' perception of political units (their community, nation, other nations and the United Nations). This aspect of child political attitude development does not appear in the literature because this is the first time that it has been tested among children.⁶ However, it is apparent that Academic Aptitude also influences the students' perception of political units for the American sample. Therefore, in addition to the American children's feelings of efficacy toward their political system and knowledge of the system, the students' academic ability also influences their description of political units.

By placing these primary observations about American children in a comparative context, some interesting contrasts appear. Except for the fact that Academic Aptitude is of minor importance in feelings of political efficacy in Nicaragua, the influence of this particular factor is restricted to children in the United States. This suggests that it is premature to state that intelligence is the major influence on feelings of political efficacy, without acknowledging that the observation is confined to the American political culture.⁷

The second observation, that knowledge of the child's political system is affected by his academic ability, also

produces some interesting contrasts when placed in a comparative format. As indicated by Table 95, this observation is confirmed by the fact that Academic Aptitude is a factor of major significance in response to the Political Perception Scale in the United States, Canada, and Costa Rica. However, in Nicaragua Academic Aptitude is not a significant factor in the children's response to the scale. Again it is necessary to interpose a recommendation, that statements about the influence of academic ability and its respective influence on child political attitude development, must be qualified by acknowledging the political culture from which the observation is made.⁸

The only instance in which Academic Aptitude proves to be a significant factor in all four countries is the students' perception of political units (Spatial Perception Scale). On the basis of the sixth grade samples in the four countries tested in this investigation, it can be concluded that academic ability affects the students' perception of their community, nation, other nations, and the United Nations.

To summarize, it can be seen that Academic Aptitude or intelligence does not exert an influence in the other three countries parallel to descriptions in the literature on political socialization in the United States. As demonstrated in Table 95, Academic Aptitude varies in intensity for the same scale in all four countries, e.g.

political efficacy. It is also evident that Academic Aptitude does not prove to be significant for the same number of scales in all four countries. Basically, each national sample has been permitted to sketch its own profile of the importance of academic ability for the development of political attitudes. The variation in response patterns is not surprising since one of the objectives of this investigation is to test the children of four different political cultures. It can be concluded that Academic Aptitude does exert an influence on the development of political attitudes in each of the four countries. However, the precise nature of that influence is affected by the political culture from which the observation is made, as described above.

SCHOOL PEER GROUP

Except for the research of Kenneth Langton among secondary students in Jamaica, peer influence has received little attention as a factor influencing the development of political attitudes in children.⁹ In addition to examining peer influence in a comparative context, one of the objectives of this investigation is to refine our understanding of the nature of peer associations in the political socialization process. To assist the reader, the summary table used in Chapter VI has been reprinted to aid in visualizing the findings of this study.

TABLE 96
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong	Strong
United States	Moderate	Strong	Strong	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Strong	Moderate	Strong	Moderate

As related in the introduction of this section, peer influence has received little attention in the literature on the development of political attitudes of children. Aside from a few descriptive inventories of political socialization where the authors discuss the probable nature of peer influence, little data has been produced to document the extent and nature of the peer group as a socializing factor among children.¹⁰

The major device which has been used to obtain a measure of peer influence is an examination of the level of social participation of students. The conclusion from these studies is that social participation tends to make a student feel more politically efficacious.¹¹ However, it is necessary to interject a note of caution in interpreting this type of research, because social participation was also found to be a concomitant of high socio-economic background.¹² The discovery of peer influence in this type of research design tends to be a reinforcement of the

importance of social class as a factor in political socialization, a point which will be considered separately, later in this chapter.

The most revealing examination of peer influence is Langton's research in Jamaica. His research design concentrated on the influence of heterogeneous classrooms for producing a change in the attitudes of low socio-economic students. He concludes that a confrontation between high and low socio-economic students has the effect of changing the attitudes of the latter group to agree more closely with their high socio-economic cohorts. Homogeneous classrooms did not produce a similar change. Langton suggests that the school peer group can play a major role in the development of political attitudes among secondary students.¹³

Although these studies indicate that school peer group can be a major factor in child political attitude development, the fact remains that this factor has never been independently placed in a series of scales and compared to other mediating factors. Thus, in addition to observing the comparative implications of peer influence, the examination will also be directed to a primary analysis of the importance of the school peer group as a factor in the political socialization process.

Turning to Table 96, it is evident that School Peer Group is a major factor in the development of political

attitudes among children in the four countries included in this study. Except for the Political Judgment Scale where peer association did not prove to be a significant influence in Canada and Costa Rica, it is a factor of moderate to major importance in each of the scales for the four countries which comprise the parameters of this investigation. In Canada and Costa Rica School Peer Group did not influence the judgment of political leaders and institutions, while in Nicaragua and the United States the reverse is true. However, in Canada and Costa Rica, peer associations did influence their feelings of efficacy toward their political systems, their information about their political systems, and their perception of political units. In the United States and Nicaragua, School Peer Group exerted an influence on their response to all four scales.

To summarize, the dimension of this particular finding will be more apparent after a review of the remaining two mediating factors examined in this study. Suffice to say at present, that School Peer Group is the one factor which appears to exert a comparable influence on the children's response in all four countries. In addition to this comparative observation, as a primary observation it can be concluded that the peer interactions of children comprise a major behavioral component in the political socialization process.¹⁴ As demonstrated in Table 96, School Peer Group

varies in intensity for the same scale in all four countries, e.g. political efficacy. It is also evident that the intensity of the combined scales varies from country to country. As with the previous factor, each national sample has again developed a profile of the importance of a particular factor (in this case School Peer Group) for the development of political attitudes. It can be concluded that School Peer Group does exert an influence on the development of political attitudes in each of the four countries. However, the precise nature of that influence is affected by the political culture from which the observation is made, as described above.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The importance of the social milieu as a factor influencing the development of political attitudes in children is one of the better documented aspects of political socialization.¹⁵ However, the generalizations surrounding the importance of social class are based primarily on research done in the United States. Therefore, one of the objectives of this investigation is to examine the factor in a comparative context. To assist the reader, the summary table used in Chapter VI has been reprinted to aid in visualizing the findings of this study.

Before examining the comparative importance of this factor in the development of political attitudes in children, the performance of the United States' sample will

TABLE 97

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant	Strong
United States	Weak	Moderate	Moderate	Strong
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Weak	Weak	Weak	Strong

be evaluated in light of earlier research in the United States on Socio-economic Status. By this procedure it will be possible to ascertain whether the questionnaire used in this investigation is an instrument of comparable efficiency to those used in previous studies.

Three observations emerge from the literature on the influence exerted by socio-economic status in the development of political attitudes of children in the United States.¹⁶ First, social status affects students' awareness of their political system. The only instance where high and low status children exhibit the same information level relates to political information learned in school, where intelligence becomes the factor of primary importance in political attitude development.¹⁷ When the information is obtained from informal channels such as the family, social status exerts a strong influence on the students' awareness of their political system.¹⁸

In this investigation, this type of informal knowledge is represented by the children's response to the Political Perception Scale which tested their knowledge of political leaders, parties and institutions.¹⁹ In each of the countries tested in this study, school officials stated that formal instruction about the political system was not a part of the curriculum at this stage of the students' educational development. Therefore, the Political Perception Scale should presumably test the children's informal knowledge of their political system. As indicated by Table 97, when the United States' sample is dichotomized by high and low social status, the resulting difference in response patterns proves to be of major significance. Thus it can be concluded that in the United States, social status does influence the youngsters' knowledge of their political system. This finding corresponds to previous research done in the United States.

The second observation that appears in the literature is the difference in perception of authority displayed by high and low status children.²⁰ The device used in this investigation to tap this dimension is the Political Judgment Scale, which asked the students to judge leaders and institutions of political authority. Turning again to Table 97, the difference in their response to the Political Judgment Scale proves to be of minor importance. This finding coincides with previous research efforts in

the United States which suggest that social status is a factor which influences students' perception of political authority.

The third observation which appears in the literature is the difference in feelings of efficacy toward the political system displayed by high and low status children. It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter I that this particular observation received mixed reviews.²¹ Elliott White states that intelligence is the best predictor of children's feelings of political efficacy.²² Robert Hess and Judith Torney state that social class is the most efficient predictor of political efficacy in children.²³ The primary objective of this analysis is to observe whether socio-economic status is one of the factors influencing children's feelings of efficacy toward their political system. As indicated by Table 97, socio-economic status proves to be a factor of moderate importance in explaining American children's feelings of efficacy toward their political system. This finding at least confirms some of the research efforts in the United States--that social status is a factor which influences students' feelings of political efficacy.

As related earlier in this chapter, children's perception of political units (Spatial Perception Scale) has not been tested in studies in political socialization. This will constitute the first examination of this aspect

of political attitude development.²⁴ Turning to Table 97, it is evident that socio-economic status is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the American students' response to the Spatial Perception Scale. Therefore, it can be concluded that a child's social status influences his or her perception of political units (community, nation, other nations, and the United Nations).

On the basis of these findings for the United States' sample, it is possible to be reasonably confident that the questionnaire used in this investigation is an instrument of similar efficiency to those used in previous research efforts in the United States.

Although social class emerges as an explanatory variable when examining the American students' response to these four scales, it is evident by reading Table 97 that the United States is the only country where this factor achieves a moderate relationship in three scales, and a weak relationship in the fourth scale. In Canada, social class is of major significance in explaining the students' information about their political system. However, social class is not significant in the youngsters' response to the other three scales. In Costa Rica, social class is of moderate importance in the children's perception of political units and of major importance in explaining their level of information about the Costa Rican political system.

However, social class is not a significant factor in the students' evaluation of political leaders and institutions, or their feelings of efficacy toward the political system. Finally, in Nicaragua social status proves to be an explanatory variable in describing the children's response to all four scales. However, the factor is of only minor importance in explaining the students' evaluation of political leaders and institutions or their feelings of efficacy toward the Nicaraguan political system. Socio-economic status does prove to be of moderate importance in the children's perception of political units and their knowledge about the political system in Nicaragua.

The diversity of response patterns in the four countries is considerable. Only in the students' perception of their respective political systems did socio-economic status emerge as a factor of major importance in all four countries.²⁵ Again it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of four political cultures. Except for response to the Political Perception Scale, socio-economic status varies in intensity in sample response for each of the remaining three scales. Likewise it is evident that the intensity of the combined scales varies from country to country. By allowing each country to develop a profile of the importance of social status for explaining the development of political attitudes in children, it is

possible to observe the influence of the political culture in the socialization process.

It is apparent that some of the conclusions in the literature are premature on the importance of social status as a factor influencing the development of political attitudes in children. Without corroborating data from other political cultures, it is necessary to qualify these observations by acknowledging the political culture in which they are made. It can be concluded that socio-economic status is an important factor in the political socialization process, but it varies in intensity and substance for each of the four national samples examined in this study.

SEX

In the early development of the literature on political socialization in the United States, sex differences received considerable attention as a factor influencing the development of political attitudes in children.²⁶ While subsequent evaluations have diminished the importance of these early findings, sex is still considered to be a significant variable in the political socialization process.²⁷ Although studies in adult political behavior have examined sex in a comparative framework, no comparable research exists on the comparative development of political attitudes in children.²⁸ One of the objectives of this

investigation is to examine the role of sex in the political socialization of the four countries tested in this study. To assist the reader, the summary table used in Chapter VI has been reprinted to aid in visualizing the findings of this study.

TABLE 98
SEX: STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

Country	Political Judgment	Political Efficacy	Spatial Perception	Political Perception
Canada	Weak	Not Significant	Not Significant	Not Significant
United States	Not Significant	Weak	Not Significant	Moderate
Costa Rica	Not Significant	Not Significant	Moderate	Strong
Nicaragua	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Not Significant

Before examining the comparative importance of sex as a factor in the development of political attitudes of children, the performance of the American sample will be examined in light of earlier research in the United States. Ideally, this procedure would permit an evaluation of the questionnaire as an instrument of comparable efficiency to test devices used in previous studies. Unfortunately, the types of questions and approaches used in some of the other studies are so divergent, that it will be difficult to arrive at a precise gauge of the efficiency of this questionnaire.²⁹ However, the loss of this

appraisal is offset by the fact that sex is being weighed as a factor in this investigation in precisely the same manner as the other three mediating factors reviewed earlier in this chapter.

One of the earliest observations on the importance of sex in child political attitude development, was the discovery that boys and girls have different perceptions of political authority. These conclusions were reached by measuring the child's "liking" of the President.³⁰ In this situation girls more frequently indicated they liked the President than did boys. It is evident that no comparable scale exists in this study. The closest approximation would be the Political Judgment Scale which asks each student to evaluate the performance of a particular political leader or institution.³¹ Looking at Table 98, it is apparent that sex is not a significant factor in the American Students' response to the scale. Therefore, it is concluded that sex is not a major variable in the American children's evaluation of political leaders and institutions.

Another observation in the literature on the importance of sex in the political socialization of children is the discovery that girls and boys display similar feelings of efficacy toward the political system. Although differences appear between the sexes in their response to

the efficacy questions, the differences are slight.³²

This observation is confirmed by the response of the American sample to the questions on political efficacy, where sex proved to be of minor importance in explaining the students' feelings of efficacy toward their political system. For this scale, the American children's response corresponds to the response patterns described in the literature for children in the United States.

The final observation in the literature on the importance of sex in child political attitude development is a composite of two scales. When Hess and Torney conclude that boys and girls do not differ, "in their knowledge of the processes and norms of the system," they are referring to norms of ideal citizen behavior.³³ This type of scale was not adopted for use in this investigation. However, the authors go on to observe that boys are more interested in political matters and display greater activity in understanding the political world.³⁴ This is particularly true of political information gathered from informal (non school) channels. The test of this aspect of attitude development in this study is the Political Perception Scale.³⁵ Looking at Table 98, it is evident that sex is a factor of moderate importance in explaining the American students' level of knowledge about their political system. The American children's response corresponds with the pattern described in the literature.

On the basis of those findings for the United States' sample which correspond to observations in the literature on the influence of sex in political socialization, it is possible to suggest that the questionnaire used in this study is an instrument of similar efficiency to those test devices used in previous research efforts.

A brief examination of Table 98 reveals that sex plays a rather divergent role in the four countries examined in this study. Except for a weak relationship in the Political Judgment Scale, sex proves to be of no significance in the Canadian Students' political attitude development. Sex exerts its greatest influence as a factor in the political socialization of Central American students. In Costa Rica, sex proves to be a factor of moderate importance in the students' perception of political units, and a factor of major importance in explaining the students' level of knowledge about the Costa Rican political system. For Nicaraguan youngsters sex exerts an influence on their evaluation of political leaders and institutions, their feelings of efficacy toward their political system, and their perception of political units. In all three of the scales, sex proved to be a factor of moderate importance in Nicaragua.

None of these three countries correspond with the pattern described for the American youngsters, nor do any

of the countries correspond with the pattern of sex influence described in the literature on child political socialization.

Each of the countries examined display a different pattern of influence exerted by sex in the development of political attitudes in sixth grade children. These patterns vary in intensity and substance for all four countries. That sex is an explanatory variable in each country is obvious. However, the nature of the variable depends on the political culture in question.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

As related in Chapter I, one of the earliest observations appearing in the literature on political socialization was the discovery that children in the United States identify with political parties in a proportion similar to adults.³⁶ This finding assumed added significance when some of the voting studies reported that a correlation probably existed between adult party preferences and their parents' party preferences.³⁷ The product of these observations prompted speculation that party identification is nurtured by the family in the voter's youth, and for many, persists throughout their adult life. The following statement in The American Voter reflects this intergenerational hypothesis. "The High degree of correspondence between the partisan preference of our

respondents with that which they report for their parents may be taken as a rough measure of the extent to which partisanship is passed from one generation to the next."³⁸

Because there are no recorded figures for adult party identification patterns in all four countries included in this investigation, it will be necessary to rely on the children's identification of their parents' party preferences. It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter II, that all of the children were asked to identify their own party preferences and the preferences of their mother, father, and friends.³⁹ In order to gain a visual impression of the party identification patterns in each country, the individual party preferences were combined to obtain a single figure for each of these categories. Therefore, Table 99 represents only the per cent of the children who identified with a political party and the per cent of the children who were able to identify the party preferences of their fathers, mothers, and friends. (The missing per cents constitute either don't know or no answer responses.)

Since Table 99 represents the first comparative attempt to examine party identification patterns among children, the results are most revealing. The level of party identification is at least twenty per cent higher in Costa Rica and Nicaragua than in the United States,

TABLE 99

PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN PER CENT

Country	Child's Party ID	Father's Party ID	Mother's Party ID	Friends' Party ID
Canada	77.0	69.5	73.0	66.0
United States	66.4	63.1	67.9	49.7
Costa Rica	90.9	88.8	88.3	80.8
Nicaragua	88.5	84.0	83.5	75.7

and it is ten per cent higher than in Canada. The significance of this finding will become more apparent when it is noted that the level of party identification for the American sample is slightly higher than the level recorded for American youngsters by Greenstein.⁴⁰

In each of these countries, the children were able to record the party affiliations of their parents and friends, but at a slightly lower level than their own party identification. As indicated by Table 99, the American sample records a lower per cent for party identification than its Canadian cohort, and both of the North American samples record a lower figure for each category than their Central American cohorts. From this table, it appears that party identification is also higher for adults in Central America. Although peer identification receives a considerably lower per cent in the American sample than in the other samples, an interpretation of this

relationship will be reserved for later in this section. Finally, a rather curious phenomenon appears in Table 99. In both of the North American samples, the children recorded a higher level of party identification for their mothers than for their fathers. In Central America the reverse is true. Although this would appear to run counter to statements in the literature on father dominance, this finding corresponds to the results obtained in the pilot studies conducted for this investigation.⁴¹

To discover if the youngsters in each of these countries share the party affiliations of their peers and parents, the children's party identification response was cross tabulated with their response to the party identification of the father, mother, and friends. It will be recalled from the analysis in the preceding four chapters, that each of these contingency tables proved to be significant at the .001 level of probability. Therefore, attention will be directed to the contingency coefficients obtained for each of these tables. In this manner it will be possible to evaluate the strength of the relationship between the children's party affiliations and the affiliations of their peers and parents. The results appear in Table 100.

On the surface, the results in Table 100 appear to contradict some of the per cents recorded in Table 99. However, it should be pointed out that the first table

TABLE 100

CHILD'S PARTY ID X FATHER, MOTHER, FRIENDS

Country	Father	Mother	Friends
Canada	.86	.89	.75
United States	.73	.80	.87
Costa Rica	.78	.78	.64
Nicaragua	.84	.84	.81

only listed party identification responses. This did not indicate whether the father, mother, and friends identified with the same political party, rather it simply meant that they identified with some political party. This point is rather dramatically illustrated by the coefficient recorded for "friends" in the United States. Although only 49.7 per cent of the American sample recorded their friends as identifying with a political party, a contingency coefficient of .87 suggests that the American children perceived their friends as sharing in their party choices. Since the contingency tables included don't know and no answer responses, the perceived sharing includes these two responses.

Aside from the mechanical aspects of Table 100, a distinct pattern emerges in the four samples tested in this study. The family is a major socializing agent in the party identification of children in all four countries. This is indicated by the strong contingency coefficients

recorded for the father and mother when cross tabulated with the party identification of their child. This observation corresponds with previous research efforts in the United States.⁴² On the basis of these four samples, it appears that family influence in the party identification of children is not solely a phenomenon of the American political culture, but has cross cultural implications.⁴³

In addition to the preceding observation, it appears that children in all four countries perceive their friends as sharing in their party preference. This alone would not constitute an adequate index of peer influence. However, by combining this observation with the earlier evaluation of the school peer group, a distinct pattern of peer influence emerges in all four countries. It appears that peer influence also has cross cultural implications in the political socialization of children.

Finally, in each of the countries examined, the children were asked to describe the differences between the political parties.⁴⁴ The question was stated in an open-ended format in order to avoid providing answers to the students or forcing them to choose among predetermined categories. After a preliminary reading of the response patterns to this question, nine categories were selected which best described the nature of the response. By adopting this strategy, it was hoped that a natural breakdown could be achieved. The responses are coded as

follows: no difference; just different--these responses simply stated that the parties are different; different size; different ideas--these responses simply stated that the parties had different ideas; specific difference--these responses described an ideological or issue difference between the parties; different offices--each party has men in different political offices; different colors--in Nicaragua, each party has a different color on the ballot; don't know; no answer. The results appear in Table 101.

A brief examination of Table 101 reveals that children in these four countries find it difficult to differentiate between political parties on an ideological or issue basis. Even though 10 per cent of the American sample and 6.4 per cent of the Nicaraguan sample were capable of describing specific differences between the political parties, the remaining responses in these two countries indicate a low level of party awareness. This result corresponds with descriptions in the literature on the development of political attitudes among children in the United States.⁴⁵ Greenstein suggests that, "there may be a psycho-physiological stage before which it simply is not possible for children to acquire one class of adult orientation--the generalized ideological disposition."⁴⁶ On the basis of these four samples, it is possible to suggest that the lack of party salience in

TABLE 101
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES IN PER CENT

Country	No differ- ence	Just differ- ent	Differ- ent Size	Differ- ent Ideas	Specific Differ- ences	Differ- ent Offices	Differ- ent Colors	Don't Know	No Answer
Canada	2.6	14.4	1.7	7.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	13.1	70.0
United States	7.1	18.1	0.9	6.6	10.0	0.0	0.0	26.7	30.1
Costa Rica	0.8	12.5	1.3	4.4	3.1	4.9	0.0	33.6	39.0
Nicaragua	0.4	46.7	2.2	7.7	6.4	2.2	5.5	8.2	20.1

children is a cross national phenomenon and not solely an attribute of the American political culture.⁴⁷

Up to this point of the chapter, the analysis has been directed to a cross national evaluation of the influence exerted by five mediating factors in the development of political attitudes of children. (The five factors are Academic Aptitude, School Peer Group, Socio-economic Status, Sex, and the Family.) Since these factors are related to the hypotheses proposed in Chapter II, they will be summarized briefly in the conclusion of this chapter. However, in addition to an examination of mediating factors, it will be recalled that the analysis of each country in the preceding four chapters explored other dimensions of the political attitudes held by sixth grade children. In order to synthesize the findings and expedite the analysis, these observations will be numerically listed under the appropriate subject heading.

KNOWLEDGE OF AUTHORITY

1. Sixth grade children are more familiar with their political chief of state than they are with other national leaders, regional leaders, and local political leaders. This result was observed in all four countries.

2. Sixth grade children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political leader by name and a lower facility in describing his political function. This result was observed in all four countries.
3. Sixth grade children demonstrate a greater facility in identifying a political institution and a lower facility in identifying its political function. This result was observed in all four countries.
4. Sixth grade children in Costa Rica and Nicaragua demonstrate a greater awareness of their municipal government than of their national government. In Canada, sixth grade children demonstrate a greater awareness of, first their national government, second their municipal government, and last their provincial government. In the United States, sixth grade children demonstrate a greater awareness of, first their national government, second their state government, and last their municipal government.⁴⁸

POLITICAL JUDGMENT

Approximately 60 per cent of the Canadian and Nicaraguan children judge their political leaders and institutions to be doing a good or adequate job. In Costa Rica, at least 85 per cent of the students reach the same conclusion. In the United States, the positive

judgments of political leaders average at 50 per cent, but range all the way from 35-86 per cent. However, only in the United States did 20 per cent of the students judge two political leaders to be doing a bad job.⁴⁹

IMAGE OF AUTHORITY

1. Sixth grade children in Canada and the United States prefer to judge the Prime Minister and President as equal to or better than most men.⁵⁰
2. Sixth grade children in Canada and the United States prefer to judge their fathers as equal to the Prime Minister and President.⁵¹

POLITICAL EFFICACY

Sixth grade children in Costa Rica feel more politically efficacious than the children in Canada, Nicaragua, and the United States.⁵²

SPATIAL PERCEPTION

1. Sixth grade children in Nicaragua perceive their community and nation in a different manner than children in the other three countries. At least one-third of the Nicaraguan sample describe these two units in political terms (it's a country, city). In Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States, children described these same two units with tourist type terms (it's pretty, big, peaceful).

2. Sixth grade children in Nicaragua possess a lower level of information about other political units than children in Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States.⁵³
3. Sixth grade children perceive their community and nation in a different manner than they perceive other nations and the United Nations. This result was observed in all four countries.

POLITICAL PERCEPTION

Sixth grade children in Canada possess a lower level of information about their political system than children in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and the United States. The results of a one-way Analysis of Variance comparing the political perception scores of the children in all four countries appear in Table 102.⁵⁴

TABLE 102

POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCORES FOR ALL COUNTRIES

Treatment Group	Canada	United States	Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Sample size	228	209	223	218
Mean	46.009	58.265	62.075	63.616
Standard Deviation	20.115	19.736	16.488	23.681

With degrees of freedom at 3 x 874 and an F-score of 35.3279, these differences are significant at the .001 level of probability.⁵⁵

CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter II, a general hypothesis and four sub-hypotheses were proposed on the basis of the pilot studies and a review of the literature in political socialization. It is now appropriate to review those statements and relate them to the analysis of this investigation.

General hypothesis: A high similarity will be found in the political attitudes held by sixth grade children in this investigation.

As stated in Chapter II, "this hypothesis infers that children in these countries undergo a similar process of induction into their respective political worlds." It is apparent from the foregoing analysis, that as a general statement, this hypothesis is confirmed. Each of the mediating factors examined contributed in some degree to the political socialization of children in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Canada, and the United States. However, the analysis also reveals that the socializing process is more subtle than expressed by the hypothesis. The four countries tested essentially represent four different political cultures, and the influence exerted by each of the mediating factors is to some degree molded by the cultural milieu in which it is situated. Certain factors, such as the influence of the family in party identification and the peer group in the development of political attitudes, appear to transcend the political culture. Yet it was noted that the intensity of peer group pressures

varied in each country depending upon the attitudinal dimension under consideration. For the other three factors (Academic Aptitude, Socio-economic Status and Sex) the range in intensity is even more divergent. To conclude, as a general statement the hypothesis is accurate, but it is necessary to acknowledge that the political culture is a major variable in the political socialization process.

Sub-hypothesis: On the basis of previous research in political socialization, it is expected that a strong relationship will be found between a child's party identification and that of his parents.

It is apparent from the preceding analysis that this hypothesis is confirmed in all four countries. A high level of party identification among parents is matched by a comparable high level of party identification among the children. Furthermore, when the identification patterns of the father and mother are cross tabulated with those of the children, the relationship proves to be very strong, as evidenced by the high contingency coefficients.

Sub-hypothesis: From preliminary findings in the pilot studies, it is expected that socio-economic status will be a major explanatory variable in describing differences in socialization patterns.

As a general statement, this hypothesis is confirmed. In each of the countries examined, socio-economic status influenced some aspect of political attitude development. However, the analysis also demonstrated that the nature

and intensity of this influence is affected by the political culture.

Sub-hypothesis: Sex differences have been repeatedly used to describe variations in the development of political attitudes in children. While it is expected that sex differences will appear in questionnaire response, it is also expected that its importance as an explanatory variable will be greater in those countries where sex roles are more traditionally separated, such as Nicaragua.

As a general statement, this hypothesis is confirmed. In each of the countries examined, sex differences influenced some aspect of political attitude development. In those countries where sex roles are more traditionally separated, such as Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the influence is more pronounced. However, it is again necessary to acknowledge the influence of the political culture. Sex exerted little influence in the political socialization of Canadian youngsters and minimal influence in the socialization of American youngsters. In Costa Rica, sex proved to be significant in the children's descriptions of political systems, their own and others. In Nicaragua, sex proved to be a significant factor in the children's evaluations of their political system and its leaders and institutions. In addition, Nicaraguan children indicated that sex played a role in their perception of political units. This diversity in influence patterns serves to demonstrate the nature and intensity of sex as an explanatory variable in the political socialization

process. In order to discern the role of sex differences in the development of political attitudes in children, it is necessary to identify the political culture in which the observation is made.

Sub-hypothesis: On the basis of the pilot studies, it is expected that Academic Aptitude will be important in explaining the variations in question response. Where differences occur, they will probably relate more strongly to questions of a cognitive nature.

As a general statement this hypothesis is confirmed. In all four countries Academic Aptitude influenced some aspect of the development of political attitudes in children. Furthermore, the influence of this factor was in most instances confined to the children's perception of their political system and their perception of political units. However, it is again necessary to acknowledge exceptions to the rule which reaffirm the importance of the political culture in the socialization process. In the United States, the children's feelings of political efficacy are affected by their academic ability. Thus, in one country the influence of this factor extends beyond the children's perceptual abilities. While this finding confirms previous political socialization research in the United States, it also serves to demonstrate that American children are exposed to a different socializing process than was observed in the other three political cultures.

Although the list of hypotheses is complete, it is evident that one factor is missing, the peer group.

On the basis of the pilot studies and a review of the literature, peer influence did not emerge as a factor warranting the status of a hypothesis. Yet from the analysis, it is apparent that school peer group is a major factor in all four countries in the development of political attitudes in children. Since peer influence is not an unknown entity, the discovery of its influence cannot be labeled serendipity.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the limited discussion in the literature in no way prepared one to anticipate a finding of this magnitude. To correct this oversight, the following observation is offered.

Peer group influence is a major factor in the development of political attitudes in children.

As a concluding note to this investigation, an observation is in order. Perhaps the major discovery of this investigation is the influence of the political culture in the development of political attitudes in children. Except for a few instances, research in political socialization has been confined to populations in the United States. The yield of this concentration of effort is a body of knowledge frequently outlined by the parameters of its base of reference, the American political culture. The limitations of this base are clear when its generalizations are projected into different political cultures. From the perspective afforded by a cross national study, it is apparent that the field of political

socialization must extend its empirical energies on a comparative base, before a genuine understanding can be had of human inception in the political world.

FOOTNOTES

¹For materials discussing the influence of intelligence on the political attitudes in children see the following materials.

David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 363-69.

David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 34-36

Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 7.

Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children" XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.

²White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 731.

³For an elaboration on this point, see the discussion on intelligence and political efficacy in Chapter I. Although the sources cited in n. 1 accept the notion that intelligence is important in political attitude development, they do not accept White's exclusion of other factors, such as SES.

Hess and Torney, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," pp. 150, 224.

⁴Ibid., pp. 152-164.

⁵For additional information on the Political Perception Scale, see the operational definition of the term Political Perception in Chapter II, and its application to the four national samples in Chapters III-VI. For a list of the questions comprising the scale, see Appendix D.

⁶As related in Chapter II, this scale was devised after examining Gustav Jahoda's work on attitudes toward nation among elementary children in Scotland. The scale used in this investigation concentrated on child perception of political units (city, nation, other nations, United Nations). The objective was to observe the perceptual breakdown of the children's responses. For a discussion of Jahoda's work see,

Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality: Part I: The Conceptual Framework," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (February, 1963), 47-60.

Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality: Part II: National Symbols Themes," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (June, 1963), 143-53.

⁷The most notable example of an absolute statement linking feelings of efficacy solely with intelligence is, White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 731.

The two empirical studies which discuss the importance of the political culture in the political socialization process are Pinner's examination of political distrust among Belgian, French, and Dutch secondary students, and the study of attitudes toward political authority in Appalachia.

Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 58-70.

Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederick J. Fleron Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture." American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 564-75.

⁸For a list of the materials discussing the role of intelligence in attitude development, see the sources cited in n. 1 of this chapter.

⁹Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.

¹⁰Richard E. Dawson, "Political Socialization," in Political Science Annual I, ed. by James A. Robinson (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 59-71.

Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), Chapter VIII. Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), Chapter II.

A review of these sources reveals that their discussions are based upon studies of peer influence among adults. The discussion does not include much data on peer influence among children, as no comparable body of information is available.

¹¹Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 121.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," pp. 721-31.

David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 20-31.

¹²Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 121.

Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," pp. 30-31.

¹³Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," pp. 751-58.

¹⁴Although this discovery of the magnitude of peer influence is new in the field of political socialization, it is not particularly surprising, as educators and sociologists have long been aware of the importance of peer influence in the general socialization process of children.

James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961).

Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education, 2nd. ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962), Chapter 5.

¹⁵For an elaboration of the importance of social class in political socialization, see the discussion in Chapter I. For materials evaluating the importance of social class in attitude development see footnotes 99-107 in Chapter I.

¹⁶Social participation was not included as a factor to be evaluated in this study. Although it was possible to have the students list whether or not they belonged to organizations in Canada and the United States, this information was unavailable in Central America. School officials in these two countries simply stated that they preferred that questions about organized activities not be included in the questionnaire.

¹⁷Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 128-29, 154-58.

¹⁸Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 98.
Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 154-55, 165.

¹⁹For a discussion of the Political Perception Scale, see Chapter II. For examples of its application in all four countries see the discussion in Chapters II-VI. For the list of questions comprising the scale in each country, see Appendix D.

²⁰Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), 934-44.

Fred I. Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 648-54.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 27-54, 99-106.

Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics, XXIX (May, 1967), 368-87.

Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture," pp. 574-75.

²¹For an elaboration on the importance of socio-economic status in children's feelings of efficacy toward the political system, see the discussion in Chapter I.

²²White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 731.

²³Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, 150, 224.

²⁴See the discussion of the Spatial Perception Scale in Chapter II, and n. 6 of this chapter for additional information about the scale.

²⁵In addition to measuring the impact of socio-economic status upon response to the four scales, the four mediating factors were also placed in a series of contingency tables to observe whether a relationship existed between the factors. The only interrelationship which proved to be significant was between Academic Aptitude and SES. The results appear in Table 103.

TABLE 103

ACADEMIC APTITUDE X SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Country	df	Chi-square	Probability	Contingency Coefficient
Canada	2	19.6372	.001	.37
United States	2	55.0677	.001	.60
Costa Rica	2	22.1880	.001	.40
Nicaragua	2	13.1846	.01	.31

The null hypothesis is rejected for each country. The relationship proves to be strong for American youngsters, and varies from weak to moderate for children in the other three countries. This suggests that a social status does exert some influence on the children's academic ability.

²⁶ Examples of this concentration can be found in the following sources.

Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 353-71.

Hyman, Political Socialization, pp. 103-05.

²⁷ Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 34-38.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 8.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 731.

²⁸ The major comparative study of sex roles in adult socialization is Almond and Verba's five nation survey of political attitudes.

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 177-78, 209-12, 387-97.

²⁹ As will be evident later in this section, it is possible to compare some of the items in this questionnaire with previous research efforts. The difference referred to in the text is primarily a difference of research design. Many of the earlier studies concentrated

on quasi-psychological indices directed to an evaluation of sex differences in political socialization. To illustrate, these studies reveal the preference of girls for political leaders who exhibit protective qualities and the fact that a higher per cent of females than males, identify political figures when asked to name a famous person, "you don't want to be like."

Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 118.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 117.

In this investigation, sex was evaluated in the same manner as the other mediating factors so that a comparison of these factors could be made.

³⁰Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapter 6.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 177.

³¹For a description of the Political Judgment Scale, see the discussion in Chapter II.

³²Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 186, 190.

Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," pp. 36-38.

White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," p. 716.

³³Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, pp. 187, 185-93.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 186, 190, 193-94.

³⁵For a discussion of the Political Perception Scale, see Chapter II.

³⁶Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 71-72.

Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews, and Anton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 23-39.

³⁷Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (3rd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 140-45.

Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 99.

Bernard B. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 88-93.

³⁸Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), p. 147.

³⁹For an examination of the questions and their placement in the questionnaires see Appendix A.

⁴⁰Greenstein found that approximately sixty per cent of his sixth grade sample were willing to identify with a political party.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73.

⁴¹In addition to the results obtained in the pilot study, this same phenomenon was observed using the 1964 election data from the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. James W. Kolka, "Parental Influence on Party Identification in the 1964 Presidential Election," seminar paper prepared for Professor John G. Grumm, University of Kansas, 1966. (Typewritten)

⁴²Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 72-73, n. 18.

Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 96.

For materials discussing the relationship between voters' party identification and their parents, see the sources listed in n. 38, and n. 39 of this chapter.

⁴³Although this is the first comparative attempt to record party identification patterns of children, a few studies among adult voters confirm that parental influence is significant in other countries in a pattern similar to that found in the United States.

Phillip E. Converse and Georges Dupeux, "Politization of the Electorate in France and the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1962), 1-26.

Georg Karlsson, "Voting Participation Among Male Swedish Youth," Acta Sociologica, III (Fasc. 2-3, 1958), 98-111.

Angus Campbell and Henry Valen, "Party Identification in Norway and the United States," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 505-25.

⁴⁴This question is a modification of a question used by Greenstein in his study of New Haven children.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 178.

For an explanation of the coding of this question see Appendix B.

⁴⁵An example of a similar finding can be found in Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 71.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 70.

⁴⁷This corresponds with Piaget's description of the cognitive development of children, based on cross national data. A review of Piaget's work can be found in John H. Flavell, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963).

⁴⁸This, of course, means that statements in the United States about children being first aware of their national, then local, and finally state government, are premature, e.g.

Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 60.

⁴⁹The subjective impression received from reading these figures is that American children have a lower overall opinion of political authority than is found in the other three countries.

⁵⁰In fact, 90 per cent of the children make this judgment in both countries. In addition, it will be recalled that it was only possible to include the Image of Authority questions in Canada and the United States. School officials in the two Central American countries preferred that they not be included. For further discussion of the problems of questionnaire administration, see Chapter II.

⁵¹In light of this finding, the conclusion of Easton and Hess that the image of the President held by children is "an ideal authority figure," is premature.

Hess and Easton, The Child's Changing Image of the President, p. 641.

⁵²More precisely, in Costa Rica the children recorded a higher per cent positive response in their feelings of efficacy toward their political system. In addition they recorded a lower negative response, and don't know and no answer responses. The Nicaraguan children displayed slightly lower feelings of efficacy than their Canadian cohorts or American cohorts, who recorded very mixed feelings of efficacy. See the political efficacy section of Chapters III - VI for additional information.

⁵³Nicaraguan children also recorded a larger number of don't know and no answer responses than children in the other three countries. For additional information on this point see the discussion on the Spatial Perception Scale in Chapter VI.

⁵⁴For additional discussion on the use of the one-way Analysis of Variance, see the discussion of its application in Chapters III - VI. For a list of the questions used in each national scale, see Appendix D.

The F-score was tested for significance on Table V, Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (5th ed.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 46-55.

⁵⁵This finding is not too surprising as the Canadian political system is more complex than the other three systems analyzed. It contains five parties, a national cabinet and a parliament similar to the British system. Furthermore, since most of the parties are regional in character, it is not surprising that children living in Ontario would be unfamiliar with the Social Credit Party (its greatest strength is in British Columbia and Alberta) and the Nationale Union Party (Quebec). For more information on the Canadian Political System see, Frederick J. Englemann and Mildred J. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1967).

⁵⁶As noted in Chapter I, Langton did discuss peer influence, but he directed his analysis to the influence of heterogeneous peer associations upon lower social status secondary students. Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," 751-58.

This investigation revealed the range of peer influence and its relative strength as a socializing factor in comparison to other mediating factors.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRES

CANADIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Age _____, Age of Brothers (if any) _____

Age of Sisters (if any) _____

Are you a Boy _____ Girl _____

In what city were you born? _____

What is your religion? _____

What kind of work does your father do for a living? _____

What kind of work does your mother do for a living? _____

What organizations do you belong to? _____

1. What words would you use to describe Canada? _____

2. What words would you use to describe Fort William? _____

3. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of Canada? Yes ___ No ___

b. What does it do? _____

4. a. Have you heard of the Prime Minister of Canada?

Yes ___ No ___

b. What is his name? _____

5. What is the main job of the Prime Minister of Canada?

6. Do you think the Prime Minister has been doing things that are good for Canada? Don't know ___ Very Good ___
 Fairly good _____
 Not very good _____
 Bad _____

7. Check one of the following answers.

___ The Prime Minister is more honest than most men.

___ The Prime Minister is as honest as most men.

___ The Prime Minister is less honest than most men.

8. Check one of the following answers.

___ The Prime Minister works harder than most men.

___ The Prime Minister works as hard as most men.

___ The Prime Minister does not work as hard as most men.

9. Check one of the following answers.

___ The Prime Minister is concerned with just about everybody.

___ The Prime Minister is concerned with people the same as everybody else.

___ The Prime Minister is not concerned with many people.

10. Check one of the following answers.

___ The Prime Minister is smarter than most men.

___ The Prime Minister is as smart as everybody else.

___ The Prime Minister is not as smart as most people.

11. Check one of the following answers.

My father works harder than the Prime Minister.

My father works as hard as the Prime Minister.

My father works less hard than the Prime Minister.

12. Check one of the following answers.

My father is more honest than the Prime Minister.

My father is as honest as the Prime Minister.

My father is not as honest as the Prime Minister.

13. a. Have you heard of Robert Lorne Stanfield?

Yes No

b. What does he do? _____

14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country. (Check one)

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know 4. no 5. NO

15. Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of the Prime Minister _____

c. Can't think of his name _____

16. What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do? _____

17. What kind of job has the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario been doing?

Don't know _____ Very good _____

Fairly good _____ Not very good _____ Bad _____

18. a. Have you heard of Mexico? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government. (Check one)

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know 4. no 5. NO

20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

21. Name one member of the House of Commons from the Province of Ontario.

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of a member of the House of Commons _____

c. Can't think of their names _____

22. Who is the mayor of Fort William, Ontario?

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of the mayor _____

c. Can't think of his name _____

23. What kinds of things does the mayor do? _____

24. Has the mayor been doing a good job? _____

Don't know _____ Very good _____

Fairly good _____ Not very good _____ Bad _____

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

(Check one)

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know
4. no 5. NO

26. a. Have you heard of France? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

27. If Robert Lorne Stanfield becomes Prime Minister in 1968, do you think he will be a good Prime Minister?

Don't know _____ Very Good _____

Fairly good _____ Not very good _____ Bad _____

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

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know
4. no 5. NO

29. If you were old enough to vote now, which party would you favor most of the time? (Check one)

- Mostly the Liberal Party _____
- Mostly the Nationale Union Party _____
- Mostly the New Democratic Party _____
- Mostly the Progressive Conservative Party _____
- Mostly the Social Credit Party _____
- Another party (give the name) _____
- Don't know _____

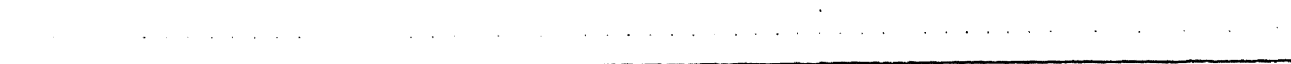
30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? (Check one)

- Mostly the Liberal Party _____
- Mostly the Nationale Union Party _____
- Mostly the New Democratic Party _____
- Mostly the Progressive Conservative Party _____
- Mostly the Social Credit Party _____
- Another party (give the name) _____
- Don't know _____

31. Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Mostly the Liberal Party _____ _____
Mostly the Nationale Union Party _____ _____
Mostly the New Democratic Party _____ _____
Mostly the Progressive Conservative Party _____ _____
Mostly the Social Credit Party _____ _____
Another party (give the name) _____ _____
Don't know _____ _____

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote? _____



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

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know 4. no 5. NO

34. a. Have you heard of Lester Pearson? Yes _____ No _____

b. What does he do? _____

35. a. Have you heard of the United States? Yes ___ No ___

b. What do you think it is? _____

36. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of the Province of Ontario?

Yes _____ No _____

b. What does it do? _____

37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? _____

b. Would members of the Liberal Party agree with you on this problem?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

c. Would members of the Nationale Union Party agree with you on this problem?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

d. Would members of the New Democratic Party agree with you on this problem?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

e. Would members of the Progressive Conservative Party agree with you on this problem?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

f. Would members of the Social Credit Party agree with you on this problem?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. (Check one)

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know 4. no 5. NO

39. The Political Parties:

a. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Liberal Party? _____

b. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Nationale Union Party? _____

c. Who do you think is the most famous member of the New Democratic Party?

d. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Progressive Conservative Party? _____

e. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Social Credit Party? _____

40. What do you think is the difference between the Political Parties? _____

41. a. Have you heard of the Canadian Cabinet? Yes No
 b. What does it do? _____

42. How much influence do most people have on making laws for Canada. (Check one)

1. very much 2. some 3. very little 4. none 5. Don't know

43. Do you think that the Parliament of Canada makes laws that are good for the country? Don't know _____
 Very good _____ Fairly good _____ Not very good _____
 Bad _____

44. Do you think that the Parliament of the Province of Ontario makes laws that are good for the Province?
 Don't know _____ Very good _____ Fairly good _____
 Not very good _____ Bad _____

45. a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make? _____
 b. Why? _____

Thank you for answering this questionnaire.

UNITED STATES QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Age _____, Age of Brothers (if any) _____

Age of Sisters (if any) _____

Are you a Boy _____ Girl _____

In what city were you born? _____

What is your religion? _____

What kind of work does your father do for a living? _____

What kind of work does your mother do for a living? _____

What organizations do you belong to? _____

1. What words would you use to describe the United States? _____

2. What words would you use to describe Lawrence? _____

3a. Have you heard of the Congress of the United States?

Yes _____ No _____

b. What does it do? _____

4a. Have you heard of the President of the United States?

Yes _____ No _____

b. What is his name? _____

5. What is the main job of the President of the United States? _____

6. Do you think the President has been doing things that are good for the United States?

Don't know _____ Very good _____

Fairly good _____ Not very good _____

Bad _____

7. Check one of the following answers.

_____ The President is more honest than most men.

_____ The President is as honest as most men.

_____ The President is less honest than most men.

8. Check one of the following answers.

_____ The President works harder than most men.

_____ The President works as hard as most men.

_____ The President does not work as hard as most men.

9. Check one of the following answers.

_____ The President is concerned with just about everybody.

_____ The President is concerned with people the same as everybody else.

_____ The President is not concerned with many people.

10. Check one of the following answers.

_____ The President is smarter than most men.

_____ The President is as smart as everybody else.

_____ The President is not as smart as most people.

11. Check one of the following answers.

___ My father works harder than the President.

___ My father works as hard as the President.

___ My father works less hard than the President.

12. Check one of the following answers.

___ My father is more honest than the President.

___ My father is as honest as the President.

___ My father is not as honest as the President.

13a. Have you heard of Richard Nixon?

Yes ___ No ___

b. What does he do? _____

14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country. (Check one)

1. <input type="checkbox"/>	YES	2. <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	3. <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Don't know	4. <input type="checkbox"/>	No	5. <input type="checkbox"/>	NO
-----------------------------	-----	-----------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	---------------	-----------------------------	----	-----------------------------	----

15. Who is the Governor of Kansas?

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of the Governor _____

c. Can't think of his name _____

16. What kinds of things does the Governor do? _____

17. What kind of job has the Governor been doing?

Don't know _____ Very good _____

Fairly good _____ Not very good _____ Bad _____

18a. Have you heard of Mexico? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government. (Check one)

1. YES 2. Yes 3. Don't know 4. No 5. NO

20a. Have you heard of the United Nations? Yes ___ No ___

b. What do you think it is? _____

21. Name one of the United States Senators from the state of Kansas.

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of the Senators _____

c. Can't think of their names _____

22. Who is the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas?

a. His name is _____

b. Never heard of the mayor _____

c. Can't think of his name _____

23. What kinds of things does the mayor do? _____

24. Has the mayor been doing a good job?

Don't know _____ Very good _____ Fairly good _____

Not very good _____ Bad _____

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

1. YES 2. Yes 3. Don't know 4. No 5. NO

26a. Have you heard of France? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

27. If Richard Nixon is elected President in 1968, do you think he will be a good President?

Don't know _____ Very Good _____ Fairly good _____
 Not very good _____ Bad _____

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

1. YES 2. Yes 3. Don't know 4. No 5. NO

29. If you were 21 years old now, which party would you favor most of the time? (check one)

Mostly Democrat _____

Mostly Republican _____

Don't know _____

30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? (check one)

Mostly Democrat _____

Mostly Republican _____

Don't know _____

31. Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Mostly Democrat	_____	_____
Mostly Republican	_____	_____
Don't know	_____	_____

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote?

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

1. YES 2. Yes 3. Don't Know 4. No 5. NO

34a. Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy?

Yes _____ No _____

b. What does he do? _____

35a. Have you heard of Canada? Yes _____ No _____

b. What do you think it is? _____

36a. Have you heard of the Kansas State Legislature?

Yes _____ No _____

b. What does it do? _____

37a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? _____

b. Would members of the Democratic party agree with you on this problem? Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

c. Would members of the Republican Party agree with you on this problem? Yes ___ No ___ Don't know ___

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. (Check one)

1. YES 2. Yes 3. Don't know 4. No 5. NO

39. The Political Parties:

a. Who do you think is the most famous Democrat?

b. Who do you think is the most famous Republican?

40. What do you think is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties? _____

41. How much influence do most people have on making laws for the United States? (Check one)

1. very much 2. some 3. very little 4. none 5. don't know

42. Do you think Congress makes laws that are good for the country?

Don't know _____ Very good _____ Fairly good _____
Not very good _____ Bad _____

43. Do you think the Kansas State Legislature makes laws that are good for the state?

Don't know _____ Very good _____ Fairly good _____

Not very good _____ Bad _____

44a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make? _____

b. Why? _____

Thank you for answering this questionnaire.

COSTA RICAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Pregunta para el profesor

de 8 a 10 ()

de 6 a 8 ()

Clasificación aproximada del estudiante menos de 6 ()

1. Edad _____
Es usted un muchacho? _____ una muchacha? _____
En qué ciudad nació usted? _____
Cuál es su religión? _____
En qué trabaja su papá? _____
En qué trabaja su mamá? _____
1. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Costa Rica? _____

2. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Cartago? _____

3. a. Ha oído hablar de la Asamblea Legislativa de
Costa Rica? Sí _____ No _____
b.Cuál es la función de la Asamblea? _____
4. a. Ha oído hablar del Señor Presidente de la República
de Costa Rica? Sí _____ No _____
b.Cuál es su nombre? _____
- 5.Cuál es el trabajo principal del Señor Presidente de
Costa Rica? _____
6. Sabe usted el nombre del candidato a Presidente que
perdió en las elecciones de 1966? _____
7. Sabe usted lo que hace ahora en Costa Rica ese señor?

8. Sabe usted el nombre del Señor Gobernador de la
Provincia de Cartago? _____
9. Cuáles son sus funciones, qué es lo que hace? _____

10. Cree usted que el trabajo de él es: bueno ()
regular ()
malo ()
no se ()

11. Cree usted que la mejor manera como la gente puede influir en el gobierno son las elecciones?
- de acuerdo ()
no estoy de acuerdo ()
no sé ()
12. a. Ha oído usted hablar de México? Sí () No ()
b. Cómo es México? _____
-
13. a. Ha oído usted hablar acerca de las Naciones Unidas? Sí () No ()
b. Para qué cree usted que son las Naciones Unidas? _____
14. Dé el nombre de un Diputado de la Ciudad de Cartago.

15. Cree usted que lo misma da quien mande, el gobierno siempre hace lo mismo, no se preocupa de la gente pobre?
- de acuerdo ()
no estoy de acuerdo ()
no sé ()
16. a. Ha oído usted hablar de Francia? Sí () No ()
b. Cómo cree usted que es Francia? _____
-
17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia en lo que hace el Gobierno.
- cierto ()
falso ()
no sé ()
18. Cree usted que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo obras para Costa Rica?
- Muy buenas ()
regulares ()
malas ()
no sé ()
19. Si usted fuera mayor de edad por cuál partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? (Señale uno)

Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) ()
 Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) ()
 Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) ()
 Otro (dé el nombre) _____ ()
 No sé ()

20. Si sus amigos hubiesen podido votar, por cuál partido cree usted que habrían votado? (Señale uno)

Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) ()
 Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) ()
 Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) ()
 Otro (dé el nombre) _____ ()
 No sé ()

21. Por qué partido cree usted que votaron sus padres?
 (Señale uno)

	<u>Padre</u>	<u>Madre</u>
Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN)	()	()
Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN)	()	()
Partido Unión Nacional (PUN)	()	()
Otro (dé el nombre) _____	()	()
No sé		

22. A qué personaje famoso le gustaría parecerse?

23. a. Ha oído hablar de los Estados Unidos? Sí ___ No ___
 b. Cómo cree usted que son los Estados Unidos?

24. a. Ha oído hablar de la Municipalidad? Sí ___ No ___
 b. Qué cree usted que es la Municipalidad?

25. Cómo cree usted que trabaja la Municipalidad en la Ciudad de Cartago?

bien ()
 regular ()
 mal ()
 no sé ()

26. Actualmente cuál es el problema de más importancia en el mundo? _____
- a. Cree usted que el Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema?
Sí () No () No sé ()
- b. Cree usted que el Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema?
Sí () No () No sé ()
- c. Cree usted que el Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema?
Sí () No () No sé ()
27. Cree usted que a los que gobiernan les importe mucho lo que la gente piensa? (Señale uno)
- mucho ()
poco ()
nada ()
no sé ()
28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN)? _____
29. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Unión Nacional (PUN)? _____
30. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN)? _____
31. Sabe usted el nombre de algún otro político importante?

32. Cuál es la diferencia entre los tres partidos señalados en las preguntas 28 a 30?
33. Cómo cree usted que son las leyes que hace la Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica?
- buenas ()
regulares ()
malas ()
no sé ()
34. Qué clase de cambios haría usted en el mundo si pudiera?

Muchas gracias por haber contestado estas preguntas.

NICARAGUAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Pregunta para el Profesor de 8 a 10 ()
Clasificación aproximada del estudiante de 6 a 8 ()
menos de 6 ()

Edad _____

Es usted un muchacho _____ Una muchacha _____

En cuál ciudad nació usted? _____

Cuál es su religión? _____

En qué trabaja su papá? _____

En qué trabaja su mamá? _____

1. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. Nicaragua? _____

2. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. León? _____

3. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Congreso Nacional de Nicaragua?

Si () No ()

b. Cuál es su función? _____

4. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Señor Presidente de la República de Nicaragua? Si () No ()

b. Cuál es su nombre: _____

5. Cuál es el trabajo principal del Señor Presidente de Nicaragua? _____

6. Sabe Ud. el nombre del candidato a Presidente que perdió en las elecciones de 1967? _____

16. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de Francia? Si () No ()

b. Como cree Ud. que es Francia? _____

17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia acerca de lo que hace el Gobierno.

cierto ()

falso ()

no se ()

18. Cree Ud. que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo buenas obras para Nicaragua.

buenas ()

regulares ()

malas ()

no se ()

19. Si Ud. fuera mayor de edad por cual partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? (señale uno)

Partido Liberal ()

Partido Conservador ()

Otro (de el nombre) ()

No se ()

20. Si sus amigos votaron por qué partido cree Ud, que votarían (señale uno)

Partido Liberal ()

Partido Conservador ()

Otro (de el nombre) ()

No se ()

21. Por qué partido cree Ud. que votarían sus padres?

	<u>Padre</u>	<u>Madre</u>
Partido Liberal	()	()
Partido Conservador	()	()
Otro (de el nombre)	()	()
No se	()	()

22. A qué persona famosa le gustaría a Ud. parecerse?

23. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de los Estados Unidos?

Si () No ()

b. Cómo cree Ud. que son los Estados Unidos?

24. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de la Alcaldía Municipal?

Si () No ()

b. Qué cree Ud. que es? _____

25. Cree Ud. que la Alcaldía trabaja bien para la ciudad de León? bien ()

regular ()

mal ()

no se ()

26. Actualmente cuál es el problema más importante en el mundo?

a. Cree Ud. que el Partido Liberal estaría de acuerdo con Ud. en este problema?

Si () No () No se ()

b. Cree Ud. que el Partido Conservador estaría de acuerdo con Ud. en este problema?

Si () No () No se ()

27. Cree Ud. que a los que mandan les importe mucho lo que la gente piensa. (señale una)
- mucho ()
- poco ()
- nada ()
- No se ()
28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberal?

29. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Conservador? _____
30. Sabe Ud. el nombre de algún otro político importante?

31. Cuál es la diferencia entre los dos partidos?

32. Cómo cree Ud. que son las leyes que hace el Congreso Nacional?
- buenas ()
- regulares ()
- malas ()
- no se ()
33. Si Ud. pudiera cambiar el mundo en la forma que le gustara, cuáles cambios haría?

Muchas gracias por haber contestado estas preguntas.

APPENDIX B
CODED QUESTIONNAIRES

CODE

CANADIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Key: DK - Don't Know
NA - No Answer

Number of Grade School: 1 - Drew; 2 - Edgewater Park;
3 - Francis; 4 - Green Acres; 5 - Hyde Park; 6 - Ogden;
7 - Redwood; 8 - Victoria Park.

Academic Level of the Student: 1 - High, 2 - Medium,
3 - Low.

Broken Home: 1 - No, 2 - Yes.

Sex: 1 - Male, 2 - Female

Socio-economic Status (SES): 1 - High, 2 - Low.

Age of Student: 1 - 10, 2 - 11, 3 - 12, 4 - 13, 5 - 14,
6 - 15, 7 - 16, 8 - NA.

Age of Brothers: 1 - Older, 2 - Younger, 3 - Both, 4 -
None, 5 - NA.

Age of Sisters: 1 - Older, 2 - Younger, 3 - Both, 4 -
None, 5 - NA.

City of Birth: 1 - Same, 2 - Different, 3 - NA.

Religion: 1 - Catholic, 2 - Protestant, 3 - Fundamental
Protestant, 4 - Greek or Russian Orthodox, 5 - Jewish,
6 - None, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

Father's Occupation: 1 - Laborer - blue collar; 2 -
Managerial - Manages a firm, or owns his own business;
3 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 4 - Academic - teaches
school or works in an academic enterprise; 5 - Sales -
salesman or involved in some aspect of sales work; 6 -
Clerk - clerks in a shop or store; 7 - Skilled labor -
specialized labor, electrician; 8 - No father; 9 - NA.

Mother's Occupation: 1 - Housewife; 2 - Laborer - waitress,
works in a plant; 3 - Managerial - manages a shop or firm;
4 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 5 - Sales - saleswoman
or some aspect of sales; 6 - Clerk or secretary; 7 -
Teacher, academic; 8 - No mother; 9 - NA.

Organizations: 1 - Boy Scouts; 2 - Girl Scouts, girl guides; 3 - Ethnic organization, e.g. Ukranian Club; 4 - Church organization; 5 - Sports organization - baseball, bowling, YMCA; 6 - Other; 7 - No organization; 8 - Music, ballet, etc.; 9 - NA.

1. What words would you use to describe Canada: 1 - Political Description - it is a country, federation, etc.; 2 - Spatial Description - it is south of the Arctic Circle, north of the United States, etc.; 3 - Scenic Description - it is beautiful, green, etc.; 4 - Size Description - it is big, large, etc.; 5 - Economic Description - it is a wealthy country, rich country, etc.; 6 - Internal Description - it is peaceful, violent, free, pleasant, nice place to live, etc.; 7 - Dynamic Description - this classification is used when the student describes a nation vis-a-vis other nations - the most powerful nation in the world; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

2. What words would you use to describe Fort William?
1 - Political; 2 - Spatial; 3 - Scenic; 4 - Size; 5 - Economic; 6 - Internal; 7 - Dynamic; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

3. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of Canada?
1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

3. b. What does it do? 1 - Accurate - almost any description which touches upon the functions of Parliament is accepted as accurate; 2 - Inaccurate - indicates no comprehension of the question; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

4. a. Have you heard of the Prime Minister of Canada?
1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

4. b. What is his name? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

5. What is the main job of the Prime Minister of Canada?
1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

6. Do you think the Prime Minister has been doing things that are good for Canada? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - Don't know, 6 - NA.

7. 1 - The Prime Minister is more honest than most men.
2 - The Prime Minister is as honest as most men.
3 - The Prime Minister is less honest than most men.
4 - NA.

8. 1 - The Prime Minister works harder than most men.
 2 - The Prime Minister works as hard as most men.
 3 - The Prime Minister does not work as hard as most men.
 4 - NA.
9. 1 - The Prime Minister is concerned with just about everybody.
 2 - The Prime Minister is concerned with people the same as everybody else.
 3 - The Prime Minister is not concerned with many people.
 4 - NA.
10. 1 - The Prime Minister is smarter than most men.
 2 - The Prime Minister is as smart as everybody else.
 3 - The Prime Minister is not as smart as most people.
 4 - NA.
11. 1 - My father works harder than the Prime Minister.
 2 - My father works as hard as the Prime Minister.
 3 - My father works less hard than the Prime Minister.
 4 - NA.
12. 1 - My father is more honest than the Prime Minister.
 2 - My father is as honest as the Prime Minister.
 3 - My father is not as honest as the Prime Minister.
 4 - NA.
13. a. Have you heard of Robert Lorne Stanfield?
 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.
13. b. What does he do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate,
 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.
15. Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?
 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
16. What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do?
 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
17. What kind of job has the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario been doing? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly Good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.
18. a. Have you heard of Mexico? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.
18. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government? 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - SK, 6 - NA.

20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

20. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political - it is a world organization of nations; 2 - Spatial - it is located in New York; 3 - Scenic - describes the building; 4 - Size - (retained here to maintain continuity with other questions of this type); 5 - Economic - describes the role of the UN as an economic organization, used primarily in the Central American countries; 6 - Internal - organization to bring peace in the world; 7 - Dynamic - external behavior; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

21. Name one member of the House of Commons from the Province of Ontario. 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

22. Who is the mayor of Fort William, Ontario? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

23. What kinds of things does the mayor do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

24. Has the mayor been doing a good job? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

26. a. Have you heard of France? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

26. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

27. If Robert Lorne Stanfield becomes Prime Minister in 1968, do you think he will be a good Prime Minister? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

29. If you were old enough to vote now, which party would you favor most of the time? 1 - Liberal, 2 - Progressive Conservative, 3 - New Democratic, 4 - Social Credit, 5 - Nationale Union, 6 - Other, 7 - Don't Know, 8 - No Answer.

30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? 1 - Liberal; 2 - Progressive Conservative, 3 - New Democratic, 4 - Social Credit, 5 - Nationale Union, 6 - Other, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

31. i Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Father) 1 - Liberal, 2 - progressive Conservative, 3 - New Democratic, 4 - Social Credit, 5 - Nationale Union, 6 - Other, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

31. ii Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Mother) 1 - Liberal, 2 - Progressive Conservative, 3 - New Democratic, 4 - Social Credit, 5 - Nationale Union, 6 - Other, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote? 1 - Parents, 2 - Father, 3 - Mother, 4 - Brother, 5 - Sister, 6 - Friends, 7 - Other, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

34. a. Have you heard of Lester Pearson? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

34. b. What does he do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

35. a. Have you heard of the United States? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

35. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

36. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of the Province of Ontario? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

36. b. What does it do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. b. Would members of the Liberal Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer (Yes or No), 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. c. Would members of the Nationale Union Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. d. Would members of the New Democratic Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. e. Would members of the Progressive Conservative Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. f. Would members of the Social Credit Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

39. a. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Liberal Party? 1 - Accurate - all members of the party are accepted as legitimate responses; 2 - Inaccurate - people identified who are members of other parties; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

39. b. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Nationale Union Party? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

39. c. Who do you think is the most famous member of the New Democratic Party? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

39. d. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Progressive Conservative Party? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

39. e. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Social Credit Party? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

40.i What do you think is the difference between the Political Parties? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

40.ii What do you think is the difference between the political parties? (Types of Difference) 1 - No difference; 2 - Just different - these responses simply state the parties are different; 3 - Different size - one party is larger; 4 - Different ideas - these responses state the parties have different ideas; 5 - Specific difference -

these responses describe an ideological or issue difference between the parties; 6 - Different offices - each party has men in different political offices; 7 - Different colors - in some countries each party has a different color on the ballot; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

41. a. Have you heard of the Canadian Cabinet? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

41. b. What does it do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

42. How much influence do most people have on making laws for Canada? 1 - Very much, 2 - Some, 3 - Very little, 4 - None, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

43. Do you think the Parliament of Canada makes laws that are good for the country? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

44. Do you think the Parliament of the Province of Ontario makes laws that are good for the Province? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

45. a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make? 1 - Stop war, bring about peace, 2 - End poverty and starvation in the world, 3 - Freedom for all people and countries in the world, 4 - Racial - ending racial strife and granting equality to all races, 5 - Other responses, 6 - National instead of world problem, 7 - Local instead of world problem, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

45. b. Why? 1 - Peace is important, 2 - People should have a decent life, and should be fed, 3 - Freedom is a right of all people, 4 - All races have a right to be equal, 5 - Other, 6 - National - good for the country, 7 - Local - good for the local area, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

CODE

UNITED STATES QUESTIONNAIRE

Key: DK - Don't Know
NA - No Answer

Number of Grade School: 1 - Centennial School - no. 1, 2 - Centennial School - no. 2, 3 - East Heights School, 4 - Hillcrest School, 5 - Kennedy School, 6 - McAllaster School, 7 - New York School, 8 - Pinckney School, 9 - Woodlawn School.

Academic Level of the Student: 1 - High, 2 - Medium, 3 - Low.

Broken Home: 1 - No, 2 - Yes.

Sex: 1 - Male, 2 - Female.

Socio-economic Status (SES): 1 - High, 2 - Low.

Age of Student: 1 - 10, 2 - 11, 3 - 12, 4 - 13, 5 - 14, 6 - 15, 7 - 16, 8 - NA.

Age of Brothers: 1 - Older, 2 - Younger, 3 - Both, 4 - None, 5 - NA.

Age of Sisters: 1 - Older, 2 - Younger, 3 - Both, 4 - None, 5 - NA.

City of Birth: 1 - Same, 2 - Different, 3 - NA.

Religion: 1 - Catholic, 2 - Protestant, 3 - Fundamental Protestant, 4 - Greek or Russian Orthodox, 5 - Jewish, 6 - None, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

Father's Occupation: 1 - Laborer - blue collar; 2 - Managerial, manages a firm or owns his own business; 3 - Professional - Lawyer, doctor; 4 - Academic - teaches school or works in an academic enterprise (not labor of the blue collar variety); 5 - Sales - salesman or involved in some aspect of sales work; 6 - Clerk - works in a shop or office; 7 - Skilled labor - specialized labor - electrician; 8 - No father; 9 - NA.

Mother's Occupation: 1 - Housewife; 2 - Laborer - waitress - works in a plant; 3 - Managerial - manages a shop or firm; 4 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 5 - Saleswoman or some aspect of sales; 6 - Clerk or secretary; 7 - Teacher - academic profession; 8 - No mother; 9 - NA.

Organizations: 1 - Boy Scouts; 3 - Ethnic organization; 4 - Church organizations; 5 - Sports organization; 6 - Other; 7 - None; 8 - Music - ballet, etc.; 9 - NA.

1. What words would you use to describe the United States? 1 - Political description - it is a country; 2 - Spatial description - it is south of Canada, north of Mexico, etc.; 3 - Scenic description - it is beautiful, green, pretty; 4 - Size description - it is big, small, large; 5 - Economic description - it is a wealthy country, rich country, etc.; 6 - Internal description - it is peaceful, violent, free, pleasant, nice place to live, etc.; 7 - Dynamic description - this classification is used when the student describes a nation vis-a-vis other nations, it is the most powerful country in the world, etc.; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

2. What words would you use to describe Lawrence? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

3. a. Have you heard of the Congress of the United States? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

3. b. What does it do? 1 - Accurate - almost any description which touches upon the functions of Congress is accepted as valid; 2 - Inaccurate - indicates no comprehension of the question; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

4. a. Have you heard of the President of the United States? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

4. b. What is his name? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

5. What is the main job of the President of the United States? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

6. Do you think the President has been doing things that are good for the United States? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

7. 1 - The President is more honest than most men.
2 - The President is as honest as most men.
3 - The President is less honest than most men.
4 - NA

8. 1 - The President works harder than most men.
2 - The President works as hard as most men.
3 - The President does not work as hard as most men.
4 - NA.
9. 1 - The President is concerned with just about everybody.
2 - The President is concerned with people the same as everybody else.
3 - The President is not concerned with many people.
4 - NA.
10. 1 - The President is smarter than most men.
2 - The President is as smart as everybody else.
3 - The President is not as smart as most people.
4 - NA.
11. 1 - My father works harder than the President.
2 - My father works as hard as the President.
3 - My father works less hard than the President.
4 - NA.
12. 1 - My father is more honest than the President.
2 - My father is as honest as the President.
3 - My father is not as honest as the President.
4 - NA.
13. a. Have you heard of Richard Nixon? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.
13. b. What does he do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs the country. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.
15. Who is the Governor of Kansas? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
16. What kinds of things does the Governor do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
17. What kind of job has the Governor been doing? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.
18. a. Have you heard of Mexico? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

18. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government? 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

20. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political - it is a world organization of nations; 2 - Spatial - it is located in New York; 3 - Scenic - describes the building; 4 - Size (retained here as a response to maintain continuity with other questions of this type); 5 - Economic - describes economic role of the UN, this response was found in the two Central American countries; 6 - Internal - organization to maintain peace in the world; 7 - Dynamic - external behavior; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

21. Name one of the United States Senators from the State of Kansas. 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

22. Who is the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

23. What kinds of things does the mayor do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

24. Has the mayor been doing a good job? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

26. a. Have you heard of France? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

26. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

27. If Richard Nixon is elected President in 1968, do you think he will be a good President? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

29. If you were 21 years old now, which party would you favor most of the time? 1 - Mostly Democrat, 2 - Mostly Republican, 3 - DK, 4 - NA. (The numbers are in sequence so that don't know and no answer responses can be matched with the Canadian Questionnaire.)

30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? 1 - Mostly Democrat, 2 - Mostly Republican, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

31.i Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (father) 1 - Mostly Democrat, 2 - Mostly Republican, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

31. ii Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Mother) 1 - Mostly Democrat, 2 - Mostly Republican, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote? 1 - Parents, 2 - Father, 3 - Mother, 4 - Brother, 5 - Sister, 6 - Friends, 7 - Other, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 - Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

34. a. Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

34. b. What does he do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

35. a. Have you heard of Canada? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

35. b. What do you think it is? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

36. a. Have you heard of the Kansas State Legislature? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

36. b. What does it do? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? 1 - Answer, 2 - Don't know, 3 - NA.

37. b. Would members of the Democratic Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer (yes or no), 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

37. c. Would members of the Republican Party agree with you on this problem? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. 1 - Strong yes, 2 - Weak yes, 3 - Weak no, 4 Strong no, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

39. a. Who do you think is the most famous Democrat? 1 - Accurate - all responses naming a figure of the Democratic Party are considered valid; 2 - Inaccurate - people identified who are members of other parties; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

39. b. Who do you think is the most famous Republican? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

40. i What do you think is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

40. ii What do you think is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties? (types of difference) 1 - No difference; 2 - Just different - these responses simply state the parties are different; 3 - Different size - one party is larger; 4 - Different ideas - these responses state the parties have different ideas; 5 - Specific difference - these responses describe an ideological or issue difference between the parties; 6 - Different offices - each party has men in different political offices; 7 - Different colors - in some countries each party has a different color on the ballot; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

41. How much influence do most people have on making laws for the United States? 1 - Very much, 2 - Some, 3 - Very little, 4 - None, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

42. Do you think Congress makes laws that are good for the country? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.

43. Do you think the Kansas State Legislature makes laws that are good for the state? 1 - Very good, 2 - Fairly good, 3 - Not very good, 4 - Bad, 5 - SK, 6 - NA.

44. a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make? 1 - Stop war, bring about peace, 2 - End poverty and starvation for people

in the world, 3 - Freedom for everybody, 4 - Racial - ending racial strife and allowing equality to all races, 5 - Other response, 6 - National instead of world problems, 6 - Local instead of World problem, 8 - DK, 9 NA.

44. b. Why? 1 - Peace is important, 2 - People should be fed, 3 - Freedom is a right, 4 - All races have a right to equal rights, 5 - Other, 6 - National - good for the country, 7 - Local - good for the local area, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

CODE

COSTA RICAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Key: Yes - Sí
DK - Don't know (no sé)
NA - No answer

Number of Grade School: 1 - Escuela El Carmen, 2 - Escuela Jesús Jiménez de Niñas, 3 - Escuela Jesús Jiménez Varones, 4 - Escuela Winston Churchill.

Academic Level of the Student: 1 - High, 2 - Medium, 3 - Low.

Sex: 1 - Male, 2 - Female

Socio-economic Status (SES): 1 - High, 2 - Low

Age of Student: 1 - 10, 2 - 11, 3 - 12, 4 - 13, 5 - 14
6 - 15, 7 - 16, 8 - NA.

City of Birth: 1 - Same, 2 - Different, 3 - NA.

Religion: 1 - Catholic, 2 - Protestant, 3 - Fundamental Protestant, 4 - Greek or Russian Orthodox, 5 - Jewish, 6 - None, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

Father's Occupation: 1 - Laborer, blue collar; 2 - Managerial - manages a firm or owns his own business; 3 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 4 - Academic - teaches school or works in an academic enterprise; 5 - Sales - salesman or involved in some aspect of saleswork; 6 - Clerk - clerks in a shop or store; 9 - Skilled labor - specialized labor - electrician; 8 - No father; 9 - NA.

Mother's Occupation: 1 - Housewife; 2 - Laborer - waitress, works in a plant; 3 - Managerial - manages a shop or firm; 4 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 5 - Sales - saleswoman or some aspect of sales; 6 - Clerk or secretary; 7 - Teacher, academic profession; 8 - No mother; 9 - NA.

1. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Costa Rica?
1 - Political Description - it is a country, etc.; 2 - Spatial Description - it is a part of Central America, south of Nicaragua, etc.; 3 - Scenic Description - it is pretty, beautiful, green; 4 - Size Description - it is a small country, etc.; 5 - Economic Description - it is wealthy, poor, rich; 6 - Internal Description - it is

peaceful, violent, tranquil, free; 7 - Dynamic Description - powerful, weak, this classification is used when a student describes a nation vis-a-vis other nations; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

2. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Cartago?

1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

3. a. Ha oído hablar de la Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

3. b. Cuál es la función de la Asamblea? 1 - Accurate - almost any description which touches upon the functions of the Asamblea is accepted as accurate; 2 - Inaccurate - indicates no comprehension of the question; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

4. a. Ha oído hablar del Señor Presidente de la República de Costa Rica? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

4. b. Cuál es su nombre? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

5. Cuál es el trabajo principal del Señor Presidente de Costa Rica? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

6. Sabe usted el nombre del candidato a Presidente que perdió en las elecciones de 1966? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

7. Sabe usted lo que hace ahora en Costa Rica ese Señor? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

8. Sabe usted el nombre del Señor Gobernador de la Provincial de Cartago? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

9. Cuáles son sus funciones, qué es lo que hace? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

10. Cree usted que el trabajo de ellos: 1 - Bueno, 2 - Regular, 3 - Malo, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

11. Cree usted que la mejor manera como la gente puede influir en el gobierno son las elecciones? 1 - De acuerdo, 2 - No estoy de acuerdo, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

12. a. Ha oído usted hablar de México? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

12. b. Cómo es México? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

13. a. Ha oído usted hablar acerca de las Naciones Unidas? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

13. b. Para qué cree usted que son las Naciones Unidas? 1 - Political - it is a world organization of nations; 2 - Spatial - it is located in New York; 3 - Scenic - describes the building; 4 - Size - retained as a category in order to maintain continuity with other questions of this type; 5 - Economic - describes the role of the UN in providing economic assistance, used primarily in the two Central American countries; 6 - Internal - organization to maintain peace among nations; 7 - Dynamic - external behavior; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

14. Dé el nombre de un Diputado de la ciudad de Cartago. 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

15. Cree usted que lo misma da quien mande, el gobierno siempre hace lo mismo, no se preocupa de la gente pobre? 1 - De acuerdo, 2 - No estoy de acuerdo, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

16. a. Ha oído usted hablar de Francia? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

16. b. Como cree usted que es Francia? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia en lo que hace el Gobierno. 1 - Cierto, 2 - Falso, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

18. Cree usted que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo obras para Costa Rica? 1 - Muy buenas, 2 - Regulares, 3 - Malas, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

19. Si usted fuera mayor de edad por cual partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? 1 - Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), 2 - Partido Union Nacional (PUN), 3 - Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN), 4 - Otro, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

20. Si sus amigos hubiesen podido votar, por cuál partido cree usted que habrían votado? 1 - Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), 2 - Partido Unión Nacional (PUN), 3 - Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN), 4 - Otro, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

21. i Por qué partido cree usted que votaron sus padres? (Padre) 1 - Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), 2 - Partido Unión Nacional (PUN), 3 - Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN), 4 - Otro, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

21. ii Por qué partido cree usted que votaron sus padres? (Madre) 1 - Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN), 2 - Partido Unión Nacional (PUN), 3 - Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN), 4 - Otro, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

22. A qué personaje famoso le gustaría parecerse? 1 - Costa Rican political figure, 2 - Foreign political figure, 3 - Entertainer - movie star, television star, 4 - Men of letters, fine arts or scientists, 5 - Nationalistic figures - patriots, 5 - Teacher, or some adult figure close to the student, 7 - Other, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

23. a. Ha oído hablar de los Estados Unidos? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

23. b. Cómo cree usted que son los Estados Unidos? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

24. a. Ha oído hablar de la municipalidad? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

24. b. Qué cree usted que es la municipalidad? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

25. Cómo cree usted que trabaja la municipalidad en la ciudad de Cartago? 1 - Bien, 2 - Regular, 3 - Mal, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

26. Actualmente cuál es el problema de más importancia en el mundo? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

26. a. Cree usted que el Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? 1 - Answer (sí or no), 2 - D.K., 3 - NA.

26. b. Cree usted que el Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? 1 - Answer (sí or no), 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

26. c. Cree usted que el Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? 1 - Answer (sí or no), 2 - DK, 3 - NA.

27. Cree usted que a los que gobiernan les importe mucho lo que la gente piensa? 1 - Mucho, 2 - Poco, 3 - Nada, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN)? 1 - Accurate - all responses identifying a figure of the party are accepted as valid; 2 - Inaccurate - persons identified who are members of other parties--or don't belong to a party; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.
29. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Unión Nacional (PUN)? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
30. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN)? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
31. Sabe usted el nombre de algún otro político importante? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.
32. Cuál es la diferencia entre los tres partidos señalados en las preguntas 28 a 30? 1 - Answer, 2 - Don't Know, 3 - NA.
33. Cuál es la diferencia entre los tres partidos señalados en las preguntas 28 a 30? (Types of differences) 1 - No difference; 2 - Just different - these responses simply state the political parties are different; 3 - Different size - one party is larger than another; 4 - Different ideas - these responses state that the parties have different ideas; 5 - Specific difference - these responses describe an ideological or issue difference between the parties; 6 - Different offices - each party has men in different political offices; 7 - Different colors - in some countries each party has a different color on the ballot; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.
33. Cómo cree usted que son las leyes que hace la Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica? 1 - Buenas, 2 - Regulares, 4 - Malas, 5 - DK, 6 - NA.
34. Qué clase de cambios haría usted en el mundo si pudiera? 1 - Stop war, bring about peace, 2 - End poverty and starvation in the world, 3 - Freedom for all people and countries in the world, 4 - Racial - end racial strife and grant equality to all the races, 5 - Other responses, 6 - National instead of world problem, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

CODE

NICARAGUAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Key: Yes - Sí
DK - Don't Know (no se)
NA - No Answer

Number of Grade School: 1 - Escuela Anexa a "La Asuncion,"
2 - Escuela del Coyolar "Crisanto Sacasa," 3 - Escuela
"La Recolección," 4 - Centro Escolar "Rubén Darío," 5 -
Escuela "Teresa Arce".

Academic Level of the Student: 1 - High, 2 - Medium,
3 - Low.

Sex: 1 - Male, 2 - Female

Socio-economic Status (SES): 1 - High, 2 - Low

Age of Student: 1 - 10, 2 - 11, 3 - 12, 4 - 13, 5 - 14,
6 - 15, 7 - 16, 8 - NA.

City of Birth: 1 - Some, 2 - Different, 3 - NA.

Religion: 1 - Catholic, 2 - Protestant, 3 - Fundamental
Protestant, 4 - Greek or Russian Orthodox, 5 - Jewish,
6 - None, 7 - DK, 8 - NA.

Father's Occupation: 1 - Laborer - blue collar; 2 -
Managerial - manages a firm or owns his own business; 3 -
Professional - doctor, lawyer; 4 - Academic - teaches school
or works in an academic enterprise; 5 - Sales - salesman
or involved in some aspect of saleswork; 6 - Clerk -
clerks in a shop or store; 7 - Skilled labor - specialized
labor - electrician; 8 - No father; 9 - NA.

Mother's Occupation: 1 - Housewife; 2 - Laborer - waitress,
works in a plant; 3 - Managerial - manages a shop or firm;
4 - Professional - doctor, lawyer; 5 - Sales - saleswoman
or works in some aspect of sales; 6 - Clerk or secretary;
7 - Teacher, academic profession; 8 - No mother; 9 - NA.

1. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. Nicaragua? 1 - Polit-
ical Description - it is a country, nation, etc.; 2 -
Spatial Description - it is a part of Central America, south
of Honduras, etc.; 3 - Scenic Description - it is beauti-
ful, green, pretty, etc.; 4 - Size Description - it is

a small country, big country, big city, etc.; 5 - Economic Description - it is a poor country, rich country, etc.; 6 - Internal Description - it is very tranquil, peaceful, nice place to live, etc.; 7 - Dynamic Description - this classification is used when a student describes a nation vis-a-vis other nations, it is powerful, etc.; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

30. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. León? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

3. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Congreso Nacional de Nicaragua? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

3. b.Cuál es su función? 1 - Accurate - almost any description which touches upon the functions of the Congreso is accepted as accurate; 2 - Inaccurate - indicates no comprehension of the question; 3 - DK; 4 - NA.

4. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Señor Presidente de la República de Nicaragua? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

4. b.Cuál es su nombre? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

5.Cuál es el trabajo principal del Señor Presidente de Nicaragua? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

6. Sabe Ud. el nombre del candidato a Presidente que perdió en las elecciones de 1967? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

7. Sabe Ud. lo que hace ahora en el Gobierno ese Señor? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

8. Sabe Ud. el nombre del Señor Jefe Político del Departamento de León? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

9. Cuáles son sus funciones, que es lo que hace? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

10. Cree Ud. que hace un buen trabajo? 1 - Bueno, 2 - Regular, 3 - Malo, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

11. Cree Ud. que la mejor manera como la gente puede influenciar en el gobierno son las elecciones? 1 - De acuerdo, 2 - No estoy de acuerdo, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

12. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar acerca de las Naciones Unidas? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

12. b. Para que cree Ud. que son las Naciones Unidas? 1 - Political - it is a world organization on nations; 2 - Spatial - it is located in New York; 3 - Scenic - describes the building; 4 - Size - retained as a category to maintain continuity with other questions of this type; 5 - Economic - describes the role of the UN in providing economic assistance to nations, used primarily in the two Central American countries; 6 - Internal - organization to maintain peace among nations; 7 - Dynamic - external behavior; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

13. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de México? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

13. b. Cómo es México? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

14. Dé el nombre de un Diputado o Senador de la ciudad de León. 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

15. Cree Ud. que lo mismo da quien mande, el Gobierno siempre hace lo mismo no se preocupe de la gente pobre. 1 - De acuerdo, 2 - No estoy de acuerdo, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

16. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de Francia? 1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

16. b. Cómo cree Ud. que es Francia? 1 - Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic, 6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 NA.

17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia acerca de lo que hace el Gobierno. 1 - Cierto, 2 - Falso, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

18. Cree Ud. que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo buenas obras para Nicaragua? 1 - Buenas, 2 - Regulares, 3 - Malas, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

19. Si Us. fuera mayor de edad por cuál partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? 1 - Partido Liberal, 2 - Partido Conservador, 3 - Otro, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

20. Si sus amigos votaron por qué partido cree Ud., que votarían? 1 - Partido Liberal, 2 - Partido Conservador, 3 - Otro, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

21. i Por qué partido cree Ud. que votarían sus padres?
(Padre) 1 - Partido Liberal, 2 - Partido Conservador,
3 - Otro, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

21. ii Por qué partido cree Ud. que votarían sus padres?
(Madre) 1 - Partido Liberal, 2 - Partido Conservador, 3 -
Otro, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

22. A qué persona famosa le gustaría a Ud. parecerse?
1 - Nicaraguan political figure, 2 - Foreign political
figure, 3 - Entertainer - movie star - television star,
4 - Men of letters, fine arts or scientists, 5 - National-
istic figures - patriots, 6 - Teacher or some adult figure
known personally by the student, 7 - Other, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

23. a. Ha oído usted hablar de los Estados Unidos? 1 -
Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

23. b. Cómo cree usted que son los Estados Unidos? 1 -
Political, 2 - Spatial, 3 - Scenic, 4 - Size, 5 - Economic,
6 - Internal, 7 - Dynamic, 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

24. a. Ha oído usted hablar de la Alcaldía Municipal?
1 - Yes, 2 - No, 3 - NA.

24. b. Qué cree Ud. que es? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate,
3 - DK, 4 - NA.

25. Cree Ud. que la Alcaldía trabaja bien para la ciudad
de León? 1 - Bien, 2 - Regular, 3 - Mal, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

26. Actualmente cuál es el problema más importante en el
mundo? 1 - Answer, 2 - DK, 3 - No Answer.

26. a. Cree Ud. que el Partido Liberal estaría de acuerdo
con Ud. en este problema? 1 - Answer (yes or no), 2 - DK,
3 - NA.

26. b. Cree Ud. que el Partido Conservador estaría de
acuerdo con Ud. en este problema? 1 - Answer (yes or no),
2 - DK, 3 - NA.

27. Cree Ud. que a los que mandan les importe mucho lo
que la gente piensa. 1 - Mucho, 2 - Poco, 3 - Nada, 4 -
DK, 5 - NA.

28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberal?
1 - Accurate - all responses identifying a figure of the
party are accepted as valid, 2 - Inaccurate - persons
identified who are members of other parties--or don't belong
to a party, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

29. Cuál es la persona mas importante del Partido Conservador? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

30. Sabe Ud. el nombre de algún otro político importante? 1 - Accurate, 2 - Inaccurate, 3 - DK, 4 - NA.

31. i Cuál es la diferencia entre los dos partidos? 1 - Answer, 2 - Don't Know, 3 - NA.

31. ii Cuál es la diferencia entre los dos partidos? (Types of differences) 1 - No difference; 2 - Just different, these responses simply state the parties are different; 3 - Different size - one party has more seats in congress than another; 4 - Different ideas - these responses simply state that the parties have different ideas; 5 - Specific difference - these responses describe an ideological or issue difference between the parties; 6 - Different offices - each party has men in different political offices; 7 - Different colors - in Nicaragua each party has a different color on the ballot; 8 - DK, 9 - NA.

32. Cómo cree Ud. que son las leyes que hace el Congreso Nacional? 1 - Buenas, 2 - Regulares, 3 - Malas, 4 - DK, 5 - NA.

33. Si Ud. pudiera cambiar el mundo en la forma que le gustara, cuáles cambios haría? 1 - Stop war - bring about peace; 2 - End poverty and starvation in the world; 3 - Freedom for all people and countries in the world; 4 - Racial - end racial strife and grant equality to all the races; 5 - Other responses; 6 - National instead of a world problem; 7 - Local instead of a world problem; 8 - DK; 9 - NA.

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE IN PER CENT

CANADIAN QUESTIONNAIRE
RESPONSE IN PER CENT

Grade School: Drew - 10.5, Edgewater Park - 12.7, Francis - 12.7, Green Acres - 13.5, Hyde Park - 11.8, Ogden - 13.5, Redwood - 11.4, Victoria Park - 13.5.

Academic Level of the Student: High - 27.6, Medium - 45.6, Low - 26.7.

Broken Home: no - 89.9, Yes - 10.0

Sex: Male - 56.4, Female - 43.4

Socio-economic Status: High - 34.2, Low - 65.7.

Age of Student: 10 - 0.4, 11 - 44.7, 12 - 37.7, 13 - 10.9, 14 - 5.2, 15 - 0.8, 16 - 0, NA - 0.

Age of Brothers: Older - 30.7, Younger - 29.8, Both - 17.1, None - 5.2, NA - 17.1

Age of Sisters: Older - 29.8, Younger - 29.8, Both - 16.6, None - 3.5, NA - 20.1

City of Birth: Same - 68.4, Different - 29.8, NA - 17.

Religion: Catholic - 15.7, Protestant - 71.4, Fundamental Protestant - 0.4, Greek or Russian Orthodox - 2.6, Jewish - 0, None - 0.4, DK - 1.3, NA - 7.8.

Father's Occupation: Laborer - 55.2, Managerial - 14.4, Professional - 11.4, Academic - 2.1, Sales - 6.1, Clerk - 0.8, Skilled Laborer - 7.0, No Father - 1.7, NA - 0.8.

Mother's Occupation: Housewife - 53.0, Laborer - 12.7, Managerial - 2.1, Professional - 7.0, Sales - 2.1, Clerk - 11.8, Teacher - 10.9, No Mother - 0, NA - 0.

Organizations: Boy Scouts - 7.8, Girl Scouts - 10.5, Ethnic organization - 1.7, Church - 3.9, Sports - 21.9, Other - 10.0, No organization - 33.3, Music - 0, NA - 10.5.

1. What words would you use to describe Canada? Political - 3.0, Spatial - 1.3, Scenic - 38.5, Size - 22.3, Economic - 7.0, Internal - 18.8, Dynamic - 1.7, DK - 0.4, NA - 5.7

2. What words would you use to describe Fort William?
 Political - 5.7, Spatial - 2.6, Scenic - 20.1, Size -
 25.8, Economic - 4.3, Internal - 27.6, Dynamic - 0.0,
 DK - 0.4, NA - 13.1

2. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of Canada?
 Yes - 81.1, No - 14.4, NA - 4.3.

3. b. What does it do? Accurate - 50.4, Inaccurate - 1.7,
 DK - 3.0, NA - 44.7.

4. a. Have you heard of the Prime Minister of Canada?
 Yes - 97.3, No - 0.4, NA - 2.1

4. b. What is his name? Accurate - 80.3, Inaccurate -
 7.0, DK - 0.8, NA - 11.8.

5. What is the main job of the Prime Minister of Canada?
 Accurate - 64.9, Inaccurate - 1.7, DK - 2.6, NA - 30.7.

6. Do you think the Prime Minister has been doing things
 that are good for Canada? Very good - 27.1, Fairly good -
 46.0, Not very good - 5.2, Bad - 0.4, DK - 19.2, NA - 1.7.

7. The Prime Minister is more honest than most men -
 25.8.
 The Prime Minister is as honest as most men - 72.3.
 The Prime Minister is less honest than most men - 1.3,
 NA - 0.4.

8. The Prime Minister works harder than most men - 51.3.
 The Prime Minister works as hard as most men - 39.0.
 The Prime Minister does not work as hard as most men -
 8.3, NA - 0.4.

9. The Prime Minister is concerned with just about
 everybody - 58.7.
 The Prime Minister is concerned with people the same
 as everybody else - 36.8.
 The Prime Minister is not concerned with many people -
 3.0, NA - 1.3.

10. The Prime Minister is smarter than most men - 33.7.
 The Prime Minister is as smart as everybody else - 62.2.
 The Prime Minister is not as smart as most people -
 3.0, NA - 0.8.

11. My father works harder than the Prime Minister - 11.8.
My father works as hard as the Prime Minister - 64.9.
My father works less hard than the Prime Minister -
19.2, NA - 3.9.
12. My father is more honest than the Prime Minister - 6.5.
My father is as honest as the Prime Minister - 85.5.
My father is not as honest as the Prime Minister -
5.2, NA - 2.6.
13. a. Have you heard of Robert Lorne Stanfield? Yes -
79.8, No - 16.6, NA - 3.5.
13. b. What does he do? Accurate - 33.3, Inaccurate -
13.1, DK - 7.0, NA - 46.4.
14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and
father can have any say about how the government runs the
country. Strong yes - 47.8, Weak yes - 22.3, Weak no -
4.3, Strong no - 6.1, DK - 17.9, NA - 1.3.
15. Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?
Accurate - 30.2, Inaccurate - 18.8, DK - 45.1, NA - 5.7.
16. What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do?
Accurate - 37.2, Inaccurate - 10.5, DK - 4.3, NA - 47.8.
17. What kind of job has the Prime Minister of the
Province of Ontario been doing? Very good - 39.8, Fairly
good - 42.1, Not very good - 2.1, Bad - 0.4, DK - 20.1,
NA - 5.2.
18. a. Have you heard of Mexico? Yes - 98.6, No - 0.8,
NA - 0.4.
18. b. What do you think it is? Political - 40.7, Spatial -
17.5, Scenic - 18.4, Size - 2.6, Economic - 7.0, Internal -
3.9, Dynamic - 0, DK - 3.0, NA - 6.5.
19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the
government? Strong yes - 34.2, Weak yes - 31.1, Weak no -
14.9, Strong no - 6.5, DK - 10.0, NA - 3.0.
20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations? Yes - 93.4,
No - 4.8, NA - 1.7.
20. b. What do you think it is? Political - 33.7,
Spatial - 0.8, Scenic - 0.4, Size - 1.7, Economic - 0,
Internal - 21.9, Dynamic - 0, DK - 15.3, NA - 25.8.
21. Name one member of the House of Commons from the
Province of Ontario. Accurate - 10.9, Inaccurate - 18.4,
DK - 63.1, NA - 7.4.

22. Who is the Mayor of Fort William, Ontario? Accurate - 68.4, Inaccurate - 18.4, DK - 63.1, NA - 74.
23. What kinds of things does the mayor do? Accurate - 63.5, Inaccurate - 3.0, DK - 1.7, NA - 31.5.
24. Has the mayor been doing a good job? Very good - 41.6, Fairly good - 42.9, Not very good - 3.9, Bad - 0.8, DK - 10.0, NA - 0.4.
25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government. Strong yes - 14.4, Weak yes - 10.5, Weak no - 21.4, Strong no - 28.9, DK - 23.2, NA - 1.3.
26. a. Have you heard of France? Yes - 98.6, No - 0.4, NA - 0.8.
26. b. What do you think it is? Political - 42.1, Spatial - 17.1, Scenic - 4.8, Size - 4.8, Economic - 0.4, Internal - 7.0, Dynamic - 0.4, DK - 7.4, NA - 15.7.
27. If Robert Lorne Stanfield becomes Prime Minister in 1968, do you think he will be a good Prime Minister? Very good - 17.5, Fairly good - 36.4, Not very good - 6.1, Bad - 4.8, DK - 34.6, NA - 0.4.
28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does. Strong yes - 17.9, Weak yes - 17.9, Weak no - 17.9, Strong no - 21.4, DK - 22.8, NA - 1.7.
29. If you were old enough to vote now, which party would you favor most of the time? Liberal - 50.8, Progressive Conservative - 14.4, New Democratic - 10.5, Social Credit - 0, Nationale Union - 1.3, Other - 0, DK - 22.8, NA - 0.
30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? Liberal - 46.0, Progressive Conservative - 10.9, New Democratic - 8.3, Social Credit - 0, Nationale Union - 0.8, Other - 0, DK - 33.7, NA - 0.
31. i Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Father) Liberal - 42.9, Progressive Conservative - 12.7, New Democratic - 12.2, Social Credit - 0.4, Nationale Union - 1.3, Other - 0, DK - 28.0, NA - 2.1.
31. ii Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Mother) Liberal - 44.7,

Progressive Conservative - 16.6, New Democratic - 10.9, Social Credit - 0, Nationale Union - 0.8, Other - 0, DK - 25.8, NA - 0.8.

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote? Parents - 36.8, Father - 11.4, Mother - 3.9, Brother - 0.4, Sister - 0.4, Friends - 1.3, Other - 14.9, DK - 5.7, NA - 25.0.

33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people. Strong yes - 10.5, Weak yes - 10.5, Weak no - 23.2, Strong no - 36.8, DK - 17.5, NA - 1.3.

34. a. Have you heard of Lester Pearson? Yes - 96.9, No - 3.0, DK - 0, NA - 0.

34. b. What does he do? Accurate - 60.0, Inaccurate - 10.9, DK - 0.8, NA - 28.0.

35. a. Have you heard of the United States? Yes - 99.5, No - 0.4, DK - 0, NA - 0.

35. b. What do you think it is? Political - 34.2, Spatial - 11.8, Scenic - 4.8, Size - 10.0, Economic - 0.4, Internal - 12.2, Dynamic - 12.2, DK - 0.4, NA - 13.5.

36. a. Have you heard of the Parliament of the Province of Ontario? Yes - 60.5, No - 33.7, NA - 5.7.

36. b. What does it do? Accurate - 25.0, Inaccurate - 2.1, DK - 4.3, NA - 68.4.

37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? Answer - 76.3, DK - 2.1, NA - 21.4.

37. b. Would members of the Liberal Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 45.6, DK - 43.4, NA - 10.9.

37. c. Would members of the Nationale Union Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 31.5, DK - 57.4, NA - 10.5.

37. d. Would members of the New Democratic Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 40.3, DK - 49.1, NA - 10.5.

37. 4. Would members of the Progressive Conservative Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 38.5, DK - 51.7, NA - 9.6.

37. f. Would members of the Social Credit Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 34.2, DK - 55.7, NA - 10.0.

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. Strong yes - 19.2, Weak yes - 15.7, Weak no - 25.0, Strong no - 20.1, DK - 19.2, NA - 0.4.

39. a. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Liberal Party? Accurate - 42.9, Inaccurate - 4.3, DK - 11.8, NA - 40.7.

39. b. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Nationale Union Party? Accurate - 0.8, Inaccurate - 1.3, DK - 30.7, NA - 67.1.

39. c. Who do you think is the most famous member of the New Democratic Party? Accurate - 8.3, Inaccurate - 9.6, DK - 25.0, NA - 57.0.

39. d. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Progressive Conservative Party? Accurate - 23.6, Inaccurate - 3.0, DK - 21.4, NA - 5.7.

39. 4. Who do you think is the most famous member of the Social Credit Party? Accurate - 0, Inaccurate - 0.8, DK - 29.8, NA - 69.2.

40. i What do you think is the difference between the political parties? Answer - 26.7, DK - 13.1, NA - 60.0.

40. ii What do you think is the difference between the political parties? (Types of difference) No difference - 2.6, Just different - 14.4, Different size - 1.7, Different ideas - 7.4, Specific difference - 0.4, Different offices - 0, Different colors - 0, DK - 13.1, NA - 60.1.

41. a. Have you heard of the Canadian Cabinet? Yes - 55.2, No - 37.7, NA - 7.0.

41. b. What does it do? Accurate - 15.3, Inaccurate - 1.7, DK - 10.5, NA - 72.3.

42. How much influence do most people have on making laws for Canada? Very much - 26.3, Some - 45.6, Very little - 11.4, None - 2.2, DK - 12.7, NA - 1.8.

43. Do you think the Parliament of Canada makes laws that are good for the country? Very good - 38.5, Fairly good - 46.0, Not very good - 2.2, Bad - 1.8, DK - 10.2, NA - 1.3.

44. Do you think that the Parliament of the Province of Ontario makes laws that are good for the Province? Very good - 34.5, Fairly good - 45.6, Not very good - 1.8, Bad - 1.8, DK - 15.0, NA - 1.3.

45. a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted what change would you make? Stop war - 51.8, End poverty - 5.8, Freedom - 2.2, Stop racial strife - 5.8, Other - 15.0, National - 3.5, Local - 3.1, DK - 1.3, NA - 11.5.

45. b. Why? Peace - 49.6, End poverty - 5.3, Freedom - 3.1, Equality - 5.3, Other - 15.5, National - 3.1, Local - 3.1, DK - 1.3, NA - 13.7.

UNITED STATES QUESTIONNAIRE
RESPONSES IN PER CENT

Grade School: Centennial School No. 1 - 5.7, Centennial School No. 2 - 11.4, East Heights School - 9.5, Hillcrest School - 15.7, Kennedy School - 12.9, McAllaster School - 10.0, New York School - 12.4, Pinckney School - 12.4, Woodlawn School - 9.5.

Academic Level of Student: High - 30.1, Medium - 44.9, Low - 24.8.

Broken Home: No - 79.9, Yes - 20.0.

Sex: Male -- 44.9, Female - 55.0.

Socio-economic Status: High - 43.0, Low - 56.9.

Age of Student: 10 - 0, 11 - 47.8, 12 - 49.2, 13 - 2.8, 14 - 0, 15 - 0, 16 - 0, NA - 0.

Age of Brothers: Older - 33.4, Younger - 29.6, Both - 14.8, None - 4.7, NA - 17.2.

Age of Sisters: Older - 30.6, Younger - 33.4, Both - 15.3, None - 6.2, NA - 14.3.

City of Birth: Same - 49.2, Different - 49.7, NA - 0.9.

Religion: Catholic - 9.0, Protestant - 68.4, Fundamental Protestant - 7.1, Greek or Russian Orthodox - 0, Jewish - 0.4, None - 2.8, DK - 0, NA - 11.9.

Father's Occupation: Laborer - 45.4, Managerial - 11.4, Professional - 13.8, Academic - 11.0, Sales - 5.2, Clerk - 0, Skilled Laborer - 6.6, No Father - 5.2, NA - 0.9.

Mother's Occupation: Housewife - 44.4, Laborer - 12.9, Managerial - 0.4, Professional - 2.3, Sales - 3.8, Clerk - 4.3, Teacher - 0.4, No Mother - 0, NA - 31.1.

Organizations: Boy Scouts - 10.5, Girl Scouts - 27.7, Ethnic Organization - 0.4, Church - 2.8, Sports - 0.9, Other - 2.3, No organization - 8.6, Music - 0.4, NA - 45.9.

1. What words would you use to describe the United States?
Political - 4.2, Spatial - 0.4, Scenic - 19.1, Size - 19.1, Economic - 5.7, Internal - 42.5, Dynamic - 4.2, DK - 0.9, NA - 4.2.
2. What words would you use to describe Lawrence?
Political - 0.9, Spatial - 0.4, Scenic - 25.3, Size - 29.1, Economic - 2.3, Internal - 39.3, Dynamic - 0, DK - 0.4, NA - 2.3.
3. a. Have you heard of the Congress of the United States?
Yes - 87.5, No - 9.0, NA - 3.3.
3. b. What does it do? Accurate - 71.7, Inaccurate - 2.8, DK - 3.8, NA - 21.5.
4. a. Have you heard of the President of the United States? Yes - 99.5, No - 0.4, NA - 0.
4. b. What is his name? Accurate - 99.5, Inaccurate - 0, DK - 0.4, NA - 0.
5. What is the main job of the President of the United States? Accurate - 80.8, Inaccurate - 0.9, DK - 3.3, NA - 14.8.
6. Do you think the President has been doing things that are good for the United States? Very good - 17.2, Fairly good - 52.1, Not very good - 17.2, Bad - 3.8, DK - 9.5, NA - 0.
7. The President is more honest than most men - 19.6.
The President is as honest as most men - 74.1.
The President is less honest than most men - 5.2.
NA - 0.9.
8. The President works harder than most men - 56.4.
The President works as hard as most men - 33.0.
The President does not work as hard as most men - 10.5,
NA - 0.
9. The President is concerned with just about everybody - 54.0.
The President is concerned with people the same as everybody - 39.7.
The President is not concerned with many people - 5.7.
NA - 0.4.
10. The President is smarter than most men - 32.5.
The President is as smart as everybody else - 58.8.
The President is not as smart as most people - 8.6.
NA - 0.

11. My father works harder than the President - 10.5.
 My father works as hard as the President - 44.0.
 My father works less hard than the President - 41.6.
 NA - 3.8.
12. My father is more honest than the President - 15.7.
 My father is as honest as the President - 74.6.
 My father is not as honest as the President - 7.1.
 NA - 2.3.
13. a. Have you heard of Richard Nixon? Yes - 86.6,
 No - 12.4, NA - 0.9.
13. b. What does he do? Accurate - 42.1, Inaccurate - 19.6,
 DK - 13.8, NA - 24.4.
14. Voting is the best way that people like my mother and
 father can have any say about how the government runs the
 country. Strong yes - 45.9, Weak yes - 23.4, Weak no - 5.2,
 Strong no - 5.7, DK - 19.1, NA - 0.4.
15. Who is the Governor of Kansas? Accurate - 73.2,
 Inaccurate - 3.3, DK - 21.5, NA - 1.9.
16. What kinds of things does the Governor do? Accurate -
 62.6, Inaccurate - 8.6, DK - 7.6, NA - 31.0.
17. What kind of job has the Governor been doing? Very
 good - 29.6, Fairly good - 32.5, Not very good - 2.8, Bad -
 1.4, DK - 32.0, NA - 1.4.
17. What kind of job has the Governor been doing? Very
 good - 29.6, Fairly good - 32.5, Not very good - 2.8,
 Bad - 1.4, DK - 32.0, NA - 1.4.
18. a. Have you heard of Mexico? Yes - 99.5, No - 0,
 NA - 0.4.
18. b. What do you think it is? Political - 55.9,
 Spatial - 11.9, Scenic - 7.1, Size - 1.4, Economic - 33,
 Internal - 8.6, Dynamic - 0.9, DK - 2.8, NA - 8.1.
19. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the
 government? Strong yes - 25.8, Weak yes - 40.1, Weak no -
 10.0, Strong no - 6.2, DK - 16.2, NA - 1.4.
20. a. Have you heard of the United Nations? Yes - 97.6,
 No - 1.9, NA - 0.4.
20. b. What do you think it is? Political - 32.0,
 Spatial - 0, Scenic - 0.4, Size - 0, Economic - 0, Internal -
 29.1, Dynamic - 0.9, DK - 22.5, NA - 15.3.

21. Name one of the United States Senators from the State of Kansas. Accurate - 9.5; Inaccurate - 14.8, DK - 73.2, NA - 2.3.
22. Who is the Mayor of Lawrence, Kansas? Accurate - 1.9, Inaccurate - 15.3, DK - 80.3, NA - 2.3.
23. What kinds of things does the Mayor do? Accurate - 53.1, Inaccurate - 3.3, DK - 14.3, NA - 29.1
24. Has the Mayor been doing a good job? Very good - 17.7, Fairly good - 29.1, Not very good - 2.8, Bad - 1.9, DK - 46.8, NA - 1.4.
25. What happens in the government will happen no matter what any people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about the government. Strong yes - 14.3, Weak yes - 9.0, Weak no - 16.2, Strong no - 32.5, DK - 26.7, NA - 0.9.
26. a. Have you heard of France? Yes - 97.6, No - 0.4, NA - 1.9.
26. b. What do you think it is? Political - 52.6, Spatial - 16.7, Scenic - 3.8, Size - 2.3, Economic - 0.9, Internal - 8.1, Dynamic - 1.4, DK - 2.8, NA - 11.4.
27. If Richard Nixon is elected President in 1968, do you think he will be a good President? Very good - 12.4, Fairly good - 23.4, Not very good - 13.3, Bad - 12.4, DK - 37.3, NA - 0.
28. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does? Strong yes - 16.2, Weak yes - 14.8, Weak no - 17.2, Strong no - 27.7, DK - 22.4, NA - 1.4.
29. If you were 21 years old now, which party would you favor most of the time? Democrat - 38.7, Republican - 27.7, DK - 32.5, NA - 0.9.
30. Which party do you think your friends would favor? Democrat - 26.3, Republican - 23.4, DK - 49.2, NA - 0.9.
31. i Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Father) Democrat - 32.5, Republican - 30.6, DK - 30.6, NA - 6.2.
31. ii Which party do you think your parents would vote for if there were an election today? (Mother) Democrat - 33.0, Republican - 34.9, DK - 29.6, NA - 2.3.

32. Who would you ask for advice on how to vote? Parents - 35.4, Father - 8.1, Mother - 6.2, Brother - 0.4, Sister - 0.4, Friends - 0.9, other - 15.7, DK - 5.2, NA - 27.2.

33. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running everything and they do not care about us ordinary people. Strong yes - 13.8, Weak yes - 14.8, Weak no - 13.3, Strong no - 28.2, DK - 28.7, NA - 0.9.

34. a. Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy? Yes - 87.0, No - 12.4, NA - 0.4.

34. b. What does he do? Accurate - 45.9, Inaccurate - 11.4, DK - 11.4, NA - 31.1.

35. a. Have you heard of Canada? Yes - 99.0, No - 0, NA - 0.9.

35. b. What do you think it is? Political - 51.6, Spatial - 14.8, Scenic - 4.3, Size - 6.2, Economic - 0.4, Internal - 9.0, Dynamic - 0.9, DK - 4.7, NA - 8.1.

36. a. Have you heard of the Kansas State Legislature? Yes - 69.8, No - 28.7, NA - 1.4.

36. b. What does it do? Accurate - 33.4, Inaccurate - 1.4, DK - 24.4, NA - 40.6.

37. a. What is the most important political problem in the world today? Answer - 77.9, DK - 4.3, NA - 17.7.

37. b. Would members of the Democratic Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 40.1, DK - 55.9, NA - 3.8.

37. c. Would members of the Republican Party agree with you on this problem? Answer - 34.9, DK - 59.8, NA - 5.2.

38. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think. Strong yes - 17.7, Weak yes - 13.3, Weak no - 22.4, Strong no. 20.5, DK - 24.8, NA - 0.9.

39. a. Who do you think is the most famous Democrat? Accurate - 46.4, Inaccurate - 6.2, DK - 16.7, NA - 30.6.

39. b. Who do you think is the most famous Republican? Accurate - 34.9, Inaccurate - 9.0, DK - 18.6, NA - 37.3.

40. i What do you think is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties? Answer - 43.0, DK - 26.7, NA - 30.1.

40. ii What do you think is the difference between the Democrat and Republican Parties? (Types of Difference)
No difference - 7.1, Just different - 18.1, Different size - 0.9, Different ideas - 6.6, Specific difference - 10.0, Different offices - 0, Different colors - 0, DK - 26.7, NA - 30.1.

41. How much influence do most people have on making laws for the United States? Very much - 28.2, Some - 35.9, Very little - 18.7, None - 2.9, DK - 13.3, NA - 1.0.

42. Do you think Congress makes laws that are good for the country? Very good - 40.9, Fairly good - 46.2, Not very good - 3.8, Bad - 1.0, DK - 8.1, NA - 0.

43. Do you think the Kansas State Legislature makes laws that are good for the state? Very good - 28.8, Fairly good - 33.7, Not very good - 1.0, Bad - 1.4, DK - 34.6, NA - 0.5.

44. a. If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make? Stop war - 49.0, End poverty - 3.8, Freedom - 13.0, Stop racial strife - 3.4, Other - 4.3, National - 8.7, Local - 1.9, DK - 5.3, NA - 10.6.

44. b. Why? Peace - 51.0, End poverty - 3.8, Freedom - 8.7, Equality - 3.4, Other - 3.4, National - 8.2, Local - 1.4, DK - 3.4, NA - 16.7

COSTA RICAN QUESTIONNAIRE
RESPONSE IN PER CENT

Grade School: Escuela El Carmen - 15.2, Escuela Jesús Jiménez de Niñas - 26.0, Escuela Jesús Jiménez Varones - 43.4, Escuela Winston Churchill - 15.2.

Sex: Male - 58.7, Female - 41.2.

Socio-economic Status: High - 50.3, Low - 49.7.

Age of Student: 10 - 40, 11 - 58.2, 12 - 26.4, 13 - 8.5, 14 - 2.2, 15 - 0.4, 16 - 0, NA - 0.

City of Birth: Same - 76.6, Different - 23.3, NA - 0.

Religion: Catholic - 98.2, Protestant - 0.9, Fundamental Protestant - 0, Greek or Russian Orthodox - 0, Jewish - 0, None - 0, DK - 0, NA - 0.9.

Father's Occupation: Laborer - 39.0, Managerial - 25.5, Professional - 8.5, Academic - 4.0, Sales - 1.7, Clerk - 4.0, Skilled Laborer - 10.7, No father - 3.5, NA - 2.6.

Mother's Occupation: Housewife - 65.0, Laborer - 17.0, Managerial - 1.3, Professional - 0.8, Sales - 2.6, Clerk - 1.7, Teacher - 8.9, No mother - 0, NA - 2.2.

1. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Costa Rica?
Political - 5.8, Spatial - 2.6, Scenic - 51.1, Size - 13.9, Economic - 3.5, Internal - 17.4, Dynamic - 0.9, DK - 0.4, NA - 4.4.

2. Con qué palabras describiría usted a Cartago? Political - 19.2, Spatial - 4.0, Scenic - 37.1, Size - 12.1, Economic - 4.0, Internal - 17.4, Dynamic - 0.9, DK - 0.4, NA - 4.4.

3. a. Ha oído hablar de la Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica? Yes - 89.6, No - 8.9, NA - 1.3.

3. b.Cuál es la función de la Asamblea? Accurate - 66.3, Inaccurate - 3.1, DK - 5.3, NA - 25.1.

4. a. Ha oído hablar del Señor Presidente de la Republica de Costa Rica? Yes - 100, No - 0, DK - 0, NA - 0.

4. b.Cuál es su nombre? Accurate - 99.1, Inaccurate - 0.8, DK - 0, NA - 0.

5. Cual es el trabajo principal del Senor Presidente de Costa Rica? Accurate - 82.9, Inaccurate - 1.7, DK - 3.5, NA - 11.6.
6. Sabe usted el nombre del candidato a Presidente que perdio en las elecciones de 1966. Accurate - 91.4, Inaccurate - 1.3, DK - 4.4, NA - 2.6.
7. Sabe usted lo que hace ahora en Costa Rica ese Senor? Accurate - 21.9, Inaccurate - 7.6, DK - 34.5, NA - 35.8.
8. Sabe usted el nombre del Senor Gobernador de la Provincia de Cartago? Accurate - 57.8, Inaccurate - 12.1, DK - 6.2, NA - 23.7.
9. Cuales son sus funciones, que es lo que hace? Accurate - 66.3, Inaccurate - 0.8, DK - 6.2, NA - 26.4.
10. Cree usted que el trabajo de el es? Bueno - 75.7, Regular - 10.7, Malo - 0.8, DK - 12.1, NA - 0.4.
11. Cree usted que la mejor manera como la gente puede influir en el gobierno son las elecciones? De acuerdo - 87.7, no estoy de acuerdo - 3.1, DK - 6.7, NA - 2.2.
12. a. Ha oido usted hablar de Mexico? Yes - 96.4, No - 2.2, NA - 1.3.
12. b. Como es Mexico? Political - 5.8, Spatial - 10.7, Scenic - 49.3, Size - 14.7, Economic - 5.8, Internal - 6.7, Dynamic - 0, DK - 1.7, NA - 4.9.
13. a. Ha oido usted hablar acerca de las Naciones Unidas? Yes - 89.2, No - 9.8, NA - 0.8.
13. b. Para que cree usted que son las Naciones Unidas? Political - 21.9, Spatial - 0.4, Scenic - 0, Size - 0, Economic - 33.1, Internal - 15.6, Dynamic - 0, DK - 14.7, NA - 13.9.
14. De el nombre de un diputado de la ciudad de Cartago? Accurate - 59.1, Inaccurate - 14.7, DK - 12.1, NA - 13.9.
15. Cree usted que lo misma da quien mande, el gobierno siempre hace lo mismo, no se preocupa de la gente pobre? De acuerdo - 17.9, no estoy de acuerdo - 60.5, DK - 17.0, NA - 4.4.
16. a. Ha oido usted hablar de Francia? Yes - 76.6, No - 21.9, NA - 1.3.

16. b. Como cree usted que es Francia? Political - 4.4, Spatial - 12.1, Scenic - 25.1, Size - 11.6, Economic - 8.5, Internal - 1.3, Dynamic - 1.3, DK - 15.2, NA - 20.1.

17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia en lo que hace el Gobierno? Cierto - 34.0, Falso - 43.0, DK - 20.1, NA - 2.6.

18. Cree usted que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo obras para Costa Rica? Muy buenas - 65.0, Regulares - 24.2, Malas - 3.5, DK - 6.2, NA - 0.8.

19. Si usted fuera mayor de edad por cuál partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? Liberación Nacional (PLN) - 46.1, Unión Nacional (PUN) - 36.7, Republicano Nacional (PRN) - 2.2, Other - 5.8, DK - 4.4, NA - 4.4.

20. Si sus amigos hubiesen podido votar, por cuál partido cree usted que habrían votado? Liberación Nacional (PLN) - 39.0, Unión Nacional (PUN) - 28.2, Republicano Nacional (PRN) - 8.0, Other - 5.3, DK - 15.6, NA - 3.5.

21. i Por qué partido cree usted que votaron sus padres? (Padre) Liberación Nacional (PLN) - 45.2, Unión Nacional (PUN) - 30.4, Republicano Nacional (PRN) - 7.6, Other - 5.3, DK - 5.8, NA - 6.7.

21. ii Por qué partido cree usted que votaron sus padres? (Madre) Liberación Nacional (PLN) - 43.4, Unión Nacional (PUN) - 34.0, Republicano Nacional (PRN) - 6.7, Other - 4.0, DK - 4.9, NA - 6.7.

22. A qué personaje famoso le gustaría parecerse? Costa Rican political figure - 6.4, Foreign political figure - 7.3, Entertainer - 26.6, Men of letters - 39.9, National patriot - 0.9, Teacher - 2.8, Other - 3.2, DK - 3.2, NA - 9.6.

23. a. Ha oído hablar de los Estados Unidos? Yes - 97.3, No - 2.2, NA - 0.4.

23. b. Cómo cree usted que son los Estados Unidos? Political - 3.5, Spatial - 5.3, Scenic - 20.1, Size - 23.3, Economic - 21.0, Internal - 5.3, Dynamic - 14.3, DK - 1.3, NA - 5.3.

24. a. Ha oído hablar de la Municipalidad? Yes - 95.5, No - 3.1, NA - 1.3.

24. b. Qué cree usted que es la Municipalidad? Accurate - 86.9, Inaccurate - 1.7, DK - 3.5, NA - 7.6.

25. Cómo cree usted que trabaja la Municipalidad en la ciudad de Cartago? Bien - 70.4, Regular - 22.9, Mal - 4.9, DK - 1.8, NA - 0.
26. a. Cree usted que el Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? Answer - 47.9, DK - 20.1, NA - 31.8.
26. b. Cree usted que el Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? Answer - 43.0, DK - 17.0, NA - 39.9.
26. c. Cree usted que el Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) estaría de acuerdo con usted en este problema? Answer - 22.4, DK - 17.4, NA - 60.0.
27. Cree usted que a los que gobiernan les importe mucho lo que la gente piensa? Mucho - 38.6, Poco - 26.9, Nada - 17.5, DK - 15.7, NA - 1.3.
28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN)? Accurate - 21.5, Inaccurate - 8.9, DK - 34.9, NA - 34.5.
29. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Unión Nacional (PUN)? Accurate - 37.6, Inaccurate - 7.6, DK - 30.0, NA - 24.6.
30. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN)? Accurate - 59.1, Inaccurate - 1.3, DK - 20.1, NA - 19.2.
31. Sabe usted el nombre de algún otro político importante? Accurate - 42.1, Inaccurate - 0.4, DK - 28.2, NA - 29.1.
32. i Cuál es la diferencia entre los tres partidos señalados en las preguntas 28 a 30? Answer - 27.3, DK - 33.6, NA - 39.0.
32. ii Cuál es la diferencia entre los tres partidos señalados en las preguntas 28 a 30? (Types of difference) No difference - 0.8, Just different - 12.5, Different size - 1.3, Different ideas - 4.4, Specific difference - 3.1, Different offices - 4.9, Different colors - 0, DK - 33.6, NA - 39.0.
33. Cómo cree usted que son las leyes que hace la Asamblea Legislativa de Costa Rica? Buenas - 73.4, Regular - 17.0, Malas - 1.8, DK - 7.3, NA - 0.5.

34. Qué clase de cambios haría usted en el mundo si pudiera? Stop war - 24.2, End poverty - 16.1, Freedom - 4.9, Stop racial strife - 2.7, Other - 9.4, National - 11.7, Local - 9.4, DK - 6.3, NA - 15.2.

NICARAGUAN QUESTIONNAIRE
RESPONSE IN PER CENT

Grade School: Escuela Anexa a "La Asuncion" - 23.8, Escuela del Coyolar "Crisanto Sacasa" - 18.3, Escuela "La Recolección" - 14.6, Centro Escolar "Rubén Darío" - 19.7, Escuela "Teresa Arce" - 23.3.

Sex: Male - 41.2, Female - 58.7.

Socio-economic Status: High - 44.0, Low - 55.9.

Age of Student: 10 - 7.2, 11 - 14.6, 12 - 25.2, 13 - 23.3, 14 - 24.7, 15 - 4.5, 16 - 0, NA - 0.

City of Birth: Same - 86.6, Different - 13.3, NA - 0.

Religion: Catholic - 98.1, Protestant - 0.9, Fundamental Protestant - 0, Greek or Russian Orthodox - 0, Jewish - 0, None - 0, DK - 0, NA - 0.9.

Father's Occupation: Laborer - 52.7, Managerial - 27.0, Professional - 7.7, Academic - 0.4, Sales - 0.4, Clerk - 0.9, Skilled Laborer - 4.5, No father - 3.2, NA - 2.7.

Mother's Occupation: Housewife - 64.6, Laborer - 22.9, Managerial - 4.5, Professional - 2.7, Sales - 1.3, Clerk - 0.4, Teacher - 1.3, No mother - 0.9, NA - 0.9.

1. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. Nicaragua? Political - 33.0, Spatial - 15.2, Scenic - 24.2, Size - 2.3, Economic - 5.1, Internal - 4.6, Dynamic - 2.3, DK - 4.1, NA - 9.2.

2. Con qué palabras describiría Ud. León? Political - 35.5, Spatial - 1.8, Scenic - 28.3, Size - 3.7, Economic - 2.3, Internal - 10.6, Dynamic - 0, DK - 5.9, NA - 11.8.

3. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Congreso Nacional de Nicaragua? Yes - 66.0, No - 30.2, NA - 3.6.

3. b. Cuál es su función? Accurate - 41.7, Inaccurate - 1.3, DK - 17.8, NA - 38.9.

4. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar del Señor Presidente de la República de Nicaragua? Yes - 99.5, No - 0.4, NA - 0, DK - 0.

4. b. Cuál es su nombre? Accurate - 97.7, Inaccurate - 2.2, DK - 0, NA - 0.
5. Cuál es el trabajo principal del Señor Presidente de Nicaragua? Accurate - 75.2, Inaccurate - 2.2, DK - 5.9, NA - 16.5.
6. Sabe Ud. el nombre del candidato a Presidente que perdió en las elecciones de 1967? Accurate - 92.2, Inaccurate - 2.7, DK - 17.4, NA - 20.1.
7. Sabe Ud. lo que hace ahora en el Gobierno ese Señor? Accurate - 53.6, Inaccurate - 8.7, DK - 17.4, NA - 20.1.
8. Sabe Ud. el nombre del Señor Jefe Político del Departamento de León? Accurate - 71.5, Inaccurate - 8.7, DK - 5.0, NA - 14.6.
9. Cuáles son sus funciones, que es lo que hace? Accurate - 38.5, Inaccurate - 0.4, DK - 13.7, NA - 47.2.
10. Cree Ud. que hace un buen trabajo? Bueno - 50.9, Regular - 10.1, Malo - 2.9, DK - 25.6, NA - 10.5.
11. Cree Ud. que la mejor manera como la gente puede influenciar en el gobierno son las elecciones? De acuerdo - 54.1, No estoy de acuerdo - 13.7, DK - 26.1, NA - 5.9.
12. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar acerca de las Naciones Unidas? Yes - 74.3, No - 17.4, NA - 8.1.
12. b. Para que cree Ud. que son las Naciones Unidas? Political - 16.9, Spatial - 0, Scenic - 0, Size - 0, Economic - 16.4, Internal - 15.2, Dynamic - 0, DK - 15.2, NA - 36.2.
13. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de Mexico? Yes - 84.8, No - 8.2, NA - 6.8.
13. b. Cómo es México? Political - 31.1, Spatial - 2.3, Scenic - 22.9, Size - 5.1, Economic - 11.9, Internal - 3.2, Dynamic - 0, DK - 5.4, NA - 18.0.
14. Dé el nombre de un Diputado o Senador de la ciudad de León. Accurate - 65.5, Inaccurate - 8.2, DK - 3.6, NA - 22.4.
15. Cree Ud. que lo mismo da quien mande, el Gobierno siempre hace lo mismo no se preocupe de la gente pobre. De acuerdo - 26.1, No estoy de acuerdo - 41.7, DK - 24.3, NA - 7.7.

16. a. Ha oído Ud. hablar de Francia? Yes - 66.5, No - 23.8, NA - 9.5.
16. b. Como cree Ud. que es Francia? Political - 6.8, Spatial - 2.2, Scenic - 19.7, Size - 2.7, Economic - 5.5, Internal - 1.8, Dynamic - 1.8, DK - 16.5, NA - 42.6.
17. Mi familia en realidad no tiene ninguna influencia acerca de lo que hace el Gobierno. Cierto - 33.4, Falso - 20.1, DK - 41.7, NA - 4.5.
18. Cree Ud. que el Presidente de la República ha estado haciendo buenas obras para Nicaragua? Buenas - 62.8, Regulares - 21.5, Malas - 5.5, DK - 7.2, NA - 2.8.
19. Si Ud. fuera mayor de edad por cual partido votaría la mayor parte del tiempo? Liberal - 72.9, Conservador - 14.7, Other - 0.9, DK - 10.5, NA - 0.9.
20. Si sus amigos votaron por qué partido cree Ud. que votarían? Liberal - 57.8, Conservador - 17.4, Other - 0.5, DK - 22.5, NA - 1.8.
21. i Por qué partido cree Ud. que votarián sus padres? (Padre) Liberal - 72.0, Conservador - 11.5, Other - 0.5, DK - 11.9, NA - 4.1.
21. ii Por qué partido cree Ud. que votarián sus padres? (Madre) Liberal - 69.3, Conservador - 13.3, Other - 0.9, DK - 12.8, NA - 3.7.
22. A que persona famosa le gustaría a Ud. parecerse? Nicaraguan political figure - 13.3, Foreign political figure - 3.7, Entertainer - 22.5, Men of letters - 16.5, National patriot - 7.8, Teacher - 6.4, Other - 6.0, DK - 3.2, NA - 20.6.
23. a. Ha oído usted hablar de los Estados Unidos? Yes - 88.9, No - 5.0, NA - 5.9.
23. b. Cómo cree usted que son los Estados Unidos? Political - 16.8, Spatial - 2.3, Scenic - 12.3, Size - 5.5, Economic - 14.6, Internal - 3.2, Dynamic - 21.1, DK - 5.5, NA - 18.7.
24. a. Ha oído usted hablar de la Alcaldía Municipal? Yes - 77.9, No - 9.1, NA - 12.8.
24. b. Qué cree Ud. que es? Accurate - 53.2, Inaccurate - 0.9, DK - 5.5, NA - 40.3.

25. Cree Ud. que la Alcaldía trabaja bien para la ciudad de León? Bien - 58.7, Regular - 19.3, Mal - 11.5, DK - 8.3, NA - 2.3.

26. Actualmente cuál es el problema más importante en el mundo? Answer - 74.7, DK - 5.5, NA - 19.7.

26. a. Cree Ud. que el Partido Liberal estaría de acuerdo con Ud. en este problema? Answer - 44.0, DK - 35.7, NA - 20.1.

26. b. Cree Ud. que el Partido Conservador estaría de acuerdo con Ud. en este problema? Answer - 45.8, DK - 36.6, NA - 17.4.

27. Cree Ud. que a los que mandan les importe mucho lo que la gente piensa? Mucho - 22.9, Poco - 22.9, Nada - 21.6, DK - 26.1, NA - 6.4.

28. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Liberal? Accurate - 93.5, Inaccurate - 0.4, DK - 1.3, NA - 4.5.

29. Cuál es la persona más importante del Partido Conservador? Accurate - 89.4, Inaccurate - 1.8, DK - 1.8, NA - 6.8.

30. Sabe Ud. el nombre de algún otro político importante? Accurate - 60.5, Inaccurate - 1.3, DK - 12.3, NA - 25.6.

31. i Cuál es la diferencia entre los dos partidos? Answer - 72.0, DK - 7.7, NA - 20.1.

31. ii Cuál es la diferencia entre los dos partidos? (Types of difference) No difference - 0.4, Just different - 46.7, Different size - 2.2, Different ideas - 7.7, Specific difference - 6.4, Different offices - 2.2, Different colors - 0, DK - 8.2, NA - 39.0.

32. Cómo cree Ud. que son las leyes que hace el Congreso Nacional? Buenas - 46.3, Regulares - 18.3, Malas - 2.9, DK - 25.1, NA - 7.3.

33. Si Ud. pudiera cambiar el mundo en la forma que le gustara, cuáles cambios haría? Stop war - 22.0, End poverty - 9.2, Freedom - 1.8, Stop racial strife - 0.9, Other - 14.7, National - 15.1, Local - 3.2, DK - 6.4, NA - 26.6.

APPENDIX D
POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE

CANADA

POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE

Political Leaders and their Functions

1. (4a.) Have you heard of the Prime Minister of Canada?
2. (4b.) What is his name?
3. (5.) What is the main job of the Prime Minister of Canada?
4. (13a.) Have you heard of Robert Lorne Stanfield?
5. (13b.) What does he do?
6. (15.) Who is the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario?
7. (16.) What kinds of things does the Prime Minister do?
8. (21.) Name one member of the House of Commons.
9. (22.) Who is the mayor of Fort William, Ontario?
10. (23.) What kinds of things does the mayor do?
11. (34a.) Have you heard of Lester Pearson?
12. (34b.) What does he do?

Political Institutions

13. (3a.) Have you heard of the Parliament of Canada?
14. (3b.) What does it do?
15. (36a.) Have you heard of the Parliament of the Province of Ontario?
16. (36b.) What does it do?
17. (41a.) Have you heard of the Canadian Cabinet?
18. (41b.) What does it do?

Political Parties

19. (37a.) What is the most important political problem in the world today?
20. (37b.) Would members of the Liberal Party agree with you on this problem?
21. (37c.) Would members of the Nationale Union Party agree with you on this problem?
22. (37d.) Would members of the New Democratic Party agree with you on this problem?
23. (37e.) Would members of the Progressive Conservative Party agree with you on this problem?
24. (37f.) Would members of the Social Credit Party agree with you on this problem?
25. (39a.) Who do you think is the most famous member of the Liberal Party?
26. (39b.) Who do you think is the most famous member of the Nationale Union Party?
27. (39c.) Who do you think is the most famous member of the New Democratic Party?
28. (39d.) Who do you think is the most famous member of the Progressive Conservative Party?
29. (39e.) Who do you think is the most famous member of the Social Credit Party?
30. (40.) What do you think is the difference between the political parties?

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TREATMENT GROUP
AND SUMMARY TABLES

TABLE 104
ACADEMIC APTITUDE: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Medium	Low
Sample Size	63	104	61
Mean	56.3	44.5	38.0
Standard Deviation	19.9	19.2	17.4

TABLE 105
ACADEMIC APTITUDE: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	10,921.077	2	5,460.538	15.1822	.001
Within Groups	80,925.346	225	359.668		
Total	91,846.423	227			

TABLE 106
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Low
Sample Size	78	150
Mean	54.7	41.5
Standard Deviation	19.3	19.1

TABLE 107

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	8,957.570	1	8,957.570	24.4232	.001
Within Groups	82,888.856	226	366.765		
Total	91,846.426	227			

TABLE 108

SEX: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	Male	Female
Sample Size	129	99
Mean	47.7	43.8
Standard Deviation	20.3	19.7

TABLE 109

SEX: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	876.391	1	876.391	2.1772	NS
Within Groups	90,970.023	226	402.522		
Total	91,846.413	227			

TABLE 110
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group (Eight Schools)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sample Size	24	29	29	31	27	31	26	31
Mean	47.6	53.9	54.5	42.4	37.8	33.9	46.9	51.2
Standard Deviation	20.1	17.7	19.2	19.6	16.8	20.4	19.5	18.8

TABLE 111
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	11,615.253	7	1,659.322	4.5662	.001
Within Groups	79,946.312	220	363.392		
Total	91,561.565	227			

UNITED STATES
POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE

Political Leaders and their Functions

1. (4a.) Have you heard of the President of the United States?
2. (4b.) What is his name?
3. (5.) What is the main job of the President of the United States?
4. (13a.) Have you heard of Richard Nixon?
5. (13b.) What does he do?
6. (15.) Who is the Governor of Kansas?
7. (16.) What kinds of things does the Governor do?
8. (21.) Name one of the United States Senators from the State of Kansas?
9. (22.) Who is the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas?
10. (23.) What kinds of things does the mayor do?
11. (34a.) Have you heard of Eugene McCarthy?
12. (34b.) What does he do?

Political Institutions

13. (3a.) Have you heard of the Congress of the United States?
14. (3b.) What does it do?
15. (36a.) Have you heard of the Kansas State Legislature?
16. (36b.) What does it do?

Political Parties

17. (37a.) What is the most important political problem in the world today?
18. (37b.) Would members of the Democratic Party agree with you on this problem?
19. (37c.) Would members of the Republican Party agree with you on this problem.
20. (39a.) Who do you think is the most famous Democrat?
21. (39b.) Who do you think is the most famous Republican?
22. (40.) What do you think is the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties?

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TREATMENT GROUP
AND SUMMARY TABLES

TABLE 112
ACADEMIC APTITUDE: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Medium	Low
Sample Size	63	94	52
Mean	70.9	58.1	43.3
Standard Deviation	15.9	17.1	17.9

TABLE 113
ACADEMIC APTITUDE: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	21,674.544	2	10,837.272	37.6220	.001
Within Groups	59,339.727	206	288.057		
Total	81,014.271	208			

TABLE 114
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Low
Sample Size	90	119
Mean	73.1	47.0
Standard Deviation	13.7	15.8

TABLE 115
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	34,935.697	1	34,935.697	156.9426	.001
Within Groups	46,078.567	207	222.602		
Total	81,014.264	208			

TABLE 116
SEX: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	Male	Female
Sample Size	94	115
Mean	62.0	55.2
Standard Deviation	19.9	19.1

TABLE 117
SEX: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	2,374.269	1	2,374.269	6.2497	.05
Within Groups	78,640.000	207	379.903		
Total	81,014.269	208			

TABLE 118

SCHOOL PEER GROUP: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group (Nine Schools)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sample Size	12	24	20	33	27	21	26	26	20
Mean	66.3	71.6	47.5	75.2	47.8	60.4	51.2	55.8	45.0
Standard Deviation	16.2	13.2	17.5	12.5	18.6	21.1	19.0	14.7	17.6

TABLE 119

SCHOOL PEER GROUP: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	25,031.529	8	3,128.941	11.1782	.001
Within Groups	55,982.754	200	279.914		
Total	81,014.283	208			

COSTA RICA

POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE

Political Leaders and their Functions

1. (4a.) Have you heard of the President of the Republic of Costa Rica?
2. (4b.) What is his name?
3. (5.) What is the main job of the President of the Republic of Costa Rica?
4. (6.) Do you know the name of the Presidential candidate who lost in the 1966 elections?
5. (7.) Do you know what this person is doing now in Costa Rica?
6. (8.) Do you know the name of the Governor of the Province of Cartago?
7. (9.) What kinds of things does he do?
8. (14.) Give the name of a Deputy from the city of Cartago.

Political Institutions

9. (3a.) Have you heard of the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica?
10. (3b.) What is the function of the Assembly?
11. (24a.) Have you heard of the Municipality?
12. (24b.) What do you think the Municipality is?
13. (26.) Actually, what is the most important political problem in the world?
14. (26a.) Do you think that the Partido Unión Nacional (PUN) would agree with you on this problem?
15. (26b.) Do you think that the Partido Liberación Nacional (PUN) would agree with you on this problem?

16. (26c.) Do you think that the Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN) would agree with you on this problem?
17. (28.) Who is the most important person of the Partido Republicano Nacional (PRN)?
18. (29.) Who is the most important person of the Partido Unión Nacional (PLN)?
19. (30.) Who is the most important person of the Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN)?
20. (31.) Do you know the name of another important politician?
21. (32.) What is the difference between the three parties named in questions 28 through 30?

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TREATMENT GROUP
AND SUMMARY TABLES

TABLE 120

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Medium	Low
Sample Size	82	103	38
Mean	66.7	61.4	54.0
Standard Deviation	15.9	16.2	15.4

TABLE 121

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	4,247.550	2	2,123.775	8.3275	.001
Within Groups	56,106.715	220	225.031		
Total	60,354.265	222			

TABLE 122

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Low
Sample Size	112	111
Mean	71.0	53.1
Standard Deviation	15.1	12.6

TABLE 123
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	17,763.735	1	17,763.735	92.1751	.001
Within Groups	42,590.527	221	192.717		
Total	60,354.262	222			

TABLE 124
SEX: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	Male	Female
Sample Size	131	92
Mean	65.8	56.8
Standard Deviation	16.8	14.6

TABLE 125
SEX: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	4,305.166	1	4,305.166	16.9751	.001
Within Groups	56,049.093	221	253.616		
Total	60,354.259	222			

TABLE 126
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group (Four Schools)	1	2	3	4
Sample Size	34	58	97	34
Mean	64.0	55.1	66.4	59.8
Standard Deviation	12.1	14.2	18.2	15.0

TABLE 127
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	4,922.491	3	1,640.830	7/4826	.001
Within Groups	55,431.774	219	253.113		
Total	60,354.265	222			

NICARAGUA

POLITICAL PERCEPTION SCALE

Political Leaders and their Functions

1. (4a.) Have you heard of the President of the Republic of Nicaragua?
2. (4b.) What is his name?
3. (5.) What is the main job of the President of Nicaragua?
4. (6.) Do you know the name of the candidate for President who lost in the 1967 elections?
5. (7.) Do you know what this man does in the Government now?
6. (8.) Do you know the name of the Political Chief of the Department of León?
7. (9.) What kinds of things does he do?
8. (14.) Give the name of a Deputy or Senator from the city of León.

Political Institutions

9. (3a.) Have you heard of the National Congress of Nicaragua?
10. (3b.) What is its function?
11. (24a.) Have you heard of the Municipal Council?
12. (24b.) What is its function?

Political Parties

13. (26.) Actually, what is the most important problem in the world?
14. (26a.) Do you think that the Partido Liberal would agree with you on this problem?

15. (26b.) Do you think that the Partido Conservador would agree with you on this problem?
16. (28.) Who is the most important person of the Partido Liberal?
17. (29.) Who is the most important person of the Partido Liberal?
18. (30.) Do you know the name of another important politician?
19. (31.) What is the difference between the two parties?

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TREATMENT GROUP
AND SUMMARY TABLES

TABLE 128

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Medium	Low
Sample Size	64	96	58
Mean	67.4	60.9	64.0
Standard Deviation	25.3	23.7	21.6

TABLE 129

ACADEMIC APTITUDE: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	1,671.881	2	835.940	1.4974	NS
Within Groups	120,023.787	215	558.50		
Total	121,695.668	217			

TABLE 130

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	High	Low
Sample Size	96	122
Mean	71.5	57.4
Standard Deviation	26.5	19.2

TABLE 131
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	10,636.691	1	10,636.691	20.6874	.001
Within Groups	111,058.972	216	514.162		
Total	121,695.663	217			

TABLE 132
SEX: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group	Male	Female
Sample Size	90	128
Mean	63.9	63.4
Standard Deviation	26.0	22.0

TABLE 133
SEX: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	9.037	1	9.037	0.0160	NS
Within Groups	121,686.614	216	563.364		
Total	121,695.651	217			

TABLE 134
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: TREATMENT TABLE

Treatment Group (Five Schools)	1	2	3	4	5
Sample Size	52	40	32	43	51
Mean	72.8	58.4	59.7	67.6	57.5
Standard Deviation	19.5	17.3	14.7	33.9	23.2

TABLE 135
SCHOOL PEER GROUP: SUMMARY TABLE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Score	P
Between Groups	8,518.807	4	2,129.702	4.0081	.01
Within Groups	113,176.862	213	531.347		
Total	121,695.669	217			

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adcock, C. J. Factorial Analysis. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1954.
- Alford, Robert R. Party and Society. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1963.
- Allee, W. C. Animal Aggregations. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.
- Almond, Gabriel A., "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in The Politics of the Developing Areas. Edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Powell, G. Bingham Jr. Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Verba, Sidney. The Civic Culture. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Berelson, Bernard B.; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; and McPhee, William N. Voting. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Blalock, Hubert M. Social Statistics. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960.
- Busey, James L. Notes on Costa Rican Democracy. University of Colorado Studies, Series in Political Science, No. 2. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1962.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, Phillip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. Elections and the Political Order. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.
- Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960.

- Campbell, Angus; Curin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren. The Voter Decides. Evanston Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1954.
- Child, Irvin L. "Socialization," in Handbook of Social Psychology. Edited by Gardiner Lindzey. Vol. II. Boston: Addison - Wesley, 1954.
- Coleman, James S. The Adolescent Society. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961.
- Coleman, James S. "Introduction to Part IV," in Education and Political Development. Edited by James S. Coleman. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Dawson, Richard E. "Political Socialization," in Political Science Annual. Edited by James A. Robinson. Vol. I. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966.
- Dawson, Richard E. and Prewitt, Kenneth. Political Socialization. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969.
- Duverger, Maurice. The Political Role of Women. Paris: UNESCO, 1955.
- Easton, David. A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
- Easton, David. A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack. Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969.
- Easton, David, and Hess, Robert D. "Youth and the Political System," in Culture and Social Character. Edited by Semour M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthal. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Einstein, Albert. Relativity: The Special and General Theory. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1961.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. From Generation to Generation. New York: The Free Press, 1956.
- Engleman, Frederick J., and Schwartz, Mildred A. Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1967.

- Fil, Salomé [José Milla y Vidaurre]. Historia de la America Central. Vol. I. Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografía Nacional, 1937.
- Fil, Salomé [José Milla y Vidaurre]. Historia de la America Central. Vol. II. Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografía Nacional, 1937.
- Fisher, Ronald A., and Yates, Frank. Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research. 5th ed. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957.
- Flavell, John H. The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963.
- Goldrich, Daniel. Sons of the Establishment. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966.
- Goode's World Atlas. 12th ed. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968.
- Greenstein, Fred I. Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "Socialization: Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. XIV. New York: Crowell Collier and Macmillan, Inc., 1968.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "Young Men and the Death of a President," in Children and the Death of a President. Edited by Martha Wolfenstein and Gilbert Kliman. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.
- Guardia, Ricardo Fernández. History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica. Translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1913.
- Guilford, J. P. Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965.
- Guilford, J. P. Psychometric Methods. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954.
- Harman, Harry H. Modern Factor Analysis. 2nd ed. Rev. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

- Havinghurst, Robert J., and Neugarten, Bernice L. Society and Education. 2nd. ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962.
- Herring, Hubert. A History of Latin America. 3rd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.
- Hess, Robert D., And Torney, Judith V. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.
- Hyman, Herbert. Political Socialization. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.
- Key, V. O. Jr. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961.
- Kerlinger, Fred N. Foundations of Behavioral Research. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life. Free Press Paperback. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Lasswell, Harold D. Psychopathology and Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Berelson, Bernard; and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice. 3rd. ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- LeVine, Robert A. "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," Old Societies and New States. Edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Marshall, T. H. Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964.
- Matá-Gavida, José. Anotaciones de Historia Patria Centroamericana. Guatemala: Cultural Centroamericana, S.A., 1953.
- Matthews, Donald R. The Social Background of Political Decision Makers. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954.
- Mead, George H. Mind, Self and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

- Mead, George H. The Philosophy of the Act. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.
- Mead, George H. The Philosophy of the Present. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
- Merriam, Charles E. The Making of Citizens. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.
- Montúfar y Rivera Maestre, Lorenzo. Reseña Histórica de Centro America. Tomo Cuarto. Guatemala: El Progreso, 1881.
- Mitchell, William C. The American Polity. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Parker, Franklin D. The Central American Republics. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Parsons, Talcott. The Social System. Free Press Paperback. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Peterson, Robert L. "Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua," Political Forces in Latin America. Edited by Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968.
- Peatman, John G. Introduction to Applied Statistics. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963.
- Pye, Lucian W. Politics, Personality, and Nation Building. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Roberts, C. Paul and Kohda, Takako eds. Statistical Abstract of Latin America 1966. 10th ed. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California Los Angeles, 1967.
- Roig, Charles, and Billon - Grand, F. La Socialisation Politique des Enfants. Paris: Armand Colin, 1968.
- Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Otto Kerner, Chairman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968.
- Siegel, Sidney. Nonparametric Statistics: For the Behavioral Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956.

- Sigel, Roberta S. "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President," Children and the Death of a President. Edited by Martha Wolfenstein and Gilbert Kliman. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.
- Sorauf, Frank J. Party Politics in America. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954.
- Tomasek, Robert D. "Costa Rica," in Political Forces in Latin America. Edited by Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968.
- Trejos, José Francisco. Origen y Desarrollo de la Democracia en Costa Rica. San José: Editorial Trejos Hermanos, 1939.
- University of California Publications in Automatic Computation: No. 2. BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs. Edited by W. J. Dixon. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
- Editada por el Comité Organizador del IV Centenario de Cartago. Jorge Didier Picado H., Director. Cartago: Revista Conmemorativa. Cartago: Los Talleres Tipográficos del "Covao", 1964.
- Weatherburn, C. E., Mathematical Statistics. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- West, Robert C., and Augelli, John G. Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Journals and Periodicals

- Anderson, Charles W. "Politics and Development Policy in Central America." Midwest Journal of Political Science, V (November, 1961), 332-50.
- Bender, Gerald J. "Political Socialization and Political Change." Western Political Quarterly, XX (June, 1967) 390-407.
- Busey, James L. "Foundations of Political Contrast: Costa Rica and Nicaragua." Western Political Quarterly, XI (September, 1958) 627-59.

- Campbell, Angus, and Valen, Henry. "Party Identification in Norway and the United States." Public Opinion Quarterly (XXV (Winter, 1961), 505-25.
- Cochran, W. G. "Some Methods for Strengthening the Common Chi-square Tests." Biometrics, X (December, 1954) 417-51.
- Converse, Phillip E., and Dupeux, Georges. "Politization of the Electorate in France and the United States." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1962), 1-26.
- Davies, James C. "The Family's Role in Political Socialization." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 10-19.
- Dennis, Jack. "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research." Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (February, 1968), 89-114.
- Easton, David. "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems." World Politics, IX (April, 1957), 383-400.
- Easton, David. "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization." Canadian Journal of Political Science, I (June, 1968), 125-46.
- Easton, David, and Dennis, Jac. "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy." American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), 25-38.
- Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack. "The Child's Image of Government." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 40-57.
- Easton, David, and Hess, Robert D. "The Child's Political World." Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (August, 1962), 229-46.
- Eulau, Heinz. "Socialization of American State Legislators." Midwest Journal of Political Science, III (May, 1959), 188-206.
- Frey, Frederick W. "Socialization to National Identification among Turkish Peasants." Journal of Politics, XXX (November, 1968), 934-65.
- Froman, Lewis A., Jr. "Leaving Political Attitudes." Western Political Quarterly, XV (June, 1962), 304-13.

- Froman, Lewis A., Jr. "Learning Political Attitudes." Western Political Quarterly, XV (June, 1962), 304-13.
- Froman, Lewis A., Jr. "Personality and Political Socialization." Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 341-71.
- Goldberg, Arthur S. "Social Determinism and Rationality as Bases of Party Identification." American Political Science Review, LIII (March, 1969), 5-25.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "More on Children's Images of the President." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 648-54.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "Sex-related Political Differences in Childhood." Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), 353-71.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority." American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), 934-44.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "The Best-Known American." Transaction, IV (November, 1966), 12-23.
- Hess, Robert D. "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons." International Social Science Journal, XV (No. 4, 1963), 542-59.
- Hess, Robert D., and Easton, David. "The Child's Changing Image of the President." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), 632-44.
- Jahoda, Gustav. "The Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality: Part I: The Conceptual Framework." British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (February, 1963), 47-60.
- Jahoda, Gustav. "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality: Part II: National Symbols and Themes." British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (June, 1963), 143-53.
- Jaros, Dean. "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations." Journal of Politics, XXIX (May, 1967), 368-87.

- Jaros, Dean; Hirsch, Herbert; and Fleron, Frederick J., Jr. "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture." American Political Science Review, LXII (June, 1968), 564-75.
- Jennings, M. Kent. "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government." Midwest Journal of Political Science. XI (August, 1967), 291-317.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Niemi, Richard G. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), 169-84.
- Karlsson, Georg. "Party Differentiating Political Opinions in Male Swedish Youth." Acta Sociologica, IV (Fasc. 1, 1959), 8-24.
- Karlsson, Georg. "Political Attitudes Among Male Swedish Youth." Acta Sociologica, III (Fasc. 4, 1958), 220-41.
- Karlsson, Georg. "Voting Participation Among Male Swedish Youth." Acta Sociologica, III (Fasc. 2-3, 1958), 98-111.
- Kimball, A. W. "Short-cut Formulas for the Exact Partition of Chi-square in Contingency Tables." Biometrics, X (December, 1954), 452-58.
- Koff, David, and Von Der Muhl, George. "Political Socialisation in Kenya and Tanzania--A Comparative Analysis." Journal of Modern African Studies, V (May, 1967), 13-51.
- Lane, Robert E. "Fathers and Sons: Foundations of Political Belief." American Sociological Review, XXIV (August, 1959), 502-11.
- Langton, Kenneth P. "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process." American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 751-58.
- Langton, Kenneth P. "Political Partisanship and Political Socialization in Jamaica." British Journal of Sociology, XVII (December, 1966), 419-29.

- Langton, Kenneth P., and Jennings, M. Kent. "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States." American Political Science Review, LXII (September, 1968), 852,67.
- Levin, Martin. "Social Climates and Political Socialization." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII (Winter, 1961), 596-606.
- LeVine, Robert A. "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies." Human Organization, XIX (Summer, 1960), 51-58.
- LeVine, Robert A. "The Role of the Family in Authority Systems: A Cross-cultural Application of the Stimulus--Generalization Theory." Behavioral Science, V (October, 1960), 291-96.
- Litt, Edgar. "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination." American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 69-75.
- Litt, Edgar. "Education and Political Enlightenment in America." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 32-39.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E.; Matthews, Richard E.; and Morton, Anton S. "Youth and Political Change." Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Spring, 1954), 23-29.
- Marvick, Dwaine. "The Political Socialization of the American Negro." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 112-27.
- McCloskey, Herbert, and Dahlgren, Harold E. "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty." American Political Science Review, LIII (September, 1959), 757-66.
- Orren, Karen, and Peterson, Paul. "Presidential Assassination: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Political Socialization." Journal of Politics, XXIX (May, 1967), 388-404.
- Pinner, Frank A. "Parental Overprotection and Political Distrust." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 58-70.
- Prewitt, Kenneth. "Political Socialization and Leadership Selection." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 96-111.

- Prewitt, Kenneth; Eulay, Heinz; and Zisk, Betty H. "Political Socialization and Political Roles." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Winter, 1966-67), 569-82.
- Pye, Lucian W. "Political Modernization and Research on the Process of Political Socialization." Social Science Research Council Items, XIII (September, 1959), 25-28.
- Reading, Reid. "Political Socialization in Columbia and the United States: An Exploratory Study." Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (August, 1968), 352-81.
- Sewell, William H. "Some Recent Developments in Socialization Theory and Research." The Annals, CCCXLIX (September, 1963), 163-81.
- Sigel, Roberta S. "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of Children." American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), 216-26.
- Sigel, Roberta. "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 1-19.
- Singham, A. W. "The Political Socialization of Marginal Groups." International Journal of Comparative Sociology, VII (September, 1967), 182-98.
- Steintrager, James. "Political Socialization and Political Theory." Social Research, XXXV (Spring, 1968), 111-29.
- White, Elliott S. "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children." Journal of Politics, XXX (August, 1968), 710-31.
- Zibblatt, David. "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization." The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 20-31.

Government Publications

- Hess, Robert D., and Torney, Judith V. The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary Years: Part I. Cooperative Research Project No. 1078, U.S. Office of Education, 1965.

Kansas State Board of Agriculture. Population of Kansas, January 1, 1968: As Reported by County Assessors.

Minister of Trade and Commerce, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Yearbook Division. Canada Yearbook 1968. Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1968.

Ministerio de Educacion Publica, Departamento de Estadistica. "Matricula Inicial, Media, Final de las Escuelas Centrales de la Provincia de Cartago 6 Grados." San José, Costa Rica: Ministerio de Educacion Publica, 1968.

Ministerio de Industria y Comercio, Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos. Población Total de la República de Costa Rica por Provincias, Cantones y Distritos: Calculo Al 1 de Enero de 1967. San José, Costa Rica: Seccion de Publicaciones, 1967.

Republica de Costa Rica. Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Costa Rica.

Unpublished Materials

Easton, David. "Problems in the Study of Political Socialization." Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and the University of Chicago, 1957. (Unpublished manuscript.)

Greenstein, Fred I. "Children's Political Perspectives: A Study of the Development of Political Awareness and Preferences among Preadolescents." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1959.

Jaros, Dean. "Explorations into Children's Orientations Toward Political Authority." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1966.

Kolka, James W. "Parental Influence on Party Identification in the 1964 Presidential Election." Seminar Paper prepared for Professor John G. Grumm, University of Kansas, 1966. (Typewritten.)

Kolka, James W. "Political Socialization: A Pilot Study." Seminar Paper prepared for Professor Herman D. Lujan, University of Kansas, 1967. (Typewritten.)

Langton, Kenneth P. "The Political Socialization Process: The Case of Secondary School Students in Jamaica." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1965.

Niemi, Richard G. "A Methodological Study of Political Socialization in the Family." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967.

White, Elliott S. "Intelligence and Political Behavior: A Case Study of Political Socialization." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1966.

Interviews

Arguedas A., Luis Alfonson. Asesor General de Segunda Enseñanza, Ministerio de Educación Pública, San José, Costa Rica. Personal Interview in San José, Costa Rica. August, 1967 and July, 1968.

Barreto, Eva Castellón. Profesora, La Inspección Departamental de Educación Pública de León. Personal Interview in León, Nicaragua. June, 1968.

Clarke Binns, Milton. Profesor, Universidad de Costa Rica. Personal Interview in San Pedro, Costa Rica. July, 1967 and August, 1968.

Fiallos, Mariano. Decano, Facultad de Ciencias y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua. Personal Interview in León, Nicaragua. June, 1968.

Lees, J. O. Superintendent of Public Schools, Fort William, Ontario. Personal Interview in Fort William, Ontario. May, 1968.

Ramsey, Robert. Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Lawrence Unified School District No. 497, Lawrence, Kansas. Personal Interview in Lawrence, Kansas. March, 1968.