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POLITICAL LEARNING AND GENDER TYPING AMONG THE SPANISH-
SPEAKING

The University of Oklahoma

PH.D.

1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

POLITICAL LEARNING AND GENDER TYPING
AMONG THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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BY
VICKY HOWELL-MARTINEZ

Norman, Oklahoma

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POLITICAL LEARNING AND GENDER TYPING
AMONG THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

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POLITICAL LEARNING AND GENDER TYPING

AMONG THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Prompted by the incongruity between the increasing rate of voting by women and their continued low representation in public office the present study investigates the association between gender role and political learning. Few people choose to run for public office; the fact that only a small percentage of the population chooses to engage in this type of participatory behavior does not explain why there is such a large discrepancy between the number of men and the number of women who vie for office. It is suggested that concepts of gender role constitute an important factor in one's cognitive structure and that all learning, including political learning, is affected by the gender factor. Political learning is considered by the author to result from a latent indirect process in which general concepts are developed through interaction with the environment. Political learning according to this conception is primarily non-deliberate. The empirical portion of the dissertation examines the influence of gender role in the political

socialization process. It is argued by the author that a gender factor exists in the political socialization process discouraging female political participation beyond traditional duties such as volunteer campaign work and voting. To investigate the gender factor in the political socialization process an experiment involving the manipulation of gender role norms was conducted with a small sample of Mexican-American children in El Paso, Texas.

Women number over one-half of the population of the United States but hold only 10 percent of the public offices; they have little direct influence over the distribution of resources or "allocation of values." The powerful or dominant are distinguished from the powerless by their control over the distribution of resources via the policy-making process. A weak position in the policy-making process indicates a subordinate position in the social structure. Status and power, rather than numerical size, form the major distinction between groups affecting the distribution of resources in the society and groups without influence who are affected by the policy process. Although speaking in terms of ethnic minorities, the argument by Himes (1974) that the dominant group established its physical and cultural characteristics as the standard guiding admission of new individuals into the controlling group can be applied to the exclusion of women from the policy process. According to Himes (1974:2), "those who differed in one or both respects were held in low esteem and excluded from acceptance into the dominant group." Women share with ethnic minorities a common exclusion from positions of direct influence in the institutions of society. Women have not been "bureaucratically integrated" (Himes, 1974:32); they have not been

admitted into the major bureaucratic institutions or learned the required norms for bureaucratic roles.

Women have been turning out in increasing numbers at the polls. In 1976 the percentage of women voting actually exceeded that of men voting below the age of forty-five (Bureau of Census, 1978b). The increase in the female turnout at a time when the overall turnout is declining has not led to a proportionate increase in the representation of women and their concerns in the policy-making process. The lack of a direct linkage between voting turnout and representation in a democracy suggests that the relationship between the individual and the system deserves continued investigation. In The Citizen and Politics Sidney Verba and Lucian Pye (1978) argue that citizen participation in a complex society takes place in a variety of ways. They also state that as participation moves outside the realm of electoral participation it becomes "highly unequal" due to the relationship of participation to the unequal distribution of resources in the society. Unless one accepts the elitist argument that a natural ruling class exists, one must inquire as to how inequalities in participation are perpetuated.

Explanations for the low representation of women in public office emphasize the obstacles in the path of female political participation. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1974) identified alternative explanations under the categories of physiological constraints, cultural constraints, role constraints, and "male conspiracy." Using slightly different terminology, Susan Welch (1978) suggests that sex role constitutes an important explanation for the exclusion of women from public office. Separating the sex role explanation into situational and structural components, Welch argues that females are essentially socialized into occupations,

primarily home-making, which are time and energy-consuming and away from "male" occupations such as business, law, medicine, which are most conducive to the development of political skills and form the "eligible pool" from which are drawn the policy-makers (Welch, 1978: 373). The sex-role explanation as described by Welch includes elements discussed by Kirkpatrick under the categories of role constraints and cultural constraints. The essence of Welch's argument is that political participation emerges from one's social role and that some roles are more conducive to political participation than others. Role theory involves not only one's own perception of one's relationship to others but also the perceptions of others. The use of role theory allows us to examine the double-edged nature of the socialization process whereby both males and females assign females a secondary position in society.

We will look at role theory and girls' cultural socialization since it is assumed by the author that political learning arises from a general learning process involving interaction between the socializee and the environment. The content of socialization reflects the environment in which it occurs. Political socialization reflects both the society in which it occurs and the political system through which the allocation of resources for the society is made. Nevertheless, not all individuals react to the environment in the same way. In order to allow for diversity as well as similarity, cognitive development theory is used as a framework with which to evaluate the interactive nature of the learning process. The distinguishing feature of cognitive development theory is that the individual is assumed to take an active part in her/his own development. The women who run for public office

have learned the same norms as the women who stay home but they have responded to different stimuli in the environment and have interpreted the feminine role in a non-traditional way. This author has utilized cognitive development theory to explain the deviation of these individuals from the norms of their gender role, the "feminism factor" (Mezey, 1978). A basic contention of this dissertation is that one's conceptualization of one's gender role affects the assimilation of information.

Gender role norms are an important part of the culture. In our society certain characteristics are considered to be more suitable for males. Males and females begin to acquire the appropriate norms very early as they undergo somewhat different experiences. In spite of the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes some individuals choose to engage in behavior defined as appropriate for the other gender. As stated previously, cognitive development theory assumes that learning proceeds on the basis of one's experiences. As experiences differ, so will one's cognitions and behavior differ. In turn, one's ability to experience, that is to respond to stimuli, depends on one's previous experiences as incorporated into one's cognitive structure.

One's cognitive structure undergoes stages of development characterized by increasingly complex patterns of thought. The cognitive ability of young children is limited to dealing with the concrete and is characterized by the use of easily understood physical cues (Parsons, 1978b). Classification according to gender is one of the earliest formed categorizations used by children. Children exhibit gender typing during the preschool years but these gender stereotypes are not firmly

entrenched during the early school years and are more easily manipulated at that time than later in childhood. In contrast to gender role concepts, political concepts are abstract with few direct physical referents indicating that they are developed relatively late in childhood. The appearance of gender role concepts prior to political concepts enables one to suggest that gender role may be important in the process of political socialization. The experimental intervention of this study is based on the assumption that it is easier to affect concepts in the process of formation rather than to change already established concepts.

The conception of the learning process discussed above led the author to investigate the relationship between role acquisition and political learning in an experimental setting. The experiment involved the manipulation of gender role norms and the comparison of an experimental group which received the treatment and a control group which did not. The subjects were Mexican-American children residing in El Paso, Texas. El Paso is a border city with a rapidly growing population. Approximately 60 percent of the population is Mexican-American; the remainder is predominantly Anglo-American although other ethnic groups including blacks and Arab-Americans are also found. As in most urban areas, the different ethnic groups are not dispersed equally throughout the city. The Mexican-American population is located principally in south and east El Paso; the Anglo population is found in the north and the west. The black population's heaviest concentration is in the northeast in the vicinity of a military base.

El Paso is the first step in the immigration process. Many Mexicans cross the border to work in El Paso every day. After obtaining

a working permit, legally entitling one to work in the United States,¹ the next step in legal immigration is the acquisition of a residence permit. Once the residence permit is obtained, many immigrants settle in the barrio, south of the downtown area and adjacent to the border. Few of the people living in this area own their own homes, most reside in tenements or public housing. Once one crosses Paisano Street one is in a Spanish-speaking world where gringos are few and far between. Poverty is rampant. The majority of people residing in this area are the unskilled workers--the people with a low level of education and speaking mainly or only Spanish.

The next step in mobility is to move out of the barrio into the Southeast, some distance from the downtown area but south of the interstate highway and close to the border. The school in which the experiment was conducted is located in this area. The neighborhood is predominantly Mexican-American although there are blacks and a sprinkling of Anglos in this area. It is primarily a working class neighborhood of small frame houses. Spanish is the dominant but not exclusive language of the neighborhood.

The setting makes this research unusual in several respects. As a border city, El Paso provides a natural laboratory in which to study the diffusion of the dominant culture amidst the persistence of ties to the "old country" due to its proximity and the continual influx of new immigrants. By looking at students from a sub-culture and from the working class a needed empirical component is added to the

¹A common ploy of Mexicans desiring to work in the U.S. is to obtain a local passport which permits them to legally cross the border but is intended for purposes other than working.

literature. It has been assumed that gender typing is more common in the lower classes and among certain ethnic groups than among the middle and upper classes and the dominant culture in spite of the lack of research in this area (Mussen, 1969; Rubel, 1966; Tharp, 1968; Kramer, 1970).

The present study is presented in the following fashion. The political socialization literature is reviewed in chapter two. The picture of the socialization process presented in the initial socialization studies has been criticized on the grounds that it is static and does not allow for variation between or within groups or time periods. Studies supporting a more differential view of political socialization are reviewed under the categories of subculture, media, and gender. On the basis of the literature review hypotheses proposing a differential view of the socialization process and explicitly focusing on gender differences are offered.

In chapter three two key concepts in the study of political socialization, learning and efficacy, are discussed prior to suggesting that a wide range of variables can be incorporated through the conjunction of role theory and cognitive development theory. Included in the discussion of learning is a comparison of the social learning approach and the cognitive development approach to political socialization. Role theory is specifically applied to gender and the pervasiveness of gender typing in the American culture discussed.

The present research problem concerns the relationship between gender role and political learning. The subjects, however, come from a sub-culture; therefore, chapter four is devoted to a consideration of

the influence of ethnicity in political socialization. The relationship between the role of Mexican-Americans in American society and their potential for influencing the political process will be the object of speculation. As is indicated in the chapter, there has been little research concerning the political attitudes and participation of Mexican-Americans despite increasing concern over the burgeoning illegal immigration of Mexicans into this country. Continuing with the idea that political behavior reflects general social behavior, a considerable portion of the discussion involves a sketchy outline of some key aspects of the Mexican and Mexican-American cultures. In particular the role of women within these cultures and the potential for their increased political participation is discussed.

Chapter five is a description of this author's methodology including the rationale involved in the selection of the experimental method over the more common survey method. One distinct advantage of the experimental method is the ability to isolate the association between two variables through the manipulation of one of them. In an exploratory project such as this one the ability to isolate a relationship may compensate for the lack of generalizability. The theoretical implications suggested by the adoption of an explicitly non-political treatment are considered. Questionnaire construction is discussed in view of the problem of tapping specific orientations at a level of comprehensibility suitable to the age of the subjects. The choice of the sample is examined in terms of the effectiveness of the experimental treatment--direct intervention in the learning process--upon various age and socioeconomic groups. The utility of analysis of variance as a technique

of data analysis is discussed in consideration of the research problem and the expectations aroused by the hypothesis.

The findings of the research are discussed in chapter six in terms of the support for the proposed hypotheses and the theoretical implications for the developmental view of political learning. Particular consideration is directed to the question of whether gender typing acts as an intervening variable in the political socialization process. Of concern is whether a change toward a more flexible conception of the female role affects any aspect of the developing relationship between the child and the system. An additional consideration is whether there is a differential effect for males and females.

Chapter seven attempts to provide an overview of the contribution of this research to the study of political socialization. The findings of the study are used to offer a more complete picture of the socialization process tying together certain aspects of cognitive development theory with the female gender role and female political participation. A plea is made for additional research in the area of gender roles and political participation particularly among sub-culture. In conclusion, the author appeals for the conscious development of non-sexist policies in the school, the media, and our own families.

The author's examination of the part played by gender in political learning begins with a review of the current state of political socialization research moving to a discussion of theoretical issues and the proposal of a conceptual framework. The conceptual framework is used to examine the relationship between social roles, political roles, and political participation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Political scientists have long been concerned with the development of political attitudes and orientation. In this chapter the major developments leading to the contemporary concern with political socialization will be reviewed. After setting the stage for the development of political socialization as the object of research interest for political scientists, the initial socialization studies of the late 1950s and early 1960s will be discussed. The findings of these initial studies have been criticized and challenged by recent students of political socialization. The challenges to the initial studies will be examined under the categories of subcultures, media, and gender. A central thesis of this dissertation is the existence of a gender factor in the political learning process. Therefore, the findings concerning gender differences in both the initial studies and the more recent ones are emphasized in preparation for the proposal of research hypotheses. Theoretical issues will be reserved for another chapter.

The Political System and the Civic Culture

It is not unrealistic to suggest that without systems theory there would be no field of political socialization. David Easton's condemnation of the theoretical status of political science in The

Political System (1953) fundamentally changed the discipline of political science. According to Easton, reliance upon such concepts as the political state and power led to a focus on a narrow range of political activity--the struggle for control of political institutions and on a small group--the elite. Easton (1953:117) argued "political life does not consist exclusively of a struggle for control." He also suggested that political entities other than formal nation-states deserved investigation. Easton pointed out that the nation-state was a recent innovation and that the formulation and executive of policy preceded the appearances of the political state.

Easton's alternative was to conceive of all activities relating to policy (defined as the decisions and actions that allocate values) as political. He suggested that politics be viewed as a system of inter-related activities leading to the allocation of values in a society. Although one of Easton's arguments for the substitution of system for state was the scarcity of political states in the world, the explosive appearance of a multitude of new states offered additional support for the necessity of a concept other than the nation-state to describe political entities. These new entities did not fit the classic definition of a nation-state since they were involved in developing a nation within the already established boundaries of a political state.

The acceptance of Easton's argument against the perception of politics as only the study of the legal institutions of a society was apparent with the publication of The Politics of Developing Areas edited by Gabriel Almond and James Coleman (1960). The change in the discipline was reflected in the drastic shift of analysis away from an

area studies approach in comparative politics toward a more truly comparative approach emphasizing similarities among political entities regardless of variation in structures and institutions.

In the introduction to The Politics of Developing Areas, Gabriel Almond presented a functional approach to the study of politics. Almond claimed that certain activities or functions were performed in all political systems although the consequences could vary in individual systems and the functions could be performed by different structures. For the purpose of analysis Almond divided Easton's inputs and outputs into seven categories of necessary functions. Political socialization constituted one of the four input categories. Almond viewed political socialization as an essential function for the continuation of the system. According to Almond (Almond and Coleman, 1960:27), the end product of political socialization "is a set of attitudes--cognitions, value standards, and feelings--toward the political system, its various roles and role incumbents." He viewed political socialization as a process of induction into the political culture; Almond, consequently, thought it was necessary to understand political socialization in order to understand the other political functions and the way in which they were performed. According to Almond, political socialization could be manifest or latent, specific or diffuse. He, however, viewed the early stages of political socialization as a latent primary process. Aware that differences in the performance of political functions existed within as well as between systems, Almond saw such differences as a result of the existence of subcultures with distinct socialization processes and as the result of socialization into different status groups and roles (Almond and Coleman, 1960:31).

The voting studies of the late 1940s and the 1950s recorded differences in political behavior and political attitudes between social classes, races, and sexes. The upper classes, whites, and men were more interested, informed, and participant than the working class, blacks, and women. These differences in adult attitudes and behavior were related to the manifest and latent socialization experiences of childhood according to Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963). In The Civic Culture Almond and Verba explicitly linked differences in behavior to differences in culture through analyzing attitudinal data from five countries. Almond and Verba were interested primarily in discovering the features which distinguished a participant or democratic culture from the cultures of other forms of political systems. Almond and Verba viewed political culture as a connection between the micro and macro levels of the political system. According to Almond and Verba (1963: 32-33), one could tie "political psychology to political system performance by locating attitudinal and behavioral propensities in the political structure of the system." Political culture was viewed as including not only attitudes toward the system and its participants but also a sense of one's self in the system. Samples of people in Great Britain, Italy, Mexico, the United States, and West Germany were asked to respond to questions concerning their perception of their own political system and their role within it.

Almond and Verba found that Americans, the British, and the Germans were more likely to view the national government as having an impact on their lives. In all countries except Mexico, the national government was perceived as having a beneficial impact upon the daily

life of its citizens (Almond and Verba, 1963:80-81). Almond and Verba (1963:95) found the Germans, the English, and the Americans to be the best informed; the Mexicans were the most poorly informed. Among the British and the Americans a sense of local and national civic competence was widely distributed (Almond and Verba, 1963:187).

Although Almond and Verba were concerned primarily with the differences between cultures, they also studied differences within each culture. They found political efficacy and political participation to be associated with education, socio-economic status, and gender in all cultures. The most efficacious and participant individuals were highly educated upper-status individuals. Men were found to be more efficacious and participant than women (Almond and Verba, 1963:204-40). Almond and Verba proposed that attitudes and behavior were related. They also suggested that one's non-political status in society may affect one's perception of politics, and, as a consequence, one's behavior through the development of a belief in one's ability to influence the environment. Almond and Verba related feelings of competence in dealing with the environment to the development of a participant or a subject orientation toward the political system. Not unexpectedly, given their selection of countries and cultures, Almond and Verba found the participant orientation to be more widespread in the United States than elsewhere.

Political Socialization: The Initial Studies

In searching for an explanation of why differences in political attitudes and behavior occurred within a single political system, investigators began to look at pre-adult learning. With only a few

exceptions, this review of political socialization literature will be confined to empirical studies. For additional analysis and discussion the texts by Richard E. Dawson et al. (1977), Dean Jaros (1973), Ted Tapper (1976), and Robert Weissberg (1974) are recommended.

The devotion of a specific field to the study of political socialization made its debut with the publication of Political Socialization by Herbert Hyman (1959). According to Hyman (1959:170), the purpose of his treatise was "to remind us of a neglected problem and to provide a systematic framework for inquiry into this problem." Hyman began by lamenting that in spite of the fact that political behavior was "patently" learned behavior there had yet to be extensive treatment of it as such. Hyman then integrated a number of studies dating from the early 1900s concerning differences in behavior among children from different social classes and different sexes. Hyman classified the studies under the categories of ego-ideals (role models), media behavior, political knowledge, and political involvement and interest.

The studies cited by Hyman found that boys were more likely to identify with historical and public figures than were girls. To Hyman such data was important since he regarded

. . . the type of ego-ideal chosen as being a model for the child's conduct and therefore as motivating him in directions congruent with the ideal. Thus already at early ages, boys are directed toward politics and here lies the seeds of adult differentiation everywhere found in studies of political participation. (Hyman, 1959:31).

Studies of leisure time and media patterns were also considered by Hyman to have established the greater politicization of boys. These studies found that in both their reading and radio consumption girls were less

likely to devote attention to political events. In other studies boys were found superior in political knowledge as early as the fifth grade. Hyman also cited studies showing ideological differences between children from different social classes beginning in grade school. In addition Hyman presented evidence for a pattern of interest in politics increasing with age. Relating these findings to the influence of various agents in the process of political socialization, Hyman (1959:69) concluded that the family was the foremost agent. Hyman also suggested, however, that the family was not the only agent and that its influence declined in relation to other agents such as the school and peers as the child grew older.

Many of the findings reported by Hyman were replicated in the initial studies explicitly devoted to political socialization. Hyman's inventory of the already existing studies concerning political learning influenced the pattern in which investigators were to look at their data. Although little attention was paid to media behavior until the 1970s, most political socialization studies have looked at role models, political knowledge, and political involvement and interest.

The first empirical research explicitly devoted to political socialization was conducted during 1957 and 1958 by Fred Greenstein in New Haven. Data was collected from approximately 700 children in the fourth through the eighth grades. Although the data came primarily from self-administered questionnaires, Greenstein also interviewed a small number of children during the progress of the research. Relying principally on open-ended questions, Greenstein attempted to discover children's feelings about political authority and the way in which information about politics developed. He also sought to discover if

differences in political participation among adults were reflected in the political development of children.

Beginning with a 1960 article and culminating with the 1965 publication of Children and Politics, Greenstein reported the findings of the New Haven study. He found that children's affect toward specific political authorities preceded their cognitive knowledge of the duties of the office. Children recognized high public figures as being important and were quite positive about such individuals as the President and the Mayor, attributing to them qualities such as concern for others, protectiveness, and helpfulness (Greenstein, 1965:31-42).

The affective component in the early political learning of the child was apparent also in the attachment of the child to a political party before developing awareness of the functions of political parties or of the differences between parties. Greenstein (1965:60-75) also found that children were aware of the executive before the legislature and the federal before the local or state governments. Drawing upon evidence from public opinion polls concerning adult political attitudes, Greenstein suggested that the earliest acquired orientations in childhood were the orientations most important in the political responses of adults. Greenstein did not believe that political learning was necessarily a direct process. He suggested that the lack of formalized instruction in politics during the early childhood years indicated that much political learning was incidental to other learning.

The voting studies had indicated that males and females differed in their political behavior and political attitudes; differences between adults from different social classes had been found also. In order to

determine if such differences existed prior to the assumption of adult roles, Greenstein examined the responses of children from low and high socio-economic groups and those of boys and girls. Greenstein (1965: 95-99) found that the differences recorded among adults were already present during the elementary years. Upper socio-economic status children were more issue-oriented and used more political terms than lower-status children. In addition differences between children from the two groups existed concerning informal aspects of politics, although there were no substantial differences in information concerning formal government institutions. Again, although children from both status groups thought that elections were important and intended to participate, upper status children were more likely to choose public figures as personal models.

Reviewing some of the same literature as Hyman, Greenstein found the same differences between boys and girls in his data. According to Greenstein, boys were "significantly better informed" than girls as early as the fourth grade. Boys were also more attuned to political stimuli in the media and more likely to choose public figures as both negative and positive models (Greenstein, 1965:116-18). Greenstein concluded that the existence of sex differences among both adults and children indicated that it was necessary to look into people's sex-role conceptions as a possible explanation. Greenstein also proposed that an awareness of politics as an area of male specialization develops during childhood. Part of the basis for this suggestion was the data indicating that children selected the father more than the mother as a source of advice in a hypothetical voting situation (Greenstein, 1965:119).

Greenstein, however, felt that a simple perception of politics as a man's field did not completely explain the persistence of sex differences in political attitudes or behavior.

In reviewing literature from other disciplines, Greenstein cited a number of areas in which sex differences have been found. Boys had been found to be more aggressive than girls, while girls were said to be more interested in people and personal relationships than were boys. Sex differences in toy preference were found to appear early with children beginning to play primarily with sex appropriate toys between the ages of three and four. Greenstein also cited studies indicating that differences in reading selection and school subject preferences appeared early. Girls were more likely to read fiction and preferred to study English and foreign languages; boys preferred reading bibliographies and history and to study science and social science (Greenstein, 1965:120-23). Greenstein concluded that since political response developed relatively late in childhood, they fell into a framework in which non-political orientations were already established. Quoting Almond, Greenstein (1965:153) asserted the importance of studying political socialization not only in order to explain differences in adult behavior but also in order to explain the performance of the political system.

Subsidized by a federal grant, a multidisciplinary investigation into the political learning of children was undertaken at the University of Chicago during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Chicago study produced a series of articles and two books reporting on the development of political orientations in children and the implications of the political socialization process for the system. The

principal investigators were Robert Hess and David Easton with Judith Torney and Jack Dennis as co-investigators. The Chicago study sampled the largest number of children to be included in a single study. More than 17,000 children from the second through the twelfth grades were surveyed during the pilot and field-testing phases. Finding less change than expected in comparing the political attitudes and knowledge of ninth grade students with those of twelfth grade student, the investigators turned to elementary school-age children. The final field testing involved 12,000 children in eight cities in the Northeast, South, Midwest, and West (Hess and Torney, 1967:13).

Before differing theoretical perspectives resulted in the termination of their collaboration, Easton and Hess published several articles corroborating Greenstein's findings. They found the President to be highly salient to children as young as the second grade. In addition, Easton and Hess (1960:636) found that children held a highly positive image of the President at an early age despite their lack of cognitive knowledge of the characteristics of the office. Children also identified with political parties, although again lacking substantial knowledge concerning the purpose of political parties or the differences between them (Easton and Hess, 1962:245).

The agreement between the data of Greenstein and that of Easton and Hess was all the more striking due to the reliance upon fixed-choice questions by Easton and Hess rather than the free-choice questions used by Greenstein. Although both Greenstein and Easton and Hess interpreted the data to indicate that developmental change occurred in children's image of the President, they disagreed on the explanation

of the change. The decline in the children's attribution of benevolence to the President and the increasing awareness of other institutions were interpreted somewhat differently. Easton and Hess argued that the child's early awareness of the President was of a person who exceeded other individuals by virtue of desirable personal attributes. Greenstein agreed that the child identified with the President as a person but argued that the great benevolence attributed to him was in reality attributed to the office and not to the individual President. He suggested, consequently, that the child's conception of the presidency was not personalistic, but realistic in the recognition of a superior authority (Greenstein, 1961:651-52).

The difference in the theoretical concerns of Hess and Easton became apparent with the publication of separate articles. Hess's article, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross-National Comparisons" (1963) illustrated concern with the psychological mechanisms involved in the process of political learning. Hess justified the study of political socialization in terms of understanding how a child learns to relate to the institutions of society. He argued that political socialization is a process of anticipatory socialization--the effect of which is not evident until later. Hess (1963:551) proposed the vulnerability hypothesis² as an explanation for the children's attribution of benevolence to the President and suggested that socialization began with need-related non-rational processes. In this article Hess seemed to adopt Greenstein's position

²The vulnerability hypothesis proposed that the child sees authority figures as benign since it is too threatening to see them otherwise because of the powerlessness or vulnerability of the child.

that attitudes toward the President are directed at the role, not the occupant. Hess indicated that the early political attitudes were altered by various learning processes at the pre-adult level.

Easton's concern was with the persistence of the system. He justified the study of political socialization solely on the basis that it contributed to understanding the persistence of the system (Easton and Dennis, 1965:31). To Easton it was crucial to understand how a society manages or fails to arouse support for the political system. Central to Easton's conception of the political system was the development of diffuse or non-contingent support among the citizenry. Easton considered the political system to consist of the political community, the regime, and the authorities. Easton and Dennis argued that if one of these objects did not gain sufficient support, the entire system was jeopardized. According to Easton and Dennis, diffuse support had its origins in positive feelings toward political persons, particularly the President. Easton and Dennis based their conclusion that children begin with a personalistic image of government on the high saliency of the President to young children and on the response of children concerning the symbolization of government. Young children were more likely to pick out pictures of Presidents as the best symbols of government; older children were more likely to choose institutions such as Congress or voting to symbolize the government (Easton and Dennis, 1965:35-38). Easton and Dennis stated that children become more knowledgeable about specific units of government and are increasingly capable of distinguishing between governmental and non-governmental figures as they mature. Since children considered the President to be

benevolent and the government to be helpful and concerned for the welfare of individuals, Easton and Dennis (1965:45) concluded that a "supportive image of government is being widely and regularly reproduced for young new members" of the society.

It was not until 1967 with the publication of an article by Easton and Dennis and a book by Hess and Torney that sex differences in the data were reported. In "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," Easton and Dennis reported no differences between the sexes in political efficacy until the eighth grade. There were, however, differences in political participation and interest in politics. Easton and Dennis (1967:37) decided that the lower rate of interest and participation among females indicated that girls "definitely foreshadow their roles as less politically oriented adults." They also suggested that something occurred between childhood and adulthood which led to female disenchantment with earlier expectations of political activity. They, nevertheless, concluded that sex role orientation only marginally influenced the development of political efficacy in childhood.

Devoting an entire chapter of The Development of Political Attitudes in Children to sex differences, Hess and Torney (1967) listed a number of areas in which the responses of boys and girls differed. Through comparing the number of "don't know" responses and finding that girls made more such responses, Hess and Torney decided that girls acquired political attitudes less rapidly than boys despite their superior academic achievement. Although they found no differences between the sexes in regard to basic attachment to the country, Hess and Torney found girls to be more likely to apply standards of personal

morality to politics and to symbolize government in terms of persons. In addition, girls were more attached to personal figures and emphasized the protective quality of these figures, while boys adopted a more impersonal viewpoint of politics. Hess and Torney also suggested that the benevolence attributed to personal figures was extended to the political system as a whole by the girls. By the sixth grade girls were more likely to feel that all laws were fair and that legal authorities were responsive to the people. Girls also felt that the most important duty of an adult citizen was to obey laws (Hess and Torney, 1967:201-08). Hess and Torney characterized these responses as immature, reflecting a dependency upon others. According to Hess and Torney (1967:210): "Older girls resemble younger children in their responses to these figures. Dependency is characteristic of young children and of girls at all ages."

Girls also differed from boys in other perceptions of politics, including its importance and the mechanics of the process. Hess and Torney reported that boys were more interested in political matters than were girls in spite of the fact that girls were more likely to view interest as part of the good citizen's role. Gender differences were also found regarding the influence of the individual on the policy process and the motivation of individuals seeking public office. Girls were more likely to rate individuals, such as the President, the policeman, and the average citizen, as having the capacity to influence policy. Girls were also more likely to ascribe concern for the public good as a motivation for seeking office, while boys were more likely to cite personal gain as a motivation. Political parties were more salient to

boys with the boys more likely to identify with a party through the sixth grade. Boys were also more tolerant of the differences between political parties despite their greater awareness of these differences. Both boys and girls agreed that voting was part of the duty of the citizen and that the citizen should vote for the best man, not the party (Hess and Torney, 1967:212-20).

Other personality characteristics of children were also perceived as accounting for differences in the responses of the children. Easton and Dennis reported the influence of intelligence and socioeconomic status on the child's political efficacy. Feelings of high political efficacy correlated with high intelligence and high socioeconomic status. Easton and Dennis (1967:36) stated that "intellectual ability and social status affect the rate and level of the child's incorporation of a belief that the individual has some force in government." Although Easton and Dennis reported the differences existing between groups on the different measures, their main concern was with the outcome for the political system. They, consequently, emphasized the supportive nature of the political socialization process characterizing it as a "reservoir of diffuse support" (Easton and Dennis, 1967:38). To Easton and Dennis, it was more important to note that children began to acquire a sense of political efficacy at a young age before they acquired much knowledge or understanding of government rather than to ponder the differences in the efficacy rates of various groups.

Hess and Torney were more concerned with the micro level of individual behavior and devoted a chapter to the effects of social class and intelligence in the learning process. Hess and Torney

(1967:147-48) are careful to note that there is an interaction between social class and intelligence (as measured on existing tests) and explain their efforts to control for one variable while examining the other. Agreeing that social class and intelligence did not affect the basic attachment to the system nor the acceptance of compliance to the law and authorities, Hess and Torney did find differences between children from the different groups. According to Hess and Torney, not only were children of high intelligence and children from upper-status groups more efficacious than the other children, they also perceived the political system differently. More intelligent children and upper-status children perceived the laws as less rigid than did children with less intelligence or children from the lower socio-economic group. Children with high intelligence also seemed to acquire political attitudes earlier than children with less intelligence exhibiting more reservations about the competence of government and its institutional structure. Nevertheless, voting was a more salient symbol of government to children of high intelligence and they were also more likely to describe a good citizen as one who votes. Hess and Torney (1967:150) viewed these responses as indicating that "bright children are more completely socialized in political attitudes and behavior by grade eight than are children of lower intelligence." Lower-status children exhibited more positive feelings toward the police and were less willing to question authority figures.

Hess and Torney also examined the effect of religious affiliation and associational group membership on political attitudes. Again, basic attachment to the country and to the government were unaffected.

Although a strong relationship between religious membership and party affiliation and candidate preference existed, Hess and Torney felt the relationship to be ideosyncratic to the 1960 election. Hess and Torney found the students who were members of associational groups were more politicized than other students but the direction of the association could not be established. Religious affiliation and group membership appeared not to affect political orientations in any other manner.

Hess and Torney detailed the developmental process of attitude acquisition to a greater extent than other reports of socialization studies. According to Hess and Torney, the affective attachment of the child preceded the development of cognitive knowledge through a conception of government in terms of persons and morality by the young child. Development took the form of an increasing awareness of institutions and an increasing distinction between the personal characteristics of the President and the abilities needed to perform the role. In addition, as the child aged, the perception of good citizenship changed from an emphasis on obedience to an emphasis on participation in such activities as voting. The young child also viewed laws as fair but rigid with violation being retribution from visible authority figures. Hess and Torney felt that this was due in part to the emphasis of the school on "unquestioning patriotism." They discussed the influence of patriotic rituals, such as the pledge of allegiance, in imparting a sense of respect for and submission to the government.

According to Hess and Torney (1967:122-24), the basic attachment of the child to the system is due to the reinforcement of feelings

of loyalty and patriotism through the rituals of the elementary school. The influence of the school in imparting the norms of citizen involvement in a democratic political system was also seen in the children's increasing tendency to view involvement as part of the good citizen's role. The minimization of conflict in the children's perception of political parties and the political process was also felt to derive from the school's emphasis on consensual democracy. As a consequence, the function of political parties was not understood completely even by the end of elementary school. The norms of democratic citizenship were reflected also in the responses of the children indicating that one should vote for the candidate and not the party despite their own identification with parties (Hess and Torney, 1967:40-96). As a result, Hess and Torney concluded that the school was very influential in the political socialization process.

The 1969 publication of Children in the Political System by Easton and Dennis brought to a close the publications based on the data from the Chicago study. In this book, Easton and Dennis completed the task of explaining the creation of diffuse support in a political system through the socialization of the young. Although still primarily concerned with systemic consequences, Easton and Dennis broaden the inquiry beyond an exclusive concern with the perpetuation of the current system. They note that political socialization may result in change as well as stability (Easton and Dennis, 1969:23). Easton and Dennis (1969:31) also suggested that the "major task of the study of socialization is to ascertain the extent to which discontinuities across subcategories of the members in a system can be discovered and

explained." In spite of this declaration, Easton and Dennis focused principally on the creation of diffuse support for the political system. Building their analysis around the question of when children first begin to express sentiments toward political objects, Easton and Dennis reported that seven or eight year-old children respond to the concept of government although they are likely to identify government with specific political authorities. The child becomes increasingly aware of the group character and the major institutions of government and is inducted into the norms of a representative popular democracy, according to Easton and Dennis.

The shift away from systemic maintenance to systemic persistence is evident in the attempt of Easton and Dennis to account for the turbulent events of the 1960s. Easton and Dennis credit the widespread expression of disaffection with the political system to a unique configuration of factors including a large population of young people and the presence of a number of divisive issues (Easton and Dennis, 1969: 291, 309). According to Easton and Dennis (1969:298-300), individual experiences modify the socialization process. Easton and Dennis are, however, concerned with individual differences only to the point that these differences affect the extent of commitment to the political system or the type of response to politics.

Easton and Dennis (1969:343) concluded that sex plays only a minor part in the child's supportive response to political authority. In addition, they concluded that socio-economic differences are relatively unimportant (Easton and Dennis, 1969:350). Despite a new concern for the role of political socialization in producing change in

the political system, Easton and Dennis continued to assume that political socialization was a relatively homogeneous process.

The next important research differed from the two previous efforts in several respects. Conducted through the University of Michigan Survey Research Center with M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi as the principal directors, it consisted of a national sample of high school seniors and their parents. The original survey took place in 1965 with a follow-up survey conducted in 1973. Jennings and Niemi justified the choice of high school seniors on the grounds that this would be the last year at home for many. It also would be the last year in which formal civic education was compulsory. In addition to looking at a different age group than the previous studies, the Jennings and Niemi study included a black subsample.³ The research design was complex; it included parents and a follow-up of both parents and students. Although the sample of parents included a greater number of mothers than of fathers, Jennings and Niemi were able to make a number of inferences about family environments. They compared the responses of students whose parents shared the same party identification (homogeneous) with those of students whose parents differed in their party identifications (heterogeneous).

In their analysis Jennings and Niemi did not report the specifics of the responses as much as they reported the degree of similarity between parents and children. Inasmuch as the transmission of party identification from parent to child is one of the more

³ A small number of Spanish-speaking subjects were included in the black subsample since Jennings and Niemi felt that their life experience was more akin to the black experience than that of whites.

reliable findings in the study of voting behavior, inter-generational similarity in party preference was the first area to be examined. Although they did not find substantial agreement between parents and students in partisanship, Jennings and Niemi uncovered some factors affecting the transmission of partisan identification. One of these factors was the incorrect perception of parental party preference by the students. Another factor was the greater independence of the students. At the time Jennings and Niemi attributed the weaker party identification of the student generation to life-cycle variations assuming that as they grew older the students would identify with parties more completely (Jennings and Niemi, 1974:40). In the 1973 follow-up, however, they found that party identification had weakened among the students rather than becoming stronger (Jennings and Niemi, 1978:348). A third factor affecting the transmission of party identification was the degree of politicization in the family. Students from the less politicized families were less likely to reflect their parents' partisanship simply because they did not know it. A large number of parents were unable to identify their children's partisan preferences. Consequently, Jennings and Niemi (1974:61) concluded that children were socialized into partisan orientations at a subconscious level. A final factor affecting the transmission of partisanship was agreement or disagreement between the parents. Students were more likely to agree with their parents if the parents agreed on party identification than if they disagreed. Unexpectedly, given the prevalent assumption of greater male politicization, Jennings and Niemi (1974:160)

discovered that the mother seemed to exert more influence than did the father whether or not the parents agreed.⁴

The effect of parental homogeneity was also seen in areas other than party preference. On specific issues where overall inter-generational similarity was low, students from a homogeneous parental environment agreed with their parents at almost the same rate as on party preference. There were inter-generational differences on the issues of school prayer, school integration, office-holding by Communists, and anti-church speeches. Students were more libertarian than their parents in regard to civil liberties and also were more inclined to endorse federal involvement in school integration (Jennings and Niemi, 1974:66-67). Despite instability in the responses of both students and parents, the 1973 study indicated that inter-generational differences still existed with the students remaining more libertarian than the parents. In fact the civil liberties question was the only instance in which responses were more stable among the students than among the parents (Jennings and Niemi, 1978:355).

Jennings and Niemi also examined the similarity between students and parents concerning factual knowledge and political orientations other than partisanship and issue position. Students and parents were approximately equal in factual knowledge with 50 percent or more of both populations unable to correctly state the length of a senator's term, the number of justices on the Supreme Court, or to name the country of which Tito was leader; however, there were differences in their knowledge (Jennings and Niemi, 1974:94). Students were more correct than the parents on questions concerning the structures

⁴Maternal dominance was also found in Langston's (1969) comparison of American and Caribbean students.

of government but less correct in identifying Roosevelt's party preference or Tito's country. Both generations showed a great deal of stability in their factual knowledge but students more clearly resembled their parents in factual information in 1973 than in 1965. They forgot the length of a senator's term and the number of Supreme Court justices but learned Roosevelt's party identification and Tito's country (Jennings and Niemi, 1978:347). Jennings and Niemi found an association between parental knowledge and student knowledge. The children of the more knowledgeable parents were themselves more knowledgeable than their peers.

The total parental environment also was important with the highest correlation between students and parents derived by comparing the student's scores with the average of both parents' scores rather than with the single score of either parent. In 1965 students were ideologically less aware than their parents but more trusting of political authority (Jennings and Niemi, 1974:112, 114). By 1973 "the students were almost equal to their parents in their professed cynicism" (Jennings and Niemi, 1978:356). The disappearance of an inter-generational gap in cynicism is remarkable since the parental generation also declined in trust during the period from 1965 to 1973.

Jennings and Niemi found that sex and race played a part in the development of attitudes and also affected the degree of inter-generational similarity. Girls, more so than boys, were influenced by parental homogeneity on the various items. Girls were also more likely to agree politically with their same-sex friends than were boys. Boys exhibited more political knowledge than girls, although

there was not as much difference between the students as there was between the mothers and fathers. Jennings and Niemi (1974:308), therefore, concluded that sex differences were declining. Differences between the generations were greater among blacks than among whites. The partisan preference correlation between black students and parents was low. The Democratic party was the overwhelming choice of young blacks while many of the parents remained loyal to the Republican party--"the party of Lincoln." Both black students and black parents, however, were less likely to be independent than were white students and white parents. Despite their lower rate of independence, black students exhibited less knowledge than did the white students. As a result, the civics curriculum of high school appeared to constitute a source of information for black students, although not for whites.

Jennings and Niemi found the taking of civic courses to have little impact upon the political attitudes and political knowledge of the overall student population with the exception that civic tolerance and political efficacy appeared to be related to civic education. Civic education not only increased the political knowledge of blacks but also seemed to create a subject orientation⁵ to the system resulting in more loyalty and less participation by black students (Jennings and Niemi, 1974:187-204). Unlike white students, black students were more politicized and more ideological than were their parents. Like the white students, they were more efficacious than were their parents; nevertheless, black students were less efficacious than were white

⁵ A subject orientation in contrast to a participant orientation denotes the perception by the individual of a passive relationship between her/himself and the political system so that the individual feels the consequences of policy but does not help shape it (Almond and Verba, 1963).

students. Jennings and Niemi (1974:297) concluded that there was more inter-generational change in the black population than in the white population.

The complexity of the Jennings and Niemi study allowed the examination of many different factors in regard to political socialization. The major contribution of this study was in developing the awareness that political learning was not a single unidirectional process. In marshalling evidence indicating the lack of congruity between generations, Jennings and Niemi sensitized the discipline to the complexity of the process. In addition, the Jennings and Niemi 1973 study demonstrated the continuous nature of political socialization in indicating that attitude change had taken place among parents as well as among students.

Many criticisms have been made of these initial studies in political socialization. These early studies were, in Eastonian terms, more concerned with system "maintenance" rather than with system "persistence." Consequently, the possibilities of support without participation or of participation directed against the system were overlooked. The presence of apathy or alienation within the political system was not explained by the findings of these studies. The static bias to socialization research became readily apparent with the appearance of the massive anti-war protests in this country during the late 1960s.

The participation of many people in protest against the actions of the government led to the realization of the limitations

inherent in conceiving of political socialization solely as a process of inculcating support for the system. The assumption made by Easton and Dennis that support for the system involved support for the community, the regime, and the authorities, and that non-support for any one object jeopardized the entire system was questioned by the motives and composition of the anti-war movement.

The anti-war movement, although involving all types and ages of people, was a movement composed not of the fringe elements of society but its very mainstream--the middle class. Much of the anti-war protest was based on the belief that the United States was violating its own democratic values through its involvement in the internal affairs of another country. Many of the anti-war protestors were members of the same age group as the children who expressed strong support of the system in the initial socialization studies. In order to explain protest from individuals who expressed support of the system at an earlier age, investigators of political socialization broadened the scope of inquiry to include individual development over a lifetime as well as the inculcation of system support in children.

The Critique: Subcultures, Media, and Gender

With a new concern for individual development in the political socialization process, researchers began to investigate the possibility of the development of negative feelings toward the system. In concentrating only on the positive feelings toward the system, students of political socialization were unable to explain the possibility of change in the system. The anti-war movement had demonstrated that

change in the system occurred as a response to the current environment. If a change in the environment affected the attitudes of groups integrated into the system, it seemed likely that individuals from groups less well integrated or groups excluded from the system such as ethnic groups or the poor would have different political environments and, therefore, different attitudes. The effect of life experiences upon the perceptions of the political system was first indicated by the data from subcultures. Weissberg (1974:120) argued that certain groups are socialized into non-participation. He asserts that as children from these out-groups grow older they realize that their ability to influence the system and have it respond to their demands is not as great as that of others. The domination of the white male, the middle and upper class, in politics must have some effect on the socialization process. Minority group children, girls, and the poor may exhibit less knowledge and less interest in politics because they have learned that little attention is paid to the needs and desires of their group. As one begins to look at life experiences, it becomes obvious that social and political environment is influential in the development of political attitudes. The content of the socialization process may change if the environment changes.

Subcultures

The first challenge to the assumption that the inculcation of support was a universal feature of political socialization in the United States came in the publication of "The Malevolent Leader." Based on a 1967 study of Appalachian children, this article by Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr. (1968) questioned

the universality of socialization into support for the system. Reflecting the hostility toward political authority prevalent in the region, Appalachian children were much less positive about political authority than had been children in the previous studies. Jaros et al. also did not find much evidence of a developmental trend among these children; they began with a more negative view of political authority than the other children and continued to be more negative. Appalachian children were also more cynical than previously indicated--even more cynical than were the twelfth graders in the Jennings and Niemi study--with little change by age. Jaros et al. found little evidence supporting the projection of the evaluation of family authority figures to political figures. Father-absent children were more positive toward the system than were children with fathers present in the home leading Jaros and associates to conclude that the father was important in the direct transmission of negative political values in Appalachia (Jaros et al., 1968:103).

Additional evidence for the proposal that political socialization is not a homogeneous process of building support for the political process came from studies of black and chicano children. Blacks and Mexican-Americans were found to be less positive toward the system than the children in the initial studies. Unlike the children from Appalachia, however, the negative attitudes of minority group children appeared to follow a developmental pattern.

Edward Greenberg conducted a 1968 study into the political attitudes of black children from the third through the ninth grades. He concluded that black children simply did not fit the Hess and Torney model (Greenberg, 1969:491). Although black children exhibited

positive feelings toward the President, they did not see him as benevolent nor as particularly powerful (Greenberg, 1970d:183). Among the younger children, the policeman was more highly regarded than the President. Nevertheless, young black children were highly attached to both the policeman and the President leading Greenberg to propose a differential vulnerability hypothesis.⁶ The positive attachment of the black child declined with age and was inversely correlated with an accurate perception of race relations in the United States, according to Greenberg (1969:491). In addition, a reversal in the assessment of different levels of government took place with the maturation of the black child. Greenberg's data indicated that the black child was more oriented to the local community than was the white child yet became increasingly alienated from it. More young black children could identify the local community than could young white children. Black children also seemed to trust the local government more than the national government in the early grades. Older black children, however, rated the national government as more important, more helpful, and more benevolent than the local government (Greenberg, 1969:481; 1970d:182-83).

Not only did black children develop a less positive orientation toward the system than did white children, they also perceived the government in different terms. Black children had a less responsive image of the government and of political leaders. They were less likely to say that people selected their own leaders and had a more paternalistic image of leadership (Greenberg, 1970b:267-73). Older

⁶By the differential vulnerability hypothesis, Greenberg meant that the children who are the most fearful and anxious idealize authority figures more than do other children.

black and older white children perceived government in terms relating to their ability to influence the political system. Older white children perceived the government primarily in terms of voting; older black children perceived government in terms of Congress and the Supreme Court (Greenberg, 1970d:182). The black child was not as able to correctly identify the American political community or to relate the various levels of government to each other as was his peer (Greenberg, 1970d:181). As a result of these differential perceptions, Greenberg argued that black children adopted a subject rather than a participant stance toward the political system. He also suggested that the differences in the attitudes of young children and those of older children among the blacks indicated a serious erosion of diffuse support among one segment of the population. Greenberg (1970d:188) indicated that increased racial conflict was inevitable.

Attempting to arrive at an explanation for the differences between the attitudes of black and those of white children, Paul Abramson reviewed the socialization studies indicating that black children were less efficacious and less trustful of the political system than were white children. In examining the data, Abramson (1972:1247) noted that only from 1967 on did black children exhibit lower feelings of political trust toward political leaders. Abramson evaluated two explanations for racial differences in feelings of efficacy and trust. One, the social-deprivation explanation, suggests that these racial differences are due to social-structural conditions; the other, the political-reality explanation, proposes that the racial differences in efficacy and trust reflect the difference in the political environments of blacks and whites.

According to Abramson (1972:1250), the social deprivation explanation is based on a number of assumptions concerning the relationship between socio-economic status, self-competence, and political behavior. Basically, the social deprivation explanation is that blacks, because of their social deprivation, have less self-competence and, therefore, low political efficacy and trust. Evaluating the theoretical justification and the empirical evidence supporting the social deprivation explanation, Abramson (1972:1251-58) concluded that social deprivation constituted a partial explanation for the low levels of political efficacy and trust among blacks. He pointed out, however, that social deprivation could not explain why blacks were more trustful of the system before 1967 than they were after that time since at both times they were deprived.

Abramson turned to the political reality explanation as an alternative. The political reality explanation states that racial differences in political efficacy and trust reflect the relative power of blacks and whites. The major problem with political reality as an explanation is the difficulty in demonstrating the steps through which children learn that blacks have less power and influence in politics than do whites (Abramson, 1972:1261). Abramson (1972:1265) asserted that despite the problems in linking political reality to the development of political attitudes and behavior, "it is the only explanation which can begin to account for the time-series differences in levels of political trust." Abramson argued that the political environment was more receptive to black demands in the early 1960s than it has been since 1967. Abramson concluded his evaluation of these two alternatives by suggesting that they were complementary explanations

since social deprivation and political powerlessness are related. Both explanations express assumptions about the interaction between individuals and their environments indicating that the content of political socialization is related to the specific conditions in which the process takes place.

Abramson suggested that the study of political socialization would benefit through the explicit use of social deprivation and political reality as guidelines in further research. He argued that subcultural variation should be recognized as an important source of differences in political attitudes and behavior. Abramson also stated that in order to study subcultural socialization, it was necessary to specify the social and political structures contributing to differential political learning. He also pointed out that social deprivation and political reality could also serve as explanations for differences within as well as between races (Abramson, 1972:1267). In addition, Abramson indicated that one implication of social deprivation and political reality as explanations for differential socialization was that the socialization process is a continuous process. According to Abramson (1972:1269) political scientists need to: (a) specify which political attitudes are more likely to change than other attitudes; (b) explain why some political attitudes are more likely to change than other attitudes; and (c) specify the conditions under which given attitudes are likely to change. Abramson suggested that one way to accomplish such a task was to specify whether individual political attitudes were more strongly affected by personality characteristics or by political conditions.

Abramson concluded by suggesting that the data supporting the lower level of efficacy and trust among black children was extensive enough that little could be gained by replication. He urged the use of research designs explicitly created to test between alternative explanations such as quasi-experimental panel studies. Abramson suggested that in order to validate the political reality explanation, it was necessary to explicitly state the learning process through which children relate to the environment.

Sarah Liebschutz and Richard Niemi (1974:86-87) agreed with Greenberg that older black children were more negative than were white children toward the political system but argued that black children begin with a more negative attitude than do white children so that the pattern of development is the same for both blacks and whites; however, they did not find a parallel development in political efficacy (Liebschutz and Niemi, 1974:91). Their data indicated that black children became less efficacious from the fifth grade through the end of school. The basic thrust of their 1968 study was to examine the effect of a special curriculum upon the developing attitudes of blacks. The curriculum was designed to improve the self-concept of the disadvantaged child through the utilization of techniques and relationships not usually found in the mainstream classroom. In comparing children who has participated in the program with children who had not, Liebschutz and Niemi (1974:94-102) found that despite its non-political focus, the curriculum seemed to affect the child's perception of the political system. Children exposed to the special curriculum were less idealistic toward authority figures and were less likely to perceive laws as fair than were the children not participating in the

special curriculum. The data also supported Greenberg's assertion that as the child becomes more realistic about the political system s/he becomes more cynical. As the children increased in awareness, they became less positive about authority and were less likely to feel that the system was responsive to the people.

The lack of attention given by the academic community to the Spanish-speaking people in this country is indicated by the absence of any study of the socialization of Mexican-Americans before the 1970s. Mexican-Americans are not the only Spanish-speaking people in this country, but they constitute the largest group in the Spanish-speaking population and are a majority in many areas of the Southwest, particularly along the border. In the Political Socialization of Chicano Children, F. Chris Garcia provided additional evidence indicating that the initial findings of high support for the political system among children were culture-bound. In general, Garcia found Mexican-American children to be less supportive of the system by the ninth grade than were their Anglo peers although they were not as negative as were blacks; these attitudes, however, were affected by social class and language environment. Garcia's study compared Anglo children with Mexican-American children in California. Garcia found both groups of children to be less supportive of the system in 1970-71 than were the children in the Chicago study a decade earlier.

Garcia suggested--as had Greenberg concerning black children--that Mexican-American children exhibited more of a subject orientation than a participant orientation toward the political system. Mexican-American children expressed a more paternalistic and less responsive

perception of the authorities than did their Anglo peers. The Mexican-American children were more favorable toward the national rather than the state or local levels of government (Garcia, 1973: 81-92). Finally, Mexican-American children were more likely to view the government in terms of the Supreme Court and Congress rather than in terms of the electoral process.

Mexican-American children showed a cognitive lag in comparison with Anglo children. Cognition notwithstanding, Garcia (1973: 45, 72) indicated that perception of discrimination correlated with lessening support for the system so that the most perceptive children were also the most disaffected. Mexican-American children felt less obligation to participate in the system and more obligation to obey the laws than did Anglos despite their perception of laws as unfair. Garcia (1973:127) stated: "Mexican-American children trust their government less, feel more futile about exerting influence on it and are less motivated to participate in elections than their Anglo peers."

Although the Mexican-American children in Garcia's study resembled the black children in Greenberg's study in cynicism, disaffection with local government, and a paternalistic image of leadership, there were differences between the two groups of children. Unlike the black children, the Mexican-American children fit the Hess and Torney model--even more so than did the Anglo children. The youngest Mexican-American children exhibited more support for the system and were more likely to pick out pictures of Presidents as the best representative of government than were Anglo children. Mexican-American children did not share the positive perception of the police indicated by black children. Mexican-American children were more

likely than were Anglo children to be aware of the governmental status of the policeman but increasingly disliked the police so that by the ninth grade they viewed the police as an agent of discrimination (Garcia, 1973:185). Mexican-American children manifested less political efficacy than Anglos, although there was a slight increase in efficacy throughout the school years.

Garcia found few differences between boys and girls but these were interesting. Mexican-American girls were more compliant than were Mexican-American boys. Although Mexican-American girls were less likely to perceive the government as affecting their lives, they placed more emphasis on the coercive power of the President and the police than did boys (Garcia, 1973:66, 144, 160).

For most responses the greatest distinction among Mexican-American children was between children from different socio-economic classes and/or between children from different language environments. The net effect of a working class background and/or a Spanish-speaking environment was to exaggerate the pattern heretofore described-- children from these backgrounds were more idealistic at a young age and more cynical by adolescence. Garcia found that in controlling for class, however, perception of discrimination did not relate to cynicism as much as expected. Middle-class Mexican-Americans were less likely to perceive discrimination as young children but were more likely to perceive it as they grew older; they were also less supportive of the system when young and more supportive when older than were the working-class Mexican-Americans. Garcia also controlled for social class among the Anglo children and found that working-class children, regardless

of ethnicity, were more impressed by the coercive power of the President than were middle-class children. In addition, working-class children among both ethnic groups felt the government to be less helpful than middle-class children (Garcia, 1973:72, 144). In other words, working-class children had a less benevolent image of the government than did middle-class children.

Garcia suggested that language environment indicated the degree of assimilation of the Mexican-American children. Unlike the black children, Mexican-American children felt a sense of affinity with the mother country. Although they professed strong attachment to the United States, as Mexican-American children became disaffected with the American political system they identified more closely with Mexico (Garcia, 1973:40-48). The relationship of decreasing support for the American system and increasing identification with Mexico was stronger for the Mexican-American children from predominantly Spanish language backgrounds.

The importance of the language environment in the development of attitudes toward the political system was indicated in a study of Mexican-American children in El Paso by James Lamare. Lamare found that language environment affected the child's awareness of the political system. Children from a predominantly Spanish-speaking environment indicated less awareness of public figures (with the exception of the immigration official) than either Anglo children or Mexican-American children from a predominantly English-speaking environment. The cognitive gap did not diminish with the age of the child (Lamare, 1974:74). Although all children declined in positive affect for the President as they grew older, Spanish-oriented children were less positive toward

the President than were their English-oriented peers (Lamare, 1974:77). Lamare (1974:79) found a mixed pattern with regard to efficacy. Spanish-oriented children were lower in both personal and political efficacy than were the English-oriented children in the lower grades. By the seventh grade, the Spanish-oriented children were almost equal to the English-oriented children in political efficacy but remained lower in personal efficacy.

A study of children in the Rio Grande valley by James Davis (1977) also indicated that language environment affected the development of political orientations. Davis (1977:19) found that ethnic differences in political attitudes tended to disappear among children of English-speaking environments. Davis's principal concern was not with language environment, however, but with family authority structure and its influence on the development of political efficacy.

His findings indicate the necessity of replacing speculation with empirical research. Testing for authority generalization from the family structure to the political structure, Davis (1977:21) found no support for the theory that feelings of political powerlessness are related to family authority patterns. As postulated, Mexican-Americans perceived their parents as exercising more control over them than did Anglos (Davis, 1977:12). Davis (1977:14) found, however, that contrary to expectations middle-class parents were perceived as exercising more control than working-class parents. Among both Anglos and Mexican-Americans, females perceived their parents as exercising more control than did males. Davis (1977:16) found the relationship between ethnicity and political powerlessness disappeared under controls for

language orientation. A control for social class produced a mixed pattern. Working-class Mexican-Americans indicated a higher level of efficacy than did the middle-class Mexican-Americans, although the Anglo working class was less efficacious than the middle class (Davis, 1977:18). Davis also found that political powerlessness varied inversely with age; older subjects were more likely to report that "people like them" had little political power (Davis, 1977:16).

The data from the studies of Appalachian children, blacks, and Mexican-Americans suggest that the development of political attitudes is neither as consistent nor as simple as postulated in the initial socialization studies. The life experiences of children in these subcultures certainly appeared to partially negate the socialization efforts of the school lending credence to the political reality explanation. The lack of a consistent pattern in the political attitudes of children from these subcultures, particularly the effect of social class among Mexican-Americans, suggests that even political reality is too facile an explanation. The subcultural studies, nevertheless, indicate that environmental influences must be considered in any description of the socialization process.

The effect of life experiences has also been suggested by the after-effects of the turbulent years of the anti-war protests, urban riots, and Watergate. In recent years children's image of the President seems to have changed in that the data from the research in the 1970s indicate less perception of benevolence even among the middle class (cf. Greenstein, 1974). Jaros (1967) suggested that children from the beginning have an image of the President as both

benevolent and coercive. He implied that one explanation for the decline in the positive image of the President among older children is an increased awareness of the coercive power of the President. It can be speculated that the problems of the late 1960s and early 1970s may have diffused the coercive image of government throughout the system. Much of the data indicating a less positive image of the President was collected during the United States involvement in Vietnam and the anti-war activity in the United States. Crisis may have the effect of alerting children to the position of the President as commander-in-chief of the military forces.

The Mass Media

One must conclude that the present occupant of the presidency and the political environment at a particular time play a role in children's perception of the political system and of political figures. Scattered bits of data from children at times of crisis (Sigel, 1965; Clark and Soule, 1971; Tolley, 1973; Hawkins et al., 1975) indicated that children's attitudes toward the political system are affected by events which expose the vulnerability of the system and its leaders. The discovery that children are attuned to crisis has led to the realization that the mass media must play a role in the acquisition of political attitudes. In spite of the findings of early studies indicating sex differences in media use, little attention has been paid to the media by political scientists studying political socialization. Two exceptions have been Herbert Hirsch (1971) and Howard Tolley, Jr. (1973).

Herbert Hirsch in Poverty and Politicization used the data collected in the Appalachian study to examine the transmission of

political information. Hirsch (1971:120) concluded that "the media are more salient agents of information transmission than the parents, peers, or school." Children ranked various forms of the media differently as sources of information concerning different levels of government. Radio was listed as most important in the transmission of information about the local level of government; television was ranked highest in the transmission of national and international political information. In order to determine the accuracy of the children's high ranking of the media as information sources, Hirsch examined the relationship between exposure to the media and political knowledge. He found that the children most exposed to the media were the most knowledgeable but that the content of exposure made no difference (Hirsch, 1971:130-32).

Some research has indicated a selective exposure difference between the sexes with boys paying more attention to the news than girls (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1965). Hirsch (1971:124) found no significant differences in attention paid to the news by boys and girls. Some difference in the ranking of the media occurred with boys always ranking all forms of the media above other agents; girls ranked the mother higher than television or newspapers but below the radio on the transmission of local news (Hirsch, 1971:122). Another difference in the ranking of media as sources of information was related to the presence or absence of the father in the home. Father-absent children ranked radio and television higher than children with fathers present in the home (Hirsch, 1971:128). It is surprising that the presence or absence of the father should make a difference since Hirsch (1971:40, 53) indicated that the mother was more influential

in the political socialization process. Hirsch (1971:140) also suggested that the Appalachian femals was more politically oriented than the male.

Howard Tolley, Jr., in a report of children's attitudes toward war, Children and War, revealed some interesting data concerning the media and children's perceptions of the President. Tolley conducted his study in 1971 comparing black and white children from various socio-economic levels attending the third through the eighth grades in the Northeast. Concluding that "television has educated the young about Vietnam," Tolley (1973:107) found that the media affected the children's level of information. In addition, Tolley found that children ranked television as a very important source of information. Although Tolley found the overall level of information about politics to be low, he also found that children who paid attention to news stories in the media knew more than did those who did not (Tolley, 1973:90, 106-07). Pointing out that these children were the first generation to observe televised combat, Tolley (1973:97) found that 80 percent of the children reported seeing actual combat on television. Tolley (1973:64-68) suggested that the diffusion of information concerning the war affected children's image of the President. Almost half the children questioned the President's policy and credibility. Concluding that "both the man and the time dictate the nature of the socialization experience," Tolley (1973:130) argued that the conflict aroused by the Vietnam issue and the antagonism toward Johnson and Nixon in some segments of the population resulted in a less idealistic picture of the government even among the very young.

Most of the work concerning the media's role in political socialization has come from specialists in mass communications. Steven H. Chaffee and associates provided evidence supporting media influence in the political socialization process in a report on a 1968 study of junior high and high school students. Students were surveyed in May and again in November concerning mass media use, political knowledge, and campaign activity. Dividing media use into entertainment use and public affairs use, Chaffee et al. found public affairs use correlated with increased political knowledge for all students. In addition, for junior high students, increased political knowledge was also associated with entertainment use of media. Chaffee et al. (1970:655) suggested that "any use of the mass media tends to result in increased political knowledge for the younger children." This corroborated Hirsch's finding that the content of exposure made little difference--that any exposure to the media resulted in increased knowledge. For all students high media use performed better as a predictor of future knowledge rather than of current knowledge; high exposure to public affairs media in May resulted in higher levels of information in November. In contrast to Tolley, Chaffee et al. (1970:657) found that children rated the media higher than other agents both as a source of information and as a source of opinion. The ranking of media by the students as influential correlated with public affairs consumption and with political knowledge (Chaffee et al., 1970:658).

Joseph Dominick (1972) sought to discover if the use of media as a primary source of political knowledge was more prevalent among one group of children than among others. He also attempted to

discover if dependence upon the media as a source of information resulted in a distinct pattern of knowledge, attitudes, or behavior. In a study of sixth and seventh grade students, Dominick (1972:51) found the primary source of information about the government to be one of the mass media for the majority of students. The ranking of media and the form of media used, however, varied with the institutions of government. More children listed the media as a source of information concerning the President and the Vice-President than concerning the Congress or the Supreme Court. In addition, television was chosen by far more children (over 50 percent) as the most important source of information concerning the President, the Vice-President, and the Congress than either other forms of the media or individuals. In contrast, the teacher was ranked higher by the children than the media as a source of information concerning the Supreme Court. Although not ranked higher than the media, the teacher was ranked high as a source of information concerning the Congress but not the President or the Vice-President. Dominick (1972:55) found that low-income boys were the most likely to rely upon the television as a reference source. Class had little effect on the information source chosen by the girls. Dominick did not find any relationship between children's knowledge, political activity, and use of television as a source of information.

Support for the role of the media in political socialization was provided by a study conducted in 1972 and 1973 by Robert Hawkins and associates. Hawkins et al. (1975) replicated the future information gain reported by Chaffee and associates. He found that media use during the 1972 campaign was a good indicator of information concerning Watergate in May 1973. Hawkins et al. also found

that all groups of children decreased in their positive evaluation of Nixon from 1972 to 1973. In addition, eighth grade students and other children who attended to Watergate news were more likely to believe in Nixon's involvement in the scandal (Hawkins et al., 1975: 415). Hawkins et al. (1975:417) found the children began to be more negative about Nixon by May of 1973 but were clearly more so by July. The more negative attitude toward the President corresponded with a decreased sense of political efficacy by July, especially among the younger children (Hawkins et al., 1975:419). Hawkins et al. found information about Watergate to be pervasive enough that children's image of the President became steadily more negative. The children in this study certainly did not idealize the President. The children's image of the President also seemed to affect their image of the government so that they viewed government as less responsive than they did before Watergate.

Charles Atkin and Walter Gantz also found a relationship between television consumption and political knowledge in a study of children in Michigan during 1973 and 1974. Exposure to national news on television was related to political knowledge in all the children; the relationship was strongest among the older children who were in the fourth and fifth grades (Atkin and Gantz, 1978:189-90). Since other studies have found the relationship between public affairs media use and political knowledge to be stronger among children above the elementary grades, the existence of a relationship at all in children as young as those included in the Atkin and Gantz study is important.

Atkin and Gantz also found an association between interest in politics and news exposure as well as the relationship between

news exposure and information-seeking. Heavier viewers of national news were more interested than were the light viewers in presidential activities, foreign events, and "things that happen in Washington"; these heavy viewers also tended to seek more information concerning politics afterwards than did the light viewers (Atkin and Gantz, 1978: 194-95). Using causal analysis, Atkin and Gantz (1978:196) concluded that exposure to national news contributed to political knowledge and information-seeking.

Data from the late 1960s and the 1970s indicate that the media are influential in the political socialization process. It is not clear whether learning takes place in a direct way through the presentation of information via news presentations or other public affairs programs or whether it occurs indirectly through sheer exposure to an external environment. It is clear, however, that children perceive the media, especially television, as important transmitters of information. The importance of the media as agents of information concerning the environment is essential in considering the diffusion of norms throughout a society. The final area of study concerns the effect of one's social status on perceptions of the political system.

Gender

Social status is a relative position determined by the possession of or the lack of certain attributes. The most basic attributes are physical attributes. The primary physical attribute affecting one's social position is gender. Political scientists have long been aware that social and economic characteristics affect the individual's relationship to others and her/his participation in the

institutions of society, including the political. The feminist movement has made us aware that gender affects our relationships with others from birth (cf. chapter three). In more academic terms, the most salient of our many social roles is one's gender role (Mussen, 1969:707). It seems highly probable that a gender factor should exist in the development of political attitudes. Although sex differences have been found in nearly all socialization studies, it is only in the 1970s that researchers have begun to incorporate gender as an explanatory variable in their research design.

With only a few exceptions, the data on which the following reports were based were collected during a relatively early stage of the women's movement (1978-73). Although it is possible that the feminist movement has become more pervasive in recent years, the data as of 1975 indicate that the goals of the movement are not widely diffused in the society. In the following chapter, evidence will be presented indicating the extent to which gender typing is pervasive in the American culture. Susan Bourque and Jean Grossholtz have argued that political scientists have been as guilty as others in stereotyping behavior according to gender.⁷

In 1974 Bourque and Grossholtz published an article in which they detailed the ways in which political scientists biased the conception of politics in such a way as to exclude women from any major involvement. Since they began their research by looking at the political socialization literature, their major points concerning the

⁷ An assertion lent credence in a recent study of political science textbooks from the standpoint of sex fair and sex affirmative content (Hedblom and Kohfeld, 1979).

discipline in general as well as specific points concerning political socialization are worth noting in detail.

Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:227-28) defined four categories of distortion concerning the participation of women in politics. These categories are: "fudging the footnotes," "the assumption of male dominance," "masculinity as ideal political behavior," and "commitment to the eternal feminine." By "fudging the footnotes," Bourque and Grossholtz meant the repetition of data from earlier studies minus the qualifications made by the original source concerning female political characteristics, attitudes, or behavior. According to Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:227), "the most pervasive expectation about sex differences in politics" falls into the second category, "the assumption of male dominance." The unacceptable factor to assuming male dominance is not that it is not realistic but that it is never questioned nor its cause investigated. The category, "masculinity as ideal political behavior," refers to the fact that political behavior is discussed in terms of characteristics stereotyped as male and these characteristics are then assumed to be the ideal characteristics of individuals engaging in politics. By "commitment to the eternal feminine," Bourque and Grossholtz mean the justification of woman's weak political position as an inevitable necessity due to the functions of the wife-mother role.

The study of political socialization appears to have been guilty of at least three of the four types of distortion. Bourque and Grossholtz pointed out that little attention has been paid to sex differences despite a prevalent assumption that social roles

translate into political roles. Although Greenstein devoted an entire chapter to sex differences, Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:242-43) argued that many of the differences were derived from the interpretation of responses as political or non-political. In addition, the actual responses were not reported, although the responses of the boys were interpreted as more political than those of the girls. The other socialization study to devote much attention to sex differences--Hess and Torney--was cited by Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:246-49) for assuming male superiority in characterizing male attitudes as more political and/or more mature than those of females.

Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:249) quote from Easton and Dennis (cf. Children in the Political System, p. 34) to indicate that sex differences were of little interest or importance. Bourque and Grossholtz (1974:250-51) use the 1969 edition of Political Socialization by Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt and Socialization to Politics by Dean Jaros (1973) as examples of the pervasive equation of the citizen with the male. Bourque and Gtossholtz (1974:261-62) ended by arguing that, according to indicators of participation currently used in the study of politics, there were not as many differences between men and women as were indicated by political scientists despite the continued male dominance in politics. Consequently, Bourque and Grossholtz suggested that a re-evaluation of power in the political system was in order including the investigation of the characteristics of those who hold power and the characteristics of the powerless.

Although most of the research on gender as a factor in political socialization has occurred since the publication of the Bourque and Grossholtz article, there had been earlier efforts at

explaining the differences between the attitudes, knowledge, and behavior of males and females.

Robert Dowse and John Hughes (1971) in "Girls, Boys, and Politics" began by noting that the sex differences among adults in political attitudes and behavior could be accounted for by structural (situational) impediments. They observed, however, that the structural impediments to female political participation could be based in role socialization. They expected to find a relationship between sex and participatory orientations such as political interest, knowledge, and efficacy, although the relationship was expected to be weaker among children than among adults. Dowse and Hughes surveyed British working-class and middle-class children from the age of eleven through seventeen. They found girls to be consistently less informed than boys, but greater sex differences were found in relation to class rather than age: "Middle class girls are politically like middle class boys more than working class girls are like working class boys" (Dowse and Hughes, 1971:55-57). Dowse and Hughes speculated that role norms were more clearly distinctive in the working class and acquired at an early age accounting for the earlier appearance of sex differences characterizing adult behavior. Other than knowledge, the only clear difference between the sexes concerned attention to political media and attitude toward female politicians.

American socialization studies usually divide media use into public affairs programs versus entertainment programs. Dowse and Hughes separated public affairs programs into political programs and news broadcasts. Differences were smaller concerning the selection

of a political program than concerning attention to news on television or radio (Dowse and Hughes, 1971:62). Dowse and Hughes concluded that girls in Britain were less self-exposed to political media than were boys. A variable seldom replicated in studies of children was the attitude of the children toward female politicians. Dowse and Hughes (1971:61) found boys to be decidedly less approving of female politicians and more likely to say that female politicians were unfeminine. Dowse and Hughes argued that structural (situational) and socialization (structural) explanations for the lower politicization of women are reinforcing. They suggested that females undergo an apolitical period of socialization during early adulthood, due to the structural restraints imposed by marriage (and implicitly child-rearing), reinforcing earlier learned cultural patterns of male dominance in politics.

Lynne B. Iglitzin also suggested that political science was biased against crediting women with political interest and political knowledge. In an attempt to discover the influence of gender orientation in the political learning process, Iglitzin surveyed fifth grade students in 1971 and 1972. The 1971 study involved a series of questions designed to show sex-stereotyping through the children's perception of career and employment patterns, the division of labor in the home, and their own expectations for the future.

Iglitzin (1974:26-27) found the children to be sex-stereotyped although the girls exhibited less stereotyping than did the boys. A majority of both sexes thought that bosses, taxi drivers, mayors, factory workers, and lawyers should be men. Children were

even more stereotyped concerning the home as they indicated that most of the jobs in the home, from washing the dishes to getting up with children, were the duties of women. Children perceived men as paying bills, repairing things, and weeding. Stereotyping was also evident in the future career choice made by both sexes with both boys and girls oriented toward traditional occupations. Iglitzin coupled the career choice questions with an open-ended question concerning a description of a typical day. The distance between rhetoric and reality may have been revealed by the difference in the responses of boys and girls. In their responses girls emphasized marriage and family focusing on duties around the home; boys focused on the details of their future careers (Iglitzin, 1974:27-28).

A year later fifth graders in the same schools were again surveyed concerning future roles, career and employment patterns, and also were questioned on political information and awareness. The pervasiveness of sex stereotyping was demonstrated anew. Girls pictured their future in terms of marriage and children; boys pictured it in terms of jobs. Children again assigned jobs on the basis of gender with only men doing jobs and only women performing others. Iglitzin (1974:28) found strong sex differences in response to a semi-projective question in which children were asked to choose a political job suggesting that political offices were also subject to stereotyping. Only a small proportion of children, both boys and girls, wanted to be President. A sizable number of boys wanted to be mayor, although no girls made this choice. Girls were more likely to choose head of school board and judge as political positions they

would want to hold. Sex differences also occurred in information and awareness questions with girls scoring lower in information and awareness than did boys. A very weak relationship between gender orientation and political interest and information occurred among the girls; girls scoring lower on femininity scored higher in political interest and information than did girls scoring high in femininity (Iglitzin, 1974:29).

Iglitzin devoted the last part of the report to speculation concerning the failure of her data to substantiate an association between gender role orientation and politicization. Rejecting an explanation of innate inferiority in females, Iglitzin suggested that the existing tools and techniques of political science were responsible for the lower rate of politicization among females consistently reported in socialization studies. Iglitzin had attempted to eliminate obvious sexism from the questionnaire through using he/she rather than he, including women as examples of political leaders, and portraying women and men in all social and political roles. As a result of the poor showing of the girls, despite a conscious attempt at non-sexism, Iglitzin made the radical suggestion that the concept of politics as utilized in political science was in itself sexist. In terms of the study of political behavior in the United States, politics is still conceived in terms of the electoral process and the formal institutions of government from which women are largely excluded rather than in terms of shared values and common concerns. Iglitzin (1974:34) suggested that the concept of politics should include the factors affecting the lives of individual citizens as well as those with immediate systemic consequences.

Subcultural studies looking at the role of gender in the political learning process have been scarce. The only one to include Mexican-Americans was conducted by Gail Zellman (1973). In two studies of California pre-adolescents, Zellman compared the gender role identification and politicization of black, white, and chicano children. Although there were differences between each ethnic group, a differential socialization process according to gender was indicated by the differences between the responses of boys and those of girls within each group. Girls were more opposed to war, lower in political knowledge, more supportive of the police, but also more tolerant of civil liberties (Zellman, 1973:47-52). Gender-role identification was positively correlated with sex-typed attitudes for both boys and girls.

Identification with the female role also corresponded with politicization but not in the expected direction--greater female gender-role identification corresponded with higher levels of politicization. Zellman (1973:101-06) also found that blacks and whites expressed more identity with the feminine role standards than with the masculine role standards. Whites conformed more closely to the pattern of greater political knowledge, more interest, and more involvement by boys than either the Mexican-Americans or the blacks. The greatest overall sex differences were among the Mexican-Americans with the girls much more likely than the boys to reply that they didn't know (Zellman, 1973:66, 72). Zellman (1973:73) concluded that her data supported the proposition that sex-linked attitudes were generalized on the basis of non-political orientations established

during early gender role training. Zellman (1973:130) suggested that the "less aggressive and more people-oriented upbringing of girls appears to produce political attitudes in them that are more humane, caring and nonaggressive than those of men."

In his study of the attitudes of black and white children toward war, Tolley found differences based upon sex and race. Boys knew more about the war and the gap between the sexes increased in the upper grades (Tolley, 1973:96). The degree of support for the war in Vietnam, however, depended more on race and class than on sex. Blacks were less supportive of war than were whites with the exception of upper-status whites who were the least supportive (Tolley, 1973:46). With the exception of the negative attitude of upper-status whites, one could argue that Tolley's findings support the political reality explanation concerning the development of political attitudes. Boys may know more about war because they will be expected to bear arms in any such conflict. In addition, blacks contribute a disproportionate share of their young population to the armed forces.

Reporting on a study of black and white children from the fourth through the twelfth grades in Illinois during 1971, Anthony Orum and associates (1974) confirmed some of the previous socialization findings for only the white children. Orum et al. (1974:202) found young white girls had a more positive image of the President than did their male peers. In addition, white girls had a more benevolent image of the government and exhibited less cynicism than boys through the eighth grade. In regard to political knowledge, Orum et al. (1974:203) found pronounced sex differences among the white children; boys

consistently scored higher than girls. The pattern of higher knowledge scores for boys was also true for the black children but not to a significant extent. The gap between boys and girls did not diminish with age for either black or white children. Very little difference was found between boys and girls in political activity, although boys were more likely to report some sort of participation or discussion (Orum, et al., 1974:204). Orum et al. (1974:202-04) found that older children and those from white-collar families scored higher on political knowledge and lower on governmental benevolence than did younger children or blue-collar children.

In 1976 M. Margaret Conway re-examined the data sets reported on by Easton and Dennis and Jennings and Niemi along with additional data collected in 1969, 1973, and 1976 from children in the Atlantic coastal region. Concerning the ability to distinguish governmental from non-governmental positions, Conway (1976:4-5) noted, although there were differences between boys and girls in the Easton and Dennis study, there were none in the later data. She also pointed out that girls were more correct in two of the three cases in which differences occurred in the earlier study. Changes in the perception of different roles occurred with children increasing in their perception of the teacher as a governmental employee but decreasing in the perception of the soldier, judge, and policeman as employees of the government.

Comparing the data from 1969 with the data collected in 1973 and 1976, Conway (1976:6-7) found that children were less trustful in 1973 and 1976 than in 1969 but there was not a uniform pattern of greater or less trustfulness in either boys or girls. Boys were more

likely to say that tax money was wasted and girls were more likely to say that most people running the government were crooked. Younger boys and older girls were more likely to say that government was dominated by a few special interests. Conway (1976:7-9) reviewed the data from the earlier studies concerning political efficacy and perception of the legal system concluding that no sex differences were evident. Using data on reported activity during the 1972 campaign, Conway (1976:10-11) found no significant differences between boys and girls. Conway (1976:12) concluded that fewer political differences actually were found in the earlier studies than were originally indicated and that most of these were not replicated in later studies.

There have been several attempts to link the perception of the female role as subordinate to the male role with political attitudes and behavior. The relationship between an unfavorable view of the traditional feminine role and politicization has been examined in studies comparing the attitudes of adults, principally college students, rather than children (with the exception of Iglitzin).

The first empirical evidence to support the existence of such an association was provided in a research note by Thomas Volgy and Sandra Volgy (1975). In a study of college women, Volgy and Volgy compared a subsample of women enrolled in a women's study class with women not exposed to feminist theory. Volgy and Volgy (1975:971-72) found that the women exposed to information and theory concerning the impact of women's traditional role exhibited a relationship between rejection of traditional sex roles and orientation to politics. For the women of the subsample, rejection of the traditional female role

was associated with greater cynicism, increased alienation, a decreased perception of powerlessness, and a more positive affect for women politicians.

Virginia Sapiro re-examined the Jennings and Niemi data in search of evidence concerning the influence of gender role orientation on political attitudes. Sapiro found that gender was more salient to the college-educated women than to the women with less education. Examining the women's conception of the good citizen and dividing responses into passive, active, and non-political categories of political activity, Sapiro found that women who rejected the traditional gender role also tended to take a more active orientation to politics than did traditional women. In addition, Sapiro (1976:81-84) found that a majority of the women defined the good citizen in terms of qualities not requiring large amounts of information about political affairs. Sapiro argued that voting requires only a minimum amount of information.

Investigating the effect of employment, Sapiro (1976:89-90) uncovered an interesting pattern. Although employment seemed to increase the political interest of college-educated women, only the women in high-status jobs among the high school graduates were more interested in politics than were housewives. Controlling for education, the women with traditional gender role norms appeared to be more interested in local and state politics than the feminists. Sapiro (1976:94) found that, among the college-educated, gender role concept related more to political knowledge than to political interest. More traditional women made more errors than the role egalitarian. Traditionally

oriented women were also lower in political efficacy--feeling incompetent to evaluate political events (Sapiro, 1976:104). Traditional women were found more often among the high school-educated and among the housewives than among the college-educated or among working women.

Some of the literature on voting behavior has indicated that women are more conservative than men. To measure the liberalism or conservatism of the women, Sapiro (1977:18-22) used the women's views on racial integration, religious fundamentalism, and civil tolerance. She found the attitudes on these dimensions in 1965 to be related to role egalitarianism in 1973 among both mothers and daughters. The daughters were somewhat more egalitarian than the mothers, although gender role orientation was associated with differences in attitude among the women of both generations. Women who rejected the traditional subordination of the female were more likely to be Democrats than were the traditionalists who were more likely to be Republican. Traditionally oriented women tended to be more moralistic than were the egalitarians. Role egalitarians were slightly more favorable toward government social welfare activity. Sapiro argued that employment may not be as influential in politicizing women as much as the individual woman's perception of the female role in society (Sapiro, 1976:160, 183, 195).

In a departure from the other studies concerning the influence of gender role orientations in the development of political attitudes, Marjorie Random Hershey included both males and females.

Utilizing the Bem Sex Role Inventory,⁸ Hershey classified individuals as having a masculine, feminine, or androgynous gender identity. The differential nature of the socialization process for males and females was indicated by the finding that there were differences in the political attitudes of males and females, irrespective of gender identity (Hershey, 1977:268-69). Women were more likely to indicate interest in the abortion issue and the Equal Rights Amendment--issues directly related to the female role--than were men. Women were also more favorable toward women candidates than were men with the gap between them increasing as the office increased in importance. Women also rated Betty Ford and Bella Abzug more highly than did men but were more negative than men were toward George Wallace. In another article Hershey and Sullivan (1977:43) reported men to be more tolerant of groups they disliked and to score higher on political information than women.

Nevertheless, Hershey found gender role identity and flexibility accounting for important differences in political attitudes particularly among men. Although women, regardless of their own gender role identity, were less stereotyped than men, there was an association among both men and women between political information and stereotyping. "Flexible people of both sexes are also more likely to answer political information questions correctly" (Hershey, 1977:278). Stereotyping was inversely related to liberalism on such issues as race, civic tolerance, government secrecy, and defense spending (Hershey and

⁸The BSRI consists of a list of sixty personality characteristics, twenty of which were judged to be masculine characteristics, twenty judged as feminine characteristics and the remaining twenty constituting the social desirability scale. Bem (1974) argues that the healthy personality is androgynous with a mixture of masculine and feminine characteristics.

Sullivan, 1977:45). The gender-typed respondents were more likely to hold "appropriate" attitudes in areas where men and women differ. Men with masculine gender identity expressed more prejudice against women candidates and women legislators but expressed more interest in politics generally. Women with feminine identities expressed less interest in politics but more interest in the abortion issue (Hershey, 1977:274).

Masculinity and femininity operate differently in men and women. The dimension most associated with opposing attitudes was not masculinity versus femininity but traditional versus non-traditional. It is the cross-sex identifiers, the more feminine men and the more masculine women, who were the most favorable toward women in active political roles. These more flexible or androgynous people also expressed more interest in the abortion issue and the Equal Rights Amendment. The androgynous were also more likely to identify with the Democratic party than were the more traditional people. Despite the fact that women and those with a feminine gender identity showed more interest in issues currently identified as political, androgyny or flexibility more so than femininity led to more interest in politics and also to more support for female politicians (Hershey, 1977:280-84). However, Hersehy and Sullivan (1977:54) also pointed out that there is not necessarily a congruence between sex-role attitudes and gender identity; one can hold a cross-sex identification and also have stereotyped attitudes about role behavior. In view of the fact that traditional socio-economic controls (parents' income and education) had little effect on gender role orientation, Hershey (1977:284) stated that the data indicated "a clear link between nonpolitical socialization

and adult political attitudes." Hershey, in a comparison of black and white students, found sex to be a better predictor of political attitudes than was race (Hershey, 1978).

Most studies on gender-role concepts have focused on middle-class whites. As the political socialization studies reviewed earlier in this chapter indicate, one cannot assume that the attitudes of middle-class whites are shared by members of other groups. Sapiro (1977) has suggested that in the United States girls are held accountable for gender role norms only in adolescence and adulthood when they become responsible for the development of a nurturant role. Consequently, it has been suggested that in groups in which males and females are held accountable for their respective roles at younger ages, gender role norms are more rigid. Paul Mussen (1969) has suggested that children in the working class become aware of sex-role patterns at an early age and conform more closely to the norms for their sex-role than do middle-class children. The same reasoning has been applied to certain national cultures and it is argued that gender role norms are more rigid in Latin cultures than they are in Anglo-Saxon countries. However, little empirical investigation has been conducted into the relationship between gender role norms and other attitudes. It is assumed that "machismo" implies gender role rigidity, but the actual influence of this norm of male dominance in the development of gender role attitudes has not been investigated.

Although Greenstein suggested that sex role perceptions probably influenced political attitudes and behavior, it was not until the 1970s that political scientists began to examine the influence

of gender role in the development of political attitudes. The attitude of the discipline toward the investigation of such differences is indicated by the paucity of males among the numerous authors reviewed in the section on gender roles. One can argue that the Bourque and Grossholtz criticism of the discipline as biased against the study of women is almost as true today as it was five years ago. The discipline of political science remains oriented toward the study of political structures and institutions and the study of the group which currently dominates the political process--the white upper-status male. Little attention is addressed to the question of this perpetuation of one group in positions of power and the continued exclusion of other groups from political power.

Summary of the Literature

After reviewing the political socialization literature, one is struck by the inconclusive state of the findings. There are discrepancies in the attitudes and knowledge of children from different groups within the society and from different time periods. Children from various subcultures and children in the 1970s are much less trustful than children from the white middle class in the 1960s. Another important fact to note is that much of what is written concerning political socialization is derived from a limited number of data sets acquired within a seven-year period (1958-1965) through self-administered questionnaires.

Part of the over-reliance on the initial studies is due to the increasing difficulty in gaining access to children and in gaining funding. With the exception of the Davis study, recent studies in

political socialization have not replicated the scope of the early studies. School authorities are reluctant to grant permission for research as are parents and in many states parental permission is required for any research conducted with children. Socialization studies are increasingly confined to one urban area. The data on minority children is scanty to begin with and again there is an over-reliance on a handful of studies conducted during the late 1960s and 1970s. College students in introductory courses seem to remain the one group to which researchers have an easy access.

In addition to over-reliance on the early studies, it can be argued that the interpretation of the data is often at fault as Sapiro and Conway demonstrated in their re-examination of data sets derived from earlier studies. Consequently, although there seems to be agreement that non-political factors are influential in the development of political attitudes and behavior, consensus on the process of socialization and on the part that non-political factors play in political learning is lacking. Once we get past the agreement that the President is a particularly salient public figure to young children and that children's attitudes change with age declining in idealism very little is certain. The influence of personal characteristics such as age, sex, or ethnic identity is not unequivocally established nor is the influence of various agents or the influence of the general environment understood. Much of the ambiguity results from the absence of theoretical frameworks. Not only is there a lack of agreement concerning the utility of any one theoretical framework, in most of the studies there has been no attempt to link the data explicitly to theory.

As a consequence, political socialization studies have focused on the content of political socialization rather than the process and found that the content varies with the political culture.

Although the content of political socialization must be considered, it is also necessary to understand the process of political socialization. In the following chapter, drawing upon research primarily from other disciplines, some theoretical issues will be raised and a conceptual framework offered for examining the political socialization process. The empirical portion of the dissertation is addressed to the investigation of at least one segment of the political socialization process--the influence of gender role norms in political learning. The works of Sapiro and Hershey imply that such research among minority group peoples is needed and that research along this line with children in the process of acquiring the norms of their respective gender roles is indicated. To this end the present study investigates gender role concepts among Mexican-American children focusing on the perception of the female role.

Gender Roles and Political Learning: Research Hypotheses

Recent research efforts by Volgy and Volgy (1975), Sapiro (1976), and Hershey (1977, 1978) suggest that there is an association between gender role concepts and political orientations. Gender role concepts include both one's own gender identity and one's concepts of male and female roles. The results of the research cited above suggest that there are differences between the political orientations of people with traditional and/or rigid concepts of gender

roles, particularly the female role, and those of people with a non-traditional and/or flexible approach to gender roles. The association between gender role concepts and political orientations deserves further investigation.

If gender role flexibility (androgyny) is related to the development of certain political attitudes and gender role rigidity to the development of different attitudes, an understanding of such a relationship may lead to additional knowledge concerning the relationship between cognitive flexibility or rigidity and political attitudes and/or political behavior. Both gender role concepts and political orientations begin to develop prior to the assumption of adult roles. As will be indicated in chapter three, there is considerable evidence that children use gender as one of their earliest means of classification. It does not seem improbable that gender role concepts should be applied to politics and influence the development of political attitudes. The typing of behavior as male or female may affect the development of one's concept of how s/he should relate to the political system and one's ability to cope with the political environment.

Two crucial periods in the lives of children are the early school years and adolescence. These periods also mark transitional stages in cognitive development--the concrete operational and formal operational stages.⁹ The research in this study involves children in the transition to the first stage. The presence of gender typing at this stage of cognitive development before political cognitions

⁹ Piaget defined four stages of cognitive development: the sensory motor, the pre-operational, the concrete operational, and the formal operational (Brown, 1965).

are well developed suggests that gender role may play a vital and ever-present part in political socialization.

Recent research (e.g., Flerx et al., 1976; Iglitzin, 1974) indicates that children assign behavior on the basis of gender. "In virtually every study in which children are asked to predict the behavior or preference of someone else, sex-role stereotypes emerge as a key organizing factor for all children over the age of four" (Parsons, 1978b:127). Children base their cognitions on what they observe around them. Our culture defines the female role in nurturant¹⁰ terms. Women are expected to marry and to have children (Lopata, 1971; Bernard, 1974). Motherhood remains a key term in the definition of the feminine sex-role (Katz et al., 1977). Child care is viewed as primarily the responsibility of the mother rather than the father (Lewis, 1978:139). Although it is increasingly acceptable for unmarried women or married women without children to work outside the home, there is still resistance to the mother with young children who works outside the home (Sales, 1978:163). In addition, women employed outside the home maintain their traditional role of primary responsibility for the maintenance of the home and family (Lewis, 1978:143-44).

Females benefit less than males from traditional role concepts which prescribe a narrow dependent role for adult women centered on the home and family. The traditional concept of the female role leaves women with little direct control over resources (Beauvoir, 1952; Deckard, 1975; Johnson, 1978). Devotion to the home and family does

¹⁰Nurturance means life-sustaining. In feminist theory nurturance symbolizes the self-sacrifice of the female who places the interests of others before her own, who is supportive of others, and whose sacrifice and support are taken completely for granted.

not provide the opportunities to develop skills necessary for the achievement of a position from which to influence policy or decision-making in a direct manner (Zellman, 1978). Consequently, females tend to express more ambivalence than do males concerning their gender roles. Girls are caught between a positive feeling toward people like themselves--other females--and the realization that the male role is more prestigious (Parson, 1978b:132).

The developmental process involves continued exposure to new experiences and the acquisition of new information. According to cognitive development theory these new experiences and information result in the adjustment of one's overall cognitive structure. One's gender role flexibility may reflect the extent of the pressure for conformity felt by the individual from her/his environment. For example, a female encouraged to develop her abilities in such non-traditional areas as intellectual skills or athletic capacity is encountering less pressure to conform to the traditional female role than is the girl encouraged to concentrate on developing cooking, sewing, and housekeeping skills. According to Parsons (1978b:132), "exposure to discrepant models at crucial points in development can be expected to produce attitude change and accommodation of stereotypic schemata." The time of transition from one stage of development to another would appear to be a crucial period.

Children in the early school years are still in the process of developing their cognitive structures. It seems highly probable that it would be easier to influence the cognitive structure in this earlier stage of development rather than later when one's organizing dimensions or schematas are more firmly established. Gender is used

as a classification cue by young children but due to the immature state of their cognitive ability, they may be more easily manipulated in the early school years than in later years. There have been a few reports of successful intervention concerning the manipulation of gender stereotyping in young children (MacArthur and Eisen, 1976; Flerx et al., 1976), although these findings have not been replicated in all studies (Parsons, 1978b). Although the primary focus is on the self-perception of females, the male perception of the female role is also important.

Hypotheses concerning the presence and importance of gender typing in the political socialization process and the possibility of intervention are as follow:

- H.1 In the early school years children have strong stereotypes of male-female roles designating activities as either male or female (role flexibility) and limiting women to certain occupations (feminine flexibility).
- H.2 Girls have fewer stereotypes than boys designating activities as both male and female and placing fewer limits on occupational choice for women.
- H.3 Children define the female role in terms of the home and family expressing opposition to women, particularly mothers, working outside the home.
- H.4 After the treatment, the children in the experimental group have significantly fewer stereotypes of male-female behavior than have the control group children, particularly concerning females.
- H.5 After the treatment, children in the experimental group are less likely to define the female role in terms of the home and family and will express less opposition to women working outside the home.
- H.6 After the treatment, the experimental group girls have significantly fewer stereotypes than the experimental group boys expressing a higher score on role flexibility and a lower score on feminine flexibility.

- H.7 On the posttest the control group girls have fewer stereotypes than the control group boys expressing a higher score on role flexibility and a lower score on feminine flexibility.

According to Krauss (1974:1706), "gender roles as they relate to the psychology and activity of men and women and their systemic cultural, economic, and legal ramifications provide an explanation and a basis for understanding political behavior and thought, including recurrent women's protest movements." For the student of politics the presence of gender typing in the developmental process is important if it can be related to the relationship between the individual and the political system. The work relating gender role to political learning is more speculative than that concerning gender stereotyping alone. With the exception of Zellman's work (1973) concerning political issues, research concerning the relationship of gender role to political attitudes has been conducted on adults. In postulating the relationship of gender stereotyping to political learning one must, therefore, draw upon both the studies of adults and the socialization studies indicating the presence of certain characteristics in children.

Sex differences in political attitudes, behavior, and knowledge have been found in both adults and children. Women have been found to be less interested, informed, and efficacious than are men. they are also less tolerant of dissidents, more opposed to war and capital punishment, and more disapproving of moral deviation than are men (Hershey, 1977:261). In addition, recent research indicates that female elites are more liberal than male elites (Kirkpatrick, J., 1976; Soule and McGrath, 1977). Zellman (1973) found these differences to be replicated to some extent in children. Almost all the political

socialization literature indicates that females are less well-informed about politics than are males (Hess and Torney, 1967; Iglitzin, 1974; Orum et al., 1974). In addition, there are suggestions that girls are more moralistic, more compliant (Hess and Torney, 1967) and have a more benevolent image of the government (Orum et al., 1974).

Unless one argues that females are cognitively inferior and that politics is beyond their cognitive capacity, one must ask how the socialization process results in cognitive and affective differences between males and females. The formal instruction in politics offered in the school is the same for males and females. It is necessary, therefore, to look beyond the formal to the informal. Political learning occurs in the consumption of media, conversations with friends and family, and through direct observation of one's environment. One's political role develops in correspondence with other roles. If women are considered to be inferior to men, this subordinate status is carried over into politics and the female perception of politics may differ from that of the dominant role.

Most women are in a "low response opportunity environment" (Dantico, 1976) in which they have little opportunity to respond to political stimuli in other than a few limited ways. The perception of women as subordinate to men in the context of a low-response opportunity environment offers an explanation for the findings that women are less politically knowledgeable. The belief that one has little influence in politics and a lack of necessary resources leads to the assumption that it is unnecessary to pay much attention to political stimuli and the result is a lower level of political knowledge.

The passivity associated with the traditional female role may be transferred into a more compliant attitude toward the political system. In acting out the good citizen role by voting women may be indicating an acceptance of the norms of a popular representative democracy rather than any expectation of influencing the policy-making process (Krauss, 1974). Zellman (1973) labeled the tendency of females to view voting as a civic duty, approval-seeking conformity. Conformity with norms may lead to the perception of the government as responsive to people's needs without demand-making on their part; the government is perceived as benevolent and concerned for the welfare of its citizenry--that is, a paternalistic image of government is held.

Assuming that gender role concepts constitute an important and early part of the child's cognitive structure, one may argue that an early intervention altering and/or inhibiting gender stereotypes will affect the development of political attitudes, particularly for females. Hershey (1977) and Sapiro (1976) have provided some evidence to support the contention that there is an association between gender role concepts and political attitudes. The subjects of the present research, ranging in age from six to eight, are at an age when political knowledge is minimal; the research investigates the relationship between gender role concepts and the child's developing orientation toward the political system. The focus of the research is on the relationship between the conception of the female role and attitudes concerning the participation of females in politics at the level of the mass and also at the elite level.

- H.8 Girls express less personal efficacy than do boys perceiving themselves as less competent in playing games and in schoolwork and as having fewer friends.

- H.9 Girls express less political efficacy than boys indicating that it is not important for their parents to vote and/or that the only way in which the parents can exert influence is through voting.
- H.10 A rigid definition of the female role (high score on feminine flexibility index) is negatively related to the personal and political efficacy of girls.
- H.11 Girls are more compliant than are boys emphasizing civic duty and obedience and perceiving the government as benevolent toward Mexican-Americans and women.
- H.12 A flexible definition of the female role is associated with a less compliant attitude among girls.
- H.13 After the treatment, the experimental girls are less complaint than are the control girls so that the experimental boys and girls are closer in systemic compliance than are the control boys and girls.
- H.14 Gender role flexibility, particularly a flexible definition of the female role, is positively associated with a favorable attitude toward the participation of women in politics.
- H.15 Girls are more favorable toward female participation in politics.
- H.16 After the treatment, the experimental group children are more favorable toward female participation in politics than are the control group children.
- H.17 Boys and girls differ in the search process for political information relying upon different sources with boys relying on impersonal sources such as the media and girls relying on inter-personal sources such as the teacher and/or parents.
- H.18 Boys watch the news on television more than girls.
- H.19 Among girls attention to news is positively associated with support for female participation in politics and flexibility in the female role.

The summary of the political socialization literature, particularly of the more recent studies, suggests that the particular environment in which the individual functions influences the development of one's orientation toward the political system. The process

through which the environment influences the development of one's cognitions is discussed in the next two chapters. Chapter three begins by discussing theories of learning after which the specific process of learning the norms of the female role are discussed. Chapter four considers the position of the Mexican-American within the larger society and also the role of the female within the Mexican-American culture.

CHAPTER III

ISSUES IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

LEARNING AND ROLE

Knowledge concerning the acquisition of and change in political attitudes is limited due to the absence of a basic theoretical framework. Political socialization was first studied out of a concern for its consequences for the political system. Consequently, much more attention has been devoted to the content of political learning than to the learning process itself. Discrepancies in the content of political learning according to the group studied and the time of the study suggest that the content of political socialization is dependent upon the environment. The environment of the individual consists of both political and non-political stimuli which vary over time and between cultures. As a result of the variation in content, it is imperative that more attention be paid to the process of political socialization.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to integrate many different facets involved in political socialization so that a more comprehensive picture of the socialization process is created. The implications of the findings relating to minority group membership

and gender role reviewed in chapter two are that interaction with the environment is important in the development of political attitudes and behavior. Interaction with the environment will be discussed within the context of learning theories and the development of political efficacy. Gender role will be used to indicate the applicability of role theory to political learning. A discussion of the female gender role and the implications for political learning of socialization to a subordinate role in society brings the chapter to a conclusion.

Learning: Conceptualization and Theory

The inadequate development of political socialization theory is indicated by the ambiguity surrounding two key concepts, learning and efficacy, in the development of participant attitudes. Political socialization is defined as a learning process. However, learning is itself not defined and the workings of the process are not explicated (Dyson, 1971; Cook and Scioli, 1972). There is little attempt at uncovering how learning takes place in the political socialization research, it is simply assumed to occur. Dyson (1971) and Cook and Scioli (1972) have asserted that the way in which socialization studies are conducted preclude the possibility of examining the learning process. Little progress in understanding the process of learning has been made since Hyman's 1959 statement that political behavior was learned behavior. The interaction between the person being socialized, the agents of socialization, and the environment is not understood as the uncertainty in the literature over the influence of specific agents (family, school, peers, and the media) indicates.

Learning, however defined, involves the acquisition of information. As information seeking, learning must involve the active participation of the learner. Therefore, the individual must be considered to influence her/his own socialization. Seldom in the study of political socialization is the part played by the individual socializee considered. Dyson (1971) argued that the information-seeking behavior of the learning process may be more important in the development of political attitudes and behavior than is the actual content of early political learning.

An important part of the socialization process is the development of political efficacy. Efficacy is defined as a feeling of competence in dealing with the environment. Political efficacy concerns the feeling that one can have an effect upon the political process. As measured in survey research, political efficacy taps dimensions other than competence---such as support for the system. It also consists of perceptions concerning the environment. An individual's sense of efficacy reflects one's trust in the system and its representatives, a belief in the system's ability to respond, and the belief that one can force a response (Hess, 1971). Efficacy directly relates to one's interactions with the political system (Milbrath and Goel, 1977). As the number and type of interactions increase, one's political efficacy may increase or decrease depending on whether s/he has benefitted or been deprived as a result of the interaction. The different components of political efficacy may not be congruent. One's trust in the system may remain high even if one feels unable to elicit a response from the system. A high trust in the system without a

corresponding belief in one's ability to influence indicates a paternalistic image of authority and a subject orientation toward the system. One may also be distrustful of the system and yet believe in her/his capacity to elicit a response--perhaps through extra-legal means. Such a person has a participant orientation toward politics but feels extremely alienated from the system. One possible cause for the combination of participant orientation and distrust would be the perception of the political system as corrupt.

The relative importance of trust versus responsiveness in the political efficacy of the individual may provide an indication of the nature of the learning process. One could suggest that individuals from the dominant groups in a society should indicate a high level of trust in the political system and a belief that the system is responsive to their actions. Minority group members may or may not exhibit a high level of trust in the system depending on their perception of its responsiveness. Minority group members may view the system as responding to their needs without direction from them indicating a paternalistic view of politics or they may view the system as incapable of responding or themselves as being incapable of eliciting responses, both attitudes indicating alienation. The development of the political I-E scale (Davis, 1977) provides a needed clarification in the concept of political efficacy. The political I-E scale measures one's perception of membership in a represented public. "Internals" believe power lies within the control of people like themselves. "Externals" are the politically powerless; they do not believe themselves to be members of a represented public (Davis, 1977:4).

Political scientists have made few attempts to discuss political socialization and/or political efficacy within the context of a theory of learning. In order to discuss the applicability of learning theories to the study of political socialization, it is necessary to consider the theories themselves. Social learning theory and cognitive development theory will be contrasted and discussed in terms of their adequacy in explaining political socialization.

Social Learning

Although political scientists seldom state explicitly the theoretical framework within which they are working, a social learning viewpoint is generally assumed. There are several forms of social learning theory; they, however, all basically assume a stimulus-response sequence of action. According to the tenets of social learning theory, behavior is linked to specific stimuli. Beginning with the belief that learning occurred as a result of contingent conditioning,¹¹ social learning theory has evolved to the point where its practitioners emphasize instrumental conditioning as the basis of learning. Instrumental (or operational) conditioning is the process by which a particular response comes to be emitted in reaction to a specific stimulus due to previous reinforcement of the response when given.

Social learning theory explains differences in the behavior of the same individual as due to differences in situational cues and reinforcement contingencies. In the beginning, reinforcement was

¹¹Contingent conditioning (Pavlovian conditioning) involves the pairing of one stimulus with another so that the response originally directed at one stimulus is emitted with the appearance of the other.

conceived in terms of primary reinforcers (material rewards such as food, water, etc.). In the study of humans, researchers found that secondary reinforcers, such as social approval, are important in the acquisition of desired responses. Nevertheless, social learning theorists view these secondary reinforcers to have acquired value through their association with primary reinforcers in infancy such as the linkage of affection with food (Rohrer, 1975). According to Mischel (1970:43), cognitive gratifications (information or self-competence or the mastery of skills) also act as reinforcers.

In addition to instrumental conditioning, modern social learning theorists emphasize the importance of vicarious learning through the observation of others. Modeling, imitation, and even identification are forms of vicarious learning (Mischel, 1970:29). Vicarious learning emphasizes the importance of observation rather than direct experience in learning appropriate responses. "Individuals learn through observation about the structure of the environment and the behavior of others" (Mischel, 1970:29). As a result of observation, one can learn to respond to a stimulus without receiving reinforcement or performing an immediate imitative response (Mussen, 1969:716; Aronfreed, 1969:203).

If reinforcement is given on an intermittent rather than a continuous basis to the person being observed, one result of observational learning is generalized imitation in which both the reinforced and non-reinforced responses are imitated (Rohrer, 1975:140). Identification, originally conceived in psycho-analytic terms,

becomes simply a matter of reinforcement with more rewards accruing to the imitation of one model's behavior rather than that of another. Modeling results from the observation of another's behavior and subsequent imitation of it (Parsons, 1978a:109). The decision to imitate the response of another seems to be the result of the ability of the model to nurture or reward the learner (Mischel, 1970:32).

The sex of the model also seems to have an affect. Children appear to attend more closely to same-sex models (Mischel, 1970:37-38). If a model of the opposite sex is in a position to offer more rewards than the same-sex model, however, children (particularly girls) will imitate a cross-sex model (Mischel, 1976:30). Modeling does not require direct contact with the model. It can also result from attending to symbolic representations of behavior such as words and pictures (Mischel, 1970:29).

In a new situation individuals respond according to past conditioning, some of which is internal. Learning does not involve only the repetition of acts of behavior; it may also include the acquisition of patterns of self-reinforcement. Individuals may reward or punish themselves according to how they perceive their behavior in relation to standards they have internalized. The internalization of standards occurs through selective reinforcement of behavior by external agents. The many modifications of the association between stimuli and responses have resulted in a more diffuse perspective of behavior among social-learning theorists so that it is now thought that stimulus generalization exists. In stimulus generalization a response emitted in reaction to a particular stimulus may be triggered by stimuli

similar to the original stimulus. The new stimuli are perceived by the person emitting the response as containing some feature in common with the original stimulus (Rohrer, 1975:149; Mischel, 1970:32).

Social learning theory is environmentally oriented. Even the child's internalization of norms is dependent upon the reinforcement given to patterns of behavior whether committed by her/him or by others. It is important to remember that it is not necessary for imitative learning to occur during contact with the immediate model for a response (Aronfreed, 1969); the response may be given at a later time. Every mother has seen her patterns of behavior echoed in her children's play and one of the first things that parents learn once their children begin talking is to be careful of their language.

Agents of socialization are very important from a social learning perspective since their reinforcement of behavior influences the development of responses. Consequently, it becomes important to determine the relative influence of each agent. In using social learning theory one is assuming a unidirectional transmission from the environment to the individual. Although instrumental conditioning allows for interaction between the individual socializee, the stimuli, and the reinforcers, the initiative still lies with other actors in the environment. The reinforcement of the response becomes the conditional element rather than the stimuli or the socializee.

The essential weakness in social learning theory is that the development of the response is never explained; the repetition of response is due to reinforcement but why one makes a certain response in a new situation is unclear. In addition, social learning theory

appears to rely upon one-to-one or many-to-one relationships. The emission of a response as a reaction to several stimuli is explained only in terms of the dominance of one stimulus over the others not in terms of an interactive effect.

It can be suggested that the chain of stimulus-response reinforcement is part of an explanation of learning but is only a part. Social learning theory is able to account for the performance of a response to a greater extent than it is the acquisition of the response. Mischel, for example, relies heavily upon the work of Kohlberg to explain sex-role learning. Mischel (1970:29) argues that social learning theorists rely heavily upon cognitive-perceptual processes to explain the development of perceptual processes. According to Mischel (1970:29), "Sex-typed behavior,s like all other social behavior, depend to a large extent on observational learning and cognitive processes."

In the same vein, Zigler and Child (1973:35) suggest that the cognitive structure of the child influences the process of conceptualization but that the particular content of any concept is derived from the specific culture of the child. The limitations of social learning theory become readily apparent in attempting to apply it to political socialization. Although Herbert Hirsch (1971) claimed to have interpreted his data on the basis of social learning theory, he simply established that the political environment of Appalachia differed from that of mainstream America. Although social learning theory is able to explain why certain responses dominate in any one culture and that the content of learning may differ from one culture to another, in order to explain differences within the same culture

it must resort to indicating that cognitive processes and structures may differ from one individual to the other.

Social learning theory is lineage or inter-generational in approach and assumes that the older generation actively socializes the young. The assumption of active socialization is a dubious one to make regarding the political system. The data indicating a lack of inter-generational agreement on specific issues suggests that direct explicit political socialization is limited. The assumption of direct inter-generational learning made in the use of social learning theory limits its applicability to political socialization since the evidence appears to indicate that unconscious or indirect political socialization may be as important as direct attempts. Social learning theory implicitly assumes uniformity in behavior since individuals should react in the same manner to reinforcement. If a certain pattern of behavior is reinforced, it should be the one adopted by the individuals receiving the reinforcement. Deviation is difficult to explain unless there has been interference in the learning process such as rewards for deviant behavior. The focus of a social learning approach is not on the individual socializee but on the agents attempting the socialization. Concern with the agents rather than the socializee, however, does fit well with a concern for the consequences of the process or the systemic view of socialization explaining its attraction for political scientists. Cognitive development theory expresses a more individual approach to socialization.

Cognitive Development

Cognitive development theory is a dynamic interactive explanation of the relationship between the individual and the environment

including the agents of socialization. In this theoretical framework, learning is the acquisition of information from the environment. The type of information acquired is dependent upon the development of one's cognitive structure. The cognitive structure of the individual becomes more complex as her/his experiences increase. Cognitive development theory assumes that the primary role in the acquisition of information is taken by the learner who establishes a mental framework or cognitive structure which is constantly adapting to the environment. The definition of stimuli is perhaps the essential difference between cognitive development theory and social learning theories. In social learning theory, stimuli are given--there is no explanation for their cause. In cognitive development theory, a stimulus exists only when a reaction occurs.

The primary proponent of cognitive development theory is Jean Piaget. Piaget's interpretation of the relationship between the individual and the environment refutes the assumption that the individual is completely a product of his/her environment. The environment is important in Piaget's view due to the individual's perception of it; one's perception of the environment reflects the structure of one's thinking and one's past experiences. According to Piaget (1952, 1971), as the individual matures, the manner of thinking changes as a result of experiences with the environment. Basically, it is assumed that the result of increased experiences is that one becomes more capable of complex and abstract thinking (Piaget, 1928). Cognitive development theory is a stage theory in which it is postulated that individuals proceed through several different stages of conceptual development reflecting the type and amount of experiences one has had at different

points in life. One's experiences in life are in part related to one's biological development so that cognitive development is linked to physical maturation (Piaget, 1952).

Conceptual development is a continuous cumulative process in which present experiences are always related to past experiences. Unlike social learning theory, cognitive development theory does not consider the relating of the present to the past to be a conscious effort on the part of the individual. One's increasing experiences result in continual adaptation to the environment (Piaget, 1952). Adaptation takes place through assimilation and accommodation. One's response to stimuli is a result of these two activities. Assimilation involves the taking in of external events into one's cognitive structure. It is the integration of new stimuli into an already existing system of concepts (Piaget, 1971).

An essential point in cognitive development theory is that there can be no response unless a stimulus is recognized or assimilated by the organism. Because of an already existing system of concepts one is sensitive to certain stimuli (Piaget, 1971). Certain events become stimuli to individuals due to their perception of these events and their reaction to them. These same events may not be perceived by other individuals and do not constitute stimuli for the non-perceptive.

The other part of the adaptive process is accommodation. Accommodation is one's response to the stimuli as they are fitted into the cognitive structure. Accommodation results from assimilation; it is the modification or change in the already existing cognitive structure due to the incorporation of the stimulus. It is through assimilation

and accommodation that one's knowledge increases. As a person takes in more stimuli, her/his system of concepts becomes more complex and the individual can process information from the environment more effectively (Andrain, 1971). One's cognitive structure is an information-processing mechanism limited by the experiences one has had. According to Piaget (1971:4), "no form of knowledge, not even perceptual knowledge, constitutes a simply copy of reality, because it always includes a process of assimilation to previous structures." It is impossible for someone to grasp information for which her/his experiences have not been preparatory.

Cognitive development theory recommends itself to the study of political socialization in its characterization of the child's thinking as different from that of adults due to differences in cognitive ability. According to Piaget, a child's construction of reality (interpretation of the environment) is not a replica of the adults in her/his environment. Until one's experiences have led to the development of a cognitive structure allowing the perception of stimuli not directly experienced, it is impossible to grasp the meaning of abstract concepts. The pattern of the child's thought indicates that learning or the acquisition of knowledge is not simple, random or idiosyncratic although the child's thoughts appear erroneous. Piaget characterizes the young child's thoughts as being bound to direct experiences so that the child is egocentric and unable to distinguish between subjective and objective phenomena. To the child what is seen, said, or thought by the self is real and objective (Piaget, 1971).

Charles Andrain (1971), Richard Merelman (1969, 1971) and Norah Rosenau (1975) have used cognitive development theory as a

framework for the interpretation of political socialization data. They agree that the inability of the young child to conceive in terms other than direct experience limits the child's conceptualization of politics. According to Rosenau (1975), the inability of the child to directly experience and manipulate political events means that learning about the formal political system can only be cognitive. Cognitive learning requires the ability to conceptualize without a concrete empirical referent--an ability which does not develop until late in childhood. Consequently, it is impossible for the child to have any understanding of politics until shortly before adolescence. The child may be able to identify certain objects or individuals in the political system but is unable to explain their function in the political process. As Rosenau (1975:170) states, the child "can understand who the President is, because he can see him and hear him and read about him; but he cannot really grasp what the Presidency is." Merelman (1971) also interpreted the saliency of the President to young children as due to information about institutions. The greater orientation toward the institutions of the system evident among adolescents may therefore be due to their ability to understand information concerning abstract concepts such as institutions and processes.

A young child thinks in terms of objects, not processes. The young child is precausal in thought and cannot conceive in terms of one event being the cause of another (Piaget, 1928). Things happen, they are not instigated. The young child exhibits more of a subject orientation toward the environment rather than a participant orientation. The child perceives things as happening to her/him not as a

result of her/his own actions but through the arbitrary actions of others. As a result, the young child accepts authority as given and unchanging (Merelman, 1969). Merelman (1971) has suggested that there is little reason for young children to believe they should participate in the political system since they will be unable to influence it. "Only when the child recognizes that government does not serve him automatically does he acquire a motive for political participation" (Merelman, 1971:66).

Merelman has used cognitive development theory to explain the development of ideology including the understanding of democracy. He interprets the egocentric, realistic, and perception-bound thought of the child as being anti-democratic; Merelman proposed that cognitive development accounted for the increased democraticization of older children due to their understanding that the system is subject to human influence and is not given. Although his data did not fully support the contention that maturation would result in increased support of democracy, Merelman (1971) did find that the understanding of democracy increased from the lower to the upper grades. He noted that twelfth grade students exhibited an incomplete understanding of such components of democratic theory as majority rule, civic obligation, and minority rights.¹²

Rosenau reviewed the findings of socialization researchers which support cognitive development as a partial explanation for the process of political socialization. According to Rosenau (1975:176),

¹²Merelman also found that support for the vote and the desire to hold public office declined with the age of the students.

Adelson and associates found changes in political reasoning during adolescence to conform to Piagetian generalizations on the nature of the reasoning process. Although Adelson and his colleagues had not designed their research on the adolescent's conceptions of community and law to test Piagetian concepts, they found them useful in explaining their findings. The data of Adelson and associates indicates that adolescence is marked by "the achievement of abstractness, the extension of time perspective beyond the present, an increased understanding of human complexity, the emergence of hypothetico-deductive reasoning, the decline of authoritarianism and the growth of a sense of principle" (Rosenau, 1975:176).

Another work reviewed by Rosenau as supporting cognitive development theory was Cooper's study of children's conceptions of war and peace. Cooper used Piaget's ideas concerning the egocentric thought and perception-boundness of young children to explain the differences in children's conceptions of war and peace. Primarily due to its identification with fighting (an empirical referent), war was more readily conceived by the children. Rosenau also reviewed Connell's study of Australian children and found several instances of Connell's analysis compatible with cognitive development theory. According to Rosenau (1975:182), the child acquires information through the transmission of information from the adult world and through personal experience with political relationships; both sources affect her/his learning and developing orientation toward political institutions. Connell explained the attribution of benevolence to a political figure as a result of an over-estimation of the power of the figure. Labeling

the process, indiscriminate assimilation, Connell suggested that the child has an undifferentiated image of government and thus attributes all the information he has acquired concerning the government to a political figure.

Rosenau suggested that if one accepts the thought that political cognitions undergo a developmental phase becoming more differentiated and complex, it would be possible to trace the pattern of development in response to the life experiences of individuals differing in social class, education, and subcultural experiences. Andrain had also offered this suggestion in trying to explain why education and politicization correlated so well in the studies of political participation in the United States and in other countries. He suggested that in order to become concerned with politics one's interest must transcend the family and neighborhood to a concern with a larger part of society. Andrain thought that differences in cognitive development explained the greater politicization of the more educated; due to their greater cognitive skills, the educated are more capable of perceiving the relationship between self-interest and public policies.

Andrain also postulated that intelligence is a measure of cognitive development and that the more intelligent people would be less bound to concrete stimuli and more capable of abstraction than those with less intelligence. In his own research, however, Andrain (1971:94) discovered that the processing of abstract thought was linked to the grade level rather than to intelligence; eighth grade students were better informed than the fifth grade students, regardless of intelligence. Subsequently, Andrain (1971:63) argued that

biological maturation was necessary for complete cognitive development but that social experiences could influence the expression of cognitive skills.

The appeal of cognitive development theory lies in its flexibility. Since the individual is assumed to modify stimuli in order to fit it within her/his cognitive structure, a stimulus does not necessarily elicit the same response from everyone and may not even constitute a stimulus for those who do not perceive it. Differences as well as similarities in behavior can be explained in terms other than deviation or abnormality. Differences in behavior and/or attitudes result from differences in the interaction between the individual and the environment. Both Merelman and Rosenau suggested that cognitive development is not a complete explanation of political learning. Rosenau suggested that cognitive ability interacted with conditioning, reinforcement, and observational learning in such a way as to influence the child's perception of the consequences of these processes. Conditioning, reinforcement, and observational learning in turn affected the child's developing cognitive structure.

The interactive approach of cognitive development theory which places importance on both the environmental and the individual allows for the inclusion of a large number of variables in the political learning process. The selection of appropriate variables is dependent upon the combination of cognitive development theory with other approaches. The importance of experience in cognitive development theory blends well with the data suggesting the importance of demographic characteristics in the political socialization of children. The process of assimilation and accommodation also suggests the absence

of compartmentalization in the learning process as has been indicated by research findings that political learning is often dependent upon other types of learning. Role theory offers a means of integrating such differences as age, sex, and ethnicity into a cognitive development framework.

Roles: Gender and Political Socialization

Life experiences derive from one's status or position in society. Expectations about proper behavior are attached to one's position in society, one's role. These norms or rules for behavior may be prescriptive, prohibitive, or permissive according to whether the individual in a role must exhibit a certain type of behavior, is forbidden to behave in a certain manner, or is permitted a behavior neither demanded nor prohibited. Behavior is sanctioned (rewarded or punished) through the responding behavior of other individuals or groups. Roles do not occur in isolation; they are a statement of one's relationship to others. Sanctions are administered primarily by the occupants or complementary roles. Complementary roles are roles whose norms are defined in terms of each other. Humans are complex creatures whose behavior occurs through interactions with others and is contingent in character. Individuals learn that one acts according to the situation and as the situation changes one's behavior must also change. Part of the developmental process is the acquisition of these norms of behavior for one's self and for others. If one has the characteristics which are used to describe the occupants of a role, one is expected to follow the norms of that role irrespective of one's own individual inclinations or face negative sanctions (Jaros and Grant, 1974).

Every individual may occupy several different roles indicating the nature of one's relationship with different people. For this study, the focus is on a role defined according to ascriptive criteria, gender. Individuals are born with physical characteristics of a particular sex or ethnic group. Due to the difficulty in changing one's physical characteristics, it can be argued that gender and/or ethnicity are particularly important in defining one's relationship with others. A physical attribute such as gender or ethnicity indicates to others that one occupies a certain place in society and that a certain type of behavior is to be expected of you.

According to Lyle Bourne (1966:36), our most basic concepts evolve from the recognition of physical attributes. Part of the conceptual process is generalization from one's limited experiences with a member of one group to all members of the group. Since physical attributes are easily distinguished, we classify people on the basis of these attributes and make generalizations about the group whose members share these characteristics. When these generalizations are held to be universal, they become stereotypes. Recognition of a physical attribute may trigger stereotyped versions of role occupants and their behavior. If a number of undesirable stereotypes are attached to a particular role, both others and the individuals in that role treat it as inferior to other roles. Stereotypes are evaluative; they compare one group with another. Stereotypes consist of expectations concerning the way in which individuals should behave in a given situation (Brown, 1965).

Gender: Identity and Stereotyping

The process of acquiring a gender identity and adopting the prescribed behavior is not completely understood. There is agreement that gender identity is acquired early during the pre-school years. According to Kohlberg (1966), however, the child does not become certain of gender constancy¹³ until approximately school age. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974:365) argue that gender constancy is not necessary for the learning of gender role norms. According to Maccoby and Jacklin, "children as young as three, we suggest, have begun to develop a rudimentary understanding of their own sex identification, even though their ability to group others according to sex is imperfect and their notion about the performance of their own sex identification incomplete."

Concomitant with the developing gender identity is the awareness that there are different standards of behavior for males and females. Jerome Kagan (1958) defined the learning of gender role norms as the association "between selected attributes, behavior and attitudes and the concepts, male and female." Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) has suggested that children base their own gender identity and that of others on physical characteristics and attributes such as power and/or prestige, aggression, nurturance, and/or child care. A proponent of cognitive development theory, Kohlberg firmly rejected the contention that gender identity is simply a product of social labeling. According to Kohlberg (Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967:103):

¹³ Gender constancy means the realization that one remains the same gender throughout life (unless one has a trans-sexual operation); little children often assert that they will change genders or were at one time the opposite gender.

The child's basic sex-role identification is largely the result of a self-categorization as a male or female made early in development. While dependent on social labeling, this categorization is basically a cognitive reality judgment rather than a product of social rewards, parental identification or sexual fantasies.

As a "cognitive reality judgment," Kohlberg suggested that the development of gender role norms was a product of the child's interpretation of a social order which assigned behavior on the basis of gender. Rejecting suggestions that gender identity develops through identification with the parent of same gender, Kohlberg (Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967:103) asserted that identification with the same gender parent proceeds from rather than causes gender identity. "The tendency to value positively and imitate self-like objects tends to radiate out in the child's development in the form of imitation and liking for the same-sex parent."

Kohlberg also argued that social reinforcement for certain types of behavior is valued according to the child's gender identity. One's acquisition of gender identity is based on the awareness of physical characteristics rather than being a result of direct teaching. Children become aware of physical reality early and part of this reality is the division of people into males and females. Once aware of the distinctive physical characteristics of each gender, children identify with the appropriate gender on the basis of shared physical characteristics. From the awareness of physical characteristics, the child moves to an awareness of common patterns of behavior shared by members of one's gender.

Gender identity can be conceived as a major organizing element in one's cognitive structure. Drawing upon cognitive development

theory, it is possible to argue that the perception of stimuli will be influenced by one's gender identity. As a result of different experiences and their assimilation and accommodation by the cognitive structure, males and females may find different types of stimuli relevant—gender acts as a perceptual filter. Stimuli relevant to the appropriate gender role will be the most easily assimilated; males will assimilate information concerning characteristics of the male role and females information concerning characteristics of the female role. Mussen (1969) defined sex typing as "a process by which the individual develops the attributes defined as appropriate for his sex in his own culture." In a longitudinal study of a group of children, Kagan and associates (1960) found the developmental stability of a response to be related to its sex role appropriateness. Children become aware of the differences in the reactions of others to certain types of behavior depending on whether the behavior is that of males or females. A behavior, such as independence, may be positively sanctioned in a male, negatively sanctioned in a female. Thereafter, stimuli urging independent action may be more easily assimilated by the male than by the female.

A major concern of this study is whether gender identity affects the assimilation of political stimuli. It is proposed that politics is primarily defined in non-nurturant terms and that the female role is defined in terms of nurturance. Consequently, political stimuli is low in relevance for many women. In order to support the contention that gender affects one's interactions with the environment and, therefore, one's assimilation of stimuli, it is necessary to document the existence of different norms for males and females. There seems to be little doubt that in American society certain characteristics

are considered to be more appropriate for males and others more appropriate for females (Katz et al., 1977; Brown, 1965; Kagan, 1964). The characteristics deemed more suitable for males include aggression, ambition, assertiveness, competitiveness, and independence. The complementary nature of male and female roles is indicated by the desirability of affection, compassion, shyness, sensitivity, and submissiveness for women (Bem, S., 1974:156). The extent of agreement on the desirability of these characteristics for males and females appears to indicate that different norms for these genders exist.

Children begin to acquire the appropriate norms during infancy as they respond to the differential treatment given to males and females. According to Mussen (1969:715), there are differences in child training practices for girls and those for boys; these differences are intended to encourage the development of sex-typed characteristics. Differences in the behavior of males and females are found even among young children. Reviewing the literature, Katz et al. (1977) indicate that girls are more compliant than are boys; boys are more active and aggressive than girls as well as more curious, adventurous, manipulative, and exploratory.

One's experiences are shaped by one's gender. Beginning with birth, gender influences interactions with others. It will influence how much a child is talked to (and in what tone of voice), how the child is handled, the type of clothing worn, and the type of toys received. Girls are touched, handled, and talked to more as infants (Weitzman, 1975), but are also more restricted in activity than are boys (Katz et al., 1977; Weitzman, 1975). Although girls may receive

more physical attention than boys as infants, boys receive more attention both negative and positive throughout childhood (Katz, 1977; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Sears and Feldman, 1966).

Boys are especially likely to have prohibitive norms communicated to them; they are pressured from infancy not to deviate from gender role norms. Even though both parents encourage sex-typing, fathers do so more than mothers (Block, 1976; Pitcher, 1963). Fathers are more apt to emphasize achievement for their sons and cognitive-irrelevant characteristics for their daughters (Katz et al., 1977:23). Consequently, there is some reason to believe that children from father-dominant families will show more typical sex-role development than those children in homes in which the father is not dominant (Katz et al., 1977). In a cross-cultural comparison of child rearing practices, Block (1976) found evidence of early and clear sex-typing in American practices. She found American child-rearing practices placed more value on competitive achievement than those of other cultures; however, the emphasis on competition was for within-sex competition, not competition between boys and girls. Block also found American practices placed less value on the control of male aggression than did the child-rearing practices of other cultures.

Stereotypes are evaluative generalizations about the behavior expected from people in different roles (Brown, 1965). The masculine stereotype of the assertive, independent, analytical individual consists of characteristics that are positively valued in American society. The feminine stereotype of a passive, dependent, illogical, other-directed individual is composed of characteristics which are more

negative and connote inferiority (Freeman, J., 1970; Bernard, 1976). Male and female are the quintessential example of complementary roles. Unfortunately, they are often conceived in terms of opposition so that the expectancies concerning the behavior of one may be defined as the extreme of the other, i.e., men should not be submissive nor women aggressive.

Individuals who exhibit many characteristics identified with the other gender have been perceived in a pejorative manner as "effeminate" men or "masculine" women. The social disapproval experienced by gender role deviants is reflected in high amounts of anxiety. According to Jo Freeman (1970), "the girl who does not succumb to overprotection and develop the appropriate personality and behavior for her sex has a major price to pay; a price in anxiety. . . . Anxiety is particularly manifest in college women."

Matina Horner coined the term "fear of success" to describe the conflict felt by achievement-oriented women. Horner argued that women become anxious about success because they expect social rejection and/or loss of femininity. According to Horner (1972), anxiety aroused by a fear of negative consequences serves to inhibit activity directed at success. In the original 1964 study and in subsequent studies from 1964-1970, women have exhibited more fear of success than the men. Horner (1972) reported that "most of the women high in fear of success imagery continued to be concerned about the discrepancy between success in the situation described and feminine identity" although the manifestation of this fear has taken on different forms. Horner suggested that most women resolve the anxiety by disguising their ability and abdicating from competition in the outside world. Horner included

data showing that a high fear of success level and traditional role orientation related to political behavior. Women exhibiting a high fear of success level and a traditional role orientation saw themselves as involved in a supportive role in relation to political candidates; low fear of success women saw themselves as the candidates.

The reports indicating a "fear of success," high levels of anxiety among achievement-oriented women, suggest that the female role contains a prohibition against achievement. The prescriptions and prohibitions involved in a gender role are communicated to the child from birth (Hoffman, 1972; Deckard, 1975; Weitzman, 1975). One's earliest experiences are the result of physical contact with adults, primarily family members. As the child develops, however, s/he interacts with other sources of information as the mass media and the school. The standard message communicated by these instruments of culture is a stereotype discouraging initiative and achievement in women. Whether one looks at picture books for preschoolers (Weitzman et al., 1972), textbooks (Women on Words and Images, 1972; Federbush, 1974; Mlinar, 1973; U'ren, 1971), television programs (Birns, 1976; Liebert et al., 1973), etc., the message is the same--girls are passive, unimaginative creatures best confined to the home. Females are considered important only through their relationship to men.

This message is conveyed in the way females are portrayed in the media and in school curricula and in school textbooks. Although there has been some improvement since the early 1970s, females are still secondary to males. Male characters outnumber females in picture-books (Weitzman et al., 1972), elementary readers (U'ren, 1971; Women

on Words and Images, 1972), math and science books (Federbush, 1974; Mlinar, 1973), history books (Trecker, 1971), and television programs (Birns, 1976; Liebert et al., 1973). The absence of females is not the only indication of their lack of importance. Their marginal role is indicated by the limited nature of the behaviors they are allowed to engage in. Females stay inside, wear dresses, and serve others or are rescued from danger by fearless males (Weitzman, 1972; Women on Words and Images, 1972; Federbush, 1974). Weitzman (1972) noted that women are portrayed almost exclusively in relationships with men rather than other women. In television most women are married, were married, or are engaged (Liebert et al., 1973; Katz et al., 1977). Aggressive females usually are punished for their deviation (Liebert et al., 1973; Women on Words and Images, 1972).

The implication given is that the proper goal for females is becoming a mother. The typical mother always wears an apron and is immaculate, even when cleaning the house (Weitzman, 1972; Women on Words and Images, 1972). When women work outside the home, they are not mothers (Stefflre, 1969) and are concentrated in professional fields or glamorous occupations emphasizing physical attributes (Weitzman, 1972).

Schools through curriculum, structure, and interactions between students and teachers convey the message that gender is the determining factor of life. It is well known that most of our elementary teachers are women (particularly in the primary grades) and that most of the elementary principals are male. In other words, the highest position in a field dominated by women is nearly always filled

by a male. Betty Levy (1972a) stated: "school children do not need to be taught the differential status of men and women--they learn it simply by attending school." In both elementary and secondary schools the curriculum is organized around gender appropriate activities. Not only are girls channelled into home economics and secretarial courses and boys into industrial arts courses by counselors and/or school regulations (Levy, 1972a), such courses are scheduled to fit the appropriate gender, i.e., industrial arts is not scheduled at the same time as boys' physical education but is scheduled against girls' physical education. Attention to gender distinctions and roles is pervasive in the school. Under the premise of equality, most elementary classes have teachers' helpers usually divided equally between boys and girls. However, the tasks that helpers perform are usually defined in terms of gender appropriate activities. Boys move things; girls water plants or dust. Finally, teachers treat boys and girls differently. Boys are punished more but they also receive more teaching time, more skill work, and more individual tutorial attention in grade school (Levy, 1972a; Sears and Feldman, 1966; Katz et al., 1977). During the elementary years girls achieve better in school than do boys, yet once they began to fall behind as at puberty they do not receive an equivalent amount of teacher attentiveness.

The results of the greater prestige assigned to the male role is predictable. Males and females alike value the male role more than they do the female role (Katz et al., 1977). In their study of the development of gender role attitudes in children, Kohlberg and Zigler (1967) found that boys and girls were increasingly positive

toward the male role as they increased in age. As children mature the female role becomes less appealing than the male role for children of both sexes although girls are pressured to meet role expectations. One of the standard findings in educational research is that girls achieve better in school than do boys until puberty at which time they fall behind (Maccoby, 1966; Freeman, 1970; Deckard, 1975). Girls are more timid and anxious than boys (Katz et al., 1977) and underestimate their own abilities (Hoffman, 1972). In fact girls' perceptions of themselves grow progressively worse with age, especially in adolescence, while their opinion of boys and boys' ability increases (Freeman, J., 1970; Parsons, 1978b). Frieze (1978) notes that as children grow older the ratio of female to male underachievers increases.

One may suggest that the increase in female underachievers may be an indication of the ambivalence felt by women who face the option of adhering to role norms prohibiting achievement in an achievement-oriented society or of choosing to face a certain amount of anxiety for violating role norms. According to Parsons (1978b:132), the egocentrism of the child's thoughts leads the female to identify with her own gender but she develops ambivalence toward her gender role as a result of environmental stimuli according more prestige to the male role. Parsons also adds that the individual female will engage in as much cross-sex behavior as is tolerated as a result of this ambivalence. This ambivalence towards her own gender is also indicated by Goldberg's (1968) finding that by the time they reach college, women are prejudiced against women, seeing them as less competent than males even in fields dominated by women.

The superiority attributed to men is reflected in the greater prestige attached to male characteristics including the jobs performed by men. In American society such qualities as aggression, achievement, ambition, and rationality are rewarded. None of these characteristics are used in the description of the female role. The most prestigious occupations such as those of doctor, lawyer, and/or engineer, are those which are dominated by white males. Women are concentrated in low-status service occupations. The only professions in which women dominate are nursing, teaching, and social work. These occupations are not as rewarding financially nor as prestigious as the male-dominated professions.

The literature indicates that women are more anxious and less self-confident than are males. Girls tend to underestimate their own ability. When asked to anticipate their performance on tasks they underestimate their ability (Hoffman, 1972; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Frieze, 1978). According to Freeman (1970): "Negative self-conceptions have negative effects. . . . They stifle motivation and channel energies into those areas that are likely to get some positive social rewards." As women internalize the stereotype of the female as dependent and inferior, they develop a negative self-image which may lead to a lowering of aspiration and the adoption of the traditional role as wife-mother. Women are accorded social approval when engaged in acts of nurturance. The wife-mother dimension remains the most salient in the female role.

Studies have found that in spite of the number of girls aspiring to have careers, including ones in non-traditional fields,

the expectations of most girls for the future are centered around the home (Iglitzin, 1972; Katz et al., 1977).¹⁴ Women in college have been found to be vague concerning career plans. Arnold Rose (1951) found that college women expected to devote over 50 percent of the time to household tasks. He also suggested that female students were not as involved in their future careers as men. Rose based this assertion on the women's plans to retire early (a large majority at the age of thirty) and the apportionment of their time by the women. The women allocated more time to various activities than was permitted by the number of hours available. In addition, among upper-status women there was a lack of preparation for specific careers. Rose (1951:76) concluded that his study indicated "a certain inconsistency, lack of definiteness, and lack of realism about expectations for adult roles among a significant proportion of women college students."

Although Rose's study occurred nearly thirty years ago, a more recent study by Helena Lopata (1971) also suggested that women were less career-oriented than their education or stated intention to work indicated. Lopata suggested that women attending college concentrated in fields approved for their sex such as education; the lack of career-orientation among the women was indicated by the fact that most graduate degrees in education were awarded to men despite the domination of women in teaching. Lopata (1971:31) summed up the situation by saying that women "work in traditional fields without strong commitment to them, and a career is viewed only in an

¹⁴ A survey of high school seniors in 1979 indicated that even among college-bound females with long-term career aspirations, the majority wanted children and intended to be full-time homemakers during their children's pre-school years (Bachman and Johnson, 1979).

intermediary state between education and homemaking." It appears, therefore, that women who pursue post-secondary education, an effort which could indicate high self-esteem and an achievement orientation, are following Freeman's (1970) prediction of channeling energies into approved fields and achieving only to a socially approved extent.

The salience of the wife-mother role in feminine identification was underscored in Lopata's finding that four-fifths of the women interviewed limited women to home roles, regardless of their own employment situation (Lopata, 1971:41). Most of the women listed only mother, wife, and housewife as the most important roles of a woman. Few listed non-familial roles as important. Lopata (1971:189) reported that becoming a mother was the major role of most American women. Although the number has increased in recent years, only a small percentage of female adults and adolescents do not intend to become mothers (Bernard, 1974).

In spite of the increased number of women in the workforce and attending college, motherhood remains a primary factor in female self-identification. Bernard (1974:181) argued that working is not necessarily incompatible with the traditional female role. Women who simply have jobs rather than pursue professional careers are still performing a nurturant function if their working means that they can provide a better standard of living for their families.

Lopata (1971:48-49) also suggested that working women may be more traditionally oriented than middle-class housewives. Katz (et al., 1977) reported that some research indicates gender role flexibility may be influenced more by the reason for working than the

actual employment status of women. It is possible that the rising number of women in the workforce and in college may not indicate a departure from traditional norms for the female role, especially in view of the fact that increased participation in activities outside the home has not appeared to reduce the activities by women inside the home (Chaney, 1975; Lewis, 1978). Two-career families may be a result more of inflation rather than of gender-role flexibility.

The female sense of inferiority and dedication to nurturance carries over into politics. The voting studies have found females to be less efficacious than males (Campbell et al., 1960; Milbrath, 1965; Pomper, 1975; Soule and McGrath, 1977). Since political efficacy is assumed to be based on personal efficacy (Hess, 1971), this data correlates well with the lower self-esteem reported among females. The differences in political efficacy between adult men and women, however, have not been replicated in the socialization studies of children (Easton and Dennis, 1967). Virginia Sapiro (1976) has suggested that the lack of difference is due to the permissive standards of the female child role as compared to the prescription and prohibitions of the female adult role.

Other researchers have supported the contention that gender role norms are fully enforced only when one nears the assumption of the adult male or adult female role. Weissberg (1974:117) indicated that female high school seniors were less efficacious than were male high school seniors. High school seniors are much closer to assuming adult roles than are elementary school children which may explain why differences in efficacy appear only at this level. Freeman's

interpretation of the decline in scholastic achievement among high school girls also is that it is only at puberty that girls are pressured to fulfill the norms of the female role. The absence of a sex difference in political efficacy until the twelfth grade may also reflect the continuation of trust in the system despite a feeling of personal incompetence. A high political efficacy rate among groups excluded from full political participation such as women and ethnic minorities may be an indication of a subject orientation to the system rather than a belief in one's ability to influence the system.

Naomi Lynn and Cornelia Flora (1973, 1974) investigated the effect of motherhood in the political participation of women. Analyzing the data from the 1968 Survey Research Center voting study, they found a relationship between motherhood and low political efficacy. Political efficacy was determined by the extent to which women indicated that their only way to influence government was through voting. Motherhood, as indicated by the presence of children under the age of eighteen, made a significant difference in the political efficacy of women in the higher socio-economic status groups, particularly among women with some college education (Lynn and Flora, 1973). Lynn and Flora concluded that it was the role of mother more than any other factor, such as the age or the number of children, which is important in explaining a sense of low political efficacy among upper-middle class college-educated women.

In order to investigate why motherhood inhibits political efficacy and participation among college-educated women, Lynn and Flora conducted detailed interviews with a small local sample of

mothers of young children. They found motherhood, regardless of the employment status of the woman, to be an inhibiting factor. The constant demands of the mother role leave little time for the development of skills and interests leading to political activity.¹⁵ Lynn and Flora found the association between motherhood and political participation to be affected by anticipatory socialization, husband helpfulness, and interaction networks. Lynn and Flora (1974:44-45) argued that motherhood does not affect women with less than a college education as strongly because they have undergone more anticipatory socialization for the mother role. Lynn and Flora suggest that a high degree of anticipatory socialization for the mother role accounts for a low degree of political participation. Lynn and Flora also found that the political activity of the mothers was dependent upon the extent to which their husbands were willing to assume some of the child-care duties. Finally, women who were engaged in high interaction communications networks were more politically active. Women who belonged to voluntary organizations paid more attention to political news in the media; the most politically active women were the ones least involved in a child-centered neighborhood network.

Wilma Krauss (1974) has suggested that tensions occur as a result of the interaction between the demands of the traditional female role and the demands for citizen participation in a democracy. These tensions have resulted in increased political participation by women but only within certain limits, primarily voting and volunteerism.

¹⁵ Sales (1978) discusses the mother of young children in terms of role overload, particularly if she is employed outside the home.

Voting and volunteer activity on behalf of a candidate or an issue can be viewed as acts of nurturance. Voting may be an act of maintaining the system rather than one of registering one's demands. Volunteer campaign activity is the political equivalent of the traditional home role of the female, the performance of necessary but taken-for-granted tasks. Although the percentage has steadily increased during the 1970s, women are still comparatively rare as public office holders. The number of female state legislators has risen steadily from 4 percent (305) in 1969 to 10.2 percent (767) in 1978 (National Women's Education Fund, 1978). The number of women holding office at state and local levels of government has also increased but the number of women in Congress has remained at 4 percent during this decade (Johnson and Carroll, 1978).

The convergence in the voting turnouts of men and women in the total population may be due to several factors. One interpretation is that women are becoming more participant in politics. Another is that the increasing turnout among women when the total is decreasing indicates that women may be more supportive and less alienated from the system. The increasing female turnout at the polls can also be explained by socio-cultural trends such as increasing education, smaller families, and to some extent, the feminist movement. It can be suggested that despite the lack of agreement among women on such issues as abortion and the equal rights amendment, these issues have contributed to an increased level of political participation among lower-status women.

Women have been found to be more compliant toward authority and somewhat more trusting of the political system, which may be

translated into the consideration of voting as a necessary civic duty in a time of increasing cynicism concerning the government. The limited nature of this increased participation, however, is indicated by the paucity of female office-holders. Although it may be suggested that increasing voting rates will eventually result in increased female representation in public office, Pomper (1975:71) has observed that women have been outvoting men in the North since the early 1960s without any dramatic increase in female representation. Using such structural characteristics as education, occupation, and group membership, Welch (1978:378) found that discrimination analysis would predict "three times as many females in these lower houses and 3.7 times as many females in the upper houses as are found in our sample." Welch concludes that while structural characteristics are important in explaining why so few women are elected to public office, sex role beliefs and political socialization also affect the recruitment of women to public office.

A characteristic of female office-holders which is important in explaining the effect of gender role norms on political participation is their age. Only among Federal executives are less than 70 percent of the women in public office over the age of forty. Reflecting their maturity, very few of these women have children under the age of six and the majority have no children under the age of eighteen (Johnson and Carroll, 1978:13A).

Although an emphasis on the upper middle-class college-educated excludes much of the population, the members of this socioeconomic group are the most likely to participate in politics. Among

the college-educated, the voting turnout among women actually has exceeded that of men since 1972 (Hansen et al., 1976; Jacquette, 1974; Lansing, 1974). Female office-holders are better educated than the general public and have more prestigious occupations indicating their upper-class membership. These women, however, are concentrated in occupations traditional for women. Between 30 percent to 40 percent of female state legislators are drawn from secretarial/clerical, nursing/health technical, social work and elementary/secondary teaching professions (Johnson and Carroll, 1978:9A) rather than from the business and professional occupations forming the "eligible pool" from which most officials are drawn (Welch, 1978).

Robert Darcy (1979) is currently engaged in a study of the influences of life-cycle changes on political participation. He indicates that the birth of the first child results in a movement in a conservative direction in political viewpoint for both parents. Although new fathers actually changed more than did new mothers, men have been becoming more conservative in recent years. Women have been generally becoming more liberal in political viewpoint so that the conservative viewpoint of new mothers is counter to the general trend in the population while that of new fathers, although extreme, is in the same direction as the general trend among men (Darcy, 1979:17).

Cognitive Development and the Female Role

Focusing on gender roles, it has been argued that one's experiences with the environment constitute an important part of the learning process. Role theory has been used as a framework for explaining the individual's interactions with her/his environment.

The basic argument that has been advanced in this chapter is that:

(1) a definite set of norms exist concerning the role of females in American society, particularly for adults; (2) these norms prescribe a subordinate status for women centered on the home; and (3) the internalization of these norms have an inhibiting effect on the political participation of women.

According to several researchers (Bardwick and Douvan, 1971; Freeman, S., 1970; Sales, 1978), the female role is typically defined in relation to the male role. The subordinate status of women is determined not only by the self-perception of women but also by men's perception of women. Although both genders are discouraged from engaging in behavior appropriate to the other, sanctions are imposed early and severely on boys engaged in "feminine" activities. If a male is prohibited from doing something and told that only women exhibit such unseemly behavior--i.e., only girls cry--it is likely that the weakness of such behavior is directly associated with the perception of inferiority for the people permitted to engage in that behavior. Men, as well as women, are the recipients of the message that women are inferior to men. The predominance of males in children's books is sometimes explained as due to the boys' dislike of reading about girls (Feminists on Children's Media, 1971). The response by feminists is that boys don't like to read about girls because girls are portrayed in such an insipid manner (Women on Words and Images, 1972). Not too surprisingly, boys have an increasingly better opinion of themselves and a worse opinion of girls as they grow older (Freeman, 1970).

Men control the institutions and power resources in the society (Mischel, 1970; Chodorow, 1971; Andreas, 1971; Lipman-Blumen,

1975); therefore, it becomes important to discover how they view female involvement in politics. Although Bozeman and associates (1977) report that men are as likely as women to be supportive of political activity by women, Hershey (1977:271) found dramatic differences between the sexes regarding women candidates. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1976:470) found a disparity between male and female party delegates regardless of region, age, or education, concerning the ability of women to participate in politics. More male delegates than female delegates to the national party conventions thought women less suited to politics and doubted their ability to be logical and rational. Although popular support for the full equality of the sexes has not yet developed, female elites whether college students (Hershey) or party delegates (Kirkpatrick) are much more supportive of the goals of the feminist movement than are male elites. It is women who have deviated from the traditional role norms who are challenging these very norms. The problems of female candidates in securing financial support and party endorsement (Currey, 1977) suggest that males may not be as favorably inclined to female equality as their rhetoric sometimes indicates. Research also indicates that the supportiveness of one's husband is necessary for female office-holders, particularly if there are children at home (Kirkpatrick, 1974, 1976; McDonald, 1975; Mezey, 1978; Johnson and Carroll, 1978). Male and female perspectives of the female role affect the political participation of women.

Assuming that there is a differential socialization process, one may ask how socialization to the female gender role inhibits the

development of participatory skills. As the introduction mentioned, situational and structural explanations have been proposed to explain the lower level of female political participation. At the time it was suggested that situational and structural explanations explain the inhibition of participation at different levels. The position put forth in that situational barriers have their origins in the structural process of socialization. Both males and females come to view females as secondary creatures subordinate to males. Furthermore, it was argued that the female role is defined in terms of the home and family and that this inhibits the development of participatory skills although not of citizenship norms.

Earlier, it has been suggested that learning occurs through a process of cognitive development involving interaction with the environment. Cognitive development occurs as a result of a search process. According to cognitive development theory, the individual's interactions with the environment are guided by a desire for competence (Parsons:1978b). One's cognitive structure or system of concepts develops out of one's experiences. In turn, new experiences are mediated through one's already existing structure.

The author suggests that there is little in the female experience to encourage political participation. In the application of cognitive development theory to the development of sex role standards, Kohlberg (1966, 1967) has argued that children identify with the same-sex models due to the perception of shared physical attributes. Females share few physical attributes with public office-holders or other active politicians. In the initial studies of political

socialization, researchers noted that females were less likely to identify with political figures than were males (Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). Although the scarcity of female political figures was noted, the implications from the finding that females found it difficult to identify with male figures was not considered to be worth further investigation. Women are still rare at the high levels of politics whether in an election, appointive, or partisan office. Duverger (1955:123) noted that the "progressive decline in women's influences as the higher levels of leadership are reached is not only noticeable in the structure of the State and its political organs, but is also to be found in the government service, the political parties, the trade unions, private businesses, etc."

Although more women have gained office since the 1950s, the picture of decreasing influence at increasing levels of policy-making has not greatly changed. Putnam (1976:32) called women the most under-represented group in the political elites of the world. He also noted that with the exception of Scandinavia, women constitute approximately 5 percent of state policy-making bodies.¹⁶ Putnam also called attention to the "law of increasing disproportion" whereby higher level political positions are increasingly held by members of high status groups (Putnam, 1976:33). The scarcity of same-sex political models leaves the female with two options. She can either dismiss the political sphere as a major area of concern or she can cross-identify with male models. Welch (1978:379) suggests that the political

¹⁶ Putnam included national legislatures and central committees in communist countries in this group. Duverger had noted that seldom did women constitute 5 percent of any parliament. Women have yet to reach the 5 percent mark in the U.S. Congress.

socialization argument is more appropriate in explaining the small number of women candidates for office than in explaining voting behavior. She also notes that "women who are recruited to public office do seem to be those who, for one reason or another, break away from the 'traditional' constraints of the housewife role" (Welch, 1978:375).

Although there are more women at local levels of government than at the national level, it should be remembered that the national level is that most salient to the child. At the national level the paucity of females is appalling. The executive is more salient to children than are legislators, yet females do better in legislative campaigns than in campaigns for executive positions at the state level (Lynn, 1975) and as yet no female has been Vice-President or President. As for the legislature at the national level, women have not reached the 5 percent level in Congress nor played a prominent role in party leadership (Lynn, 1975). According to Duverger (1955:29), the publicity received by the few women who make it in non-traditional fields such as politics only serves to remind people of their uniqueness. One of the first messages concerning politics that children may receive is the unconscious one that politics is reserved for men.

As the child matures and learns more about the political system, the continued scarcity of females in policy-making positions as well as the continued emphasis on marriage and family as the principal focus of the female role only reinforce a conception of politics as a male sphere of action. This early learning of male dominance in politics may be at a sub-conscious level, yet the author suggests that as a

result of it, assimilation of political information is affected. It is generally accepted by cognitive theorists (Bourne, 1966; Baldwin, 1969; D. Bem, 1970; Kirkpatrick, S. and Pettit, 1972) that in order to cope with environmental output, the individual develops a cognitive structure or map of categorization which enables her/him to attend to only selected stimuli from the environment. According to Kirkpatrick, S., and Pettit (1972:199), the perceptual screen operates to filter out certain stimuli, distortion and misperception and as such aid in the development of attitudes. It is possible to think of learning in terms of information seeking and processing. The development of a set of categories which act to mediate between the individual and the environment, therefore, can shape the type of information one receives from the environment and thus, learning itself. Kirkpatrick and Pettit (1972:201) state that "the process of political socialization including the modes of adapting which the individual learns is actually a process of learning to perceive." The author contends that the female socialization process does not include the perception of political stimuli as relevant to the feminine role.

Political stimuli is not easily assimilated into a cognitive structure emphasizing self-sacrifice, nurturance, dependency, and passivity. Political stimuli, however, may be assimilated if it relates to one of these dimensions. Political issues such as abortion (nurturance, self-sacrifice) or the equal rights amendment (dependency, passivity) are more relevant for females and information concerning these issues may be attended to when other types of political information go unperceived. Nearly all studies (Hershey, 1977;

J. Kirkpatrick, 1976; Johnson and Carroll, 1978) have found women, even those relatively uninformed about politics, to be interested in these "women's issues." In addition, the author would argue that information of a system-support nature may be more easily assimilated than political information concerning conflict and demand-making. Studies of both children and adults have indicated that women tend to de-emphasize the conflictual nature of politics and emphasize consensual democracy (Hess and Torney, 1967; Costantini and Craik, 1972; Zellman, 1973; Soule and McGrath, 1977). The greater compliance of females to authority (Kohlberg, 1966; Bardwick and Douvan, 1971) may be transformed into uncritical support of the system in the adoption of the forms of civic participation minus a commitment to demand-making and compromise (Githens and Prestage, 1977; Hansen et al., 1976; Soule and McGrath, 1977). If information relating to conflict and all other information not directly related to the female role are not assimilated by the individual woman, she will be attending to only a small portion of the political stimuli potentially available for her use.

One of the tenets of cognitive development theory is that as one has increased experience with certain types of stimuli, one is able to make fine distinctions between different categories (discrimination). If women close themselves off from certain types of political stimuli, they will lack a certain amount of conceptual sophistication and development; consequently, they will respond to political stimuli on the basis of broad and superficial distinctions. The data indicate that women do show a lower level of conceptual

sophistication than men (Freeman, B., 1976; Hansen et al., 1976; Costantini and Craik, 1972).

Carolyn Sheffield (undated, p. 10) argues "that being female invites a set of assumptions--about one's mind, intelligence, skills, motives, intentions, emotions and goals." Sheffield goes on to say that women have unique experiences which are incorporated into a political self. The author suggests that the set of assumptions culminating in the female political role is not conducive to intense involvement in politics and that the development of the feminine gender role inhibits the development of political interest, knowledge, and participation. Andrain (1971) argued that active participation in politics required the ability to transcend one's home and community to be concerned with the wider community. The norms of the female role do not encourage the development of a cosmopolitan outlook.

Although there are elements common to the female role in every culture, there are also cross-cultural differences. In the following chapter, the Mexican-American culture and the feminine role within it will be considered.

CHAPTER IV

MEXICAN-AMERICANS: ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In the previous chapter it was suggested that ethnicity, like gender, places one in society. Unfortunately, the fate of ethnic groups easily distinguishable from the dominant group is relegation to a subordinate position in the society, e.g., Native Americans and blacks in the Americas, hill people in Southeast Asia, Oriental Jews and Arabs in Israel. According to Gomez (1974), minority groups, physically distinctive from the dominant group, experience: (1) prejudice and discrimination, (2) politically sanctioned racism, and (3) violence. They eventually react by engaging in a struggle for self-determination (Gomez, 1974).

The North American Southwest provides a blatant example of the importance of ethnicity in determining social positions. In this chapter the position of the Mexican-American will be examined in terms of her/his relationship to the major institutions of the society. The consequences of a subordinate social position for political learning and political participation will be discussed. In addition to the consideration of Mexican-Americans in terms of

the general ethnic community, specific consideration will be given to the role of women within the community.

Mexican-Americans have been aptly labeled "A Minority Nobody Knows" (Rowan, 1967). Partly because of confusion over census identification,¹⁷ the actual number of Mexican-Americans in this country is not known. Estimates range from 12 to 20 million for all people of Spanish origin; Mexican-Americans are estimated to comprise 59.4 percent of the Spanish-origin population (Bureau of Census, 1978a). The difficulty of determining the number of illegal aliens makes it reasonable to assume that the generally accepted figure of 7 million is an underestimation. People of Spanish origin now constitute the second largest ethnic minority in this country and at the current rate of increase will soon outnumber the black population (National Minority Review, 1977; Gonzales, 1977). The Spanish-origin population is a young population and would continue to increase rapidly without the continued influx of new immigrants. The Spanish-origin population, however, has not received much academic scrutiny, particularly from political scientists (Davis, 1977). It has been only in the 1970s that the largest group within the Spanish-origin population, the Mexican-Americans, have received much research attention.¹⁸

We do not have enough information on Mexican-American political attitudes and behavior to adequately compare them with

¹⁷Mexican-Americans have been counted as both black and white (Marden-Meyer, 1968). The current term is Spanish Origin which has replaced WPSS, White Persons of Spanish Surname.

¹⁸It is not without coincidence that people with names such as Nava, Garcia, Guzman, Gomez, de la Garza have been involved in this new-found interest in the Mexican-American.

other groups. It is interesting to note that there is probably more research concerning the political attitudes of Mexican-American children than concerning those of adults. Almost nothing is written concerning the attitudes and behavior of Mexican-American women, much less their political attitudes and behavior, and the author has been unable to find any empirical data on the political attitudes of Chicanas. In writing about the Mexican-American and the political system, it is necessary to piece together information from the few articles written by political scientists while relying mainly on information gathered by anthropologists and sociologists.

Ethnic Identity, Assimilation, and Community Cohesion

Ethnic identity, like gender identity, appears to be based on the recognition of shared physical attributes. Norma Werner and Idella Evans (1968) reported that research indicates that children identify themselves in terms of skin color before they identify themselves in racial terms. Research also indicates that "feelings of prejudice and racial group identification are fairly well-established by the time a child enters Kindergarten" (Werner and Evans, 1968; Hess, 1970).

The relationship between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans in the Southwest has been described as internal colonialism (Acuña, 1972; Gomez, 1974). According to Acuña (1972) internal colonialism is characterized by the following conditions.

1. The land of one people is invaded by people from another country who later use military force to gain and maintain control.

2. The original inhabitants become subjects of the conquerors involuntarily.
3. The conquered have an alien culture and government imposed upon them.
4. The conquered become the victims of racism and cultural genocide and are relegated to a submerged status.
5. The conquered are rendered politically and economically powerless.
6. The conquerors feel they have a "mission" in occupying the area in question and believe that they have undeniable privileges by virtue of their conquest.

An alternative viewpoint of majority-minority relations is offered by the assimilation model which suggests that immigrant groups become assimilated or integrated into the dominant culture as they acquire the necessary skills for achievement (Murguía, 1975). Although students of Chicano politics reject the assimilation model, pointing to the continuing exclusion of Mexican-Americans from a position of influence in the policy-making process, it is also suggested (Murguía, 1975; Garcia and de la Garza, 1977) that internal colonialism does not completely explain the present-day position of Mexican-Americans. Mexican-Americans as a group are less-educated, more unemployed, less white-collar, and earn less income than the general population (Gomez, 1974:318). Recent census data (Bureau of Census, 1978a) indicates that this description continues to be true in spite of recent advances in education and income. Gomez (1974:319-20) argued that according to the 1970 Civil Rights Reports the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo have not been upheld.¹⁹

¹⁹ The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo marked Mexico's cession of its northwestern provinces to the United States, a loss of almost one-third of its territory (Cuellar, 1970). Article IX guaranteed full citizenship to the inhabitants of the incorporated territories.

Mexicans have been immigrating into the Southwest for over 300 years. The first settlements in New Mexico were established in the last years of the sixteenth century.²⁰ The New Mexico settlements were later followed by settlements in Texas and California. According to Sanchez (1960), "the Californios, Nuevo Mexicanos, and the Texanos," developed independently until the mid-nineteenth century. In Texas and California, the Mexicans were outnumbered and quickly shunted aside as Anglo-Americans came to dominate the economy and the society (Moore, 1974). Moore (1974) has labeled the New Mexican experience an almost classic case of internal colonialism. She considers the Texas experience to be an example of conflict colonialism and the California experience one of economic colonialism.

Mexican immigration into this country has continued on a steady basis since the incorporation of the present Southwest into the United States. According to Acuña (1972), one-eighth of Mexico's population migrated to the United States after 1910. The continuation of the flow of immigrants is evidenced by the concern expressed in this country over the illegal alien problem and the controversy over Carter's illegal alien policy²¹ and over the construction of a supposedly more impregnable fence along the border.

²⁰The settlements north of Santa Fe were established in 1598 and are the second oldest settlements of Europeans on the mainland of the United States (Sanchez, 1966).

²¹Although the Mexican-American community protested Carter's proposal on the grounds that it established a second-class citizenship, the author suspects that the cold storage of the illegal alien policy is related to the discovery of additional oil reserves in Mexico.

The Mexican-American people are not as homogeneous as is sometimes assumed. Identification is problematic for the American of Mexican descent. Identification with another is based on the recognition of shared characteristics and on an awareness of the consequences of these characteristics. Some Mexican-Americans are descended from the original colonists of the Southwest; others are third or fourth generation Americans; and others are newly arrived. Although the majority of Mexican-Americans reflect the mestizo background of most Mexicans and are darker than most Anglos, Mexican-Americans range in shade from the very light (güero) to the very dark (negro o tsnado) (Murguía, 1975:49; Grebler et al., 1970:334-35). In addition, not all Mexican-Americans speak Spanish nor are they all Catholics.

Many Mexican-Americans do not identify themselves as members of an ethnic group. At one time the individuals who achieved some mobility and moved out of the lower socio-economic status became "Spanish" (Murguía, 1975:50; Grebler et al., 1970:322). Nevertheless, especially along the border areas, Mexican-Americans are darker than Anglos, speak Spanish (with the possible exception of the middle-class child), are nominally Catholic, and have some sense of group identity. The developing middle class is concentrated in social service professions (teaching or social work) or health care (technicians, nurses, pharmacists), although there are Mexican-American business people, doctors, and lawyers. Only 18.5 percent of male Mexican-Americans are engaged in white-collar occupations (Bureau of Census, 1978a). The majority of Mexican-Americans, particularly among males, are concentrated in blue-collar jobs.

The heterogeneity of the Mexican-American community is indicated by the absence of a standard label used to identify members of the group either by the group itself or by outside groups.²² Marilyn Montenegro (1976) listed eighteen different terms which have been used to identify people whose ancestors emigrated from Mexico. Although Chicano is increasingly popular among the younger generation, one seldom finds anyone over the age of forty (other than academics) using the term. Miller (1976) found Chicano to be the most disliked term if group identification particularly among females. A recent survey indicates that the majority of Spanish-origin people preferred to be identified by the country of origin (Our Sunday Visitor, undated).

The ambiguity in the identification of this ethnic community as distinct from others in America results from its character as both a nationality group and a racial group. Mexican-Americans derive part of their common identity from the association of the group with Mexico, its language and cultural traditions, but another element in identity is their physical distinctiveness from the dominant Anglos. Cynthia Enloe (1973:24) defined nationality groups as groups which have entered a country within recent memory coming from a recognized political entity abroad. The Mexican immigrants since 1910 could be classified as a nationality group, but Mexican-Americans are both immigrants within recent memory and natives, indigenous to the area, since the early settlers of the Southwest were Mexican colonists.

²²Cuellar (1970) describes how a proposed unification of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) and the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASSO) failed because agreement on a common label could not be reached.

Mexican-Americans may also be described as a racial group. Enloe described racial ethnic groups as groups resulting from someone else's prejudice. Racial groups come into being when non-physical attributes become attached to the physical characteristics associated with a particular group (Kramer, 1970). Judith Kramer agreed that minority group status is established by others, the members of the dominant group, who exclude members of the minority group from full participation in the institutions of society. Himes (1974:2) referred to this exclusion as the norm of color and culture. A consequence of the estrangement between the dominant group and the minority group is the establishment of stereotypes about each group by the other (Kramer, 1970). According to Ozzie Simmons (1961), Mexican-American are viewed as unclean, drunkards, and deceitful by Anglos; in turn, Anglos are perceived by Mexican-Americans as unemotional, aloof, and cold-blooded. According to the criteria established by the dominant society, the stereotypes applied to Mexican-Americans carry the connotation of inferiority; the ones applied to Anglos, although unfavorable, do not suggest inferiority.

Although the Mexican-American community is stratified along class, generational, and educational lines, it is less stratified than many other ethnic groups (Kramer, 1970). Mexican immigrants in this country are largely from the lower classes in Mexico. The low status they are assigned in the United States is not a temporary set-back due to their immigrant status, but a continuation of their position in Mexican society. In addition, one study (Penalosa and McDonagh, 1966) indicated that there is not a great deal of

inter-generational mobility among Mexican-Americans. Consequently, Mexican-Americans are concentrated in the lower socio-economic status regardless of the number of years they or their ancestors have resided in the United States. It is argued that many of the characteristics associated with the Mexican-American in this country are characteristics of poverty, not Mexican culture (Casavantes, 1970; Stoddard, 1973).

The confusion of class with ethnicity has resulted in the view that Mexican-Americans have not undergone acculturation. Forbes (1978) and Murguía (1975) have noted that the Mexican-American community is in a transitional phase wherein most individuals are acquiring a mixed Anglo-Mexican culture. Murguía (1975:100) states that "young Mexican Americans have greatly assimilated culturally into American society and are retaining only traces of the culture and language of their grandparents." Murguía's statement is probably a more accurate description of the Mexican-American in the metropolitan areas of the Southwest such as Los Angeles, Dallas-Ft. Worth, or El Paso rather than the Mexican-American in rural areas or small urban areas.

The continued use of the native languages has been used in the United States to indicate the absence of acculturation. Lourdes King (1976) noted that as of 1972 Spanish was spoken in the home of 65 percent of all Spanish-origin persons. Davis (1977:83-84) reports that Spanish was spoken in the home of 88 percent of his Mexican-American respondents. A recent survey reports that 56 percent of the Spanish-origin respondents indicate that Spanish is the language used in the home. Nevertheless, in the last twenty years there has been a change in the use of Spanish as the primary tongue. Tharp et al.

(1968) noted that all women under twenty-six years of age were English-speakers. A command of English is a means of entry into the dominant society. The increasing use of English among members of the Mexican-American community may be a result of the increasing education level, entry into middle-class status, and residence outside the barrio (Grebler et al., 1970:424).²³ Conversely, a backlash effect has occurred in that certain militant Chicanos speak Spanish as much as possible for ideological reasons (Murguía, 1975:85).

Enloe has suggested that mobility may be detrimental to the cohesion of a group. If just a few members are able to move up in status, a new elite is created which stratifies the ethnic community further than it already is. If mobility appears to be even more open, ethnic group solidarity is difficult to maintain as individuals concentrate on advancing themselves individually. During most of its history, the Mexican-American community has been characterized by the former--the mobility of a few. These few who were able to obtain a higher-status position usually did so at the price of their ethnic identification (Murguía, 1975:84). The author suggests that the increased mobility which now seems to be offered to the Mexican-Americans is a case of the latter in which individuals concentrate on advancing themselves but not their group. Kramer has characterized the middle-class Mexican-American as oriented toward mobility. Murguía states that Mexican-American youth are more desirous of upward mobility than their Anglo counterparts. Although he speculated that

²³As a result of the increasing use of English among middle class professionals, the author many times observed the phenomenon of individuals speaking English to their peers and their children but switching to Spanish (without hesitation) to address their parents or other elders.

it is possible that Mexican American youth will attempt improvement on the group level, he suggested that the more likely prospect was that they would attempt individual advancement (Murguía, 1975:98).

The desire of the Mexican-American for mobility is inherent in the act of immigration. Since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexican-Americans have immigrated to this country on a voluntary basis. The only possible word to describe the condition of the lower class in Mexico is impoverishment or destitution. The oligarchical structure of Mexican society suggests that despite Mexico's newly-discovered oil reserves, the situation of the lower class is not likely to improve substantially. Movement to the United States results in an improvement in living conditions, although by American standards "the new immigrant has the least status, lowest income and poorest food, shelter and basic services" (Stoddard, 1973:53).

The dominant group of Anglo-Americans control the major institutions of society and are able to limit the access of Mexican-Americans through the imposition of certain restrictions. For a Mexican American to be successful, s/he must be willing to pay the price of Anglicization. Anglicization involves the adoption of a life style acceptable to the dominant society and the loss of characteristics associated with the Mexican-American community. The adoption of an Anglo name is one step in this process, i.e., Enrique becomes Henry, Alicia becomes Alice. Education is directly associated with the process of Anglicization; the name change is often initiated by one's first teacher. In addition, most schools until the 1970s officially prohibited the speaking of Spanish on school grounds (Stoddard, 1973; Glick, 1966).

The adoption of English as the primary language of communication constitutes another step in the Anglicization process.

Anglicization is inevitably linked with upward mobility for the disadvantaged in the United States. By the time a Mexican-American has achieved middle-class professional status as a teacher, doctor, or lawyer, s/he has undergone a minimum of sixteen years of Anglicization. Through the control of society's institutions, the dominant group is able to reward or punish individuals from the minority group. Those Mexican-Americans who become Anglo-like are granted some mobility and access to certain of society's resources. Thus, we find that upwardly mobile Mexican-Americans are characterized by the use of English at home as well as outside the home, a higher level of education, residence outside the barrio, and a higher-status occupation and a high income (Grebler et al., 1970:329-30). Davis (1977:117), however, notes that the use of English in the Rio Grande Valley was due more to political attitudes and behavior rather than cultural values and attitudes. Ellwyn Stoddard argues that the Mexican-American must reject her/his ethnic ancestry or the dominant society. Until recently, few Mexican-Americans were able to choose; unassimilable because of their skin color, language, and poor education, they had no choice but to reject the larger society.

Mexican-Americans are concentrated in five states constituting 40 percent of the population in New Mexico, 19 percent of the population in Arizona, 18 percent in Texas, 16 percent in California, and 13 percent in Colorado (Gomez, 1974:318). Within each state they are concentrated in urban areas so that one out of every three in the Southwest lives in Los Angeles, San Antonio, San Francisco, or El

Paso (Stoddard, 1973:3). Eighty-one percent of the total Mexican-American population now lives in urban areas (Bureau of Census, 1978a). Kramer has suggested that concentration and the development of a separate community is a mechanism to provide some autonomy within the overall domination of the larger society.

Kramer also suggested that one of the side effects of minority group status is personal invisibility. The development of an ethnic community results in the denial of the stereotyped treatment within the community so that individual differences become apparent. "The minority community mitigates against social inferiority by permitting its members to see themselves as persons" (Kramer, 1970:68). Enloe also suggested that the ethnic community contributed to the development of personal identity among its members. She stated that ethnicity functions to bind the individuals to the group and also to serve as a guide to where one belongs and whom one can trust (Enloe, 1973:9).

The barrio clearly serves as a means of defense against the hostile outside world. Within the barrio, individuals may function in a way not permitted in the outside society. The small-scale businessman who operates the local grocery store, pharmacy, or laundry not only provides a service for others but also is achieving a level of success not likely outside the barrio. The continued domination of Spanish as the means of communication functions as a unifying force reminding people who they are and their common stance against the hostile society outside the barrio.

Although not all Mexican-Americans are Catholic,²⁴ religion is a major unifying force within the community. Even though most writers

²⁴Grebler et al. (1970) gives a figure of 5 percent as the number of non-Catholics. However, in recent years several Protestant sects

emphasize the adherence of the masses to the Catholic Church, it is not the tie to the formal church which constitutes the most outstanding trait of Mexican-American Catholicism but the continued importance of rituals associated with stages of the life cycle. Baptism, First Communion, Quinceanera (fifteenth birthday), Marriage, and the Rosary and/or Funeral Mass are rituals involving the entire family and are the occasion for a social gathering of family and friends.

Although the formal church may not play as important a part in the life of the Mexican-American, particularly the males, as is sometimes assumed (Kramer, 1970; Grebler et al., 1970; Stoddard, 1973), it serves as another means of distinguishing the Mexican-American from the Anglo-American; for one the veneration of La Virgen de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) and practices such as the penitentes of New Mexico are peculiar to Mexican Catholicism (Murguia, 1975:56; Moore, 1974). Also, language sets Mexican-Americans apart even in the church.

With the use of the vernacular rather than Latin for the Mass, the Church has found itself ill-equipped to meet the needs of its Spanish-speaking parishioners. There are too few Spanish-speaking priests to serve the Spanish-speaking people of the Church. The Church in the United States and Latin America has been unable to attract many candidates for the priesthood from the Spanish-speaking populations. The Church is itself an outpost of the dominant society rather than a communal organization (Grebler et al., 1970:443-47). One-third of the respondents in a recent survey do not feel that

have made great efforts to attract the Spanish-speaking. A recent survey (Our Sunday Visitor) reports that 74 percent of its respondents had been contacted by evangelicals, Pentecostals, or Jehovah's Witnesses and that 35 percent had a favorable opinion of these groups.

Hispanics have enough to say in the affairs of the church, 78 percent would like to see greater efforts to include Hispanic culture and traditions in church services (Our Sunday Visitor, undated). Few respondents felt that the Church had been of help during times of personal and family problems and only 8 percent indicated that they would turn to their parish priest for aid during such times (Our Sunday Visitor).

Inherent in the process of Anglicization is a loosening of ties with the ethnic community. The individual becomes marginal, belonging to neither the Mexican-American community nor the Anglo, but subject to the pressures of both. According to Cuellar (1970), it is the feeling of the new Chicano that he belongs to neither community that is the source of the current Chicano movement. The acculturated Mexican-American in becoming Anglo-like has rejected her/his cultural identity and may be rejected in turn as a vendido(a).²⁵

The process of acculturation is easily seen in the educational system. The Anglicization promoted by the school involves more than changes in one's name and language. Even in areas of heavy Mexican-American concentration, traditionally little attention in the school curriculum is given to the contributions of the Mexican and/or Mexican-American in the Southwest. Instead, the Mexican-American has been omitted from school textbooks or is portrayed as lazy, indifferent, and irresponsible, or as cruel and savage (Stoddard, 1973; Ortego, 1971; Gaviglio, 1971; Garcia and de la Garza, 1977). As a result of the school experience, the feeling of innate inferiority may be quickly and thoroughly reinforced.

²⁵Sell-out, also known as Tío Taco or Tío Tomás.

The school experience is given the dubious but erroneous credit for inculcating the belief that dark skin connotes inferiority. It is sometimes suggested that the Mexican-American develops the belief that dark skin is symbolic of inferiority only upon contact with the dominant Anglo society. But, the higher prestige and/or status of those with light skins is rooted in the history of Mexico (Murguía, 1975:51, Grebler et al., 1970).²⁶ In spite of the reverence paid to the Indian heritage in Mexico, success is still spelled in terms of Europeanization. The more one exhibits the traits associated with the Indian, the more one is likely to be located at the bottom of the socio-economic structure (Padgett, 1966:229-31). Just as Anglicization is associated with upward mobility for the Mexican-American, Latinoization is a measure of upward mobility for the Indian in Mexico. The lower class Mexican immigrant in this country is already aware of his/her inferior status and predisposed to view skin color as a mark of social status. The view that dark skin indicates inferiority is only reinforced, not introduced, by the Anglicization process.

If the child survives the school system long enough to enter high school, the tracking system reinforces the inferior status of the Mexican-American. Mexican-Americans are still counseled into vocational courses rather than college-preparatory classes (King, 1976; Rowan, 1967).²⁷ Thomas Carter's scathing indictment of the educational

²⁶ According to Grebler (et al., 1970:320-31), the Spanish-Mexican class structure was a complicated mixture of colonialism and racism. Spaniards outranked native-born Mexicans of Spanish descent who in turn outranked mestizos (mixed blood), who outranked the Indians.

²⁷ The pervasiveness of the tracking process was brought out in a discussion of the school experience among a group of middle-class professionals when one informant recounted the opposition he encountered in trying to gain admission to the college preparatory track--the informant now has an M.A. in guidance and counseling.

system, Mexican-Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (1970b) explored the problems facing the Mexican-American. Carter (1970a) has argued that "Southwestern society has functioned best with a pool of cheap, unskilled labor and a subordinate ethnic caste." As a result, he argued that school practices encouraged the Mexican-American to fail academically and to drop out early. Although the level of schooling is increasing for Mexican-Americans, it is also increasing for other groups so that the percentage of Mexican-Americans completing four years of high school or more lags 30 percent behind the general population (Bureau of Census, 1978a: table 5). TenHouten et al. (1971:9) noted that, unlike the general population, Mexican-Americans of age fourteen have more schooling than do Mexican-American adults. Mexican-Americans rank behind both Anglos and blacks and ahead only of Native Americans in the number of years of schooling completed.

Recent census data (Bureau of Census, 1978b) indicate that as of 1978 only 34.3 percent of Mexican-Americans twenty-five and older had completed four years of high school or more. Conversely, 23.1 percent had less than five years of schooling. The comparable figures for the total population are 65.9 percent and 3.9 percent. The level of education obtained by Mexican-Americans varies throughout the Southwest. In their contact with the educational system, Mexican-Americans fared worse in Texas than anywhere else (Sanchez, 1966; Carter, 1970a; Stoddard, 1973; Gomez, 1974; Grebler et al., 1970). Sanchez (1966) argued that educational policy toward Mexican-Americans reflected the political strength of Mexican-Americans in the local area so that Mexican-Americans fared better where they were the most effective personally.

The major obstacle to educational achievement is the language problem. Many Mexican-American children continue to enter school speaking little or no English. They are, therefore, placed immediately at a disadvantage from which some never recover (Manuel, 1965). Sanchez (1966) felt that the language problem was used as a justification for racial discrimination. The retention rate of Mexican-Americans in Texas schools reached notorious levels (Sanchez, 1966; Stoddard, 1973).

The lack of educational mobility is suggested by the disparity between the Mexican-American proportion of the population and its proportion of the college enrollment. Carter (1970a) asserted that colleges or universities in areas of high ethnic concentration enroll about half the percentage of Mexican-Americans as they should, i.e., if Mexican-Americans constitute 50 percent of the total population, they are 25 percent of the college enrollment. Even these statistics provide an over-optimistic picture since, as Stoddard (1973) has noted, the attrition rate is high among Mexican-American students. Only 4.3 percent of Mexican-Americans have completed college, compared to 15.7 percent of the total population (Bureau of Census, 1978a).

Despite their lower level of education, Mexican-Americans have achieved a higher median income than blacks. Unemployment rates, however, are high for both, running 13.2 percent for blacks, 9.5 percent for Hispanics, and 6.6 percent for whites in March 1978 (Brown, 1979). According to recent census data (1978a), the median income for Mexican-Americans was \$5,536 (individual) and \$11,742 (family). Over 46 percent of Mexican-Americans had an income under \$5,000 and only 1.2 percent had an income over \$25,000. The median income

for an individual in the total population was only \$6,429 indicating the low incomes of blacks, women, and other minorities; the median family income, however, at \$16,009 was considerably higher than the median income for Mexican-American families.

The greatest economic discrepancy between the Mexican-American population and the total population occurs between males. Despite the greater proportion of Mexican-American males in the labor force (Brown, 1979), the median income of Mexican-American males lags behind that of the total population--\$7,708 compared to \$10,123 (Bureau of Census, 1978a:table 8). Among Mexican-Americans, 31.1 percent of the males had an income under \$5,000 and only 1.9 percent had an income over \$25,000; the comparable figure for the total population are 27.1 percent and 8.6 percent.

Among women, the economic disparity is not as great. The median income for Mexican-American females is \$3,351 compared to the median of \$3,941 for the total female population. The ceiling for women is much lower as 66 percent of the Mexican-American women and 58.5 percent of the total female population had incomes of less than \$5,000 and only .1 percent of the Mexican-American females and .6 percent of the total female population had incomes over \$25,000 (Bureau of Census, 1978a:table 8). Although the differences in median income are not as great among females, reflecting the low wages of most women, the Mexican-American continues to rank below the total population in income and education. In spite of its continued gains in education achievement and income, the Mexican-American community as a whole has not improved its position relative to other groups.

The exclusion of the Mexican-American from the dominant society is clearly reflected in the limited political participation of Mexican-Americans. Many are excluded from the political sphere on the basis of citizenship—25.3 percent of the voting age population were not citizens in November 1976 (Bureau of Census, 1977). Enloe considered nationality groups to be especially vulnerable to intimidation due to the constant threat of deportation²⁸ and argued that much of the discussion over a nationality group involves citizenship rights (Enloe, 1973:24-26). Language was also a major barrier to political participation until the 1975 Voting Rights Act which requires the use of bilingual materials under certain conditions.²⁹ The groups classified as Spanish-origin by the Census Bureau have had a very low rate of participation in the electoral process. The report on the 1976 election does not seem to indicate a sudden upsurge in political participation.

The reported voting rate among people of Spanish-origin actually declined in the 1976 election from the reported rate in 1972, mirroring the downward trend in the total population (Villarreal, 1979). There is a considerable gap in the voting and registration rates between those of Spanish origin and the total population in

²⁸ Operation Wetback in the 1950s resulted in the expulsion of Mexican-Americans reaching "vast proportions" and including the deportation of legal residents and citizens (Grebler et al., 1970:521-22).

²⁹ Title III of the 1975 Voting Rights Act requires bilingual elections if 5 percent of the population constitutes a single language minority and if the illiteracy rate in English of the language minority is greater than the national average. The language provision of the 1975 VRA extended coverage to areas such as California and Texas not included in the original Voting Rights legislation (Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1975).

every region and every age group (Bureau of Census, 1978a:table 4). Less than 50 percent of those of Spanish-origin in any age group voted in the 1976 election; 50 percent of the total population voted by age twenty-five. Unlike the total population in which a higher percentage of women voted than did men, Spanish-origin men outvoted women with the exception of the 21-24 age group in the West South Central and Pacific and the 25-29 age group in the West South Central.

Table 4-1

Reported Voting and Registration of Spanish-Origin Persons of Voting Age by Division ³⁰						
Pop.	West South Central Reg.	Vote	Mountain Reg.	Vote	Pacific Reg.	Vote
Total	42.7	33.1	48.7	41.4	31.2	27.0
Male	45.7	35.0	49.6	43.7	32.3	28.1
Female	40.1	31.7	47.9	39.5	30.0	26.0

As a result of the low registration and voting rates among Mexican-Americans, they have been unable to wield political power even in areas of high ethnic concentration. Although Davis (1977:7) suggests that the lower Rio Grande valley may be an exception, places where Mexican-Americans wield the political power and control city and county politics as in Crystal City and Zavala County (Texas)

³⁰ Census Bureau reports do not list data for a Southwest region; the Pacific, Mountain and West South Central divisions include the five states with the heaviest Mexican-American population and one can surmise that the Spanish-origin population is predominantly Mexican-American in these areas.

remain the exceptions rather than the norm (Villarreal, 1979). One investigator (Taebel) has concluded that the number of city council seats rather than the type of selection plan determines the extent of minority representation. Others, such as Neighbor, argue that at-large representation and non-partisanship adversely affect minority representation (Villarreal, 1979). Although 58 percent of the eligible Mexican-American population in Texas registered to vote in the 1978 elections, an increase in registration does not necessarily indicate a swing in political power to the Mexican-American. In areas of heavy Mexican-American concentration, Mexican-Americans have been found to turn out less than the Anglo population. According to Villarreal (1979:10), "the most critical issue regarding voting participation on the border is the considerable number of people who still do not vote."

The sparse investigation undertaken of adult Mexican-Americans suggest that they have a low level of confidence in the general political process (Grebler et al., 1970:567; Garcia, 1974). Susan Welch et al. (1973) reported feelings of alienation and powerlessness among Mexican-Americans. The political participation of Mexican-Americans was found to relate more to their orientation toward the political process than to social status indicators (Welch et al., 1973). Davis (1977:66-67) also indicated that one's orientation toward the political process may affect one's political participation more than does social status indicators. In his study, the working-class students among the Mexican-Americans were more efficacious than were the middle-class students, which he attributes to the greater preponderance of working class Mexican-Americans in the valley and their consequent

greater strength at the voting booth. Guzman (1971) has suggested that a feeling of alienation and powerlessness along with a low level of political participation should be expected from a subordinate group. He argued that the perception of the dominant society as hostile indicates fear and that fear is an inhibitory factor preventing the educational, economic, and political development of a group.

The voting turnout in the 1976 election, the first presidential election in which bilingual material was required, was disappointing. The percentage of Spanish-origin people turning out to vote reflected the national trend of decreasing vote turnout despite the use of bilingual materials. One can only speculate as to whether this decrease in voting and registration among Mexican-Americans reflects the general disillusionment with politics following Watergate. One can suggest that Mexican-American disenchantment with the political process preceded Watergate and was relatively unaffected by it. Neftali Garcia (1974) reported that a sample of Mexican-American youth indicated a high negative feeling toward President Nixon in 1973 before the eruption of the Watergate scandal. Mexican-Americans may view government as inherently corrupt. The existence of the *mordida* (bribe) on both sides of the border is well-known in border areas. The *jefe politico* who delivers votes in return for control over public employment in his area has been located in south Texas and northern New Mexico (Knowlton, 1969; Grebler et al., 1970:556-57; Shockley, 1974).

The Mexican-American in his/her view of government may also be affected by the mistrust of the government and its officials bred by Mexico's history. According to Padgett (1966:82-85), Mexico's

history of colonial rule, military rebellion, civil war, foreign intervention dictatorship, and revolution has not provided an appropriate foundation for the development of a belief in the electoral process and representative institutions. The oligarchical structure of the society and its racial stratification as well as the institution of the cacique³¹ have not been conducive for the development of a belief in representative rule. Consequently, the findings of Almond and Verba that Mexicans did not view the national government as having a beneficial impact upon their lives and were the least politically informed should not be unexpected from a review of the country's history and social structure.

The Mexican-American's distrust of politics due to a belief in its inherent corruptness is only one explanation for the continued low voting turnout among Spanish-origin persons. Villarreal (1979) suggests that a cadre of political leaders is developing who are devoted to the achievement of political and economic power for the entire community rather than being primarily concerned with self-aggrandizement. Therefore, a view of politics as necessarily corrupt may be less pervasive among Mexican-Americans than it has been in the past.

An alternative explanation for the decline in vote from 1972 to 1976 among Mexican-Americans is that the radicalism of the late 1960s and early 1970s inspired the belief that change in the system was possible, a belief now given way to despair and concern over the problem of making a living. Finally, one could argue that the

³¹Padgett (1966:83) refers to the cacique as a local political boss serving as an intermediary between the people and the national government. In addition to the cacique, there have been regional bosses (caudillos) who have treated regions as their personal fiefs,

Mexican-American population is becoming assimilated into American society and no longer requires the security of an ethnic identity or the pursuit of goals on a community basis. A middle class is developing in the Mexican-American community; the younger generation is achieving a higher level of education. In addition, symbolic changes such as the introduction of bilingual classes in the public school, the increasing use of bilingual material in the public and private sectors, and the appointment of Mexican-Americans to federal offices may appear to indicate a breakdown in the exclusion of Mexican-Americans from the dominant society. La Raza Unida (a Mexican-American political party) appears to be suffering the traditional fate of third parties in the United States--some of its goals, e.g., bilingual education, are being championed by the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Villarreal reports that a comparison of the 1974 and 1978 gubernatorial elections in Texas reveal a shift away from La Raza Unida to the Democratic party (Villarreal, 1970:10).

Nevertheless, the lack of any strong upsurge in registration and voting among Mexican-Americans may indicate increasing alienation from the political system. Although such programs as bilingual education, the expansion of school desegregation to include Mexican-Americans, and affirmative action may indicate a greater acceptance of Mexican-Americans in the society, it should be noted that all of these programs have received heavy criticism. Another indication of hostility is seen in the controversy over the illegal alien, the

maintaining armies and acting independently of the central government (Anderson and Cockcroft, 1966).

problems of migrant workers and the concern with police brutality. The criticism of programs designed to create more equal opportunities for the Mexican-American and the conflict between the dominant society and the Mexican-American community concerning illegal aliens, migrant workers, and police brutality suggests that there is resistance to attempts at upward mobility by Mexican-Americans.

Further reasons for the lack of participation by Mexican-Americans may include economic problems and a time factor. The economic problems of inflation and high unemployment have adversely affected Mexican-Americans. At the bottom of the socio-economic strata with a low median income and a high unemployment rate, survival during economically troubled times has become a primary focus. One does not risk one's job to complain about discrimination when one barely has enough to feed the family. A more hopeful explanation of the lack of political involvement is that the effect of bilingual materials has yet to be felt. The continued poor status of the Mexican-American in this country, however, works against substantial involvement in the electoral process (Villarreal, 1979).

The system is premised upon compromise and give and take--which is satisfactory if parties to the system enjoy equal status. But if one or more of the parties do not enjoy equal status then the ones lacking that status will always lag behind in the game of compromise and give and take.

(Gomez, 1974:326)

The author suggests that women and Mexican-Americans are limited in their political effectiveness by their inferior socio-economic status and by a lack of cohesion and group identity. Although women and Mexican-Americans constitute two different types of groups, the author feels that in discussing political participation it is important

to discuss not only the people who do participate, but those who do not. Both Mexican-Americans and women are excluded from the policy-making process and can be considered "out groups." Both groups have a tradition of social organization but until lately had not developed strong political organizations. The late 1960s and 1970s, however, have witnessed the emergence of distinctive political movements challenging the status quo from both groups. Only a gross comparison can be made between these groups as they draw from different populations (with the exception of Chicanas) with different amounts of skills and resources. Women number over one-half the population, while Mexican-Americans number less than 5 percent nationally. In addition, the distribution of the target population are quite different--Mexican-Americans reside primarily in the Southwest, 43 percent are under the age of eighteen (49.6 percent under twenty-one), and almost 25 percent are not citizens (Bureau of Census, 1977-78a).

Until the recent revival of the women's movement and the advent of the Chicano movement, women's organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the Y.W.C.A., the American Association of University Women, etc., and Mexican-American organizations such as the League of United Latin-American Citizens, the Alianza, or the American G. I. Forum, emphasized primarily non-political concerns (Deckard, 1975: 320-21; Garcia and de la Garza, 1977:79; Gomez, 1974:325; Grebler et al., 1970:543). A major difficulty with both groups has been the inability to develop a broad-based constituency. Each organization previously mentioned, although primarily middle class in focus, appealed to different segments of their respective populations. The women's groups tended to address themselves to specific areas of concern, i.e., civic

reform (Deckard, 1975). The Mexican-American associations were multi-functional but performed primarily social and educational activities (Grebler et al., 1970); they also acted as the equivalents of the Anglo social organizations from which Mexican-Americans were excluded.

The feminist movement and the Chicano movement mark an overt demand for participation in the policy-making process. Although neither is monolithic, the Chicano movement is even more fragmented than the feminist movement. The Chicano movement has no equivalent of the National Organization of Women. Political associations such as the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO) and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) pre-dated the current Chicano movement and functioned as pressure groups on behalf of the middle-class Mexican-Americans (Cuellar, 1970). The groups did not challenge the system, but tried to work within it. Their limited financial resources and lack of organizational expertise, however, hindered their effectiveness (Grebler et al., 1970:546). In contrast, the feminist movement was able to draw upon the skills acquired by some members through their involvement with civil rights and/or anti-war movements. In addition, the feminist movement has a larger pool of potential leaders and/or supporters from which to draw. The continuing low level of income and education prevalent in the Mexican-American population is a major obstacle to organizational efforts.

It can be argued that in the past both women and Mexican-Americans have limited their aspirations--women by orienting themselves to the home, Mexican-Americans by limiting themselves to the achievement

of an improved standard of living. Until the advent of the feminist and Chicano movements, neither group has made an organized effort to break into the leadership of the society. According to Jeane Kirkpatrick (1976), becoming active in politics results from a mixture of personal predispositions, role perceptions, skills, and opportunity. The proper mix has been lacking for women and Mexican-Americans; they have not had the opportunity and, consequently, have not developed the skills or personal predispositions leading to political activity.

The Mexican-American Female: Gender and
Stereotyping in a Minority Group

The study of the role of women in the United States has concentrated on the study of the Anglo-Americans. Little research has been directed at the minority female and that which has is focused on the black female. The study of the black female has indicated the fallacy of assuming that information taken from the dominant society can be applied to a minority community.³²

As Kristina Lindborg and Carlos J. Ovando (1977) have noted, most of the material concerning the Mexican and the Mexican-American female is contained in descriptions of family structure. The Mexican-American family is described as patriarchal with a sharply defined sexual division of labor (Kramer, 1970:173). The man is portrayed as a dominating figure who is responsible for the material well-being and the honor of his family, but who remains aloof and independent from the family (King, 1976; Murillo, 1971; Rubel, 1966). The woman is a good mother and wife who subordinates her own needs to those of other family

³²Part VI in Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage, eds., A Portrait of Marginality (1977) is devoted to black women.

members (Senour, 1977; King, 1976; Murillo, 1971; Rubel, 1966).

Children are taught to obey and respect their elders (King, 1976; Goodman and Beman, 1970). Grebler et al. (1970), however, asserted that the patriarchal family is more of a cultural ideal than a behavioral norm. Although their respondents listed the father as the dominant figure in the home, they also said that their mother had more influence over them and made most of the daily decisions involving the home and family. Grebler and associated also reported that relationships within the family appear to be changing with females participating more in major decisions and males taking on some child care duties, i.e., occasional babysitting.

Tharp et al. (1968) reported that acculturation affected roles within the Mexican-American family. Acculturation was measured by the extent to which the wife spoke English. Spanish-speakers adhered more closely to the patriarchal ideal, indicating that the husband was the boss and that parents should be very strict with their children. The Spanish-speakers, however, were more likely to think that the wife should be fully informed of the family financial situation. Finally, Spanish-speakers were more concerned with housekeeping than the English speakers (Tharp et al., 1968:409). The sexual division of labor was also more evident with the Spanish-speakers who relied less on their husbands for help with housekeeping and more on them for heavy maintenance. The English-speakers were more oriented to an egalitarian-companionate style of marriage expecting family togetherness, solidarity, and fun with spouse and children (Tharp et al., 1968:412).

The image of a patriarchal home conveys a picture of unquestioning obedience in which children are seen but not heard. The

relationship between the parents, particularly the father, and the children varies with the age and sex of the children. Children are given strong signs of affection by the mother at all ages and both parents are very permissive and indulgent with young children (Rubel, 1966; Diaz-Guerrero, 1955). Rubel (1966:66) noted that fathers were very warm and affectionate with children under the age of ten. With adolescence there is a change in the relationship with the father becoming more reserved, authoritarian, and demanding of respect (Murillo, 1971). In his study of high school students, Davis (1977:68-70) found the Mexican-American students, regardless of socio-economic status, to perceive their parents as having greater authority than did Anglo students. The demand for respect coincides with the probability that the children are increasingly aware of the poor status of the father in the dominant society. Davis (1977:70) indicated that the employment status of the father may affect the perception of parental control with the unemployed father losing some authority. Sons and daughters appear to react differently to parental control. Davis (1977:68) reported that sons felt somewhat more independent of parental control than daughters. In addition, there is apparently more conflict between the fathers and the sons than between fathers and daughters (Goodman and Beman, 1970; Kramer, 1970).

Gender role norms are applied more rigorously in adolescence so that the female is confined to the home and the school and/ or work. Unlike an Anglo girl, a Mexican or Mexican-American girl is prepared explicitly for a future as a wife and mother. She assumes household duties at a young age, particularly the care of younger children

(Grebler et al., 1970; Goodman and Beman, 1970; Diaz-Guerrero, 1955). Werner and Evans (1968) found that children described a good girl as one who helps mother, takes care of herself, is quiet and well-behaved. The male is allowed more freedom to come and go. In the urban area, being free of the chores attached to the male role in the country, the male child may have as his main duty the protection of female relatives in the absence of his father (Murillo, 1971; Lindborg and Ovaldo, 1977; Rubel, 1966). Even in middle-class Mexican-American homes, a strong feeling exists that females need to be protected from hostile forces in the environment and that the female is not really safe unless a male relative is at hand.

According to one source (Grebler et al., 1970), the well brought up Mexican-American girl does not display initiative outside of the traditional role reserved for females. Mexican-American females express more concern about their own physical appearance and that of their daughters (Senour, 1977) than Anglos. Although the norms are more strict after puberty, tomboys are not encouraged at any age. Little girls are expected to wear dresses, have long hair, remain close to their families, and not engage in rowdy behavior (Diaz-Guerrero, 1955).³³

The norms appear to be changing in regard to the female role in the family, although a strong emphasis on the nurturant role remains. Some sources suggest that, although women may have traditionally accepted the role of the wife-mother as their goal, they are now pressing for

³³The author encountered some opposition from her daughter's paternal family concerning Micaela's short hair, pants, and independence. The Martinez family viewed with some alarm my daughter's crawling on all fours throughout the house--Mexican-Americans tend to carry their infants and toddlers everywhere.

more opportunities (Murillo, 1971; Tharp et al., 1968; King, 1976; Senour, 1977). Although Mexican-American women are entering the labor market in increasing numbers and are achieving a higher level of education, they lag behind both black women and white women in labor force participation and education.

The effect of the feminist movement on Mexican-American women is difficult to determine. Data concerning the political participation of Mexican-American women is almost non-existent. From the census reports, it appears with the exception of a few age groups (primarily under thirty), Mexican-American women are still lagging behind Mexican-American males in voting turnout. Women have participated in efforts at unionization in California and Texas (Stoddard, 1973; Rendon, 1971). Informal sources have indicated that women played an important role in the seizure of political offices in Crystal City, but Shockley (1973, 1974) only reported that the entire family was mobilized for the 1970 efforts. A few Hispanic women have achieved public offices.³⁴ They are so few in number, however, that they constitute less than .5 percent at any level of government nationally (Johnson and Carroll, 1978). Of course, these figures include Puerto Ricans and Cubans as well as Mexican-Americans so that the percentage of Mexican-American women in public office is even smaller.

Faced with the paucity of information concerning the Mexican-American female, it is necessary to consider the meager material on

³⁴Two Hispanic women were elected to state senates in 1978 (National Women's Education Fund, 1978) and eight of the seventy-seven major appointments given to women in the Carter administration have gone to Hispanics (Johnson and Carroll, 1978).

Mexican women and their role in the social and political institutions of society. Although Mexican-American culture is not identical to Mexican culture, it is plausible to assume that much of Mexican-American culture is rooted in the traditions of Mexico, especially in areas of high concentration along the border. In addition, the continual influx of new immigrants from Mexico undoubtedly aids in the maintenance of some of the traditional aspects of Mexican culture.

As aspect of Mexican and Mexican-American culture discussed often in the literature is machismo, the cult of the viril, dominating male. Evelyn Stevens (1973) indicated that machismo has a feminine counterpart in marianismo. Marianismo depicts the woman as dependent, conformist, unimaginative, and timid, but also as morally superior and spiritually stronger (Elmendorf, 1977). As a result of her spiritual strength, the women is expected to have an infinite capacity for humility and self-sacrifice. According to Diaz-Guerrero (1955), "the Mexican family is founded upon two fundamental propositions: (a) the unquestioned and absolute supremacy of the father and, (b) the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of the mother." Marianismo is based on the acceptance of the unalterable imperfection of men (Stevens, 1973). The values inherent in machismo and marianismo can be manipulated by women in order to gain their own goals (Elmendorf, 1977). One of the effects of marianismo is the high prestige accorded a mother and the high degree of attachment between her and her children. Mary Elmendorf (1977:143) has suggested that "Mexican society may be viewed as a patriarchy interwoven with a matriarchy." Stevens argued that one result of marianismo is the lack of inter-role conflict

experienced by working women in the United States. Women in Mexico are not expected to choose between children and job; it is understood that a woman's children takes precedence.

Machismo and marianismo dictate that women are not expected to work outside the home after marriage. Consequently, the majority of women in the labor force are unattached (single, divorced, widowed, separated), while only a small percentage of married women work (Elmendorf, 1977). When women do work, especially at higher status jobs, they are free of some of the constraints faced by their peers in the United States. The availability of servants frees the middle-class and upper-class women from the performance of daily domestic tasks.

Despite the low female labor activity rate, the women who work are more evenly distributed throughout the occupational strata than in the United States. The percentage of working women who hold professional and technical jobs in both Mexican and Latin America is greater than the percentage of working men who hold jobs in the professional-technical stratum.³⁵ Mexican women hold one-half the professional positions in the public and administrative sectors, one-fourth of those in the commerce sector, and one-fifth of those in the industrial branches of manufacturing (Elmendorf, 1977:163, 146). The number of women in professional positions, however, probably reflects more on the importance of family background and high socio-economic status

³⁵ A pattern repeated among Mexican-Americans with 7.6 percent of working women employed in professional-technical fields and only 5.3 percent of working men so employed. Of the working women, 44.8 percent are employed in white collar jobs, compared to 18.5 percent of the men (Bureau of Census, 1978a). One can surmise, however, that Mexican-American women in white collar professional jobs are concentrated in teaching, nursing, and clerical work.

as pre-requisites for achievement of such positions rather than on a high degree of mobility for women in Mexican society.

Education is not universally distributed in Mexico. Almost 60 percent of the population has less than seven years of schooling; above the level of primary education, women constitute a small percentage of the students (Elmendorf, 1977:152-54). The educated woman is a member of a very specialized and elite group.³⁶ Although a greater percentage of working women are found in the high-status positions than in the United States, the occupations range is similar. Women are found primarily in traditional women's occupations--restaurant work, nursing, secretarial work, education, health, care, and social welfare (Elmendorf, 1977: Jacquette, 1976).

Women hold a high percentage of posts within the public and administrative sector, including party offices. Nevertheless, the female role in the public sector is viewed as a continuation of the nurturant function and women are expected to devote themselves to the problems of the child, the old, the sick, and the juvenile delinquent (Chaney and Schmink, 1976; Elmendorf, 1977). Chaney (1975) suggests that the woman official in Latin America often views herself as a kind of "supermadre tending the needs of her big family in the larger casa of the municipality or even the nation." If women run for an elective office rather than an appointive one, they are expected to stress their fulfillment of traditional feminine virtues. Although the major party (P.R.I.) has a separately organized woman's sector, within it and its major opposition (P.A.N.), "most women party officials are

³⁶ According to Camp (1979), only six percent of the Mexican population had a secondary education; yet, at that time 93 percent of female elite members had one.

relegated to certain quota positions in posts where they will be limited to performing traditional feminine work of nurturing and protecting the young and the disadvantaged" (Elmendorf, 1977:161).

Despite the number of posts held, women have had little impact on Mexican politics. Camp (1979) points out that women have been more successful in the legislative branch than in the judicial or executive branches, but that in Mexico the legislative branch has little impact on policy-making. In Mexico, the executive branch is much more powerful than either the legislative or the judicial branches; yet only three women have held top level executive offices (Camp, 1979). Even these women were confined to second and third ranked positions so that "no woman has ever directed a cabinet agency, major decentralized agency or federal bank in Mexico" (Camp, 1979:422). Women have not been elected governor of any state nor mayor of any of the most influential cities. Therefore, Camp (1979:423) concluded: "women have played a very small role among the political elite in Mexico."

The position of female public officials in Mexico may be due more to their elite status and family connections than to any acceptance of female contribution to the society. Camp (1979:429) suggests that females in the political elite "contribute to the growing disproportionate representation" of high-status individuals in the political elite. Female members of the political elite, even more so than the men, come from middle and upper-class backgrounds and urban areas. Although there appears to be some opportunity for mobility, only the educated and the affluent are able to take advantage of it. Riddell (1974) and Camp (1979) both argue that the female members of

the political elite have attempted to do little to change the status quo. Riddell (1974) accused the elite female of not attempting to recruit the middle and lower classes into political activity and of perpetuating the gap between herself and her mass counterpart. Camp (1979) agrees that women elite members have accepted the status quo.

So little information is available about the actual part women play in the Mexican-American community that one can only engage in speculation. Although there is a tradition in both the Mexican and the Mexican-American culture emphasizing the dominant position of the male, there are also indications that women are far from powerless. In her self-sacrifice and nobility amidst the peccadillos of the husband, the mother forges a strong link between herself and her children giving her more influence than is indicated by the norm of male dominance. As in Anglo-American society, male and female perceptions affect the role of women; the Mexican-American woman, however, may use these perceptions to her advantage.

The Mexican-American of either sex faces the reality of a subordinate position in American society. Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez (1970) argued that when a group is fighting for social change, "there is little room for a women's liberation alone"; she suggested that when the chicano becomes fully liberated, the chicana will also be liberated. Sylvia Gonzales (1977) disagreed with this position, stating that chicanas are oppressed by their minority status, working-class membership, and machismo (Gonzales, 1977:69). She suggests that there is a growing alignment between chicanas and the feminist movement and that the chicana has had little influence regarding the goals of the chicano movement.

It remains to be seen if the burden of a double minority status interacts with the nominally subordinate but influential role of the mother to propel the Mexican-American woman into overt participation in politics. Although the low level of education, early age of marriage, and family size, as well as gender role prescriptions, work against the large scale political involvement of Mexican-American women, there is also a historic tradition of female activity, especially in times of crisis, from which to draw. Camp (1979) also noted that uneducated women in Mexico are recruited into politics via women's organizations, particularly those attached to labor unions. Garcia and de la Garza (1977) indicate that women often function as "internal" leaders within the barrio assisting in organizational activities as well as providing solutions for personal problems. Mexican-American women may be galvanized into action if they feel their people to be threatened. Given the importance of the mother role in the culture, one can speculate that Mexican-American women may become aroused over issues pertaining to the welfare of their children, i.e, school issues or living conditions.

Conclusion: Social Roles and Political Learning

The use of role theory together with cognitive development theory offers an elaboration of the political reality explanation proposed by Abramson to explain lower rates of political efficacy and political participation among minority people. Women and Mexican-Americans undergo experiences which impress upon them the fact that the highest positions in society, including the policy-making process, are not accessible. Both groups have their roles in society defined

in terms of subservience to the occupants of other roles--men and Anglos. Elective office remains firmly in the hands of the white male. Although women in general have the numerical strength to bring about change through the ballot, Mexican-Americans do not, even in areas of high ethnic concentration with a few exceptions such as Crystal City.

Neither women nor Mexican-Americans are unified into a cohesive bloc hindering their ability to influence policy. Neither group has achieved the sense of common identity shared by members of the black community. One possible reason for the lack of common identity and awareness of discrimination is that members of both groups may see themselves as comparatively well off. Women from the dominant group can compare themselves to women in the past; Mexican-Americans can compare themselves to the lower class in Mexico. Another hindrance to group cohesiveness is the mobility of a few from each group who have been able to achieve high status jobs, although at the price of anxiety for women and marginality for Mexican-Americans.

Convinced of their female inferiority, both women and Mexican-Americans have exhibited a subject orientation toward the system and a paternalistic view of political leadership. The role of women has been defined in terms of nurturance; the role of the Mexican-American is defined in terms of subordination. Full awareness of exclusion comes only when individuals in a minority and/or subordinate position attempt to participate in the division of resources in a society.

Until the last decade, neither women nor Mexican-Americans had attempted to participate in policy-making on an equal basis.

Members of both groups have allowed themselves to be excluded from policy-making on the basis of limited qualifications, not realizing that the acquisition of the necessary qualifications was controlled by the institutions under the direction of the dominant males. It is the educated woman and the educated Mexican-American who feel the force of covert discrimination, discrimination on the basis of physical attributed disguised under other terms, i.e., lack of bona fide occupational qualification.³⁷

The political system is not perceived by either women or Mexican-Americans as being receptive to their goals and demands. Politics, as entailed in the formal institutions of government, is not terribly important to them. As a result, political stimuli, unless it is specifically couched in terms of salience to their respective positions in society, is not attended to by women and/or Mexican-Americans. There are issues, such as the equal rights amendment, abortion, rape, and day care, which affect all women and may result in the activation of the Mexican-American female as a side-effect of the feminist movement. One issue very salient to the Mexican-American community is the problem of illegal immigration. The proposed solution has been denounced by Mexican-American organization officials as the creation of a second-class citizenship, but they have not offered a counter proposal. The feminist movement has come up with specific proposals to deal with some of the problems faced by women and met with some limited success.

³⁷ Helen Hacker (1951) first pointed out the similarity between women and minority groups. Although it has become increasingly popular to speak of women as a minority group, the similarity between the situation of women and that of ethnic minorities is seldom considered in terms of social subordination.

The major proposal emerging out of the Chicano Movement has been the institution of bilingual education.³⁸

In addition to issues, channels of participation must be provided for a group to have influence in the political system. Even if women and Mexican-Americans attend to political stimuli and wish to respond, they have only limited options due to the obstacles they face in having their demands conveyed through the formal channels of the political system. Traditionally, both groups have met with more success outside the formal channels than within them. As with women, the ability of Mexican-Americans to contribute in a meaningful way is doubted by the dominant politicians. The most frequent complaints by Anglo politicians concerning Mexican-Americans concern their lack of organization and demands for patronage (Rowan, 1967). The author suggests that the early optimism over the Chicano Movement expressed by Gomez (1974) and Garcia and de la Garza (1977) has worn thin and been replaced by attempts on an individual basis to gain access to a position of policy-making.

³⁸The bilingual programs are geared in one direction—the teaching of English to Spanish-speaking children.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The design and execution of the empirical portion of the present study are discussed in this chapter, including a description of the sample. Prior to the description of the study design, the limitations of previous studies are noted. The differences and similarities between the present study and others are discussed in regard to the overall design, the method of data collection, and techniques of data analysis.

A Critique of Previous Research

A major limitation to political socialization research is the reliance on self-administered questionnaires completed by large samples at one point in time. The reliance upon the self-administered questionnaire has limited the research population to children capable of responding to the written word and thus eliminating the very young child. Few studies have included children under the second grade.³⁹ By the second grade, and most assuredly by the fourth grade, children have already been exposed to a number of socialization experiences and

³⁹ Stanley Moore and associates (1976) are conducting a panel study which began with first grade children in 1974; Sandra Schwartz (1975) conducted a study of pre-school children.

may have already acquired the norms of civic participation through the socialization efforts of the school.

Another limitation in the lack of accurate information concerning parental attitudes. Despite the assumption that the family plays an important role in socialization with the exception of the Jennings and Niemi study, responses have not been collected from parents as well as children. In other studies, parental influence has been ascertained through asking the respondents what their parents' attitudes were. Jennings and Niemi (1974) and Tedin (1976) have demonstrated that children often incorrectly perceive the attitudes of their parents. Again, with the exception of Jennings and Niemi, there has been no comparison of the relative influence of the family and school. Consequently, the interaction between various agents of socialization, such as the family and the school, which includes the possibility that various agents may operate at cross-purposes, has not been adequately explored.⁴⁰ Despite the evidence to the contrary, the political socialization process has been viewed as direct and unidirectional from agents to socializee without any attempt to discover the interaction between political learning and other types of learning.

Another major limitation to political socialization research is its parochialism. The failure to draw upon other disciplines has resulted in the absence of a comprehensive approach to the study of the political environment. The use of such factors as subcultures,

⁴⁰ Although Dean Jaros has speculated on this possibility in his work with various subcultures, he has based his speculation on knowledge of the subculture rather than the collection of actual responses from the parents.

media, and gender within a theoretical framework could serve to illuminate the relationship between the environment and the political learning of the individual. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, most socialization studies have consisted of one-shot efforts in which the students were surveyed at one point in time. Since most studies build upon previous ones, some important areas overlooked in the initial studies of the 1960s continue to be neglected. Questionnaires focus on the formal arrangements of government, the institutions, and the electoral process. The typical questionnaire fails to consider political learning in terms of other learning. Studies by people in mass communications have indicated that there is a direct association between media use and political information. Few political scientists have included questions concerning media use either as a direct source of political information (news programs) or as a more indirect agent of socialization through the portrayal of relationships of power and social status. Not only is such an omission inexcusable in view of findings concerning the influence of the media--especially television--on children, but it also reflects a piecemeal approach to the study of political socialization.

The present study hopes to fill the gap in the literature by drawing upon the research and theory of other disciplines in order to consider political learning in the context of a general learning process.

Research Design

As indicated in the preceding section, the present research project was designed to address several gaps in the literature. An

experimental design rather than the more common survey research was employed. The experimental method has been little used in the study of political socialization. In addition to the innovative quality of the design, the sample itself was extraordinary. As far as the author was able to determine, no experiments in political science have been conducted with either young children or Mexican-American subjects. The subjects in this research project were primarily Mexican-American children between the ages of six and eight and in the first or second grade.⁴¹ The language environment of the children was predominantly a mixture of Spanish and English with only three children from either an exclusively Spanish (1) or exclusively English (2) language home environment. With only six of the mothers reporting an occupation other than housewife, the occupation of the father was used as an indicator of socio-economic status. Using a simple dichotomy of white collar/blue collar, 60 percent (18) of the fathers were classified as blue collar.⁴²

The experimental method was chosen for a number of reasons. The use of an experiment became increasingly attractive as sample size and cost factors were considered. It is increasingly difficult to gain permission to conduct socialization research, particularly in the public schools, and to obtain the funding necessary for large samples. The choice of an experiment rather than a survey may be justified also

⁴¹The sample of twenty-eight was divided along sex, grade, and age categories in the following manner: fourteen boys, fourteen girls; seventeen first graders, eleven second graders; eleven six-year-olds, thirteen seven-year-olds, and four eight-year-olds. Children must be six on or before September 1 in order to enter the first grade.

⁴²SES classification erred in favor of upgrading, e.g., postal service employment was classified as white collar.

on a theoretical basis. As has been mentioned, political socialization research has focused on the content of political socialization with generally inconclusive results; the process of political socialization has been largely ignored. Through survey research, one can establish that specific variables such as sex or age or ethnicity are important and that there is an association between these variables and political knowledge. One cannot, however, explain the relationship--why and how sex affects political knowledge. The experimental method allows one to focus directly on the relationship between two or more variables through the manipulation of one or more variables and the examination of the results of this manipulation. Through the manipulation of the variables and the examination of the consequences, one is able to establish the causal direction of an association (Simon, 1969; Plutchik, 1968). Bailey (1978:192) suggests that although one may never prove the existence of a causal link between two or more variables, "the experiment is definitely the best method in social science for establishing causal links. It enables the investigator to measure the value of the dependent variable, introduce the independent variable he or she suspects to be the cause, and observe whether any change ensues in the dependent variable." Bailey also suggests that the control possible in the experiment allows the use of a smaller sample size and greater confidence in the findings.

Plutchik (1968:22-24) lists four specific reasons for performing a particular experiment: (1) "to determine the relations between two or more variables," (2) "to extend the range of a study of a variable," (3) "to increase the reliability of reported findings,"

and (4) "to test theory." The present study is exploratory in nature and is basically oriented to discovering the relationship between gender role socialization and political learning. Nevertheless, the research provides a more coherent manner for examining the interaction between political attitudes and/or behavior and gender. In postulating gender typing as an intervening variable, the experiment extends the study of gender role and political attitudes from the latter part of the political socialization process, the adult role, to the very beginning, early childhood.

The classic experimental design of pretest-posttest with an experimental group and a control group was selected. History, testing, and maturation effects were considered to be very viable threats in a study involving the attitudes of young children indicating the need for a control group. As Bailey (1978) points out in social science research, one must be prepared for a change to take place between pretest and posttest regardless of whether or not an experimental treatment is given and it is this assumption of difference between pretest and posttest scores which makes a control group necessary. In using a control group, one also assumes that the individuals in the two groups are identical in their personal characteristics and that the pretest and any extraneous variables which affect one group will also affect the other (Bailey, 1978). The actual collection of data was a time-consuming process since the youth of the subjects necessitated the use of the interview rather than the self-administered questionnaire.

The selection of first and second grade students was based on a theoretical concern. As mentioned previously, most socialization

studies have focused on older children so that there is a substantial gap in the literature concerning the very beginning of the socialization process. In this dissertation it is suggested that political socialization is dependent upon a general socialization process and that a major component of this process is gender role learning. The experimental intervention was conceived as an attempt to influence incipient political attitudes through altering or affecting gender role concepts. This study seeks to expand on previous research by asking if gender role concepts can affect the very development of the relationship between the individual and the political system. The central question specifically concerns whether a conception of the female role as primarily nurturant inhibits politicization.

After several months of waiting following the submission of a detailed request including copies of all questions and a list of treatment materials, permission to conduct research was finally granted by one of the two school systems in El Paso, Texas. Permission to conduct the research by the central headquarters is only the first step; one must enlist the cooperation of the principal and the teachers. The research was conducted only in the afternoons at the request of the teachers.⁴³

From the class rolls students were selected from the six classes composing the two grades in the school. Two of the six classes were designated bilingual classes for the Spanish-dominant children.

⁴³The other public school system had turned down the author's request on the grounds that the research was too time consuming and of little benefit to the students. Consequently, the author tried to be as cooperative as possible with the school personnel.

Participation in the research was limited to those children who returned signed permission slips; less than 40 percent of the children returned the permission slips. The study initially involved thirty children, but one student moved between the pretest and the posttest and a page of the posttest interview schedule was inadvertently omitted of another. The data is taken from the interviews with twenty-eight children.

In addition to the request for permission, parents were asked to fill out a questionnaire inquiring about the language environment of the home and the occupations of the parents. The author wanted to confirm her impression of the neighborhood as well as incorporate the responses into the research as background factors. Due to the dominance of Spanish as the language of communication in the neighborhood, the written materials were translated into Spanish. Although all the children appeared to have some command of English, the number of parents who responded only to the Spanish translation of the various materials indicated that the translation was a step well taken.

After the receipt of the permission slips, the children were given the pretest. The pretest and posttest were administered in the form of interviews by the author for all subjects. The pretest took place during the beginning week of October 1978. Due to the electoral campaigns then under way, it was thought that the children might be more aware of political figures than at other times. Another reason the fall was attractive is that it is the beginning of the school year. Hess and Torney argued that the school's role in the political socialization process consists primarily of imparting "unquestioned patriotism." It is reasonable to suggest that early in the school year this

socialization into unquestioned loyalty may not have progressed to a great extent.

The questionnaire underwent several revisions. The major difficulty in its construction was reducing the questions to language which could be understood easily by children between the ages of six and eight. Based upon a previous research effort with young children by the author and thorough investigation into interviewing techniques, including questionnaire construction, fixed choice questions were chosen for use in the present study. The author has found it very difficult for young children to respond to some questions without some sort of structure as a guide. One criticism of fixed-choice questions is that they may force a respondent to reply when s/he has no response. To avoid this possibility, children were permitted the option of indicating that they did not have a response and they were also allowed to respond spontaneously if they so desired.

Most of the questions were based on ones used in previous studies, although some modification was necessary.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, some questions were created by the author--e.g., the personal efficacy questions (19-21) were designed to reflect the activities of children rather than those of adults. In addition, some innovative questions were used concerning perceptions of the government and citizen participation. In order to determine if children perceived the government as benevolent⁴⁵ they were asked their perception of the

⁴⁴ Questions were drawn from Hirsch (1971), Garcia (1973), Lamare (1974), Hershey (1977), and the voting studies conducted at the University of Michigan.

⁴⁵ In socialization studies, it is commonly assumed that children's attitudes toward individual political authorities (President

relationship between the government and two groups with which they were familiar (questions 9 and 10). Although the researcher was warned that the wide use of food stamps and the receipt of various assistance programs by many people might bias the children's replies, it was difficult to determine if such a pattern existed.

The author also felt that asking children of such a young age about a hypothetical voting situation in which they voted or about their future voting plans was less acceptable than questioning children concerning their parents' ability to participate. The author has argued that voting does not necessarily mean a person is politically efficacious; it may also be a measure of civic duty.⁴⁶ Consequently, several questions (16, 24, 34) were used to determine feelings of duty and participation. The questions concerning the candidates for office and the current office-holders were designed simply to test the political knowledge of the children. Although few children were able to correctly answer the questions concerning any public figure other than the President, they were not totally unaware of politics. The most frequent choice for mayor was another local political figure ousted from office during the preceding summer on charges of corruption.

Some of the literature has suggested that boys and girls derive their political information from different sources. Accordingly, the children were asked the source of their information concerning the

or police) reflect their perception of the government. The author feels this to be an erroneous assumption; children may lack the cognitive ability to understand or explain an abstract concept such as government, but they do not necessarily equate government with a particular figure.

⁴⁶Milbrath and Goel (1977:12) report that voting has been found to cluster with patriotic acts such as "love my country" rather than with party and campaign activity.

President. As a more direct probe, they were asked with whom they discussed the President (questions 33 and 33A).

A major premise of the research is that children are already stereotyping behavior as male and female by the time they enter school. Questions (12, 18, 35) determining the extent of gender stereotyping were phrased in terms of activities and occupations. Questions 26-28 specifically addressed the extent to which the female role is defined in terms of the home and family. The extension of gender stereotyping to politics was measured by responses to questions (15, 23, 29) concerning the possibility of women participation in government. As of yet women have not made much of an impression in El Paso politics.⁴⁷ Cognitive development theory emphasizes the interaction of the socializee with his/her environment. Feminists have presented evidence that one aspect of the environment is gender stereotyping. The media, particularly television, are primary sources of information concerning the environment. Consequently, the children were not only asked questions concerning the media as conveyors of direct political information via news programs but also questions concerning the entertainment use of television. The intention of this line of inquiry was to discover if a differential pattern of preference existed for boys and girls and to substantiate the suggestion that the programs viewed by young children are gender-typed.

After the pretest, the children were assigned on a systematic basis to either the experimental group or the control group. The

⁴⁷ None of the state or national representatives from the area are women. A woman (although not the same one) has served on the last two city councils; a few women serve on school boards; a Mexican-American woman became the first woman ever elected to the position of county clerk but resigned to take a federal position.

treatment for the experimental group took place in five thirty-minute sessions during the first week of October. During four of the sessions the author read books to the children and attempted to get the children to discuss the implications of the material whenever time permitted. The books (appendix III), ordered from feminist sources, stressed an egalitarian view of male and female behavior focusing on females as creative, active individuals in their own right. One session of the treatment consisted of a visit by an apprentice lumberjack who described some of the tasks involved in the occupation and the reason she enjoyed such a non-traditional job. The treatment was kept non-political. Undoubtedly, it would have been more difficult to obtain permission for the research from both school authorities and parents if anything controversial had been included. The absence of an explicitly political treatment makes the effect of the intervention concerning political attitudes more intriguing.

The posttest was a repetition of the pretest with the same questions being repeated. It took place at the end of October and the beginning of November. As the completion of the posttest, a note of appreciation was sent to all the parents (appendix IV). Enclosed with the note was a short questionnaire concerning the female role and the involvement of women in politics together with a stamped self-addressed envelope. The children's responses and those of the parents were identified through the use of assigned numbers. No attempt was made to ascertain which parent answered either questionnaire. The intent of the request for parental responses was simply to establish a general home environment rather than a comparison of mothers and fathers. A

brother and sister were involved in the research so that there were twenty-seven sets of parents; out of these, eighteen responded to one or both of the questionnaires. Since the first contact yielded only thirteen responses on the gender questions, a second contact was necessary to increase the response rate. More of the parents of the experimental group responded than did the parents of the control group children.

Data Analysis

The data collected in the present study were analyzed primarily through analysis of variance or ANOVA.⁴⁸ The primary purpose in the selection of an experiment as a means through which to collect data is to determine if two or more variables are associated by attempting to induce change in one or more variables (the dependent variables) as a result of manipulating one or more of the other variables (the independent variables). A change in the dependent variable(s) may result from forces other than the manipulated variable. In social science research it is not possible to completely eliminate all forces other than the experimental treatment, particularly in a field experiment such as the present study. Analysis of variance is a technique used to determine the effectiveness of the experimental treatment through "the formal comparison between the variability due to different treatment of groups and the variability due to random differences between subjects" (Plutchik, 1968:110). Analysis of variance as a

⁴⁸The specific program used in this study is the GLM procedure for unbalanced data in the Statistical Analysis System package.

means of data analysis tests to determine if the variance or range of scores on any variable is greater between groups than it is between subjects within the groups. One uses analysis of variance to "compare averages for different groups in order to explain how and why the groups differ (and are alike) on some dependent variable" (Nagel, 1979). Analysis of variance is used to determine if the differences between groups are "real"--that is, attributable to the influence of the independent variable(s) rather than due to chance.

Analysis of variance is used in the present study not only to compare the experimental and control groups, but also to compare males and females. The nature of the research question, the relationship between gender role concepts and political attitudes, makes it advisable to consider gender as an additional treatment. Once one has more than one independent variable it becomes necessary to consider the possibility that the two may interact in such a way as to influence the dependent variable(s) in a manner distinct from their individual influences. Analysis of variance allows one to test for interaction and to control for inter-relationships (S. Kirkpatrick, 1974:59). Analysis of variance is particularly attractive for social science research since it can be used on varying sample sizes and can deal with variables at different levels of government. Although analysis of variance addresses the very heart of the experimental design--the differences between the experimental group and the control group, other techniques of data analysis are not necessarily excluded. Despite the experimental manipulation, the present study may be considered a case study of gender role norms and political attitudes in a subculture.

In order to gain additional insights into the data, contingency table analysis and some correlational analysis are employed.

Summary

In this chapter the limitations in previous research in political socialization were discussed prior to describing the present study. The use of an experimental design on a sample of young sub-cultural children addresses several omissions in the literature. In addition, research from other disciplines was employed in the construction of the questionnaires. The questionnaire employed for the pretest and posttest in the present study departs from the typical one used in political socialization research through focusing on the informal as well as the formal aspects of learning. Finally, the use of analysis of variance to analyze experimental data is discussed. In the following chapter, the data is analyzed in terms of the hypotheses offered in chapter two concerning the relationship between gender role learning and political learning.

CHAPTER VI

GENDER TYPING AND POLITICAL

LEARNING: THE DATA

In this chapter the data will be examined to determine if there is any support for the contention that a gender factor beginning in early childhood influences the political learning of the child. Specifically, the results will be considered in terms of the influence of gender role norms in the political socialization of Mexican-American children. The first seven hypotheses dealing explicitly with gender role flexibility or rigidity will be examined in terms of whether males or females have the most stereotypes concerning male-female behavior, whether the experimental treatment had any effect, and whether treatment effects were stronger among males or females. After considering the evidence concerning the existence of gender stereotyping, the remaining hypotheses dealing with the effects of gender role norms on political attitudes will be examined. The effect of gender stereotyping in the political socialization process will be considered in terms of efficacy, compliance and/or support for the system, attitudes toward female participation in politics, and the search process for political information.

Gender Role and Stereotyping Behavior

H.1 In the early school years children have strong stereotypes of male-female roles designating activities as either male or female (role flexibility) and limiting women to certain occupations (feminine flexibility).

Stereotyping was measured by the creation of two indices, role flexibility (Roleflex) and feminine flexibility (Femflex). The role flexibility index was created by summing the responses (1-man, 2-woman, 3-both) to questions 18 (a-1) on the pretest (Roleflex 1) and posttest (Roleflex 2) and dividing by nine to obtain an average. A threshold of 2.11 was established above which responses were considered to reflect role flexibility and below which to reflect role rigidity. A score of 2.11 reflected a flexible response to at least five of the nine items. The feminine flexibility index was created by using only those occupations (a,d,f,h,j,k-m) from question 35 on the pretest (Femflex 1) and posttest (Femflex 2) considered non-traditional for women. The responses (1=yes, 3=don't know, 5=no) were summed and divided by eight to give an average score. The threshold level for feminine flexibility was established at 2.5 indicating that no more than half the items were answered in a negative response. The feminine flexibility index runs in the opposite direction of the role flexibility index so that a high score reflects rigidity and a low score flexibility. The correlation between the two indices using Pearson's r was a $-.45$ ($p = .017$) on the pretest and a $-.69$ ($p = .0001$) on the posttest.

As hypothesized, the pretest results indicate that the children designated most of the activities as appropriate for males or appropriate for females rather than as appropriate for both.

Table 6-1

Roleflex and Femflex: Pretest Means

Roleflex	Femflex
1.93	2.65

Nearly 63 percent (N=17) of the children indicated a score at or below the 2.11 threshold on the role flexibility index. The children were slightly more likely to indicate flexibility in the feminine flexibility index with 50 percent (N=14) of the children scoring at or below the threshold level of 2.5.

The children's responses on these two indices not only indicate that children do stereotype activities as male or female, but that there is an evaluative component to gender role norms. The children in this study were more likely to indicate that women could engage in a variety of occupations traditionally defined as male than to suggest that men should share in such activities as housecleaning and child care. The children were most likely to say that women could not be firefighters, soldiers, or plumbers. Unexpectedly, the children expressed little opposition to women as doctors or police-- 10.7 percent (3) responded that a woman could not be a doctor and 14.3 percent (4) that she could not be a police officer. Even a woman as an attorney drew less negative response (42.9 percent, N=12) than a woman as a firefighter (71.4 percent, N=20), a soldier (64.3 percent, N=18), or plumber (50 percent, N=14).

One can only indulge in speculation as to why certain occupations drew more opposition to female participation than others.

The occupations for which the most opposition to female participation was indicated are non-professional occupations easily accessible to individuals from the working class. In El Paso, at least, they are also occupations in which a large percentage of Mexican-Americans are found. However, the local situation does not seem to be reflected in the children's responses as there were only two female doctors in private practice in El Paso at that time. In addition, the number of female police and female attorneys was small, although a number of female soldiers were stationed at the local army base. The author suspects that the popularity of such shows as Police Woman influenced the unexpected tolerance of women as police.

H.2 Girls have fewer stereotypes than boys designating activities as both male and female and placing fewer limits on occupational choice for women.

It was hypothesized that girls have fewer stereotypes than do boys due to the restrictions placed on females by traditional role norms. It would be to the advantage of females to indicate role flexibility allowing them to participate in a broader range of activities and to share some of the tedious tasks associated with home and child care with males. Although, as table 6-2 shows, the means do differ in the hypothesized direction with girls indicating fewer stereotypes than boys, one-way analysis of variance revealed that the differences between them were not statistically significant.

A contingency table, table 6-2a, with responses dichotomized into high and low levels of stereotyping, illustrates the absence of any significant difference between boys and girls. Contrary to the hypothesis, it appears that among the children in this study the girls

were as likely to have stereotypes concerning male-female behavior as were the boys, despite the advantage to them in having a flexible definition of gender roles.

Table 6-2

Mean Scores on Roleflex and Femflex
by Sex: Pretest

	Boys	Girls
Roleflex	1.84	2.01 ^a
Femflex	2.80	2.50 ^b
Degree of Freedom = 1,27		
^a F = .92 p = .34 ^b F = .74 p = .39		

Table 6-2a

Stereotyping: Pretest Scores by Sex

Stereotyping	Boys		Girls	
	Roleflex %	Femflex %	Roleflex %	Femflex %
High	69 (9)	50 (7)	64 (9)	50 (7)
Low	30 (4)	50 (7)	36 (5)	50 (7)
Total	99 (13)*	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)

*One boy indicated no response on several items making up the Roleflex index and was not included.

H.3 Children define the female role in terms of the home and family expressing opposition to women, particularly mothers, working outside the home.

Rather than attempting to create an index, three items were examined separately to determine the extent to which the female role

was defined in terms of the home and family by the children in this study. As has been suggested in chapter three, the norms for mothers may differ from norms for women in general. Therefore, one question inquired as to whether women should work outside the home (question 26), while the other two questions (27 and 28) inquired into employment outside the home by mothers in general and by mothers of new-born infants. Question 27 (mothers of infants) and 28 (mothers) were worded in opposing directions as a check for response set bias. Possible responses were 1=yes, 3=don't know, and 5=no. A threshold level of 2.5 was established for all three questions with scores at or below that level, indicating a rigid or traditional attitude toward the female role on questions 26 and 27, that is, a woman's place is in the home and the employed mother of a new infant should quit her job. A score at or above 2.5 indicated rigidity on question 28, that a mother should not be employed outside the home.

Table 6-3

Female Role

Woman's place	2.35
Mother-infant	1.93
Mother	3.43

As table 3 demonstrates, the children indicated considerable gender role rigidity expressing opposition to women working outside the home. Somewhat unexpectedly, the children did not make a strong distinction between mothers and non-mothers or between the mothers of

infants and mothers in general. Sixty-four percent of the children replied that a woman's place was in the home; 75 percent (21) of the children responded that the employed mother of a new-born infant should quit her job and stay home; and 57 percent (16) of the children responded that mothers should not work.

One can speculate that the age of the respondents may be as influential as gender role norms in influencing their answers. Children at this age (6-8) are still very attached to their mothers and may feel deserted if their mothers work despite the fact that they are themselves away from home attending school for the major part of the day. The children in this study did define the female role primarily in terms of the home and family, possibly a reflection of their own environment. Only a few of the children (N=6) had mothers who listed an occupation other than housewife.

- H.4 After the treatment the children in the experimental group have significantly fewer stereotypes of male-female behavior than have the control group children, particularly concerning females.

Table 6-4

Means on Role Flexibility and Feminine Flexibility
by Group: Pretest and Posttest

Group	Roleflex		Femflex	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Experimental	1.89	2.06	2.80	2.31
Control	2.01 ^a	2.06	2.50 ^b	2.81 ^c
Df = 1,27				
^a F = .92 p = .35	^b F = .74 p = .40		^c F = 2.10 p = .16	

As table 4 demonstrates, both groups changed from pretest to posttest. The experimental group was consistent in moving to a more flexible position on both indices; the control group moved in a less-stereotyped (more flexible) position on one index, role flexibility, but moved in a more stereotyped (rigid) direction on the other--feminine flexibility. One-way analysis of variance on the pretest scores indicated that the difference in means between the experimental group and the control group was not statistically significant.

On the posttest the means were identical on the role flexibility index for the two groups, but there was a difference in the hypothesized direction on the feminine flexibility index. The posttest results are interesting in view of the fact that the control group was actually lower in stereotyping on both indices for the pretest than was the experimental group. A two-way analysis of variance, controlling for pretest scores on the feminine flexibility index revealed that the difference between the experimental group and the control group was not statistically significant; the pretest scores accounted for most of the variance, indicating that there was more variance within each group than between the two groups. Consequently, the hypothesis that the experimental group children would have fewer stereotypes than the control group children cannot be supported. Although the data do not support the hypothesis, the results indicate the necessity of having a control group. Without a control group also indicating change, it would have been easy to assume a greater degree of treatment effectiveness than was justified. It should be noted that only on the feminine flexibility index did either group reach the threshold level established as a boundary between gender role flexibility and gender role rigidity.

- H.5 After the treatment, children in the experimental group are less likely to define the female role in terms of the home and family and will express less opposition to women working outside the home.

Table 6-5

Female Role by Group: Posttest Means

	Experimental	Control
Woman's place	3.80	2.23 ^a
Mother-infant	2.33	2.23 ^b
Mother	2.86	3.76 ^c
Df = 1,27		
^a F = 4.6 p = .04	^b F = .02 p = .89	^c F = 1.97 p = .17

As table 6-5 demonstrates, the hypothesis was supported only in terms of whether a woman's place is in the home. Two-way analysis of variance, controlling for the pretest scores, indicated that the difference between the mean of the experimental group and the mean of the control group was significant at the .04 level. The experimental group mean of 3.8 was well above the 2.5 threshold of gender flexibility, while the control group mean of 2.23 was below it. As table 5a illustrates, the experimental group made a substantial shift in attitude from a majority stating that a woman's place is in the home on the pretest to a majority responding that a woman's place is not necessarily in the home.

The experimental treatment had focused on the portrayal of females in activities other than those associated with the home, and it is not surprising that there was a change in the responses of the

Table 6-5a

Woman's Place by Group: Pretest and Posttest

Stereotyping	Experimental		Control	
	Pre %	Post %	Pre %	Post %
High	66 (10)	26 (4)	65 (8)	69 (9)
Low	33 (5)	73 (11)	35 (5)	31 (4)
Total	100 (15)	99 (15)*	100 (13)	100 (13)

*Due to rounding.

experimental group. The continuation of the control group's responses in stating that a woman's place was in the home serves to support the contention that the treatment had some effect on the responses of the experimental group. Both groups continued to express opposition to mothers working outside the home. The means of the experimental group were, however, closer to the threshold of flexibility than were the means of the control group. There was more difference between the means of the two groups concerning the more general question of whether mothers should work outside the home than on the specific question of whether the mother of an infant should quit work to stay home with it; however, both groups indicated rigidity being above the 2.5 threshold on the former and below the 2.5 threshold on the latter.

H.6 After the treatment, the experimental group girls have significantly fewer stereotypes than the experimental group boys expressing a higher score on role flexibility and a lower score on feminine flexibility.

Although boys and girls differed in the expected direction, with girls having higher scores on role flexibility and lower scores on feminine flexibility, two-way analysis of variance revealed the

Table 6-6

Posttest Means on Role Flexibility and
Feminine Flexibility: Experimental
Group by Sex

	Boys	Girls
Roleflex	2.01	2.11 ^a
Femflex	2.41	2.21 ^b
^a F _{1,13} = .76 p = .40		^b F _{1,14} = .16 p = .70

within-sex variance (pretest scores) to be greater than the between-sex variance in the experimental groups. Both boys and girls were below the 2.5 threshold on the feminine flexibility index, but only the girls reached the 2.11 threshold on the role flexibility index, while the boys were below it. A table of frequencies (table 6-6a) reveals that there was very little difference between the boys and girls in the experimental group.

Table 6-6a

Stereotyping by Sex: Experimental Group Posttest

Stereotyping	Boys		Girls	
	Roleflex %	Femflex %	Roleflex %	Femflex %
High	63 (5)	25 (2)	58 (4)	29 (2)
Low	36 (3)	75 (6)	43 (3)	71 (5)
Total	99* (8)	100 (8)	100 (7)	100 (7)

*Rounding errors.

- H.7 On the posttest the control group girls have fewer stereotypes than the control group boys expressing a higher score on role flexibility and a lower score on feminine flexibility.

Table 6-7

Posttest Means on Role Flexibility and Feminine Flexibility: Control Group by Sex

	Boys	Girls
Roleflex	1.83	2.25 ^a
Femflex	3.50	2.21 ^b
Df = 1,12		
^a F = 2.87 p = .17		^b F = 16.02 p = .03

Not only were the differences between the boys and girls in the control group in the hypothesized direction with girls expressing a higher score on role flexibility and a lower score on feminine flexibility, boys were located on one side of the threshold on both indices and girls on the other. The boys' responses indicated the continuation of a rigid or traditional attitude toward gender roles. On the other hand, the control group girls expressed non-traditional or flexible attitudes. Two-way analysis of variance controlling for pretest scores showed the difference between the sexes within the control group to be significant on feminine flexibility, although the difference between the means of boys and girls did not reach statistical significance on role flexibility. Table 6-7a illustrates the distribution of responses on the two indices.

Table 6-7a

Stereotyping by Sex: Control Group Posttest

Stereotyping	Boys		Girls	
	Roleflex %	Femflex %	Roleflex %	Femflex F
High	67 (4)	67 (4)	43 (3)	29 (2)
Low	33 (2)	33 (2)	57 (4)	71 (5)
Total	100 (6)	100 (6)	100 (7)	100 (7)

The greater difference between boys and girls in the control group in comparison to the experimental group on the posttest scores suggests that the experimental treatment may have been more effective for the boys than for the girls. By ranking from lowest to highest in stereotyping on both indices, one can see that the control boys gave the most stereotyped responses. Although the experimental group boys rate higher in stereotyping on these indices than either the experimental girls or the control group girls, their scores on the posttest are closer to those of both sets of girls rather than those of the control boys.

Table 6-7b

Stereotyping by Group and Sex:
Posttest (From Low to High)

	Roleflex	Femflex
Control Girls	2.25	2.21
Experimental Girls	2.11	2.21
Experimental Boys	2.01	2.41
Control Boys	1.83	3.50

The absence of important differences between the experimental group girls and the control group girls on the posttest on these two indices suggests that gender itself may constitute a powerful treatment. The lack of difference between the two groups of girls also suggests that a testing effect may have occurred in that the interviewing itself activated latent consciousness in the gains accruing to females in the expansion of gender role norms. The greatest difference between the two groups of boys occurs on the feminine flexibility index reflecting the treatment's emphasis on a flexible definition of the female role. Apparently, once their consciousness is raised, girls are more than willing to accept the ability of women to engage in activities other than care of the home and children making the experimental treatment superfluous in this area.

Before moving on to a consideration of the other hypotheses, it may be helpful to review the findings from the first seven concerning gender role stereotyping and the effects of the experimental treatment. Beginning with the pretest scores, it was found that the children labeled behavior as male or female, with girls indicating slightly more gender flexibility than did boys, although the difference was not statistically significant. The children very definitely defined the female role in terms of the home and family saying that a woman's place was in the home, that the mother of a new infant should quit her job and stay home, and that mothers should not work outside the home. On the posttest both the experimental group and the control group expressed a greater gender flexibility than on the pretest with the experimental group indicating a more flexible attitude toward occupations for females

although the difference was not statistically significant. Further investigation revealed that the difference was due to the difference between the experimental boys and the control group boys. There was no statistical difference between the experimental boys and girls in gender role flexibility on the posttest, but the difference between the boys and girls in the control group was statistically significant on the feminine flexibility index. The absence of a statistically significant difference between the sexes in the experimental group and the presence of one among the control group children suggests that the experimental treatment in this study was more effective for boys. The experimental treatment also seemed to affect the definition of the female role in another way since the experimental group children were less likely to respond that a woman's place is in the home, although they, like the control group children, continued to express opposition to mothers being employed outside the home.

In previous research with Mexican-American children (Garcia, 1973; Lamare, 1974; Davis, 1977), language environment has been found to affect political attitudes. In addition, much of the literature suggests that the Latin culture contains more rigid gender role norms than does the Anglo-Saxon culture. Consequently, parents were questioned concerning the language environment of the home (appendix I) and their own attitudes on the employment of women (appendix II). Two indices were created to measure language environment and parental attitudes on female employment. The language index was created by summing the responses to questions 3-8 (except for 5) on the questionnaire sent home with the permission slip and divided by five to obtain an average.

The parental replies indicate that the children in this study came from a mixed language environment, slightly more English-oriented than Spanish-oriented. One-way analysis of variance revealed that the difference between the experimental group mean of 3.67 and the control group mean of 3.34 on the language index was not statistically significant. ($F_{1,24} = .60$ $p = .45$). Contrary to expectations, the parents placed few limits on occupations for women. With the exception of indicating opposition to women as police, the parents responded very similarly to their children. Again, the occupations which drew the most opposition to female employment were blue-collar jobs (plumber, police, truckdriver, construction) rather than white-collar jobs (doctors, attorney). Again one-way analysis of variance revealed that the difference between the experimental group mean of 2.28 and the control group mean of 1.95 did not differ in such a way as to influence the results.

Gender Role and Political Attitudes

The previous discussion of the research findings concerning gender role stereotypes indicates that even young children just beginning school have concepts of a male role and a female role with the female role defined primarily in terms of the home and family. The crucial question for political socialization is whether these concepts of male-female behavior are applied to politics. The remaining hypotheses are concerned with the effect of gender role norms on the development of children's attitudes toward the political system.

- H.8 Girls express less personal efficacy than boys perceiving themselves as less competent in playing games and in schoolwork and as having fewer friends.

According to Hess (1971:64), "a sense of political efficacy is related to or overlaps with a sense of personal effectiveness or personal competence." As discussed in chapter three of this dissertation, there is considerable evidence that females are less personally efficacious than males--that they feel less competent in coping with their environment. The development of a sense of efficacy is undoubtedly a gradual process; yet one can speculate that there may be a point at which one begins to feel reasonably competent or incompetent in dealing with the environment. One can speculate that the feminist movement may have affected the socialization of today's children so that the males and females do not differ in efficacy. Inspection of the frequencies revealed that the question concerning the ability to carry out plans (30) did not appear to be associated with the other three questions (19-21) and it was omitted from the efficacy scale. Apparently, the children in this study felt that their own wishes or plans are secondary to those of higher authorities such as parents or teachers. It should be noted that question 30 is a standard efficacy question included on most socialization questionnaires. An index of personal efficacy was created by combining the responses from questions 19-21, summing the responses (1=yes, 3=don't know, 5=no) and dividing by three to give an average.

The means for boys and girls do differ in the hypothesized direction with a mean of 1.76 for the boys and a mean of 1.90 for the girls. However, correlational analysis revealed that the personal efficacy index did not operate as well for the boys as the girls, as table 6-8 illustrates. Correlational analysis also confirmed that question 30 on carrying out plans did not correlate with any other items.

Table 6-8

Correlation of Personal Efficacy Items by Sex
(Pearson's R)

	Males	Females
Games and Friends	.12	.64 ^a
Games and School	-.20	.54 ^b
Friends and School	.67 ^c	.25
Df = 1,27*		
^a _p = .01	^b _p = .04	^c _p = .007

The means for the three items composing the index do differ in the hypothesized direction, with the exception that girls indicated more competence in playing games than did the boys. The differences between boys and girls on the individual items are interesting. Why should boys feel less competent in playing games than in school work and girls feel less competent in school while feeling more competent in playing games. By indulging in speculation, one might suspect that gender role norms may influence the responses so that the boys have lower standards for themselves for school work, while girls reverse the process with higher expectations for themselves in regard to school and lower in regard to games. Such speculation is based on the assumption that individual responses are based on comparing oneself to members of one's own sex, not to members of the other sex. It should also be remembered that the children had been in school for less than six weeks at the time of the study.

*Unless indicated otherwise, degrees of freedom = 1,27 for the remainder of the F values.

Table 6-8a

Personal Efficacy by Sex and Item:
Pretest Means

	Males	Females
Games	2.42	1.57 ^a
Friends	1.57	1.71 ^b
School	1.28	2.43 ^c
^a F = 1.70 p = .20	^b F = .07 p = .79	^c F = 3.59 p = .069

As table 6-8a demonstrates, one-way analysis of variance, however, indicated that the differences between boys and girls did not reach a conventional level (.05) of statistical significance for any of the individual items. The use of individual items rather than the index became a necessity when responses were dichotomized into low and high levels of personal efficacy. Using 2.5 as a threshold level, there was no differences between boys and girls on the pretest, with 85.7 percent indicating a high level of personal efficacy.

H.9 Girls express less political efficacy than do boys indicating that it is not important for their parents to vote and/or that the only way in which the parents can exert influence is through voting.

There was little difference between boys and girls concerning the importance of parental voting (question 16) on the pretest with 71.4 percent (10) of the boys and 78.6 percent (11) of the girls responding that it is important for their parents to vote. Girls were more likely (57 percent compared to 35 percent for the boys) to select voting as the way for their parents to influence the government

(question 34). One cannot say that girls are less efficacious, however, as 35 percent of the boys also replied that their parents could not do anything to influence the government. The hypothesis was not supported since girls were more likely than boys to respond that it was important for their parents to vote and also to select a method through which their parents could influence the government. As table 6-9 indicates, one-way analysis of variance indicated that the differences were not statistically significant.

Table 6-9
Political Efficacy by Sex and Item:
Pretest Means

	Males	Females
Vote	2.14	1.86 ^a
Influence	3.85	3.29 ^b
^a F = .18 p = .68	^b F = .76 p = .39	

The responses to the two questions (16 and 34) indicate some inconsistency in attitude. Both boys and girls indicate that it is important for their parents to vote at a rate much higher than the voting turnout for Mexican-Americans. Both, however, respond that their parents can have little influence on policy except for voting; voting, nevertheless, receives far fewer endorsements as a means of change than the responses to the importance of parental voting would lead one to expect. One might speculate that this inconsistency may reflect a conflict between the "unquestioning patriotism" taught by the school and the reality of exclusion from the policy-making process.

It is also possible that responses could have been influenced by the citizenship status of the parents. The parents were not asked if they were or were not citizens, and the author suggests that such a question may be too sensitive for direct inquiry so that the use of another method would be required to determine the citizenship status of parents.

- H.10 A rigid definition of the female role (high score on femflex) is negatively related to the personal and political efficacy of girls.

The association between the definition of the female role in terms of occupational choice and personal efficacy was weak and the correlations were opposite to the hypothesized direction. Girls rating high in rigidity concerning the employment of women also rated high on the efficacy items. None of the correlations reached statistical significance.

Table 6-10

Correlation of Personal Efficacy with
Femflex among Girls (Pearson's R)

	Femflex		
Games	-.29 ^a		
Friends	-.05 ^b		
School	-.42 ^c		
^a _p = .32	^b _p = .87	^c _p = .13	

It is somewhat puzzling that the girls who were the most traditional in attitude also felt the most competent, unless one argues that the more traditional girls were the most compliant to

authority and therefore felt that their behavior met the norms for girls their age.

The data regarding the relationship between definitions of the female role (femflex) and political efficacy are mixed. There is only a very weak association between the score on femflex and the response concerning the importance of parental voting, and it is contrary to the hypothesis. The correlation between scores on femflex and the ability of parents to influence the government, however, almost reaches a conventional level of significance, as table 6-10a indicates. A high score on the parental influence item indicates that the child perceives few ways in which her parents can influence the government. The girl who limits the occupations in which women can engage is also likely to indicate that her parents can influence the government, if at all, only through voting. A comparison of girls with boys reveals that the associations between scores on femflex and scores on efficacy were much weaker among the boys supporting the contention that the individual's definition of the female role does affect the self-concept of girls.

Table 6-10a

Correlation of Political Efficacy with
Femflex among Girls (Pearson's R)

	Femflex
Vote	.08 ^a
Influence	.51 ^b
^a _p = .78	^b _p = .06

- H.11 Girls are more compliant than are boys emphasizing civic duty and obedience and perceiving the government as benevolent toward Mexican-Americans and women.

The hypothesis is not supported. The data from the pretest indicate that girls were more compliant only in saying that voting is a duty. They were less likely to respond that the best person is one who obeys and more likely to respond that it is difficult for Mexican-Americans to receive help from the government. Surprisingly, there was no difference in the mean response of boys and girls concerning government benevolence toward women.

Table 6-11

Systemic Compliance by Sex and Item:
Pretest Means

	Boys	Girls
Civic duty	2.14	1.43 ^a
Obedience	2.00	2.62 ^b
Mexican-Americans	2.71	1.43 ^c
Women	3.57	3.57
^a F = 1.68 p = .21		^b F _{1,26} = .69 p = .41
^c F = 4.16 p = .052		

The difference between boys and girls concerning governmental benevolence toward Mexican-Americans approached a conventional level of statistical significance on the pretest, although none of the other items reached statistical significance. The difference between boys and girls concerning aid to Mexican-Americans is interesting not only because it is contrary to the hypothesis, but also because the posttest

scores reveal a change in that the boys are more likely to respond that it is difficult for Mexican-Americans to receive help from the government and the girls less likely to view it difficult for Mexican-Americans to receive help. Although the results are contrary to the hypothesis that the girls appear no more compliant than the boys, one must be concerned by the children's attitude expressing doubt concerning governmental benevolence. Contrary to the findings of the 1960s' studies which indicated that the children perceived the President as benevolent, the findings of this study indicate that children do not perceive the government as benevolent, regardless of their feelings concerning the President.

Table 6-12

Correlation of Systemic Compliance with Femflex
among Girls: Pretest and Posttest
(Pearson's R)

	Femflex	
	Pre	Post
Civic duty	-.18 p = .53	.00 p = 1.00
Obedience	-.14 p = .63	.18 p = .54
Mexican-Americans	.30 p = .29	-.17 p = .56
Women	.07 p = .81	-.22 p = .45

As hypothesized, on the pretest the scores on the feminine flexibility index are weakly associated with systemic compliance. As table 6-12 indicates, however, none of the correlations reached statistical significance. The correlations are in the hypothesized direction, with rigidity or traditionalism concerning the employment

of women associated with the response that it is one's civic duty to vote and that the best person is one who obeys. A rigid definition of female employment is also associated with the response that it is not difficult for women or Mexican-Americans to get help from the government. The posttest results, while not reaching statistical significance either, indicate that a change occurred. The lack of an association between scores on the femflex index and responses on the civic duty item is explained by the finding that all girls responded that one has a duty to vote (compared to 75 percent of the boys). Contrary to the pretest and the hypothesis, a high score on the femflex index on the posttest was associated with the response that the best person is not necessarily the one who obeys. A high score or traditional attitude on the femflex index was also associated with the responses that it is not easy for Mexican-Americans and women to obtain aid from the government. An inspection of frequencies depicted in table 6-12a reveals the changes among the girls from pretest to posttest.

Table 6-12a

Systemic Compliance among Girls by Item and Test

Compliance %	Civic Duty %	Obedience %	Mexican-Americans %	Women %
Pretest				
High	86 (12)	62 (8)	14 (2)	64 (9)
Low	14 (2)	39 (5)	86 (12)	36 (5)
Total	100 (14)	101*(13)**	100 (14)	100 (14)
Posttest				
High	100 (14)	86 (12)	64 (9)	43 (6)
Low		14 (2)	36 (5)	57 (8)
Total	100	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)

*Due to rounding; **One girl was unable to respond on the pretest.

- H.13 After the treatment the experimental girls are less compliant than the control girls so that the experimental boys and girls are closer in systemic compliance than are the control boys and girls.

Table 6-13

Systemic Compliance by Group and Sex:
Posttest Means

	Experimental		Control	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Civic Duty	2.0	1.00	2.33	1.00
Obedience	1.0	1.57	3.00	1.29
Mexican-Americans	3.0	3.86	2.33	3.00
Women	3.5	1.57	4.33	3.57

The most striking thing about table 6-13 is that the means for the experimental boys and the control girls are closer than either the within-group means or the within-sex means. As on the femflex and roleflex indices, the experimental group boys are more similar to both the experimental group and control group girls than they are to the control boys on two items, obedience and governmental benevolence to Mexican-Americans. The only item on which the experimental group boys are closer to the control boys than they are to the control girls is on civic duty. On governmental benevolence toward women, the experimental group girls are the most estranged group, responding that it is difficult for women to get help from the government, while the others continue the pretest response that it is not difficult for women to receive help from the government.

In comparing the pretest scores with the posttest scores, both groups of girls moved toward greater systemic compliance in regard to civic duty and obedience (both replying 100 percent on civic duty and 85.7 percent on obedience). The attitudes on governmental benevolence are more complex with both groups moving toward greater compliance on one item, help for Mexican-Americans, but the experimental group girls moving in a less compliant direction concerning help for women. The near reversal among the experimental group girls on governmental benevolence between pretest and posttest suggests that a change in reference group may have occurred with the experimental group girls identifying themselves more as women rather than as Mexican-Americans. The children's responses also suggest that among these children, at least, there is no awareness of common out-group status. Table 6-13a demonstrates the mixed results obtained in the posttest.

The experimental group boys were slightly closer to the experimental group girls than were the control boys to the control girls on the civic duty question. On the obedience item, the greatest difference between the two groups occurred with experimental group boys and girls being much closer than the control boys and girls. On the benevolence items, the control group boys and girls were closer than were the experimental group boys and girls due to the attitude of the experimental group girls on governmental aid to women. The data does not support the hypothesis that the experimental girls are less compliant than are the control group girls with the exception of governmental aid to women.

Table 6-13a
Systemic Compliance by Item, Group and Sex

Compliance	Experimental		Control	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Civic Duty				
High	75 (6)	100 (7)	67 (4)	100 (7)
Low	25 (2)		33 (2)	
Total	100 (8)	100 (7)	100 (6)	100 (7)
Obedience				
High	100 (8)	86 (6)	50 (3)	86 (6)
Low		14 (1)	50 (3)	14 (1)
Total	100 (8)	100 (7)	100 (6)	100 (7)
Mexican-Americans				
High	59 (4)	71 (5)	33 (2)	57 (4)
Low	59 (4)	29 (2)	67 (4)	43 (3)
Total	100 (8)	100 (7)	100 (6)	100 (7)
Women				
High	63 (5)	14 (1)	83 (5)	71 (5)
Low	38 (3)	86 (7)	17 (1)	29 (2)
Total	101 (8)*	100 (7)	100 (6)	100 (7)

*Due to rounding.

- H.14 Gender role flexibility, particularly a flexible definition of the female role, is positively associated with a favorable attitude toward the participation of women in politics.

Three questions were used to measure the children's attitudes toward female political participation. The children were asked if a woman could be President (question 15), if things would be different if a woman were President (question 23), and if more women should be in government (question 29). The only item which correlated to statistical significance with gender role flexibility was the question of whether a woman could be President. There was a positive association on the pretest between feminine flexibility and the response that a woman can be President, but only among the girls did the correlation reach statistical significance. On the posttest the correlation between feminine flexibility and a positive response that a woman can be President reached statistical significance for both males and females. Lack of an association between feminine flexibility and the other measures of attitudes toward female participation in politics is surprising since among the boys there was a strong association (.68 $p = .008$) between responses concerning a woman President and whether more women should be in government. The results illustrated in table 6-14 also

Table 6-14

Correlation of Feminine Flexibility with Female
President by Sex: Pearson's R

	Femflex			
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Female President	.41 ^a	.75 ^b	.57 ^c	.52 ^d
^a $p = .14$	^b $p = .002$	^c $p = .03$	^d $p = .05$	

seem to suggest that the experimental treatment may have been more effective for boys in that their attitudes toward female occupational choice became more clearly associated with their attitudes concerning female political participation.

H.15 Girls are more favorable toward female participation in politics.

Table 6-15

Attitude on Female Political Participation by Sex:
Pretest and Posttest Means

	Boys		Girls	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Female as President	2.85	2.71	2.57	2.43 ^a
If Female is President	1.29	1.86	2.14	1.86 ^b
Women in Government	2.43	2.43	1.71	1.57 ^c
^a Pretest: F = .15 p = .70 ^b Pretest: F = 2.21 p = .15 Posttest: F = .18 p = .68 Posttest: F = 0				
^c Pretest: F = 1.16 p = .29 Posttest: F = 1.75 p = .20				

The hypothesis is not supported. The difference between boys and girls did not reach statistical significance on any of the items measuring attitudes toward female participation in politics, and on one item (question 23) there was no difference on the posttest between boys and girls. Therefore, the difference between boys and girls in attitudes must be attributed to something other than sex. Analysis of variance revealed that there was an interaction between sex and pretest scores on two of the items (questions 23 and

29) of the posttest, but that on one item (question 15) the pretest scores accounted for most of the variance. By dichotomizing the responses into favorable and unfavorable responses, we find that the children were favorable to female participation in politics. Responses ranged from 1=yes to 5=no, and 2.5 was selected as the threshold level at or below which the responses were considered favorable and responses above considered unfavorable. Table 6-15a reports the frequencies for the two items on which boys and girls differed on the posttest.

Table 6-15a
Attitude on Female Political Participation by Item,
Sex and Test

Attitude	Boys		Girls	
	Pre %	Post %	Pre %	Post %
Female President				
Favorable	50 (7)	57 (8)	57 (8)	64 (9)
Unfavorable	50 (7)	43 (6)	43 (6)	36 (5)
Total	100 (14)	100 (4)	100 (4)	100 (4)
Women in Government				
Favorable	64 (9)	64 (9)	79 (11)	86 (12)
Unfavorable	36 (5)	36 (5)	21 (3)	14 (2)
Total	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)

As table 6-15a demonstrates, there was very little change from pretest to posttest among either boys or girls, although the girls were slightly more favorable on both the pretest and the posttest than were the boys.

- H.16 After the treatment, the experimental group children are more favorable toward female participation in politics than are the control group children.

Table 6-16
Attitude on Female Political Participation
by Group: Posttest Means

	Experimental	Control
Female as President	2.06	3.15 ^a
Women in Government	2.06	1.92 ^b
^a F = 2.63 p = .11	^b F = .64 p = .84	

Again, the association between group membership and a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward female political participation did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. The association between group membership and the possibility of a woman as President, however, was stronger than the relationship between the attitude toward a woman as President and sex (table 6-15). Analysis of variance indicated that there was more variation between subjects within the same group than between the experimental group and the control group. Unlike the relationship between sex and pretest scores, there was no important interaction between group and pretest scores. By again dichotomizing responses into favorable and unfavorable, we find that the majority of the children in each group expressed a favorable attitude toward female participation in politics on one item (whether there should be more women in government). On the question of whether a woman can be President, only in the experimental group did a majority give a positive response. Table 6-16a depicts

the frequency distribution for the experimental group and the control group on pretest and posttest for these items.

Table 6-16a

Attitude on Female Political Participation
by Item, Group, and Test

	Experimental		Control	
	Pre %	Post %	Pre %	Post %
Female President				
Favorable	60 (9)	73 (11)	46 (6)	46 (6)
Unfavorable	49 (6)	27 (4)	54 (7)	54 (7)
Total	100 (15)	100 (15)	100 (13)	100 (13)
Women in Government				
Favorable	80 (12)	73 (11)	62 (8)	77 (10)
Unfavorable	20 (3)	27 (4)	38 (5)	23 (3)
Total	100 (15)	100 (15)	100 (13)	100 (13)

- H.17 Boys and girls differ in the search process for political information relying upon different sources with boys relying on impersonal sources such as the media and girls relying on interpersonal sources such as the teacher and/or parents.

Table 6-17

Political Information Sources by
Sex and Test: Means

	Boys	Girls
Pretest	2.64	3.36 ^a
Posttest	3.92	3.57 ^b
^a F = 1.65 p = .21 ^b F _{1,25} = .29 p = .60		

Due to the saliency of the President to young children⁴⁹ as the most visible aspect of government, question 33 asked the children where they acquired information concerning the President. Although analysis of variance did not indicate the difference in means to be statistically significant, an inspection of the frequencies reveals a difference in information sources in the hypothesized direction. Condensing the responses into personal versus impersonal sources, we find that on both the pretest and posttest girls are more likely to rely on persons as sources of information (with mother and teacher accounting for 71.4 percent) and boys on impersonal sources, primarily television (50 percent). The positioning of the most frequently chosen responses as responses 2-television, 3-school, 4-mother undoubtedly affected the utility of ANOVA in analyzing the data.

Table 6-17a

Political Information Sources by Sex and Test

	Boys		Girls	
	Pre %	Post %	Pre %	Post %
Impersonal	71 (10)	50 (7)	21 (3)	14 (2)
Personal	29 (4)	33 (5)*	79 (11)	86 (12)
Total	100 (14)	83 (12)	100 (14)	100 (14)

*Two boys were unable to name a source on the posttest.

⁴⁹The President of the United States is a highly salient figure to the children. Not only did most of the children correctly name him (often spontaneously), almost all could identify a picture of President Carter. Question 7 involved the use of newspaper

The responses of the children contained some unexpected findings. Not one boy mentioned the teacher as a source of information concerning the President on either the pretest or the posttest. Only one boy named the father as a source of information! Young children between the ages of six and eight may be more attached to their mother than to the father and, consequently, turn to her for any type of information. The attachment of young children to their mother, however, does not explain why the boys in this study picked out television as the major source of information on the President, particularly since few indicated that they habitually watched the news. If the children in this study are not atypical, it appears that at the very beginning of the political socialization process boys and girls may turn to different sources for their information. Previous research has indicated that boys are more informed than are girls; additional investigation into the process through which children acquire political information should consider the effect of different sources on the type of information acquired.⁵⁰

H.18 Boys watch the news on television more than do girls.

The hypothesis was not supported. Most of the children reported that they watched the news only sometimes or not at all. Girls were somewhat more likely to report that they watched the news

photographs of various political figures (both men and women) from the local, state, and national governments. The only person other than the President to be identified correctly was Rosalynn Carter.

⁵⁰ It is possible that children acquire political attitudes via non-public affairs presentations by the media. Boys and girls diverge in their preferences concerning entertainment programs. Boys preferred adventure-drama shows, comedy, and children's shows on both the pretest and posttest. Girls preferred children's shows, cartoons, and comedy.

Table 6-18

Attention to News by Sex and Test: Means

	Boys	Girls
Pretest	3.57	3.29
Posttest	3.57	3.28
$F = .30 \quad p = .59$		

sometimes and somewhat less likely to report that they never watched the news. As indicated in table 18, the means on the posttest were almost identical to the means on the pretest. Consequently, analysis of variance was performed only on the pretest means, and it indicated that the difference between boys and girls was not statistically significant.

Table 6-18a

Attention to News by Sex: Pretest and Posttest

Frequency	Boys		Girls	
	Pre %	Post %	Pre %	Post %
Always	14 (2)	21 (3)	14 (2)	7 (1)
Sometimes	43 (6)	50 (7)	57 (8)	79 (11)
Never	43 (6)	29 (4)	29 (4)	14 (2)
Total	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)	100 (14)

- H.19 Among girls attention to news is positively associated with support for female participation in politics and flexibility in the female role.

The hypothesis was partially supported on the pretest in that attention to the news was positively associated with attitudes toward a female as President and feminine flexibility. Only the association between attention to the news and feminine flexibility reached statistical significance (table 6-19). On the posttest, however, among the girls the associations did not reach statistical significance and were, in fact, negative rather than positive. On the pretest, flexibility and a positive response to whether or not a woman can be President were associated with attention to the news; however, on the posttest, attention to the news was associated with rigidity and a negative response. These results are somewhat puzzling since the girls from pretest to posttest became more likely to respond that a woman could be President, slightly more likely to say they watched the news on TV sometimes, and more likely to respond that women could hold any occupation. Considering the negative correlation among the

Table 6-19

Correlation of News with Female President and
Femflex among Girls: Pretest and Posttest

	Pretest	Posttest
	News	News
Female President	.41	-.44 ^a
Femflex	.68	-.19 ^b
^a Pretest: p = .15	^b Pretest: p = .008	
Posttest: p = .11	Posttest: p = .5	

girls, the association between a flexible response concerning the participation of women in diverse occupations and attention to the news among the boys was somewhat surprising since it almost reached statistical significance (.52 $p = .055$).

Summary

Many of the hypotheses concerning the relationship between gender role norms and political learning were not supported to a level of statistical significance. Although the author has reported the results of the tests of significance, it should be remembered that tests of significance only indicate the probability at which the strength of the association could have occurred by chance, they do not indicate the strength of the association between two concepts or variables. In addition, the author would like to suggest that the associations proposed in the hypotheses which were not statistically significant should not be completely dismissed. Henkel (1976) has argued that tests of significance are more appropriate in situations requiring an immediate decision on the basis of limited information rather than in basic research aimed at developing theory.⁵¹ The discovery of some differences between boys and girls and between the experimental group and the control group does seem to suggest that further investigation concerning the effect of gender role norms on the process of political learning is required. Despite the explicitly nonpolitical nature of the treatment, there were some changes in the responses of the children concerning the perception of the

⁵¹Henkel (1976:84) argues that tests of significance "provide at best negative information and result in a decision to reject or fail to reject a theoretical statement, rather than resulting in an adjustment, an increase, or decrease in our degree of belief in the theoretical statement."

relationship between the government and its citizenry including the participation of women.

The findings concerning the last twelve hypotheses may be considered in terms of indications concerning the differences between boys and girls, differences between the experimental group and the control group, and relationships between gender role norms and political attitudes. Although not statistically significant, there were some differences between boys and girls in political efficacy, with boys indicating greater efficacy in making friends and in school work but less efficacy in playing games. There was very little difference between boys and girls concerning the importance of parental voting. The tendency of girls to select voting as the only way for their parents to influence the government and their propensity to say that voting is one's civic duty appear to indicate that the girls in this study were well on their way to "unquestioning patriotism." Girls, however, did not perceive the government as more benevolent than did boys. Girls and boys depend on different sources for political information, with girls relying on such sources as mother and teacher and boys on television.

The effects of the experimental treatment are somewhat difficult to determine as there were few differences between the groups. The experimental group boys were closer to the experimental group girls and the control group girls on several items than they were on the control group boys. The control group boys were somewhat less compliant with the exception of governmental aid to women than were the experimental group boys and girls or the control group girls.

The control group was somewhat less favorable toward female participation in politics, but the differences were not significant.

The data do indicate some association between attitudes concerning the female role and political attitudes for both boys and girls. Contrary to the author's expectations, a traditional attitude toward the employment of women in diverse occupations (Femflex) was associated with more positive attitudes among the girls concerning school work, friendships, and game participation. A traditional attitude toward female employment was, however, associated with the attitude that the only option for parents to exercise when they are dissatisfied is voting. As was hypothesized and confirmed by the data, there was a definite association between attitudes concerning female employment and the participation of women in politics. A flexible attitude on female employment was associated with a favorable attitude toward the possibility of a woman as President on the pretest and posttest for girls and on the posttest only for the boys. There was also an association among the girls between the attitude on female employment and attention to the news. However, the association was positive on the pretest and negative on the posttest.

It should be noted that the children in this study were more cynical than has been indicated by previous studies, including those studies of Mexican-Americans. These children, just beginning school, expressed doubt that their parents can have influence in the policy-making process and that the government is concerned with the needs of such groups as Mexican-Americans or women. Nevertheless, the majority of children stated that it was important for their

parents to vote and that voting is a civic duty. The President remains a highly salient public figure to the children with 93 percent (26) of the children on both the pretest and the posttest responding that "Jimmy" Carter was President of the United States. Although the children were unable to answer the other political knowledge questions correctly, they appeared to have developed a conceptualization of government and the electoral process in that they had little difficulty understanding the questions.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Within the discipline of political science concern for political socialization can be traced to the development of systems theory and the resulting interest in the relationship between political attitudes and political behavior. The initial studies of the late 1950s and early 1960s examined political socialization as a means of inculcating support for the political system. The data from these early studies did indicate that there was a great deal of support for the system among the young. Although differences between the responses of children from different genders and social classes were noted, the emphasis in these early studies was placed on the content of political socialization and the development of systemic support rather than on variations in support.

Implicitly, the early studies assumed political socialization to be a homogeneous and direct process creating support for the system among all individuals regardless of their position in the social and political order. A series of studies among children from various subcultures in the United States challenged the assumption that all children viewed the President benevolently and were supportive of the

political system. These subcultural studies indicated that Appalachian children, black children, and chicano children were more cynical and more distrustful of the political system than were the dominant-group children of the initial studies. Other challenges to the assumption of a homogeneous political socialization process have come from studies of the relationship between media use and political interest and knowledge and from studies examining the association between gender and political learning. The results from the subcultural, media, and gender studies indicate that political learning does not occur in isolation but is related to other types of learning.

In this dissertation the author has attempted to piece together information from several disciplines concerning the learning process. Although no formal definition is given, learning is conceived in terms of information acquisition and processing. The principal focus of the study is the influence of gender on the acquisition and processing of information relevant to politics. The voting studies and the political socialization studies have indicated that females continue to be less interested and less informed about politics than are males despite increasing levels of education and employment. The explanation offered in this study concerned the relevancy of political stimuli for the performance of the traditional female role.

The most important contribution of this dissertation to the political socialization literature lies in its examination of the process of political socialization. The data offer support for the contention that political socialization is a complex process involving informal as well as formal learning. The findings of

this study also support the contention that political attitudes and cognitions do not develop independently of other attitudes. The author suggests that the results of her study, although derived from a small group of children, appear to demonstrate that much of political learning is informal and begins prior to the formal instruction of the school.

The studies of children from different cultural backgrounds and from different time periods indicate that the content of political socialization varies with the environment. The author has sought to explain the influence of the environment through the use of role theory in conjunction with cognitive development theory. Briefly, it has been asserted that one's experiences affect one's information acquisition and processing through the development of a set of categories mediating between the individual and the environment. One's experiences are said to derive from one's social role so that individuals occupying different roles react to similar stimuli in divergent ways.

One of the major arguments presented in this dissertation is that the female role is principally defined in terms of nurturance and that politics is primarily non-nurturant. The data presented in chapter six suggests that young children, in this study at least, define the female role in terms of the wife/mother. The perception of women as primarily wives and/or mothers does seem to affect the attitudes of the children toward female political participation. Many, including the majority of the control group, indicated that a woman could not be President of the United States. As it is unlikely

that the children have been told that women cannot be President, their responses would appear to be a case of indirect socialization resulting from the application of a general awareness that women are not found in every type of position.

A special concern expressed in this dissertation is with the effect of the perception of females as nurturant and politics as non-nurturant on the developing relationship of the young girl to the political system. It is the author's thesis that the norms prescribing nurturant behavior by the female inhibit the politicization of women since political stimuli are irrelevant to the performance of nurturant duties. The author has also suggested that voting and volunteer campaign activity can be acts of support for the system rather than methods of expressing one's opinions and/or demands. As indicated previously, the girls (and to a lesser extent the boys) in this study exhibited "unquestioning patriotism" (Hess and Torney, 1967) or a subject orientation toward the political system.

The girls indicated that it is important for their parents to vote, that voting is one's civic duty, that the best person is one who obeys, and that the primary way for their parents to express their position on an issue is through voting. In chapters three and four it is asserted that the female role, particularly in the Mexican-American culture, emphasizes self-sacrifice, compliance, and conformity—characteristics conducive to the development of a subject rather than a participant orientation toward the system. Boys, to a lesser extent, also exhibited a subject orientation; however, they appeared to be a little more cynical than the girls in that the

boys were more likely to say that it was not important for their parents to vote and that their parents could do nothing to affect the policy-making process.

As a reaction to those results, one asks if individuals who do not fit "the norm of color and culture" (Himes, 1974) are being turned away from political participation or in Weissberg's (1974) terms, "socialized into non-participation." Studies of children from subcultures have consistently indicated that these children are less politically efficacious and express more cynicism concerning politics than do middle-class white children. The data in this study suggest that the attitudes of subcultural children may begin to diverge from those of dominant group children earlier than has been suggested in previous studies. This suggestion is purely speculative, however, as there was no comparison group of white middle-class children, and it is quite possible that dominant group children are less trusting and more cynical concerning politics at an earlier age than were the children in past studies. Although a minority in the United States, Mexican-Americans are a majority along the border; consequently, it is possible that the Mexican-American child from the border region may feel more efficacious than his/her peer in areas in which Mexican-Americans are a minority. It should also be remembered that the children in this study are predominantly from a working-class environment. Some studies (Garcia, 1973; Orum et al., 1974) have suggested that working-class children may be less politically efficacious and more distrustful of the government than dominant-group children. As a consequence of these confounding factors, it is difficult to determine

why the children in this study are more cynical than children of their ages in earlier studies.

The experimental treatment was of a very limited nature and of short duration; yet it apparently did result in changes in some of the responses of the experimental-group children. The experimental-group children were less likely to say that a woman's place was in the home, and they were somewhat more favorable to female political participation after the treatment than were the control-group children. These findings corroborate Liebschutz and Niemi's (1974) findings that a nonpolitical treatment can affect political attitudes.

In summarizing the political socialization literature, the author argued that the results of the many socialization studies were consistent only in demonstrating the saliency of the President and in noting that children's attitudes change with age. This study confirms the earlier findings that the President is the most salient public figure to young children. However, the findings of this study also suggest that any positive feelings toward the President are not necessarily carried over and applied to the government. The present study does not address itself to determining the developmental changes in attitudes occurring as a result of maturation.

Recent literature (Hershey, 1977, 1978; Sapiro, 1976, 1977) has suggested that the attitudes of both men and women concerning female political participation and certain "women's issues" are related to their conceptions of gender roles, particularly the female role. The present study was designed to discover if such an

association exists at the very beginning of the political socialization process. The children were not asked to respond to women's issues, but were asked their conception of male-female behavior and their view of female political participation. There was a positive association between the responses of the children concerning appropriate occupations for women and the question of whether woman could be President. Although this seems to be an example of "documenting the obvious," there has not been a great deal of research linking female political participation to gender role norms. In addition, the author would argue that the appearance of such an association so early in the process of political socialization suggests that the differences between the sexes detected among adolescents and adults have their beginnings at the very instigation of political learning.

In fact, the data indicating that boys and girls turn to different sources for information suggest that boys and girls may learn about politics differently. The data also indicate that our understanding of the process of political socialization is poor. The author suggests that it is not known when political learning begins nor is there an understanding of the extent to which political learning is informal. In many instances within-sex or between-group variances in the data were larger than between-sex and between-group variances indicating that the socialization process is far from homogeneous even for those sharing a common attribute such as sex, ethnicity, or social class.

If a differential socialization process exists, what are the implications for political participation? Why do some individuals

become politicized and others do not? The author has suggested that part of the answer to these questions lies in the cognitive structure of the individual. Focusing on females, this dissertation has argued that the norms of the female role inhibit the assimilation of political stimuli since politics is deemed irrelevant to the performance of the wife/mother role. To a lesser extent, it was argued that the present powerlessness of the Mexican-American in the United States in conjunction with a political heritage of paternalistic exploitation renders political stimuli irrelevant to the Mexican-American. Individuals who cross the prescriptions of these social roles may become more receptive to political stimuli and thus more knowledgeable and more participant than the individuals who conform to the norms of these social roles.

Rather than attempting to single out any one agent as the most influential in the process of political socialization, the author suggests that a more fruitful approach is to investigate the total environment and the influence of various agents considering the effect of interaction between the various agents. To this end evidence has been provided indicating that the female and/or the Mexican-American is ignored or portrayed in stereotypes in school textbooks so that the inherent inferiority of each is unquestionable. One could suggest that all textbooks be examined for sexism and/or racism and that a conscious effort be made by teachers to stress the contribution of women and members of minority groups to the public welfare. However, as demonstrated in this dissertation, the use of physical attributes to characterize individuals is so deeply ingrained that boys and girls

are treated differently by their teachers. In addition, even the most egalitarian of us occasionally responds to behavior in terms of the norms of the appropriate gender role, e.g., little girls aren't so messy or boys don't cry.

One may also question whether the portrayal of more women and minority group members in a variety of activities in the textbooks will be effective as long as women and minority-group members are ignored or stereotyped in the entertainment media. It also may be difficult to explain to children the discrepancy between the indication that anyone can be President found in the textbook and the reality that no woman, black, Hispanic, etc. has been either President or Vice-President. School textbooks can show governmental bodies composed of individuals with a variety of physical attributes; yet the evening news illustrates the relative (or complete) absence of women or minority-group members among present government officials. One may ask whether the rhetoric or the reality will be remembered by the child.

Although Almond (1960), Greenstein (1965), and Jennings and Niemi (1974) all suggested that much of political socialization is informal, it has been only during the 1970s that researchers have begun to look at informal influences in the socialization process. In the last decade researchers have investigated the influence of gender, ethnicity, and the media on political learning. With the exception of some of the media studies, however, investigators have attempted ex post facto analysis examining the co-variation of ethnicity and/or gender with such political attitudes as low political

efficacy or cynicism. In addition, much of the research has utilized college students as respondents which presents additional problems in establishing causal connections. Not only does the use of college students present a selection bias, but also one's attitudes and self-identification in terms of gender or ethnicity are established, and it is difficult to isolate the relationship between being female and/or Mexican-American and low political efficacy. The author suggests that the only way to establish causal linkages is through examining concepts at the early stages of socialization while they are still in the process of developing. Once a linkage is established between two concepts, one can then examine the relationship in various age groups, social class groups, or ethnic groups at different points in time to determine if there is a variation in the relationship between these concepts under various conditions.

The basic theoretical framework advocated in this dissertation, the use of role theory in conjunction with cognitive development theory, suggests that those individuals assigned an inferior social position on the basis of physical attributes are less attentive to political stimuli due to a political reality denying them a role in policy-making. This inattention to political stimuli results in a low level of cognitive knowledge. In addition, these individuals as a result of their inferior social position feel less competent in dealing with the environment and are less efficacious. Consequently, they are less participant in politics, adopt a subject orientation toward the political system, and do not attempt to gain public office. In other words, social powerlessness results in political powerlessness.

The subjects in the empirical portion of this study were drawn from two socially powerless groups with overlapping memberships--women and Mexican-Americans. The empirical research only addressed itself to the question of whether women differ from males and the question of whether or not gender role norms affect political attitudes. On the basis of the theoretical framework developed in the dissertation, it was expected that before the administration of any experimental treatment males and females would differ in their responses to a number of items. It was suggested that as a result of the subordinate role of women and the characteristics deemed suitable for females women would think more highly of their own gender than did men of women. Consequently, it was hypothesized that boys and girls would differ in gender stereotyping, with girls being less likely to stereotype behavior in terms of male-female gender roles. It was also suggested that females would be less efficacious and more compliant than would be males as a result of female gender norms emphasizing passivity and dependence. As a result of gender norms emphasizing nurturance rather than aggression and/or achievement, it was proposed that females would pay less attention to such political stimuli as the evening news. Closely related is the suggestion that males and females differ in their search patterns, with males relying principally upon personal sources such as the media and females depending on inter-personal sources such as the mother or teacher. It was also hypothesized that girls would be more favorable to female political participation than would be boys.

The hypotheses in which these expectations were stated were not all confirmed by the data. Girls and boys were very

similar in their attitudes toward male-female behavior on the pretest. There was little difference between boys and girls on two of the three items used to measure political efficacy, and girls rated themselves more competent in playing games than did the boys. In regard to school work, the difference between boys and girls almost reached statistical significance, with boys rating themselves as more competent than did the girls. The data on political efficacy is even more mixed with girls indicating that it is important to vote and that voting is the primary way for their parents to express their position on an issue, but boys indicated that their parents could not do anything. A higher percentage of girls did respond that voting is a duty, but girls were no more compliant than the boys on the other items used to measure compliance, and at times girls were decidedly less compliant. In this study, girls were not less likely to respond that they watched the evening news than were the boys, but boys and girls did report different search patterns for political information, with boys reporting that they relied on the media and girls on the mother or teacher. Girls were slightly more favorable to female participation in politics with a somewhat greater tendency to say that a woman could be President and that more women should be in government.

A basic assumption made in this dissertation is that a gender factor exists to political learning. By a gender factor the author means that gender role norms become part of one's cognitive structure and act as mediators between the individual and the environment so that the assimilation of information is influenced by the norms of

the appropriate gender. The experimental treatment was conceived with the intention of altering the norms associated with the female gender role to see if political attitudes would be affected by a change in role norms. Although the experiment was primarily concerned with the influence of changing role norms on the self-concept and political attitudes of girls, boys were included for comparative purposes. Due to the nature of the research topic, it was suggested that gender itself could act as an additional treatment so that the experimental effect would differ for boys and girls. It was expected that after the experimental treatment, the experimental group and control group would differ in the extent to which they stereotyped behavior as male or female. The experimental group was also expected to be less likely to define the female role in terms of the wife/mother and to be less likely to express opposition to women being employed outside the home. It was also proposed that the experimental group would be more favorable to female political participation than would be the control group.

Due to the possible interaction of gender with the experimental treatment, the author made a number of suggestions concerning the differential effect of the experimental treatment in regard to boys and girls. As a result of the treatment, it was suggested that the experimental girls would be less stereotyped than would be the experimental boys, but that as a result of the treatment the experimental boys and girls would be closer in responses than would be the control boys and girls. It was also hypothesized that as a result of the experimental treatment the girls in the experimental group

would be less compliant than would the girls in the control group so that in their attitudes toward the political system the experimental group boys and girls would be more similar than would be the control boys and girls.

The experimental treatment did appear to have some effect on the responses of the experimental group children. The experimental group was slightly more flexible in their definitions of behavior particularly concerning the female role. The difference between the control group and the experimental group concerning appropriate occupations for women did not reach statistical significance on either the pretest or the posttest; however, there was more difference between the groups on the posttest than on the pretest. The experimental group was less likely to define the female role in terms of the home and family in responding that a woman's place was not necessarily in the home. Nevertheless, there was no significant difference between the experimental group and the control group concerning whether or not mothers should work outside the home; both groups were opposed to mothers having outside employment. The experimental group was slightly more favorable toward female participation in politics; the difference between the groups was not indicated in the fact that the control group responses did not change from pretest to posttest on the question of whether a woman could be President, but the experimental group responded more positively on the posttest than on the pretest.

The data regarding the differential effect of the treatment is more inconclusive. The experimental girls were less stereotyped than the experimental boys, but the difference was not statistically

significant. The difference between the control boys and the control girls on the posttest, however, was statistically significant in regard to female occupational choice. As expected, the experimental group boys and girls were closer than the control boys and girls in the extent to which they stereotyped behavior, but this was due to the difference between the sexes in the control group, not the experimental group.

It was also suggested that the experimental group girls would be less complaint on the posttest than would be the control group girls so that the experimental group children would be more similar in their responses than the control group children. Compliance was measured by the children's responses concerning whether or not it is one's civic duty to vote, whether the best person is the one who obeys, whether it is difficult for Mexican-Americans to receive help from the government, and whether it is difficult for women to acquire help from the government. The only item on which the experimental group girls differed from the control group girls to any extent was on the question inquiring whether it was or was not difficult for women to receive help from the government. The experimental group girls indicated on the posttest only that it is difficult for women to acquire help from the government; neither the boys nor the girls responded that it was difficult on the pretest. The control group girls agreed with the control group boys and the experimental group boys that it was not difficult for women to obtain help. The experimental group boys and girls were closer in their responses than were the control boys and girls on the other items, but not due to less compliance on the part of the experimental group girls. The difference

between the groups was due to the greater compliance of the experimental group boys in that the boys in the experimental group were more similar to both groups of girls than they were to the boys in the control group.

In this study, the relationship between gender role conceptions and political attitudes was also investigated. It was suggested that a traditional attitude toward the female role in terms of occupational choice would be related to low levels of personal and political efficacy among the girls. It was also suggested that girls exhibiting a more flexible attitude toward the female role in terms of employment would be less compliant toward the political system than would be girls exhibiting a traditional or rigid attitude. Finally, it was proposed that a flexible definition of the female role would be associated with a more favorable attitude toward female political participation and with more attention to the news by the girls.

The strongest association in the data between gender role norms and political attitudes occurred in the relationship between a flexible definition of the female role and a positive response to whether a woman could be President. On the pretest the correlation reached statistical significance for the girls, but the correlation between responses on these two items reached statistical significance for both boys and girls on the posttest. The data was more mixed regarding the effect of traditional or flexible definitions of the female role on the political attitudes of girls. The strongest associations were between a traditional attitude toward the female role and a high level of self-confidence in school work and the response that there

are few ways in which the parents of the girls could influence the government. In this study a traditional conception of the female role appeared to relate differently to personal and political efficacy in that traditionalism was associated with high personal efficacy but low political efficacy. A traditional role attitude was associated with less attention to the news on the pretest and more attention on the posttest.

Despite the limitations of the present study, a plausible explanation concerning the discrepancies between the female proportion of the population, the increasing voting turnout among women, and the continued low representation of women among public officeholders has been offered. It has been argued that a gender factor exists in the political socialization process affecting the assimilation of information and, subsequently, the development of political cognitions. In order to explain political learning, the author wanted examined the learning process in general and argued that cognitive development theory offered a more adequate explanation of learning than does a social-learning theory. Cognitive development theory emphasizes interaction between the socializee and the environment. Role theory was used to explain the nature of this interaction for females and for Mexican-Americans. A theoretical framework integrating cognitive development and role theories was constructed to suggest that political stimuli is irrelevant for members of politically powerless groups and is not responded to in the same manner nor to the same extent by these individuals as by members of the dominant group.

The data from this study is provocative in that it does suggest that a differential socialization process may exist for boys and girls and for dominant group members and minority group members. Much more investigation into the effect of gender role norms and other informal influences in political socialization is required in order to achieve an understanding of the process through which individuals come to support or not support their political system and to participate or not participate in the policy-making process.

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APPENDIX I

Permission slip for political learning research project

I request permission for your child to participate in a research project concerning the way in which children learn about politics. This is not a test but simply an attempt to find out how children learn about politics. It is purely voluntary--you do not have to permit your child to participate. If you have any questions you may call me (Vicky Martinez) at 532-9151.

My child _____ has my permission to participate in the political learning research project at Del Norte Heights school.

Parent's signature

Permiso

Quiero su permission para su nino(a) participar in un investigacion en respecto a politica. Esto no es un examen pero un investigacion descubrir de que modo los ninos aprenden de politica. Es voluntario. No tiene que permitir su nino participar si no quiere. Si tiene algunas preguntas llameme por telefono (Vicky Martinez) 532-9151.

Mi nino(a) _____ tiene mi permiso participar en el investigacion de ciencia politica a la escuela Del Norte Heights.

Firma de padre or de madre

Si da su niño(a) permiso a participar, lo aprecio mucho sus respuestas a las preguntas que siga. Las retribuiré con el permiso. No firma esta página.

If you give your child permission to participate, I would appreciate it if you would answer the following questions and return with the permission slip. Please do not sign this page.

1. Father's occupation: _____
Empleo del padre: _____
2. Mother's occupation: _____
Empleo de la madre: _____
3. What language do you speak most? ¿Que lengua se habla más Ud.?
 _____ only Spanish. solamente español.
 _____ more Spanish than English. mas español que inglés.
 _____ half Spanish, half English. medio español, medio inglés.
 _____ more English than Spanish. mas inglés que español.
 _____ only English. solamente inglés.
4. What language do you speak with your family? ¿Que lengua se habla su familia?
 _____ only Spanish. solamente español.
 _____ more Spanish than English. mas español que inglés.
 _____ half Spanish, half English. media español, media inglés.
 _____ more English than Spanish. mas inglés que español.
 _____ only English. solamente inglés.
5. What language does your child speak? ¿Que lengua se habla su niño?
 _____ only Spanish. solamente español.
 _____ more Spanish than English. mas español que inglés.
 _____ half Spanish, half English. media español, media inglés.
 _____ more English than Spanish. mas inglés que español.
 _____ only English. solamente inglés.

Do not Sign. No Firma.

6. Does your family watch Spanish or English television programs?
¿Ve las programas television en español or en ingles su familia?

_____ only Spanish. solamente en espanol

_____ more Spanish than English programs, mas en español
que en ingles.

_____ half Spanish, half English programs, medio español,

_____ more English programs than Spanish programs. mas en
ingles que en español.

_____ only English programs. solamente en ingles.

7. Does your family listen to Spanish or English radio stations?
¿Escucha radio en español or en ingles su familia?

_____ only Spanish stations. solamente en español.

_____ more Spanish stations than than English stations,
mas en español que en ingles.

_____ half Spanish stations, half English stations.
medio español, medio ingles.

_____ more English stations than Spanish stations. mas
en ingles que en español.

_____ only English stations. solamente en ingles.

8. Does your family listen to Mexican or American music? ¿Escucha la
musica mexicana o la musica americana su familia?

_____ only Mexican music. solamente mexicana.

_____ more Mexican music than American. mas mexicana que
americana.

_____ half Mexican, half American. media mexicana, media
americana.

_____ more American music than Mexican. mas americana que
mexicana.

_____ only American music. solamente la musica americana.

APPENDIX II

1. What grade are you in? _____
2. How old are you? _____
3. Are you: _____ a boy or _____ a girl?
4. Who is President of the United States?
 - a. Humphrey b. Ford c. Byrd d. Carter e. don't know
5. When do you watch TV?
 - a. before school b. before dinner c. only after dinner
 - d. both before and after dinner e. before and after school.

PROBE: How many programs do you watch before school? before dinner?
after dinner?

6. Do you watch cable TV?
 - a. yes b. no c. don't know
7. Here are some pictures of different people. Can you tell me who they are?

	Yes	If yes, name	No
a. Barbara Jordan	_____	_____	_____
b. Jimmy Carter	_____	_____	_____
c. Hubert Humphrey	_____	_____	_____
d. Ray Salazar	_____	_____	_____
e. Dolph Briscoe	_____	_____	_____
f. Edward Kennedy	_____	_____	_____
g. Rosalyn Carter	_____	_____	_____
h. Polly Harris	_____	_____	_____

8. Which of the following jobs would you like to have when you grow up?

a. housewife	h. fireman
b. lawyer	i. clerk in store
c. waiter or waitress	j. mail carrier
d. school teacher	k. mayor
e. builder of houses	l. police officer
f. doctor	m. nurse
g. secretary	n. soldier

9. Do you think it is hard for Mexican-Americans to get help from the government (people who run the country)?
 - a. I think it is hard for Mexican-Americans to get help.
 - b. I do not think it is hard for Mexican-Americans to get help.
 - c. don't know
10. Do you think it is hard for women to get help from the government (people who run the country)?
 - a. I think it is hard for women to get help.
 - b. I do not think it is hard for women to get help.
 - c. don't know
11. Which of these people are running for U.S. Senator from Texas?
 - a. Dean & Nixon b. Krueger & Tower (c) Mattox & Chacon
 - d. Henderson & Jones e. don't know
12. If there are women and men working in a company and some of the workers have to lose their jobs, who should be fired?
 - a. All the men should be fired before any women are fired.
 - b. Equal numbers of men and women should be fired.
 - c. All the women should be fired before any men are fired.
 - e. don't know
13. Name two of your favorite TV programs. _____

FIELD CODE INTO FOLLOWING CATEGORIES:

a. Sesame Street	i. Happy Days
b. Good Times	j. Charlie's Angels
c. Spiderman	k. The Incredible Hulk
d. Mr. Roger's Neighborhood	l. Donny & Marie
e. Three' Company	m. CHiPs
f. Little House on the Prairie	n. Dick Clark Live Wednesday
g. Wonder Woman	o. Other _____
h. Villa Alegre	_____
14. Which one of the pictures shows best how our country is run?

a. police	f. Congress
b. George Washington	g. Flag
c. Voting	h. Statue of Liberty
d. Judge	i. President Carter
e. The White House	j. don't know

15. Can a woman be President of the United States and run the country?
 a. yes, she can b. no, she cannot c. don't know
16. Do you think it is important whether your parents vote or do not vote?
 a. I do not think it is important whether or not my parents vote.
 b. I think it is important whether my parents vote or do not vote.
 c. don't know
17. Which of these men is mayor of El Paso?
 a. O'Rourke b. Moore c. Salazar d. Sullivan e. don't know
18. Tell me whether a man, a woman, or both, can do the following things:

	Man	Woman	Both
a. take care of children	_____	_____	_____
b. play football	_____	_____	_____
c. build houses	_____	_____	_____
d. teach grade school	_____	_____	_____
e. clean house	_____	_____	_____
f. drive a truck	_____	_____	_____
g. work as a doctor	_____	_____	_____
h. work as a secretary	_____	_____	_____
i. run a business	_____	_____	_____

19. Can you play games as well as or better than most other children?
 a. I think I can play games as well as others.
 b. I do not think I can play games as well as others.
 c. don't know
20. Do you think you have as many or more friends than most other children?
 a. I think I have as many friends as others do.
 b. I do not think I have as many friends as others do.
 c. don't know
21. Can you do school work as well as or better than most other children?
 a. I think I can do school work as well as others can.
 b. I do not think I can do school work as well as others can.
 c. don't know

22. The best person is the one who follows the rules.
- a. agree, I think the best person is the one who follows the rules.
 - b. disagree, I do not think the best person is the one who follows the rules.
 - c. don't know
23. If a woman were President and running the country, do you think things would be different?
- a. I think things would be different.
 - b. I do not think things would be different.
 - c. don't know
- PROBE: If a. things would be different, how different? better _____
worse _____
24. Is it the duty of everyone to help choose the President by voting?
- a. yes, it is the duty of everyone
 - b. no, it is not the duty of everyone
 - c. don't know
25. Do you watch the news on TV?
- a. every day
 - b. sometimes
 - c. never
26. Do you think a woman's place is in the home rather than in business or politics?
- a. yes, a woman's place is in the home
 - b. no, a woman should be in business or politics if she wants to be
 - c. don't know
27. If a woman is working at a job and has a baby, should she quit her job to stay home and take care of the baby?
- a. yes, she should quit her job and stay home
 - b. no, she should keep her job
 - c. don't know
28. Do you think mothers should work outside the home?
- a. yes, if a mother wants to
 - b. no, mothers should not work
 - c. don't know
29. Should more women be in government and help run the country?
- a. yes, more women should help run the country
 - b. no, more women should not help run the country
 - c. don't know

30. When you plan to do something, do you usually get to do it the way you want to?
- yes, I usually get to do it the way I want to
 - no, I usually do not get to do it the way I want to
 - don't know
31. Which of these men is Governor of Texas now?
- Briscoe
 - Connally
 - Apodaca
 - Hill
 - don't know
32. Which of these people are running for Governor right now?
- Torres & Sullivan
 - Hill & Clements
 - Vasquez & Simmons
 - Hobby & Smith
 - don't know
33. Where do you get most of your information about the President?
- radio
 - TV
 - school
 - mother
 - father
 - other family members _____
 - friends
 - others _____
- PROBE: From whom do you get the most information? Who do you talk to the most about the President?
34. If the city or the President passed a law that your father and mother did not like, what could they do to get it changed?
- join a protest or demonstration in front of the city hall or the White House
 - write letters to important people explaining why they thought the law was wrong
 - vote
 - nothing, my mother and father cannot get a law changed
 - don't know
35. Can a woman be a _____?
- | | Yes | No | Don't know |
|-------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| a. doctor | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b. housewife | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c. waitress | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| d. police officer | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| e. nurse | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| f. lawyer | _____ | _____ | _____ |

	Yes	No	Don't know
g. secretary	_____	_____	_____
h. plumber	_____	_____	_____
i. teacher	_____	_____	_____
j. truck driver	_____	_____	_____
k. fireman	_____	_____	_____
l. soldier	_____	_____	_____
m. mayor	_____	_____	_____

1. ¿En que grado estas? _____
2. ¿Cuantos años tienes? _____
3. ¿Eres: _____ niño o _____ niña?
4. ¿Quien es el presidente de los estados unidos?
 - a. Humphrey b. Ford c. Byrd d. Carter e. no sé
5. ¿Cuando ves la television?
 - a. antes de la escuela b. despues de escuela antes de la cena
 - c. despues de la escuela solamente despues de la cena
 - d. antes de y despues de la cena
 - e. o antes de y despues de la escuela

PROBE: cuantas programas miras antes de la escuela, despues de la escuela, antes de la cena, despues de la cena _____

6. ¿Miras cablevision?
 - a. sí b. no c. no sé
7. ¿Aqui tienes algunas fotografias de gente. ¿Puedes decirme quienes son?

	Sí	yo no saben	No
a. Barbara Jordan	_____	_____	_____
b. Jimmy Carter	_____	_____	_____
c. Hubert Humphrey	_____	_____	_____
d. Ray Salazar	_____	_____	_____
e. Dolph Briscoe	_____	_____	_____
f. Edward Kennedy	_____	_____	_____
g. Rosalyn Carter	_____	_____	_____
h. Polly Harris	_____	_____	_____

8. ¿Que te gustaria ser cuando crecascas?

a. la senora de la casa b. un abogado o una abogada c. un maestro o una maestra d. un mesero o una mesera e. constructor (o en construccion) f. un doctor o una doctora g. un secretario o una secretaria	h. un bombero o una bombera i. un vendedor o una venedora j. un cartero o una cartera k. un alcalde l. un policia m. una enfermera n. soldado (en ejercito)

9. ¿Crees que es difícil recibir ayuda del gobierno americano para los americanos mexicanos?
- creo que si es difícil
 - creo que no es difícil
 - no se
10. ¿Crees que es difícil recibir ayuda del gobierno americano para las mujeres?
- creo que es difícil
 - creo que no es difícil
 - don't know
11. ¿Cuales de estos fueron candidatos (aspirantes) de senador de Tejas?
- Dean & Nixon
 - Krueger & Tower
 - Mattox & Chacon
 - Henderson & Jones
 - no so
12. ¿Si desocupan a algien en el trabajo, a quien desocupan primero los hombres o las mujeres?
- totos los hombres antes de algunas mjueres
 - numeros iguales de hombres y mujeres
 - no ce
13. ¿Cuales dos programas de television te gustan?
- FIELD CODE INTO FOLLOWING:
- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Sesame Street | i. Happy Days |
| b. Good Times | j. Charlie's Angels |
| c. Spiderman | k. The Incredible Hulk |
| d. Mr. Roger's Neighborhood | l. Donny & Marie |
| e. Three's Company | m. CHiPs |
| f. Little House on the Prairie | n. Dick Clark's Live Wednesday |
| g. Wonder Woman | o. other _____ |
| h. Villa Alegre | _____ |
14. ¿Cual de las fotografias representa nuestro pais y gobierno?
- policia
 - George Washington
 - votando
 - juex
 - La Case Blanca
 - el congreso
 - bandera
 - estatua de libertad
 - el presidente Carter
 - no se

15. ¿Puede llegar a ser presidente una mujer?
- si, ella puede llegar a ser presidente
 - no, la mujer no puede llegar a ser presidente.
 - no se
16. ¿Es importante si sus padres votan o no votan?
- creo que no es importante si mis padres votan o no votan.
 - creo que es importante si mis padres votan o no votan.
 - no se
17. ¿Cual es el alcalde de El Paso?
- O'Rourke
 - Moore
 - Salazar
 - Sullivan
 - no se
18. Dime si un hombre, una mujer or ambos pueden hacer lo siguiente.

	Hombre	Mujer	Ambos
a. cuidar los niños	_____	_____	_____
b. jugar futbol	_____	_____	_____
c. construir casas	_____	_____	_____
d. enseñar escuela primaria	_____	_____	_____
e. Limpiar la casa	_____	_____	_____
f. manejar un camión	_____	_____	_____
g. trabajar como un doctor	_____	_____	_____
h. trabajar como un secretario	_____	_____	_____
i. manejar un negocio	_____	_____	_____

19. ¿Puedes jugar tan bien or mejor que los otros niños?
- creo que puedo jugar tan bien que otros.
 - creo que no puedo jugar tan bien que otros.
 - no se
20. ¿Tienes los mismos amigos o mas amigos que los otros niños?
- creo que tengo los mismos
 - creo que no tengo los mismos
 - no se
21. ¿Puedes hacer las lecciones de escuela tan bien or mas bien que los otros?
- creo que puedo hacer las lecciones tan bien que otros
 - creo que no puedo hacer las lecciones tan bien que otros
 - no se

22. ¿La mejor persona del mundo es la persona que sigue las reglas.
- a. estoy de acuerdo que la persona mejor es la que sigue las reglas
 - b. no estoy de acuerdo que la persona mejor es la que sigue las reglas
 - c. no se
23. ¿Si una mujer fuera presidente de esta pais, ¿serian las cosas diferentes?
- a. creo que las cosas serian diferentes
 - b. no, creo que las cosas no serian diferentes
 - c. no se

PROBE: como diferente? mejor? peor?

24. ¿Es la obligacion de todos ayudar a elegir al presidente?
- a. si, es la obligacion
 - b. no, no es la obligacion
 - c. no se
25. ¿Miras tu las noticias en television?
- a. todo el tiempo
 - b. algunas veces
 - c. nunca
26. ¿Crees que la posicion de la mujer es en la casa o en el comercio o politica?
- a. si, la posicion de la mujer es en la casa
 - b. no, una mujer puede trabajar en comercio o politica si quiere
 - c. no se
27. ¿Si una mujer trabaja y tiene una bebe, ¿debe de dejar el trabajo para cuidarlo?
- a. sí, creo que ella deba dejar de trabajar
 - b. no, creo que ella deba de seguir su empleo
 - c. no se
28. ¿Crees que las madres deban de trabajar fuera de casa?
- a. si, si quiere la madre
 - b. no, una madre no debe de trabajar
 - c. no se

29. ¿Debe de haber mas mujeres en el gobierno?
- si mas mujeres deben de haber en el gobierno
 - no, mas mujeres no deben de haber en el gobierno
 - no se
30. ¿Cuando yo hago planes, de costumbre salen como los espero.
- si, salen como espero
 - no, no salen como espero
 - no se
31. ¿Quien es el Gobernador de Tejas?
- Briscoe
 - Connally
 - Apodaca
 - Hill
 - no se
32. ¿Dire algunos nombres y quiero que me digan cuales son candidatos de gobernador de Tejas?
- Torres & Sullivan
 - Hill & Clements
 - Vasquez & Simmons
 - Hobby & Smith
 - no se
33. ¿De donde agarra su informacion el presidente?
- radio
 - television
 - escuela
 - madre
 - padre
 - otros de la familia
 - amigos
 - otros _____
- PROBE: de donde agarra la mayoria de su informacion? Con quien hablas mas del presidente? _____
34. ¿Si la ciudad o el presidente hace una ley que sus padres no les gusta, que pueden hacer ellos para cambiarlo?
- se puede juntar en protesta en frente del ayuntamiento o la casa blanca
 - pueden escribir cartas a gente importante explicando proque la ley es mala.
 - votar
 - nada, mis padres no pueden cambiar la ley
 - no se
35. ¿Escoje cual de estas puede ser una mujer.

	si	no	no se
a. doctor	_____	_____	_____
b. senora de la casa	_____	_____	_____
c. una mesera	_____	_____	_____

	si	no	no se
d. la policia	_____	_____	_____
e. enfermera	_____	_____	_____
f. abogada	_____	_____	_____
g. secretaria	_____	_____	_____
h. plomero	_____	_____	_____
i. maestra	_____	_____	_____
j. carretera	_____	_____	_____
k. bombero	_____	_____	_____
l. soldado	_____	_____	_____
m. alcalde	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX III

The following books were used in the experimental treatment.

Published by the Feminist Press:

My Mother the Mail Carrier by Inez Maury.

A must for a bilingual bicultural area, the story is written in both English and Spanish and concerns a Mexican-American girl describing her mother at work and at play.

The Dragon and the Doctor by Barbara Danish.

A dragon with a sore tail looks for a doctor who can relieve the pain. The doctor is female and the nurse is male but they not only ease the pain of the sore tail but become the friends of the dragon.

Nothing but a Dog by Dobbi Katz.

A little girl flies kites, climbs trees, rides a bike, and builds things, but longs for a dog.

A Train for Jane by Norma Klein

Jane is a cheerful, energetic, playful girl determined to have a train for Christmas despite the pressure to choose a more feminine toy.

Firegirl by Gibson Rich.

Brenda loves fire engines and despite the jeering of others she finally wins acceptance at the fire station.

Published by E. P. Dutton and Company:

Girls Can Be Anything by Norma Klein.

Marina and her friend Adam play being doctor, pilot, and President of the United States after some arguments as to whether women can be doctors, pilots, and Presidents.

APPENDIX IV

In addition to the posttest, the experimental group children were asked the following questions:

1. Did you enjoy the books (or films) you've seen in the past few weeks?
a. yes b. no c. don't know

¿Te gusta los libros (or las peliculas) viste en las semanas pasados?

- a. se b. no c. no se

2. Which one did you enjoy the most? _____

¿Cual te gusta mas?

3. What part of the program did you enjoy the most? _____

- a. books b. getting out of school
c. speakers d. don't know

¿Que parte te gusto mas?_____

- a. libros b. escaparse de la clase
c. las que hablan d. no se

4. Did you talk to anyone about this program?

- a. yes b. no c. don't know

¿Hablaste con alguien sobre la programa?

- a. sí b. no c. no se

5. If yes, who did you talk to?

- a. teacher b. father c. mother d. other family member
e. friends

¿ Si hablaste con alguien, quien?

- a. maestra b. padre c. madre d. otros de la familia
e. amigos

APPENDIX V

Dear Parents:

Thank you for allowing your child to participate in the political learning project at Del Norte Heights School. I believe that this project will increase our understanding about how people learn about politics.

Vicky Howell Martínez

Padres:

Muchas gracias por permitir su niño participar en la investigación de ciencia política. Creo que esta investigación se aumenta nuestra comprensión de que modo la gente aprenden de política.

Vicky Howell Martínez

In order to add to our knowledge concerning the linkage between general social attitudes and political attitudes, will you please answer the following questions. Do not sign. A stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your reply.

Para aumentar nuestra comprensión de la conexión entre actitudes de común y de la política, por favor contesta las preguntas que sigue. No firma. Una cubierta que tiene el nombre y dirección de una misma esta anexa.

1. Which of the following jobs should women be allowed to hold?

a. doctor	g. lawyer
b. housewife	h. school teacher
c. waitress	i. truck driver
d. plumber	j. clerk in store
e. secretary	k. construction worker
f. police officer	l. nurse

Cuales de lo siguiente puede llegar a ser una mujer?

a. doctor	d. plomero
b. senora de casa	e. secretaria
c. mesera	f. policia

g. abogada	j. vendedora
h. maestra	k. constructor (en construccion)
i. carretero	l. enfermera

2. If there are women and men working in a company and some of the workers have to be let so, who should be fired first?
- all the men should be fired before any women are fired
 - equal numbers of men and women should be fired
 - don't know

¿Si desocupan a alguien en el trabajo, a quien desocupan primero, los hombres o las mujeres?

- todos los hombres antes de algunas mujeres
- numeros iguales de hombres y mujeres
- todos las mujeres antes de algunos hombres
- no se

3. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that a women should stay home and take care of her children?
- agree, a woman should stay home
 - disagree, a woman does not have to stay home
 - don't know

¿Esta de acuerdo o no esta de acuerdo que una mujer debe de quedarse en la casa y cuidar de sus ninos?

- estoy de acuerdo que una mujer debe de quedarse en la casa
- no estoy de acuerdo que una mujer debe de quedarse en la casa
- no se

4. Should more women hold positions in government?
- yes, there should be more women in government
 - no, there should not be more women in government
 - don't know

¿Debe de haber mas mujeres en el gobierno?

- si, debe de haber mas mujeres en el gobierno
- no, no debe de haber mas mujeres en el gobierno
- no se

5. Would you vote for a woman for President?
- yes
 - no
 - don't know

¿Votaría Ud. para una mujer llegar a ser presidente?

a. si b. no c. no se

6. If a woman were running this country, do you think things would be different?

a. yes, things would be better

b. yes, things would be worse

c. no, things would be the same

d. don't know

¿Si una mujere fuera presidente de esta país, cree Ud. que serían diferentes?

a. si, las cosas serían mejor

b. si, las cosas serían peor

c. no, las cosas no serían diferentes

d. no se