

Alternate Models of Family Influence on Student Political Ideology

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Research on the role of the family in political socialization has often assumed that intergenerational continuity and conflict are opposing models of political development. In a longitudinal design, cross-lagged correlational analysis and path analysis were used to examine the causal relations among parental political ideology, parent-student interpersonal relations, and student political ideology. The results showed both parental ideology and family relations to be important determinants of a student's ideology. Leftist parental ideology and high family conflict each led to leftist student ideology, at least as the family variables were reported by the students. The finding that nonpolitical interpersonal relations were translated into political ideologies may be understood from psychoanalytic, social learning, or historical perspectives.

Much of the literature on political socialization derives from either a primarily psychological or a primarily political approach. The psychological approach sees an individual's political beliefs as intimately bound with his personality, his psychological needs and development, and his interpersonal relationships. These issues are central to most aspects of social life, including politics. Researchers and commentators with this orientation stress nonpolitical personality and interpersonal, especially family, relations in explaining the acquisition of individual political ideology (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Lane, 1959; Smith, Bruner, & White, 1956). Compared with the psychological approach, a more political one views political life as relatively distinct from personal affairs and attempts to explain an individual's political ideology and behavior in terms of his social characteristics, class and reference group interests, and the specifically political values and attitudes which he has learned (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Hess & Torney, 1967; Hyman, 1959).

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These approaches are represented by two contrasting hypotheses in the recent literature on the student movement. What has been called the generational conflict hypothesis represents the psychological approach (Bettleheim, 1969; Feuer, 1969, 1972; Rubenstein & Levitt, Note 2). While the details may vary, these researchers agree that leftist student political ideology is an extension of nonpolitical relationships developed between parent and child. Drawing heavily on psychoanalytic theory and an analogy between the family system and the political system, individual radical protest is ascribed to unresolved or poorly resolved Oedipal conflicts compounded by permissive child-rearing practices. The leftist student translates rebellion against parental authority into political rebellion. With few exceptions, a generational conflict hypothesis has not been used to explain rightist student political ideology (but see Adorno et al., 1950; Schiff, 1964). What has been called a generational continuity hypothesis represents a political learning explanation of the role of socialization in leftist student protest. In this view the family directly transmits explicitly political values, attitudes, and information to the child. Students of all political beliefs share values and political stances with their parents. Radical students and their parents are more politically liberal than the general population; rather than rebelling against their parents, radical students are identifying with them and, given recent political history, responding appropri-

ately to a socialization which predisposed them toward both a leftist ideology and political activism.

The published literature on the student movement presents mixed evidence on the conflict-continuity question. The early studies consistently supported the continuity hypothesis (see Flacks, 1967; Keniston, 1967 for reviews), but in recent studies the data were ambiguous. For example, Dunlap (1970) reported significant correlations between family conflict and leftist ideology. On the other hand, Gamson, Goodman, and Gurin (Note 1) and Cowdry, Keniston, and Cabin (1970) found that conflict did not relate to political ideology but did relate to political inaction. Flacks (1967) and Thomas (1971) found no association between family conflict and either political attitudes or activism. Finally, Block (1972), Braungart (1971), and Lewis and Kraut (1972) found that family conflict and political continuity were both related to leftist ideology.

Part of this inconsistency is due to methodological and conceptual shortcomings (see Block, Haan, & Smith, 1970; Cowdry et al., 1970; Lewis & Kraut, 1972; Lipset, 1968; Silvern & Nakamura, 1971). But even in those studies which have attended to these issues, the contradictions may be more apparent than real. For example, results supporting the continuity or the conflict hypotheses were often based on different types of data. Political measures such as parental party identification and student political ideology generally show intergenerational agreement, while more personal domains tend to show an association between conflict and leftist ideology. Continuity and conflict are not necessarily incompatible models of political socialization, although few studies in this area have entertained that hypothesis and few have used longitudinal data to study the causal influence of either continuity or conflict.

This article presents a detailed examination of the relationship of student political orientations to identification with and conflict and disagreement with parents. Using panel data, cross-lagged correlations, and path analysis, it focuses on the causal influence of conflict and continuity on student

political ideology. The specific findings of this study are discussed in the context of literature on political socialization concerned with the development of political orientations.

METHOD

Sample

This research is a continuation of a longitudinal survey focusing on the development of political orientations during college. An initial random sample of 400 freshmen from an incoming class of 1,250 at Yale College was mailed questionnaires in the early fall of 1969. Fifty-five percent ($N = 216$) responded, but due to the small numbers of female and nonwhite returns, only the data from white males were analyzed. These students were mailed second and third questionnaires in the spring of their freshman year (1970), before and after the National Black Panther Rally/Kent State Weekend, and a fourth in the spring of 1972, their junior year. The number of white male respondents for the four waves, respectively, was 164, 133, 80, and 108. Data presented here are from the first, second, and fourth waves.

Ideology Scale

Along with other items, each questionnaire contained a scale of political ideology on a left-right dimension and measures of students' perception of parents' political ideologies. The Student Ideology scale (Lewis & Kraut, 1972, describes this scale and other aspects of the methodology in more detail), asked for self-ratings of the extent of agreement with general ideological stances and specific political proposals. The mean test-retest reliability of the scale, given four times over a two-and-one-half year period, is high (mean $r = .76$), as is its correlation with students' self-labeling of political views ($r = .70$). Students described their parents' political ideology by giving mothers' and fathers' party identification on the first wave and by comparing parents' ideologies to that of an "average American" on the second and fourth waves. These six items were combined to form a Parental Ideology scale by transforming to equivalent response scales and averaging.

Conflict Scales

The three questionnaires contained a variety of questions assessing family conflict in three areas: students' conflict with parents over personal issues, students' disagreement with general and specific parental political positions, and parents' emotional distance from each other. Scale construction was based on this a priori tripartition supported by a subsequent factor analysis.¹ To limit potential selec-

¹The factor analysis showed that students' political conflict with their parents was distinct from their personal conflict. However, items measuring parent-student personal conflict and parent-parent personal conflict loaded highly on the same factor.

tion biases, every item that was initially included on a questionnaire to measure conflict and disagreement was also included on one of the three conflict scales, even though this lowered scale reliabilities. Typical items on the Personal Conflict Scale, assessing a student's affective relations with his parents, asked about disagreements with parents, conflict and anger in the father-son relationship, the influence of the father on the student's personal development, and the student's disagreement with his parents over issues such as curfews, schoolwork, chores, future plans, vacations, employment, and choice of friends and clothing. Typical items on the Political Conflict scale asked about a student's general political disagreement with his parents, potential disagreement over specific political issues such as civil rights, violent political disruptions and civil disobedience, and the need for social change; the extent of his father's influence on his political beliefs; and the similarity of his political opinions to those of his parents. The items on the Intra-Parental Conflict scale, assessing the emotional climate in the family as a whole and the relationship between the two parents, asked about conflict between parents, their sharing of interests, the amount of time they spent together, and the warmth expressed openly in the family. Some items in each conflict scale asked students to remember past conflict, while others asked about contemporary relations. Not every item was repeated on every questionnaire. These and similar items were made into three scales by first weighting each item to transform it to a common response scale and then taking the mean of the items across the three questionnaires.

All of these scales are, of course, indirect assessments based on student report, but the literature on offspring perception of parental political party and ideology suggests substantial accuracy (Hyman, 1959; Sears, 1969), and Block (1972) has recently collected evidence which supports the general agreement of parent-student perceptions of child-rearing practices and family climate.

All questionnaires also contained items relating to parental and student activism and involvement in political matters including, for students, global self-reports, activity participation checklists, and reports

of organizational membership. While the results indicated similarity between parent and student political activity and involvement (see Lewis & Kraut, 1972), this dimension showed little relationship to any of the conflict scales.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

While the content of the scales is straightforward and the analysis focuses on the interrelationships of only a few variables, the examination of differing causal explanations makes the statistical analysis complex. For both parental political ideology and family conflict, the correlational results are presented first and then examined for causal direction using cross-lagged correlational techniques (Pelz & Andrews, 1964; Rozelle & Campbell, 1969). Next, the possibility is examined that the relationship between family conflict and student ideology is spurious, because of an autocorrelation or the simultaneous relationship of conflict and ideology to third variables, such as social desirability or a more general autonomous personality (Tomkins, 1963). Finally, a path analysis (Heise, 1969) is used to summarize the contribution of both continuity and conflict to student ideology.

Table 1 shows the correlations between the Student Ideology scale and the Parental Ideology, Personal Conflict, Political Conflict, and Intra-Parental Conflict scales. For these correlations, all five scales included the relevant items from all questionnaires and are thus summary measures of ideology and conflict, collapsed over the waves of the longitudinal design. The results indicate that a student's ideology was related significantly to both his estimate of his parents' political

TABLE 1
CORRELATIONS AMONG IDEOLOGY, VALUES, AND CONFLICT

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Student Ideology Scale ^a	.84					
2. Parents' Ideology Scale ^a	.39*	.87				
3. Personal Conflict Scale ^b	.39*	-.12	.89			
4. Political Conflict Scale ^b	.24*	-.29*	.63*	.93		
5. Intra-parental Conflict Scale ^b	.25*	-.08	.57*	.41*	.87	
6. Autonomy-Empathy Values ^c	.28*	.19	.24*	.12	.09	.71

Note. N = 163 except for correlations involving the Intra-parental Conflict scale where N = 147. Diagonal values are split-half reliability estimates.

^a High scores indicate leftist ideology.

^b High scores indicate greater conflict.

^c High scores indicate autonomous and empathic values.

* p < .01.

ideology and the amount of conflict he perceived in his family.

*Parent and Student Ideology:
Causal Analysis*

Student ideology was similar to perceived parental ideology, with leftists generally having liberal parents and rightists conservative ones. This finding is consistent with many studies of political socialization. The prior literature suggests that the association is due to both a modeling-transmission effect and a "distortion toward similarity" effect in which offspring may overestimate the extent of agreement. Undoubtedly, both processes occur, with the distortion effect elevating somewhat the generally positive correlations found even when parental ideology is based on self-reports (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Sears, 1969). Cross-lagged correlational analysis was used to examine the relative strengths of these two processes. The general logic of this analysis is that for any pair of variables, a and b, which are measured on the same sample at two times, 1 and 2, a pair of correlations with $r_{a_1b_2} > r_{b_1a_2}$ is consistent with the hypothesis that a caused b. On the second and fourth questionnaires students compared their mother's and father's politics to that of an average American and completed the Student Ideology scale.

For a student's perception of his mother's ideology, but not his father's, the data support a modeling-transmission hypothesis over a distortion one. The correlation of a student's perception of his mother's ideology in his freshman year with his own ideology in his junior year ($r = .40$) is significantly larger than the correlation of his freshman year ideology with his junior year perception of his mother's ideology, $r = .17$, $t = 1.74$, $p < .05$, one-tailed. For the student's perception of his father's ideology, there were no reliable differences in these cross-lagged correlations ($r = .29$ and $.33$, respectively), consistent with the null hypothesis that neither process was more powerful during this 2-year period.²

*Family Conflict and Student Ideology:
Alternative Explanations*

A student's political ideology was related to perceived family conflict, as well as to his

parents' political ideology. The more disagreement, conflict, and lack of cohesion reported, the more leftist the ideology. As shown in Table 1, this was the case for each of the conflict scales; it was also true for auxiliary measures not included in the scales. For example, when respondents compared their own and their parents' ideologies to that of an average American, larger absolute differences between student's and parent's ideologies were associated with leftist Student Ideology scale scores (mean $r = .29$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, all three family conflict dimensions are highly intercorrelated (mean $r = .52$), suggesting that conflict, when it occurs, is more general than the separate scales imply and is not merely political or limited to parent-student relations.

Autocorrelation. One might doubt the causal influence of family conflict on student ideology if the only evidence for it were the political disagreements leftist students had with their parents. As recent commentators have noted, the current student generation is moving to the left of their parents, perhaps because of historical and social-structural changes (Starr, 1974). In the present study, when students compared their own political beliefs to those of their parents, they

²The data are also consistent with the hypothesis that as a student becomes more rightist, he sees his mother as more to the left, in a contrast effect (Rozelle & Campbell, 1969). However, as this is not consistent with earlier research and discussion, it can be dismissed as implausible on a priori grounds (see Sears, 1969).

The slightly higher correlations for mother-student than for father-student ideology, as well as the significant cross-lagged analysis only for the former pair, may seem somewhat puzzling, especially as all these students are males. One of the many ways in which psychoanalytic concepts have influenced thinking in political socialization is in the assumption of the dominance of the father-son relationship in the development of political ideology. Thus, for example, Lane states, "around the world, the story is much the same: father is the source of political orientation, especially for sons . . ." (1968, p. 481). But those studies which have empirically assessed the degree of concordance between each of the parents and offspring have generally indicated a slight but consistent tendency in the opposite direction, with mothers rather than fathers exerting greater influence (Jennings & Langton, 1969; Langton, 1969; Maccoby, Mathews, & Morton, 1954; Noguee & Levin, 1958). Our results are also consistent with this finding.

saw themselves as more leftist or liberal than their parents ($p < .001$). Within this generational trend, leftist students, as measured by the Student Ideology scale, placed themselves further to the left of their parents than did rightist students ($r = .24, p < .01$). However, because data of this sort may partly reflect an autocorrelation, they provide only limited support for the generational conflict hypothesis: To some extent a student's ideology is a component of his political conflict with his parents.

But the association of family conflict and student political ideology did not merely reflect political differences between parents and students. The associations occurred on items probing conflict and disagreement over specific personal issues and on more behavioral measures. Leftists reported more disagreement with their parents over nonpolitical issues including curfews; future plans; vacations; use of the family car; choice of friends and clothing; and amount of time spent on schoolwork, chores, and part-time work. All 12 correlations between reported conflict on this type of item and the Student Ideology scale showed greater conflict associated with leftist ideology ($p < .001$ by the sign test), and 6 of these were individually statistically significant. On more behavioral measures, leftists reported receiving fewer letters from their parents ($r = -.25, p < .01$) and writing fewer to them ($r = -.29, p < .01$), although there were no differences in contact by telephone.

Social desirability. Nor does the link between family conflict and student ideology appear to be an artifact of differential self presentation including the underreporting of socially undesirable characteristics (Adorno et al., 1950; Donovan & Shaevitz, 1973; Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968). In the present data, admitting conflict with parents is socially undesirable; the correlation of the Personal Conflict scale and the Crowne-Marlowe social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) is $-.20, p < .05$. However, the partial correlation between Student Ideology and Personal Conflict, holding social desirability constant, was not substantially different from the value in Table 1 ($r = .37$).

Tomkins's left-right personality dimension. Tomkins's discussion (1963) of leftist and

rightist personalities suggests a theoretically interesting third variable which might simultaneously relate to both student political ideology and family conflict, yielding a non-causal covariation between them. Tomkins argues that all strongly held but unproven belief systems are ideological in nature; political beliefs are only one ideological belief system. Within and across diverse content areas, the ideology an individual holds is in part a function of a set of other beliefs, values, and feelings with which the ideology resonates. Leftist and rightist ideologies differ in many ways, but in general leftist ideologies are individual centered, while rightist ideologies are norm centered. Both a student's leftist political ideology and his conflict with his parents may derive from a more general leftist personality with its emphasis on freedom, autonomy, independence, empathy, and creativity and its rejection of constraint, conformity, and authority. A leftist political ideology stresses independence and rejects rigid authority and the status quo; family conflict often concerns issues of personal independence and a rejection of parental authority and many of the constraints of normal socialization.

The literature on leftist students provides evidence that the political ideology is supported by values similar to Tomkins's two dimensions of the "ideology of individualism"—independence/autonomy and empathy/emotional sensitivity (p. 102). Repeatedly, researchers describe political leftists as independent, individualistic, different, rejecting traditional religion, rebellious, empathic, humanitarian, altruistic, and idealistic (see Keniston, 1967, 1968 for discussions and 1973 for an exhaustive bibliography). In our data, the correlations between Student Ideology and unidimensional self-description adjective scales measuring individualism (mean $r = .22, p < .01$) and empathy (mean $r = .23, p < .01$) were both significant. Also, on an open-ended question leftists were most likely to mention themselves as the major source of their political, social, and ethical beliefs ($r = .20, p < .05$) and least likely to mention their parents ($r = -.17, p < .07$). Tomkins's leftist values also related to family conflict; the individualism scale correlated ($r = .25, p < .01$) with the Personal Conflict

scale, although the empathy scale did not ($r = .11, ns$).

While leftists' concern with autonomy may have led them to resist or reject parental influence, this does not seem to be the case with influence from peers. Student Ideology was essentially unrelated to reported influence of friends measured on items worded parallel to parental items, reporting friends' influence on personal development or political beliefs; nor was Student Ideology related to listing friends as a source of values on the open-ended question.

Further, as noted above, our data indicated that leftist ideology was associated with more family conflict in general, parent-student conflict being only one part of this. While not inconsistent with the autonomy hypothesis, these results make it less plausible. We cannot hypothesize that leftists were merely more autonomous, but must, at the very least, claim that their autonomy caused conflict between parents and within the rest of the family or that a certain level of conflict was an antecedent of an autonomous personality.

In summary then, the correlational data left the role of autonomy-empathy values in causing both leftist ideology and family conflict ambiguous. A statistical test of the hypothesis is presented below in the discussion of the path analysis.

Family Conflict and Student Ideology: Causal Analysis

For the moment, let us assume that the association between family conflict and political ideology implies a direct causal link. The causal direction has not been established. Conflict may cause leftist ideology, as suggested by the generational conflict hypothesis, or leftist ideology may influence the actual or perceived nonpolitical conflict in the family, as implied by Dunlap's (1970) analysis. The use of longitudinal data allows a choice between these two interpretations. Of the questions assessing family conflict, 23 were repeated on at least two questionnaires. From these, it was possible to compute 31 pairs of cross-lagged correlations of family conflict at one time with the Student Ideology scale at another. In 24 (79%) of these comparisons, the correlation of conflict at a prior

time with ideology at a later time was larger than the correlation of ideology at a prior time with conflict at a later time ($p < .001$ by the sign test). Predictions from a student's perception of family conflict to his political ideology are better than from the reverse. These results are consistent with the hypothesis that family conflict leads to a leftist ideology and were found for all three conflict scales.

While these effects are consistent, they are not powerful: In only 3 of the 31 pairs of conflict-ideology cross-lagged correlations were the differences individually significant. The mean correlation of prior conflict to later ideology is .24, while the mean correlation of prior ideology to later conflict is .16, again a reliable difference ($t = 3.18, p < .01$), but not a large one. During the college years, contact and thus mutual influence between parent and student are probably diminishing. Many of the relationships among conflict with parents, parental ideology, and student ideology are undoubtedly the residue of earlier influence.

Summary Path Analysis

To this point, we have focused on three possible determinants of a student's political ideology. Separately, his parents' ideology and his conflict with his parents may both contribute to his ideology, and, in addition, his valuing autonomy and empathy may precede both his ideology and his conflict with parents. Given these possibilities, it is fruitful to use a multivariate analysis to summarize the argument, to disentangle and compare the importance of the several related, but conceptually independent variables, and to test a theoretical model. The method chosen, path analysis, allows examination of the asymmetric and cumulative relations among variables once the causal order among them has been established independently, either empirically or theoretically (Duncan, 1966, Heise, 1969; Land, 1969).

The assumptions for the path analysis are (a) parental ideology and family conflict were causes of student ideology, (b) parental ideology was a cause of family conflict, and (c) Tomkins's leftist personality was a cause of both family conflict and student ideology. The

previous cross-lagged correlational analyses supported the assumption that parental ideology and family conflict lead to student ideology. The second assumption is held more tentatively. Prior research has shown that ideology forms and stabilizes during late adolescence and early adulthood (Lambert, 1972). Since this generally precedes the birth and rearing of children, it is likely that if parental ideology and parent-child conflict are causally related, parental ideology leads to conflict.

Finally, we have argued and presented evidence that an autonomous and empathetic personality-value system may be a cause of both family conflict and student political ideology, making the relationship between them at least partially spurious.³

In the path analysis that follows, the Personal Conflict scale was used to measure family conflict, since it was the conflict dimension most relevant to the generational conflict hypothesis and, at the same time, least conceptually confounded with a student's political ideology. Tomkins's values of autonomy and empathy were entered by combining the independent-different and the loving-humanistic adjective scales averaged over the three times they were given. The results given below were not substantially different when the autonomy and empathy dimensions were entered into the path model as distinct variables.

Figure 1 shows the path model and the standardized path coefficients for the four variables. It shows that reported parental political ideology ($\beta = .42$) and parent-student personal conflict ($\beta = .42$) were equally important determinants of a student's political ideology. Altogether, the path analysis model explains 35% of the variance in the Student Ideology scale, and these two variables alone account for 34% of the variance.

While the zero-order correlation shows that the autonomy-empathy variable was related

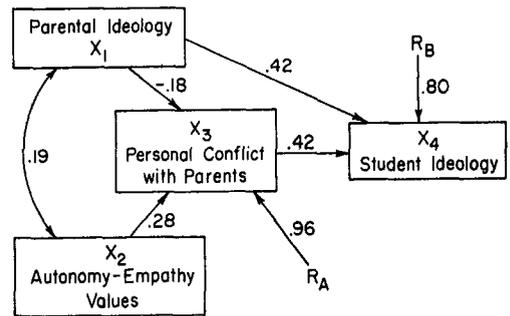


FIGURE 1. Path model for family variables, student values, and student political ideology. (See Table 1 for zero-order correlations. *N* equals 163 for all relationships. Numbers indicated are the path coefficients, standardized beta weights, for the causal relations specified by the arrows. Only those significant at the .05 level or better are shown.)

to student ideology, the path model indicates that it had no direct causal impact. The path coefficient ($\beta = .10$) was smaller than its standard error and not significant. Thus, the simultaneous relationship of autonomy to both parental conflict and student ideology could not explain their relationship to each other. The major effect of the autonomy-empathy variable on student ideology was indirect, contributing to conflict with parents, which in turn influenced ideology.

CONCLUSIONS

For this group of students at least, the family had a dual influence on student political ideology. Both parental ideology and the level of interpersonal conflict and disagreement within the family contributed significantly to student ideology. While taken together they accounted for only 34% of the variance in student ideology, the aim of the analysis was to compare the two, not to explain as much of the variance in student ideology as possible; indeed, this is a large amount considering that only three "predictor" variables were entered into the model. These findings contradict the theme implicit in much of the recent literature on student activism that generational conflict and continuity are two opposing and mutually exclusive models for explaining the origins of leftists students' ideology. Instead, they are

³ Alternate analyses show the second and third assumptions are not crucial. Omitting the Tomkins's leftist ideology from the analysis and varying the causal order of parental ideology and family conflict does not change the major conclusion: Parental ideology and family conflict are equally important, independent causes of student ideology.

consistent with Hess and Torney's (1967) formulation which included both identification and the transfer of learned interpersonal relationships, as well as the accumulation of political information and cognitive development, as complementary components of political socialization.

As noted frequently in both the political socialization and student activism literatures, to some extent parents serve as models for their children's political knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs. It is irrelevant for our purposes whether the beliefs are directly learned or the similarity occurs because of needs for cognitive consistency (Heider, 1958). The similarity of student ideology to perceived parental ideology partly reflects the influence of what can broadly be called direct transmission or modeling.

There is currently some discussion in the political socialization literature over the size of the modeling effect (see Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Sears, 1969). For example, Sears, among others, has argued that researchers often overestimate modeling effects by ignoring the social and demographic characteristics shared by parent and offspring which are predictive of ideology. In addition, Sears has proposed that modeling is strongest for salient and limited choices such as political party or candidate preference and is minimal with more abstract or less clearly manifest political opinions. Our data show moderate influence of parental modeling, at least for intelligent, middle-class male college students, even when the student opinion variable is an abstract political ideology.

While the modeling effects were expected on the basis of both the political socialization and student activism literature, the findings on family conflict were not. Indeed, most research and discussion within the field of political socialization has suggested that rebellion against parents, when it occurs, is simply not translated into political concerns or political rebellion (Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Lane, 1959). It is against this background that the finding that nonpolitical conflict within the family influences ideology is surprising, and more so because the influence of nonpolitical conflict is about equal to that of direct political transmission.

How are nonpolitical relationships, personal conflict, and disagreement translated into a political ideology? There are at least three ways: The first is that the student, to the extent that he rejects his parents, also rejects the values they hold, including political ones. In some sense, his parents become negative role models. However, the data do not support this view. Parents of leftist students are themselves more liberal than the general population; if leftist students were expressing rebellion by rejecting their parents' political ideology, they should become politically more conservative as often as more liberal. But, as noted in earlier research and the present data, in rebelling against their liberal parents, leftists move further left: Conservative students with liberal parents are found infrequently (Keniston, 1973; Sears, 1969).

A second way in which personal relations can shape political ideology corresponds to what Hess and Torney called the interpersonal transfer model. An individual patterns his style of relating to political authority in part on a basic orientation toward authority established within the family. According to a Freudian version of this model (Feuer, 1969), a person relates to powerful authorities as substitutes for his father, and if he has not adequately resolved his rebellion against his father, he will reenact these conflicts with other authority figures, including governmental authority. A social learning version of the model is similar. Since the family and the political system are analogous social institutions, both oriented to power, allocation of resources, and social welfare, much of the child's experiences with these, and hence his strategies for dealing with them, will have been developed in the context of the family. If the student develops a conflictful and antagonistic relationship with authority in the family, he may transfer this to a political realm.

A third, and more speculative, explanation begins with the particular features of the historical period in which the relationships between family process and the development of political orientations have been observed. The translation of personal rebellion into political disaffection may be likely only when politics are salient within the family or general soci-

ety, especially in times of social unrest. A student's conflict with and detachment from his family may lead him to be influenced more by other aspects of his social environment, including a peer group more liberal than the general population (Middletown & Putney, 1963; Sears, 1969), a liberalizing college education, and a specific set of political issues—the draft, the war in Vietnam, drug laws—conducive to youthful disaffection. Periods of political conflict may increase the likelihood of generational political change, with the direction modified not only by the social environment but also by historical forces. In any case, this study and several other recent ones which found associations between leftist ideology and family conflict contrast sharply with older studies that concluded that personal rebellion is not translated into political dissent. The discrepancy suggests that the content and form of political socialization may vary in different historical periods.

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