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NEW FORCES
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT CHILD PARTISANSHIP

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Government
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Arts

by

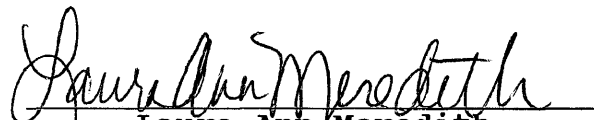
Laura Ann Meredith

1993

APPROVAL SHEET


This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts



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Approved, June 1993



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ABSTRACT

The purpose of my study is to explore the long-term influence of parental partisanship on adult child party identification and to examine the influence of new forces such as issues, presidential candidates, education, and geographic mobility on the development of adult child party identification.

A three-wave panel study is used to measure the influence of 1965 parental partisanship on 1982 adult child party identification and to explore how party identification reacts to constellations of issues and presidential candidates.

Results show that parental partisanship is a long-term and key predictor of 1982 adult child party identification. Independent issues influence partisanship and constellations of related issues grouped into factor scores show a significant long-term effect on 1982 adult party identification.

Presidential candidates exert both a long and short-term influence on the development of adult child partisanship. Unexpectedly, education level and geographic mobility do not significantly impact the results.

NEW FORCES
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INTRODUCTION

Political socialization research on political attitudes has focused on the transmission of party identification from parent to child during childhood. The evidence in the early literature showed not only a high degree of partisanship transmission but also emphasized the likelihood that child party identification was likely to remain stable throughout adulthood.

More recently, the literature has taken a different turn, forcing a reevaluation of the stability and development of adult offspring party identification. Such studies evaluate both the formation and maintenance of adult attitudes, in particular, party identification. Parent to child transmission is recognized, but these studies show party identification as a malleable political orientation, shaped continually by current political attitudes and issue positions.

After reviewing the literature in the field, the thesis seeks to add to the body of literature by reassessing the development of adult child party identification. The thesis examines the extent to which parents' party identification, issues, and the appeal of presidential candidates influence 1982 adult offspring partisanship.

The study will differ from the existing socialization

literature in four respects. First, while previous literature has examined the effects of partisanship on candidate appeal or voter preference, it has not explored the long-term effects of candidate appeal on party identification. This study will examine the effects of presidential candidate appeal on 1982 party identification. Secondly, existing studies have emphasized the influence of parental partisanship on child party identification. Although this provides an important baseline for comparison, I also examine the influence of social background variables which may influence partisanship. I examine the influence of social background variables on 1982 party identification. In this regard, I am most interested in the effects of educational attainment and geographic mobility. In addition, where other studies have examined the effects of individual issues on party identification, I seek to examine the influence of groups of related issues on party identification. This improves measurement and provides a truer indication of the effect issues have on party identification.

The stability of adult partisanship, in both relative and absolute terms, is shaken by the influence of issues and events. Findings which show that party identification is not stable over time raise questions about adult partisanship development. To what extent does partisanship predict a person's issue positions, and to what extent do issue positions reflect party preference? Does the relationship

between issues and partisanship indicate a waning of early socialization effects? What additional variables are influencing changes in partisanship? Is presidential candidate appeal a variable that shapes party preference?

My findings show strong support for parent-child partisanship transmission. My analysis shows that 1965 parent party identification has a strong, direct effect on 1982 child party identification. But, although parental partisanship exerts a strong, steady influence over time, it is not the only relevant factor.

My findings also support adult partisanship development. Particularly noteworthy is the effect of presidential candidates' appeal on adult child 1982 party identification. Although slightly less than candidate appeal, racial and foreign policy issues also influence partisanship. Finally, geographic mobility, education, and liberal-conservative position influence the development of adult child party identification.

CHAPTER I
LITERATURE REVIEW
ACQUISITION OF PARTISANSHIP

The formation of child party identification is distinct from partisan "development." Although the transmission of political orientations from parent to child occurs during childhood, many challenges to the stability of the "inherited" identification occur in adulthood.

For theoretical and empirical reasons, it is important to distinguish the stability of partisanship from its formation. Prevalent in the literature is the notion that party identification strengthens over time. As a person ages, he is more likely to identify with a party. If he is already an identifier, his partisanship should strengthen (Converse 1976, but see Abramson 1979). The second argument suggests that strength of party identification may fluctuate in both directions over time. Partisanship may either crystallize or wane because of exposure to new socialization actors, issues, and events. Adult child partisanship is influenced by these various variables. These variables may change the strength of partisanship, the direction, and possibly the identity itself.

There has been a great deal of research examining the formation as well as the development of partisanship.

These studies have traditionally followed two distinct yet related directions in emphasis. One set of studies examines the transmission of partisanship from parent to child. Such works have shown a high level of affective attitude transmission from parent to child and emphasized the stability of these attitudes over time, with partisanship chief among them.

Jennings and Niemi note an "observed similarity between parents and students which suggests transmission of party preferences from one generation to the next is carried out rather successfully" (Jennings and Niemi 1968). However, the child's partisanship is not usually as strong as their parent's strength of party identification, and tends more heavily towards independence.

Compared with partisanship, Jennings and Niemi (1968) find only moderate transmission of political attitudes. Using LISREL to correct for measurement error, Dalton (1980) finds stronger transmission patterns, although party identification remains the strongest. Dalton uses LISREL to determine the reliability of each attitude and evaluates the strength of intergenerational attitude transfer. He looks at issue clusters much as I do in my study. He explains "to the extent that individuals have attitudes, a strong intergenerational transfer of these values exists" (Dalton 1980). Parents exhibit a strong formative influence on offspring's values including party identification, racial attitudes, and civic

tolerance.

Mirroring the variance Dalton found, Beck (1977) suggests that the level of attitude transmission from parent to child depends on the salience and concreteness of the attitude, as well as the frequency of reinforcement. Tedin (1974) found that perceptual accuracy and issue salience were very important determinants of the correspondence between parent and child attitudes. Children know more about their parents' partisanship than about political issues and attitudes. This easy recognition makes transmission easier and, as a result, Tedin (1980) finds a high correlation between parent and child party identification. Other child attitudes are related to parental attitudes, but party identification exhibits the most significant correlation. Tedin argues "when issues are important to parents...and accurately perceived by the adolescents, attitude relationships are high" (Tedin 1980, 152).

Parents communicate attitudes to their children both directly and indirectly. Observed parental behavior and even casual conversation influence child attitude formation. Parental influence shapes attitudes during childhood. Indeed, the family is the preeminent agent in political learning during childhood. A parent's unique position as primary agent does not eliminate, but does overshadow, the influence of other socialization agents.

In the pathbreaking American Voter Campbell et al (1960)

suggest, party identification is a stable orientation acquired during childhood. Their theory explains that exposure to the political environment and the experience of voting during adulthood usually reinforce this party identification. Partisanship is learned before, not during, adulthood and it acts as a lens through which policy and candidates are viewed. Furthermore, as Shively notes "as adults age they are increasingly more likely to identify with parties, and to identify with them strongly" (Shively 1979, 1045). Shively suggests that an additional cause of partisanship is the need to cut information costs. This is particularly true for the less educated. Rather than evaluate issues and policies, people can select candidates based on a simple, single criteria--party. Direction of partisanship, if not degree, under these models, remains the same over time and is not affected by political attitudes or other variables.

The transmission of party identification from parent to child is, of course, separate from questions regarding the stability of party identification over time. Parents act as a socialization agent and impress upon their children particular attitudes and values. Parents can successfully transfer political attitudes, particularly partisanship, to their child, but partisanship may change during adulthood. Exposure to events, issues, and new experiences influences the stability of partisanship. Another set of studies examines how party identification develops during adulthood. These

studies accept the hypothesis that fundamental political orientations are established during childhood and can direct "the subsequent development of more particularized political attitudes" (Markus 1979, 338).

However, the adult environment, through war and economic disruption, can also be an important source of development or possible change of pre-adult attitudes (Markus 1979). New socialization actors play a role in development of opinions. Peers, education, schools, and events shape adult attitudes. For example, Beck and Jennings (1975) find that after marriage both husbands and wives modify their partisanship and accommodate one another over time. Beck and Jennings' evidence suggests additional actors, outside the family, also affect party identification after transmission. Shaped by the adult environment, adult party identification develops, but may not remain stable.

Miller and Sears (1986) also test whether preadult offspring attitudes persist during adulthood. They find that some attitudes are more persistent than others. For example, racial tolerance of the young panel persists from their pre-adult years into their adult life. Pre-adult attitudes continue to exert an influence into adulthood, most notably, because the norms in one's adult and preadult environment rarely differ. The individual usually selects an adult environment that reinforces his childhood attitudes. On the other hand, some pre-adult attitudes are shaped during

adulthood. Miller and Sears show that attitudes toward women's role in society and acceptable sexual practices change during adulthood. This study shows the potential for change in attitudes. Persistence or change depends on the political environment, demographics, and the saliency of an opinion or attitude.

Personal experience and events also influence attitudes and partisanship development. For example, Fendrich (1977) and Jennings (1987) find that participation in the student movement influences adult attitudes. Compared with non-participants, those involved in the movement are more liberal as older adults. This experience during their early adult years impacted their position on the left-right scale and likely their partisanship.

Using a three-wave panel, Jennings (1987) examines the endurance of these political attitudes for the Vietnam protest generation. He finds protestors' attitudes generally remain distinct from other baby boomers into adulthood. Baby boomers become more conservative. The protest generation also becomes more conservative, but to a much smaller degree. Jennings' analysis of the 1973 data established an extraordinary liberalizing tendency among protestors' views, even though protestors and baby boomers showed little difference in high school. He tests whether the protestors remain true to these early ideological liberal tendencies as they move through life. "At the absolute level, the protestors become decidedly

less liberal over time...They registered a decline of at least 20% in terms of the sum of liberal responses" (Jennings 1987, 378). Protestors become less liberal in regards to liberal/conservative self-placement, government provision of jobs, legalization of marijuana, rights of the accused, and helping minorities. However, protestors "show only little retreat from their liberal stances for women's rights" (Jennings 1987, 378). These attitudes formed during the college years are still subject to test. Events in society change generational cohorts. Residues of the protest movement remain, but new stimuli are constantly shaping the generation's political attitudes.

Fiorina's model (1981) of retrospective voting explains how citizens make electoral decisions based on their retrospective evaluation of events and economic performance. He contends that a voter knows what life has been like during an incumbent's term. The voter calculates the changes in his own welfare during the period and makes a choice based on this personal experience and an overall evaluation of society's position. For example, personal economic experiences such as income and employment status influence retrospective evaluations. Citizens monitor party promises and performances over time. They pass judgments on administration performance and past leaders, not policies. Voter preference, party choice, and the dynamics of partisanship are largely determined by these retrospective evaluations.

Continuing on this theme, Markus (1979) concludes that "the tendency for young partisans to defect from a particular party depends on how they evaluate the stimuli of the political environment" (Markus 1979, 354). For example, Markus finds that reaction to the Vietnam War and race relations, "exerted independent, and about equal influences on partisan affiliations."

Edward G. Carmines, John P. McIver, and James A. Stimson (1987) also suggest that ideological orientations and issue preferences influence adult partisanship. They suggest that an adult child will be more likely to move away from his parent's partisanship if his individual issue positions and inherited parental partisanship are in conflict. This set of circumstances moves the group toward independence.¹ The theory recognizes the importance of issues in the development of adult partisanship. Therefore, acquisition of party identification and its subsequent development is not an isolated process but depends on the political environment.

Most recently, Jennings and Niemi (1991) have examined the relationship between party identification in adulthood and issue positions controlling for parental partisanship. They look at the influence of such issues as school prayer, school integration, Vietnam, and government provision of jobs. The data shows that these issues have an effect on party

¹Carmines, Edward G., John P. McIver, James A. Stimson, "Unrealized Partisanship: A Theory of Dealignment," Journal of Politics 49 (1987): 376.

identification, even after controlling for parental partisanship. With issue controls, the independent effect of parental partisanship decreases by half, yet it remains an important influence over time (.54 in 1965 and .31 in 1973 and 1982). The influence of issues increases in number and significance over time. Only school prayer and school integration issues influence partisanship in 1965, but all the issues influence partisanship in 1973 and 1982. In other words, as an individual ages, the number of issues that influence identification proliferates. Parental influence is not eliminated but is overshadowed. Jennings and Niemi (1991) explain that after 1965, when the high school seniors were "released from close parental contact and supervision, a variety of factors (friends, spouses, and perhaps even a touch a rebellion) impinged on their partisan inclinations" (Jennings and Niemi 1991, 980). These influence student's party preferences (Jennings and Niemi 1991, 986).

It is evident that partisanship development does occur during the adult years. Events and personal experience influence this development. When this change most likely occurs remains unanswered. Jennings and Markus (1984) deal with the time at which change occurs. Using a three-wave panel data set, Jennings and Markus (1984) find that an individual's party identification remains malleable until his 30s. They examine two generational cohorts, children and their parents, to measure long-term individual level stability

of partisan attachments. Events and issues impact the development of partisanship and the extent to which young adults' "inherited" partisanship is reinforced or changed. Jennings and Markus (1984) suggest that a "surge in crystallization of a variety of sociopolitical attitudes" occurs between the mid 20s to mid 30s. "The party ties of the younger respondents become dramatically more durable as the respondents' experimental base and familiarity with partisan objects increases" (Jennings and Markus 1984, 1011). In other words, the party ties of the younger group become more stable as they age.² The student sample approaches the stability of the parent sample between the first and third waves. Again, experience in the electorate as well as exposure to other variables outside the direct parent-child socialization process influence partisanship. If attitudes continue to develop into adulthood, it is necessary to rethink the traditional interpretation of adult party identification as a stable attitude which is learned during childhood. Shively notes that partisanship is "not solely a 'long-term force' or 'standing decision.' It changes, though relatively slowly, in response to day-to-day politics" (Shively 1980, 223).

In sum, adult partisanship, although consistently influenced by remnants of the pre-adult exposure to parental

²This should not be confused with Converse's contention that partisanship strengthens as people age.

attitudes, reacts to the political environment. Parental partisanship, therefore, is not the only force shaping adult child party identification. Contemporaneous variables also influence its development.

This thesis specifically reacts to existing literature on the development of adult partisanship. Specifically, I expand Jennings and Niemi's (1991) model to examine the long-term effect of constellations of issues on adult partisanship.

Jennings and Niemi (1991) offer strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that issues shape party identification. I expect issue positions to influence 1982 party identification with long-term and cumulative effects. Using 1973 issue factor scores, I examine the effect of a constellation of related issues on 1982 party identification.

Jennings and Niemi (1991) discuss how issues and partisanship shape candidate preference, but they fail to address how candidates shape party identification? Brody and Rothenberg (1984), using the 1980 National Election Study, show how candidates have an effect on party identification during an election year. Their evidence shows that over half of the electorate shifts strength of partisanship between January to September of the election year. Brody and Rothenberg recognize and examine the short-term influences of candidate appeal but neglect the long-term influence of candidates on the development of party identification. It is possible, if not likely, that in the absence of a high

visibility campaign partisanship, it will return to where it was before the election. I expect that the influence of presidential candidates on party identification will be observed even after an election or the end of an incumbent president's term. Candidates and politicians are constantly evaluated by the voters in election and non-election years. These evaluations should be expected to have a direct effect on candidate appeal and in turn, political partisanship.

In this thesis I explore the long-term influence of racial, foreign policy, and social welfare issues and attitudes, candidate appeal, social background variables, and parental partisanship on adult child party identification in 1982. I expect to find strong support for parent-child partisanship transmission as well as adult child partisanship development. Parental party identification should have a direct influence on adult child party identification in 1982, but issues and presidential candidate appeal will also significantly affect 1982 party identification. Finally, geographic mobility and education will shape the development of party identification and mediate the influence of these variables.

Shively (1979) considers the influence of education on partisanship as a person ages. Shively's results indicate that over the 44 year period he examined, 65% of persons with less than 8 years of education identified with a party, compared to 20% for the more educated. I approach education

in a different way. I expect education to cause individuals to be more independent of parental partisanship both by providing cognitive skills and by exposure to new ideas. As a result, the influence of parental partisanship should be attenuated by education.

Similarly, geographic mobility exposes a person to new ideas, socialization actors, and a political environment. Most recently, Thad Brown (1980) examines the effects of geographic mobility on party identification. Geographic mobility or "migration", "by definition...places the individual at some physical distance from the family and friends and from the nurturing environment while simultaneously presenting the individual with new political information" (Brown 1980, 427). This encounter with a new political environment influences an individual's vote and party identification. Although the differences that Brown finds are not significant, individual party identification responds to the new political environment. For example, individuals who have "mostly been exposed to a Republican environment identify more with the Republican party" (Brown 1980, 428) Identical results are true for exposure to Democratic environments. Although the response to new partisan attitudes may not be immediate, individuals develop a party identification over time corresponding to their overall political exposure. Exposure to new and different partisan contacts and socialization agents disrupts partisan

tendencies but does not cause a complete abandonment of early developed attitudes.³

In order to examine my hypotheses about the long-term effects of parental partisanship, issues, and candidate appeal, a panel study is best. My study examines the relationship between a parent's party identification and his child's partisanship, the strength of this relationship over time, and the impact of other variables on adult offspring identification after a parent's initial influence. A panel data of parents and their offspring offers insight into the transmission and formation of the child's partisanship as well as its development over time. Additionally, the panel study allows a measurement of the impact of new forces on adult child partisanship.

Fortunately, a panel study of this nature is available. I use data from the parent-child panel study conducted by M. Kent Jennings for the Survey Research Center and Center for Political Studies of the University of Michigan. The study consists of a parent and offspring panel questioned in 1965, 1973, and 1982. It begins in the Spring of 1965 with a set of personal interviews of high school seniors and at least one parent. Students were chosen from a national probability

³Work by Miller and Sears (1986) as well as Markus (1979) has also shown the significance of the adult environment on adult partisanship. Mobility shapes the adult environment and should be examined for possible influences on party identification.

sample of 97 high schools. At each school, approximately 15-21 seniors were interviewed, totalling 1669. The study collected data from randomly selected parents, such that for one-third of the students mothers were interviewed, fathers another third, and both parents were interviewed for the remaining third. 1992 parents were interviewed altogether. In 1973 and 1982, as many of the students and parents were recontacted and resurveyed. 1348 students (80.8 percent) and 1179 parents (75.5 percent) responded in 1973. Overall, retention rates from 1965 to 1982 were 68 percent for students and 57 percent for parents. My model includes youth with available data from all 3 panels and 1965 parent data (N=1074).

Attrition raises some questions about the number of cases available at any given time. The panel design of the study, however, assures that same group is recontacted and the same respondents are available and can be used for all the waves.

CHAPTER II

THE MODEL

Jennings and Niemi (1991) find that parental partisanship and issues are key predictors of adult child party identification. Their work offers evidence of a strong relationship between parent and child party identification and they observe the effects of issues and attitudes on the development of partisanship.

They find that parental party identification has a strong independent effect on offspring partisanship in 1965, 1973, and 1982, when children are approximately 18, 26, and 35. Regression estimates for child party identification as a function of attitudes, ideology, and parental partisanship show strong and significant parental party identification effects ($b=.29$, $p<.01$ in 1973 and $b=.29$, $p<.01$ in 1982). More importantly, they find that issue positions on school integration, school prayer, Vietnam, and government provision of jobs significantly influence adult child party identification.

Jennings and Niemi (1991) show how these four individual issues affect adult child party identification. My model expands on these recent findings and offers new insight into the influence of parental partisanship on adult child party identification. I explore the long-term effects of new forces such as issues, attitudes, and candidates on adult child

partisanship.

Functionally my model can be shown as:

1982 adult child partisanship = social background variables + parent party identification in 1965 + 1973 attitudes and issues + 1973 and 1982 candidates

where the dependent variable is 1982 child partisanship on a 7-point scale ranging from strong Republican identifier to strong Democratic identifier.

The social background variables include sex, race, interest in public affairs, liberal-conservative position or ideology, education, and geographic mobility. I use 1982 measures for each of these variables.

1973 issues and attitudes include government provision of jobs, government aid to minorities, school busing to achieve integration, school integration, legalization of marijuana, equal rights for women, school prayer, U.S. handling of Vietnam, U.S. involvement in world affairs, agreement with Vietnam, level of influence of blacks, level of influence of women, and feeling thermometer toward blacks.

The model also measures the impact of presidential candidates on 1982 party identification. The 1973 survey asked about presidential candidates Nixon, Wallace, and McGovern. The 1982 survey asked about candidates Reagan and Carter.

Since the voter is exposed to a variety of issues and is collectively influenced, I will better understand the influence of issues on adult partisanship by grouping them

into related areas. I assume, for example, that racial position is not solely determined by a single issue, such as a respondent's position on school integration, but by several related opinions and attitudes which include feeling thermometer indicators towards blacks or other minorities as well as opinions on school busing (Dalton, 1980). Including additional variables which relate to racial position should produce a more accurate determination of racial issues' influence on party identification. In other words, the influence of a constellation of related issues, attitudes, and opinions will show a more reliable influence on party identification than individual issues used in the Jennings and Niemi (1991) model. Collectively these constellations will, I hypothesize, shape party identification.

Like issues, I expect presidential candidate appeal to have a significant effect on 1982 adult child partisanship. Individual candidate effects should be distinct from one another given the salience of presidential politics. Unlike constellations of issues which have a greater effect on party identification than individual issues, each individual candidate has a distinct influence on party identification. This short-term development of partisanship is to be expected if individuals evaluate the performance of the incumbent president and the anticipated performance of the other presidential candidates independently of partisanship. These performance evaluations and assessments of personal traits

comprise the overall appeal of a particular candidate. This candidate appeal in turn shapes party identification.⁴

I argue that voters evaluate presidential candidates in both election and non-election years, using similar criteria over time. These criteria include personality, character, job performance, and anticipated job performance. These measures result in a general opinion, attitude, or feeling about each presidential candidate. Candidate appeal in an election year may be more influential than in non-election years on immediate partisanship development due to the visibility of the campaign and candidates, particularly during a presidential campaign. However, an incumbent president and his policies are continually reevaluated during his presidency and the perception of the president's performance affects the voter's strength of partisanship. If the voter is Republican and the President is Republican and performing well, the voter's strength of partisanship is likely to be reinforced or strengthened. If, on the other hand, a presidential term is disastrous (e.g. Carter) voter support for the other party will continue to rise. Incumbent and previous presidents are judged on past performance. Their challengers, on the other hand, are evaluated on anticipated or expected performance. After the election and well after the campaign is over, affect toward a candidate continues to help define their party.

⁴Converse and Markus (1979) found significant effects on partisanship, although clearly less than the reverse.

Partisanship is affected by this post-election appeal despite what may have been an election loss. As Brody and Rothenberg have shown, candidate performance evaluations influence party identification during an election year, but I expect presidential candidates to have a long-term influence after an election year on party identification. Candidate appeal will have a significant influence over time on adult partisanship.

I expect education and geographic mobility will also influence the development of adult child party identification. It affects the degree to which issues, candidates, and parental partisanship shape party identification.⁵ A well educated respondent is more familiar with the issues and has better skills to assess issues and candidates' issue positions. He can evaluate the information in less time and at a lower cost. Consequently, issues and candidate assessments may play more of a role in the development of his party identification at the expense of parental partisanship. Parental partisanship should play a lesser role in the development of college educated adults' party identification.

Higher education and geographic mobility exposes young

⁵The education variable divided respondents into those with high school education only, those with some college education, and those who received a college degree or other advanced degree. Two dummy variables with values (0,1) were used in the regression; one separates respondent's with a high school degree only versus all others, and the second divides those with and without a college degree.

adults to new political environments.⁶ Exposure to new socialization agents and ideas shapes party identification. As Brown (1980) shows, greater geographic mobility or "migration" opens the door to additional influences on adult party identification. I expect that the greater the exposure to new regions, the greater is the influence on party identification. Regions have distinct social and political characteristics and tendencies. They are distinct political environments. Exposure to these new political ideas and socialization actors can reshape partisanship.

Results

To test my hypothesis, I want to measure valid and reliable orientations. By identifying clusters of issues using factor analysis I develop a model which examines the influence of these orientations on party identification. These factor scores measure the combined long-term effect of 1973 issues and attitudes on 1982 party identification.

Based on a principal components analysis of 13 issues, I built factor scores. I set missing attitudes to the mean for cases missing on five or fewer items. Those missing on four or more of the 13 items are eliminated. In order to establish a precise direct causal relationship between issues and

⁶The geographic mobility variable measures the number of regions in which a person has lived since 1965 and the number since 1973. It computes if the respondent moved at all, moved within the same region, or among regions. A list of the regions can be reviewed in Appendix A.

partisanship over time, and to contend with the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between 1982 issue positions and 1982 partisanship, I use the 1973 factor scores, rather than 1982 issues, as predictors of 1982 party identification. This allows me to assess long-term effects of issue constellations.

By controlling for 1982 ideology, I set a difficult task to create factor scores. Questions about students' issue positions and opinions were selected and grouped into four topic areas: racial, social welfare, women's issues, and U.S. world role categories. Issues include questions such as opinions on the legalization of marijuana, women's equality, school integration, and U.S. involvement in Vietnam. These categories were chosen because of their saliency during the study's time frame, 1965 to 1982, and the availability of the data.⁷ In addition, although it does not specifically fall into one of my preselected categories, I also included school prayer. Its significant influence on party identification in Jennings and Niemi's (1991) original study warranted its inclusion. I expect the analysis will generate four factor scores: women's issues, racial issues, United States role in world affairs issues, and social welfare issues.

Table 1 presents the factor analysis using principal

⁷Carmines and Stimson (1980) establish race as an influential issue on partisanship. Race is an "easy" issue. Individuals who are not necessarily interested in politics have an opinion on the issue. Therefore, it can have an effect on a wider range of people. Race will influence even those individuals not interested in politics because of its saliency during the time period.

components extraction with varimax rotation which builds the 1973 factor scores. Four separate issue clusters, racial, social welfare, U.S. world role, and women's issues emerge in 1973. Government provision of jobs, Government aid to minorities, Busing to achieve integration, Should the Federal Government integrate schools, and the Level of influence of Blacks load on a single issue factor with loadings above .50. The two women's issues questions load on a single women's issue factor with loadings both above .70. Should school begin with a prayer, and the Feeling thermometer towards blacks load on a single factor. Legalization of marijuana and the U.S. handling a Vietnam load weakly on the same factor with loadings slightly above .40. The U.S. role in world affairs and Did U.S. do right in Vietnam have high loadings on a single factor.

[Table 1]

For the most part, as shown in Table 1, issues fall into related categories. Factor 1 captures racial attitudes; factor 2, women's issues; factor 3, social welfare issues; and factor 4, the role of the U.S. in world affairs. Unexpectedly, the Handling of Vietnam and the Feeling thermometer towards blacks fall in factor 3. This may be a protest dimension. The factor analysis does not elicit perfect factors along the lines of my preselected categories. In general, the analysis supports my expectations. However, there is some variance and cross-over between the categories.

For example, respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the Vietnam War, their opinion on the United States' handling of the war, and the United States' role in world affairs. The questions about the war are similar and should elicit compatible and similar responses. I expected all three would load on a single factor score. U.S. involvement in world affairs and agreement or disagreement with the war load on a single factor. However, attitudes about the United States' handling of Vietnam falls closest to factor three with a loading of $-.41$. I suspect that the similarity of the questions causes the effect of the opinion about the handling of Vietnam to be captured by agreement or disagreement with the U.S. involvement in the war.

Despite two unexpected results, issues and attitudes fall into related factor scores in 1973. Using these 1973 factor scores, I can evaluate the long-term effect of issues on 1982 partisanship development.

I will first look separately at the comparative effects of issue areas on 1982 partisanship running a regression including the issue factor scores with parental partisanship, and then one including only candidate thermometer scores (in addition to parental partisanship) before combining both together with demographic factors into a final model.

Looking first at the issue analysis in Table 2, it is clear that 1973 issue positions have a significant but much smaller effect on 1982 partisanship (taken together) than does

parental partisanship from eight years previous. Three of the four issue factors do have strongly significant effects on child partisanship, but somewhat surprisingly, women's issues have no significant effect. In keeping with the Carmines-Stimson hypothesis racial attitudes have the strongest effect, followed by protest and Vietnam.

My results indicate that parental partisanship consistently influences partisanship, regardless of education level or geographic mobility. As shown in Table 4 and 5, there was no effect of the interactions of education and mobility with the parental effect, although the direction was consistently negative as hypothesized. The only issue interaction was racial issues with education. Parents continue to affect child party identification across education and mobility categories. However, I include these interactions in the model to measure any potential effect as evident with the racial issues and education interaction.

[Table 2 and 3]

Jennings and Niemi's (1991) model shows how party identification influences candidate preference and ultimately voter choice. I want to develop this idea and see if the reverse is also true. Do candidates influence party identification and, if so, what is their influence over time? Like issues I expect candidates will have a direct effect on adult partisanship development. I argue that presidential candidates have an immediate effect on party identification

during an election and their appeal exhibits a long-term influence on partisanship development. The extent to which candidates influence party identification may also be affected by mobility and educational attainment.

To test this hypothesis, I estimate the 1982 partisanship of the children (now in their early thirties) as a function of 1965 parental partisanship and 1973 and 1982 measures of candidate affect. I use 1973 measures for affect towards Nixon, Wallace and McGovern, and 1982 measures for affect towards Carter and Reagan. Since I have measures of candidate affect at two points in time (although not of the same candidate), this allows me to test for both long and short term effects of candidate evaluation. The measures of affect I use here are feeling thermometer ratings on a 100 point scale. I include parental partisanship as a predictor as well, both to assess its residual effect, even with control for contemporaneous candidates, and also as a control for early partisan influence.

My results show strong effects for both parents and candidates. Not surprisingly, given significant movements in partisanship during the 1980's, the strongest effect is for affect towards Reagan, but parental influence remains very strong as well. What is most striking however, is the significant effect of McGovern and Nixon attitudes 10 years after the survey, and eleven years after they opposed each other in 1972. Even controlling for affect towards later

party nominees (i.e., Carter and Reagan), early campaigns retain important direct residual effects. Effects of affect towards Nixon, assessed in 1973 on 1982 partisanship are two thirds as great as the effect of Carter, and half the effect of Reagan. Affect towards McGovern, who was already out of the political spotlight in 1973, although smaller, still remains significant. Only Wallace fails to show a significant effect on partisanship. Even this is understandable, given the ambiguity of his partisanship.

[Table 4]

These findings indicate that certain issues and attitudes, as well as presidential candidates influence adult child partisanship. The inclusion of issue factor scores, candidates, and interactive terms for education and geographic mobility in the model will capture the effect of these variables on partisanship development and their relationship with parental partisanship.

Jennings and Niemi (1991) include individual issues as predictors of partisanship. I expect constellations of issues will have a greater influence on partisanship as shown in my preliminary results. If several correlated measures are included, none may have a significant effect, while together they do. I improve upon Jennings and Niemi's (1991) model by measuring the combined long-term effect of issues with the 1973 issue factor scores. Then, I add presidential candidates in both 1973 and 1982 to examine the long-term influence of

presidential candidates and the short-term effect of individual candidates from the 1980 election on 1982 party identification. Since my results may vary due to geographic mobility and education, particularly the effect of parental partisanship, I include interactive dummy education and mobility (with parental partisanship) variables as predictors to measure this effect.⁸

The results of my model of 1982 adult child partisanship are shown in Table 5. Demographic variables do not have independent effects on adult child partisanship. Sex, race, and interest in public affairs are not strongly related to party identification. Unexpectedly, my results also show that geographic mobility and education level have no effect on 1982 adult child partisanship development. Geographic mobility and education level interactive terms show no effect on how parental partisanship influences partisanship development.

[Table 5]

In addition, my findings do not show a significant relationship between constellations of issues and 1982 adult child partisanship. All of the 1973 issue factor scores become insignificant with controls for candidates and demographics; although this does not rule out indirect

⁸For geographic mobility, I measure mobility from 1965 to 1973. No movement or movement within the same region is set equal to 0, and movement between or among regions equal to 1.

effects.

Particularly noteworthy, is the insignificance of racial issues. In Issue Evolution, Carmines and Stimson offer strong evidence that racial attitudes shape party identification. Their results indicate that racial attitudes strongly influenced the formation of party identification in the 1960s. Alan I. Abramowitz's (1992) test of the Carmines and Stimson theory finds only an insignificant correlation between racial attitudes and partisanship among white American voters using the 1980 and 1988 American National Election Study data with control for parental partisanship. My results support Abramowitz's findings. Racial as well as social welfare and U.S. world role issues are not significantly related to 1982 adult child partisanship.

The contrast with candidate effects is striking. Both 1973 and 1982 attitudes about presidential candidates both have a consistent influence on 1982 adult child party identification, even though 1973 issues and attitudes do not.

The 1982 candidate feeling thermometers about Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan are particularly important in shaping 1982 partisanship. These opinions have an immediate influence during the 1980 election and are still significant predictors of 1982 party identification even after the presidential election. Respondents' attitudes about former President Reagan significantly influence 1982 partisanship. In addition, although Carter was not an active political figure

in 1982; his 1980 candidacy and former presidency also influence 1982 adult partisanship.

The long-term influence of Nixon and McGovern on 1982 party identification is particularly impressive. Both candidates exhibit a significant influence on 1982 partisanship well after the 1972 presidential election. Affect towards Reagan, Carter, Nixon, and McGovern are all significant predictors of 1982 adult child party identification, and even Wallace verges on significance with a -1.8 T statistic. The candidate assessment of Wallace makes students more Democratic, not Republican. This may be evidence of a regional effect on party identification.

Presidential candidates as well as 1965 parental partisanship exert a significant influence on 1982 adult child party identification. The standardized coefficient, which represents the association between Reagan's candidate assessment and party identification, is approximately equal to that of parental partisanship (.32 versus .28). This strong showing for Reagan reflects the short-term significance of a single candidate's appeal on adult child party identification development. Candidates exert a short-term influence on adult party identification as well as a significant long-term influence on partisanship development. Parental partisanship is a key predictor of adult child party identification, but candidates do shape adult partisanship development.

Why do issues drop out and candidates stay in the

equation? I propose that an assessment of the personality and character of a particular candidate is easier than matching one's own issue positions directly with a party. In addition, candidates come to represent constellations of issues quite effectively (e.g., Reagan, McGovern, Wallace), so that it is the issues as represented by candidates that make the greatest difference. Furthermore, I contend that for most presidential elections, personal candidate evaluations overshadow a candidate's issue stance. As Page (1978) shows, Americans were as close to McGovern as to Nixon on the issues in 1972. It was the depiction as an extremist that was so devastating to him, so that the term McGovern Democrat came to symbolize extremism rather than particular issue positions. Similarly in 1984, Mondale showed a closer proximity to voters on most issues than did Reagan. According to Anthony Downs, these "easy" evaluations of personality or performance require lower information "costs" than a full exploration or investigation of the issues. Since most respondents are more likely to perform this type of evaluation, such opinions about candidates and previous officials have a greater impact on party affiliation than independent or even constellations of issues.

Early parent-offspring socialization research found that party identification was one of many political attitudes inherited from one's parents. The revised view of partisanship acquisition and its subsequent development

recognizes the strong influence of parents, but also examines the effects of new variables on adult party identification.

My results show that parental partisanship is a key predictor of adult child party identification. Party identification is shaped during the formative childhood years, but is also subject to change during adulthood. Issues and presidential candidates have a significant effect on adult partisanship. Parental partisanship continues to influence child partisanship into adulthood but new variables affect its development. Party identification is significantly affected by early parental influence, but it continues to develop.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION

In my complete model of 1982 adult party identification, issues fall out and presidential candidates overshadow them as predictors of 1982 partisanship. What are the implications for Democracy if parents and candidates have the most significant influence on party identification? If it easier to chose a candidate based on their personality and public appeal than on their positions on the issues?

We pass on our partisanship like a genetic trait. You're Republican like your father before him and his father before him. It's simple and doesn't require any time or analysis of the issues. Of course, changes can occur but it takes a significant event like the Depression or the Vietnam War to change our political leanings. Partisanship is easily predicted based on our parents' identification. The status quo is acceptable and any challenge to what we were "born" with isn't necessary. We accept our inherited partisanship and base our issue positions on it.

Candidates shape our partisanship more than new issues. Society has become more concerned about the personality and appeal of the candidate than his ability to do the job or his stand on the issues. Adults have brushed issues under the rug and have been reduced to a reactionary body. We react to the

presidential candidates' appeal and select our leaders. Candidates do embody certain issue positions and these issues do shape our choice of leaders and party identification, but candidate affect takes precedence in partisanship development and candidate selection.

Imagine the implications of a lack of interest in the issues or their secondary importance in the voting process. Involvement in the political process is declining. Low voter interest and turnout is evident. The stagnate public doesn't take the time to analyze the issues, is unfamiliar with candidates' issue positions, and selects leaders based on personality and appeal. Candidates are elected and voters are unhappy with their programs because they didn't analyze the issues or assess the candidates' positions. Citizens become disgruntled with the political process and react. Will it be action or retreat is left to be determined?

TABLE 1
1973 ISSUE FACTOR ANALYSIS

Issue	Fact 1	Fact 2	Fact 3	Fact 4
Govt Provide Jobs	.59			
Legalize Marijuana			.43	
Govt Aid to Minorities	.67			
Busing for Integration	.72			
Women's Equality		-.71		
School Prayer			-.63	
School Integration	.71			
U. S. World Role				.82
U. S. in Vietnam				-.73
Handling of Vietnam			-.41	
Flg Therm--Blacks			.63	
Influence--Blacks	-.54			
Influence--Women		.79		

TABLE 2
ISSUES AND EDUCATION INTERACTIONS

Variable	B	Beta	T Statistic
Parental Partisanship 1965	.388	.463	8.209
Women x High School	-.197	-.089	-1.428
U.S. World Role Factor	.229	.131	2.495
Racial x College Degree	.330	.123	2.515
Social Welfare Factor	.220	.127	2.243
Education - HS Degree	.595	.150	2.178
U. S. Role x College Degree	.207	.068	1.546
Education - College Degree	.277	.074	1.040
Social Welfare x College Degree	.051	.016	.366
Racial Issues Factor	.314	.182	2.881
Women x College Degree	.077	-.024	-.549
Women Issues Factor	.049	.028	.494
U. S. World Role x High School	-.166	-.076	-1.245
Social Welfare x High School	-.075	-.035	-.544
Education Interaction - College Degree	-.007	-.009	-.119
Racial x High School	-.016	-.007	-.109
Education Interaction x High School	-.082	-.112	-1.250
R. Square			.258
Adjusted R Square			.242

TABLE 3
ISSUES AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Variable	B	Beta	T Statistic
Parental Partisanship 1965	.333	.402	12.651
Social Welfare x Mobility	.061	.006	.188
Women Issues Factor	-.048	-.027	-.880
U. S. World Role Factor	.190	.108	3.446
Racial Issues Factor	.376	.218	6.86
Mobility Interaction	-.177	-.090	-1.206
Social Welfare Factor	.126	.073	2.318
U. S. World Role x Mobility	.053	.006	.181
Women x Mobility	.137	.017	.461
Racial x Mobility	.365	.048	1.259
Geographic Mobility	.608	.070	.974
R Square			.234
Adjusted R Square			.224

TABLE 4

REGRESSION ESTIMATE OF 1982 PARTY IDENTIFICATION
AS A FUNCTION OF
CANDIDATE APPEAL AND PARENTAL PARTISANSHIP

Candidates	B	Beta	T
Carter	-.0201	-.2033	- 6.76
Wallace	-.0027	-.0341	- 1.02
McGovern	-.0073	-.0851	- 2.76
Reagan	.0279	.3798	11.94
Nixon	.0134	.1905	5.12
Parent's Party ID-- 1965	.2272	.2695	9.11
R Square			.47
Adjusted R Square			.46

APPENDIX A

GEORGRAPHIC MOBILITY REGIONS

New England

East North Central

West North Central

Solid South

Mid-Atlantic

Mountain States

Pacific States

Border States

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