

Online Supplementary Material For:
Why does the apple fall far from the tree?
How early political socialisation prompts parent-child dissimilarity

Appendix A: Quantifying the PID scale through the ALSOS procedure

The aim is to come up with interval-level information from the original PID scales in order to use this information for the variables of partisan congruence in 1965 and 1973. First, I establish the transitivity of the original PID 0-6 scale both for parents and for the children. For the 1973 measures this is done by following Weisberg in comparing the average score in people's feeling thermometers between Republicans and Democrats.¹ The feeling thermometers are not available in 1965 however. For that reason I employ party preference in the 1964 Presidential election. Although the youth sample was not eligible to vote in 1964, a question regarding hypothetical vote choice in 1964 provides a good indication of their party preferences. The results are shown in Table A. As is shown, transitivity is violated only in one instance, namely between weak Republicans and Republican leaners in the parental 1965 scale, although this difference is not statistically significant ($p < 0.23$). With the exception of this instance, however, weak transitivity seems to hold, implying that the original PID scale allows an ordinal ranking of preferences. Thus, I make the assumption of weak transitivity, allowing leaners and weak partisans to have up to equally strong partisanship.

The next step is the assignment of values that would reflect the relative difference in the characteristic of interest between each point in the scale. This is accomplished with optimal scaling, which assigns numeric values to the observations with respect to a variable of interest in such a way that simultaneously fulfills two conditions: (1) the assigned scores maintain the measurement characteristics given to the data (assuming weak transitivity, this means that the resulting PID scores have to retain the original ranking of the PID scale); (2) they fit the statistical

¹ Weisberg 1980; see also Franklin 1984; 1992.

model as well as possible.² Thus, if being a strong Republican implies greater difference in related attitudes than being a weak Republican, compared with the difference between weak Republican and Republican independence (leaner), this should be reflected in the empirical fit of the model.

Following Jacoby I use the ALSOS (Alternated Least Squares, Optimal Scaling) formula.³ An iterative OLS regression approach (through Kruskal's monotone transformation formula) is applied which leads to the recoding of the variables included in the model up to the point that further changes cause no further improvement to the model's fit (and always up to the extent that the pre-determined assumptions about the measurement properties of the indicators are not violated). I use ALSOS to identify the optimal scores for the four variables of interest: parental PID and spouse's PID in 1965 and child PID in 1965 and 1973. Once these variables have been recoded, I subtract the corresponding scores and take the absolute values from these subtractions. This procedure yields the measurement values of the two variables of main interest: $|\Delta \text{PID}|_{\text{Children}_{73} - \text{Parents}_{65}}$ and $|\Delta \text{PID}|_{\text{Children}_{65} - \text{Parents}_{65}}$. The relationship between the original PID scales and the quantified scales are shown in Figure A.

Appendix B: The Parental Politicisation index

Here I provide further details about the construction of the key independent variable, stemming from three different subscales, namely subjective evaluations of political interest, actual political involvement and media consumption.⁴ Regarding the first I start with the two items which from the outset seem most relevant, namely the level of interest about public affairs and the frequency of political discussion within the household, measured by the frequency with which each parent talks about politics with his/her spouse. To those, I also add the child's own perceptions

² Jacoby 1999, 281.

³ Jacoby 1999.

⁴ Importantly, the results are remarkably robust to different measurement strategies regarding the parental politicisation index. The analysis has been replicated using various combinations of these items and the findings remain substantively unchanged.

about the level of political interest of his/her parents (in the two-parent case, the average of two). Since the scope is to measure how parental politicisation creates a context which familiarises the child with the political world, this last item is deemed to be useful in that it should reflect the degree to which parents' interest in politics takes forms which are directly observable to the child.⁵ Monotone homogeneity is tested by fitting a locally weighted regression curve onto a scatterplot between each item and the scale consisting of all other items. The graphs generated from this procedure (not shown) reveal that the assumption of a monotone relationship is satisfied for all three items.

The second set of items captures the behavioural implications of parental political interest. Politics should be more apparent within the household when parents spend time in various modes of political participation. The most typical of these modes is, essentially, voting, here measured through a dummy about whether the parent voted in the 1964 presidential election. But political participation can go far beyond voting. Accordingly, I have also included a set of dummies denoting whether the individual participated in rallies, was active in campaign activity, belongs to a club related to one of the two parties, donated money to a particular party and tried to persuade others about how to vote. Again, all these binary indicators should be examined about whether they can be treated as equivalent measures of the same underlying dimension. Since people might choose more than one way of participating in politics and since the amount of political involvement associated with each of these activities varies, it is important to examine the extent to which the resulting scale measuring actual political involvement adheres to this pattern. To do that I use Mokken scaling, a semi-parametric technique primarily designed as an extension of the classical Guttman scaling for dichotomous or polytomous variables, which adds a probabilistic aspect into the ranking of the items.⁶ The overall scale coefficient (Loevinger's H), which tests the extent to which the items follow an ordinal sequence (i.e. engaging in one type of such activities implies also engaging in all

⁵ See also Jennings, Stoker and Bowers 2009.

⁶ van Schuur 2003.

activities classified below this one), is 0.53. None of the items appears to fit poorly in the scale (none of the item-specific coefficients takes a value below the conventional limit of 0.3).

Accordingly, I construct the second subscale by adding up all participation dummies.

The third set of variables involves the extent and the means through which respondents acquire political information. Four types of media consumption are examined, namely TV, radio, newspapers and magazines. Following the same type of analysis as in the previous set of items, however, I find that only the last two of them appear to measure the same latent construct. Radio and TV load very poorly in a four-item scale and do not seem to form a separate scale either.⁷ Thus, the resulting measure about media consumption includes only reading newspapers and magazines related to politics and ranges from 0 to 2 (H-coefficient 0.452).

To combine the three subscales in a single overall scale measuring parental politicisation I use factor analysis. The three subscales seem to load on a single factor, which captures more than a third of their common variance. Given that only one factor is extracted, the reliability of the extracted factor can be evaluated by its observed variance, which here is 0.78.⁸

Appendix C: Confounds

C.1 Parental Stability

The first potential explanation for the findings could be that more politically interested individuals are more prone to change preferences over time and thus parents who are more interested in politics might have well altered their political views during this period. By following their parents in this move, children from more politicised families would falsely appear to deviate from them if we only take into account initial parental predispositions, as measured in 1965. To see

⁷ See also Beck and Jennings 1991.

⁸ As another informal diagnostic tool, I examined how well the one-factor solution reproduces the observed correlations between the three indicators. The sum of squared residuals between observed and estimated item correlations is 0.0001, which indicates that factor analysis reproduces the observed correlations between the three politicisation items almost perfectly.

whether this is the case it is sufficient to examine whether parents who were more interested in politics in 1965 were more likely to change their partisan preferences than less politically interested respondents from the parent sample. The empirical evidence does not seem to confirm this alternative explanation, however. Splitting the sample of parents in two halves, i.e. below and above the mean of parental politicisation (4.58), the polychoric correlation of PID between 1965 and 1973 is 0.77 for the first and 0.82 for the second group.

This finding also rules out the hypothesis that the results are driven by differing levels of parental stability. Jennings, Stoker and Bowers find that for some political attributes (although not in the case of party identification) parental attitudinal stability (measured by averaging absolute differences in parents' responses between 1965 and 1973 and between 1973 and 1982) is a better predictor of (contemporaneous) parent-child congruence than level of parental politicisation.⁹ If more politically interested parents hold less stable political views than less politically involved parents, the offspring of the first might fail to acquire firm partisan cues and hence deviate in the long run from family's partisan inheritance. Since the more politicised are not less stable in their political attitudes, it cannot be lack of attitudinal stability that drives the results.

C.2 Political socialisation versus sociodemographic concordance

Another potential explanation could be that children 'may resemble their parents via status inheritance and a shared social milieu, independently of transmission processes'.¹⁰ One of the pathways through which family might matter is by reflecting common socioeconomic conditions, which lead to the same partisan preferences.¹¹ According to this argument, once sociopositional similarities between parents and children are taken into account the effect of parental politicisation is reduced. Jennings, Stoker and Bowers find little evidence for this argument when it comes to

⁹ Jennings, Stoker and Bowers 2009, 789.

¹⁰ Jennings, Stoker and Bowers 2009, 790.

¹¹ Bengston et al. 2002.

party identification.¹² Even when various parental sociodemographic factors are taken into account, parental partisanship seems the best predictor of child (contemporaneous) PID.

The important question for present purposes is whether parental politicisation remains an important predictor of offspring partisan deviations from parental views once family sociodemographic characteristics are taken into account. Three such characteristics are included in the analysis: family income, parental level of education and the anticipated Duncan Decile Score, which classifies parents in terms of their occupational status.¹³ The results indicate that although parental education exerts a very similar effect to parental politicisation, the effect of the latter on change in parent-child partisan similarity remains intact in the presence of the parental sociodemographic measures. Moreover, among all these variables it is only parental politicisation and parental education (but to a lesser extent) that cause significant variation in the effect of college attendance and attitudes towards the Vietnam War on youth's partisanship in 1973 (results available upon request).

¹² Jennings, Stoker and Bowers 2009, 791.

¹³ Parental education is measured by a dummy denoting whether any of the parents have completed their university studies. Family income is a 10-category indicator of the family anticipated income for that year. The indicator of occupational status use a 10-category Duncan decile code.

References

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Table A: Testing the transitivity of the PID scale among parents and children in 1965 and 1973

	PID-73	PID-65	Parental PID 65	Spouse's PID 65
	Mean Rep- Dem thermometer score	Percentage of voters (would-be voters) of Lindon Johnson in 1964		
Fairly Strong Democrat	-28.37	0.956	0.936	0.879
Not very strong Democrat	-11.93	0.902	0.818	0.772
Democrat Leaner	-7.86	0.87	0.778	0.739
Independent	-0.462	0.745	0.577	0.554
Republican Leaner	5.23	0.435	0.295	0.483
Not very strong Republican	9.5	0.432	0.342	0.455
Fairly Strong Republican	17.77	0.16	0.098	0.207

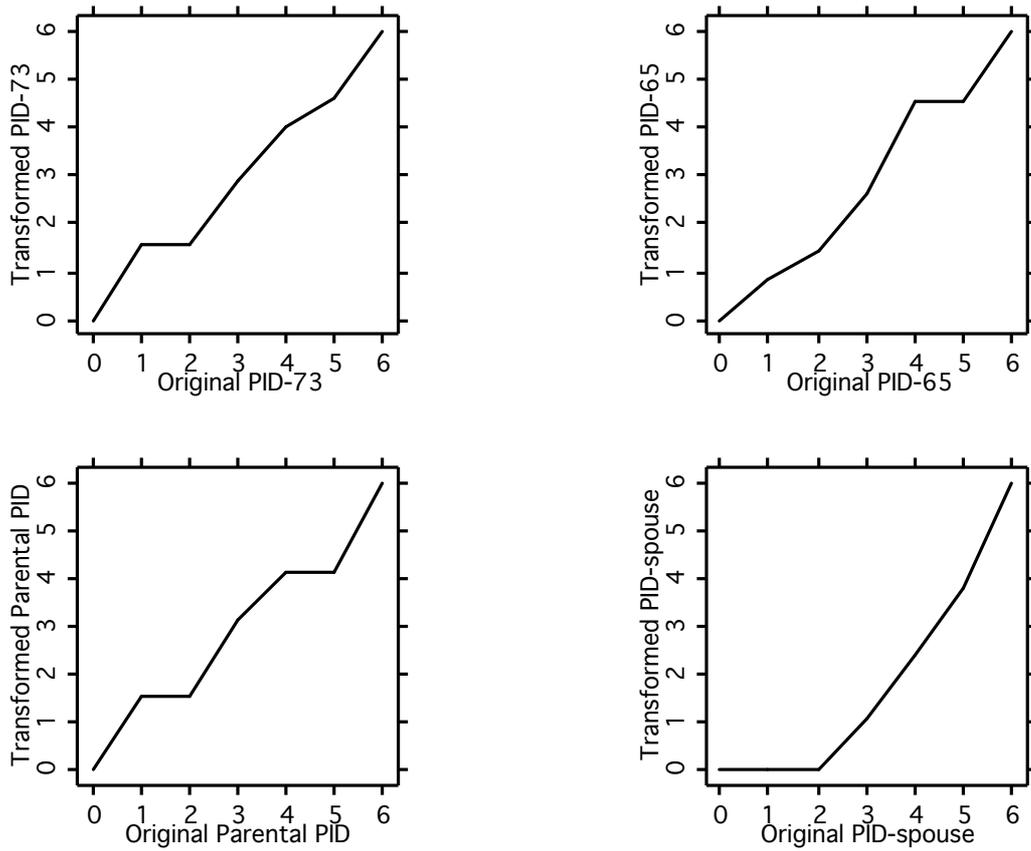


Figure A: The relationship between the transformed and the original 0-6 PID scale.

Note: The quantification is based on Kruskal's monotone transformation through the ALSOS formula.