

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 049 110

SO 000 895

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TITLE The Acceptance of Universalism: The effect of School Attendance.  
PUB DATE Feb 71  
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Convention, American Educational Research Association, New York, New York, February, 1971

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29  
DESCRIPTORS Childhood Attitudes, Elementary Grades, Group Membership, \*Group Norms, Group Unity, \*Parent Child Relationship, Parent Student Relationship, \*Peer Relationship, Research, \*Socialization, Social Psychology, Social Values, Socioeconomic Influences, Student Attitudes, \*Student School Relationship  
IDENTIFIERS \*Universalism

ABSTRACT

The research reported in this paper attempts to measure the contribution of schooling to the learning of the norm of universalism, the acceptance of which by any person implies his willingness to be treated, under certain conditions, as a member of a category rather than as a unique individual. Because the learning of universalism is seen as resulting from certain structural properties of schools, the sample used in this study was composed of 161 children in Grades 4 to 8 who were receiving their education through correspondence courses and who have had amounts of formal schooling ranging from zero to seven years. Data were secured through both questionnaires and interviews. The evidence suggests three general findings: 1) The contribution of schooling to the learning of universalism is small and may be assumed by other agencies of socialization; 2) The pattern of learning this norm varies between the sexes, and among preadolescent and adolescent age groups; 3) Children's perceptions of the universalistic action of a general category of authority figures, including parents, is strongly suggested as the most consistent, positive, and strong variable. (Author)

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THE ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSALISM: THE EFFECT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE <sup>1</sup>

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And although other agencies of socialization undoubtedly contribute to the learning of norms, the school, more than others at the same stages of the life cycle, probably makes a greater impact than they do on learning the norm of . . . universalism (Dreeben, 1968, p.144).

Substantial support may be found in educational literature to support the hypothesis that schools, as agents of socialization, not only transmit to their students in a formal way a body of knowledge, but also, in a less obvious manner, inculcate certain norms or values within those students. Whereas the learning of content is usually a result of a formal lesson, the learning of norms has been seen to result from certain structural properties which are a part of the teaching act.<sup>2</sup> Specific to this paper is the hypothesis that acceptance of the norm of universalism is an outcome of the specific educational environment of the elementary school. The importance of this acceptance

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Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, ~~NEW YORK CITY~~, February, 1971.  
*NEW YORK CITY*

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Much of the analysis in this paper is derived from that of Dreeben and of Haller and Thorson. See Robert Dreeben, On What is Learned in Schools (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968), and Emil Haller and Sandra Thorson, "The Political Socialization of Children and the Structure of the Elementary School", a paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, February, 1968.

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lies in the observation that a substantial part of the population must act by this norm in order to ensure the effective operation of our modern occupational and political systems.

The purpose of this paper is to report a research study designed to study the importance of schooling with regard to children's acceptance of universalistic norms. The discussion will deal with three aspects of the study. First, the theoretical background of the study will be explored. Secondly, interview and questionnaire data of the study will be examined and, finally, certain broad implications of the findings will be suggested.

Briefly, the argument of this paper will be as follows. Schools are considered to be social structures and children, through participating in the tasks and constraints peculiar to those structures, are seen to learn certain attitudes, among which is the norm of universalism. It should be possible, therefore, to assess the importance of formal schooling, insofar as learning universalistic norms is concerned, by measuring the strength of the acceptance of this norm in children who have had varying amounts of schooling. The implications of the findings bear special relevance to a society where various forms of school non-school are being currently advocated.

At this point, a few terms should be defined. Following Dreeben (1968), norms are defined as situationally specific standards for behaviour: they are principles, premises, or expectations indicating how individuals in specifiable circumstances ought to act. As defined by Rose (1962), structure is the term used to refer to a cluster of related meanings and values that govern a given social setting, including the relationship of all the individual roles that are expected parts of it. Finally, for the purpose of this paper, universalism is defined as a norm, the learning of which by an individual implies his acceptance of being treated, under certain conditions, as a member of a category.

An attribute is defined as a universalistic standard if persons, regardless of their own characteristics, direct a disproportionate number of their positive (or negative) evaluations to others with a certain characteristic. An attribute is defined as a particularistic standard if persons tend to direct their positive (or, in special cases, negative) evaluations to others whose characteristics are like their own (Blau, 1962).

To say that children learn the norm of universalism means that they come to accept being treated by others as members of categories, in addition to being treated as special cases, as in the family (Dreeben, 1968).

Among the agencies of socialization exerting powerful influences upon the child are the family and the school. The influence of other agents such as the peer group and the mass media of communication is also recognized. However, inasmuch as this study is primarily concerned with the socializing influences of home and school, those forces become a prime concern.

It is generally agreed that the family plays an extremely important role in the socialization of the child. Elkin (1960) noted that the family is the "first socializing agency of which the child is aware and, as a primary group its close, intense, and enduring emotional attachments are crucial as the prototype of subsequent ties." Hess and Torney (1967) state three specific ways by which they feel the family influences the child's perceptions and attitudes. They are: (1) by transmitting to the child attitudes which it personally feels valuable for him to hold, (2) by presenting examples for him to emulate, and (3) by providing experiences in family relationships which are later generalized to other situations.

Of paramount concern to this research is a discussion of the norms and behaviours characteristic of family life as they pertain to the experiences in which learning takes place. Three points may be noted. First, as suggested by Goode (1963), family members help each other because they are kin and are bound by ties of affection. Secondly, children in the family are most commonly of varying ages and on that basis alone are accorded different treatments (Dreeben, 1968). Finally,

children's pre-school experience in the family is weighted heavily on the side of special treatment and parental consideration of the whole child . . . "Where questions of responsibility, accountability, privilege, and the like are involved, the differences between children must be taken seriously" (Dreeben, 1968). A consideration of the foregoing three points prompts Dreeben to conclude that because parents treat their children in terms of the full range of each child's personal characteristics, the family setting is conducive to the particularistic rather than the universalistic treatment of each child, leaving children little opportunity to learn the norm of universalism.

A brief examination of the way that children in public schools appear to learn the norm of universalism would seem to be in order. Dreeben equates categorization with universalism and sees the public school as establishing well marked membership categories through three processes, all of which take place in a public context. These are: (1) the assignment to pupils of similar tasks, (2) the formation of classes on the basis of age which makes categorization of tasks possible, and (3) the system of yearly promotions which helps pupils realize that with each grade is associated a different set of circumstances such as a new curriculum and teacher. Dreeben also argues that, within the family, the unique personal characteristics of each child, and especially his age and sex, single him out for particularistic treatment while within classrooms where there is less age variation teachers, consciously or unconsciously, let pupils know that they are "all in the same boat."

The point that writers such as Haller and Thorson, or Dreeben, seem to make is that most home situations are governed by particularistic norms, so children, through participating in those situations, derive particularistic principles of conduct from them. The school, on the other hand by providing experiences in universalistic situations, is seen as probably making a greater impact than any other institution on children's acceptance of universalistic norms and, also, upon their perception of non-family authority figures, personified by teachers, as

acting universalistically.

In order to determine how schooling affects the extent to which children both accept universalistic norms and perceive non-family authority figures as being governed by them, it was first necessary, in this research to locate a sample of children who had had varying amounts of formal schooling but were of similar ages. Secondly it was necessary to develop a measuring instrument. The sample finally selected was composed of 161 boys and girls presently enrolled in Grades four to eight of the Correspondence Division of the British Columbia Department of Education. The criterion for their selection was that they must be taking correspondence courses only because distance or the terrain prevented them from attending schools. The time actually spent in schools by these children ranged from zero to eight years. Two methods were used to determine the extent to which these pupils had accepted universalistic norms. To begin with, a two section questionnaire was developed to both measure the pupils' attitudes and to collect background information on each respondent. Secondly, using a sturdy truck with four wheel drive, the researcher was able to personally visit and interview about fifteen per cent of the sample. Both the questionnaire and the interviews endeavoured to assess the importance of not only the length of and recency of school attendance in learning universalistic norms, but of other variables which have been suggested in the literature as being necessarily worthy of consideration in any study of attitude formation. Maccoby (1965) has suggested that the list of these other variables might be endless, but for this study the following were considered: (1) frequency of peer contacts (2) frequency of attendance at voluntary associations, (3) number of siblings, (4) perception of the fairness of parents, (5) use of the mass media (6) educational environment of the home and (7) perceptions of the universalistic actions of non-family authority figures.

Path analysis was selected as an appropriate statistical treat-

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ment of the data and, in the models which were developed children's perceptions of the universalistic actions of non-family authority figures was treated both as a dependent variable and as an intervening variable through which the other variables exercised indirect effects upon the children's own acceptance of universalism. The importance of age and sex in the socialization process was also recognized in that four causal models were created, one for preadolescent girls and one for preadolescent boys, another for adolescent girls and still another for adolescent boys. Figure I illustrates the General Model.

Although several variables were included and examined during the course of the study, the data was collected primarily to shed some light on three problem areas. These are as follows:

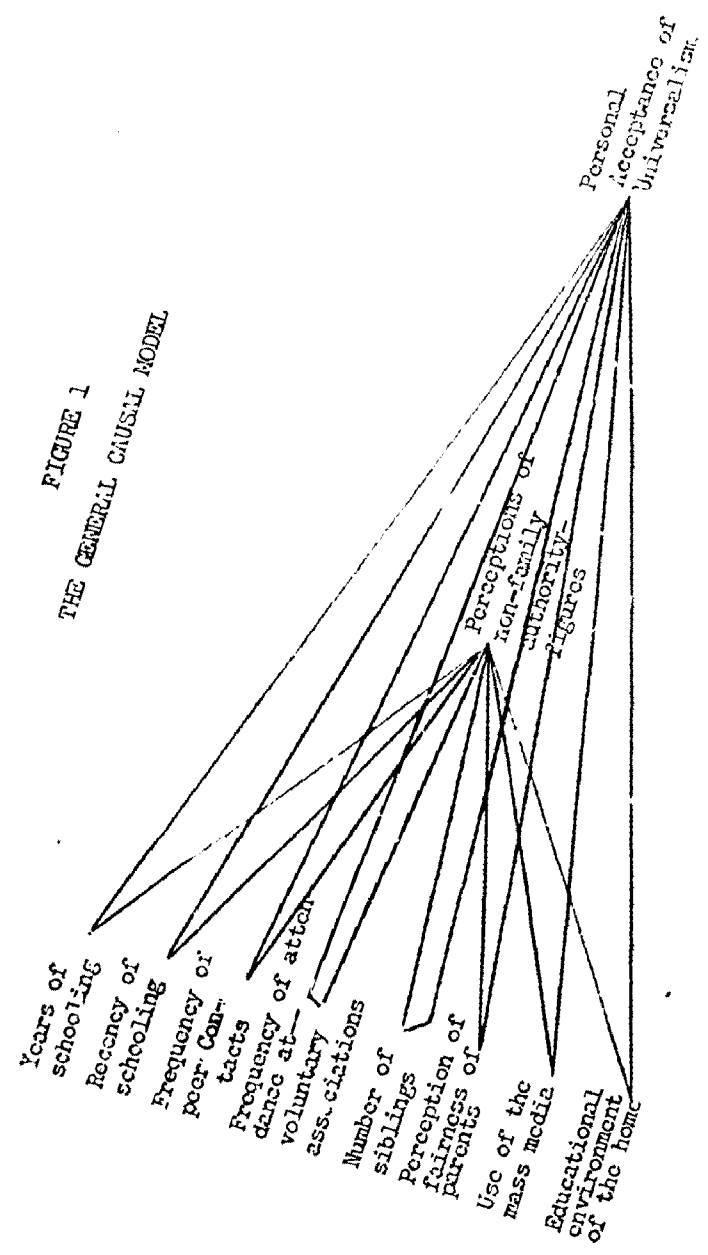
1. Are recency and amount of school attendance the most important variables affecting the extent to which children perceive non-family authority figures as acting universalistically?
2. Are recency and amount of school attendance the most important variables affecting the extent to which children accept the norm of universalism?
3. Does the extent to which children perceive non-family authority figures as acting universalistically interpret the extent to which they accept the norm of universalism?

#### Analysis and Discussion

Both the interview and questionnaire data showed that most of the children of the sample, including those who had never attended schools, were strongly universalistic in their attitudes. Because the implication seems to be that factors other than schooling can be responsible for children's internalization of universalistic norms, it may be relevant, at this point, to introduce some information about the family life of the children surveyed by this study. For not only is



FIGURE 1  
THE GENERAL CAUSAL MODEL



this information valuable in its own right, but it also provides a useful background for the statistical analysis which follows later.

Isolated Families. -- With the exception of one family who earned its livelihood by providing guide services to hunters and fishermen, most of the families interviewed for this study might be classified as modern-day pioneers and, like their counterparts of old, were wrestling a living from the wilderness. Clearing the land was a major task which occupied at least part of the energy and time of every physically capable member of the family. Even in the one well-to-do family where a private income ensured a high standard of living, the wife and three children, aged nine and upwards, regularly spent time on the land picking up the sticks and stones left behind after the bulldozer had completed the major job of clearing from the fields, the trees and boulders which prevented their cultivation. At the same time, however, it was noted that the boys invariably spent more time working out of doors while girls were expected to assist with inside chores.

A second characteristic noted among these families was that they could not completely wrest their living from the land. Invariably, their income had to be supplemented in other ways. In most cases, for the father, this took the form of a week-day job away from home, often in town which, in turn, meant that the daily chores and other necessary jobs had to be undertaken by the wife and children who were left at home. Each of these persons had one or more definite tasks to do. Nor was the assignment of jobs a feature only of the most isolated families. It was also a characteristic of practically every family returning a questionnaire, regardless of the family's proximity to town or of the age of the respondents, remembering, in this case, that the youngest respondent was eight years old.

The fact that these isolated children were members of work oriented families and had particular jobs to do assumes special relevance in this study, for although there were some age-adapted tasks in each family, there were also certain broad sanctions applied to ensure that all children,

irrespective of age, conformed to the basic rules regulating the actions of every member of the family. Thus, each boy and girl had daily chores to do. Eighty-six percent of those returning questionnaires indicated that they were aware of universalistic rules, usually made in the interests of safety, which governed the behaviour of all children in the family. A further observation would be that most children saw the assignment even of age-adapted tasks as being quite fair. Only eleven per cent of the children stated that they thought that the assignment of these tasks was unfair. It would seem, then, that in the large majority of these isolated families, "children have the opportunity to view each other and themselves as sharing common experiences and as being in the same boat despite the obvious personal differences among them." The quotation, Dreeben's (1968, p.22), is used by him during his discussion of classroom experiences as evidence of situations in which students learn the norm of universalism by participating in experiences regulated by that norm. The present research indicates that, in the isolated families studied, individual differences among children do not seem to preclude them from sharing common experiences to the same extent as they might in urban families, where the necessity of every member of the family to help with a heavy work load seems relatively uncommon.

That one parent usually worked in town also seems to be important to this study, for it means that the family, although isolated, still maintained some contact with the technological society of the town. The working parent often was employed in a type of factory using wood as its raw material since lumbering is a prime industry of the interior of B.C. Children of such parents were asked by the interviewer if their father felt that he got a fair deal in the factory and also if he ever expressed the opinion that any of his fellow workers was granted special privileges. To put this another way, the attempt was made to discover if the parents ever brought home tales of particularistic treatment from their employers.

Particularistic responses were conspicuous only by their absence.

The very fact that all the families surveyed for this study had, in common, children who took lessons by correspondence meant that they lived some distance from a village or town. Typical occupations of the fathers were ranching, fishing, lumbering and lighthouse keeping, or a combination of these jobs. Ranching was by far the most common occupation and, as noted earlier, persons engaged in this type of work might be thought of somewhat as pioneers whose primary task was clearing the land. As has already been mentioned, this task occupied much of the lives of most of the persons in the household. It was extremely difficult to assign these families to any spot on a scale of socio-economic status, if, indeed, SES is a relevant concept to apply to families so remote from urban society and from each other. A further observation was that a rancher might have many thousands of dollars worth of land yet have little cash on hand. Or he might own several pieces of very expensive machinery, but his family would eat from a variety of plastic and chipped china plates. One family owning two tractors still used a catalogue for toilet paper, while another family with over a hundred thousand dollars worth of property still had not managed to assign a high priority to the task of glazing the windows in their home.

Again, the word 'rancher' used by many questionnaire respondents was found, during the interview sessions, to have various meanings. In one instance, it described the father of a family living thirty miles out of Quesnel, B.C. whose log house was bare and unfinished, and where the fall hunt of moose and deer was absolutely essential to the maintenance of a winter food supply for the family. In another instance, the same word was used by children to describe the father of a family who lived in a large, modern home, albeit one of the most isolated of the sample, where dual furnaces, a diesel powered electric plant and all manner of heavy duty equipment assisted in the laborious task of getting a ranch established in a virgin mountain valley.

Data from the questionnaires and from all but two of the interviews revealed the rather interesting fact that a large majority of these isolated families were first generation pioneers on their present homesites as opposed to being second generation families reared on them. Represented among the ranchers were Canadians from the western provinces and also a number of Americans. Approximately one quarter of the families interviewed were from the United States. Although one of these families reported coming to Canada to escape the 'rat race' of city life, and another to keep the family together, others, in common with the Canadian pioneers came to take advantage of what they saw as a golden opportunity.

The boys and girls responding solely to the questionnaires, as opposed to those who were interviewed as well, were not asked why their parents had settled where they had, but several safe assumptions might be made. First, many of the ranchers must be first generation pioneers, by virtue of the fact that the regions in which they settled have not been readily accessible until the last twenty years. Secondly, many of the lumbermen belong to a type of employment which is not known for the stability of its location. Also, falling into a transient-type category are radio operators and lighthouse keepers whose term of isolated employment is usually only to two to four years' duration in any one spot.

The parents, then, of practically every isolated child, at some time or other, had received a certain amount of formal education in schools, and, in the school setting, if we may accept the arguments proposed by Dreeben and by Haller and Thorson, they should have learned universalistic norms and, as well, have learned to expect non-family authority figures to behave universalistically. Also, these families, even in isolation, still maintain contact with society, so might be expected, with varying degree of intensity, to act according to the universalistic norms they had learned in their own childhood. And, since this research seems to indicate that children at as low a level as that of Grade IV accept universalistic norms, even though they have never attended school, the

role of the family in transmitting those norms, assumes new importance.

Statistical Analysis. -- The major technique employed in this study is that of Path Analysis which, in turn, lends itself to the development of linear causal models. As Land (1969) states

... the essential idea of the causal model involves the construction of an oversimplified model of reality in the sense that the model considers only a limited number of variables and relations out of the universe of social reality. Using the results of past research and current theory, the causal model is written as a set of structural equations that represent the causal processes assumed to operate among the variables under consideration. The structural equations, in turn, lead to parameter estimation procedures and evaluation of the model. The outcome of the empirical evaluation process is either the corroboration or reformulation of the causal model. Finally, the inadequacies of the model should precipitate a reconstruction of the substantive theory that generated the causal model at the outset.

It is not within the scope of this paper to provide a detailed explanation of the many steps involved in causal modelling. Suggested sources of further information are Duncan (1966), Land (1969) and Heise (1969).

The four models generated for this study are to be found in Figures II, III, IV, and V. Each path is labelled with a path coefficient which following Land (1969)

... measures the fraction of the standard deviation of the endogenous variable ... for which the designated variable is directly responsible in the sense of the fraction which would be found if this factor varies to the same extent as in the observed data while all other variables (including residual variables) are constant.

The one basic assumption which distinguishes path models from other models of simple statistical estimation is that regarding their recursive nature.

An examination of the four causal models immediately reveals the relative importance of the residuals (Ra and Rb). In every instance

FIGURE 2  
MODEL FOR YOUNGER BOYS

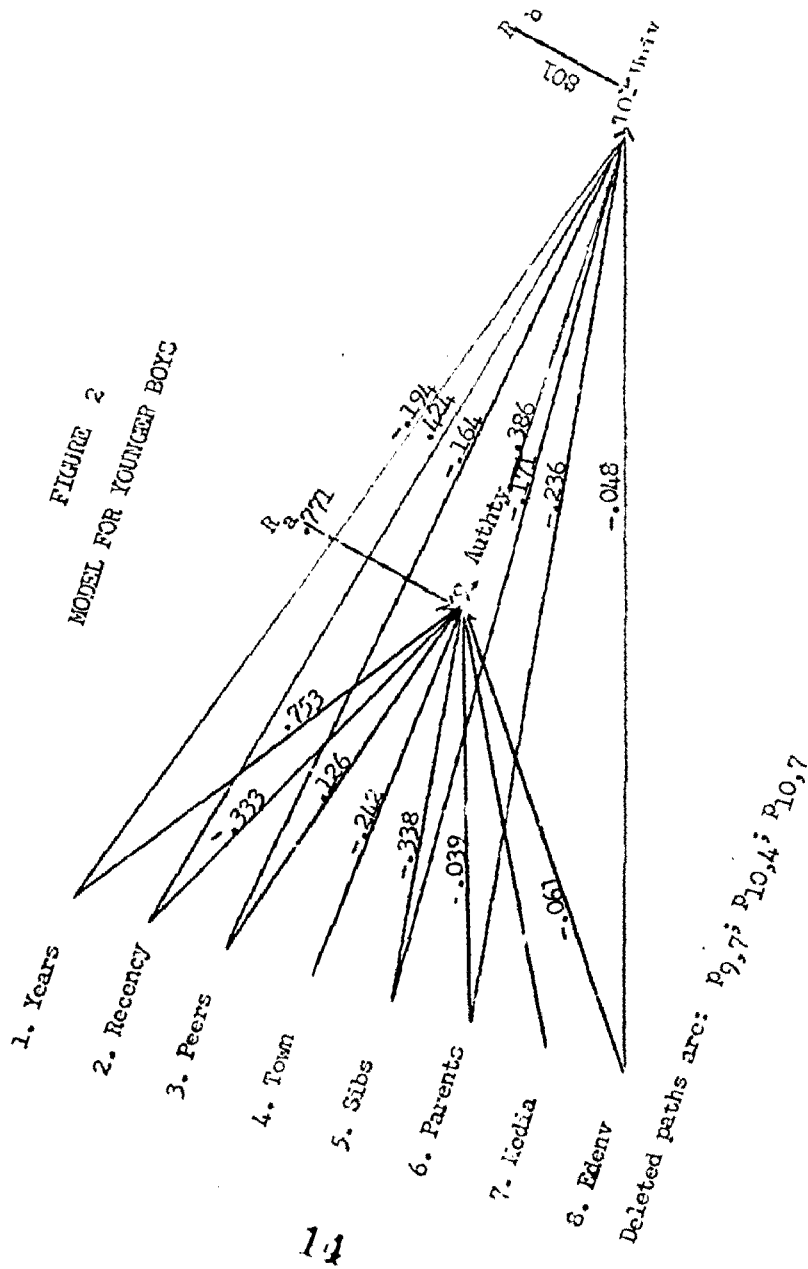
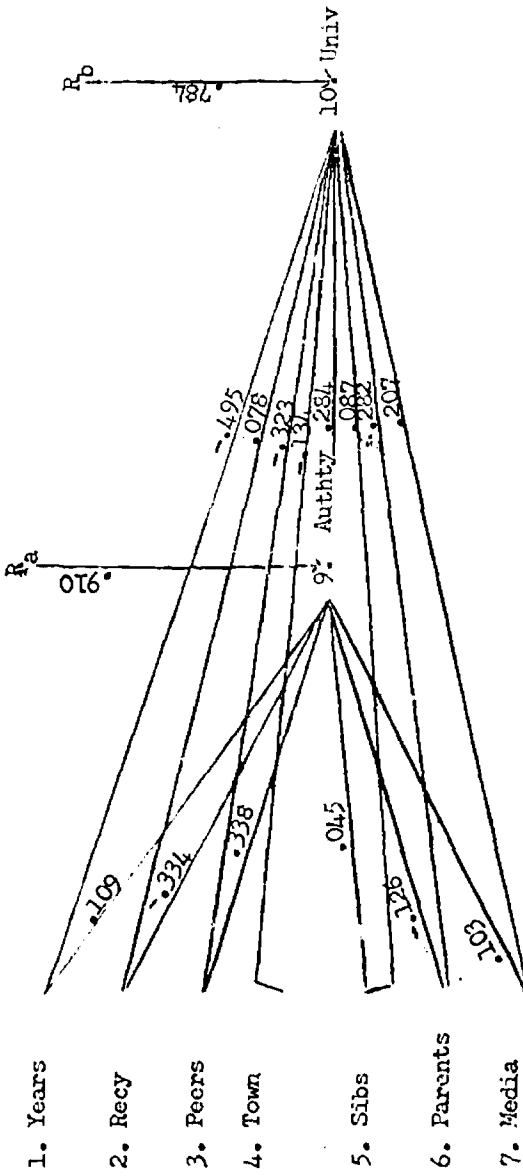


FIGURE 3  
MODEL FOR OLDER BOYS



Deleted paths are:  $\gamma_{9,1}, \gamma_{9,8}, \gamma_{10,8}$



FIGURE 4  
MODEL FOR YOUNGER GIRLS

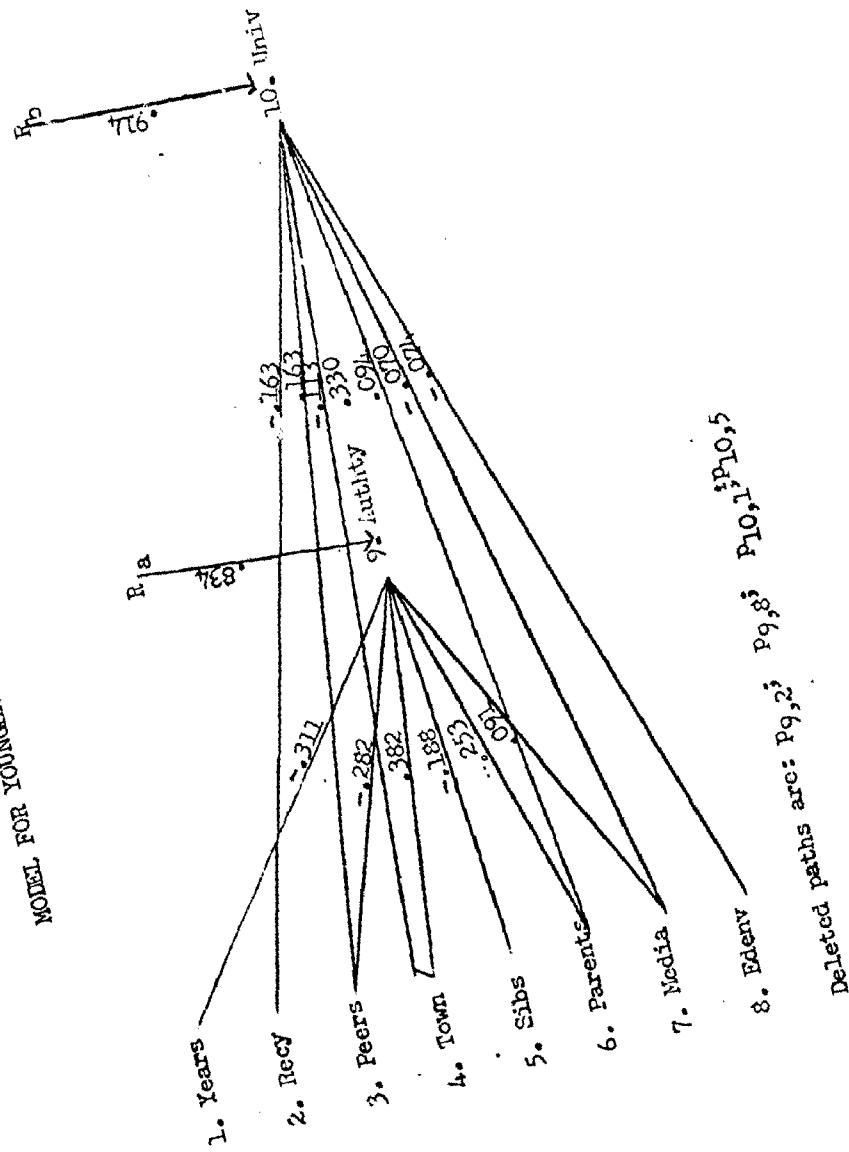
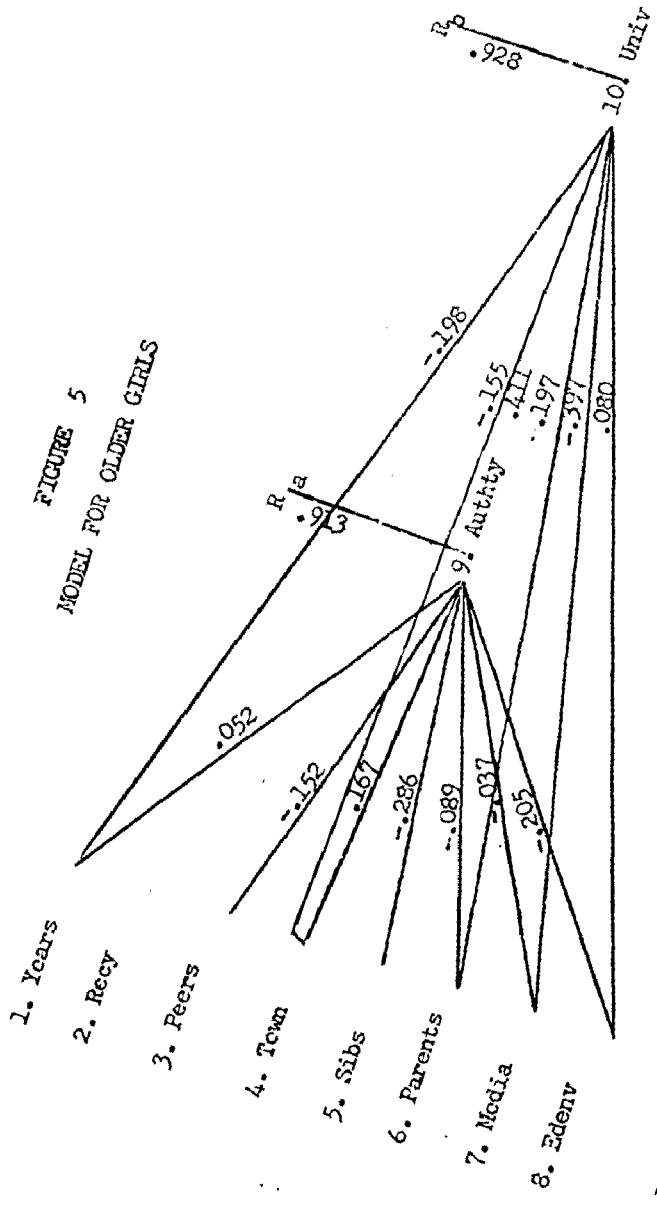


FIGURE 5  
MODEL FOR OLDER GIRLS



Deleted paths are: P<sub>9,2</sub>, P<sub>10,2</sub>, P<sub>10,3</sub>, P<sub>10,5</sub>



they are both extremely large and the most important of all the variables considered. As the other variables include both length of and recency of schooling, it would appear that factors other than these may be equally or even more important in accounting for variations in the degree to which children both perceive non-family authority figures as acting universalistically, and in their own acceptance of the norm of universalism. This is not to imply that the models used in this study are wrong. The implications are two in number: first, the number of variables which might be included in this study, is practically infinite, a point made earlier in this paper, and secondly, that the contribution of any one variable is relatively small. The relative importance, or lack of importance, of the schooling variables follows from the second implication.

It has already been suggested that most children seemingly had internalized universalistic norms to a high degree and, furthermore, saw non-family authority figures as behaving universalistically. The following table of simplified data shows means and standard deviations of the attitude scores, and confirms the suggestion made above.

TABLE I  
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF AUTHORITY AND UNIVERSALISM  
VARIABLES BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS

VARIABLE	BOYS				GIRLS			
	Younger x	N=36 o	Older x	N=32 o	Younger x	N=55 o	Older x	N=32 o
Perceptions of Authority (Possible Score =65)	53.75	9.11	47.30	12.02	54.02	8.87	46.31	12.24
Acceptance of Universalism (Possible Score = 60)	54.58	6.62	52.79	7.65	55.49	5.07	54.06	5.70

The four causal models, therefore, can be and are attempts to explain only a small amount of variance. Furthermore, a serious limitation arises from the nature of the variables selected for use in this study. Although four models based upon age-sex groupings have been used in the analysis, in recognition of the differences in values and outlook between girls and boys and between the pre-adolescent and the adolescent, the age factor permeates almost every other variable considered. For example, a child's age is inescapably bound up with his years in school. In turn, years of schooling correlates highly with recency of schooling (about .7). This high degree of correlation, although unavoidable in this study, gives rise to certain statistical problems.

Path Coefficients on the four models are actually beta weights derived from a standard multiple regression programme. However, when the independent variables become closely correlated, the probability increases that the beta weights are unstable (Gordon, 1968).<sup>3</sup> This problem is usually referred to as one of the "Multicollinearity." It assumes special importance in this study for a glance at the correlation matrices in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 shows several instances of high correlations between independent variables.<sup>3</sup>

It must be recognized, then, that an examination is being made of data that may represent statistical artifacts rather than a true picture. Because, however, the statistical analysis, though possibly weak, is based upon a stronger theoretical background, that analysis should provide a basis for discussion, for further research, and for further theory building. It also finds support in the interview data already discussed in this paper.

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<sup>3</sup> Gordon's article is a useful reference for persons wishing further information about multicollinearity.

TABLE 2

## YOUNGER BOYS

CORRELATION MATRIX SHOWING DEVIATIONS  
WHEN MATRIX IS RECONSTITUTED

	Years	Recy	Peers	Town	Sibs	Parents	Media	Edenv	Authy	Univ
Years	1.000									
Recy	.818	1.000								
Peers	.287	.394	1.000							
Town	.150	.118	.426	1.000						
Sibs	-.030	-.118	-.127	.039	1.000					
Parents	-.221	-.178	-.017	.034	-.016	1.000				
Media	-.018	-.140	.178	-.065	.247	.024	1.000			
Edenv	-.068	-.122	.123	-.167	-.169	.042	.065	1.000		
Authy	.486	.344	.142	-.116	-.337	-.076	-.008	.044	1.000	
DEVIATION	.030	.040	.001	.004	.002	.017	.008	.003		
Univ	.249	.318	.014	-.134	-.321	.178	-.138	-.051	.452	1.000
DEVIATION	.011	.001	.000	.036	.000	.002	.020	.001	.000	

TABLE 3

OLDER BOYS

CORRELATION MATRIX SHOWING DEVIATIONS  
WHEN MATRIX IS RECONSTITUTED

	Years	Recy	Peers	Town	Sibs	Parents	Media	Edenv	Authy	Univ
Years	1.000									
Recy	.718	1.000								
Peers	.042	.282	1.000							
Town	-.047	-.105	.254	1.000						
Sibs	.174	.154	.143	.110	1.000					
Parents	.074	-.004	.097	.029	-.132	1.000				
Media	.128	.029	-.284	-.315	.242	-.035	1.000			
Edenv	.296	.183	.086	.014	.052	-.072	-.229	1.000		
Authy DEVIATION	.036 .001	-.152 .000	.276 .000	.061 .023	.068 .001	.160 .013	.018 .008	.003 .027	1.000	
Univ DEVIATION	-.227 .009	-.196 .001	.173 .010	-.071 .008	.081 .001	.293 .001	.112 .007	-.121 .046	.390 .009	1.000

TABL 3 4

YOUNGER GIRLS

CORRELATION MATRIX SHOWING DEVIATIONS  
WHEN MATRIX IS RECONSTITUTED

	Years	Recy	Peers	Town	Sibs	Parents	Media	Edenv	Authty	Univ
Years	1.000									
Recy	.758	1.000								
Peers	.030	.182	1.000							
Town	-.215	.241	.004	1.000						
Sibs	.271	.186	.013	.003	1.000					
Parents	.302	.344	.207	-.067	-.072	1.000				
Media	-.162	-.372	-.003	-.303	-.009	-.059	1.000			
Edenv	.238	.088	-.102	-.035	.215	.035	-.037	1.000		
Authty DEVIATION	-.210	-.172	-.216	.269	-.286	.084	.013	-.120	1.000	
	.000	.005	.003	.003	.002	.001	.000	.026		
Univ DEVIATION	.054	.160	.148	.033	-.105	.220	-.095	-.106	.253	1.000
	.004	.001	.001	.002	.018	.001	.018	.001	.001	



TABLE 5  
OLDER GIRLS

CORRELATION MATRIX SHOWING DEVIATIONS  
WHEN MATRIX IS RECONSTITUTED

	Years	Recy	Peers	Town	Sibs	Parents	Media	Edenv	Authy	Univ
Years	1.000									
Recy	.734	1.000								
Peers	.202	.165	1.000							
Town	-.156	-.114	.119	1.000						
Sibs	.331	.168	-.231	-.048	1.000					
Parents	.108	.193	.138	.092	-.058	1.000				
Media	-.186	-.344	.066	-.155	.172	.152	1.000			
Edenv	-.079	-.041	-.159	-.231	.026	.010	.104	1.000		
Authy DEVIATION	-.067	-.011	-.014	.260	-.260	.070	-.140	-.234	1.000	
	.000	.020	.002	.000	.002	.000	.062	.011		
Univ DEVIATION	-.113	-.018	-.078	-.017	-.262	.160	-.356	-.004	.444	1.000
	.000	.026	.002	.028	.012	.001	.028	.003	.028	



For the purposes of discussion, the path coefficients on each model are used as indicators of the direct effects of the exogenous variables upon the endogenous variables. Indirect effects of an exogenous variable A on variable C working through another variable B are calculated using the formula  $P_{AB}, P_{CB}$ , while the total indirect effect (TIE) of any variable ( $Z_1$ ) on a dependent variable ( $Z_3$ ) is calculated by using the formula  $r_{31} - p_{31}$ . Residual path coefficients are estimated by using the formula  $P_{3a} = \sqrt{1 - R^2}$ .

An examination of the four models shows that when perceptions of authority figures is the endogenous variable to be considered, only for younger boys does years of schooling exercise the strongest direct effect. When children's own acceptance of universalism is considered, years of schooling exercises the strongest direct effect only in the model for older boys and, at that, the effect is negative.

Recency of schooling exercises the strongest direct effect only in the acceptance of universalism by younger boys. Three recency paths have been deleted from the models without any apparent loss of valuable information.

It would appear, therefore, that neither years of schooling or recency of schooling can be said, across all models, to be the most important variables affecting children's perceptions of the universalistic actions of non-family authority figures. Indeed, the effects of recency are negative. For preadolescent boys, years of schooling does seem to exercise a strong direct effect but it is displaced from a position of greater importance in the model for older boys, by the peer group; in the model for older girls by the number of siblings in the home (a negative influence) and in the model for younger girls by membership in voluntary associations.

Why should years of schooling be such an important variable only in the younger boys' model? Boys, traditionally, have been more

subject to authoritative treatment at home and at school, than have girls. Especially for younger boys, the authoritarian structure of the home both supports and finds support from a similar structure at home. The importance of feminine power in both settings should also be considered. For the adolescent boy, traditionally rebelling against authority increased years of schooling seem to weaken his perception of the universalistic action of teachers and, likely of other authority figures. Furthermore, it is possible that children's perceptions of the universalistic actions of teachers may have had their genesis in perceived universalistic treatment at home. Instances of this already have been suggested.

When an examination is made of the effect of years and recency of schooling upon children's personal acceptance of universalistic norms, measures of direct effects and of the indirect effects of both variables through perceptions of authority figures may be calculated as well as an estimation of total indirect effects. These are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 6  
EFFECTS OF SCHOOL VARIABLES UPON CHILDREN'S ACCEPTANCE  
OF UNIVERSALISM

GROUP	VARIABLE	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRECT EFFECT THROUGH "AUTHORITY"	TOTAL INDIRECT EFFECTS
Younger Boys	Years	-.194	.292	.432
	Recency	.424	.129	.107
Older Boys	Years	-.495	.031	.259
	Recency	.078	-.095	.273
Younger Girls	Years	Path deleted	-.103	--
	Recency	.163	Path deleted	.002
Older Girls	Years	-.198	.021	.085
	Recency	Path deleted	Path deleted	.111

It will be seen that for older boys, years of schooling seems to exercise the strongest, albeit negative, effect but this is partially offset by a minor, positive, indirect effect working through authority, and a substantial positive Total Indirect Effect. For younger boys, the negative direct effect is much weaker than the indirect effect through authority and substantially less than the Total Indirect Effect.

Only for younger boys does recency of schooling become a relatively most important variable, exerting direct effects which are strong and positive and indirect effects, through authority, which are also positive. For younger girls, the direct effects, relative to those of the other variables, are fairly strong and positive. For older boys, there are only small positive direct effects, small negative indirect effects through authority, but fairly strong positive total indirect effects.

The picture which emerges from this data shows that recency of school attendance, has a strong negative impact on boys' perceptions of authority figures. One reason for this may be found in the questionnaire returns which indicated that boys tended to view teacher-authority figures as behaving particularistically more often than any other non-family authority figure. On the other hand, recency of school attendance did not seem to exert a positive influence on children's own acceptance of universalism, ranking as the most important variable on the younger boys' model. It was of less importance, or deleted from the other models. There would seem to be some indication here of school relationships, other than those between teachers and pupils, which contribute towards the learning of this norm.

Summarizing thus far, it could be noted that there seems to be little justification for saying that either length or recency of school attendance plays a major role in determining children's perceptions of the universalistic action of non-family authority figures or their acceptance of the norm of universalism.

The third task of this study was to determine if children's perceptions mediated their own acceptance of universalism. A glance at the four models shows that in every instance, children's perceptions of non-family authority figures exercise a strong positive influence upon their own acceptance of universalism. In the girls' models perception is actually the strongest influence. It may be recalled, by examining Table 6, that many indirect effects of the various independent variables are calculable through the "Perceptions" variable, evidence in itself of the mediating effect of this variable.

However, the possibility should be considered that children's acceptance of the norm of universalism is interpreted, not only by the extent to which they perceive non-family authority figures behaving universalistically but also by the extent to which they perceive universalistic principles of conduct applying to family situations, or worded somewhat differently, by the extent to which they perceive universalistic principles being applied by their parents. The discussion is as follows:-

Dreeben (1968) presents very convincing arguments to support his theory that the structure of schools is such that pupils learn to accept universalism. Haller and Thorson (1968) carry his arguments one step further and, where Dreeben sees teachers necessarily using universalistic criteria in the teaching act, Haller and Thorson also see teachers behaving particularistically in some situations in order to establish a degree of very personal teacher-pupil rapport which they feel is also necessary if an effective learning situation is to be created.

From a closer examination of the argument proposed by Haller and Thorson, a tentative conclusion important to this study may be suggested. First of all, a quotation from those authors' paper (1968, pp. 7-8) rather succinctly summarizes their position.

A ... second structural feature of the class is the authority relationship of the teacher and the class. In the classroom, relatively large groups of children are assembled under the supervision of one adult who is responsible for their cognitive development. As a result, there is a peculiar tension in the teaching role. On the one hand, in order to

control thirty children, teachers must remain somewhat distant from their charges, applying standards universalistically to all members of the class...On the other hand, teaching itself, that is, imparting information, may be best accomplished within a close particularistic relationship with students.

The authors infer that teachers' adherence to universalistic norms creates situations in which children, by participating, come to expect that non-family authority figures, here exemplified by teachers, will behave universalistically. The tentative conclusion drawn by this study is that if children, through the structural arrangements of schools which generate both particularistic and universalistic treatment by teachers, come to acquire a definite set of universalistic norms, then other activities in which children are treated both particularistically and universalistically may also contribute to the learning of universalistic norms.

The implication of this conclusion lies in the use of the word "contribute". It seems possible for children to learn some universalistic norms in situations flavoured with a degree of particularism. Certainly, this is the argument of Hallor and Thorson. In schools, particularistic situations are provided by teachers but many other aspects of the process of schooling, for example, promotion and marking procedures, are seen as being highly universalistic (Droebein, 1968; Hallor and Thorson, 1968). The fact remains, however, that most of a child's schooling takes place in a classroom where fleeting, intimate teacher-pupil relationships are continually being formed. And, if the child's perception of the universalistic action of non-family authority figures is drawn from his participation in teacher-pupil situations, then that teacher-pupil interaction must be of utmost importance.

The argument has swung the full circle. It has already been suggested that from the particularistic-universalistic teacher-pupil relationship the pupil learns certain universalistic norms. The further

inference has been made that other situations marked by the application of both particularistic and universalistic standards may be such that participation in them by children may contribute to their acceptance of universalistic norms. If this is so, there seems sufficient justification for believing that those children studied in the present research project, who have had limited experience at school have been able to learn universalistic norms within the context of the familial institution. It has already been noted that these children were aware of the universalistic principle which applied to every member of the household and, furthermore, usually saw even the assignment of age-adapted tasks as fair. An examination of the "Parents" path of the four models will show that in all paths of all models the effect of children's perceptions of fair treatment by parents contributes positively to both their perception of the universalistic action of non-family authority figures and, even more markedly, to their personal acceptance of the norm of universalism.

In the light of this evidence, it would seem more appropriate to conceive of children's acceptance of universalism as being positively influenced by their perceptions of a general category of authority figures which would include parents as well as other non-family authority figures.

This study has tended to play down the hypothesized role of the school in developing certain attitudes in Canadian children by suggesting that other institutions can help fulfil the same role. A few general implications appear to follow from this, especially with regard to learning universalistic norms. First, if the role that any one institution plays in attitude formation is small, then there would seem to be distinct advantages in close co-operation between institutions in order that certain attitudes might be reinforced in different settings. Secondly, this study suggests that the school in isolation will likely not exercise a great deal of influence upon the attitudes of children who come from an environment whose attitudes are dissimilar or even antagonistic to those held by most of the teaching staff of that school. Finally, it is

suggested that changes in school structure will effect only minimal changes in the universalistic attitudes of the students who come into contact with that structure.

The usual limitations applying to any type of survey research must also apply to this study. The further limitation caused by the problem of multicollinearity has also been stressed. However, interview data tend to supply sufficient supportative evidence to enable rejection of propositions claiming a major role for the school in teaching children both to perceive that non-family authority figures behave universalistically and personally to accept universalistic norms. Rather, it has been argued, keeping within the theoretical framework provided by the research which generated this study, that other institutions besides schools also provide situations within whose context universalistic norms may be learned.

It has been suggested that our modern, industrial, occupational system and our democratic political system will operate more effectively if the population contains a substantial number of persons who accept the norm of universalism and act according to it (Dreeben, 1968, p.146). The research here reported would suggest that, since persons may learn that norm both within and without the formal school situation, there should always be sufficient persons accepting universalistic principles to ensure the effective operation of the occupational and political spheres of our nation.

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