

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A DEVELOPMENTAL CONSIDERATION OF THE  
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF CANADIAN CHILDREN

by

LOUISE M. COSTELLO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

October, 1974

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## ABSTRACT

A total of 72 Caucasian, Canadian, middle-class subjects, equally divided among grades one, four, and seven, English-speaking and French-speaking, and Winnipeg and Montreal residents were questioned with regard to four major products of political socialization: the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality, knowledge of the political structure, political identity - both regional and national - and political community sentiments. The results indicated that the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality develop in the manner proposed by Piaget, that is, from a notion of hometown to an understanding of country, and from an understanding of the spatial relationship between geographic locales to an understanding of their logical relationship. Knowledge of the political structure and levels of national and regional identity increased with age. Political community sentiments were highly positive: Canada received high ratings on a semantic differential rating scale and compatriots were selected over nationals of other countries in friendship choices. The only major difference between English- and French-speaking subjects occurred on the affect toward compatriots scale where both groups tended to choose same-language more frequently than other language compatriots; the only major difference between Winnipeg and Montreal subjects was the tendency for Winnipeg subjects to rate Canada more positively than Montreal subjects on the semantic differential scale.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would have remained simply an idea if it had not been for the generous assistance and gracious cooperation of many people. My thanks are first due to Jeanine Dumaine Lynch for introducing me to the field of political socialization. Heartfelt thanks are also extended to the many people who helped me either in the translation of the interview schedule or in the coding of the responses.

I am indebted to the school superintendents and principals for their permission to conduct this research in their schools, and especially to the many teachers, whose classes I disrupted, for their patience and cooperation. And, of course, to the children I interviewed goes an extra special thank you and "merci".

I am at a loss to express sufficient gratitude to my committee for their time, guidance, advice, and criticism. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Norma Walker of Family Studies, Dr. Bruce Johnston of Statistics, Prof. Paul Thomas of Political Studies, and especially to Dr. Lois Brockman of Family Studies, committee chairman.

And finally, thank you to my parents and to my husband for all their help, but especially for their encouragement and moral support.

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## CHAPTER I

Interest in the political socialization of children is by no means a new phenomenon. In The Republic, Plato (c.375 B.C.) devoted much attention to education and childhood experience as the arena and means for instilling appropriate citizenship values. Aristotle (c.330 B.C.) likewise emphasized the political education of the young. At all points in history, all nations were, and to this day still are, confronted with the problem of insuring the loyalty and engagement of their new members. However, Hebert H. Hyman in his book Political socialization (1959) must be credited with providing impetus to the current interest in the problem.

This resurgence of interest has been accompanied by the forwarding of a multitude of definitions of political socialization. The three most widely accepted and concisely stated definitions are:

Political socialization refers to the way in which a society transmits political orientations - knowledge, attitudes, and values - from generation to generation (Easton and Dennis, 1970, p. 24).

Political socialization is the process, mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behaviour patterns (Langton, 1969, p. 5).

Political socialization refers to those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p. 7).

For the purpose of this study, the following synthesis of these three definitions was adopted: Political socialization is the process, mediated through various agencies of society and dependent upon normal developmental patterns, by which an individual acquires political orientations (knowledge, sentiments, and values) and behaviour patterns. Thus, the

study of political socialization is a three-faceted endeavour involving a consideration of processes, agents, and products.

Numerous processes have been posited to explain how people learn about politics. Among the major processes suggested as functioning in the acquisition of attitudes and knowledge in early childhood are observation, imitation, identification, and interpersonal transference. Political learning which takes place in middle childhood, adolescence, and adulthood is generally attributed to direct tuition and personal political experience. The agents for the transmission of the accepted political orientations and behaviour patterns of the society to each new generation are generally felt to be such institutions as the family, the educational system, the mass media of communication, and various clubs and organizations.

While the investigation of processes and agents are both important and noteworthy endeavours, this research was restricted to a consideration of the products or outcomes of early political socialization. What does the child learn? How does he perceive his political world? Certainly these questions have been asked before. Such investigators as David Easton, Jack Dennis, Robert Hess, Fred Greenstein, and Edward Greenberg have made tremendous contributions to knowledge in this field. However, in the view of the present investigator, they all fell prey to the same shortcoming: they viewed the mind of the child as a less informed version of the adult mind. Although some of these writers have explicitly stated that this is an inaccurate conception (e.g., Hess and Torney, 1968, p. 25), they failed to assess the cognitive level of their subjects, and thus attributed product differences associated with age to

simple accumulation of knowledge, without taking into account the cognitive level of the child's thinking. This is contrary to the thrust of much developmental research which has demonstrated qualitatively different understanding of the same event or object at varying cognitive levels. The primary aim of the present research was, therefore, to examine children's political orientations relative to cognitive developmental processes. Furthermore, because political socialization in Canada has been the concern of relatively few studies to date, a second major aim of this research was to examine possible cognitive and affective differences in political orientations between cultural, linguistic, and regional groups in Canada.

#### Theoretical Foundations

##### Political Theory: The Easton and Hess Model

The most parsimonious and comprehensive model outlining possible political orientations (i.e., products) resulting from political socialization is that of Easton and Hess (1962). They posit that three basic types of orientations - knowledge, attitudes, and values - can be directed toward three levels of the political system - government, regime, and community. Government refers to "the occupants of those roles through which the day-to-day formulation and administration of binding decisions for a society are undertaken (Easton and Hess, 1962, p. 233)". Easton and Dennis (1969) have also called this level of the system "authorities" which they define as "those members of a system in whom the primary responsibility is lodged for taking care of the daily routines of a political system (p. 60)". The term regime is used to

identify the "slower changing formal and informal structures through which these decisions are taken and administered, together with the rules of the game or codes of behaviour that legitimate the actions of political authorities and specify what is expected of citizens or subjects (Easton and Hess, 1962, p. 233)". More concisely, regime refers to the "constitutional order (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p. 59)". The political community "represents the members of a society looked upon as a group of persons who seek to solve their problems in common through shared political structure (Easton and Hess, 1962, p. 233)". When presented in tabular form, this classification presents a set of nine cells, each of which represents a type of orientation acquired by each succeeding generation in a political system.

TABLE 1

## The Easton and Hess Model

| Levels of<br>a Political System | Basic Political Orientations |                        |        |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|--------|
|                                 | Knowledge                    | Attitudes <sup>a</sup> | Values |
| Community                       | *                            | *                      |        |
| Government                      | *                            |                        |        |
| Regime                          |                              |                        |        |

Note: Those types of political orientations investigated in this research are indicated by asterisks.

<sup>a</sup>Only those complex attitudes called sentiments in which the affective aspect plays a central role were investigated.

Many aspects of the present research are subsumed in this classification. The child's knowledge of the name and the function of the incumbents at all three levels of the political structure (i.e., government) were investigated. Attempts were also made to assess the child's awareness of what constitutes his political community, his knowledge about it, his identification with it, and his sentiments which included feelings toward both the community in the abstract (the nation) and in the concrete (compatriots).

#### Developmental Theory: Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development

While the Easton and Hess model was useful in conceptualizing the possible outcomes of political socialization, it is a static model and, therefore, was not sufficient as the only theoretical framework for a developmental study. The process of socialization takes place over time and in the socialization of children, the passage of time is a crucial variable. Childhood is a period of very rapid change and development from all points of view - physical, emotional, and intellectual. As the child matures and his capabilities evolve, he not only explores more of the world around him, but he explores it in qualitatively different ways. Hence, this exploration results not only in an accumulation of knowledge but also in a continually changing perception of the world. The physical skills which permit the child to explore his world develop parallel to, and in interaction with, qualitatively changing cognitive abilities. This, at least, is the view of one noted developmental theorist, Jean Piaget, whose theory provided the cognitive developmental

framework for this research. Thus, while an Easton-Hess-type snapshot of the products of political socialization was taken of children at various ages, the resulting picture was interpreted in the light of Piaget's theory.

Although Piaget's is a voluminous and complex theory, only his most basic formulations and the essential characteristics of his proposed stages need be presented here. Piaget has primarily been interested in the theoretical and experimental investigation of the qualitative development of intellectual structures (Flavell, 1963). This fundamental interest of Piaget elucidates his most basic assumption - children are not little adults. Time and time again, through the use of unstructured interviews and more empirical, controlled investigations, Piaget in Switzerland and others around the world (e.g., Pinard and Laurendeau in Canada) have demonstrated that child thought is qualitatively different from adult thought.

Another important premise which has considerable empirical support (inasmuch as it is possible to test such a highly theoretical construct) is that the child actively constructs his set of mental structures by continuous interaction with the external world. That is,

(the establishment of cognitive relations consists) neither of a simple copy of external objects nor a mere unfolding of structures performed inside the subject, but rather (involves) a set of structures progressively constructed by a continuous interaction between the subject and the external world (Piaget, 1970, p. 703).

In terms of Piaget's theory, therefore, simply because a child comes into contact with a given fact does not mean that he perceives or comprehends this fact in the same way as an adult. Rather, the new fact is assimil-



ated into his existing cognitive structures and is perceived through these structures. However, at the same time the child's logical structures must accommodate this new fact and they are changed slightly by it in the process. In this way, through continual interactions, the child moves gradually toward an adult understanding of the world.

One final consideration crucial to the understanding of Piaget's theory is the concept of "horizontal décalage". According to Piaget, cognitive stages are defined by structured wholes and not by isolated pieces of behaviour. However, within a given stage there can be horizontal décalages which express a chronological difference between the ages of acquisition of operations that bear on different concepts or contents but they obey identical structural laws. A child may display different levels of achievement in regard to problems involving similar mental operations. This means that a child just entering a given stage may be limited in the types of concepts or contents to which he can apply his newly acquired structures. Towards the end of the period, however, the child should be able to apply these structures to the universe of concepts or contents to which they are applicable. For example, the recognition by a child that the total mass or quantity of matter of an object remains the same when the shape of the object changes implies a certain cognitive structure. The recognition that the weight also remains unchanged implies the same mental structure. Furthermore, the general level of functioning is the same in the two cases. It so happens, however, that the invariance of mass is typically achieved by children a year or two earlier than invariance of weight

(Flavell, 1963, p. 22).

Piaget's stage theory identifies the logical structures which typify the child's intellectual capabilities from birth through adolescence.<sup>1</sup> Although the children interviewed in this research were in either the second or third period of development, the first period is included in the description of the stages to facilitate the understanding of the advancements during the second period.

During the first period, the sensori-motor period (birth to one and a half or two years), the infant progresses from an unintentional use of his innate reflexes to intentional, goal-directed, non-reflexive motor behaviour; he progresses from an initial lack of differentiation between self and external world to an immediate, physical, concrete understanding of space, time, causality, and object constancy. That is, he objectifies his physical world and perceives himself as an object in this world. When the child gives evidence, through his behaviour, of being able to represent absent objects rather than simply act intentionally upon present objects, and when he has acquired the group of transformations<sup>2</sup>, structured at the actional or sensori-motor level, he has

---

<sup>1</sup>The description of the stages is based upon the following works: Flavell, 1963; Ginsburg and Oppen, 1969; Langer, 1969; Phillips, 1969.

<sup>2</sup>The concept of groups of transformations refers to the universe of transformative mental operations used by the organisms to create conceptual invariance out of the flux of its experience. During the sensori-motor stage the child's acts are limited to pragmatic groups of transformations. Their most advanced conceptual product is limited to an invariant here-and-now container made up of permanent objects and retraceable trajectories. During the symbolic, operational stage, the child's acts are extended to logical groups of transformations: their conceptual product includes invariant, theoretically possible as well as actual space in which object properties are conserved and trajectories are reversible (Langer, 1969, p. 121).

reached the end of this period.

The second period, the period of preparation for and acquisition of, concrete operations (age one and a half or two years to eleven years) consists of two sub-periods. During the preoperational sub-period (age one and a half or two years to six or seven years) the major task for the child is to learn to handle not only his idiosyncratic representations of the world (developed at the end of the sensori-motor period), but also the accepted signs (language) of his milieu. He must learn to differentiate himself - his wishes, desires, opinion, points of view - from the external world. The child at this stage is egocentric in his thought: he cannot conceive of someone having a point of view different from his own. In problem-solving, which now takes place covertly instead of overtly in trial and error fashion, the child centers on only one dimension or aspect at one time; he also concentrates on states to the point of ignoring transformations. His solutions to problems are intuitive; his logic is transductive (from particular to particular). When the child overcomes these shortcomings, especially the tendency to make judgments on the basis of his immediate perceptions, he enters the sub-period of concrete operations.

During the sub-period of concrete operations (six or seven years to eleven years of age) the child acquires truly objective representational thinking. He can, for example, mentally construct situations he has not previously experienced. The child also acquires operations (logical structures which give him the ability to act mentally upon the environment) which are reversible (what has been done can be undone by the

reverse process). These reversible operations permit the child to understand conservation, that is, that transformation of certain non-essential features of a substance unchanged in its essential features. Piaget's "groupings" describe the types of operations of which the concrete operational child is capable. These groupings involve the addition and multiplication of classes and relations, and one which is extremely important in the context of this research is the concept of part-whole relationships or hierarchical classification. However, all the operations the child performs are still based upon a concrete, external reality. When the child becomes capable of performing operations on operations, thus removing the previously necessary requirement of an immediate basis of external reality, he enters the stage of formal operations.

During the third period, the period of formal operations (eleven years onwards), the child's thinking becomes hypothetical deductive: he can work from given premises - even premises he may know to be false - and arrive at the logical conclusion. The child, or adolescent, can make reality secondary to possibility. He is capable of combinatorial thinking, adept at hypothesis formation and testing, and his thinking is completely reversible.

While this is but a sketchy outline of Piaget's theory, it is sufficient to clarify those concepts of the theory that are essential to the interpretation of the development of children's political orientations. It is, therefore, assumed in this study that the child's growing awareness of his political world does not involve simply an accumulation

of knowledge but a gradual growth of understanding.

## Literature Review

### Products of Political Socialization

The products of political socialization investigated developmentally in this study fall into four major areas: (a) cognitive concept of nation and nationality, (b) knowledge of the political structure, (c) political identity, and (d) political community sentiments. With the exception of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality, these are all elements of the Easton and Hess classification which have been studied fairly extensively in the United States, but only to a limited extent in Canada. The literature related to each of these four products of political socialization will be considered separately.

The cognitive concept of nation and nationality. Piaget's theory, which has provided the theoretical basis for the scant number of studies in this area, delineates three stages in the development of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality (Piaget, 1926; Piaget and Weil, 1951). These stages describe not only the growth of the child's knowledge of the name of his political community, but also how he perceives the spatial and logical relationships of the various components of this community - the city, canton or province, and country. Piaget's description of the first stage of the child's concept of nation suggests his understanding of the relationship among components of his community is rather confused.

As a rule, very young children, up to five or six years of age, are apparently unaware that Geneva is in Switzerland. At the outset, then, children have only a simple notion of the territory in which

they live (e.g., their hometown), a notion comprising a more or less direct knowledge of certain characteristics (approximate size, main language spoken, etc.), but these ideas are mixed up with verbal notions such as "canton", "Switzerland", etc., which can neither be understood nor fit into a coherent picture. Among these verbal notions picked up from other children or adults, one finally becomes rooted in their minds about five or six years of age: this is that "Geneva is in Switzerland"...Until they are about seven or eight, though children may assert that Geneva is part of Switzerland, they nonetheless think of the two as situated side by side. When asked to draw the relationship between Geneva and Switzerland by means of circles or closed figures, they are not able to show how the part is related to the whole, but merely give a drawing of juxtaposed units (Piaget, 1951, p. 563).

Two features of this description are of particular interest. Firstly, it appears that the first fairly well formulated notion is that of hometown: the child begins his explorations of the outside world at his own doorstep. Secondly, it is also interesting to note that children can verbally express the correct relationships between city or canton and country before they completely understand, or are able to handle, the implications of what they say. This phenomenon can easily be explained in terms of Piaget's theory of development. A child of six can easily learn to mimic a verbal formula adults teach him, for example, "Geneva is in Switzerland", but will not understand it until he acquires the ability to deal with part-whole relationships, which is one of the groupings acquired during the concrete operational period. Piaget says:

...the child still has to understand how it is that a part inserted into a whole really forms part of the whole, and that a man who is fixed inside the part remains nonetheless within the whole...The child's difficulty arises from the fact that he juxtaposes territories but does not connect them...The difficulty lies in the relation of part to whole... (Piaget, 1926, pp. 120-121).

During the second stage in the development of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality (age seven or eight years to ten or

eleven years), children grasp the idea that Geneva is spatially enclosed in the country of Switzerland, and draw the relationship as one circle enveloping the other. They have acquired the correct intellectual understanding of the spatial relationship of geographical locales. However, when the child is asked if he is Genevan and also Swiss, his answers reveal a startling discrepancy. He is either Genevan or Swiss (apparently a matter of personal preference, but most of the children were Genevan) but he cannot be both at the same time. Though the child apparently has an understanding of the spatial relationship of geographical locales, he does not appear to be able to logically extend this knowledge and apply it to himself as a resident of these places. He conceives of the categories Genevan and Swiss as being mutually exclusive. This phenomenon can best be explained by Piaget's concept of horizontal decalage since the same mental structures or operations apply in the understanding of both the spatial and logical, or personal relationships. However, the latter, requiring conceptualization of the additional relationship of self to geographical locale, is not only a more complex concept, but is also at a higher level of abstraction. When the child can state that he can be both Genevan and Swiss at the same time because Geneva is in Switzerland, he has reached Piaget's third stage. This usually occurs by ten or eleven years of age.

In summary, Piaget's theory of development of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality basically consists of three propositions. First, the child's awareness of his political community begins in his immediate vicinity - his city - and only gradually extends outward to

include his country. Second, the child can verbally express the spatial relationship between his city and country before he can construct it. Third, the child's cognitive concept develops from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationship between geographical locales, to an understanding of the spatial relationship, to an understanding of the logical relationship.

Jahoda (1963a), in Scotland, conducted a study designed to test Piaget's theory. His results, generally, support Piaget's major propositions and confirm that the child's intellectual grasp of his environment begins at the centre and moves outward to the periphery. However, Jahoda delineated four stages in the development of the understanding of the spatial relationship, probably because he considered the inter-relationship among three geographical locales whereas Piaget studied the relationship of only two, city and country. Jahoda's four stages are: (1) no conception of Glasgow as a unitary whole; (2) a conception of Glasgow as a unitary whole, but no conception of it as being a part of Scotland; (3) a conception of Glasgow as a part of Scotland, but no conception of Scotland as part of Britain; (4) the Glasgow, Scotland, Britain relationship correctly expressed. Although no specific age ranges were associated with any given stage, there was a clear tendency for six- and seven-year olds to fall into stage 1 or 2, and for eight- to eleven-year olds to fall into stage 3 or 4. This corresponds fairly well with Piaget's results. Furthermore, 96% of the children in stage 1, 95% of those in stage 2, and 72% of those in stage 3 could not diagrammatically express the correct relationship among the three geographical



locales. Only 12% of the children in stage 4 were unable to do so. This also supports Piaget's finding that children are able to verbally express the correct relationship before they completely understand, or were able to handle, the implications of what they say. Though Jahoda did not specifically inquire into whether the spatial relationship was understood before the logical relationship, his findings on how children handle dual membership generally support Piaget's theory. The majority of Jahoda's six- and seven-year-old subjects stated that they could be either British or Scottish, but not both at once. The majority of eight- and nine-year-olds, and all of the ten- and eleven-year-olds said they could be both British and Scottish at the same time. When asked to support their answers, over two-thirds of those children responding correctly explained their answers in terms of part-whole relationships. This tends to confirm Piaget's belief that a complete understanding of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality is dependent upon the understanding of part-whole relationships.

In a later publication, Jahoda (1964) attempted to show that his four stages in the understanding of the spatial relationship of geographical locales, derived from children's verbal responses to a series of "what" and "where" questions, more accurately reflect the pattern of development than Piaget's theory. However, Jahoda did not explain why his "G-stages" reflect more than simple rote learning of a verbal formula, and seemed to forget that the ages at which stages are achieved are not a key factor in Piaget's theory. He also disagreed with Piaget on why children have difficulty in understanding dual membership. He argued

that children's lack of understanding is not due to the inability to make class inclusions since they begin to learn about part-whole relationships at about two years of age, but is due to their incomplete knowledge of the nature of nationality classes, which they regard as mutually exclusive. While Piaget's concept of vertical decalage, defined as a chronological age difference in the understanding of similar concepts at progressively higher levels of abstraction, could explain why children of eight or ten years of age fail to grasp the part-whole relationships involved in the understanding of nationality, Jahoda's argument may be a valid one.

In most American studies of political socialization there appears to be an implicit assumption that children as young as six years of age have the same understanding of the idea of nation as a mature adult. Essentially, there has been no research into the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality. In fact, the majority of American researchers did not even ask the child the name of his country. One American study in which the degree to which children are cognizant of their political community was assessed is Greenberg's (1969). He asked 863 grades three to nine Philadelphia children the name of their country, their state, and their city. His findings indicated that the incidence of correct responses increases with age in all three instances. However, knowledge of the name of the city was greater than that of the name of the state, which in turn was greater than that of the name of the country. This also supports Piaget's contention proposition that the child's awareness of his political community begins in his immediate environment and grows

gradually to include the total political community - the nation.

The present study was designed to test the three major propositions of Piaget's theory of the development of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality. For the purpose of conceptual clarity, however, this concept was divided into its two components. The cognitive concept of nation was defined as the correct intellectual understanding of the spatial relationship between city, province, and country (i.e., the basic constituents of nation). The political nature of this relationship was not considered to be an essential part of the cognitive concept of nation. The cognitive concept of nationality was defined as the correct intellectual understanding of the logical implications of the spatial relationship between city, province, and country for a given individual as a resident of these places. The child's cognitive concept of nation and nationality forms an important part of his growing political awareness and, in fact, must be understood if other aspects of his political knowledge are to be correctly interpreted.

The knowledge of the political structure. In recent years, research into the knowledge of the political structure has been the most popular type of investigation of political socialization. Topics included under this rubric include the child's changing images of the President or the Prime Minister, of the government, and of congress or parliament, as well as his conception of the roles of political figures and of laws and lawmakers.

Approaches to the problem and areas of emphasis have been varied, but on the American scene, the most consensual and widely accepted des-

cription of the child's knowledge of the political system is that forwarded by Hess and Easton in 1960 (which has been elaborated and supported by the following studies: Hess and Torney (1968); Hess (1969); Easton and Dennis (1969, 1970). In this view the child, by grade four at least, has acquired the notion that somewhere beyond the family and neighbourhood is some force or persons called government. This is the most comprehensive conception that the child possesses of the regime and the authorities, but the word government does not have any precise meaning. At about age seven years, the young child's most frequent symbolic associations to the word government are a few personal figures of high governmental authority, most notably the President. At about the same time, sometime between the ages of seven and ten, the child becomes "politicized" and grasps the basic notion that political authorities are different from father and other familial authorities in important respects. In the middle years (about age ten), the child revises his strictly personal notions of government to include Congress, indicating that he is becoming more aware of the group character of government. And at about age thirteen, the child picks up the concept of "voting", demonstrating that he has become aware of the regime rules associated with popular democracy. The function most commonly associated with government at all ages is lawmaking, and for the seven- to ten-year-old child, the President is the chief lawmaker. In later years, the President is displaced by Congress, but there is little doubt in the minds of most children of all ages that the President has very grave responsibilities. And not a child fails to express the highest esteem for the

President. Easton and Dennis state:

No taint of cynicism, mistrust, or indifference creeps into the picture...Most of these children think the President is inherently likeable and benevolent, since he would help and protect them more often than not. He measures up to the cultural ideals of being very trustworthy, not too failible, and very persistent in his effort. He has the power to perform whatever it is he does, and in doing so, he displays qualities associated with leadership. For most of these judgments the child, as he ages, revises the original benign image. But he does so from the direction of high initial approval. He has already committed himself to the judgment that the President is a benign helper, protector, and leader (p. 189).<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the direction of the child's growing political awareness is from an initial highly personalized, idealized view where the President is the embodiment of government and goodness, to a more institutionalized, but still highly positive view, which begins simply with an awareness of the group nature of the Congress, and proceeds to an awareness that the essence of government is epitomized in the rules of the regime. The four major processes at work in the political socialization of children are thus politicization, personalization, idealization, and institutionalization at the first point of contact are vital to the socialization of support for the system, Easton and Dennis (1969) note that politicization and institutionalization are equally essential to the continuance of this positive support through adult life.

Greenstein (1965), who is in basic agreement with the above

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<sup>3</sup> A more recent study (1974) by political scientist F.C. Arterton, Wellesley College, indicates that the Watergate scandal has already profoundly altered at least one small group of the younger generation's perceptions of the presidency. The results of his study of 367 grades three to five children in an upper-class Boston suburb (whose parents voted almost 2 to 1 for Nixon in 1972) show a complete reversal. The President is now seen as what Arterton calls "truly malevolent, undependable, untrustworthy, yet powerful and dangerous".

description, has also investigated the child's concept of the roles of political figures. Their importance is apparently learned quite early, certainly before age nine. However, while his grades four to six subjects consistently selected the mayor and the President as the "most important people" from a list of adult roles, they had virtually no specific knowledge of the presidential or mayoral roles. The salience of the mayor of Greenstein's study is notable. Hess and Easton, who had not considered the local level of government, stressed only the importance of the President. However, in asking about the several levels of government, Greenstein found that children are aware of the federal and local governments at approximately the same time, and only later become aware of that of the state. Greenstein's results also showed that awareness of the executive body proceeds awareness of the legislative body, and on this point is in complete agreement with Hess and Easton.

Studies of the political perception of Canadian children have covered essentially the same topics as the American studies, but some have yielded results slightly at variance with those studies. In terms of children's images of government, Pammet (1967, 1973) has proposed that in a parliamentary system of government where there is no truly central orienting figure comparable to the American President, institutions become the key images of government. However, his own research does not support this contention very strongly. His findings revealed that his grades four to eight Kingston, Ontario subjects' knowledge of some of the institutions of government was as extensive, but not notably greater than their knowledge of the more personalized roles in government.

In the earlier grades (four and five), children were more aware of the mayor than any other political figure. The only other figure about which these children had a substantial degree of knowledge was of the President of the United States. By grade eight, 40% of the children had a reasonably accurate understanding of the roles of the mayor, the American President, and Parliament, 30% had a fairly accurate understanding of the roles of the Prime Minister and City Council, and only 10% of the Provincial Premier. It is notable that there are more personalized figures than institutions in the political world of the grade eight child. Pammet's contention was not strongly supported in a study of British children either (Dennis, Lindberg, McCrone, 1971). Among children aged eight to seventeen years, the Prime Minister either by title or by name was the most popular response in free-associations to the concept of government. In a structured choice situation there was a precipitous decline in the selection of the Prime Minister between the ages of nine and twelve years, with the older children moving to a more institutionalized conception of government (Parliament or House of Commons).

Zurich's (1968) results from a study in British Columbia provide stronger support for Pammet's proposal. Zurich found that 54% of his elementary school subjects understood at least vaguely what "government" means. From grades three to seven, the strongest image of government was Parliament. In grade three, this image was tied in rank order with the flag, while in grades four and five, the Supreme Court came second, and in grades six and seven voting placed second. With the possible exception of the flag, these are all strong institutional images. Smith

(1969), in Ottawa, also found that political "institutions" were visible in some degree to all his four- to fourteen-year-old subjects. In the earlier years, these "institutions" were Parliament Hill and Buckingham Palace. Images of symbolic-dynamic political institutions first appeared at age ten. However, these institutions did not arrive on the child's political horizon alone; two personal political figures were also meaningfully salient. The Queen was visible to Smith's subjects by four or five years of age, and Prime Minister Trudeau by eight or nine years of age.

Finally, in Quebec, Ritchart (1973) found that young children perceive government in personal rather than institutional terms. However, while his Anglophone subjects shifted to an institutionalized image as they matured, the Francophone subjects remained relatively stable in their personalized conception.

Quite apart from the question of whether or not Canadian children follow the American pattern of adopting personalized images of government before institutionalized images, is the question of what level of government enters their awareness first. Pammet's findings suggested that for political figures, the order is mayor, prime minister, and then premier<sup>4</sup>, while for institutions it is federal, municipal, and finally provincial. Smith's results were somewhat different from Pammet's in that knowledge about the prime minister preceded that about the mayor,

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<sup>4</sup>Pammet questioned the children on the day after Kingston's mayoralty elections, so that his subjects' knowledge of the name and the role of the mayor may have been spuriously high.



while the premier still placed last. In the final analysis, the trend appears to be similar to the one noted by Greenstein in the United States.

With regard to the function of government, Smith (1969) found that by eight years of age his subjects had relatively correct notions of taxes, laws and help-giving as the main functions. Zurich's (1968) subjects singled out lawmaking as the most important function of government, and the identification of the chief lawmaker shifted from the Prime Minister in grade three to Parliament in grade seven. Ritchert (1973) found that most children from grades four to seven perceive government in terms of authority: the government rules, decides, tells people what to do. Two major categories of response emerged: (a) government described as an input agency which makes decisions on policy and solves problems, and (b) government seen as an output agency which helps people, provides jobs, etc. His Anglophone subjects tended to give more input agency responses and Francophone subjects more output agency responses. None of these findings conflict with the results of the American studies.

One last finding on which three of the four Canadian studies concurred, and which is at variance with the American results, is that Canadian children do not see the government in idealistic terms. Pammet noted that the affective orientations of his subjects were basically positive but somewhat reserved; Smith's youngest subjects, aged six to ten, gave positive evaluations of government role performance, but beyond age ten the modal response was a medium to fair evaluation; Ritchert found

that the majority of his subjects felt the government makes mistakes. Zurich, on the other hand, found that the roles of public authority figures and government are highly approved by children. The majority of the studies carried out in Canada suggest that the average Canadian child, unlike his American counterpart, does not see

a vision of holiness when he glances in the direction of government - a sanctity and rightness of the demigoddess who dispenses the milk of human kindness (Easton and Dennis, 1970, p. 30).

Many of the findings presented in this section fit comfortably into Piaget's general theory of development, and also support the proposition made earlier that the acquisition of concrete operations is important to the understanding of the political world. The most common finding, namely, that the earliest image of government is a highly personalized one which is only gradually replaced by an institutionalized view, follows the general trend which Piaget describes for the acquisition of all knowledge: the child must deal with a matter at a concrete level before he can deal with it in the abstract. While the Canadian investigators stated that they could not completely support the principle of early personalization, their findings are not really at variance with the principle. Pammet found that the mayor and the American President are the first political objects to become visible to the child, and Smith's results showed the Queen and the Prime Minister to be the first. These are certainly personalized images of government. Only Zurich's finding that Parliament is the most salient image of government for the young child contradicts the personalization principle.

This same principle applies for Greenstein's finding that aware-

ness of the executive body precedes awareness of the legislative body. The executive can easily be personalized and viewed as one concrete person, whereas the legislature is a far more abstract institution. Furthermore, an understanding of the legislature requires an understanding of the concepts of debate and consensus which are beyond the grasp of the young child who is still struggling to free himself from his egocentricity, and is only just beginning to understand that people can have different points of view.

The fact that lawmaking emerges as the single most important function of government for children in most of these studies, as well as the specific identification of the lawmaker, can also be explained by Piaget's theory. Laws are very real and comprehensible to the young child. He has been forced to obey a multitude of rules and laws for the most part of his short life: he must obey his parents' rules, his teachers' rules, the traffic policeman's rules, and the rules of the game at play. In studying the rules of the game Piaget (1932) outlined a general theory of the development of the conception of rules. In the first of the two stages, which lasts from about four or five years of age to about nine or ten years, the child believes that some authority (usually Father) originated the rules of the game, and that nobody ever played that game before the authority played it. Moreover, the authority conveys on the rules a sacred, unchangeable character: they are absolute and cannot be altered. In the second stage of the conception of rules, beginning at ten or eleven years of age, the child believes that rules can be changed, that they originated through human invention, and that they are maintained

only by mutual consent among equals. Extrapolating these findings to the conception of laws, it is not surprising that the seven- to ten-year-old child names the President or the Prime Minister as the chief lawmaker since these men represent the supreme external authority of government. At about age ten when the child comes to realize that rules are maintained by mutual consent among equals, he also shifts to the belief that Congress or Parliament is the chief lawmaker.

Another important aspect of the findings in this area is the lack of consensus on what level of government enters the child's awareness first. It appears, however, that awareness of local and federal government dawn almost simultaneously, and before awareness of the state government. Thus, there is no clear support for the centre to periphery pattern which was strongly upheld in the growth of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality.

The present study inquired into the Canadian child's knowledge of the political structure in terms of his knowledge of the names and roles of the incumbents at the three levels of government. The major aim was to assess whether the growth of this knowledge conformed to the patterns discussed above, and thus to Piaget's general theory of development.

Political identity. Henry Tuene defined political community as "a group of people held together by mutual ties of one kind or another which give the group a feeling of identification and self-awareness (from Greenberg, 1969, p. 472)". These mutual ties are often given expression in a recurring set of statements or key symbols which become deeply woven into the texture of the body politic. Two types of symbols

which are at the disposal of politics have been distinguished by Edelman (1964). The first of these are referential symbols which are simply economical ways of referring to objective elements in objects or situations, for example, accident statistics or cost figures. The second kind, condensation symbols,

...evoke the emotions associated with the situation. They condense into one symbolic event, sign, or act, patriotic pride, anxiety, remembrances of past glories or humiliations, promises of future greatness (p. 6).

If certain symbols are inextricably woven into the fabric of the collectivity, and if these symbols become focal points for the common sentiments and emotions, then the degree to which a group shares a sense of political community can be determined by the degree to which they recognize common symbols.

Awareness of the name of one's country or the name of the nationals of one's country is a very important aspect of political identity. Doob (1964) has hypothesized that the concept of nation, "through verbalizations and slightly extended symbols...acquires a superorganic sacredness of its own (p. 33)." The name of the country comes to represent the land, the people, and the culture which, according to Doob, are the essential elements of national consciousness. Furthermore,

the other symbols besides the name which represents a nation obviously also evoke a wide variety of responses...But they are likely to be unequivocal in one respect: they arouse that name, which then serves to mediate many of the responses attached to them (p. 34).

In a study conducted in five countries, Lambert and Klineberg (1959) found that the national reference is cross-nationally stable as a category in self-descriptions and that its use clearly increases through ages

six to fourteen years. In the United States, both Easton and Hess (1962) and Easton and Dennis (1969) have found that the child comes to see himself as American very early in his political development - at least by seven years of age. Jahoda (1963a) found that by eight or nine years of age, the majority of his subjects named Scotland as their country and identified themselves as Scottish.

Among the symbols which become identified with the nation, the flag is among the most visible and universal. In questioning American children, Horowitz (1941) found that selection of the American flag as the best flag showed a steady development from 27.3% in grade one to 100% in grades seven to twelve. Lawson (1963) who replicated Horowitz's study, found that appreciation was fairly constant from kindergarten onwards, with an average of 70% selection. Since it is doubtful that the average person can be objective in selecting "the best flag" from a series when their country's flag is an option, these results give some indication of the percentage of children recognizing their nation's flag. In the course of the same study mentioned previously, Greenberg (1969) asked his grades three to nine subjects to select their flag from a series. The responses were highly accurate, ranging from 94% to 100% correct. Similarly, Jahoda (1963b) found that by six or seven years of age the majority of his Scottish subjects recognized the Union Jack as their flag. And finally, in a study conducted in Winnipeg, Dumaine (1971) found that 83% of her grade two subjects and 100% of her grades five and eight subjects recognized and correctly identified the Canadian flag as their flag.

Thus, the awareness of the name of one's country and its nationals,

as well as the symbols which become attached to it, are important aspects to the child's growing political awareness. In the present research, the study of potent national symbols was used to assess the extent to which the subjects possessed a sense of political community, that is, a sense of national identity.

However, in a country as ethnically and regionally diverse as Canada, it is quite possible that one will find not only a general political culture with which the great majority of the country identifies, but also a number of distinct political subcultures. Kruhlak (1970) noted that

the greater the heterogeneity of the population on religious, ethnic, or even regional lines, the greater the likelihood of finding subcultures (p. 10).

Furthermore, Johnstone (1969) found that Canadian youth, and most markedly Francophone Canadians, are greatly impressed by the provincial divisions of Canada. These were frequently noted in spontaneous descriptions of Canada. The works previously cited by Piaget and Jahoda showed that children identify themselves as members of their city or province as well as members of their country. Since region or province seems to be an important reference point in political orientations, it can be assumed that meaningful symbols will also gather around the province and that awareness of these symbols indicates an identification with the region. Children's awareness of these regional symbols was also examined in this study.

Political community sentiments. Political community sentiments are two-faceted phenomena. On the one hand, these sentiments can be

directed toward the community in the abstract and refer to affect toward the nation as a whole entity. On the other hand, these sentiments can be directed toward the community viewed in more concrete terms and refer specifically to affect towards one's compatriots. The greatest portion of the literature on political community sentiments has emphasized the former - affect towards the nation.

For most people, having a place to call home is not a privilege but a birthright. The term "home" can refer to the actual house in which one has lived with one's family, one's hometown, or one's country. In Doob's (1964) opinion, such a site is almost always precious for two reasons: firstly, people associate it with their earliest and most profound satisfactions, and secondly, they expect to remain at or near their home throughout their lives.

In his review of the literature related to the socialization of political community sentiments, Greenberg (1969) found three major themes. The first of these, the early attachment theme, is most readily identified with the work of Easton and Hess. In their 1962 study, they found that by the time children have reached grade two (age seven) most of them have become firmly attached to their political community. Imperceptibly, they have learned that they are Americans and that, in a way difficult to define, they are different from members of other systems. This knowledge is highly coloured with emotion and occurs long before rational understanding of the political system.

Thus, the sentiments of most children with respect to their political community are uniformly warm and positive throughout all grades, with scarcely a hint of cynicism or note of dissatisfaction (Easton and Hess, 1962, pp. 236-237).



The younger children could hardly dare express dissatisfaction since they not only associate the sanctity and awe of religion with the political community, but up to the age of nine or ten they sometimes have considerable difficulty in disentangling God and country. The solemn pledge to the flag seems to contribute to this confusion. The results of Hess and Torney's (1968) study are essentially in agreement with Easton and Hess's earlier findings. They concluded that:

the young child's involvement with the political system begins with a strong positive attachment to the country; the United States is seen as ideal and as superior to other countries. This attachment to the country is stable and shows almost no change through elementary school years. This bond is possibly the most basic and essential aspect of socialization into involvement with the political life of the nation (p. 213).

The second theme Greenberg outlined was one of gradual appreciation which emphasizes how maturation brings an elaboration or sophistication of the child's earlier attachment. The third theme was the centre-periphery theme in which Greenberg noted Piaget's three stage theory of the development of the concept of nation and nationality. However, in the view of this investigator, Greenberg failed to stress the most pertinent aspect of Piaget's theory in the relation to the development of community sentiments. Emphasizing Piaget's belief that the child's "gradual realization that he belongs to a particular country presupposes a parallel process of cognitive and affective development (1951, p.563)", one could subsume Greenberg's second and third themes into one cognitive developmental model. With regard to affective evaluations, Piaget (1951) outlined three stages which are parallel to the stages of the cognitive development of the concept of nation and nationality and are clearly

marked by the same widening of cognitive horizons. In the first stage, the child's reasons for liking a country are, from an adult point of view, very whimsical. Switzerland may be liked because it has "such pretty houses" or "the loveliest cakes" (Piaget, 1951, p. 566). During the second stage, family loyalties and traditions begin to predominate over purely personal motives - the country becomes the terra patria. The child prefers Switzerland because "I was born here" or "my mommy and daddy are Swiss" (Piaget, 1951, p. 566). During the third stage, motivations are geared to certain collective ideals of the national community. Switzerland is preferred because of its neutrality, freedom, official charity, etc. Thus the child starts out with motives essentially bound up with subjective or personal impressions and progresses towards acceptance of values common to the group, first to the family group and then to society as a whole.

Drawing from the gradual appreciation school, Adelson and O'Neill's (1966) findings certainly support Piaget's belief that cognitive development is paralleled by affective development. In their study, children below the age of thirteen years were rarely able to transcend personalized modes of discourse in the political realm and found it difficult to conceive the country as a whole. Beyond the age of fifteen years there was a tremendous increase in the grasp of the nature and the needs of the political community and in the understanding of the importance of consensus.

The early attachment and cognitive developmental themes are not really antithetical - they simply reflect different approaches to the

study of affect toward nation. Easton and Hess (1962) emphasized early positive sentiments towards the political community and found that affect develops before any real understanding of the system. Piaget (1951), on the other hand, was most interested in the child's motives for his attachment to a political community, and found that this development parallels the child's growing cognitive abilities. That these two approaches are not contradictory is highlighted by the fact that when Easton and Hess inquired into the child's reasons for liking the United States, their findings were similar to Piaget's. Children aged seven to nine consistently mentioned such general social objects as their schools, the beauty of their country, its animals and flowers, etc. Reference to such items declined sharply at the age of twelve or thirteen and were replaced by such items as democracy, voting, freedom, etc.

To turn now to the least studied aspect of political community sentiments, affect towards compatriots, Hess and Torney (1968) have found that the young child develops a sense of "we" in relation to his own country, and a sense of "they" with respect to other countries. Generally, it seems that whether or not a country has distinctive traits or a distinctive national character, its nationals almost certainly believe that it does (Doob, 1964). Hartley (1948a) found that by five and one half years of age, reference to ethnic group membership becomes widespread in describing self and other people, and, as stated earlier, Lambert and Klineberg (1959) have found that the national reference is cross-nationally stable as a category in self-descriptions. However, very little research, if any, has inquired into whether this early ability to distin-

guish between "we" and "they", and the willingness to identify with the "we's" even before the boundaries of the nation are clearly defined (Hess and Torney, 1968, p. 31), results in a strong affective preference for one's fellow in-group members - one's compatriots. Taylor (1973) has demonstrated that within one country, Canada, language and cultural background are two important factors contributing to this sense of "we-ness", while geographic region ranks a poor third. This raises an interesting question for Canadians. When one transcends national boundaries, does geographic region (country in this instance) remain secondary to language and culture? Or do Canadian children, like Hess and Torney's American subjects, identify with a national "we" in this kind of situation?

This study considered all of the above mentioned aspects of political community sentiments. With reference to community in the "abstract", an attempt was made to assess the direction and strength of Canadian children's evaluations of their country as well as their motives or reasons for selecting the one country they prefer. In this regard, then, Easton and Hess's early attachment theory and Piaget's cognitive developmental model were given equal consideration. With reference to the "concrete" aspect of the political community - fellow countrymen - an attempt was made to assess whether Canadian children demonstrate a preference in friendship choices for their compatriots over nationals of other countries. Also considered was the relative importance of language - culture and geographic region when friendship options were drawn from various countries or from strictly within Canada.

### The Influence of Cultural-Linguistic, Geographic, and Other Factors.

From the sheer volume of the literature reviewed above, it is clear that a fair amount of research has preceded the present investigation in the four major areas selected for study. It is equally obvious, however, that the majority of the previous research was not conducted in Canada, and, as seen from the review of the literature on knowledge of the political structure, may not warrant wholesale generalizations to the Canadian scene. What are the factors which make the Canadian situation different? Hodgetts (1968) proposed that this country's uniqueness stems from a unique set of Canadian problems. The first of these is that Canada's foundations are grounded in, and her future dependent upon, two entirely different language communities. The second major problem Canadians face, according to Hodgetts, is the fact that the fathers of this country originally built a nation-state without firm foundation. In 1867 they created a national political regime without a stable political community to support it. The loyalties of early Canadians were firmly rooted in regional concerns; relatively few shared John A. MacDonald's national dream. To this day, Canada is plagued with problems emerging from differences in regional interests. For these reasons the two factors of language and geographic region were selected for special consideration in this study.

The cultural-linguistic factor. Most people develop an emotional pre-rational attachment to the language in which they receive their fundamental training (Weinreich, 1953), and this early strong attachment only serves to reinforce the importance of language as a solidifying

factor in group identification (Elkin, 1960; Taylor, 1973). "Language provides an efficient way to create awareness within people of their own distinctive attributes (Doob, 1964, p. 230)". Hence language is closely related to culture, and their combined influence can colour the entire world view of their heirs, especially in instances where language-cultural groups are geographically separated (Weinreich, 1953; Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

In Canada, two major linguistic groups exist side by side - the English-speaking Canadians and the French-speaking Canadians. The English-speaking Canadians have been engaged in a strident search for a Canadian culture. But language and culture being as intimately linked as they are, English-speaking Canadians have simply invited the reply from French-speaking Canadians that they find no place in the common culture (Fieldhouse, 1964, p. 13). To the majority of English-speaking Canadians, Canada is a nation with a single history, a single people, and a single political ideology. In the eyes of the majority of French-speaking Canadians, the picture is not that simple since Canada first existed as a French-speaking nation; the English created another Canada (Garigue, 1964, p. 5).

French-Canadians of today know that they form one nation, whose geographical centre is the province of Quebec and whose political centre lies in the government of Quebec (Dozois, 1964, p. 17).

The history textbooks studied by Canadian students not only reinforce the respective points of view of the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian students by what they teach, but also promise to perpetuate contemporary Canadian problems by what they fail to teach.

French language texts, according to Hodgetts (1968) and Trudel and Jain (1970), are almost without exception, biased. The period before the conquest is covered intensively and is described as the heroic era of the fulfillment of "la mission providentielle". The tone is one of epic poetry. In the period after Confederation (which is usually described as a dangerous union), English Canada is barely discussed: Canada is still the Canada of the French regime - the St. Lawrence Valley. The constant and basic preoccupation in the French-language texts is the preservation of the French language and culture and the Roman Catholic faith. While the English language texts are, again according to Hodgetts (1968), more realistic, they can still be faulted in a number of ways. Instead of stressing existing stories of heroic adventure, they overemphasize the political and constitutional history of Canada. The courses essentially chronicle a dead past and little attempt is made to relate this to Canada's present and future. Furthermore, the texts present a bland consensus version of history: the conflict of opposing viewpoints which made that history real and relates to today is omitted. Thus, English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian youth are learning about two very different Canadas. Texts in both languages appear to be biased in that they skip lightly over the history of the other culture, thus making a realistic understanding of present day Canada very difficult for both groups. But there is an important difference between French language and English language texts. The colourless image of Canada presented to English-speaking youth probably helps to perpetuate the traditional low-key patriotism of English-speaking Canadians. However, French-

speaking students can readily identify with the valliant heroes of New France and with the continuing struggle for the preservation of their language and culture. This probably results in a much stronger sense of nationalism, based on personal nationality. Fieldhouse (1964)

defines this concept:

The group of people embodying (the elements of race, religion, and language) forms a nation, and these characteristics exist in the individual, independently of the place in which he is domociled and independently of whether the political power is in the hands of persons belonging to his nation (inthis personal sense) or not (p. 14).

In this sense, Quebec is a nation within a nation.

What are the effects of these two differing views of Canada on political community sentiments? Taylor et al. (1972), working in Montreal, found that both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian children evidenced strong regional affiliation, while English-speaking Canadian children showed strong national affiliation as well. But which of the English-speaking Canadian children's affiliations is the strongest? And what role do cultural-linguistic factors play in political identifications? Language-cultural group was selected in the present study as an independent variable so that these questions could be empirically investigated.

The geographic factor. Johnstone (1969) found that not only do French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one years differ in their perceptions of Canada, but westerners and easterners differ also. Furthermore, Johnstone found that the differences between the Quebec and non-Quebec French-speaking Canadians were greater than the differences between the western



and eastern English-speaking Canadians. Thus, it was decided to study children from Montreal as representative of eastern Canada. Since ethnic solidarity and coherence are much enhanced where there is a coincidence between social and geographic boundaries (Vallée, 1971), the selection of samples representing both language groups in both Winnipeg and Montreal provided a counterbalanced control for the possible "dominant group" factor. While English-speaking Canadians are indisputably the dominant group in Canada taken as a whole, in the specific regions selected each language group has its own province of dominance: the English are dominant in Manitoba and the French are dominant in Quebec. While this kind of regional separation of a country along language lines is not really a uniquely Canadian situation (Switzerland and Belgium are two other countries where the situation exists), its effects on political identification and on political community sentiments have never been investigated. Thus, region was an important variable in the study of the political orientations of Canadian children.

Other factors. The respective influences of such factors as race, socioeconomic status, sex, and intellectual ability on the products of political socialization were considered in many previous studies. Although these factors were controlled in this research, the major findings deserve at least brief consideration.

With regard to race, Greenberg (1969, 1970a, b, c) and Orum and Cohen (1963) among others have consistently found significant differences between black and white American children in both their knowledge of the political community and government, and their supportive attitudes for

this community and government. Social class differences favouring the middle-class child have been reported by many investigators with regard to the various products of political socialization. Jahoda (1963a) and Dumaine (1971) found social class differences in the cognitive concept of nation and nationality; Jahoda (1963b), Greenberg (1969, 1970a, b, c), and Dumaine (1971) found differences in terms of knowledge of the political community and national identity; Greenstein (1965), Sigel (1968), Zurich (1968), Greenberg (1969, 1970a, b, c), and Orum and Cohen (1963) found social class differences in knowledge of the political system. With reference to intellectual ability, Hess and Torney (1968) concluded that intelligence is one of the most important mediating influences in the acquisition of political behaviour in that high I.Q. accelerates the process of political socialization for children of all social status levels. Finally, with regard to sex differences, Greenstein (1965), Hess and Torney (1968), Zurich (1968), and Easton and Dennis (1969) all concluded that such differences are negligible, except possibly in respect to knowledge of the political system.

While the investigation of the influence of these factors might have proven interesting, the developmental and Canadian focus of this research made the consideration of these variables unwieldy. They were thus not included as independent variables, but rather as control variables.

#### The Statement of the Problem

The primary concern of this study was to investigate the changes that occur with age in the child with respect to the products of political

socialization, namely, his cognitive concept of nation and nationality, his knowledge of the political structure, his awareness of his political identity, both regional and national, and his political community sentiments.

On the basis of the general findings of the literature reviewed, it was expected that with age, the products of political socialization would develop to be more like the adult view; the amount of knowledge about and conceptualization of nation, nationality, the political structure, and political identity would move toward the adult level, sentiments toward the political community would be positive, and in friendship choices compatriots would be chosen more frequently than nationals of other countries.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development, including his findings on the development of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality, suggest that:

(a) the adequacy of the child's cognitive concept of nation and nationality would correspond to his cognitive developmental level.

(b) the growth of the child's cognitive concept of nation and his knowledge of the political structure would initiate in his more immediate surroundings (city) and later include the more distant and remote (province and country).

(c) the child would be able to verbally express the spatial relationship between city, province, and country before he can construct it.

(d) the growth of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality would proceed from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationship

between city, province, and country, to an understanding of the spatial relationship, and thence to an understanding of the logical relationship.

(e) the child's comprehension of political institutions would change from a concrete-personal to an abstract conceptualization.

(f) the child's motives for liking his country would change from purely personal ones among the youngest children to an acceptance of group values, familial and then societal, among the older children.

The influence of factors associated with geographic location and mother tongue on the products of political socialization were also examined. With only two exceptions, no differences were expected between English- and French-speaking children, nor between the Winnipeg and Montreal children. The first exception was that mother tongue was expected to be associated with children tending to choose friends from their own language group. The second was that mother tongue and geographic region were expected to interact on affect toward the nation such that French-speaking Montreal children would view Quebec more positively than Canada and take more pride in being Quebecers while other children would view Canada more positively than their respective provinces and take more pride in being Canadians.

Furthermore, the level of a child's cognitive concept of nation was expected to correlate with the level of his cognitive concept of nationality and his knowledge of the political structure, as well as with the extent of his political identity and the degree of his positive affect towards his nation.

## CHAPTER II

### Design

A variation of the split plot design was selected for this research so that (a) age changes and (b) language, geographic, and inter-school differences with respect to cognitive concept of nation, cognitive concept of nationality, knowledge of the political structure, political identity, and political community sentiments could be investigated. The four levels of stratification defined by the independent variables are illustrated in Figure 1.

A. The developmental variable. Although the child's age is the criterion most commonly used to indicate that developments are taking place in the child, or how much such development can be expected to have already taken place, school grade was selected as the summary variable. Because grade represents the formal and informal contributions of the educational system, it was assumed that a child at the grade level considered normal for his age was an average child in terms of maturation and experience. However, an additional screening variable was dictated by the choice of Piaget's theory as the developmental framework. While stages, according to Piaget, emerge in development in an unchanging and constant order of succession, the age at which logical structures appear is relative to the environment which can either facilitate or impede their appearance. Thus, in the present study, two Genevan tasks were used to assess the subjects minimum cognitive level, and this information was sometimes used in addition to, or instead of, the age-grade level in the analysis of the data.

The specific age levels to be studied were selected on the basis

of the theoretical and empirical work of Piaget and Weil (1951) and the findings of the pilot study. Piaget's theory of the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality spans the ages of five to eleven years. Thus, for the pilot study for this research, four age-grade levels had been selected, based on Piaget's theory: age five-six years (kindergarten - grade one), age seven-eight years (grades two-three), age ten-eleven years (grades five-six), and age thirteen-fourteen years (grades seven-eight). Because very small increases in scores were obtained between the ages of five-six and seven-eight, and between the ages of ten-eleven and thirteen-fourteen, the cross-section of grades selected for this study were those that appeared to tap the periods of most rapid gains within the developmental sequence. Hence, the following age-grade levels were selected for study:

- i) six years of age : grade one
- ii) nine years of age : grade four
- iii) twelve years of age : grade seven

B. The between groups variables. The linguistic-cultural variable was restricted to the simple criterion of mother tongue, which was defined as that language first spoken and still spoken by the individual. The mother tongue of one half of the subjects selected within each grade level was French and that of the other half was English. Children were also selected on the basis of geographic location. Within each grade and within both language groups, half the sample was drawn from the City of Winnipeg and half from the City of Greater Montreal. In order to qualify as a resident of either city, any given subject had to have spent

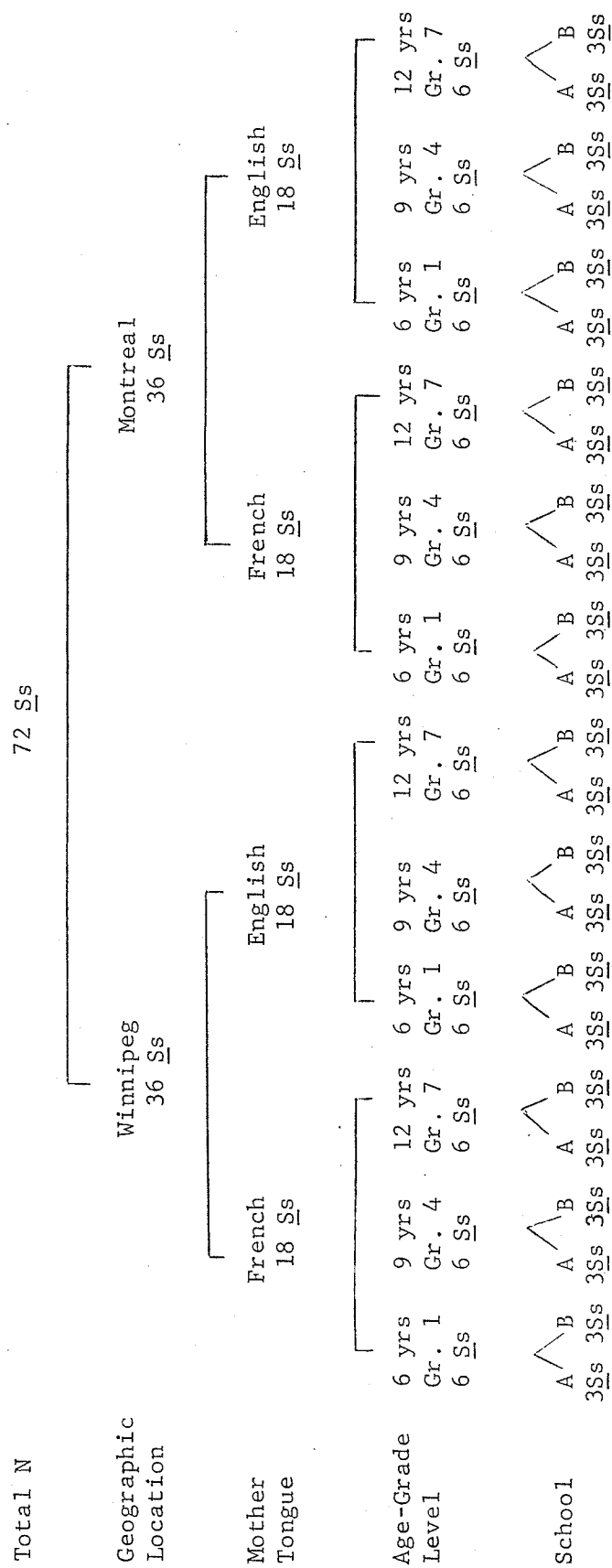


Figure 1. The stratification of the polulation and sample size.

the greatest portion (beyond the age of three-four years) and the most recent years of his life in that city. To permit a more accurate estimate of the amount of variation attributable to the key factors, subjects were also selected on the basis of schools. At each grade level, in both language groups, and in both geographic locations, children attending two different schools were selected in order to estimate interschool differences within the key variables of age, mother tongue, and geographic location, respectively.

### Subjects

A total of 72 Caucasian, Canadian-born, middle-class<sup>5</sup> children whose teachers' rated them as functioning adequately in the regular school programme at the correct grade level for their age were randomly selected in terms of the stratification illustrated previously in Figure 1. Thus, there were 24 grade one subjects (mean age: 6 years, 11½ months), 24 grade four subjects (mean age: 9 years, 11 months), and 24 grade seven subjects (mean age: 12 years 11 months). Random sampling occurred at two points: both the schools and the subjects within these schools were randomly selected.

From the five separate sampling populations of Winnipeg English elementary Winnipeg English junior high, Winnipeg French, Montreal English, and Montreal French schools listed in the respective city

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<sup>5</sup>Socioeconomic class was judged according to Blishen's (1967) Index for Occupations in Canada. Children whose fathers' occupations fell above the 25th percentiles were considered to be middle class children. No distinction was made between middle and upper class since Canada does not have a large, well defined upper class.



telephone directory, three schools plus five alternate schools were selected by means of the table of random numbers. Since only schools situated in middle-class districts were eligible for study<sup>6</sup>, the general socioeconomic status of the districts in which the schools were located was then assessed<sup>7</sup>. This judgment was based on the investigator's general impression of a district<sup>8</sup> and the average annual income (from wages or salary) of the heads of the households in the district. A district where the average annual income per household head was less than \$3,000 according to the 1961 census tract data (the most recent data available) was considered to be a lower-class district. Two schools (one Winnipeg English elementary and one Winnipeg French school) were dropped from the sample because they were located in lower-class districts. These were replaced by alternates. All of the schools selected and their respective school boards or commissions were contacted. Permission to conduct the research was granted by all but one of these schools. When the one school ( a Montreal English language school) not granting permission

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<sup>6</sup>It was felt that this would simplify the selection of middle-class subjects.

<sup>7</sup>A post hoc decision was necessary since one of the criteria was the investigator's general impression of the district. While it would have been difficult to evaluate every school in Winnipeg according to this criterion, it would have been impossible to evaluate the Montreal schools in a comparable manner.

<sup>8</sup>For the Montreal schools this requirement was fulfilled by having a native of Montreal who agreed with the investigator's evaluation of a number of Winnipeg districts, give his impression of the districts surrounding the various schools.

failed to reply after repeated contacts, it was replaced by an alternate.

Two major difficulties arose in the selection of the schools. Firstly, because only two Winnipeg French schools met the criteria of this study, random selection was not possible. Of the four French language schools in Winnipeg, one was located in a lower-class district, and another had been used in the pilot study for this research. The two remaining schools agreed to participate in this investigation. In the selection of Montreal schools a different problem arose. Since no distinction was made between elementary and junior high schools in the Montreal telephone directory, the investigator had proceeded on the assumption that these schools would all serve grades one to eight inclusively. This assumption proved to be incorrect, but the investigator had no means of obtaining a list of all the junior high schools in Montreal. In order to complete the grade seven sample, the principals of the elementary schools involved were asked to convey the request to that school where the majority of their former respective students would be in attendance. All of these junior high schools agreed to participate.

From the population of children in grades one, four, and seven in each chosen school, three subjects and twelve alternates were selected using the table of random numbers. The records of the selected children were drawn to obtain information concerning race, nationality, socioeconomic status<sup>9</sup>, age, and mother tongue. Any child who was ineligible

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<sup>9</sup>Where information about father's occupation was not available through the school records, Henderson's Directory of the City of Winnipeg and the City Directory of Montreal were consulted.

because of any one of the selection criteria was eliminated and replaced by an alternate. In Winnipeg, all the subjects' parents were then contacted to obtain their permission to interview the child. Three subjects were replaced by alternates because their parents did not grant permission. Since the Montreal schools did not require parental consent, this procedure was not followed in that city. The relevant demographic data on the subject sample is given in Table 2.

### Procedure

The interview schedule. The interviews consisted of several forms of questions, some presented in a completely verbal form, and others in conjunction with materials or tasks. The questions were designed to elicit biographical information, data on the dependent variables, information on second language contact and knowledge, and reliability data. In addition, two Piagetian tasks were included to assess the minimum level of the subjects. The questions were equally divided to form three interview schedules. Parts I, II, III (Appendix A).

All of these instruments were developed by the investigator, drawing liberally from the work of previous researchers. Each of the dependent variables was assessed by a separate series of questions which, for the ease of reference, will be called scales. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, only some of the questions were pretested; many were not. For those questions that were pretested, some comment will be made about their effectiveness in the pilot study and about revisions made to improve them. For those that were not pretested, the source of the questions will be indicated.

TABLE 2

## Demographic Information on the Subjects

| Group               | interview         | Demographic Information |       |          |       |      | Mean Blishen<br>rating of<br>father's<br>occupation | Blishen<br>rating<br>range |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------|----------|-------|------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
|                     |                   | Number of               |       | Catholic | Other |      |                                                     |                            |
|                     |                   | Boys                    | Girls |          |       |      |                                                     |                            |
| Winnipeg<br>English | N/A <sup>a</sup>  | 10                      | 8     | 3        | 15    | 55.8 | 38.2 - 75.2                                         |                            |
| Winnipeg<br>French  | N/A               | 10                      | 8     | 18       | 0     | 54.5 | 37.1 - 76.0                                         |                            |
| Montreal<br>English | N/A               | 8                       | 10    | 18       | 0     | 53.6 | 29.8 - 76.0                                         |                            |
| Montreal<br>French  | N/A               | 9                       | 9     | 18       | 0     | 54.5 | 30.5 - 75.2                                         |                            |
| Grade one           | 6:11 <sup>b</sup> | 12                      | 12    | 18       | 6     | 56.4 | 38.2 - 75.2                                         |                            |
| Grade four          | 9:11              | 12                      | 12    | 19       | 5     | 54.8 | 30.5 - 76.0                                         |                            |
| Grade Seven         | 12:11             | 13                      | 11    | 20       | 4     | 52.7 | 29.8 - 75.2                                         |                            |

<sup>a</sup>Not applicable.<sup>b</sup>years : months.

It should be noted that the child was only asked questions pertaining to his city (either Winnipeg or Montreal) and his province (either Manitoba or Quebec). The aim of the research was not to give the child a geography test; the study was designed to investigate the child's concept of and knowledge about his own environment.

1. The cognitive concept of nation and nationality.

(a) The cognitive concept of nation scale was designed to assess the child's understanding of the spatial relationship between city, province, and country. In order to permit a reliability check, the scale was constructed as two separate subscales, one administered in Part I and the other in Part II of the schedules, from which the total cognitive concept of nation score was obtained. The majority of the questions on both subscales were open-ended. For example:

Subscale 1 : What is Canada?

Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?

Subscale 2 : What is a province?

What is the name of our city?

In three separate questions the child was required to demonstrate through constructions the relationships he had previously expressed verbally.

Two of these questions, in subscale 1, required that the child draw circles to represent the relationship between his city and his country, and then between his city, province, and country. The third question, in subscale 2, required that the child tape together three differently coloured, appropriately shaped pieces of construction paper to show how his city, province, and country "fit together on a map". (For the com-

plete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part I, II).

All of the questions used on both subscales were basically derived from those used by Piaget and Weil (1951) and Jahoda (1963). Subscale 1, with the exception of the circles question on city, province, and country, was used in the pilot study. It was found that children understood the questions and that the majority of the subjects at and beyond the grade one-two level attempted to give an appropriate response to each question.

(b) The cognitive concept of nationality scale was included to assess the child's understanding of the logical implications of the spatial relationship between city, province, and country for himself as a resident of these places. All questions on this scale were also open-ended. For example:

What makes you Canadian?

Can you be a Manitoban/Quebecker and a Canadian at the same time?

Pretend that you are going on a summer holiday to the United

States of America for a whole summer. While you are in the

United States, are you a Canadian or are you an American? Why?

(For a complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part III, 1.) The first three questions on this scale were again derived from those used by Piaget and Weil (1951) and Jahoda (1963), and were used in the pilot study. Even the youngest pretest children understood the meaning of the questions, although the majority could not give a logical answer to all three. The last two questions on this scale, developed by the investigator for this study but not pretested, were included to eliminate the possibility of a ceiling effect among the older children.

## 2. Knowledge of the political structure.

The child's knowledge of the three levels of the political structure was assessed from his ability to name the incumbent in the top position at each level (mayor, premier, and prime minister) and to describe the incumbent's respective role. Awareness of the relationship between Canada and the Crown was also investigated by inquiring into the function of the governor-general. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part III, 4). All of these questions were derived from those used by Greenstein (1969).

## 3. Political identity: National and regional.

(a) The purpose of the national identity scale was to assess the child's identification of self as belonging to a particular nation group ("What nationality are you?") and his awareness of national distinctiveness as demonstrated by the recognition of symbols common to the whole nation (e.g., flag, anthem, coat of arms). In regard to the symbols, there were eight recognition items, each consisting of a five-option multiple choice question in which only one option was an acknowledged Canadian symbol. Within each set of five, the stimuli were identical in size and artistic medium (photograph, drawing, etc.). All visual stimuli were pasted on separate pieces of black construction paper. The options for the national identity question consisted of the initial 20 seconds of orchestration of five different national anthems transcribed onto a cassette tape. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part II, 3). The entire national identity scale was developed specifically for this study and was not pretested.

(b) The regional identity scale assessed the child's identification of self as belonging to a particular regional group ("Are you a Manitoban/Quebecker?") and his awareness of regional distinctiveness as demonstrated through the recognition of symbols common to the region (e.g., provincial flag, floral emblem, coat of arms). Each of the three symbols recognition items was again a five-option multiple choice with stimuli similar to those used on the national identity scale. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part II, 4).

4. Political community sentiments: Nation and compatriots.

(a) The affect toward nation scale was designed to assess the global positive-negative duality of feeling-emotion expressed in regard to the nation, and a preference for one's own nation over others. In the latter instance, the child was allowed to choose his nationality, given the hypothetical situation of a stateless birth. To assess the positive-negative quality of the child's evaluation of his country (and thus, by inference, of his affect toward it), a semantic differential rating scale was developed. Canada, and for comparison purposes the child's province and a neutral country about which he claimed some knowledge, were rated on 15 pairs of bipolar adjectives. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part I, 5). The initial pool of adjectives selected as meaningful were derived from the responses of seven adults who were asked to free-associate to the word "Canada". Their responses were recorded and recurring themes noted. It was assumed that the other geographic regions could be evaluated on a comparable basis. From a comparison of these findings with a list of adjectives elicited by children in grades two to



six (DiVesta, 1966), 26 pairs of bipolar adjectives were selected. Four adult judges with a background of experience with children were then asked which word-pairs they thought would be most meaningful in relation to Canada for grade one children. It was felt that the older children would be able to handle the task if the younger children could. The 15 adjective-pairs which a majority of judges agreed would be meaningful to young children in the context of the task constituted the final scale. In the pilot study, only one of the 48 subjects failed to understand the task and could not complete it. The majority of the remaining subjects not only understood what was being asked of them, but appeared to enjoy the task.

To increase the probability that each rating would be made independently of others, each adjective-pair was typed on a 2 x 8-inch page and stapled together into a 15-page booklet. (See Appendix A, Part I, 5). The concept to be rated was printed in large block letters on a 5 x 7-inch white card. Because it was expected that a young child might experience difficulty in rating on the basis of seven alternatives (Maltz, 1969), a five-point scale was used with definitions as described by Maltz (1963). To provide an easy reference for the child, the definition of the scale was printed on a 5 x 7-inch white card. Two neutral concepts (Sun: hot - cold; Fire: wet - dry) were given as practice trials. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part I, 5, Part II, 5, and Part III, 3, and 5).

(b) The affect toward compatriots scale was designed by the investigator to assess the nature of the feeling-emotion expressed in regard to compatriots. The first question gave the child the opportunity, in both

his rank-orderings and his paired comparison choices, to select a compatriot (either English-speaking or French-speaking) rather than a national of another country (Frenchman, Englishman, American) in a hypothetical friendship choice. The child was first required to rank his choices from 1 to 5, and was then given a booklet containing a complete paired comparison of the five alternatives. The booklet method was again selected to enhance the probability that judgments would be made independently. This question was used in the pilot study and the data obtained suggested that language spoken by an individual was an important consideration in friendship choices. Thus, a second question, identical in form to the first, was developed to assess the relative importance of language and region (of Canada) in making friendship choices. (For the complete scale, refer to Appendix A, Part I, 3 and Part III, 2).

#### 5. Miscellaneous questions

A number of questions which did not form part of any of the previously mentioned scales were presented to the subjects on an exploratory basis. For example:

Which city do you think is the most important city in Canada?

What makes you more proud - to be a Manitoban/Quebecker or to be a Canadian? Why?

(See Appendix A, Part II, 2, and Part III, 6).

During the interviews, certain other information was obtained which, it was hoped, would assist in the interpretation of the data. Because this study dealt with English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian children as two separate groups, an attempt was made to assess

how often a given child came into contact with the relevant language which was not his mother tongue (e.g., French for the English-speaking child) and which language was spoken predominantly in the home. (See Appendix A, Part I, 1, Section B).

#### 6. The Genevan tasks.

In order to assess the child's minimum cognitive level (especially that of the grade one child) in terms of Piaget's theory of development, two Genevan tasks were used. The first was a tube rotation task commonly used to test whether a child has reached the stage of reversible operations. In this task the child must predict the sequential order of three objects, which he has seen being inserted into an opaque tube, after a 180 degree transformation, or rotation in space. The second Genevan task was a hierarchical classification task in which the child was required to classify and compare the resultant categories using a dual classification system. In this research, the first classification category was type of material (all objects were plastic) and the second was colour (unequal numbers of red and yellow objects were used). This task tests the child's understanding of class inclusion or part-whole relationships. (See Appendix A, Part I, 4, and Part II, 6).

Language used in the interviews.

Two language considerations pertained to the development of all the scales. Firstly, all of the questions had to be phrased in such a way so as to be understood by grade one children. The questions used in the pilot study appeared to be successful in this regard, so the questions developed after that time were phrased in the same simple, straightforward

manner. In order to achieve a standard interview schedule, certain concessions had to be made to the young child's cognitive abilities. For example, instead of asking "If you went on a summer holiday...", the question was phrased "Pretend that you are going on a summer holiday...". While the conditional is very difficult for a child of six to comprehend, he certainly knows how to pretend. In addition, some standard probes were inserted into the questionnaire. For example, in a number of instances the child was asked "Why?" After a response. "Because" is often the most logical and immediate answer to "Why?" for a young child. It was hoped that the probe "But how come?" would elicit a further response.

Secondly, the final step in the development of the scales was the translation of the final English version into French, for each child was interviewed in his mother tongue. The translation was completed by the researcher with the assistance of three other fluently bilingual adults. Harrap's New Shorter French and English Dictionary (1971 Edition) served as the major reference. In the semantic differential, because each word was crucial, all words selected by referring to Harrap's were cross-checked in Larousse's English-French Dictionary. Every effort was made, however, to preserve the connotative meaning of a word or phrase in translating from English to French. At times, this meant discarding the recommended dictionary word for one more commonly used by the French-speaking population of Canada.

To check the equivalence of meaning of the two language forms, four fluently bilingual adults were given the French version of the interview schedule which they translated back into English. The comparison of the

original version with the four independently translated versions highlighted weak points in the translation. Items on which there were discrepancies either between the original and one (or more) of the back-translations, or between two (or more) of the back-translated versions were reconsidered and some changed slightly. Minor differences in sentence structure (inversion of phrases) or omission of words such as "an" or "the" were not considered to be discrepancies. The 29 most difficult items were presented to four professors in the French Department, University of Manitoba, who teach either grammar, translation, or linguistics. They rated the French and English items on comparability of meaning. A rating of 1 was defined as "identical in connotative meaning...", a rating of 2 as "sufficiently similar in connotative meaning...", and a rating of 3 as "dissimilar in connotative meaning...". The raters were also asked to make any suggestions which they felt would improve the quality of the translation. The mean rating of the four raters over all 29 items was 1.33. Any item receiving a rating of 3 from any one rater was reworked, taking into consideration the suggestions made by all four raters. Any item receiving a good rating but on which there was consensus that it could be improved in a certain way was changed. Thus, it is felt that after the entire procedure was completed, the French and English versions of the questionnaire were comparable.

#### Counterbalancing.

Counterbalancing of the questions was introduced wherever possible to control for the effects of fatigue and restlessness, response set and learning-to-respond, knowledge acquired during the course of the interviews

and exposure to the interview situation.

On the cognitive concept of nation scale all of the questions within each subscale were presented in a constant predetermined order, but the order of presentation of subscales 1 and 2 was counterbalanced in order to nullify the learning or carry-over effects between subscales. Half the subjects at each grade level, within each mother tongue group, in each city, received subscale 1 on their first testing day and subscale 2 on the second day; the other half of the subjects received the subscales in the reverse order. The cognitive concept of nationality and the knowledge of the political structure scales were not counterbalanced since the series of questions formed a natural, logical progression and contained no overlap of content.

The eight recognition items of the national identity scale were counterbalanced to form three different sequences of presentation. To control for position preference in the presentation of the recognition stimuli within questions, there were three counterbalanced orders of presentation. These same two control precautions of counterbalancing within and between items were also applied to the recognition items on the regional identity scale. On the semantic differential, these two counterbalancing techniques were employed to reduce response set. For within item counterbalancing, eight word-pairs were presented with the positive adjective first, and seven in the reverse order. Counterbalancing for sequencing of word-pairs was achieved by systematically varying the order in which the fifteen adjective-pairs were presented. Within the three presentation orders, the positive-negative and negative-positive pairs

were consistently alternated. As a precaution against a carry-over or a learning-to-respond effect, the order in which the Canada, province, and neutral questions were presented was also counterbalanced.

The affect toward compatriots scale was composed of two complete paired comparisons. Thus, counterbalancing within items was built into the technique, with each possible word pairing of the friendship choices appearing in both orders (e.g., American - Englishman and Englishman - American). The sequence of stimulus or item presentation in both the rank ordering and the paired comparison of both questions was also counterbalanced using three different orders so that the possible effects of position and presentation order could be controlled.

Testing sessions. All of the interviews were conducted between April 17th and June 1st, 1973<sup>10</sup>. Each subject participated in three individual interviews, conducted in his native language, and ranging in duration from ten minutes to one-half hour each (Table 3). The pace was set by the subject so that the exact duration of the sessions could not be strictly limited. The minimum time interval between interviews was twenty-four hours. All interviews were conducted in private rooms made available to the investigator in which the minimum furnishings were a table and two chairs. While background noise (e.g., bells and class changes) could not be eliminated, it was fairly constant for, and familiar to, all subjects.

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that this was a period of relative social and political calm in Canada.

TABLE 3

Duration of the Interviews  
(In Minutes)

| Group       | Interview     |       |               |       |               |       | Average |
|-------------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|
|             | 1             |       | 2             |       | 3             |       |         |
|             | Mean duration | Range | Mean duration | Range | Mean duration | Range |         |
| Grade one   | 27            | 20-35 | 25            | 20-30 | 18            | 15-25 | 23      |
| Grade four  | 21            | 15-30 | 23            | 15-30 | 14            | 10-20 | 19      |
| Grade seven | 20            | 15-30 | 16            | 10-30 | 15            | 10-30 | 17      |
| Average     | 23            |       | 21            |       | 16            |       |         |

Each subject was greeted in the same manner and in his mother tongue (the investigator was fluently bilingual) as he entered the room for the first session - "Hello (child's given name), my name is (investigator's full name) and I would like to ask you some questions, if that's alright with you. Please sit down". The investigator then proceeded immediately to obtain the biographical information using a conversational approach. Any questions the child posed were answered as honestly as possible without prejudicing the results. Actually, the only area of deception concerned the investigator's biographical background. The subject was always given the impression that the investigator was a native of the child's city and that she had the same language background. Very little extraneous conversation was permitted during the actual interviews, but it is believed that a friendly atmosphere was maintained nevertheless.



Apart from the counterbalancing precautions mentioned previously, the tasks were presented to the subjects in a predetermined, constant order. The detailed procedure has been included in Appendix A. At the end of the third interview, the subjects were thanked for their cooperation and their questions concerning the project were answered<sup>11</sup>.

Recording. The subjects' responses to all open-ended questions were recorded verbatim by the investigator. Responses to questions involving a yes-no or other simple dichotomous choice were recorded by checking the appropriate response on the prepared schedule. On the affect toward nation scale (the semantic differentials) and the effect toward compatriots scale (the paired comparisons), the subject recorded his own responses in the prepared booklets.

Coding and scoring. Responses to the open-ended questions on the interview schedule for which a correct-incorrect distinction was possible, that is, the cognitive concept of nation, cognitive concept of nationality, and the knowledge of the political structure work-role questions, were coded in the following manner. Firstly, the minimum criteria of correctness for each question were defined by the investigator and then discussed with the second coder until agreement was reached on their applicability. All of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality responses were then coded independently by the two coders. The average intercoder reliability was 95.5% agreement. Because of the difficult

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<sup>11</sup> Many subjects had asked questions, during the course of the interviews, which might have jeopardized the results. They were told to keep these questions in mind and that they would be answered at the end of the last session.

nature of the work-role questions and answers on the knowledge of the political structure scale, three coders independently coded the responses. Agreement among all three coders averaged 61.46% over the four questions; at least two out of the three coders agreed on an average of 97.23% of the responses. There was complete coding disagreement on an average of 2.78% of the responses and only these were considered to be disagreements. Judgments of correct-incorrect were also relevant on the knowledge of the political structure names questions, the national and regional identity scales, and on the Genevan tasks, but in these instances only the investigator coded the responses. These were all restricted response questions and required no subjective judgment, so that the opinion of a second coder was not required to establish reliability. On all of the above mentioned scales, and the Genevan tasks, each correct response received a score of 1 and each incorrect response a score of 0. These scores were then summed to yield total scores for the appropriate scales. Because each bit of information offered by the subject had the potential to raise his total score by exactly the same amount, these scores were considered to be interval data, and were treated as such in the analysis. Responses to each of the individual questions on the cognitive concept of nation, the cognitive concept of nationality, and knowledge of the political structure scales, as well as to the miscellaneous questions, were also coded in terms of predominant response types. Viewing the responses in this manner, the coders ignored the correctness or incorrectness of an answer, and coded only the types of responses a given question elicited. The procedure was similar to the one described above. First, the investigator developed category or type criteria which were

discussed with the second coder until agreement was reached. Both coders then proceeded to independently categorize the responses. The average intercoder reliability on this aspect of the coding was 94.4% agreement.

Coding disagreements arising from either of the above procedures were settled by placing the disputed responses in the category which required the lesser amount of inference about the meaning of the response. The basic principle was thus conservative coding.

The semantic differential booklets of the affect toward nation scale were scored by the investigator in the usual manner with the most negative assessment within a word-pair receiving a score of 1 and the most positive assessment receiving a score of 5. The intermediate scores were 2, 3, and 4. Although the scale administered to the subjects contained 15 word pairs, it was realized in scoring the responses that three word-pairs were non-objective, that is, the determination of the positive and negative adjective involved a value judgment. These three word-pairs were, therefore, omitted in the scoring (see Appendix A, Part I, 5). The total scale score was arrived at by summing across the remaining twelve word-pairs to yield a possible range of scores from 12 to 60. It is generally accepted that the semantic differential yields interval data.

The results of the two paired comparison questions on the affect toward compatriots scale were treated in the manner described by Guilford (1954), using acceptance-rejection matrices to construct interval scales of group preferences. While individual preferences are lost using this method, the preferences of groups of subjects can be compared (e.g., English vs. French, grade one vs. grade seven).

Reliability and validity of the instruments. Because all of the scales used in this study were developed or adapted by the investigator specifically for this research, none have the established reliability. However, one indication of reliability is that the same questions administered by the same investigator to children of varying experiential backgrounds elicited similar types of responses from children at comparable age levels. That is, the questions highlighted differences between grade levels to a comparable extent in all language and regional groups. In addition, the majority of the scales were highly reproducible. The results of the post hoc Guttman scalings were: cognitive concept of nation scale  $R = .88$ , cognitive concept of nationality scale  $R = .91$ , knowledge of the political structure scale  $R = .92$ , national identity scale  $R = .91$ , and regional identity scale  $R = .95$ .

Since in this research the cognitive concept of nation was considered to be the key dependent variable, this one scale was designed as two separate subscales in order to permit a reliability check. The application of a modified Pearson Product Moment Correlation technique to the data (for formula see footnote 12, page 83) showed the regression coefficients of the sample strata to be homogeneous ( $F = 0.22$ ,  $p = N.S.$ ) and the correlation between subscales was significant ( $r = 0.60$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

The reliability of the semantic differential rating scale was checked by applying the Spearman-Brown technique to the ratings of Canada. Word-pairs were assigned to the half scales on an even-odd basis. The correlation between the two half scales was .50 and the Spearman-Brown estimate of the reliability of the full scale was .67 ( $p < .01$ ).

Finally, the reliability of the paired comparison questions was

checked by splitting the complete paired comparison into its two halves, applying the Guilford technique to both parts, and then correlating the results. Since the responses of the French-speaking and English-speaking subjects were generally mirror images of each other, the responses of the English and French subjects were correlated separately. Correlations between half scales were high on Question 1 French subjects ( $\underline{r} = 0.93$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and Question 2 English ( $\underline{r} = 0.97$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and French ( $\underline{r} = 0.99$ ,  $p < .01$ ) subjects. However, the half scales correlation for the English-speaking subjects did not reach significance ( $\underline{r} = 0.75$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $< .10$ ). This lack of correlation seems to be due to differences between half scales in the selection of the "American" option. On the first half of the scale "American" was the second most popular choice; on the second half it fell to fourth place.

The strongest validity that can be claimed for the scales developed is content, or perhaps construct validity. The questions used by the major workers in the field were sampled before the development of the interview schedule, and all questions finally selected were logically related to the theoretical foundation upon which this research was based.

### CHAPTER III

The statistical testing of the hypotheses is presented first, followed by additional analyses which, though not specifically related to any hypothesis, were relevant to the basic research problem of describing the development of political orientations. Because of the exploratory nature of this research, the data was tested at the .05 level of significance.

#### Hypothesis Testing

Separate analyses of variance were performed on each of the following sets of data: the cognitive concept of nation, the cognitive concept of nationality, the knowledge of the political structure, national identity, regional identity, and the three semantic differential ratings of the affect toward nation (Appendix B). Because the within groups variation differed considerably across grades in a number of instances, separate grade by grade analyses were also performed in all instances. Portions of the results of these analyses will be drawn upon as required to test the various hypotheses. It should be noted, however, that the hypotheses dealt only with the grade, language, and geographic region effects. With the exception of the results presented in Table 4, all other tests on interactions in these analyses were not significant. However, with reference to Table 4, it is clear that the schools variable was, quite consistently, a significant source of variation in the data. Only when the schools factor was present was any interaction significant in the analysis of any of the question series.

TABLE 4

A summary of the Significant Interactions from the  
Analyses of Variance

| Scale                                    | Group        | Source of Variance       | F-ratio  |
|------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Cognitive concept<br>of nation           | Grade 4      | SwL x P <sup>a</sup>     | 3.024*   |
| Cognitive concept<br>of nationality      | Total sample | SwL x P                  | 4.895**  |
| Knowledge of the<br>political structure  | Total sample | SwL x P                  | 3.388*   |
|                                          | Grade four   | SwL x P                  | 3.678*   |
|                                          | Grade seven  | SwL x P                  | 5.634**  |
| National identity                        | None         | -                        | -        |
| Regional identity                        | None         | -                        | -        |
| Semantic differential<br>Canada          | None         | -                        | -        |
| Semantic differential<br>Provinces       | Total sample | G x SwL x P <sup>b</sup> | 2.437*   |
|                                          | Grade one    | SwL x P                  | 3.927*   |
| Semantic differential<br>Neutral country | Total sample | G x SwL x P              | 3.512*** |
|                                          | Grade 7      | Sw L x P                 | 6.370**  |

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>SwL x P = Schools within language and geographical location interaction.

<sup>b</sup>G x SwL x P = Grade by school within language and geographic location interaction.

### General Developmental Trends

The suggestion in the literature that, with age, the products of political socialization would develop to be more like the adult view was generally supported. As is evident from the results in Table 5, the hypothesized increase across grades in the number of responses considered correct by adults was obtained on the cognitive concept of nation scale ( $F = 59.93, p < .001$ ), the cognitive concept of nationality scale ( $F = 24.18, p < .001$ ), the knowledge of the political structure scale ( $F = 29.35, p < .001$ ), the national identity scale ( $F = 33.40, p < .01$ ), and the regional identity scale ( $F = 10.39, p < .01$ ). Linear contrasts for grades further substantiated that the scores increased with grade (cognitive concept of nation:  $t = 18.09, p < .001$ ; cognitive concept of nationality:  $t = 6.08, p < .001$ ; knowledge of the political structure:  $t = 5.10, p < .001$ ; national identity:  $t = 40.56, p < .001$ ; regional identity:  $t = 11.19, p < .001$ ), and a consideration of the quadratic effects would suggest that these increases were linear for all but the national and regional identity scales (Table 5).

Grade differences in political community sentiments as measured by the semantic differential were also significant (mean scores: grade one = 52.3; grade four = 47.9; grade seven = 50.0;  $F = 2.19, p < .05$ ). However, the predicted linear trend with grade was not obtained; instead, analysis revealed a quadratic effect ( $t = 2.41, p < .05$ ) with grade fours rating Canada less positively than either grades one or seven. Paired comparisons of compatriots with nationals of other countries indicated no specific preference for compatriots among grade one children, but a definite preference for compatriots among grade four, and equally among



TABLE 5

Mean Scores, F-Ratios, and Regression Analyses Results for the Cognitive Concept of Nation (CCN), Cognitive Concept of Nationality (CCNTY), Knowledge of the Political Structure (KPS), National Identity (NI), and Regional Identity (RI) for Grades One, Four, and Seven.

| Scale | Mean Scores |         |         | ANOVA Results     |                      | Contrast Analyses Results |  |
|-------|-------------|---------|---------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
|       | Grade 1     | Grade 4 | Grade 7 | F-ratio for grade | t-test for linearity | t-test for quadratic      |  |
| CCN   | 3.54        | 10.33   | 12.96   | 59.93***          | 18.09***             | -1.93                     |  |
| CCNTY | 1.96        | 5.04    | 6.58    | 24.18***          | 6.08***              | -0.96                     |  |
| KPS   | 0.38        | 2.67    | 4.21    | 29.35***          | 5.10***              | -1.03                     |  |
| NI    | 6.67        | 9.04    | 10.92   | 33.40***          | 40.56***             | -3.73**                   |  |
| RI    | 1.38        | 2.38    | 2.83    | 10.39**           | 11.19***             | 2.35*                     |  |

\*  $p < .05$ .

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

grade seven children (Table 6).

TABLE 6

Difference Between the Average Scale Position of Compatriots and the  
Average Scale Position of Others in Friendship Choices for  
Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Grade Level | Average Scale Position of |        | Difference |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------|------------|
|             | Compatriots               | Others |            |
| Grade one   | -0.117                    | -0.557 | 0.440      |
| Grade four  | +0.910                    | -0.864 | 1.774      |
| Grade seven | +0.714                    | -0.969 | 1.683      |
| Total       | +0.502                    | -0.797 | 1.299      |

<sup>a</sup>Average scale position of compatriots =  
$$\frac{\text{scale position of (English-speaking Canadian + French-speaking Canadian)}}{2}$$

<sup>b</sup>Average scale position of others =  
$$\frac{\text{scale position of (Englishmean + Frenchmen + American)}}{3}$$

<sup>c</sup>Difference = average scale position of compatriots - average scale position of others

#### Testing Piagetian Predictions

Each of the five hypotheses based on Piaget's theory was examined separately. The prediction that the adequacy of the child's concepts of nation and nationality would correspond to his cognitive developmental level was tested by comparing success on the Genevan tasks to appropriate nation and nationality questions. The drawing and construction questions

from the cognitive concept of nation scale were selected for the comparison to the Genevan tasks because, according to Piaget's theory, the child cannot be considered to have a completely adequate concept of nation until he is able to diagrammatically represent the spatial relationship between city, province, and country. The expected relationship was clearly evident: only one child with a low score (0-3 out of 5) on the Genevan tasks achieved a high score (3 out of 3) on the construction tasks ( $\chi^2 = 35.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ). With regard to the concept of nationality, Piaget's theory states that the child has not mastered this concept until he can state and logically support the fact that he can be both a member of his province and of his country at the same time. Thus, the questions related to dual membership were selected for comparison to the Genevan tasks. Once again, the expected relationship was evident. Only two children with low scores (0-3 out of 5) on the Genevan tasks achieved a high score (2 out of 2) on the dual membership questions ( $\chi^2 = 31.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, the hypothesized relationship between cognitive operational level and adequacy of the cognitive concept of nation and nationality was strongly supported.

In order to test the hypothesis that the child's cognitive concept of nation and nationality and his knowledge of the political structure initiate in his more immediate surroundings and only later extend to include the more remote, these two sets of data were separately scaled using Guttman's method of scalogram analysis. Inspection of the order of the items on the cognitive concept of nation scale (Table 7), together with the reproducibility coefficient ( $r = .88$ ), does suggest this sequence of acquisition. With the exception of knowledge of names, where country and

TABLE 7

## The Cognitive Concept of Nation Scale

(Ranked from least to most difficult)

| Scale<br>Position | Item                                                                           | Total number of<br>subjects responding<br>correctly |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                | What is Winnipeg/Montreal?                                                     | 59                                                  |
| 2.                | What is the name of our country?                                               | 57                                                  |
| 3.                | What is the name of our city?                                                  | 56                                                  |
| 4.                | Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?                                                    | 51                                                  |
| 5.                | What is the name of our province?                                              | 48                                                  |
| 6.                | What is Canada                                                                 | 45                                                  |
| 7.                | Where is Manitoba/Quebec?                                                      | 45                                                  |
| 8.                | What is a city?                                                                | 45                                                  |
| 9.                | What is Manitoba/Quebec?                                                       | 42                                                  |
| 10.               | Draw the relationship of city and country<br>(circles)                         | 39                                                  |
| 11.               | What is a country?                                                             | 38                                                  |
| 12.               | Where is Canada?                                                               | 33                                                  |
| 13.               | Construct relationship of city, province, and<br>country (construction paper). | 32                                                  |
| 14.               | Draw relationship of city, province, and<br>country (circles).                 | 30                                                  |
| 15.               | What is a province?                                                            | 26                                                  |

Note: - Reproducibility of the total scale = .88. Reproducibility of subscale 1 (items 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14) = .91. Reproducibility of subscale 2 (items 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 15) = .89.

city were essentially equivalent, a specific type of knowledge about the city preceded that same knowledge about the country or province. However, on the knowledge of the political structure scale, (Table 8) knowledge about the prime minister (at least of his name) preceded knowledge about the mayor, which in turn preceded knowledge about the premier and the governor-general (scale reproducibility = .92). Thus, the hypothesized direction of increasing awareness from centre to periphery was only partially supported.

The first step in the examination of the hypothesis that children would be able to verbally express the spatial relationship between city, province, and country before they could construct it was a consideration of typical responses to the "where" questions of the cognitive concept of nation scale in conjunction with their scale positions relative to the drawing and construction questions. The single most frequent correct response to the question "where is Manitoba/Quebec?" was "in Canada": 91.1% of the subjects who answered this question correctly responded in this manner. To the question "Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?", 66.7% of those responding correctly stated "in Manitoba/Quebec", and an additional 23.5% responded "in Canada". These children were clearly able to verbally express the spatial relationship between city, province, and country. The fact that these two "where" questions (items 4 and 7 on the scale) appeared before the three drawing and construction questions (items 10, 13, and 14) on the cognitive concept of nation scale tends to support Piaget's contention that children can verbally express the spatial relationship before they can construct them. However, comparing subjects' success in dealing with the relationships between geographical locales on the two verbal and

TABLE 8

The Knowledge of the Political Structure Scale  
(Ranked from least to most difficult)

| Scale<br>Position | Item                                     | Total number of<br>subjects responding<br>correctly |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                | Who is the prime minister of Canada?     | 38                                                  |
| 2.                | What does a prime minister do at work?   | 28                                                  |
| 3.                | What does a mayor do at work?            | 27                                                  |
| 4.                | Who is the mayor of Winnipeg/Montreal?   | 26                                                  |
| 5.                | Who is the premier of Manitoba/Quebec    | 23                                                  |
| 6.                | What does a premier do at work?          | 17                                                  |
| 7.                | What does a governor-general do at work? | 8                                                   |
| 8.                | Who is the governor-general of Canada?   | 7                                                   |

Note: - The reproducibility of the total scale = .92. The reproducibility of the "Names" subscale (items 1, 4, 5, 8) = .97. The reproducibility of the "Roles" subscale (items 2, 3, 6, 7) = .93.

three construction items (Table 9) showed no difference between the number of subjects who verbally expressed the relationship before they could construct it and the number of subjects who followed the reverse pattern ( $\chi^2 = 2.80$ ,  $p = N.S.$ ). A comparison of the responses to the "Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?" question with each drawing and construction questions separately (considering only success in placing the city within either the province or the country) supported this finding (two circles, item 10 on cognitive concept of nation scale:  $\chi^2 = 1.86$ ,  $p = N.S.$ ; three circles,

TABLE 9

Comparison of Success on the Three Drawing and Construction Questions  
 With Success on the "Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?" and "Where is  
 Manitoba/Quebec?" Questions of the Cognitive Concept of Nation  
 Scale (Frequencies)

| Number of Verbal<br>Items Correct | Number of Drawing and Construction Items Correct |   |   |    |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|
|                                   | 0                                                | 1 | 2 | 3  |
| 0                                 | 20                                               | 2 | 1 | 1  |
| 1                                 | 5                                                | 2 | 1 | 1  |
| 2                                 | 4                                                | 7 | 4 | 24 |

Note: - Only those subjects who stated that Winnipeg/Montreal is in Manitoba/Quebec or in Canada and that Manitoba/Quebec is in Canada were considered to be correct for the purpose of this comparison. The actual chi-square comparison was made between the 11 subjects who had 2 verbal items but only 0 or 1 drawing and construction item correct and the 2 subjects who had all 3 drawing and construction items but only 0 or 1 verbal items correct.

item 14:  $\chi^2 = 1.77$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; construction paper, item 13:  $\chi^2 = 0$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ). A comparison of the response to the "Where is Manitoba/Quebec?" question with the appropriate drawing and construction questions (items 13 and 14, considering only success in placing the province within the country) also yielded no significant differences between the verbal-then-construction and the construction-then-verbal patterns of development (three circles, item 14:  $\chi^2 = 1.44$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; construction paper, item 13  $\chi^2 = 0$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ). Piaget's contention that children can verbally express the spatial relationships before they can construct them was not

strongly supported.

The next hypothesis based on Piaget's theory was that the growth of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality would proceed from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationships between city, province, and country, to an understanding of their spatial relationship, and thence to an understanding of their logical relationship. In order to test this hypothesis, success on the construction paper question, which is the spatial construction item of middle difficulty according to the cognitive concept of nation scale, was compared to success in logically supporting dual membership in terms of nationality. The results of this analysis clearly support the prejudiced pattern of growth from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationships, to an understanding of the spatial relationship, and then to an understanding of the logical relationship ( $\chi^2 = 5.89, p < .02$ ). Thus, this hypothesis was supported.

The hypothesis that the child's comprehension of the political structure would change from a concrete-personal to an abstract conceptualization was to be tested by a consideration of the number of references to institutions made by children in different grades in response to the knowledge of the political structure questions. While such references were so infrequent that statistical analysis was not possible, the results did follow the predicted pattern. Whereas grade one subjects made no reference to institutions, grade four subjects made six; one incorrect reference in regard to the role of the prime minister, and five references in regard to the governor-general (one of which was incorrect). Grade seven subjects made thirteen references to institutions: four in regard to the role of the mayor (three of which were incorrect), one incorrect



reference in regard to the premier, three references in regard to the prime minister (one incorrect), and five in regard to the role of the governor-general (one incorrect).

It was also predicted that children's motives for liking a country would change from purely personal ones among the youngest children to an acceptance of group values (familial and then societal) among the older children. An examination of the children's reasons for selecting their preferred country indicated that while references to family values were infrequent, references to societal values did increase with age and personal motives were most popular among the youngest children (Table 10). The differences among grades in frequency of references to personal and group values was significant ( $\chi^2 = 10.25$ ,  $p = < .01$ ). While the results clearly follow the predicted trend, the transition from personal to societal values does not appear to be completed by grade seven.

TABLE 10

Motives for Selecting Preferred Country of Residence  
for Grades One, Four, and Seven (Frequencies)

| Grade level | Motives  |                            |                              |                              |
|-------------|----------|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
|             | Personal | Reference to family values | Reference to societal values | Don't know + other responses |
| Grade one   | 18       | 2                          | 0                            | 4                            |
| Grade four  | 12       | 2                          | 4                            | 6                            |
| Grade seven | 10       | 0                          | 12                           | 2                            |
| Total       | 40       | 4                          | 16                           | 12                           |

### The Effects of Language-Culture and Geographical Location

The results clearly support the hypothesis of no differences between the scores of the English-speaking and French-speaking groups with regard to the cognitive concept of nation ( $F = 1.02$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ), the cognitive concept of nationality ( $F = 0.30$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ), the knowledge of the political structure ( $F = 0.11$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ), national identity ( $F = 1.89$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ), and regional identity ( $F = 0.11$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

It was also hypothesized that there would be no differences between the Winnipeg and Montreal groups on the same products of political socialization. The results provide strong support for this hypothesis as well (cognitive concept of nation:  $F = 0.04$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; cognitive concept of nationality:  $F = 0.29$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; knowledge of the political structure:  $F = 0.44$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; national identity:  $F = 0.77$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; regional identity:  $F = 0.01$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ). In addition, it was predicted that there would be no difference between the Winnipeg and Montreal groups in affect toward compatriots. The results suggest that Winnipeg and Montreal groups differed little in their preference for compatriots (Table 11), but lacking an appropriate statistical technique to test the significance of the difference, this cannot be stated with certainty.

There were two instances where differences between language groups were predicted. Firstly, it was hypothesized that both English-speaking and French-speaking children would make friendship choices within their respective language groups more frequently than outside this group. Though statistical analysis was not possible, Figure 2 illustrates that the results tend in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Examination of the results of question 1 in Figure 2 revealed that the English-

TABLE 11

Difference Between the Average Scale Position of Compatriots and  
the Average Scale Position of Others in Friendship Choices  
for Winnipeg and Montreal Subjects

| Geographic location | Average scale position of |        | Difference |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------|------------|
|                     | Compatriots               | Others |            |
| Winnipeg            | +0.48                     | -0.87  | 1.34       |
| Montreal            | +0.14                     | -0.95  | 1.09       |

<sup>a</sup>Average scale position of compatriots =  
scale position of (English-speaking Canadian + French-speaking Canadian)

2

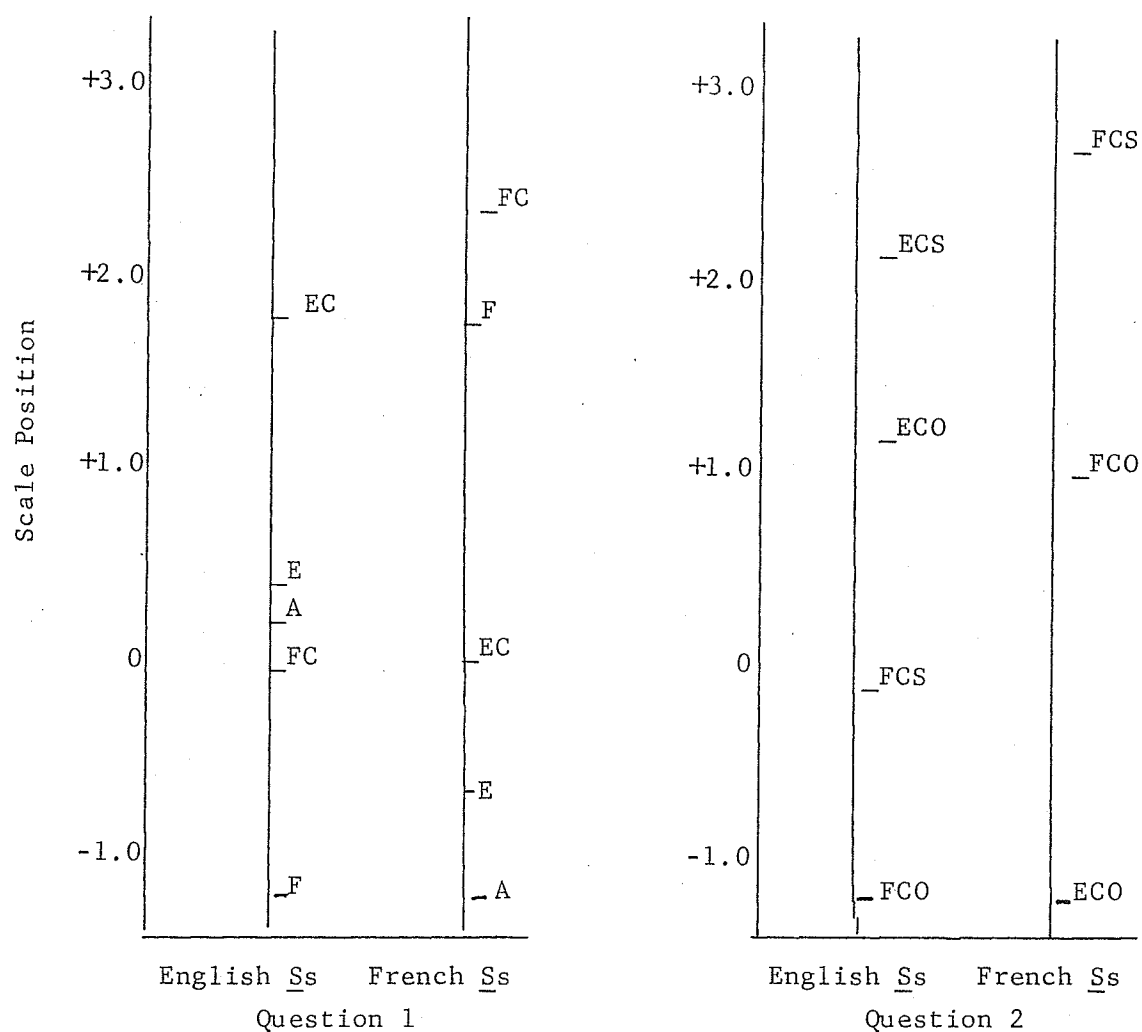
<sup>b</sup>Average scale position of others =  
scale position of (Englishman + Frenchman + American)

3

<sup>c</sup>Difference = Average scale position of compatriots - average scale position of others

speaking subjects selected all three English-speaking options more frequently than the French-speaking options; the pattern of the French-speaking subjects was exactly the reverse. It is apparent on question 2 that both groups actually crossed regions to select members of their own language group rather than select a member of the other language group living within their own province.

In the second instance, it was predicted that language would interact with geographic location on affect toward the nation such that French-speaking Montreal children would view Quebec more positively than



EC: English-speaking Canadian

FC: French-speaking Canadian

E: Englishman

F: Frenchman

A: American

ECS: English-speaking Canadian from S's province

ECO: English-speaking Canadian from another part of Canada

FCS: French-speaking Canadian from S's province

FCO: French-speaking Canadian from another part of Canada

Figure 2. The Guilford scale position of friendship choices for English-speaking and French-speaking subjects on the "Who would you prefer to have as your best friend?" questions.

Canada and take more pride in being Quebeckers while the other children view Canada more positively than their respective provinces and take more pride in being Canadian. With respect to the semantic differential evaluations of Canada and the provinces, the results indicate that all subjects within both language groups and both geographical locations rated Canada and their respective provinces about equally (concepts - Canada and provinces - by language:  $F = 0.01$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; concepts by geographic region:  $F = 0.84$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; concepts by language and geographic region:  $F = 0.28$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

An analysis of the distribution of the "more proud to be" responses by geographic location, language, and source of pride showed that all groups selected Canada as a source of greater pride significantly more frequently than their province ( $\chi^2 = 27.78$ ,  $p < .005$ ). An examination of the response distribution (Table 12) immediately revealed that the hypothesis that the Montreal French group would differ from the other groups could not be supported. The Montreal French-speaking subjects did select Canada less frequently than both the Winnipeg French and the Montreal English subjects, but, contrary to prediction, they did not select Quebec more frequently than Canada. Furthermore, the response distribution of the Winnipeg English-speaking subjects was identical to that of the Montreal French. It was thus decided to further examine the response distribution on a majority-minority group basis. The results indicate that while the minority groups selected Canada significantly more frequently than their province ( $\chi^2 = 26.0$ ,  $p < .005$ ), the majority groups showed no such preference and selected Canada and their provinces about equally ( $\chi^2 = 1.78$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

TABLE 12

The Distribution of "More Proud to Be" Responses  
by Geographic and Language Groups (Frequencies)

| Group    | Source of Pride |          |
|----------|-----------------|----------|
|          | Canada          | Province |
| Winnipeg |                 |          |
| English  | 11              | 7        |
| French   | 15              | 3        |
| Montreal |                 |          |
| English  | 18              | 0        |
| French   | 11              | 7        |

### The Correlational Hypothesis

The results of the modified Pearson Product Moment Correlation<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>A modified formula was used because of the stratified nature of the sample.  $(X-\bar{X})$ ,  $(Y-\bar{Y})$ ,  $(X-\bar{X})^2$ , and  $(Y-\bar{Y})^2$  were computed for each group of subjects within one school, one grade, one language group, and one geographic region. The results of these computations were then used in the following formula:

$$r = \frac{\sum (X-\bar{X})(Y-\bar{Y})}{\sqrt{\sum (X-\bar{X})^2 \sum (Y-\bar{Y})^2}}, \text{ d.f.} = k(n-1) = 2 \times 24 = 48.$$

However, before any correlations were calculated, the homogeneity of regression coefficients for each proposed correlation were computed using the following formula:

$$F = \frac{\left[ \sum \sum y^2 - \frac{(\sum \sum yx)^2}{\sum \sum x^2} - \text{RSS} \right]}{(k-1)},$$

$$\text{RSS} / (N - 2k)$$

where RSS is the sum of the sum of the squares for errors from each strata (Steel & Torrie, 1960, p. 320). None of the  $F$ -ratios were significant.

supported only a few of the predicted correlations between the level of a child's cognitive concept of nation and the level of his cognitive concept of nationality ( $r = 0.26$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $< .10$ ), his knowledge of the political structure ( $r = 0.59$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as well as with the extent of their political identity (national identity:  $r = 0.52$ ,  $p < .01$ ; regional identity:  $r = 0.57$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and the degree of his positive affect toward his nation ( $r = 0.02$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ). Thus, contrary to prediction, there was no significant correlation between the cognitive concept of nation scores and the cognitive concept of nationality and affect toward Canada scores.

#### Additional Analyses

The data collected during the interviews lent themselves to many interesting analyses, both qualitative and statistical, which were not directly related to any of the hypotheses. All of these analyses were, however, related to the basic research problem of defining the products of political socialization and permitted a finer analysis of data subsets.

Some of the most interesting data proved to be the political community sentiments results. The scaling of the affect towards compatriots responses of each geographic-language group separately provided some interesting insights, especially in terms of the first question. While the Winnipeg English and the Montreal French groups clearly followed the pattern of selecting members of their own language group first, the distance between the French- and English-speaking options for the Winnipeg French group was very slight, and the Montreal English group actually selected the French-speaking Canadian option more frequently than the English-speaking non-Canadian options (Figure 3). Once again, the sample

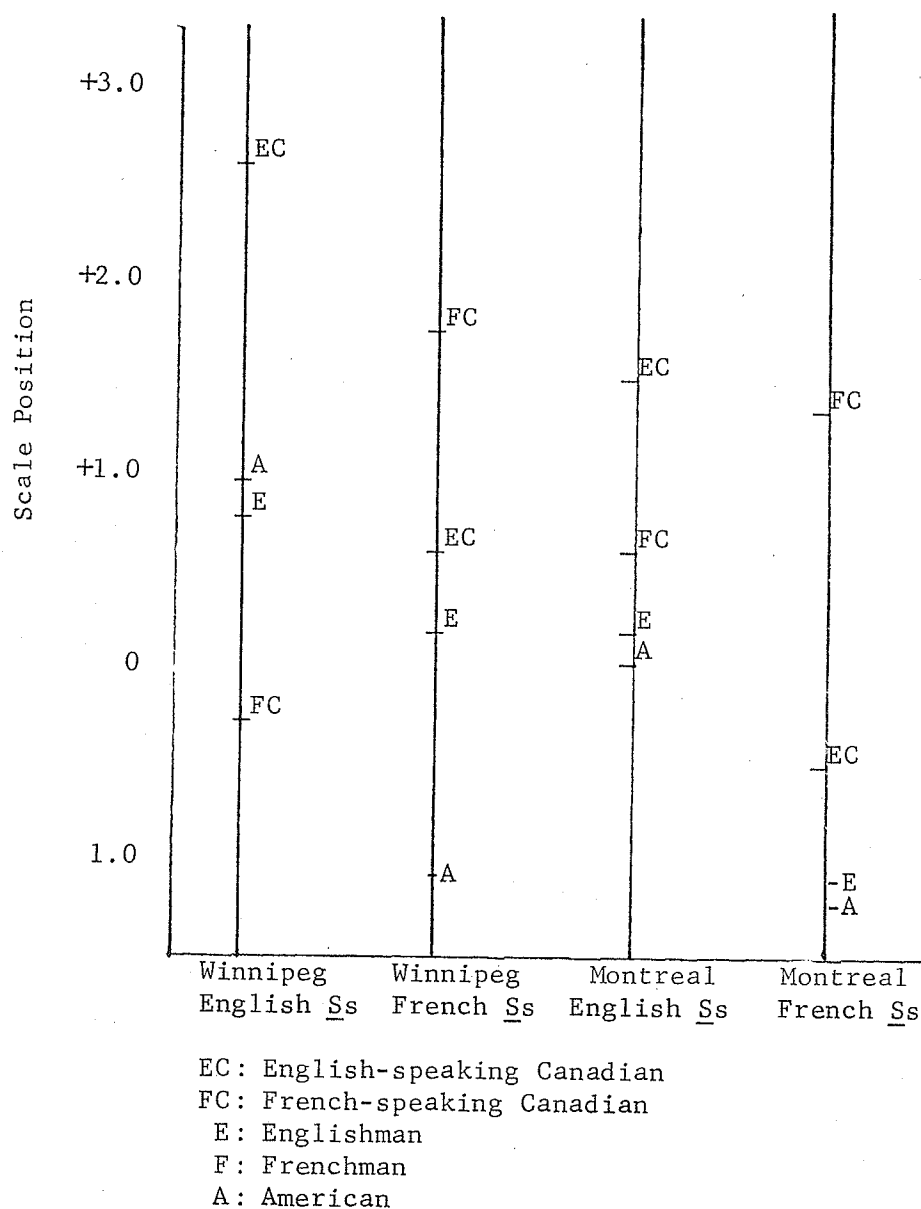


Figure 3. The Guilford scale positions of friendship choices for Winnipeg English, Winnipeg French, Montreal English, and Montreal French subjects on "Who would you prefer to have as your best friend." question 1.



seemed to divide itself on a minority-majority group basis.

Analysis of the distribution to the hypothetical stateless birth question of the affect toward nation scale, the other facet of political community sentiments, showed that there were no differences between groups in terms of preferred country of residence (Winnipeg English vs Winnipeg French vs Montreal English vs Montreal French:  $\chi^2 = 2.70$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ; grade one vs grade four vs grade seven:  $\chi^2 = 2.46$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ). All groups selected Canada or a part of Canada more frequently than any other geographic location (Canada vs other choices: by language and region,  $\chi^2 = 22.0$ ,  $p < .001$ ; by language,  $\chi^2 = 20.11$ ,  $p < .001$ ; by region,  $\chi^2 = 21.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ; by grade,  $\chi^2 = 21.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ). While the selection of Canada as the preferred country of residence implies affect for Canada, there were no differences in the mean semantic differential ratings of Canada among those subjects selecting Canada (mean semantic differential score = 50.04), part of Canada (mean score = 46.88), and another country (mean score = 51.59) as preferred country of residence ( $F = 1.47$ ,  $p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

The data collected on political identification also presented some interesting information, quite apart from the previously established increase with age in total scores. Of particular interest were the responses to the questions "What nationality are you?" and "Are you a Manitoban/Quebecker?". Considering the former question first, only 25 subjects responded Canada or Canadian. The greatest number of subjects (29) told the investigator that they did not know the meaning of the word nationality, while 6 responded that they did not know their nationality. Twelve subjects gave a nationality other than Canadian and 8 of these were actually the child's ethnic origin. There was a significant increase with

a grade in the incidence of correct responses ( $\chi^2 = 21.31, p < .001$ ). All subjects who did not answer this first question correctly were asked "What country do you belong to?". Thirty-one subjects responded Canada, 12 named a part of Canada, and only 4 still gave a completely non-Canadian response. The last problem given to those whose answers were still incorrect was "Are you Canadian?". All but 2 responded "yes". Thus, while a total of 70 subjects identified themselves as Canadian to the extent that they responded positively when asked directly, only 56 subjects could, without prompting, name Canada as the country to which they belonged. Does this latter group differ from those who were unable to name Canada in the ability to recognize and name the symbols of Canada (the national identity questions)? Analysis of the total sample ( $t = 0.86, p = \text{N.S.}$ ), grade one ( $t = 0.04, p = \text{N.S.}$ ), and grade four ( $t = 0.25, p = \text{N.S.}$ ) revealed no differences between the two groups. However, at the grade seven level the difference in national identity scores between the group knowing their nationality (mean score = 11.33) and the group not knowing it (mean score 8.00) was significant ( $t = 2.78, p < .01$ ).

Turning now to the second political identification question of particular interest - "Are you a Manitoban/Quebecker?", the results were quite dramatically different from those of the preceding question. Even when asked in such a direct manner, only 49 subjects agreed that they were Manitobans or Quebeckers; 23 subjects stated that they were not. Grades four and seven subjects agreed that they were citizens of their respective provinces more frequently than grade one subjects (grade one vs grade four:  $\chi^2 = 5.49, p < .025$ ; grade one vs grade seven:  $\chi^2 = 11.02, p < .005$ ), and Winnipeg subjects responded positively more frequently than

Montreal subjects ( $\chi^2 = 7.73, p < .01$ ). However, subjects who identified themselves as citizens of their respective provinces showed no evidence of greater ability in the recognition and naming of regional symbols than those who did not (total:  $t = 0.54, p = \text{N.S.}$ ;  $t = 0.14, p = \text{N.S.}$ ; grade four:  $t = 0.21, p = \text{N.S.}$ ; grade seven:  $t = 0.46, p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

## CHAPTER IV

Although much research has preceded the present investigation in the field of political socialization, relatively little had focused specifically on Canadian children with a consideration of possible language and geographic differences. Whereas previous studies considered either cognitive concepts or the child's knowledge or affect, the present study combined these three emphases in order to investigate the developmental relationship among these three aspects of political socialization.

### The Cognitive Concepts of Nation and Nationality

Since the three major studies in this area, those of Piaget (1951), Jahoda (1963a), and Greenberg (1969) were based on Piaget's theory of the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality, it was important to discover how well the results of the present study agree with the major propositions of that theory. The results, in fact, provided strong support for two of the three propositions. The cognitive concept of nation scale (Table 7) shows that the subjects awareness of their political community began in their immediate vicinity, that is, their respective city, and a comparison of subjects' relative success on the construction paper questions and in supporting dual membership revealed that the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality proceeded from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationship between city, province, and country, to an understanding of their spatial relationship, and then to an understanding of their logical relationship. As to Piaget's third major proposition, that children could verbally express the spatial relationship between geographical locales

before they could construct it, the results were mixed. Although the specific age levels at which particular concepts are acquired are not of fundamental importance in Piaget's theory, it was interesting to note that the Canadian children studied achieved the same stages in the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality at approximately the same ages as Piaget's Swiss subjects (Table 13). The comparability of the results of this study to those of Piaget suggest that the pattern, and even the rate of the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality is fairly stable and predictable.

The findings of Jahoda (1963a, 1964) and Greenberg (1969), not only suggested that the child's understanding of his political world begins in his immediate environment, but also suggested that it expands outward, gaining progressively larger scope to encompass the province or state, and finally, the country. The results of this study did not provide strong support for their "concentric circles" theory. The cognitive concept of nation scale (Table 7) shows that understanding generally progressed from city to country, and then to the province. Although some support for their theory could be derived from the fact that the most frequent response to the "Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?" was "in Manitoba/Quebec" (47.2% of the subjects responded in this manner), it should be noted that this was the least frequent response among grade one subjects (8.3%). At the grade one level, the most popular correct response was "in Canada" (16.7% of the grade ones responded in this manner). Thus, while there was strong support for the proposition that the notion of hometown is the first to enter the child's political awareness, there was little support for the contention that his awareness then grows in ever-

TABLE 13

Responses to Key Stages 1, 2, and 3 Cognitive Concepts of Nation and  
Nationality Questions for Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Questions                                                              | Number of Correct Responses |                   |                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                                                                        | Grade 1<br>(N=24)           | Grade 4<br>(N=24) | Grade 7<br>(N=24) |
| Stage 1                                                                |                             |                   |                   |
| Notions of Hometown:                                                   |                             |                   |                   |
| What is Winnipeg/Montreal?                                             | 15                          | 20                | 24                |
| What is the name of our city?                                          | 11                          | 22                | 23                |
| Verbal expression of spatial relationship:                             | 8                           |                   |                   |
| Where is Winnipeg/Montreal?                                            | 8                           | 19                | 24                |
| Where is Manitoba/Quebec?                                              | 7                           | 16                | 22                |
| Stage 2                                                                |                             |                   |                   |
| Construction of Spatial Relationship:                                  |                             |                   |                   |
| Circles to represent Winnipeg/Montreal<br>and Canada                   | 2                           | 15                | 22                |
| Circles to represent Winnipeg/Montreal,<br>Manitoba/Quebec, and Canada | 1                           | 11                | 18                |
| Construction paper question                                            | 0                           | 16                | 17                |
| Stage 3                                                                |                             |                   |                   |
| Logical Relationship:                                                  |                             |                   |                   |
| Can you be Canadian and Manitoban/<br>Quebecker at the same time?      | 7                           | 19                | 23                |
| Why?                                                                   | 1                           | 12                | 18                |

widening concentric circles.

In the overall analysis of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality scales, there were no differences between language and geographic location groups, but the incidence of adult standard correct responses increased with grade (Table 5). This also would suggest that the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality follows a fairly predictable pattern in all children. While two significant interactions were obtained in the analysis of the cognitive concepts data, it is believed that they do not contradict this conclusion. The variability among schools within geographic locations and languages (SwL x P interactions) at the grade four level on the cognitive concept of nation scale and for the total sample on the cognitive concept of nationality scale (Table 4) may suggest that the pattern of development across language and regional groups is so stable that the differences between schools within the same language and regional groups actually are greater than between-group differences. Since it is almost impossible to develop a purely cognitive scale, that is, one that cannot be influenced by rote learning, the effect of the schools variable is not surprising.

However, when questions were considered separately, some significant between-group differences in the distribution of correct responses were found. Firstly, on two of the three drawing and construction questions, Winnipeg subjects were correct more frequently than Montreal subjects (draw 3 circles:  $\chi^2 = 8.229$ ,  $p < .01$ ; construction =  $\chi^2 = 5.625$ ,  $p < .02$ ). Montreal subjects exceeded Winnipeg subjects in all types of errors, but particularly in the placement or drawing of the province outside the country. While the contention that this is a reflection of

the frequently strained relations between Canada and the province of Quebec would be difficult to support, that possibility does suggest itself. Winnipeg subjects were also more frequently successful than Montreal subjects in their ability to logically support the fact that they could be both a Canadian and a member of their province at the same time ( $\chi^2 = 4.59, p < .05$ ). This difference was probably related to the Montreal groups greater tendency to place the province of Quebec outside of Canada. One final difference in the incidence of correct responses occurred between English-speaking and French-speaking subjects on the question of what the child's nationality would be if he had spent two years in the United States. Eighteen of the French-speaking subjects believed that they would be Americans whereas only 8 English-speaking subjects thought this ( $\chi^2 = 6.02, p < .05$ ). Since there were no language group differences on either the national identity or affect toward Canada scales, the investigator can offer no plausible explanation for this difference.

In keeping with Piaget's contention that what a child says and how he says it are the most accurate reflection of his thinking, all open-ended responses were coded not only in terms of their correctness or incorrectness, but also in terms of types of responses. From the results of this coding, included in Appendix C, it can be seen that the ability to deal with the abstract concepts of country, province, and city increased with age. The older children were better able to relate these concepts to one another in their responses; the youngest children were generally unable to use the concepts at all. The responses to the "Where?" questions clarify this point. Grade one subjects tended over-



whelmingly to give the last three types of responses which were non-specific and did not involve the relational use of the term Canada, Manitoba/Quebec, and Winnipeg/Montreal. Seventy-five percent of the grade one subjects used one of these three response types with regard to Canada and their city and 62.5% did so with regard to their province. Only 39.7% of the grade fours and 16.6% of the grade sevens used these types of responses in reference to Canada; 41.7% of the grade fours and 8.4% of the grade sevens used them in regard to their province; and only 29.2% of the grade fours and 4.2% of the grade sevens used them with reference to the city. The grade one subjects' inability to deal with the concepts of city, province, and country could stem mainly from the fact that the only one of these that they know from personal, first-hand experience is the city. All of the children lived in a city and had some concrete feeling for what a city is. The concepts of province and country were possibly too intangible for them to grasp. All of the data presented in Table 13 also further substantiate Piaget's contention that the child's understanding of his political world is a notion of "hometown".

A similar response-type analysis of the cognitive concept of nationality questions (Appendix C) also yielded results which were consistent with Piaget's theory of development. In response to the "What makes you ..." questions, the majority of the grade one subjects gave incorrect or incomplete responses. They commonly referred to their parents (e.g., "Mommy made me that way", "my mother and father are Canadian"), their language (e.g., "I speak French", "I talk Canadian talk"), or some irrelevant fact about themselves (e.g., "I'm white...", "I'm a boy", "I play"). By grade four, however, the majority of children

had already adopted adult conceptions of what determines one's nationality. On the last three nationality questions, the grade one subjects not only gave more incorrect responses, but were also less able to logically support whatever answers they gave. Although the majority of these grade one subjects had entered the period of concrete operations (15 out of 24 subjects achieved high scores on the Genevan tasks), it is probable that they had not yet abandoned their transductive and intuitive logic, especially when faced with such an abstract concept as nationality.

In conclusion, the results of this study generally provided strong support for the three stages and two of the three major propositions of Piaget's theory of the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality. This, along with the almost total absence of language and regional differences suggest that the pattern of development is stable among Canadian children. Furthermore, the results of the response-type analyses of the concepts of nation and nationality questions support not only Piaget's specific theory with regard to the concepts of nation and nationality, but also support the previous finding that the adequacy of the child's cognitive concepts of nation and nationality is related to his general cognitive level.

#### Knowledge of the Political Structure

The major finding with respect to the knowledge of the political structure was that the incidence of correct responses increased with age. Since what the child knows about the political structure of his country is probably determined mainly by simple learning and exposure, this increase in knowledge with age was predictable. The disturbing aspect of

the knowledge of the political structure was that the level of knowledge was generally low in comparison with American studies (Table 8). Perhaps Pammet (1967, 1973) was right when he suggested that in the Canadian system of government it would be more fruitful to study institutions than political figures since there are no truly central orienting figures in a parliamentary system. However, neither his own study, nor those of Smith (1969) and Dennis, Lindberg, and McCrone (1971) supported this contention; only Zurich's (1968) finding that Parliament was the most salient image of government for the young child provided support for it. Certainly in the present study, the subjects were free to refer to institutions if they so desired, but such references were scant. The more likely explanation for the children's lack of knowledge of the political structure is that, in Canada, political structures and interest is generally low-key, even among adults.

Apart from the increase in scores with age, analysis revealed no other major between-group differences. However, the schools within languages and geographic location interactions (SwL x P) were significant for the total sample, and for grades four and seven. This may indicate that, once again, the pattern of development is so stable across languages and regions that interschool differences are actually larger.

Analysis of responses to individual questions did reveal two differences between groups. Firstly, a greater number of majority group members (Winnipeg English + Montreal French = 16 subjects) than minority group members (Winnipeg French + Montreal English = 7 subjects) knew the name of their provincial premier ( $\chi^2 = 5.18, p < .05$ ). While it is not surprising that the Montreal French should be highly aware of their

provincial government since they perceive this to be the seat of their power (Dozois, 1964), there is no apparent reason for this tendency among Winnipeg English subjects. It may be argued that as westerners the Winnipeg English subjects feel so far removed from the federal government that they depend more on the provincial government, and through this dependency become more aware of it. The Winnipeg French subjects would not follow this tendency since they seek the protection of their language and cultural rights in the federal government. However, since a greater number of English-speaking ( $N=24$ ) than French-speaking ( $N=14$ ) subjects knew the name of the prime minister ( $\chi^2 = 5.57, p < .02$ ), the results of this study would suggest that this is not a valid argument.

The results of the present research are fairly comparable to the descriptions of the political knowledge of American children outlined by Hess and Easton (1960), Greenstein (1965), and Easton and Dennis (1969). The first major proposition of Hess and Easton and Easton and Dennis, that images of government change from highly personalized to more institutionalized images as the child matures was supported by the results. Although the questions used in this study referred specifically to personal political figures and the results were biased in the direction of personalized images, inspection of the frequency of spontaneous references to institutions did increase with age. While Ritchert (1973) found that Anglophone Canadians switched from a personalized conception to an institutionalized conception of government as they matured and Franco-phone Canadians remained relatively stable in their personalized conception, no such differences were found in this study ( $\chi^2 = 3.502, p = \text{N.S.}$ ).

The personalization-to-institutionalization trend can best be explained by Piaget's contention that a child must first deal with an object or an idea (government) on a concrete level (people) before he can deal with it on an abstract level (institutions).

A second major finding of the Hess and Easton (1960) study (and of Zurich's 1968 study of Canadian children) was that lawmaking emerged as a major function of government. The children in this investigation were not questioned on the function of government but inquiries were made about the responsibilities of political figures. Of their responsibilities, the lawmaking or process function emerged as a stable response type (Table 14). However, reference to the regulative function, that is, the managerial, planning, and control function, was by far the most popular type of description of all the political figures. This type of role description closely resembles what Ritchert (1973) called the "input" function of government, one of the two most common descriptions of government given by his subjects. The second, the "output" function, was parallel to the distributive function in Table 14. Whereas Ritchert found that Anglophone Canadians tended to give more input responses and Francophone Canadians more output responses, no such differences between English-speaking and French-speaking subjects were found in this study.

Thirdly, while Hess and Easton (1960) found that the President, and later, institutions of government were idealized by American children, the results of this study tend to confirm previous Canadian findings (Pammet, 1967, 1973; Ritchert, 1973) that Canadian children do not see their government in idealistic terms. This difference between Canadian

TABLE 14

## The Knowledge of the Political Structure Work-Role Questions Percentage of Responses Falling into

Each Response-Type for the Total Sample and for Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Questions Group | Response Type (%)       |                           |                      |                           |                               |                       |                          |               |            |      | Responses Suggested by "General" |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------|------|----------------------------------|
|                 | Regulative <sup>a</sup> | Distributive <sup>b</sup> | Process <sup>c</sup> | Paper Pusher <sup>d</sup> | Authority Figure <sup>e</sup> | Symbolic <sup>f</sup> | Extrac-tive <sup>g</sup> | Miscellaneous | Don't Know |      |                                  |
| Mayor           |                         |                           |                      |                           |                               |                       |                          |               |            |      |                                  |
| Grade 1         | 0                       | 2.1                       | 0                    | 22.9                      | 20.8                          | 0                     | 4.2                      | 16.7          | 33.3       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 4         | 41.0                    | 6.3                       | 10.4                 | 7.6                       | 4.2                           | 0                     | 1.4                      | 4.2           | 25.0       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 7         | 58.3                    | 4.2                       | 22.9                 | 0                         | 0                             | 0                     | 6.3                      | 0             | 8.3        | -    | -                                |
| Total           | 33.1                    | 4.1                       | 11.1                 | 10.2                      | 8.3                           | 0                     | 3.9                      | 6.9           | 22.2       | -    | -                                |
| Premier         |                         |                           |                      |                           |                               |                       |                          |               |            |      |                                  |
| Grade 1         | 8.3                     | 4.2                       | 0                    | 18.8                      | 6.3                           | 0                     | 4.2                      | 29.2          | 29.2       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 4         | 18.8                    | 8.3                       | 12.5                 | 6.3                       | 4.2                           | 0                     | 2.1                      | 14.6          | 33.3       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 7         | 68.8                    | 4.2                       | 16.7                 | 0                         | 0                             | 0                     | 2.1                      | 4.2           | 4.2        | -    | -                                |
| Total           | 31.9                    | 5.6                       | 9.7                  | 8.3                       | 3.5                           | 0                     | 2.8                      | 16.0          | 22.2       | -    | -                                |
| Prime Minister  |                         |                           |                      |                           |                               |                       |                          |               |            |      |                                  |
| Grade 1         | 8.3                     | 4.2                       | 0                    | 16.7                      | 0                             | 0                     | 0                        | 45.8          | 25.0       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 4         | 37.5                    | 10.4                      | 10.4                 | 6.3                       | 0                             | 4.2                   | 2.1                      | 8.3           | 20.8       | -    | -                                |
| Grade 7         | 51.4                    | 4.2                       | 18.0                 | 4.2                       | 4.2                           | 0                     | 13.9                     | 4.2           | 0          | -    | -                                |
| Total           | 32.4                    | 6.3                       | 9.5                  | 9.0                       | 1.4                           | 1.4                   | 5.3                      | 19.4          | 15.3       | -    | -                                |
| Governor-Gen.   |                         |                           |                      |                           |                               |                       |                          |               |            |      |                                  |
| Grade 1         | 4.2                     | 0                         | 0                    | 10.4                      | 10.4                          |                       | 0                        | 29.2          | 33.3       | 12.5 |                                  |
| Grade 4         | 8.3                     | 0                         | 0                    | 2.1                       | 4.2                           | 16.7                  | 4.2                      | 18.8          | 29.2       | 16.7 |                                  |
| Grade 7         | 18.8                    | 6.3                       | 16.0                 | 0                         | 0                             | 16.7                  | 0                        | 13.9          | 15.5       | 16.0 |                                  |
| Total           | 10.4                    | 2.1                       | 5.3                  | 4.2                       | 4.9                           | 11.1                  | 1.4                      | 20.6          | 25.0       | 15.0 |                                  |

a Regulative: planning, management and maintenance bDistributive: helping people, providing for people

cProcess: law-making, attending meetings, sitting in Parliament. dAuthority figure: immature conceptions

(e.g., "tells people what to do). eSymbolic: ceremonial. fExtrac-tive: relating to money, taxes or the budgets.

and American children may again be attributable to the nature of the Canadian system of government. A parliamentary system, in which no one man is expected to have all the answers and debate of issues is more obviously split along party lines, would tend to give both sides of an issue greater credibility. Positions the prime minister defends are publicly attacked by the leader of the opposition, and for every government portfolio there is an opposition critic. The idea of the supremacy and infallibility of the government has no place in the Canadian system. Another possible explanation for this difference between Canadian and American children could be that the American President is both a political figure (that is, a governmental authority) and the head of state (that is, the embodiment of the regime or the constitutional order), while the Canadian Prime Minister is simply a partisan political figure. In other words, American children may idealize the Presidency rather than the President. The results of Hess and Easton's (1960) study could be taken to support this interpretation. Their grades two to seven subjects evaluated the "President of China" positively though they had no specific knowledge of the man. However, their evaluation of the "President of China" were not nearly as high as their evaluations of the American President. Furthermore, Sigel (1968) found that grades four to twelve American children's images of President Kennedy (after his assassination) were quite highly political and reflected issues that President had espoused. And finally, Arterton's (1974) rather surprising finding that children view President Nixon as undependable, untrustworthy, and dangerous would suggest that children are evaluating the President rather than the Presidency.

The results of this study tended to support the previous findings of Greenstein (1965) and Smith (1969) as to which level of government enters the child's awareness first. Children became aware of the prime minister before they became aware of the mayor, and the premier was the last political figure to enter their political world. While in Pammet's (1967, 1973) study the positions of the mayor and the prime minister were reversed, he conducted his study the day after a municipal election, and this may have considerably heightened his subjects' awareness of the mayor. It is possible that the federal-municipal-provincial pattern is the most common pattern in the growth of knowledge of the political structure among Canadian children. The responses to the "Who is (the prime minister, premier, etc.)?" questions showed the name of the prime minister to be widely known (Table 15). More children overall and at each grade level knew the name of the prime minister than that of any other political figure. His name also appeared at least once at every grade level in response to every question. The name Trudeau certainly appeared to be uppermost in children's minds.

In the formulation of the hypotheses, Piaget's contention that the child's understanding of the concept of nation would initiate in his immediate vicinity (hometown) was extrapolated to knowledge of the political structure. It was predicted that this would also begin with an awareness of the city - more specifically of the mayor. The finding that awareness of the prime minister preceded awareness of the mayor could be due to the heavy emphasis placed on national news by the media. Whereas the development of concepts is only slightly influenced by ex-



TABLE 15

## The Knowledge of the Political Structure "Who is..." Questions Percentage of Subjects Using

Each Response-Type for the Total Sample and for Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Questions Group                        | Response Type (%) |         |          |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|----------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|                                        | Mayor             | Premier | Minister | Governor-General | Political Figure | Religious Figure | Other Don't Know |
| Who is the Mayor of Winnipeg/Montreal? |                   |         |          |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Grade one                              | 0                 | 0       | 16.7     | 0                | 4.2              | 16.7             | 12.5             |
| Grade four                             | 33.3              | 0       | 8.3      | 0                | 4.2              | 0                | 0                |
| Grade seven                            | 75.0              | 4.2     | 8.3      | 0                | 8.3              | 0                | 0                |
| Total                                  | 36.1              | 1.4     | 11.1     | 0                | 5.6              | 5.6              | 4.2              |
| Who is the Premier of Manitoba/Quebec? |                   |         |          |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Grade one                              | 0                 | 4.2     | 4.2      | 0                | 8.3              | 16.7             | 4.2              |
| Grade four                             | 0                 | 29.2    | 8.3      | 0                | 8.3              | 0                | 0                |
| Grade seven                            | 4.2               | 62.5    | 4.2      | 0                | 8.3              | 0                | 4.2              |
| Total                                  | 1.4               | 31.9    | 5.6      | 0                | 8.3              | 5.6              | 2.8              |
| Who is the Prime Minister of Canada?   |                   |         |          |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Grade one                              | 0                 | 4.2     | 16.7     | 0                | 0                | 12.5             | 4.2              |
| Grade four                             | 4.2               | 0       | 66.7     | 4.2              | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| Grade seven                            | 0                 | 4.2     | 75.0     | 0                | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| Total                                  | 1.4               | 2.8     | 52.8     | 1.4              | 0                | 4.2              | 1.4              |
| Who is the Governor-General of Canada? |                   |         |          |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Grade one                              | 0                 | 0       | 4.2      | 0                | 4.2              | 8.3              | 0                |
| Grade four                             | 0                 | 0       | 8.3      | 12.5             | 0                | 0                | 4.2              |
| Grade seven                            | 0                 | 0       | 0        | 16.7             | 8.3              | 0                | 0                |
| Total                                  | 0                 | 0       | 4.2      | 9.7              | 4.2              | 2.8              | 1.4              |

77.8

ternal events (that is, their development can be facilitated or impeded), the acquisition of simple knowledge (that is, rote learning) can easily be so influenced. The fact that awareness of the prime minister preceded awareness of the premier could be related to the fairly consistent tendency of adults to underrate the importance of the provincial government in comparison with the federal government.

In conclusion, it can be said that while knowledge of the political structure increased with age, and that the rate and pattern of development was fairly stable across groups, the level of knowledge was generally low. While in American studies older children tended to make more reference to institutions than younger children and lawmaking emerged as an important function of government, in the present study reference to institutions were uncommon and the regulative function emerged as the most popular role description of political figures. In addition, unlike American children, the subjects made no spontaneous evaluations of government role performance.

#### Political Identity

The major finding with respect to political identity was that the level of both national and regional identity increased with age. The lack of between-group differences suggested that the pattern was stable across languages, religions, and schools.

The national identity scale (Appendix D) showed that awareness of the more common symbols such as the flag, the maple leaf, and the national anthem was very high. The least frequently recognized symbols were the beaver, lacrosse, and the Parliament Buildings. Further examin-

ation of the response distribution of the latter indicated that more children selected the White House than any other building as being in Canada and as very important to the people of Canada (Table 16). However, this tendency began to reverse by grade seven with these subjects selecting the Parliament Buildings more frequently than the White House. The popularity of the White House could possibly be explained simply by familiarity through exposure. American reports on Canadian newscasts frequently use a picture of the White House as a backdrop whereas pictures of the Parliament Buildings are less frequently used in this manner. Though all children are exposed to the same telecasts, the grade seven children are more likely to pay attention to what is being said than the younger children, and they learn that the White House is in the United States. However, since Winnipeg subjects selected the White House more

TABLE 16.

Selection of Building Important to Canada by Grades One, Four,  
and Seven Subjects and for the Total Group

|             | Selected Building |                      |       |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------|
|             | White House       | Parliament Buildings | Other |
| Grade one   | 45.8%             | 12.5%                | 41.7% |
| Grade four  | 54.2%             | 45.8%                | 0%    |
| Grade seven | 33.3%             | 54.2%                | 12.5% |
| Total       | 44.4%             | 37.5%                | 18.1% |

frequently than Montreal subjects ( $\chi^2 = 5.68, p < .05$ ), another possible

explanation presents itself. Many Winnipeg children, while pointing to the White House, made such comments as "my mother works there" or "teacher took us there". It seems that the White House resembles the Manitoba Legislative Buildings sufficiently to confuse many children.

Awareness of regional symbols was not nearly as high as awareness of national symbols (Appendix D). Thus, there does not appear to be any strong tendency for any group to identify with their province to the exclusion of the nation. However, majority group members tended to recognize more symbols (mean score = 2.47) than minority group members (mean score = 1.92,  $F = 3.38$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $< .10$ ). It is not at all surprising that the tendency to identify with a province should be stronger among children who belong to the majority group in that province. The actions of the government and the cultural atmosphere would reflect their interests and values more than those of the minority groups.

Responses to the questions "Are you a Canadian?" and "Are you a Manitoban/Quebecker?" provided a more direct assessment of political identity. The results indicated that children do see themselves as Canadians at a very early age. Although only two grade one subjects could answer the question "What nationality are you?", 13 others asked "What does that mean?", suggesting that they did not understand the term nationality. When asked more simply what country they belonged to, 14 grade one subjects, 21 grade four subjects, and 21 grade seven subjects answered Canada.<sup>13</sup> Responses to the even more direct "Are you..." ques-

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<sup>13</sup>These results are the cumulative results of "What nationality are you?" and "What country do you belong to?". Thus, the results for grade one are (2+12 =)14, for grade four are (7+14 =)21, and for grade seven are (16+5 =)21.

tions further supported the previous finding that national identity is stronger than regional identity. When asked in such a direct manner, 70 subjects responded that they were Canadians while only 49 said that they were either Manitobans or Quebecers. The difference was primarily due to the relatively few Montreal children who admitted to being Quebecers (Winnipeg: 30 subjects; Montreal: 19 subjects;  $\chi^2 = 7.73, p < .01$ ). Though this could simply be confusion between the city of Quebec and the province of Quebec on the part of the Montreal subjects, this seemed unlikely since there were no differences in frequencies of correct responses between Winnipeg and Montreal subjects on other questions relating to the provinces ("What is the name of our province?"; "What is Manitoba/Quebec?"). However, there does not appear to be any other plausible explanation.

In conclusion, Canadian children did come to see themselves as Canadians very early in their political development, and while recognition of national symbols increased with age, the more widespread symbols such as the flag and the national anthem were well-known even to the youngest children. Furthermore, national identity appeared to be uniformly high across languages and geographic regions. While there was some identification with the provinces, more notably on the part of majority group members, this was never as high as the level of national identity.

#### Political Community Sentiments

The results of the affect toward nation scale, the first facet of political community sentiments, provided support for both the Easton and

Hess early attachment theme and Piaget's cognitive developmental model. All of the semantic differential ratings of Canada were relatively high, indicating generally positive evaluations of Canada, and an early, strong attachment to it. But the question arises as to whether children's positive sentiments are directed solely towards their own country. The mean semantic differential ratings of the provinces and a neutral country indicated that this was not the case: children also evaluated their province and a neutral country positively (Table 17).

While the high semantic differential ratings of Canada seemed to indicate a generally positive outlook rather than a strong affective preference for Canada alone, the results of the stateless birth question did reveal a preference for Canada over other countries. All groups selected Canada significantly more frequently than all other countries combined. However, pitting Canada against the child's province yielded unanimous results. Whereas the minority groups selected Canada more frequently than their respective provinces, the majority groups selected Canada and their provinces about equally. Once again it seems that the minority groups must turn to Canada for their strength and the preservation of their identity while majority groups can find this within their own province. They do not, however, reject Canada. Taken as a whole, the results support the early attachment theme even though positive evaluations were not restricted to the child's country.

Piaget's cognitive developmental model which outlines three stages of affect developing parallel to widening cognitive abilities also received some support. In giving their reasons for preferring a given country over others the subjects motives did tend to shift from purely

TABLE 17

Mean Semantic Differential Scores for the Ratings of Canada, Manitoba/Quebec,  
and a Neutral Country for Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Group         | Mean Semantic Differential Scores |                 |                 |             |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
|               | Canada                            | Manitoba/Quebec | Neutral Country | Grade Means |
| Grade one     | 52.3                              | 51.7            | 51.9            | 51.9        |
| Grade four    | 47.9                              | 48.0            | 47.1            | 47.7        |
| Grade seven   | 50.1                              | 49.0            | 49.4            | 49.5        |
| Concept Means | 50.1                              | 49.6            | 49.5            |             |

Note: - The total possible semantic differential score = 60.

personal values to societal values with age. While references to family values (the middle stage) were few and the process was not yet completed by grade seven, the tendency described by Piaget's theory was evident. Thus, both the Easton and Hess and Piagetian models can be supported without contradiction - they are simply different approaches to the study of affect toward nation.

Although the mean semantic differential ratings of Canada were significantly different across grades as predicted, the results did not follow the expected linear trend. However, while the quadratic effect with grade four subjects rating Canada less positively than both grade one and seven was not predicted, it can be explained quite simply. The grade four child is more aware of the meaning of the word Canada and is better able to pick up on adult themes than the grade one child. However, he still deals with his world in a concrete manner such that he may rate Canada as only "fairly or kind of clean" if he sees trash in the parks or as only "fairly free" since he is not always allowed to do as he pleases. By grade seven the child is outgrowing this tendency to think in concrete terms and he also has a better knowledge of other countries (Piaget and Weil, 1951). He is more likely to rate Canada relative to these other countries, and Canada fares quite well.

Apart from the differences between grades in the semantic differential ratings of Canada, there was also a significant geographic location effect. Winnipeg subjects rated Canada more positively than Montreal subjects. This difference could possibly be related to the ever-present friction between Quebec and Canada. French-speaking Montrealers may feel that Canada's support for and understanding of the French cause is really



only a half-hearted attempt to appease them. On the other hand, English-speaking Montrealers may feel that Canada is not offering them enough protection against the French movement. The respective concerns of both groups are reflected in their less positive ratings of Canada.

While there were no between-group differences on the semantic differential ratings of the provinces and the neutral country (not even between grades), there were several grades by schools within languages and geographic locations, and schools within languages and geographic locations interactions (Table 4). This probably indicates that, once again, response patterns were so stable across grades, languages, and geographic regions that schools actually contributed more variability.

In conclusion, both Easton and Hess's early attachment theme and Piaget's cognitive developmental model were supported by the data. While the predicted trend of a linear increase in scores with grade did not materialize, the quadratic effect found does fit comfortably into Piaget's general theory of development. And, finally, whereas no between group differences were expected on ratings of Canada, the significant difference between the ratings of Winnipeg and Montreal subjects was not surprising.

With regard to affect toward compatriots, there was a strong affective preference for compatriots, especially same-language compatriots, at and beyond the grade four level among the children studied (Table 6). Since the grade one subjects had only a very limited understanding of the meaning of nationality, their apparent lack of preference for Canadians was not alarming. Nor was it surprising that same-language compatriots should rank far ahead of other language compatriots (Figure 2). In completing the paired comparison booklets, many children

made comments such as "I have nothing against \_\_\_\_\_ (other-language) Canadians, but I don't speak \_\_\_\_\_, so how could we be friends?".

This communication problem was apparently so important to the children that they crossed regions (and often countries) to choose same-language compatriots. This tendency was not as strong for the Montreal English- and Winnipeg French-speaking subjects. These two groups form the minority in their respective provinces and, as can be seen from Table 18, were more frequently in contact with, and had a greater speaking knowledge of the other language. Taylor and Gardner (1970) have shown that effective bicultural communication is possible and that opportunity and possibly motivation for contacts may be what is required to bring the French- and English-speaking Canadians closer together. The results of this research tend to support this contention.

In conclusion, it appears that Canadian children like Hess and Torney's (1968) American subjects, develop a sense of "we-ness" since they tended to choose compatriots over nationals of other countries. However, closer analysis revealed a strong tendency for language and culture to intervene, especially for majority group members, to the extent that other-language compatriots were generally a very low friendship preference.

#### Correlations Between Scales

Whereas the level of a child's cognitive concept of nation was expected to correlate with all the other products of political socialization, indicating a developmental relationship between all aspects of the child's growing political awareness, the cognitive concept of nation scores were, in fact, positively correlated only with the knowledge of

TABLE 13

## Subjects' Personal Assessment of Second Language

## Contact, Knowledge, and Usefulness

## A. Contact with second language

|                                    | Cumulative Percentages |        |          |        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------|----------|--------|
|                                    | Winnipeg               |        | Montreal |        |
|                                    | English                | French | English  | French |
| How often second language is heard |                        |        |          |        |
| Practically every day              | 5.56                   | 66.67  | 33.33    | 0      |
| Once or twice a week               | 16.67                  | 88.89  | 77.77    | 27.78  |
| Occasionally                       | 100.00                 | 100.00 | 100.00   | 100.00 |
| Never                              | -                      | -      | -        | -      |

## B. Percentage of subjects claiming stated degree of second language knowledge

## Degree of spoken knowledge claimed

|                                                         |        |        |        |        |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Speak it with no trouble                                | 0      | 94.44  | 5.56   | 0      |
| Can converse, but not very easily                       | 16.67  | 100.00 | 22.23  | 0      |
| Speak it a little, but can't converse                   | 50.00  | -      | 66.67  | 22.22  |
| Know a few words and phrases, but don't really speak it | 94.44  | -      | 100.00 | 55.55  |
| Know hardly a word                                      | 100.00 | -      | -      | 100.00 |

## C. Ratings of usefulness of second language

## How often second language is heard

|                       |        |        |        |        |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Practically every day | 5.56   | 66.67  | 33.33  | 0      |
| Once or twice a week  | 16.67  | 88.89  | 77.77  | 27.78  |
| Occasionally          | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Never                 | -      | -      | -      | -      |

the political structure, national identity, and regional identity scores. However, while the correlation between the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality was not significant ( $r = 0.26$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $< .10$ ), it is possible that given a more extended and continuous age sample on a uniform population, the two would be significantly correlated. The lack of correlation between the cognitive concept of nation and affect toward nation is clearly attributable to the unexpected quadratic grade trend of the ratings of Canada.

## CHAPTER V

A total of 72 Caucasian, Canadian, middle-class children equally divided among grades one, four, and seven, English-speaking and French-speaking groups, and Winnipeg and Montreal residents were questioned on four major products of political socialization: the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality, knowledge of the political structure, political identity, both regional and national, and political community sentiments. The cognitive concept of nation scale was designed to investigate the child's intellectual understanding of the spatial relationship between city, province, and country, and the cognitive concept of nationality scale assessed his understanding of the logical implications of this spatial relationship for a given individual as a resident of these places. The knowledge of the political structure scale inquired into knowledge of the names and roles of the incumbents in the top position at the three levels of government. The two political identity scales assessed the child's identification of self as belonging to a particular (national or regional) group and his awareness of the distinctiveness of this group as demonstrated by the recognition of symbols common to the whole group. In terms of political community sentiments, the affect toward nation scale tapped feeling-emotion expressed in regard to the nation and the affect toward compatriots scale assessed a preference for compatriots over nations of other countries. The above scales were used in conjunction with a number of other measures including biographical questions assessing second language contact and use and Genevan tasks assessing the subjects minimum cognitive level. All sub-

jects were interviewed in their mother tongue on three separate occasions. With the exception of those scales designed as booklets to be completed by the subjects, the investigator recorded all responses verbatim. Coding of open-ended responses was done independently by two (and in one instance three) coders. Intercoder reliability was generally high, as was scale reproducibility and other reliability measures.

The primary concern of this research was to investigate the changes that occur with age in the child with respect to the products of political socialization. The general expectation that, with grade, the products of political socialization would develop to be more like the adult view was well supported. The amount of knowledge about the political structure increased, and conceptualizations of nation and nationality became more accurate with age. The linearity of the developmental curves suggested that development in both areas progresses at a gradual but steady pace. Furthermore, the children did not seem to have reached a plateau by grade seven. Political community sentiments were positive: Canada received high ratings on the semantic differential and compatriots were chosen more frequently than nationals of other countries in friendship choices. Language, however, did play an important role in determining selection.

The results also supported all but one of the major contentions of Piaget's theory of the development of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality: (a) the adequacy of the child's cognitive concepts of nation and nationality corresponded to his cognitive developmental level; (b) the growth of the child's cognitive concept of nation (but not his knowledge of the political structure) initiated in his more immediate

surroundings (city) and only later included the more distant and remote (province and country); (c) growth of the cognitive concepts of nation and nationality proceeded from no understanding of the spatial and logical relationship between city, province, and country, to an understanding of their spatial relationship, and then to an understanding of their logical relationship; (d) older children conceptualized institutions in abstract terms more frequently than younger children; the young child's conception of political institutions was strictly concrete-personal; and (e) the child's motives for liking a country changed from purely personal ones among the youngest children to an acceptance of group values, familial and then societal, among the older children. However, there was little support for Piaget's contention that children are able to verbally express the spatial relationship between city, province, and country before they can construct it.

The findings with regard to the influences of factors associated with geographical location and mother tongue did not completely support the predictions. While mother tongue was associated with children tending to choose friends from their own language group, the results regarding the interaction of mother tongue and region on affect toward nation were mixed. All groups within both languages and both geographic locations evaluated Canada and their provinces about equally on the semantic differential rating scales. Thus, the Montreal French-speaking subjects did not differ from other subjects. Furthermore, the Montreal French did not take more pride in being Quebecers rather than Canadians. The sample was divided along minority-majority group lines here with the minority groups choosing "more proud to be Canadian" more frequently than

Manitoban/Quebecker, and majority groups choosing Canadian and Manitoban/Quebecker about equally.

Whereas no other between group differences were predicted, several were found. Most of these differences occurred on individual questions while predictions were based only on total scale scores. However, with reference to scale scores, Winnipeg subjects rated Canada significantly more positive than Montreal subjects on the semantic differential scales, and the differences between majority and minority groups on regional identity (majority groups scores higher) approached significance. This latter finding, along with the results of the individual questions analysis revealed a fairly consistent tendency. Majority groups tended to have a greater awareness of their respective provinces than minority groups: more majority group members knew the name of their provincial premier, more said they were proud to be members of their province, and they tended to recognize more regional symbols. The only other tendency evident from the analysis of individual questions was for Montreal subjects to have more difficulty dealing with the concept of province than Winnipeg subjects. Montreal subjects made more errors on two of the three drawing and construction questions; they were less successful in supporting dual membership; and they more frequently denied being a member of their province.

Finally, whereas the level of a child's cognitive concept of nation was expected to correlate with all the other products of political socialization, indicating a developmental relationship between all aspects of the child's growing political awareness, the cognitive concept of nation scores were, in fact, positively correlated with only the knowledge of the political structure, national identity, and regional identity scales.



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## APPENDICES



APPENDIX A  
THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND PROCEDURE

## THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND PROCEDURE

PART 1

## 1) Biographical information.

## Section A: From the school records

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Grade \_\_\_\_\_  
 Birthdate \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 School \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_  
 Programme \_\_\_\_\_ Race \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nationality \_\_\_\_\_ Religion \_\_\_\_\_  
 Father's occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mother's occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address (district) \_\_\_\_\_

## Section B: From the child

-What was the first language you learned to speak when you were little? \_\_\_\_\_

Probe: Is English<sup>1</sup> the first language that you learned to speak when you were little? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

-What language does your mother usually use when she speaks to you? \_\_\_\_\_

-What language does your father usually use when he speaks to you? \_\_\_\_\_

-What language do you usually use when you speak to your mother? \_\_\_\_\_

-What language do you usually use when you speak to your father? \_\_\_\_\_

Probes: Does your mother/father usually speak to you in English?

Mother: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Father: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Do you usually speak to your mother/father in English?

Mother: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Note: The Winnipeg English interview schedule will be presented here. The French version may be obtained through the Department of Family Studies, Home Economics Building, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3T 2N2.

<sup>1</sup>In the interviews of French-speaking and of Montreal subjects, French, Montreal, and Quebec were substituted where applicable.

Father: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

-How long have you been living in Winnipeg? \_\_\_\_\_

-How well do you speak French right now? (Check one answer)

I know hardly a word of French \_\_\_\_\_

I know a few French words and phrases, but I don't really speak French at all. \_\_\_\_\_

I speak a little French, but not enough to carry on a conversation \_\_\_\_\_

I can carry on a conversation in French, but not very easily \_\_\_\_\_

I speak French without any trouble at all \_\_\_\_\_

-How useful would it be to you right now to be able to speak French - or speak it better? (Check one answer)

Very useful: I could use it every day \_\_\_\_\_

Quite useful: I could use it often, but not every day \_\_\_\_\_

Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes, but not very often \_\_\_\_\_

Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it \_\_\_\_\_

-Do you have any close friends who speak mostly French at home?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

-Are there any students in your class at school who can speak French very well? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ I don't know \_\_\_\_\_

-Do any French-speaking families live within about six blocks of where you live? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ I don't know \_\_\_\_\_

-About how often do you hear French spoken in your community - other than in French classes at school (Check one answer)

Practically every day \_\_\_\_\_

Once or twice a week \_\_\_\_\_

Occasionally - but not as often as once a week \_\_\_\_\_

Never \_\_\_\_\_

## 2) Cognitive concept of Nation Scale (subscales 1 and 2 counterbalanced)

### Subscale 1

-Have you heard of Canada? OR You've heard of Canada I suppose?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

-What is Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

- Where is Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is Manitoba? \_\_\_\_\_
- Where is Manitoba? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is Winnipeg? \_\_\_\_\_
- Where is Winnipeg? \_\_\_\_\_

(Place a pencil and a blank sheet of paper in front of the child)

- Draw two circles to show how Winnipeg and Canada fit together
- Which circle stands for Canada? (Indicate on drawing)
- Which circle stands for Winnipeg? (Indicate on drawing)

(Turn paper over)

- Draw three circles to show how Manitoba, Winnipeg, and Canada fit together
- Which circle stands for Canada? (Indicate on drawing)
- Which circle stands for Manitoba? (Indicate on drawing)
- Which circle stands for Winnipeg? (Indicate on drawing)

#### Subscale 2

- What is a country? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is a province? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is a city? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is the name of our country? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is the name of our province? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is the name of our city? \_\_\_\_\_

(Place a blank sheet of white paper and scotch tape in front of the child. Present pieces of construction paper on a piece of cardboard and place within reach of the child.)

- Let's pretend that these pieces of coloured paper stand for Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Canada. Can you show me how they fit together on a map? Tape your work onto this piece of paper.
- (pointing to green) What does this colour stand for? \_\_\_\_\_
- (pointing to red) What does this colour stand for? \_\_\_\_\_
- (pointing to black) What does this colour stand for? \_\_\_\_\_

#### 3) Affect toward compatriots scale, Question 1

(Place the five comparison stimuli, printed on five inch by seven inch white cards, side by side on the table in front of the child.)

-Who would you prefer to have as your best friend?

(Read five options aloud, pointing to cards.)

A Frenchman \_\_\_\_\_

An American \_\_\_\_\_

An Englishman \_\_\_\_\_

An English-speaking Canadian \_\_\_\_\_

A French-speaking Canadian \_\_\_\_\_

(After the child makes his first selection, remove the card.)

-Who would you choose second?

(Re-read cards aloud for grade one subjects. Remove child's selection and repeat procedure until only one card remains.

Remove all cards from the table and place a pencil and the paired comparison booklet in front of the child.)

-Now the question is still the same. Who would you prefer to have as your best friend? Make one choice on each page. Mark your choice with a check. (Read each page aloud while pointing to the words for grade one subjects.)

Note: The comparisons to be made were:

|                              |                                        |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| A Frenchman                  | <u>OR</u> An American                  |
| An American                  | <u>OR</u> An Englishman                |
| An Englishman                | <u>OR</u> An English-speaking Canadian |
| An English-speaking Canadian | <u>OR</u> A French-speaking Canadian   |
| A Frenchman                  | <u>OR</u> An Englishman                |
| An American                  | <u>OR</u> A French-speaking Canadian   |
| An Englishman                | <u>OR</u> A French-speaking Canadian   |
| A Frenchman                  | <u>OR</u> An English-speaking Canadian |
| An American                  | <u>OR</u> An English-speaking Canadian |
| A Frenchman                  | <u>OR</u> A French-speaking Canadian   |
| An American                  | <u>OR</u> A Frenchman                  |
| An Englishman                | <u>OR</u> An American                  |
| An English-speaking Canadian | <u>OR</u> An Englishman                |
| A French-speaking Canadian   | <u>OR</u> An English-speaking Canadian |
| An Englishman                | <u>OR</u> A Frenchman                  |
| A French-speaking Canadian   | <u>OR</u> An American                  |
| A French-speaking Canadian   | <u>OR</u> An Englishman                |
| An English-speaking Canadian | <u>OR</u> A Frenchman                  |
| An English-speaking Canadian | <u>OR</u> An American                  |
| A French-speaking Canadian   | <u>OR</u> A Frenchman                  |

A sample page from the booklet:

an English-speaking Canadian \_\_\_\_\_ OR a Frenchman \_\_\_\_\_

4) Tube rotation task: A Genevan task

(Place hollow tube and the yellow, red, and green plastic cylinders on the table.)

Here is a hollow tube (look through it) and there are three plastic cylinders (point).

-What colours are the cylinders? \_\_\_\_\_

I am going to put the cylinders into the tube, and then I will ask you which one will come out first. Let's try it.

(Insert cylinders through side A)

First I put in the yellow one. Second, I put in the red one. And last I put in the green one.

(Do not rotate the tube, but tip it and make the cylinders slide down to the other side.)

-Now, which one will come out of this end first (point to side B)?\_\_

-Which one second? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which one last? \_\_\_\_\_

Let's try it again. This time I will do something different.

(Insert cylinders through side A.)

First, I put in the yellow one. Second, I put in the red one. And last, I put in the green one. Now watch carefully. (Rotate tube 180 degrees.)

-Which one will come out of this end first (point to side A rotated)?

-Which one second? \_\_\_\_\_

- Which one last? \_\_\_\_\_

5) Affect toward nation scale: The semantic differential, first booklet (Booklets 1, 2, and 3 counterbalanced)

I am now going to give you a little booklet to fill out. Each page of the booklet looks just like this one. (Place sample card,

HOT : : : : : COLD, in front of the child.) There are two words which are opposite of each other. Between these two words is a line separated into five equal parts. I will give you a card like this one with one word printed on it. (Place sample concept card, SUN, in front of the child.) What I would like you to do is to place an "X" somewhere on this line. This "X" will show me what you think about the word printed on this card. For example, if you think the sun is very hot, you would place your "X" here (Point to space closest to HOT). If you think the sun is somewhat or kind of hot, you would place your "X" here

(Point to space second from HOT). If you think the sun is not hot, but not cold, you would place your "X" here in the middle (Point to middle space). If you think the sun is somewhat or kind of cold, you would place your "X" here (Point to space second from COLD). If you think the sun is very cold, place your "X" here (Point to space closest to COLD).

-Do you understand? (Answer any questions and remove sample cards.)

Here is a card you can keep in front of you to remind you what each space on the line means (Place definition card,

|        |            |               |            |        |   |
|--------|------------|---------------|------------|--------|---|
| : very | : somewhat | : neither one | : somewhat | : very | : |
|        | or         | nor the       | or         |        |   |
| :      | : kind of  | : other       | : kind of  | :      | : |

---

in front of the child.) Let's try one example. (Place example card FIRE and example card WET : : : : : DRY in front of the child.)

-What does this your "X" tell me about what you think about FIRE?...

Very good. Now here is the booklet. (Place booklet and pencil in front of the child.) Tell me what you think about \_\_\_\_\_ (Present concept card Canada, Manitoba/Quebec, or neutral country in front of the child) by completing every page of this booklet in the same way.

Note: The fifteen pairs of bipolar adjectives were:

|            |   |                  |
|------------|---|------------------|
| Quiet      | - | Happy            |
| Happy      | - | Sad              |
| Pretty     | - | Ugly             |
| Awful      | - | Nice             |
| Free       | - | Chained          |
| Weak       | - | Strong           |
| Bad        | - | Good             |
| Clean      | - | Dirty            |
| Unfriendly | - | Friendly         |
| Rich       | - | Poor             |
| Closed     | - | Open             |
| Wonderful  | - | Terrible         |
| Old        | - | New <sup>2</sup> |
| Little     | - | Big              |
| Full       | - | Empty            |

A sample page from the booklet:

|                                              |
|----------------------------------------------|
| weak    :    :    :    :    :    :    strong |
|----------------------------------------------|

<sup>2</sup>These last three adjective pairs were omitted from the scoring because of their non-objective nature.

PART II

- 1) Cognitive concept of nation scale (subscales 1 and 2 counterbalanced)

(See this scale Part I.)

- 2) Important cities: Miscellaneous question

-What city do you think is the most important city in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

-What city do you think is the second most important city in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

- 3) National identity scale

-What nationality are you? \_\_\_\_\_

Probes: What country do you belong to? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you Canadian? \_\_\_\_\_

(For each of the seven visual recognition items, place the appropriate series of five stimuli in a row on the table in front of the child and then ask the question.)

-Which of these pictures stands for (or represents) Canada? (Coats of Arms)

North West Territories \_\_\_\_\_

Yukon \_\_\_\_\_

Canada \_\_\_\_\_

Ontario \_\_\_\_\_

Nova Scotia \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this (point to item chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_

(If Canadian Coat of Arms not chosen, point to it and ask)

-What is this called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these flags is the Canadian flag?

British \_\_\_\_\_

Canadian \_\_\_\_\_

American \_\_\_\_\_

Japanese \_\_\_\_\_

French \_\_\_\_\_

-Which picture stands for (or represents) Canada the best?(Symbols)

Hammer and Sickle \_\_\_\_\_

Star \_\_\_\_\_

Maple Leaf \_\_\_\_\_

Olympic symbol \_\_\_\_\_

Red Cross \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this (point to items chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_



(If maple leaf not selected, point to it and ask)

-What is this called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these animals stands for (represents) Canada?

Deer \_\_\_\_\_

Buffalo \_\_\_\_\_

Beaver \_\_\_\_\_

Raccoon \_\_\_\_\_

Wolves \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this animal (point to items chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_

(If beaver not chosen, point to it and ask)

-What is this animals called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these buildings is in Canada and is very important to the people of Canada?

Hanoi \_\_\_\_\_

Palace \_\_\_\_\_

Parliament Hill \_\_\_\_\_

Museum \_\_\_\_\_

White House \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this building (point to item chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_

(If Parliament Buildings not selected, point to it and ask)

-What is this building called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these sports is Canada's national sport?

Skiing \_\_\_\_\_

Hockey \_\_\_\_\_

LaCrosse \_\_\_\_\_

Football \_\_\_\_\_

Baseball \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this sport (point to item chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_

(If LaCrosse not selected, point to it and ask)

-What is this sport called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these sports is Canada best known for?

-Skiing \_\_\_\_\_

Hockey \_\_\_\_\_

LaCrosse \_\_\_\_\_

Football \_\_\_\_\_

Baseball \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this sport (point to sport chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_

(If hockey is not chosen, point to it and ask)

-What is this sport called? \_\_\_\_\_

(For national anthem question, instruct child simply to listen to the songs)

I will now play five songs for you. Listen carefully now.

(Start recorder, lower head, and look through some papers so as to discourage comments from the subject. At the end of the five songs, stop recorder and rewind.)

I will replay all of the songs now. Tell me when we get to Canada's song.

Anthem selected \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of Canada's song? \_\_\_\_\_

Note: The five songs were the national anthems of France, England, Austria, the United States, and Canada.

4) Regional identity scale

-Are you a Manitoban? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these pictures stands for (or represents) Manitoba? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these pictures stands for (or represents) Manitoba? (Coats of Arms)

Manitoba \_\_\_\_\_

Quebec \_\_\_\_\_

Alberta \_\_\_\_\_

New Brunswick \_\_\_\_\_

British Columbia \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this (point to item chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_  
(If Manitoba Coat of Arms not selected, point to it and ask)

-What is this called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these flowers stands for (or represents) Manitoba?

Yukon \_\_\_\_\_

Alberta \_\_\_\_\_

British Columbia \_\_\_\_\_

Manitoba \_\_\_\_\_

Quebec \_\_\_\_\_

-What is the name of this flower (point to item chosen)? \_\_\_\_\_  
(If Prairie Crocus not chosen, point to it and ask)

-What is this flower called? \_\_\_\_\_

-Which of these flags is the flag of the province of Manitoba?

Saskatchewan \_\_\_\_\_

Quebec \_\_\_\_\_

Manitoba \_\_\_\_\_

Prince Edward Island \_\_\_\_\_

British Columbia \_\_\_\_\_

5) Affect toward nation scale: The semantic differential, second booklet (Booklets 1, 2, and 3 counterbalanced)

(Place a semantic differential booklet and a pencil in front of the child.)

Do you remember how to fill out this booklet?...Good. Now here is the card to remind you what each space on the line means. (Place in front of the child.) This time, tell me what you think about \_\_\_\_\_ (either Canada, Manitoba/Quebec, or a neutral country) by completing every page of the booklet.

6) Hierarchical classification task: A Genevan task.

(Place on the table, in front of the child, either four yellow and two red, or four red and two yellow plastic blocks.)  
Here are six plastic blocks.

- How many yellow blocks are there? \_\_\_\_\_
- How many red blocks are there? \_\_\_\_\_
- Now tell me, are there more \_\_\_\_\_ (greater numbered colour) blocks, or are there more plastic blocks? \_\_\_\_\_

-Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

The other day a little boy/girl told me that there were more \_\_\_\_\_ (give answer opposite to that which child gives).

-Do you think he is right? \_\_\_\_\_

-Why? \_\_\_\_\_

### PART III

#### 1) Cognitive concept of nationality scale

- What makes you a Canadian? \_\_\_\_\_
- What makes you a Manitoban? \_\_\_\_\_
- Can you be a Canadian and a Manitoban at the same time? Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_
- Pretend that you are going on a summer holiday to the United States of America for a whole summer. While you are in the United States, are you a Canadian or are you an American?  
Canadian \_\_\_\_\_ American \_\_\_\_\_ Both \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Why (If "Because", ask: "But how come?") \_\_\_\_\_
- Pretend that your father is going to work in the United States of America for two years and your whole family is going with him. While you are in the United States, are you a Canadian or are you an American?  
Canadian \_\_\_\_\_ American \_\_\_\_\_ Both \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Why? (If "Because" ask: "But how come?") \_\_\_\_\_

#### 2) Affect toward compatriots scale: Question 2

(Follow the same procedure as Question 1 for both the rank ordering and the paired comparison, using the following choices:

- an English-speaking Canadian from your own province (ECS)
- a French-speaking Canadian from your own province (FCS)
- an English-speaking Canadian from another part of Canada (ECO)
- a French-speaking Canadian from another part of Canada (FCO)

Note: The comparisons to be made in the booklet were:

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| ECS - ECO | ECO - ECS |
| FCS - FCO | FCO - FCS |
| ECS - FCS | FCS - ECS |
| FCO - ECO | ECO - FCO |
| ECS - FCO | FCO - ECS |
| FCS - ECO | ECO - FCS |

- 3) Affect toward nation scale: The semantic differential, booklet 3  
(Booklets 1, 2, and 3 counterbalanced.)

(Follow the same procedure as for the second semantic differential booklet in Part II.)

- 4) Knowledge of the political structure scale

-Who is the Mayor of Winnipeg? (code answer) \_\_\_\_\_  
 -What kinds of things do you think a mayor does at work? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -Who is the Premier of Manitoba? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -What kind of things do you think a premier does at work? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -Who is the Prime Minister of Canada? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -What kind of things do you think a prime minister does at work? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -Who is the Governor-General of Canada? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -What kind of things do you think a governor-general does at work? \_\_\_\_\_

- 5) Affect toward nation scale: The stateless birth question

-Pretend that you were born without belonging to any country.  
 Which country would you choose to belong to now if somebody gave  
 you the choice? \_\_\_\_\_  
 -Why? \_\_\_\_\_

- 6) Source of pride: Miscellaneous question.

-What makes you more proud - to be a Canadian or to be a Manitoban?  
 Canadian \_\_\_\_\_ Manitoban \_\_\_\_\_  
 -Why? (If "Because" ask: "But how come?") \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B

A SUMMARY OF THE MEAN SQUARES FROM THE  
ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

A Summary of the Mean Squares from the Analyses of Variance

| Source | Degrees of Freedom | Cognitive Concept of Nation | Cognitive Concept of Nationality | Knowledge of the Political Structure | National Identity | Regional Identity | Semantic Differential Ratings |          |         |         |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|
|        |                    |                             |                                  |                                      |                   |                   | Neutral                       |          |         | Country |
|        |                    |                             |                                  |                                      |                   |                   | Canada                        | Province | Country |         |
| L      | 1                  | 14.22                       | 0.51                             | 0.54                                 | 0.17              | 0.03              | 10.89                         | 6.72     | 245.68  |         |
| P      | 1                  | 0.50                        | 0.49                             | 0.53                                 | 0.07              | 0.00              | 98.00                         | 14.22    | 3.13    |         |
| LP     | 1                  | 4.50                        | 0.19                             | 0.41                                 | 0.01              | 0.70              | 3.56                          | 2.72     | 11.68   |         |
| SwLP   | 4                  | 13.92                       | 1.69                             | 1.21                                 | 0.09              | 0.27              | 10.39                         | 39.81    | 57.24   |         |
| G      | 2                  | 566.76                      | 11.84                            | 17.50                                | 3.19              | 2.15              | 115.01                        | 85.26    | 140.29  |         |
| GL     | 2                  | 3.60                        | 0.02                             | 0.07                                 | 0.01              | 0.10              | 66.26                         | 46.68    | 31.43   |         |
| GP     | 2                  | 4.63                        | 1.05                             | 0.32                                 | 0.01              | 0.70              | 14.04                         | 0.93     | 24.54   |         |
| GLP    | 2                  | 1.63                        | 0.05                             | 0.08                                 | 0.04              | 0.14              | 0.35                          | 4.51     | 94.01   |         |
| SGwLP  | 8                  | 9.46                        | 0.49                             | 0.60                                 | 0.11              | 0.18              | 52.56                         | 109.85   | 174.74  |         |
| Within | 48                 | 6.17                        | 0.34                             | 0.36                                 | 0.09              | 0.21              | 41.42                         | 45.07    | 49.75   |         |
| Total  | 71                 |                             |                                  |                                      |                   |                   |                               |          |         |         |

Note: - In the descriptions of the sources of variation, L = Language Groups, P = Geographic

Location, S = Schools, w = Within, and G = Grade Levels.

APPENDIX C

THE COGNITIVE CONCEPTS OF NATION AND NATIONALITY QUESTIONS:

PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECTS USING EACH RESPONSE TYPE FOR THE

TOTAL SAMPLE AND FOR GRADES ONE, FOUR, AND SEVEN

The Cognitive Concept of Nation Questions: Percentage of Subjects Using Each

Response Type for the Total Sample and Grades One, Four, and Seven

| The Cognitive Concept of<br>Nation Questions<br>Group | Response Types                                     |                                                 |  | Miscellaneous: Don't<br>Know + Other Responses |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------------------|
|                                                       | Correct Reference to<br>Country, Province, or City | Use of other<br>Geographical Terms <sup>a</sup> |  |                                                |
| What is Canada?                                       |                                                    |                                                 |  |                                                |
| Grade one                                             | 25                                                 | 58                                              |  | 17                                             |
| Grade four                                            | 63                                                 | 29                                              |  | 8                                              |
| Grade seven                                           | 75                                                 | 21                                              |  | 4                                              |
| Total                                                 | 54                                                 | 36                                              |  | 10                                             |
| What is Manitoba/Quebec?                              |                                                    |                                                 |  |                                                |
| Grade one                                             | 8                                                  | 46                                              |  | 46                                             |
| Grade four                                            | 75                                                 | 21                                              |  | 4                                              |
| Grade seven                                           | 88                                                 | 13                                              |  | 0                                              |
| Total                                                 | 57                                                 | 26                                              |  | 17                                             |
| What is Winnipeg/Montreal?                            |                                                    |                                                 |  |                                                |
| Grade one                                             | 50 <sup>b</sup>                                    | 25                                              |  | 25                                             |
| Grade four                                            | 71                                                 | 21                                              |  | 8                                              |
| Grade seven                                           | 79                                                 | 21                                              |  | 0                                              |
| Total                                                 | 67                                                 | 22                                              |  | 11                                             |

<sup>a</sup>Examples of definitions using other geographical terms are: "Canada is Winnipeg", "Manitoba is a country", and "Winnipeg is a place".

<sup>b</sup>Far more Montreal subjects (29) than Winnipeg subjects (19) fell into this category ( $\chi^2 = 6.73, p < .01$ ).



| The Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nation Questions<br>Group | Response Types (%)     |              |                           |                             |                                      |                              |                            |       |               |  |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------------|--|
|                                                          | In<br>North<br>America | In<br>Canada | In<br>Manitoba/<br>Quebec | In<br>Winnipeg/<br>Montreal | Relation<br>to other<br>of the World | "On earth"<br>"in the World" | Here/<br>There<br>Near/Far | Misc. | Don't<br>Know |  |
| Where is Canada?                                         |                        |              |                           |                             |                                      |                              |                            |       |               |  |
| Grade one                                                | 0                      | -            | 4.2                       | 12.5                        | 0                                    | 8.3                          | 29.2                       | 12.5  | 33.3          |  |
| Grade four                                               | 16.7                   | -            | 8.3                       | 4.2                         | 16.7                                 | 12.5                         | 4.2                        | 25.0  | 12.5          |  |
| Grade seven                                              | 54.2                   | -            | 8.3                       | 0                           | 16.7                                 | 4.2                          | 0                          | 8.3   | 8.3           |  |
| Total                                                    | 23.6                   | -            | 6.9                       | 5.6                         | 11.1                                 | 8.3                          | 11.1                       | 15.3  | 18.1          |  |
| Where is<br>Manitoba/Quebec?                             |                        |              |                           |                             |                                      |                              |                            |       |               |  |
| Grade one                                                | -                      | 25.0         | -                         | 12.5                        | -                                    | -                            | 20.8                       | 12.5  | 29.2          |  |
| Grade four                                               | -                      | 54.2         | -                         | 4.2                         | -                                    | -                            | 0                          | 25.0  | 16.7          |  |
| Grade seven                                              | -                      | 91.7         | -                         | 0                           | -                                    | -                            | 4.2                        | 0     | 4.2           |  |
| Total                                                    | -                      | 56.9         | -                         | 5.6                         | -                                    | -                            | 8.3                        | 12.5  | 16.7          |  |
| Where is<br>Winnipeg/Montreal?                           |                        |              |                           |                             |                                      |                              |                            |       |               |  |
| Grade one                                                | -                      | 16.7         | 8.3                       | -                           | -                                    | -                            | 29.2                       | 20.8  | 25.0          |  |
| Grade four                                               | -                      | 25.0         | 45.8                      | -                           | -                                    | -                            | 4.2                        | 12.5  | 12.5          |  |
| Grade seven                                              | -                      | 8.3          | 87.5                      | -                           | -                                    | -                            | 0                          | 4.2   | 0             |  |
| Total                                                    | -                      | 16.7         | 47.2                      | -                           | -                                    | -                            | 11.1                       | 12.5  | 12.5          |  |

| The Cognitive Concept<br>of Nation Questions |                                                      | Response Types (%)      |                            |         |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| Group                                        | Reference to<br>poli-Geographical Terms <sup>a</sup> | Part of... <sup>b</sup> | Description of<br>Contents | Example |
| What is a country?                           |                                                      |                         |                            |         |
| Grade one                                    | 0                                                    | 4.2                     | 0                          | 0       |
| Grade four                                   | 4.2                                                  | 8.3                     | 12.5                       | 12.5    |
| Grade seven                                  | 20.8                                                 | 8.3                     | 20.8                       | 8.3     |
| Total                                        | 8.3                                                  | 6.9                     | 11.1                       | 6.9     |
| What is a province?                          |                                                      |                         |                            |         |
| Grade one                                    | 0                                                    | 8.4                     | 0                          | 0       |
| Grade four                                   | 4.2                                                  | 12.5                    | 12.5                       | 12.5    |
| Grade seven                                  | 12.5                                                 | 45.8                    | 12.5                       | 4.2.    |
| Total                                        | 5.6                                                  | 22.2                    | 8.3                        | 5.6     |
| What is a city?                              |                                                      |                         |                            |         |
| Grade one                                    | 25.0                                                 | 0                       | 25.0                       | 12.5    |
| Grade four                                   | 4.2                                                  | 16.7                    | 54.2                       | 4.2     |
| Grade seven                                  | 0                                                    | 50.0                    | 29.2                       | 4.2     |
| Total                                        | 9.7                                                  | 22.2                    | 36.1                       | 6.9     |

<sup>a</sup>Examples of poli-geographical terms: "A country is a nation", "a province is a large area with its own system of government".

<sup>b</sup>The "part of..." responses varied with the question. Examples: "a country is a part of the world (or part of a continent)", "a province is a part of a country", "a city is a part of a province".

(Continued page 144)

| The Cognitive Concept<br>of Nation Questions<br>Group | Response Types (%)                     |                                                 |                           |               |               |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|
|                                                       | Reference to Land,<br>Place, or People | Reference to or<br>Comparison with <sup>c</sup> | Wildlands or<br>Farmlands | Miscellaneous | Don't<br>Know |
| What is a country?                                    |                                        |                                                 |                           |               |               |
| Grade one                                             | 16.6                                   | 25.0                                            | 20.8                      | 8.3           | 25.0          |
| Grade four                                            | 45.8                                   | 0                                               | 8.3                       | 0             | 8.3           |
| Grade seven                                           | 16.6                                   | 0                                               | 8.3                       | 12.5          | 4.2           |
| Total                                                 | 26.4                                   | 8.3                                             | 12.5                      | 6.9           | 12.5          |
| What is a province?                                   |                                        |                                                 |                           |               |               |
| Grade one                                             | 4.2                                    | 12.5                                            | -                         | 16.7          | 58.3          |
| Grade four                                            | 4.2                                    | 41.6                                            | -                         | 4.2           | 8.3           |
| Grade seven                                           | 8.3                                    | 12.5                                            | -                         | 4.2           | 0             |
| Total                                                 | 5.6                                    | 22.2                                            | -                         | 8.3           | 22.2          |
| What is a city?                                       |                                        |                                                 |                           |               |               |
| Grade one                                             | 0                                      | -                                               | -                         | 25.0          | 12.5          |
| Grade four                                            | 12.5                                   | -                                               | -                         | 8.3           | 0             |
| Grade seven                                           | 0                                      | -                                               | -                         | 12.5          | 4.2           |
| Total                                                 | 4.2                                    | -                                               | -                         | 15.3          | 5.6           |

<sup>c</sup>These responses also varied with the questions. Country was sometimes compared to a city; a province was sometimes defined as a little country, or a big city, etc.

| The Cognitive Concept<br>of Nation Questions |      | Response Types (%)      |                       |        |                                |               |
|----------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------------------------------|---------------|
|                                              |      | Winnipeg or<br>Montreal | Manitoba or<br>Quebec | Canada | Other geographical<br>location | Don't<br>Know |
| Group                                        |      |                         |                       |        |                                |               |
| What is the name of our city?                |      |                         |                       |        |                                |               |
| Grade one                                    | 45.8 | 12.5                    | 16.7                  | -      | 25.0                           |               |
| Grade four                                   | 91.7 | 4.2                     | 4.2                   | -      | 0                              |               |
| Grade seven                                  | 95.8 | 0                       | 0                     | -      | 4.2                            |               |
| Total                                        | 77.8 | 5.6                     | 6.9                   | -      | 9.7                            |               |
| What is the name of our province?            |      |                         |                       |        |                                |               |
| Grade one                                    | 12.5 | 20.8                    | 12.5                  | 4.2    | 50.0                           |               |
| Grade four                                   | 8.3  | 83.3                    | 0                     | 0      | 8.3                            |               |
| Grade seven                                  | 4.2  | 95.8                    | 0                     | 0      | 0                              |               |
| Total                                        | 8.3  | 66.7                    | 4.2                   | 1.4    | 19.4                           |               |
| What is the name of our country?             |      |                         |                       |        |                                |               |
| Grade one                                    | 25.0 | 8.3                     | 58.3                  | 0      | 8.3                            |               |
| Grade four                                   | 12.5 | 0                       | 87.5                  | 0      | 0                              |               |
| Grade seven                                  | 4.2  | 0                       | 91.7                  | 4.2    | 0                              |               |
| Total                                        | 13.9 | 2.8                     | 79.2                  | 1.7    | 2.8                            |               |

The Cognitive Concept of Nationality Questions Percentage of Subjects Using  
Each Response Type for the Total Sample and Grades One, Four, and Seven

| Cognitive Concept of<br>Nationality Questions<br>Group | Response Types (%)                            |                                    |                      |                                         | Don't<br>Know |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------|
|                                                        | Born, live, or born<br>and live in--(or here) | Where you are born<br>makes you--- | Miscellaneous        |                                         |               |
|                                                        |                                               |                                    | Correct <sup>a</sup> | Incorrect or<br>Incomplete <sup>b</sup> |               |
| What makes you Canadian?                               |                                               |                                    |                      |                                         |               |
| Grade one                                              | 12.5                                          | 0                                  | 0                    | 54.2                                    | 33.3          |
| Grade four                                             | 62.5                                          | 8.3                                | 4.2                  | 16.7                                    | 8.3           |
| Grade seven                                            | 66.7                                          | 8.3                                | 16.7                 | 8.3                                     | 0             |
| Total                                                  | 47.2                                          | 5.6                                | 5.6                  | 26.4                                    | 13.9          |
| What makes you a Manitoban/Quebecker?                  |                                               |                                    |                      |                                         |               |
| Grade one                                              | 8.3                                           | -                                  | 0                    | 50.0                                    | 41.7          |
| Grade four                                             | 66.7                                          | -                                  | 8.3                  | 16.7                                    | 8.3           |
| Grade seven                                            | 87.5                                          | -                                  | 4.2                  | 8.3                                     | 0             |
| Total                                                  | 54.2                                          | -                                  | 4.2                  | 25.0                                    | 16.7          |

<sup>a</sup>Examples of a miscellaneous correct answer: "I was born in Winnipeg", or "I've lived in Montreal all my life".

<sup>b</sup>Examples of miscellaneous incorrect or incomplete answers: "I'm white, I have eyes, ears...", "my mother and father were Canadian".

| The Cognitive Concept<br>of<br>Nationality Questions<br>Group                        | Response Types (%)                      |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                                    |               |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|--|
|                                                                                      | <u>American</u>                         |               |                                                          |                                                            | <u>Canadian</u>                                |                                    |               |  |
|                                                                                      | Miscellaneous<br>Responses <sup>a</sup> | Don't<br>Know | Logical<br>Correct<br>Complete<br>Reasoning <sup>b</sup> | Logical<br>Correct<br>Incomplete<br>Reasoning <sup>c</sup> | Logical<br>Incorrect<br>Reasoning <sup>d</sup> | No<br>Valid<br>Reason <sup>e</sup> | Don't<br>Know |  |
| After a summer holiday in the United States, are you a Canadian or an American? Why? |                                         |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                                    |               |  |
| Grade one                                                                            | 37.5                                    | 4.2           | 4.2                                                      | 12.5                                                       | 12.5                                           | 16.7                               | 12.5          |  |
| Grade four                                                                           | 16.7                                    | 0             | 16.7                                                     | 58.3                                                       | 4.2                                            | 0                                  | 4.2           |  |
| Grade seven                                                                          | 0                                       | 0             | 50.0                                                     | 33.3                                                       | 8.3                                            | 8.3                                | 0             |  |
| Total                                                                                | 18.1                                    | 1.4           | 23.6                                                     | 34.7                                                       | 8.3                                            | 8.3                                | 5.6           |  |
| After two years in the United States, are you a Canadian or an American? Why?        |                                         |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                                    |               |  |
| Grade one                                                                            | 37.5                                    | 12.5          | 4.2                                                      | 16.7                                                       | 16.7                                           | 4.2                                | 8.3           |  |
| Grade four                                                                           | 41.7                                    | 4.2           | 16.7                                                     | 37.5                                                       | 0                                              | 0                                  | 0             |  |
| Grade seven                                                                          | 12.5                                    | 0             | 58.3                                                     | 25.0                                                       | 0                                              | 4.2                                | 0             |  |
| Total                                                                                | 30.6                                    | 5.6           | 26.4                                                     | 26.4                                                       | 5.6                                            | 2.8                                | 2.8           |  |

<sup>a</sup>Examples: "I went there" or "I was there a long time".

<sup>b</sup>Example: "You have to live in the United States for five (or seven or many) years before you can be an American".

<sup>c</sup>Example: "You came from Canada" or "You're just there for a while".

<sup>d</sup>Example: "You're still in Canada".

<sup>e</sup>Example: "Because you're still Canadian".

| The Cognitive Concept<br>of<br>Nationality Questions                              |      | Response Types (%)                |                              |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                              |               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
|                                                                                   |      | <u>No</u>                         |                              |               |                                                          | <u>Yes</u>                                                 |                                                |                              |               |
|                                                                                   |      | Logical<br>Reasoning <sup>a</sup> | Valid<br>Reason <sup>b</sup> | Don't<br>Know | Logical<br>Correct<br>Complete<br>Reasoning <sup>c</sup> | Logical<br>Correct<br>Incomplete<br>Reasoning <sup>d</sup> | Logical<br>Incorrect<br>Reasoning <sup>e</sup> | Valid<br>Reason <sup>f</sup> | Don't<br>Know |
| Group                                                                             |      |                                   |                              |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                              |               |
| Can you be a Canadian and a Manitoban/Quebecker at the same time? Why or Why not? |      |                                   |                              |               |                                                          |                                                            |                                                |                              |               |
| Grade one                                                                         | 33.3 | 29.2                              | 8.3                          | 0             | 4.2                                                      | 16.7                                                       | 4.2                                            | 16.7                         | 4.2           |
| Grade four                                                                        | 12.5 | 0                                 | 8.3                          | 16.7          | 33.3                                                     | 20.8                                                       | 8.3                                            | 20.8                         | 0             |
| Grade seven                                                                       | 0    | 4.2                               | 0                            | 41.6          | 33.3                                                     | 12.5                                                       | 8.3                                            | 12.5                         | 0             |
| Total                                                                             | 15.3 | 11.1                              | 5.6                          | 22.2          | 23.6                                                     | 16.7                                                       | 6.9                                            | 16.7                         | 1.4           |

<sup>a</sup>Example: "You can't be two things at the same time".

<sup>b</sup>Example: "It would be hard".

<sup>c</sup>Example: "Manitoba is in Canada and I'm in both right now".

<sup>d</sup>Example: "If you're in Canada, you can also be in Manitoba".

<sup>e</sup>Example: "You were born in Canadian country and Manitoba is a province - because....Canada is in Manitoba".

<sup>f</sup>Example: "I am both".

APPENDIX D

THE COGNITIVE CONCEPT OF NATIONALITY, THE  
NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE REGIONAL IDENTITY SCALES



# The Cognitive Concept of Nationality Scale

(Ranked from Least to Most Difficult)

| Scale<br>Position | Item                                                                                                    | Total Number of<br>Subjects Respond-<br>ing Correctly |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                | Summer holiday in United States. What nationality are you?                                              | 58                                                    |
| 2.                | Can you be both Canadian and Manitoban/Quebecker at the same time?                                      | 49                                                    |
| 3.                | Two years in United States. What nationality are you?                                                   | 46                                                    |
| 4.                | What makes you Canadian?                                                                                | 43                                                    |
| 5.                | Summer holiday in United States. Why are you (stated nationality)?                                      | 42                                                    |
| 6.                | Two years in United States. Why are you (stated nationality)?                                           | 38                                                    |
| 7.                | Why can you be both Canadian and Manitoban/Quebecker at the same time? (Or Why can you not be both...?) | 31                                                    |
| 8.                | What makes you Manitoban/Quebecker?                                                                     | 19                                                    |

Note: - The reproducibility of the scale = .91.

The National Identity Scale. The Recognition and Naming of  
Symbols (Ranked from Least to Most Difficult)

| Scale<br>Position | Item                                                | Total Number of<br>subjects Respond-<br>ing Correctly |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                | Recognition of flag.                                | 72                                                    |
| 2.                | Name of sport Canada best known for (hockey)        | 70                                                    |
| 3.                | Recognition of national anthem.                     | 68                                                    |
| 4.                | Recognition of Canadian symbol (maple leaf)         | 68                                                    |
| 5.                | Name of national anthem.                            | 66                                                    |
| 6.                | Name of national animal (beaver).                   | 56                                                    |
| 7.                | Recognition of sport Canada best known for (hockey) | 50                                                    |
| 8.                | Name of Canadian symbol (maple leaf).               | 47                                                    |
| 9.                | Recognition of Canadian Coat of Arms.               | 46                                                    |
| 10.               | Recognition of Parliament Buildings.                | 27                                                    |
| 11.               | Name of national sport (lacrosse).                  | 23                                                    |
| 12.               | Recognition of national animal (beaver).            | 22                                                    |
| 13.               | Name of Parliament Buildings.                       | 17                                                    |
| 14.               | Name of Canadian Coat of Arms.                      | 4                                                     |
| 15.               | Recognition of national sport (lacrosse).           | 4                                                     |

Note: - The reproducibility of the total scale = .91. The reproducibility of the recognition subscale (items 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15) = .94. The reproducibility of the names subscale (items 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14) = .95.

The Regional Identity Scale  
The Recognition and Naming of Symbols  
(Ranked from Least to Most Difficult)

| Scale<br>Position | Item                                    | Total Number of<br>Subjects Respond-<br>ing Correctly |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                | Recognition of provincial Coat of Arms. | 57                                                    |
| 2.                | Recognition of provincial flag.         | 52                                                    |
| 3.                | Recognition of provincial flower.       | 27                                                    |
| 4.                | Name of provincial flower.              | 17                                                    |
| 5.                | Name of Provincial Coat of Arms.        | 3                                                     |

Note: - The reproducibility of the total scale = .95. The reproducibility of the recognition subscale (items 1, 2, 3) = .94. The reproducibility of the names subscale = (items 4 and 5) = .99.

APPENDIX E  
SCALE SCORES FOR ALL SUBJECTS

## SCALE SCORES FOR ALL SUBJECTS

| Group          | Subject | Scale                             |                                        |                                            |                      |                      |
|----------------|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                |         | Cognitive<br>Concept<br>of Nation | Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nationality | Knowledge of<br>the Political<br>Structure | National<br>Identity | Regional<br>Identity |
| Total possible |         | 15                                | 8                                      | 8                                          | 15                   | 5                    |
| WE1A           | 1       | 4                                 | 2                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 2                    |
|                | 2       | 1                                 | 0                                      | 0                                          | 5                    | 1                    |
|                | 3       | 5                                 | 3                                      | 0                                          | 7                    | 0                    |
| WE1B           | 4       | 6                                 | 3                                      | 0                                          | 9                    | 1                    |
|                | 5       | 3                                 | 3                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 1                    |
|                | 6       | 7                                 | 1                                      | 1                                          | 9                    | 2                    |
| WE4A           | 7       | 14                                | 6                                      | 5                                          | 11                   | 4                    |
|                | 8       | 9                                 | 7                                      | 2                                          | 8                    | 1                    |
|                | 9       | 9                                 | 7                                      | 1                                          | 10                   | 1                    |
| WE4B           | 10      | 14                                | 7                                      | 5                                          | 10                   | 3                    |
|                | 11      | 8                                 | 6                                      | 1                                          | 7                    | 2                    |
|                | 12      | 12                                | 8                                      | 3                                          | 9                    | 3                    |
| WE7A           | 13      | 15                                | 7                                      | 4                                          | 12                   | 4                    |
|                | 14      | 15                                | 7                                      | 3                                          | 11                   | 3                    |
|                | 15      | 12                                | 8                                      | 3                                          | 8                    | 4                    |
| WE7B           | 16      | 14                                | 7                                      | 4                                          | 13                   | 4                    |
|                | 17      | 14                                | 6                                      | 8                                          | 10                   | 5                    |
|                | 18      | 13                                | 7                                      | 7                                          | 11                   | 4                    |
| WF1A           | 19      | 3                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 8                    | 3                    |
|                | 20      | 2                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 5                    | 1                    |
|                | 21      | 1                                 | 0                                      | 0                                          | 4                    | 0                    |
| WF1B           | 22      | 2                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 4                    | 0                    |
|                | 23      | 2                                 | 2                                      | 0                                          | 8                    | 1                    |
|                | 24      | 2                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 1                    |
| WF4A           | 25      | 12                                | 6                                      | 0                                          | 10                   | 2                    |
|                | 26      | 11                                | 3                                      | 0                                          | 7                    | 2                    |
|                | 27      | 9                                 | 3                                      | 1                                          | 7                    | 1                    |
| WF4B           | 28      | 14                                | 5                                      | 7                                          | 11                   | 3                    |
|                | 29      | 6                                 | 8                                      | 2                                          | 9                    | 3                    |
|                | 30      | 12                                | 7                                      | 4                                          | 8                    | 3                    |
| WF7A           | 31      | 15                                | 5                                      | 6                                          | 14                   | 4                    |

| Group | Subject  | Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nation | Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nationality | Knowledge of<br>the Political<br>Structure | National<br>Identity | Regional<br>Identity |
|-------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Total | possible | 15                                | 8                                      | 8                                          | 15                   | 5                    |
| WF7A  | 32       | 12                                | 5                                      | 3                                          | 11                   | 3                    |
|       | 33       | 12                                | 8                                      | 3                                          | 9                    | 2                    |
| WF7B  | 34       | 13                                | 7                                      | 6                                          | 11                   | 4                    |
|       | 35       | 13                                | 6                                      | 2                                          | 9                    | 2                    |
|       | 36       | 9                                 | 8                                      | 1                                          | 10                   | 1                    |
| ME1A  | 37       | 1                                 | 3                                      | 1                                          | 7                    | 1                    |
|       | 38       | 5                                 | 4                                      | 1                                          | 7                    | 2                    |
|       | 39       | 7                                 | 6                                      | 0                                          | 9                    | 3                    |
| ME1B  | 40       | 2                                 | 0                                      | 0                                          | 5                    | 0                    |
|       | 41       | 2                                 | 0                                      | 0                                          | 8                    | 1                    |
|       | 42       | 7                                 | 3                                      | 1                                          | 6                    | 2                    |
| ME4A  | 43       | 13                                | 8                                      | 3                                          | 8                    | 2                    |
|       | 44       | 15                                | 6                                      | 5                                          | 12                   | 3                    |
|       | 45       | 12                                | 6                                      | 3                                          | 9                    | 1                    |
| ME4B  | 46       | 6                                 | 0                                      | 2                                          | 9                    | 1                    |
|       | 47       | 11                                | 5                                      | 2                                          | 10                   | 3                    |
|       | 48       | 1                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 8                    | 1                    |
| ME7A  | 49       | 13                                | 7                                      | 5                                          | 12                   | 3                    |
|       | 50       | 10                                | 5                                      | 3                                          | 9                    | 0                    |
|       | 51       | 15                                | 6                                      | 5                                          | 9                    | 2                    |
| ME7B  | 52       | 13                                | 8                                      | 3                                          | 13                   | 2                    |
|       | 53       | 15                                | 7                                      | 5                                          | 12                   | 2                    |
|       | 54       | 15                                | 7                                      | 5                                          | 14                   | 4                    |
| MF1A  | 55       | 4                                 | 1                                      | 2                                          | 7                    | 2                    |
|       | 56       | 4                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 7                    | 3                    |
|       | 57       | 6                                 | 7                                      | 3                                          | 8                    | 2                    |
| MF1B  | 58       | 3                                 | 2                                      | 0                                          | 8                    | 1                    |
|       | 59       | 4                                 | 2                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 2                    |
|       | 60       | 2                                 | 0                                      | 0                                          | 5                    | 1                    |
| MF4A  | 61       | 11                                | 7                                      | 3                                          | 10                   | 3                    |
|       | 62       | 12                                | 5                                      | 5                                          | 11                   | 4                    |
|       | 63       | 13                                | 5                                      | 2                                          | 7                    | 4                    |
| MF4B  | 64       | 8                                 | 1                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 1                    |
|       | 65       | 10                                | 1                                      | 4                                          | 12                   | 2                    |
|       | 66       | 6                                 | 3                                      | 4                                          | 8                    | 3                    |
| MF7A  | 67       | 12                                | 6                                      | 6                                          | 13                   | 3                    |
|       | 68       | 14                                | 8                                      | 6                                          | 13                   | 3                    |

| Group | Subject | Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nation | Cognitive<br>Concept of<br>Nationality | Knowledge of<br>the Political<br>Structure | National<br>Identity | Regional<br>Identity |
|-------|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| MF7A  | 69      | 14                                | 7                                      | 3                                          | 10                   | 2                    |
| MF7B  | 70      | 5                                 | 4                                      | 0                                          | 6                    | 1                    |
|       | 71      | 15                                | 5                                      | 5                                          | 11                   | 4                    |
|       | 72      | 13                                | 7                                      | 5                                          | 11                   | 2                    |

Note: - In the "Group" description, W = Winnipeg, M = Montreal, E = English, F = French, 1 = Grade one, 4 = Grade four, 7 = Grade seven, A = School A, and B = School B.

| Group          | Subject | Scale                         |           |                 |
|----------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
|                |         | Semantic Differential Ratings |           |                 |
|                |         | Canada                        | Provinces | Neutral Country |
| Total Possible |         | 60                            | 60        | 60              |
| WE1A           | 1       | 47                            | 60        | 60              |
|                | 2       | 60                            | 66        | 56              |
|                | 3       | 55                            | 56        | 58              |
| WE1B           | 4       | 50                            | 41        | 45              |
|                | 5       | 56                            | 46        | 52              |
|                | 6       | 55                            | 52        | 57              |
| WE4A           | 7       | 43                            | 39        | 41              |
|                | 8       | 50                            | 51        | 55              |
|                | 9       | 55                            | 53        | 55              |
| WE4B           | 10      | 51                            | 47        | 47              |
|                | 11      | 51                            | 56        | 52              |
|                | 12      | 59                            | 59        | 57              |
| WE7A           | 13      | 49                            | 49        | 45              |
|                | 14      | 54                            | 55        | 54              |
|                | 15      | 42                            | 41        | 45              |
| WE7B           | 16      | 47                            | 46        | 46              |
|                | 17      | 52                            | 49        | 49              |
|                | 18      | 49                            | 49        | 46              |
| WF1A           | 19      | 60                            | 56        | 58              |
|                | 20      | 52                            | 52        | 28              |
|                | 21      | 60                            | 52        | 55              |
| WF1B           | 22      | 60                            | 60        | 60              |
|                | 23      | 52                            | 53        | 52              |
|                | 24      | 41                            | 40        | 41              |
| WF4A           | 25      | 41                            | 40        | 34              |
|                | 26      | 39                            | 45        | 39              |
|                | 27      | 59                            | 48        | 42              |
| WF4B           | 28      | 52                            | 58        | 58              |
|                | 29      | 47                            | 41        | 51              |
|                | 30      | 46                            | 44        | 50              |
| WF7A           | 31      | 56                            | 53        | 58              |
|                | 32      | 57                            | 58        | 54              |
|                | 33      | 46                            | 42        | 53              |
| WF7B           | 34      |                               | 50        | 45              |
|                | 35      | 47                            | 45        | 43              |
|                | 36      | 54                            | 54        | 47              |



| Group | Subject | Scale                         |           |                 |
|-------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
|       |         | Semantic Differential Ratings |           |                 |
|       |         | Canada                        | Provinces | Neutral Country |
| ME1A  | 37      | 48                            | 38        | 56              |
|       | 38      | 50                            | 51        | 51              |
|       | 39      | 40                            | 37        | 53              |
| ME1B  | 40      | 58                            | 60        | 44              |
|       | 41      | 60                            | 60        | 60              |
|       | 42      | 50                            | 57        | 46              |
| ME4A  | 43      | 47                            | 46        | 47              |
|       | 44      | 51                            | 52        | 54              |
|       | 45      | 48                            | 40        | 60              |
| ME4B  | 46      | 52                            | 56        | 60              |
|       | 47      | 41                            | 43        | 45              |
|       | 48      | 53                            | 57        | 30              |
| ME7A  | 49      | 54                            | 54        | 56              |
|       | 50      | 52                            | 51        | 58              |
|       | 51      | 51                            | 49        | 48              |
| ME7B  | 52      | 46                            | 50        | 57              |
|       | 53      | 46                            | 43        | 47              |
|       | 54      | 44                            | 42        | 55              |
| MF1A  | 55      | 42                            | 45        | 45              |
|       | 56      | 41                            | 36        | 50              |
|       | 57      | 56                            | 60        | 40              |
| MF1B  | 58      | 43                            | 48        | 59              |
|       | 59      | 60                            | 60        | 60              |
|       | 60      | 59                            | 60        | 60              |
| MF4A  | 61      | 52                            | 54        | 58              |
|       | 62      | 43                            | 45        | 37              |
|       | 63      | 45                            | 47        | 49              |
| MF4B  | 64      | 41                            | 37        | 37              |
|       | 65      | 47                            | 47        | 38              |
|       | 66      | 37                            | 48        | 34              |
| MF7A  | 67      | 55                            | 55        | 54              |
|       | 68      | 60                            | 57        | 55              |
|       | 69      | 40                            | 41        | 55              |
| MF7B  | 70      | 38                            | 41        | 36              |
|       | 71      | 60                            | 58        | 31              |
|       | 72      | 50                            | 43        | 48              |