

Family Socialization and Public Affairs Media Predictors
of Partisan Orientations

Kim A. Smith

and

Douglas A. Ferguson

Paper presented to the 14th annual conference of the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, Illinois, November 18-19, 1988.

Dr. Smith is associate professor in the Department of Radio-Television-Film in the School of Mass Communication at Bowling Green State University. Mr. Ferguson is a doctoral student in the School of Mass Communication.

Abstract

American voters have become increasingly less attached to political parties over the past two decades. This increase in political independence has been attributed to younger people entering the electorate with different socialization experiences than older citizens and to the contemporary influence of the public affairs media. The results of this study indicate parental voting independence and family communication patterns were related to adult partisan orientations, while use of the public affairs media was unrelated to them. Partisan orientations appear to be an intervening variables between public affairs media use and involvement in political campaigns.

The American voter has become increasingly volatile in the past two decades (Cotter, 1985; Glenn, 1987). Ticket-splitting, switching parties from one election to the next, and changing vote intentions during elections are becoming increasingly common, especially among younger voters (Dennis, 1981; Howell, 1980; Dobson and St. Angelo, 1975). One explanation for this trend is that younger voters, due to different socialization experiences, have weaker attachments to political parties than their older counterparts (Dennis, 1981; Sigel and Hoskin, 1977). Another explanation suggests that contemporary factors, such as media coverage of politics, influence partisan strength (Dennis, 1986; Dennis, 1981a). This study examines relationships among socialization experiences, public affairs media use, and partisan orientations.

Voter Partisan Orientations

Recent studies have demonstrated that independent voting is a more complex phenomenon than traditional unidimensional measures, which range from independent to strongly attached to a political party, have indicated (Campbell et al., 1960; Valentine and Van Wingen, 1980). Based on a bidimensional index of partisanship, national studies indicate only about 30% of the electorate are "regular partisans" in the traditional sense, with

no inclination to deviate from their party affiliation. Another 26% of citizens can be classified as "regular independents" with no attachment to a political party, while 16% are "independent partisans," declaring themselves to be both supporters of a political party and politically independent. Another 28% of voting age adults appear completely "unattached" to the political system, professing no allegiance to a political party but also claiming not to be independent (Dennis, 1981b).

The profile of independent voters also seems to be changing. Once generally the most politically indifferent and uninvolved of citizens (Campbell et al., 1960), now only those classified as unattached on the two-dimensional index of partisanship appear to fit this profile of the independent voter (Dennis, 1981b). According to national studies, regular independents and regular partisans are quite interested in elections, with at least moderate levels of knowledge about the candidates and issues. Independent partisans, on the other hand, are remarkably politicized, exhibiting high levels of political interest, discussion, knowledge, and use of the public affairs media. They also tend to be younger and of higher socioeconomic status than those with other partisan orientations (Dennis, 1981b; Kosicki, 1985).

Socialization to Partisan Orientations

Political socialization research has, until recently, generally shown that a partisan identification is acquired early in childhood and then strongly adhered to throughout adulthood (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Jennings and Niemi, 1981). Partisan identification, in fact, appeared to be the only political orientation directly transmitted from parent to child (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Jennings and Niemi, 1981). But the evidence has also indicated a tendency for children to remain independent when their parents have conflicting partisan attachments or they are themselves independent (Jennings and Niemi, 1981; Jennings and Langton, 1969). Furthermore, the mother's partisan identification appears to be more often transmitted to both sons and daughters than the father's (Jennings and Langton, 1969).

These partisan socialization patterns appear to be diminishing. Examining a sample of Wisconsin adolescents, Dennis (1986) found that the proportion of independents or independent leaners increased between the ages of 10 and 17. Dennis also found that four attitudinal dimensions predicted independence in his sample of preadults, which he labeled political autonomy, antipartyism, partisan neutrality, and partisan variability. A multivariate analysis demonstrated that parental independence,

the adolescent's age, interpersonal interaction, and mass communication variously predicted the four attitudinal dimensions of independence.

Partisanship may also be influenced by the pattern of interpersonal communication between parents and their children. Research by Chaffee, McLeod, and Wackman (1973), among others, has indicated families can be differentiated by two types of parent-child communication patterns: socio- and concept-oriented communication. In the socio-oriented environment, the child is consistently urged to defer to elders, to maintain harmonious relationships, and to withhold feelings. In the concept-oriented environment, children are encouraged to express their ideas, to independently weigh evidence and come to their own conclusions, and to discuss controversial political and religious topics. Adolescents from families higher in concept-oriented communication are considerably more knowledgeable, interested, and involved in politics than those from homes higher in socio-oriented communication (Chaffee et al., 1977).

As McLeod and O'Keefe (1972) have pointed out, the direct transmission and social interaction socialization processes are not necessarily unrelated. In families stressing concept-oriented communication, where independent thinking is stressed, deviation from parental orientations or the acquisition of a

"norm" of political independence would seem likely. In homes characterized by socio-oriented communication, conversely, where compliance with authority is important, direct transmission of partisanship from parent to child would seem most likely to occur. Little evidence exists, however, about the relationship between family communication patterns and adult partisan orientations.

Partisan Orientations and Public Affairs Media Use

Partisanship affects the degree to which people seek information about politics. Weaver (1977) has argued that the perceived relevance of public affairs content in the media and their degree of uncertainty about vote decisions influence the level of voters' need for orientation. Studies confirm that independent voters pay greater attention to the political content of the media than partisans (Smith, 1985; Weaver et al., 1981).

The public affairs media also appear to have a greater influence on independent than partisan voters. Analyzing national election data, Keeter (1987) demonstrated candidate personal qualities became increasingly more important in television-dependent voters between 1952 and 1984, after controlling for educational levels. Chaffee and Choe (1980) found that

about 40% of their panel in the 1976 election were "campaign deciders": voters who delayed their vote decisions and heavily used the media. Latimer (1987) found those who switched vote intentions in a 1982 Alabama state primary were heavier users of public affairs television and of higher income and education than stable voters.

Furthermore, public affairs media use may reinforce and even increase independent voting tendencies. According to Dennis (1981a, p. 8):

The greater use of mass media techniques, especially television, may lead to an increasing number of people for whom partisanship has at best minimal, residual function. Partisanship thus comes into play only when images are evenly balanced (and implicitly when particular issues or group ties cannot be used to make a decision). What the decline of party voting (and the concomitant reduced incidence of pure party voters) means, therefore, is a rise in the strength of media-communication-centered image voting.

In fact, content analyses have shown a majority of the coverage in major newspapers and on network news programs deals

with horserace statistics, candidate strategies, and the hoopla surrounding campaign appearances; only about one third of the coverage is concerned with substantive topics, such as issues, leadership traits, and endorsements (e.g., Patterson, 1980). As Patterson (1980, p. 147) notes, "party loyalties are likely to be mobilized...by the candidates' advocacy of policies traditionally associated with one or the other party, their use of party symbols, their alignment with certain groups, and similar things. Yet these are not significantly represented in the flow of daily election information..."

Furthermore, there is some evidence that partisan attachments may not be stable throughout adulthood (Sigel and Hoskin, 1977). For example, Fiorina (1981) speculates party identification may be a "running balance sheet" on the parties which changes with adult experiences. Studies indicate that people who deviate from their party identification are increasingly likely to do so in the future (Howell, 1980).

Diffuse versus Specific Political Orientations

As Easton and Dennis (1969) have described, children's diffuse political orientations -- efficacy, trust, and a sense of partisanship -- are established early in childhood through the

influence of various socialization agents. Their more specific political orientations -- knowledge, interest, and involvement -- develop later in adolescence and are more subject to change than diffuse ones. Chaffee et al. (1977), for example, have demonstrated that specific political orientations are quite strongly related to public affairs media use, while diffuse orientations are not. Among adults, therefore, it might be expected that partisan orientations and public affairs media use will be stronger predictors of current levels of political behavior than family socialization factors.

Hypotheses

Thus, the literature suggests that partisan orientations in adulthood are, at least in part, a result of interplay between childhood socialization experiences and the impact of the immediate political environment. The following analysis, therefore, tests these hypotheses:

- 1) Regular independents and independent partisans will more often have grown up in families with independent parents and higher in concept-oriented communication than regular partisans.

- 2) Regular partisans will more frequently have grown up in families with partisan parents and higher in socio-oriented communication than independent partisans or regular independent.
- 3) Independent partisans and regular independents will exhibit higher levels of public affairs media use than partisans.
- 4) Public affairs media use will be a stronger predictor of independent partisan and regular independent orientations than family socialization factors, while the opposite will be the case for partisans.
- 5) Public affairs media use will be more strongly related to current political behavior than family socialization factors.

Based on past research, most of these hypothesized relationships are expected to be affected by the age, gender, and socioeconomic status of the respondent.

Research Design

For this study, 400 adults age 18 or older in the metropolitan Toledo area were interviewed by telephone from January 18

through 31, 1988. A probability sample of telephone numbers was drawn from the metropolitan directory and the last digit was increased by one. Interviewers first asked to speak to the male head of household. If he was not available, they interviewed anyone in the household over the age of 18. After three call backs, a response rate of 53.9% was obtained, based on total completions and refusals.

Partisan orientations were measured using a crosstabulation of yes and no responses to two questions: "In your own mind do you think of yourself as a supporter of one of the political parties, or not?" and "Do you ever think of yourself as a political independent, or not?" In the Toledo sample, 32.7% were classified as regular partisans, 20.6% as independent partisans, 24.2% as regular independents, and 22.5% as unattached. In this sample, then, there were fewer independent partisans, more unattached, and about same number of regular partisans and regular independents as compared to national samples (Dennis, 1981b).

Parental independence was assessed by asking: "Although it might be difficult to recall, when you were growing up was your father a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?" and "How about your mother? Was she a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?" In the analysis, a score of "0" was assigned when

the father or the mother was either Republican or Democrat and "1" when they were recalled as being independent voters.

Concept-oriented family communication was measured by asking respondents whether their parents "often," "sometimes," "rarely," or "never" said the following things to them while growing up: (a) say that getting your point of view across is important even if others don't like it; (b) encourage you to challenge their ideas and beliefs; (c) have spirited family discussions on controversial matters like politics or religion where different family members take different sides; (d) have family visits with friends or relatives who have taken the other side of controversial issues in discussions; and (e) take a point of view in family discussions just for the sake of argument. Cronbach's alpha for the simple-summed index of the concept-oriented items was .67.

Socio-oriented family communication was measured by asking respondents whether their parents "often," "sometimes," "rarely," or "never" said the following things to them while growing up: (a) say that you shouldn't show anger in a group situation; (b) say that their point of view as parents is the correct one and shouldn't be challenged by you; (c) say that you should not argue with their point of view in discussions with those who are older and more experienced; (d) say that the best way to keep out of

trouble is to keep away from it; and (e) say that you should give in on arguments rather than risk antagonizing other people. Cronbach's alpha for the simple-summed index of the socio-oriented items was .63. Public affairs television viewing was an index of the frequency of watching national news, local news, and news specials (Cronbach's alpha: .69). Public affairs newspaper reading was measured by an index of the frequency of reading stories of local, national, or international origin, editorials, and syndicated columnists (Cronbach's alpha: .65).

Political behavior was measured by a variety of standard questions. Campaign interest was measured by asking: "How interested are you in the 1988 campaign for the presidency?" Political discussion was measured by asking: "How often do you talk about politics with friends or coworkers?"

Several questions assessed voting behavior. Respondents were asked: "Did you vote in the 1984 election?" They were further asked: "In the elections for president since you have been old enough to vote would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, or none of them?" Respondents were also asked whether they voted in the 1984 elections and what the probability was that they would vote in the 1988 general election. Party switching was measured by asking respondents: "How often do you vote for candidates from different parties?"

Finally, respondents were asked their age and their gender was recorded. Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured by an index based on questions assessing the last grade completed in school and before-tax annual income of the respondents (Cronbach's alpha: .55).

Findings

Table 1 about here

Table 1 shows standard scores for the demographic, parental independence, family communication, and public affairs media use variables by the four partisan orientations. Independent partisans are about average in age, more often male, and of considerably higher socioeconomic status than those with the other partisan orientations. Regular independents, on the other hand, tend to be of average age, male, but less affluent than independent partisans. Regular partisans are slightly older, as likely to be male as female, and are also of lower socioeconomic status than independent partisans. The unattached stand out as much younger and less affluent than those from the other groups.

The hypotheses that regular independents and independent partisans would more often be raised in families with higher

levels of concept-oriented communication, while regular partisans would more often come from families with higher socio-oriented communication, receives little support from these results. One-way analyses of variance indicated no significant differences across the four partisan orientations for either concept- or socio-oriented communication.

As hypothesized, public affairs newspaper use is higher among independent partisans and regular independents than regular partisans. Only small differences in viewing public affairs television programs are apparent among these three groups. The unattached have particularly low levels of public affairs television and newspaper use.

Table 2 about here

Table 2 shows the regression of the independent partisans, regular independents, and unattached versus regular partisans on the demographic, socialization, and public affairs media use variables.¹ SES and mother's independence significantly discriminated between independent partisans and regular partisans. Gender and mother's independence significantly discriminated between regular independents and regular partisans.

Age and concept-oriented communication distinguished the unattached from regular partisans. Neither public affairs newspaper reading nor television viewing were significant in any of the comparisons. Thus, contrary to our hypothesis, media do not appear to have greater influence on independent partisans or regular independents than regular partisans.

Table 3 about here

Table 3 shows standard scores for the political behavior variables by the partisan orientation groups. Consistent with results from national studies, independent partisans and regular partisans both exhibit the highest interest in the 1988 campaign, greatest voting in the 1984 election, and greatest likelihood of voting in the 1988 election. Independent partisans, however, voted more frequently in past elections and discussed politics more than those from the other groups. Switching from party to party in elections occurred most often among regular independents and the unattached.

Table 4 about here

The final analysis, shown in Table 4, regressed each of the political behavior variables on the demographic, partisan orientation (as dummy vectors), family socialization, and public affairs media use variables. Of the demographic variables, socio-economic status was the strongest predictor of the political behavior variables. At least one of the dummy variables for the partisan orientation groups was also significant in each of the regression models. As hypothesized, public affairs newspaper reading generally proved to be a stronger predictor of political behavior than the family socialization variables. This was not the case, however, for public affairs television use.

Discussion

The results of this study confirm the important influence of family on partisan orientations. The results indicate that the parents' partisanship or independence is transmitted from parent to child, as reported in previous studies. Family communication patterns, however, did not vary by partisan orientation. This

may be due to the fact that family communication patterns were measured by retrospective data. Future studies should explore the relationship between family communication patterns and partisan orientations in samples of adolescents.

Public affairs newspaper and television use did significantly vary across the four partisan orientation groups. However, in the regression analysis, family socialization variables proved to be stronger discriminators among partisan orientations than the public affairs media variables. These results suggest that media coverage of politics have little effect on partisan orientations. But this speculation needs to be tested using longitudinal data.

Public affairs TV and newspaper use and partisan orientations were significant predictors of campaign interest, political discussion, party switching, and voting in presidential elections. The family socialization variables generally did not significantly predict the political behavior variables. These results suggest the family initially influences the formation of partisan orientations, which in turn affect people's level of information-seeking about politics, resulting in varying levels of political behavior. Again, this speculation needs to be tested with longitudinal data.

This study also provides further evidence on the validity of the bidimensional measurement of partisanship. More precise measurements of political communication effects would be obtained by using this operationalization of partisanship. Smith (1987), for example, has demonstrated that political gratifications and avoidances of television differ according to partisan orientation. Future research might explore how partisan orientations are differentially related to various types of political effects of media.

Note

1. A better technique for estimating the effects of one or more independent variables on dichotomous dependent variables is probit rather than regression analysis (Aldrich and Nelson, 1984). However, regression analysis is used here to allow for hierarchical significance testing of blocks of variables.

References

Aldrich, J.H. and F.D. Nelson (1984)

Linear, Probability, Logit, and Probit Models. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Beck, P. A. (1977)

"The role of agents in political socialization." Pp. 115-141 in S. A. Renshon (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization. New York: The Free Press.

Campbell, A., P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes (1960)

The American Voter. New York: Wiley.

Chaffee, S. H. and S. Y. Choe (1983)

"Time of final decision and media use during the Ford-Carter campaign." Public Opinion Quarterly 44: 52-69.

_____, S. H., J. M. McLeod, and D. Wackman (1973)

"Family communication patterns and adolescent political participation." Pp. 349-64 in J. Dennis (ed.), Socialization to Politics. New York: John Wiley.

_____, M.J. Beeck, J. Durall, and D. Wilson (1977)

"Mass communication in political socialization." Pp.223-258 in S. A. Renshon (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization. New York: The Free Press.

Cotter, P. R. (1985)

"The decline in partisanship: A test of four explanations."

American Politics Quarterly 13: 51-78.

Dennis, J. (1986)

"Preadult learning of political independence: media and family communication effects." Communication Research 13: 401-33.

_____ (1981a)

"Some properties of measures of partisanship." Paper presented to the American Political Science Association, New York, New York, September 3-6.

_____ (1981b)

"On being an independent partisan supporter." Paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 15-18.

Dobson, D. and D. St. Angelo (1975)

"Party identification and the floating vote: some dynamics."

American Political Science Review 69: 481-90.

Easton, D. and J. Dennis (1969)

Children in the Political System. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fiorina, M. P. (1981)

Retrospective Voting in American National Elections. New Haven: Yale, 1981.

Glenn, N. D. (1987)

"Social trends in the U.S." Public Opinion Quarterly 51:
109-26.

Howell, S. E. (1980)

"The behavioral component of changing partisanship." American
Politics Quarterly 8: 279-302.

Jennings, M.K. and R. G. Niemi (1981)

Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and
Their Parents. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

_____ and R. G. Niemi (1974)

The Political Character of Adolescence. Princeton, N.J.:
Princeton, University Press.

_____ and K. P. Langton (1969)

"Mothers versus fathers: the formation of political
orientations among young Americans." Journal of Politics 31:
329-58.

Keeter, S. (1987)

"The illusion of intimacy: television and the role of candidate
personal qualities in voter choice." Public Opinion Quarterly
51: 344-59.

Kosicki, G. M. (1985)

"Political identity, time of final vote decision, and media use in the 1980 election." Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Memphis, Tennessee, August 3-5.

Latimer, M. K. (1987)

"The floating voter and the media." Journalism Quarterly 64: 805-13.

McLeod, J. M. and G. J. O'Keefe Jr. (1972)

"The socialization perspective and communication behavior." Pp. 121-168 in F. G. Kline and P. J. Tichenor (eds.), Current Perspectives in Mass Communication Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Patterson, T. E. (1980)

The Mass Media Election. New York: Praeger.

Sigel, R. and M. B. Hoskin, (1977)

"Perspectives on adult socialization: areas of research." Pp. 259-94 in S. Renshon (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization. New York: The Free Press.

Smith, K. A. (1987)

"Voter partisan orientations and the use of political television." Unpublished paper, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio.

_____ (1985)

"Political communication and voter volatility in a local election." *Journalism Quarterly* 62: 883-87.

Valentine, D. C. and J. R. Van Wingen (1980)

"Partisanship, independence, and the partisan identification question." *American Politics Quarterly* 8: 165-86.

Weaver, D., D. Graber, M. E. McCombs, and C. Eyal (1981)

Media Agenda-Setting in a Presidential Election: Issues, Images, Interest. New York: Praeger.

_____ (1977)

"Political issues and voter need for orientation." Pp. 69-87 in D. L. Shaw and M. E. McCombs (eds.), *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press*. St. Paul: West Publishing Company.

Table 1: Standard Scores for Demographic, Family Socialization and Public Affairs Media Use Variables by Partisan Orientation

Variable	Independent Partisans (n=75)	Regular Independents (n=88)	The Unattached (n=82)	Regular Partisans (n=119)	F-test ^a
Age	.04	.01	-.28	.16	3.23**
Gender ^b	-.22	-.12	.12	.12	2.65**
SES	.36	.15	-.28	-.14	6.21*
Father's Independence ^c	-.12	.37	-.06	-.16	4.65*
Mother's Independence	.12	.34	-.17	-.27	6.62*
Socio-Oriented Communication	.02	-.12	.05	.04	.56
Concept-Oriented Communication	.17	.05	-.19	-.01	1.74
Public Affairs Newspaper Reading	.31	.12	-.49	.03	9.43*
Public Affairs TV Viewing	.12	.01	-.26	.10	2.64**

Note: The standard scores were calculated by subtracting the group mean from the overall mean for each row and dividing by the overall standard deviation. Ns for each partisan group vary slightly from variable to variable due to missing data.

^aThe F-tests shown result from one-way analyses of variance among the four group means for each variable.

^bGender was scored: 1 = male and 2 = female.

^cFather and Mother's Independence was scores: 0 = partisan and 1 = independent.

*p < .01

**p < .05

Table 2: Regression of Partisan Orientation Groups on Demographic, Family Socialization, and Public Affairs Media Use Variables

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable ^a		
	Independent Partisans vs. Regular Partisans (n=184)	Regular Independents vs. Regular Partisans (n=221)	The Unattached vs. Regular Partisans (n=190)
Age	.00	-.01	-.16**
Gender ^b	-.12	-.16**	-.02
SES	.21*	.04	-.07
Increment to R ²	.065**	.025	.045*
Father's Independence ^c	-.14	.03	.12
Mother's Independence	.18**	.27*	-.07
Concept-Oriented Communication	-.07	.05	-.18**
Socio-Oriented Communication	-.03	-.08	.15
Increment to R ²	.027	.056*	.023
Public Affairs Newspaper Reading	.02	.01	-.04
Public Affairs TV Viewing	.10	.08	-.14
Increment to R ²	.008	.030*	.018
Total R ²	.100*	.112*	.086

Note: An increment-to-R² test was used to determine the significance of the variance explained by each block of variables.

^aThe scoring for the dependent variables was: 0 = regular partisans; 1 = independent partisans, regular independents, or the unattached.

^bGender was scored: 1 = male and 2 = female.

^cFather's and mother's independence was scored: 0 = partisan and 1 = independent.

*p < .01

**p < .05

Table 3: Standard Scores for Political Behavior Variables by Partisan Orientations

Variable	Independent Partisans (n=75)	Regular Independents (n=88)	The Unattached (n=82)	Regular Partisans (n=119)	F-test ^a
Interest in 1988 Campaign	.27	-.10	-.54	.28	17.33*
Frequency of Voting	.40	.05	-.73	.21	21.62*
Political Discussion	.52	-.07	-.35	-.03	8.68*
Voting in 1984 Election	.31	.00	-.69	.28	21.42*
Likelihood of Voting in 1988 Election	.31	.10	-.83	.30	31.09*
Frequency of Party Switching	.07	.41	-.02	-.33	7.31*

Note: See note in Table 1 for a description of how the standard scores were calculated. Ns for each partisan group vary slightly from variable to variable due to missing data.

^aThe F-tests shown result from one-way analyses of variance among the four group means.

*p < .01; **p < .05

Table 4: Regression of Political Behaviors on Demographic, Partisan Orientations, Family Socialization, and Public Affairs Media Use Variables

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable					
	Campaign Interest (n=365)	Vote Frequency (n=364)	Discussion (n=366)	1984 ^a Vote (n=366)	1988 Vote (n=364)	Party Switching (n=330)
Age	.00	.19*	-.01	-.09	-.03	.04
Gender ^b	-.06	-.01	-.08	.05	.05	-.05
SES	.10**	.14*	.07	-.19	.17*	.05
Increment to R ²	.038*	.109*	.043*	.083*	.047*	.012
Independent Partisans	-.07	.06	.18*	-.01	-.03	.08
Regular Independents	-.17*	-.02	-.02	.03	-.09	.20*
The Unattached	-.28*	-.30*	-.07	.22*	-.41*	.09
Increment to R ²	.074*	.107*	.057*	.047*	.134*	.040*
Father's Independence	-.06	-.13*	.05	.20*	.01	-.06
Mother's Independence	.11	.02	.03	-.07	-.03	.12
Concept-Oriented Communication	-.01	.04	.05	.05	-.08	.05
Socio-Oriented Communication	.02	-.03	-.05	-.11	.01	.05
Increment to R ²	.011	.024**	.000	.037*	.020	.021
Public Affairs TV Use	.08	.00	.02	-.03	.07	-.02
Public Affairs Newspaper Use	.20*	.16*	.18*	-.07	.09	.04
Increment to R ²	.045*	.025*	.023*	.011	.020*	.001
Total R ²	.169*	.264*	.123*	.178*	.211*	.074**

Note: An increment-to-R² test was used to determine the significance of the variance explained by each block of variables.

^aThe scoring for the 1984 and 1988 vote variable was: 1 = no, 2 = yes or intend to vote.

^bGender was scored: 1 = male and 2 = female.

^cFather's and mother's independence was scored: 0 = partisan and 1 = independent.

*p < .01

**p < .05