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## ABSTRACT

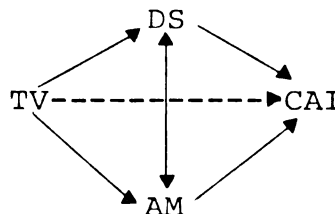
### TELEVISION INFLUENCE AND CULTURAL ATTITUDINAL INNOVATIVENESS: A CAUSAL APPROACH

By

Elke Koch-Weser Ammassari

An attempt was made to single out the causal effect of television upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness among 100 male high school adolescents in a barely industrializing community of the Italian South. Toward this aim cultural attitudinal innovativeness is defined as the relative progress of personal psychological guidelines for overt behavior within the process of modernizing cultural change.

The main objective of the study was to test the adequacy of a causal model linking television exposure (TV) as an independent variable, with dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) and achievement motivation (AM) as intervening variables, with cultural attitudinal innovativeness (CAI), as a dependent variable.



Simon-Blalock goodness-of-fit procedures and path analytic techniques were adopted to test the model in six different versions. On the one hand, separate versions of the model accounted for: (1) general television exposure, (2) exposure to informative program content, and (3) exposure to entertainment program content. We distinguished between two major dimensions of cultural attitudinal innovativeness through factor analysis of the cultural attitudinal innovativeness items. The first dimension, labeled "clientelism/meritocracy," was defined by a cluster of attitudes concerning modernization in the public sphere, while the second dimension, "dependence/emancipation," referred predominantly to attitude modernization in the private family sphere.

Empirical evidence suggests that the linkage sequence between television exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness depends: (1) upon the kind of program content watched, (2) upon the attitude cluster considered, and (3) upon an adolescent's intensity of dissatisfaction with his occupational future and his achievement motivation.

Specifically, whereas watching informative television programs tends to call forth cultural attitudinal innovativeness directly watching entertainment programs achieves it only indirectly, producing first higher achievement motivation which causes stronger dissatisfaction with occupational chances, and this in turn impinges upon innovation of



cultural attitudes. Yet, it appeared that this developmental impact does not affect cultural attitudinal innovativeness homogeneously, since its "clientelism/meritocracy" dimension showed to be more sensitive to television influences than its "dependence/emancipation" dimension.

Generally the relationship between variables in the causal model were rather weak, suggesting a tenuous impact of television exposure upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness among youths in a developing environment. In part these low relationships were due to the control on variables exogenous to the model, e.g., education and urbanity. Furthermore, though it appeared necessary to account for more than one dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness, only a relatively small proportion of the variance in cultural attitudinal innovativeness scores was explained in the two factor solution. Thus we are far from perfectly measuring the complex cultural attitudinal innovativeness syndrome.

These findings led to a number of methodological consideration which should guide further research on the problem.

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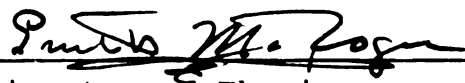
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Department of Communication

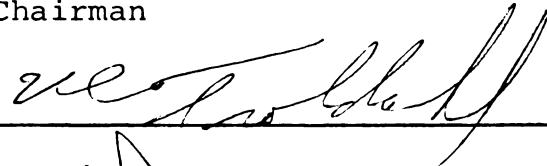
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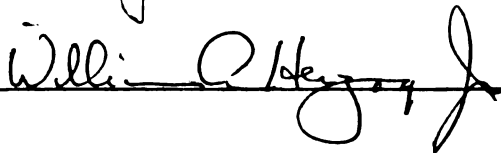
  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The advent of television has often been compared with the opening of a window upon the world for those who had lived before in relative isolation from the mainstream of modern life. But in what ways watching out of that window might have changed the watcher in his personal outlook upon life remains little understood. Within its limits, this study represents an attempt to ascertain a few of the consequences that television watching might have for these viewers.

#### The Research Problem

The most central role played by mass media in the developing world consists in proposing new values and new models for behavior. In a very general sense, the media must be conceived as sources/channels which, by means of their messages, expose a vast range of new options to the individual receiver. However, predicting which receivers are most prone to persuasion to accept these new options is a difficult and complex task. Still, those in charge of bringing about economic and social change are centrally concerned with this issue.

It is generally admitted, and supported by evidence from laboratory and field research, that the attitude structure of a person forms a fairly rigid system. Persons who already reveal a disposition for change are likely to be persuaded to accept new values and beliefs. This "innovativeness", or "the degree to which an individual is earlier than others in his social system to adopt new ideas" (Rogers 1962:159), can be expected to exist more readily among those individuals, in a developing social context, who in some way already feel dissatisfied with their life conditions, i.e., among persons who no longer are content with the status quo. Of course, such dissatisfaction expresses itself in many realms of personal interest. But among these, particularly for male adolescents about to enter the labor market, dissatisfaction in the occupational sphere is probably most significant, because personal material and non-material well-being largely depend upon occupational success. Furthermore, limited mobility opportunities should be considered a major source of frustration in economically depressed areas.

The intensity of dissatisfaction with occupational chances in life may be understood as a function of the discrepancy between perceived realistic expectations and ideal aspirations for the occupational future. Expectations are bound to be shaped by the perceived limitations of opportunity in the immediate environment, while aspirations

more likely are formed against the background of the imagined greater opportunities in a remote and possibly idealized urban-industrial and more affluent context. Mass media, in calling forth an awareness of this outside world of opportunities, affect the aspirations in people (Rogers 1969:112; Waisanen and Durlak 1966). Thus, as long as circumstances remain unaltered, while aspirations are raised, dissatisfaction should increase.

But besides stimulating dissatisfaction, there may be another important way in which the mass media call forth a disposition for attitude change in people. Empirical evidence leads us to expect that media exposure is associated with achievement motivation or a striving for excellence (Rogers 1969:112). The presence of such inclination to excell can be interpreted as a precondition alternative to dissatisfaction with occupational chances for the development of favorable dispositions for innovativeness.

These very general observations represent the rationale supporting the present research slant on the relationship between mass media exposure and attitude change. In fact, the research problem of the present study consists in searching for an answer to a neglected question: "How far do an individual's levels of ambition and of dissatisfaction with his own chances in life, in an environment with limited occupational opportunities, mediate in the basic relationship between mass media exposure and attitude change?"

In order to find an answer, the present study is focused on the ways television influences the modernization of attitudes among youths in a community typical of a developing region, where the local occupational structure offers limited opportunities for advancement and participation in modern life.

In particular, the research has been designed to ascertain the causal links connecting four variables which represent the specification of the four major dimensions theoretically relevant to the above research problem. These four variables are: (1) television exposure, as the prototype vehicle of mass media influence; (2) achievement motivation, as a theoretical referent of personal ambition; (3) dissatisfaction with occupational chances, as the main indicator of dissatisfaction with one's own chances in life; and (4) cultural attitudinal innovativeness, as the major aspect referring to modernizing value change.

In the proposed causal model, later discussed in detail, variables 1 and 4 are assumed, respectively, as independent and dependent, while variables 2 and 3 are introduced as intervening variables. The analysis will be concentrated in assessing the causal links empirically connecting the variable system by means of current methods of causal analysis.

The next chapter, dealing with the framework of the study, will present the background of the problem, through a review of the pertinent literature, and will discuss the theoretical paradigm and the hypotheses advanced to support the proposed causal model.<sup>1</sup> First, however, it is important to clarify our research design decision of identifying the main aspect of modernizing value change as "cultural attitudinal innovativeness".

### Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness

Innovativeness as a dependent variable can be investigated in many ways. Sixteen lines of research design are specified in Figure 1. First of all, in terms of levels of analysis, one might focus attention upon attitudinal or overt-behavioral innovativeness; the former referring to modernizing changes within a relatively " . . .enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world" (Krech and Crutchfield 1948:152); the latter, instead, to modernizing changes within relatively consistent, observable activity patterns in which the individual is or becomes engaged. Second, one might sharpen the focus in studying attitudinal or

---

<sup>1</sup>Problems of operationalization of variables and their measurement instruments are discussed in Chapter IV.

Units of Analysis	Levels of Analysis	Attitudinal		Overt-Behavioral	
	Context Specification of Analysis	Technological	Non-Technological or Cultural	Technological	Non-Technological or Cultural
Individuals	Process				
	End-States		The present study	most previous research	
Social Aggregates	Process				
	End-States				

FIGURE 1.--16 ways of designing studies with "innovativeness" as a dependent variable.

overt-behavioral innovativeness either in the technological or in the non-technological context of specification. The non-technological context here refers to behavior or ideas which are not directly instrumental for broadly economic activities and goals, namely to a cultural context.

Third, each of these four different foci of inquiry could be approached in turn by different methodological designs. On the one hand, innovativeness can be studied among individuals as units of analysis within a geographically and culturally homogeneous setting. On the other hand, it could be investigated among social aggregates as units, most typically in comparative and often cross-cultural research. Furthermore, in either case innovativeness might be explored as a developmental process over time or instead as an end-state at a particular point in time.

This study focuses upon an attitudinal level of analysis in a non-technological context taking as the unit of analysis an individual end-state at a certain cutting-point in time. In other terms, the focus is upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness, defined as the adoption of relatively stable psychological guidelines for overt behavior, which are assumed to be innovative in-so-far as they depart from or contrast with traditional standards.

This definition stresses the notion that "innovativeness", whatever its specific connotation might be, has



always to be viewed contextually to the modernization process, whose conceptualizations are manifold and have often been criticized for their ethnocentric bias or for the unilinear theory underlying them. It appears that Roger's general definition obviates such criticism in being relatively broad and flexible.

Modernization is the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life" (1969:14).

As the author points out, it accommodates for the fact that modernization is a synthesis of old and new ways specific to different environments; that in bringing about change, it not only produces benefits but also conflict, pain and relative disadvantage; and that it should be conceived as a multidimensional phenomenon, the desirability of which should not be preconceived in terms of Western standards.

For purposes of the present study, therefore, we propose to paraphrase this definition by stating that:

Cultural attitudinal modernization is the process by which individuals modify their attitude structure implicit in a traditional outlook upon life, such as to be prepared to face a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing environment.

Within this reference scheme, a person will be regarded as innovative to the extent that he is more or less advanced than his peers in the modification of old attitudes consonant with traditional standards. However,

if we are reluctant to presume from the outset that cultural attitudinal innovativeness is based upon a generalizable and unidirectional trend, and that it is a unidimensional phenomenon, the term "relative advancement" may lack a clearcut a priori denotation.

Perhaps at the relatively abstract level of comparative research, this issue may not be too critical, because the interest is more in generalizable tendencies than in deviations. However, if we were to explore cultural attitudinal innovativeness in a confined locale, and if we were to ascertain it by means of extraneous measurement schemes, we might risk distortion of the particular phenomena by imposing generally preestablished standards.

One way to resolve the difficulty of establishing uni- or multidimensionality in a specific research locale seems to lie in a two step approach of the problem. In the first instance one might interpret the term "relative advancement" by judging it against a theoretical continuum which, as generally accepted, ranges from a "traditional" initial state to a "modern" end-state. It might be operationalized on the basis of the broad cultural characterization of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continuum of social change. That is, one might ascertain, for instance, whether prevailing attitudes suggest a change in the family structure from extended to a nuclear family system; the emergence of more egalitarian role attributions to the

members of both sexes; whether parent-child relationships pass from authoritarian to more democratic ties; and whether achievement rather than ascription is given the main emphasis as a criterion of social valuation. These very general and cross-culturally established aspects should be complemented with a set of related aspects particularly pertinent to the cultural modernization flux in the specific research setting, like the perception of standards that structure personal relationships in the occupational and political spheres.

In the second instance, and based upon the results of this general assessment of individual attitudes, one might proceed to develop those measuring instruments which take the peculiarities of the specific local innovation process into account. This approach means that through appropriate statistical analyses, one might check whether certain components of attitudinal innovativeness group together into separate dimensions or whether, instead, they all simultaneously define a unique and unidimensional global characteristic. Should we find evidence that cultural attitudinal innovativeness is a multidimensional characteristic, this would suggest that an individual may be sectorially, at the same time, both modern and traditional in his attitude structure.

Based upon such analyses, one might synthesize and elaborate one or more measuring instruments, which would permit one to ascertain the locally prevailing and typical attitudinal modernization syndrome. At the same time the likelihood of the presence of a priori biases would be reduced.

An effort in this direction seems worthwhile, for cultural attitudinal innovativeness may be thought of as a composite of two ingredients: Attitudes toward modern ends and goals, and attitudes toward the means that are perceived as instrumental to increase the probability of attaining those goals. It is likely that nowadays attitudes toward the goals of modern life are much more universally spread than favorable attitudes toward the modern means of attaining them, for these means must depend upon norms and values prevailing in a given social context and upon its relative stage of development. In fact, as long as a person lives in a transitional environment, he may be presumed to take advantage of the constrictions and potentialities of traditional norms as well as of modern ones, to attain his modern ends.

In this study an attempt will be made to explore the phenomenon of cultural attitudinal innovativeness along the lines just described, before its relationship with other variables will be determined.

The main research objectives are (1) to determine the causal effect of television exposure upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness; (2) to ascertain in how far this effect should be interpreted either as direct or as indirect, mediated by dissatisfaction with occupational chances and/or achievement motivation; and, finally, (3) to determine the strength of the causal links between pairs of variables in the causal model before and after partialling out the effect of third or fourth variables. In brief, we are inquiring how and to what extent television-watching on its own, through stimulation of dissatisfaction with occupational chances and achievement motivation, produces cultural attitudinal change.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

#### Background of the Problem: A Review of the Literature

The relationship between mass media exposure and attitudinal innovativeness is relatively little understood and poorly researched. Current knowledge of the fairly well-established relationship between mass media exposure and overt-behavioral innovativeness (Rogers 1968) has little bearing on the corresponding relationship between mass media exposure and attitudinal innovativeness, for two main reasons. First, it can be assumed that overt-behavioral innovativeness is more easily called forth in an individual than attitudinal innovativeness, since a change in actions may be experimental and could easily be dismissed at a later time, while changes in attitudes are more definite and involve consequences in many realms of behavior. Second, if it is controversial that there is a direct relationship between mass media exposure and overt-behavioral innovativeness, it can be presumed that such a relationship is even of a more complex nature for what concerns attitudinal innovativeness, which means that there are probably significant intervening variables which affect this link.

The extrapolation of knowledge of overt-behavioral innovation phenomena to attitudinal innovativeness becomes even more unwarranted once we move from the realm of technology to the cultural context. Here our knowledge shrinks notably. Yet, it has been recognized that transformations in attitudes and values are far more important to produce self-sustaining movement toward modernization than changes in action (Pool 1963:249). Moreover, the concept of modernization itself centers upon a general positive attitude toward institutionalized change, as has been repeatedly pointed out by classic writings in sociology, like those of Durkheim (1893), Tönnies (1887), and Becker (1957), and in the anthropological research, in particular the work of Redfield (1947). The polar-type formulations of a mechanic solidarity in folk society, predominantly familistic, with face-to-face interpersonal relationships, permeated by sacred values; versus an organic solidarity in urban society, predominantly contractual, with secondary types of social relationships, and permeated by secular values; seems to consist mainly in terms of closed versus open-to-change attitudes.

The role played by the mass media in bringing about this open-to-change attitude might indeed be more crucial for the implementation of long-term developmental goals than in stimulating the adoption of specific technological innovation. As Rogers suggested:

The mass media's role in modernizing peasants of a less developed country may be mainly to form a generally favorable attitude toward new ideas, the so-called 'climate for modernization', rather than to provide the specific details needed for the adoption of these innovations (1969:110).

In fact, evidence indicates that mass media channels rarely provide the specific informative and persuasive impulse for the adoption of a new idea (Deutschmann and Fals Borda 1962; Rogers 1969:109).

Growing recognition that the role played by mass media in the development of a "climate for modernization" is crucial in understanding innovation processes has stimulated a line of interest in the phenomena of non-technological change. Since the pioneering work of Lerner (1958), a few advances have been made. Kahl (1965) reports from three different countries that socio-economic status was positively correlated with such dimensions as "activism", "interpersonal trust", "independence from family", while negatively with "occupational primacy". Inkeles (1969) found that education, factory experience, and urbanism enhance "individual modernity", whereas Armer and Youtz (1971) provide evidence that Western formal education affects transformations in "value orientations".

Despite the increasing interest in this research line, the role of mass media exposure as an independent variable has been definitely neglected. In fact, to the



author's present knowledge, this study is the first to introduce mass media exposure as an independent variable into a research design aiming to explain attitudinal change. Up to the present, researchers seem to have been more interested in investigating individual modernity as a composite of attitudinal and behavioral innovativeness. Consequently, within such a conceptual scheme mass media exposure is seen as an integral part of overall individual modernity.

And yet out of this past research orientation come some revealing indications of the independent and crucial role of mass media exposure. Item and factor analytic scrutinies of the usual composite indices have pointed out that items referring to mass media exposure were among the better predictors of overall modernity. To this conclusion converge, for instance, studies by Smith and Inkeles (1966), devoted to extensive testing procedures to devise a cross-culturally valid "individual modernity scale", and of Schnaiberg (1970), aimed at the theoretical and empirical explorations of alternative measurements of the modernism syndrome.

While empirical investigations contribute scarce hints for an elaboration of a causal model which might represent a hypothetical process through which television influences cultural attitudinal innovativeness, theoretical



contributions offer some suggestions. Relevant to the present investigation is Lerner's (1963:331-2) pregnant observation that one of the main issues we are facing in the developing world today is what he calls a "revolution of rising frustrations". For it became apparent that aspirations are more easily stimulated than satisfied, to the point that "relative deprivation" develops out of an imbalance in the ratio between a person's wants in respect to what he gets. Moreover, the maintenance of what Lerner calls "a balance of psychic supply-and-demand", is viewed by him as an indispensable condition of social change. Based upon this argument, Lerner demonstrates that the mass media cannot function effectively in a society unless there is already a rapid rate of development.

Lerner, with his major interest in social aggregates, did not raise the question of what consequences "relative deprivation" might have for the individual television viewer. However, his argument leads us to anticipate that the relationship between "wants" and "gets" is also a key variable on the individual level of analysis, i.e., in explaining attitude change.

If Lerner has conceptualized frustration, i.e., the reverse of satisfaction, as a function of the relationship between what a person obtains versus what he desires to obtain, Cantril (1958), on the other hand, introduced

a perceptionist viewpoint with his concept of "reality world". Drawing upon his psychological background, he sought to explain in terms of a comparable notion of "frustration" the leftish protest vote among workers in France and in Italy. According to his empirical explorations the protest voter is basically frustrated concerning his material needs and security, his social status and opportunity, or his feelings of participation within the state. Not so much because of an objective lack of opportunities, as because of:

...what exists outside of us has no consistent meaning or relevance to our behavior until we learn its significance to us. This significance depends on what we bring to a situation, what we make of it (p.34).

Therefore, the critical issues are not the objective external constraints which curtail the "gets". Instead, it should be located in the subjective perception of such constraints, for it affects an individual's valuation of what he realistically might expect to attain.

Referring more specifically to the phenomena of social mobility, Germani in his Sociologia della Modernizzazione (1971) seems to share this point of view:

Satisfaction or frustration will depend...upon the objectives one intends to reach and upon the distance between these aspirations and the realistic possibility of mobility (as it is perceived by the subjects). The dynamic factors that concur to determine the individual and social consequences are not made up by the class and by the grade of objective mobility, but by the 'rapport' which exists between aspirations and actual mobility (p. 122-3).

In other terms, frustration or dissatisfaction stem from the perceived impossibility of realistically attaining one's aspirations, ultimately fostered by mass media exposure. However, dissatisfaction by itself will presumably not sollicitate a positive attitude to change, that is cultural attitudinal innovativeness. To be effective in this regard, an individual has to perceive his own aspirations as "needs" and such perception can be assumed to be tied to the level of achievement motivation, whatever the direction of causation may be. McClelland (1961) interpreted achievement motivation in terms of a relatively stable subconscious need, while sociologists have tended to regard the phenomenon as a particular kind of historically (Hagen 1962:IX) and socially (Rosen 1956; Kahl 1965) conditioned value orientation.

Whatever the interpretation one likes to bestow on this concept, achievement motivation, in my opinion, provides the impulse for attaining one's goals within a specified area of occupational interest. In the present study, achievement motivation will not be considered a social value in itself. Instead, it will be conceptualized in terms of an instrumental disposition toward high-level performance. Its desiderata, not the instrumental disposition, are defined by social values. This distinction is important, for it will be hypothesized that individuals

characterized by achievement motivation are more favorable toward the cultural values characteristic of modern society.

As has been shown in this review of the relevant literature, empirical evidence and theoretical analyses support the prediction of a number of causal relationships between our four critical variables, which the present study intends to test.

### The Conceptual Scheme and the Causal Model

In the preceding section, convergent observations have been cited which can be summarized in the following conceptual scheme:

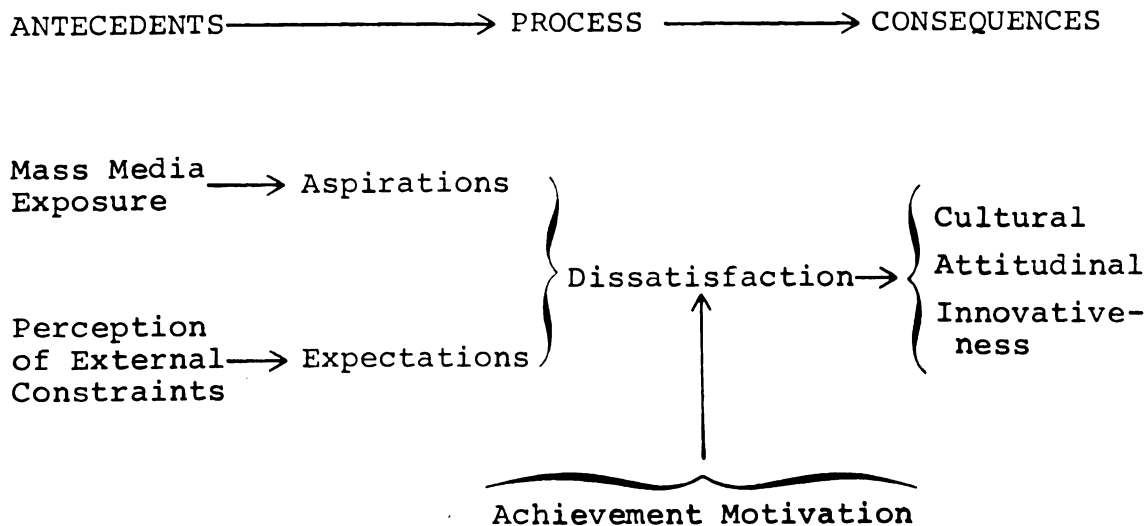


FIGURE 2.--Conceptual scheme of the problem.

This scheme explains, on a theoretical level, the choice of the four dimensions initially suggested in Chapter I, and justifies the selection of the four variables making up the causal model, which through empirical data is to be evaluated for its adequacy. While the operation-alization--and the related measurement instruments--for these variables will be presented in Chapter IV, in the present section the four variables will be defined, the causal model presented, and its underlying hypotheses elucidated.

The four variables are:

1. Television exposure, defined as the frequency of reception of television messages (TV).
2. Dissatisfaction with occupational chances, defined as the perceived impossibility of realistically attaining an aspired occupational level (DS).
3. Achievement motivation, defined as an instrumental disposition for high-level performance (AM).
4. Cultural attitudinal innovativeness, defined as the relative progress of personal psychological guidelines for overt behavior within the realm of modernizing cultural change (CAI).

These four variables have been arranged in the model shown in Figure 3 according to the previously-elaborated temporal succession of their causal impact (cfr. Blalock 1969).

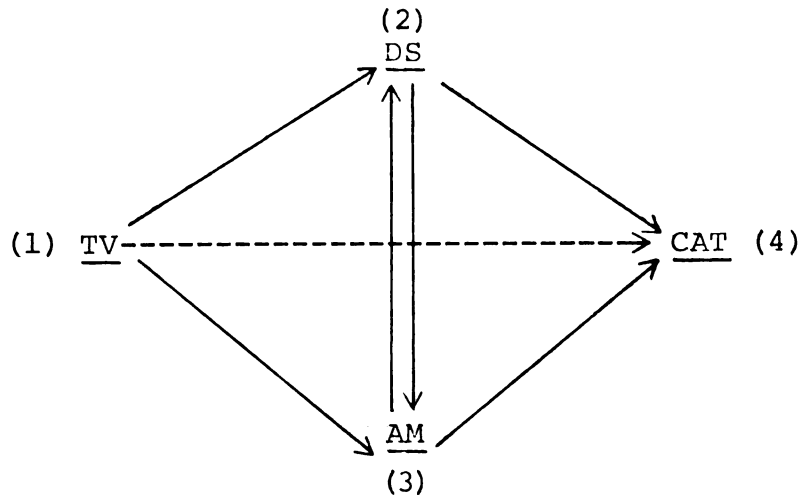


FIGURE 3.--The four variable model of television influence upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

At this point all possible causal links that can theoretically be specified within this closed system of variables have been traced, taking account of the earlier argument that between "dissatisfaction with occupational chances" and "achievement motivation" no unequivocally



causal, i.e., assymetrical relationship can be predicted. A different theoretical hypothesis corresponds to each of these theoretically predictable links. Out of this pool of hypotheses, different sets can be combined to specify alternative developmental chains of causation, or linkage sequences, which are to be compared for their merits in explaining the empirically-ascertained relationships between the variables.

So far the evidence at hand is insufficient to decide a priori which particular linkage sequence between the four variables would explain most adequately the underlying empirical process. But the methods of causal analysis permit us to derive such conclusions on the basis of an analysis of empirical evidence.

The following hypothesis are now listed, which in the analytical part of this study will be evaluated in terms of their consistency or inconsistency within the specific limits of the model. Numerical indices indicate the respective linked pairs of variables according to their enumeration in Figure 3.

Hypothesis<sub>12</sub>: An increase in television exposure will produce an increase in dissatisfaction with occupational chances.

Hypothesis<sub>13</sub>: An increase in television exposure will produce an increase in achievement motivation.

Hypothesis<sub>23</sub>: Dissatisfaction with occupational chances is positively related to achievement motivation.

Hypothesis<sub>24</sub>: An increase in dissatisfaction with occupational chances will produce an increase in cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

Hypothesis<sub>34</sub>: An increase in achievement motivation will produce an increase in cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

According to earlier theoretical argumentation, no direct link should exist between television exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness. The presence of such a direct link must be determined, either as complementary or alternative with the theoretically specified set of causal relationships. Chapter V, concerned with testing the model on the basis of a causal analysis of empirical data, shall provide an answer to this question.

But first of all, in the next chapter the research setting that has been chosen for this study will be characterized, while Chapter IV is dedicated to the methodological problems of the research design.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RESEARCH SETTING

To date, innovation phenomena within the modernization process have almost exclusively been studied among adults. However the problem of how television influences cultural attitudinal innovativeness can probably best be clarified by studying youths. In particular during their early adolescence, i.e., during those years of the socialization process when they detach themselves from their home environment and are not yet formally inserted into the occupational structure, youths may be assumed to be most open to television influence and most prone to change their attitudes. More specifically, as one focus of this investigation is on dissatisfaction with occupational chances as an intervening variable, male adolescents were chosen for study.

Empirical evidence, cited in the preceding chapter, suggests that formal education is associated with "individual modernity". Because it appeared unwise to insert an additional variable into the causal model, only male adolescents of about the same educational level were

considered, namely those who attend the three levels of lower grade high school (scuola media di primo grado).

This approach assured at least partial control for educational level; simultaneously partial control for age was introduced. The normal age-range for adolescents attending lower grade high school is from 11-14 years old.

Evidence also indicates that "urbanization" is associated with "individual modernity". In order to standardize the effect of this additional variable, adolescents from a single small town were chosen.

The choice of the research community will be justified in a following section. Subsequently the research setting will be described in terms of its geographical, hiostorical, socio-economic, and cultural characteristics, and finally, to conclude the chapter, some observations on television message content (introduced into this community) will be presented.

#### The Choice of the Community

The community of Manfredonia in the Italian South, with its approximately 50,000 inhabitants in 1970, was chosen as the research setting. In choosing this community, three considerations were decisive:

- a. Ownership of television sets among the local population had to be relatively common in order to assure a fair range in the frequency of television exposure of adolescents.
- b. The constraints in the occupational structure typical of an economically depressed area had to be evident.

- c. The presence of heterogeneity of cultural attitudes across the traditional-modern continuum, characteristic of a community in transition, had to be plausible.

Manfredonia was expected to satisfy these criteria.

First, data from a probability sample of adults in the community had revealed that in 1965 39 per cent watched television regularly, 45 per cent sometimes, while 23 per cent never (Eisermann and Acquaviva 1971:176). Although since then the frequency of television exposure must have grown considerably, a fair range of exposure among adolescents was to be expected. Second, the sizeable rate of emigration out of the community of workers in search of jobs during the past two decades undoubtedly had to be interpreted as due to objective constraints in the local opportunity structure. And third, at the time of the 1961 census, half of the local active population, while living in town, was working in agriculture. Since then, industrialization has made small progress. It seemed reasonable to expect a heterogeneity of cultural attitudes in such a rural-urban town facing the beginnings of industrialization.

#### Geographical and Historical Characterization

Manfredonia is a harbor town on the north-east coast of Puglia (Figure 4). It is situated between the wheat growing plains of the Tavoliere Pugliese and the mountainous Gargano promontory, which forms the spur of

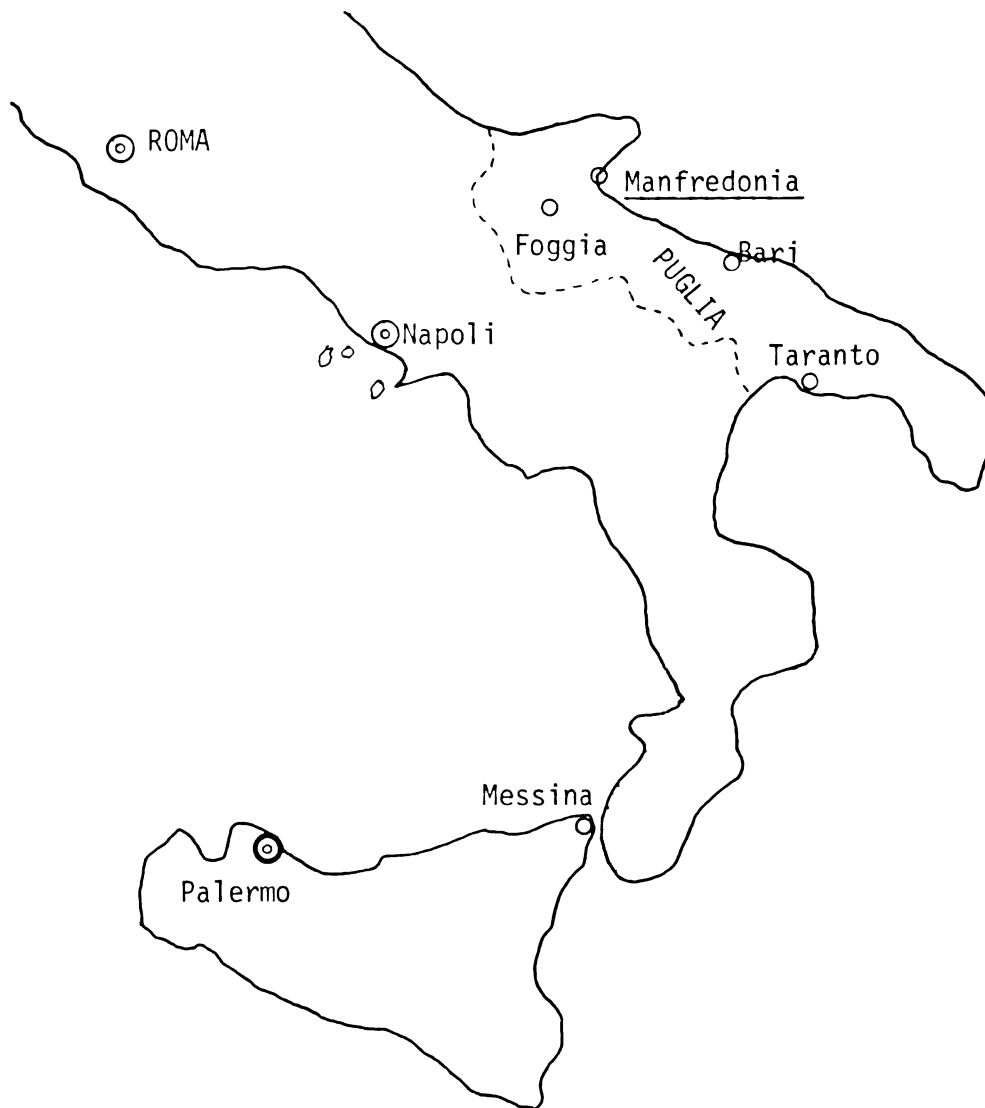


FIGURE 4.--The geographic location of the community.

the Italian boot-shaped peninsula. Until the end of last century the town remained hardly accessible by land because of the extensive malaria-infected swamps surrounding it. Only during the Second World War have the swamps been fully sanitized.

Today, Manfredonia is the most important urban center in the Gargano area, a place of traffic exchange between the hinterland, on one side, and Foggia, the capital of the Province, on the other.

Historical records report that the original township was founded in 1256 by Manfredi, the son of the enlightened and last great head of the Holy Roman Empire, Frederic II, when the growth of the swamps and the increasing threat of diseases led him to transfer the inhabitants of the nearby Siponto--which originally had been founded by the Greeks--to this new dwelling place.

Earlier the rich plains, if not always the promontory, had in succession been ruled by Romans, Byzantines, Ostrogotes, and Langobards. Thereafter, by the authorization of the popes, through marriage or war, rulers of Puglia became Norman Kings, German emperors, the French Anjou or the Spanish house of Arragon. Meanwhile, incursions and rampages by Saracenes were frequent and cruel, and the great number of fortifications along the coasts still attest to these incidents.

In more recent history Puglia shared the Spanish rule of Sicily; however, the unification of Italy in 1861 under Piedmontese leadership was resisted for more than a decade.

### Socio-Economic Characteristics

In their study of social and economic change in the Gargano, Eisermann and Acquaviva (1971) give a detailed account of the history of underdevelopment in the study area. They report that until 1951 average incomes were comparable to those of the least developed countries in the world. Furthermore, they document how until recent times the predominance of the primary economic sector over the secondary and tertiary ones, a subsistence economy, lack of capital, economic isolation, miserable life-conditions among peasants (who rarely owned enough land to support their families) along with illiteracy and deficient school facilities, concertedly confirmed the socio-economic backwardness of the region.

Only after 1950 did economic development begin. Average per capita incomes for the whole province rose from US \$159 in 1951 to US \$765 in 1967. However during this period sector mobility remained limited, due in part to emigration. In fact, according to the authors' extrapolation from census data, fully one-fifth of the Province's 1951 inhabitants had chosen to emigrate into the industrial North of Italy or into



Common Market countries, during the period from 1951 to 1961. On the other hand, industrialization initially proceeded on a very limited scale and has only recently accelerated because of significant government efforts and subsidies.

However, Manfredonia itself, like any town in economic transition, has experienced more of the disadvantages of industrial development than the advantages. Its population in the 1950s grew more than that of any other town in the area, because emigration was more than made up for by immigration. In fact, the town had become a first staging-post for those who left the Gargano promontory. Some headed to farther places, leaving their families in town. Therefore welfare and administrative services became insufficient, prices for housing and food rose, but, most critically, unemployment and underemployment remained high.

#### The Cultural Heritage

History, isolation and poverty have embittered the cultural heritage of the people who live in the Gargano. Eisermann and Acquaviva (1971) spoke of a society characterized by an "anxious individualism":

...An attitude which translates itself into profound introversion, bound to ancestral experiences, to pessimism, to suspicion, to vital insecurity. These factors condition opinion and judgements of basic values, of possibilities of life and work, of what is to be expected from the collaboration with others, of almost all beliefs and collective behavior (p. 157).

This heritage, which is most of all characterized by a fatalistic outlook upon life, is very basically implicit in the local culture, but today it is superseded by many contrasting aspects which introduce ambivalences into individual value systems.

The results from cultural anthropological analyses have often been accused by the insiders of the community under investigation to over simplify the evidence, to have overlooked ambivalences, or to have failed to appreciate the distinction between more basic and pseudo-traits of the prevailing complex system of values and beliefs which of course is in a state of flux. When here an attempt is made to characterize the cultural heritage in the Gargano, and when it is described as similar to the more general culture in the South and different from that of the North of Italy, such criticism may easily be raised. While the present study cannot delve into these problems and, least of all, try to settle the socio-anthropological argument, it looks upon such a fluctuating and ambiguous state of affairs as the most profitable setting for investigating how far the cultural heritage is now being replaced by modernizing influences, within the theoretical framework formerly discussed.

The direct product of the precariousness of life and of the fight for survival in a poverty-stricken environment is a fierce individualism. It has its roots in the feeling of an inability to control the future, and in the conviction that if anything can be achieved it must be on one's own. Confounded with this egocentric attitude is the assumption that others will similarly put their own interest in front of any more altruistic motives. Thus, as Lombardi Satriani (1968:VI), in his fascinating study of cultural themes and their ambivalences in the proverbial folklore of Calabria, has illustrated, individualism means also distrust, indifference, or even diffidence for others. No one can be counted upon, for tomorrow he may be an enemy; hence it is preferable not to place any hopes in fellow men.

Familism is a second fundamental theme in the culture of the Italian South (Pinna 1971). Though often distrust and suspicion prevail even inside the family, it constitutes at least partially a sphere of comfort and of protection against society. In his study of a Southern village in Italy, Banfield (1958:85) has developed the concept of "amoral familism" to describe what he thought was the basic driving force of individual behavior. It is based on the axiom that it is a personal duty to maximize the material and immediate advantage of the nuclear

family, taking it for granted that all others will do the same. Though criticism concerning the representativeness of Banfield's village of study has been raised, most observers tend to agree that there is some truth to his assertion. However, it is important to qualify that familism must not necessarily be amoral, in particular if one recognizes that the poor and powerless Southerner is apathetic and defensive, rather than aggressive, in the pursuit of his own or his family interest.

Nevertheless, one can say that through familism, the fatalistic and individualistically-oriented person builds a first shield around himself to protect his existence from an adverse world. In fact, he tries to extend this partially reliable solidarity to include other people, for instance by means of the comparaggio, i.e., by choosing persons richer, more prestigious, and more powerful than himself as the god-father for his children.

A third cultural theme, which has often been described (e.g., LaPalombara 1967), is clientilism; it may be considered yet another, though less efficient, shield of individualistic interests in the face of larger society. Clientelism is a naked give and take. Typically a person gives his vote to a local candidate and in return can count upon an occasional favor, like a recommendation for a better job, a hint to a judge in a legal

question, or a push to accelerate the granting of an overdue request to the central administration. Schepis (1963) found that in the South the preferential vote in national elections, by means of which one votes for a specific candidate rather than for a political party, is much more common than in the North of Italy. Furthermore, LaPalombara (1967) points out that clientelism with its reliance on primary personalistic ties has been an obstacle to the development of affiliations not only with political parties, but also with unions and other interest groups where reliance upon more impersonal, secondary ties is required.

Possibly a fourth protective shield is constituted by campanelismo, a localite kind of solidarity between the residents of the same town or village.

Thus the individual tries to reassure himself in always wider and more distant relationships with others. The more distant the relationship becomes, the less an obligation will be perceived as binding when a conflict of interest occurs.

Apparently the majority of lower and lower-middle class Southerners traditionally feel more comfortable when their contact with others remains personalistic. Here, in dealing directly with a familiar person, and not with someone who anonymously represents some awkward generalized rules or laws, they can count upon their famed shrewdness

(furbizia). Politics, justice, and organized interests represent what always was considered part of a threatening and unreliable world. That they could potentially substitute a more egalitarian, democratic, and rational approach for a paternalistic and authoritarian one, was hard to understand and to believe.

Thus scepticism is a common state of mind in the South. As long as no protest is aroused, obedience and submission produce affiliation (Iacono 1968): A child comes to expect from his parents that they look after him, a worker expects from the 'signore' that he will provide for his support, a citizen expects from government that it will take care of his needs, and, often being disillusioned, he hopes in God, in the padre eterno.

Finally, if in the industrial and more modern North of the country, the belief is stronger that efficiency and achievement will be rewarded, that individual rights are guaranteed by the State, that personal interests are protected by interest groups, that political participation is important and worthwhile; if there it is felt that the course of events can be rationally analyzed and in part predicted, and therefore it represents no vain effort to set goals to one's activities and pursuits, than it must be acknowledged that a profound cleavage exists between the two Italian cultures.

Some Observations on the Role  
of Television in Italy

Television in Italy is a centralized institution. Its services are carried out in a monopoly fashion by the Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI-TV), which is authorized, controlled, and supported by government. A great variety of entertainment, information, and educational programs are carried on two channels to all parts of the country. Since television is conceived as a public service, independent of private interests, only a small number of commercials are broadcast; they are concentrated in a few spots during the day or evening and are never allowed to interrupt an ongoing program.

On the average youths watch television more frequently than adults. When they are from 11 to 14 years old, i.e., in the age bracket that interests this study, they watch evening programs almost as much as their parents; in addition, they follow afternoon programs that are to a considerable part dedicated to them. Youths of this age judge the programs they watch in the first place as "entertaining", and only secondarily as "interesting" and "instructive". In fact, such individuals are most interested in films, musical-shows, and quiz transmissions, and much less in such programs as newscasts, cultural transmissions, or journalistic inquiries (RAI 1971).

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Though data on the number of people who watch different kinds of programs and on their relative appreciation of these are readily available at the RAI itself, so far little is known about any aspects of their impact. In Italy only one major attempt has been made to ascertain some of the effects of television exposure. Mostly through participant observation and open interviews, DeRita (1964) has tried to evaluate such impact in a rural community of the South. She stresses that the contents of television programs generally have little immediate relevance to the problems of life in the local environment, to the point that television watching assumes primarily the function of permitting evasion from reality. She also points out that people often find themselves disoriented in front of the large number of simultaneously-presented and complex messages. Yet, based on her findings, she is convinced that the indirect acquaintanceship with the proposed rules and values of an urban life-style can help, on the one side, the future emigrant to adapt to new environments through earlier vicarious experiences while, on the other, those who remain behind to create locally a new culture (p. 232).

Besides offering an opportunity for evasion from reality, empirical evidence confirms the informative role of television messages in developing communities. Next

to face-to-face contacts with returning emigrants, television constitutes the major source of detailed information on living conditions in economically more-advanced environments, on the advantages of industrial work, and on alternative life-styles where, in particular, the norms referring to female conduct tend to be more permissive (Eisermann and Acquaviva 1971).

The informative role of television is mostly carried out through journalistic and cultural programs, whereas the role of permitting evasion from reality is played predominantly by entertainment programs. From extensive content analysis of television messages (RAI 1968), it appears that the former are more directly and critically concerned with a social rather than individual reality, whereas entertainment programs show a more optimistic world of fantasy in which the individual tends to be shown without a major focus on his social conditions.

Nevertheless, the overall effect stresses the desirability, rather than the drawbacks, of modern urban and industrial life, and reinforces mostly the values of "consumption" as an instrument of well-being, of "success" as a means of self-assertion, and of "labor" as a sign of maturity (RAI 1968). However, while stressing these and similar modern values in substitution of traditional ones, television in Italy only seldomly alludes to more

revolutionary values, for instance where they could threaten the established affiliative role of the family as an institution or the prevailing class and power structure.

After these necessarily brief observations on the role of television in Italy, and after having characterized the community setting that was chosen for study, the following chapter will treat the methodological aspects involved in the research design.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY

The distinctive trait of this study is its causal approach to the problem of television influence upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness. The purpose is to test the adequacy of a theoretical model to describe the causal process of television influence upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness. Although in Chapter II a set of hypotheses, on which this model rests, has been listed, it should be clear that the goal of this study is neither to confirm or disconfirm individual propositions in the usual sense of asking whether a given relationship between any pair of variables should or should not be attributed to chance, nor to draw any conclusions concerning strength of relationship between variables. Causal analysis has been used as a theory building tool according to the most recent methodological orientations. What is tested are not single hypotheses but an interconnected set of propositions which are summarized in the model. The question is how adequately does the model fit pertinent empirical data, and which changes should be introduced

into the linkage system of variables specified in the model in order to obtain a better fit.

The present chapter deals with the methodological approach. First, operationalization and measurement of the four variables in the theoretical model will be discussed; second, sampling procedures, questionnaire and data-gathering will be explained; and third, the analytic scheme used in the elaboration of data will be outlined.

### Operationalization and Measurement of Variables

The operationalization and measurement of the four variables--television exposure, dissatisfaction with occupational chances, achievement motivation, and cultural attitudinal innovativeness--pose problems of varying complexity.

Television exposure is operationalized by the frequency of watching television in an average week, and has been measured in the usual way, i.e., by means of a forced-choice question.

Yet such measurement ascertains only the elementary quantitative aspect of television watching and ignores the more subtle qualitative aspects of program choice, attention, or memorization. Since results from previous research (e.g., Donohew 1967:685, and Korsching and Burdge 1972:11) indicate that the effect of communication on receptiveness to change is more evident when the content of communication rather than the amount of communication is analyzed,

the present study introduces a second, qualitative consideration in terms of program content. Specifically, frequency of exposure to entertainment programs is distinguished from frequency of exposure to informative programs, so as to enable us to compare their respective relationships with the intervening and dependent variables.

In order to obtain a separate index of exposure to each kind of program, only a selection of the more representative examples for each type of program has been considered, while those programs that could not clearly be subsumed under either type were ignored in the analysis. Thus, for exposure to entertainment programs a summary index of frequency of watching: (a) films and telefilms, (b) sports transmissions, (c) musical shows, and (d) the popular commercial show spot Carosello, has been adopted; while for exposure to informative programs, a summary index of frequency of watching: (a) newscasts, (b) cultural transmissions, and (c) documentaries or journalistic inquiries, has been elaborated.

These two types of programs were presumed to be distinct in that the first conveys predominantly messages that solicit an evasion from reality or projection into an ideal world of imagination, whereas the second conveys predominantly messages that should help the viewer to orient himself in his actually, given immediate or more distant social involvements.

Dissatisfaction with occupational chances is operationalized in terms of a typological construct that is based upon (1) each adolescent's level of idealistic occupational aspirations, (2) his level of perceived realistic occupational expectations for the future, as well as (3) his level of departure from perceived occupational attainment of his father.

Following the scheme represented in Figure 5, this construct simultaneously accounts for:

- (a) The direction of the discrepancy between level of idealistic occupational aspirations (IA) and level of perceived realistic expectations for the future (RE), in the columns; and
- (b) The direction of the discrepancy between level of perceived realistic occupational expectations for the future (RE) and level of departure, i.e., perceived occupational attainment of the father (FA), in the rows.

It was assumed that in cases where idealistic aspiration exceeds realistic expectation, dissatisfaction would be greater than in cases of the opposite.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, it was assumed that in cases where father's level of attainment exceeds realistic expectations, dissatisfaction with occupational chances would be greater than in opposite cases.

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<sup>1</sup>This assumption is in line with Robaye's (1957: 194-5) empirically based characterization of personality types depending upon the differential relationships between level of aspiration and level of expectation. Accordingly, individuals with low aspirations and high expectations are generally satisfied; individuals with high aspirations and low expectations are usually very frustrated and discontent; while individuals with high aspirations and expectations, or low aspirations and expectations, are those intermediate in their exposure to psychological stress.

## DISSATISFACTION

## INDEX 1

Index 2	High IA > RE	Medium IA = RE	Low IA < RE
High RE < FA	I	II	III
Medium RE = FA	II	III	IV
Low RE > FA	III	IV	V

Types: f\*

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I = 9  
 II = 11  
 III = 42  
 IV = 19  
 V = 17

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N = 98

\*Data for 2 cases out of a total of 100 were incomplete.

Figure 5.--Typological Construct of Dissatisfaction with Occupational Chances in Terms of its Sources.



Based on these assumptions, two preliminary indices of dissatisfaction were developed, each with a range of 1-3 suggesting low, medium or high dissatisfaction. These indices were confronted in the matrix shown in Figure 5 and individuals were assigned to their respective cells.

The overall index of dissatisfaction with occupational chances was derived through an operation of pragmatic reduction (Lazarsfeld and Barton 1951:174) from the frequency distribution in the matrix by adding scores from the original indices. This overall index distinguishes five types of adolescents according to their general dissatisfaction with occupational chances. These five types are labeled by Roman numerals.

Measurements for the two dimensions of overall dissatisfaction with occupational chances were obtained by having adolescents assign prestige ratings for own aspired occupation, own expected occupation, and for father's present or last occupation, using the rank of ten standard occupations as a yardstick.

As seen in Figure 5, the frequency distribution obtained for the five types of adolescents turned out to be approximately normal in shape.

The next variable, achievement motivation, is operationalized in terms of 12 dichotomous items which are listed in Table 3 of the Appendix. Guidelines for

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the design of these items were Kahl's (1965) work on measurement of "achievement orientations", in particular where he is concerned with an "activity" and "occupational primacy" dimension, as well as Smith and Inkeles' (1966) work on the development of a "Comparative Socio-Psychological Measurement of Individual Modernity", specially where they operationalize the "efficacy" theme. All scale items were reformulated to make sense in terms of the everyday experiences of adolescents in the research locale. The format is of alternative statements, where agreement with one is interpreted as indicating high achievement motivation, whereas agreement with the other as indicating low achievement motivation. The sum of scores representing high achievement motivation constitutes the measurement of this variable.

The last variable, cultural attitudinal innovativeness, was at first operationalized in terms of a preliminary pool of 20 items which were designed in the same format as the achievement motivation items (Table 4 in the Appendix). Again Smith and Inkeles' aforementioned work served as a source, along with Schnaiberg's (1970) explorations in measuring modernism. Vincelli's (1958) and Lombardi-Satriani's (1968) studies of cultural themes in the Italian South, plus unpublished data on the development of social character in Sardinia (Danbury and Pinna, 1965), helped to focalize the statements to the specific cultural setting.

As has been pointed out in the second section of Chapter I, cultural attitudinal innovativeness should not be presumed on a priori grounds, in particular in "culture-specific" research, to be a unidimensional phenomenon. Therefore, in order to elaborate a circumstantially valid measurement device, responses obtained to the 20 initial statements were intercorrelated (with phi-coefficients); the resulting correlation matrix (Table 5 in the Appendix) was submitted to principal axis factor analysis with subsequent varimax rotations (Table 6 in the Appendix). Findings from this collateral analysis will be discussed in the last chapter.

At this point, it may suffice to note that the item analysis clearly revealed multidimensionality and that it led to the tentative definition and labeling of two major dimensions of cultural attitudinal innovativeness, namely: I. Clientelism-Meritocracy, and II. Dependence-Emancipation. These labels reassume the latent common meaning of the items with the highest, and at the same time relatively pure, loadings on the underlying factors. For the first dimension, these items stress such aspects as: (1) affiliation vs. accomplishment (item number 5 in Table 4 of the Appendix); (2) authority vs. democracy (number 13); (3) activity vs. passivity (number 18); and (4) defensive egotism vs. cooperation (number 14). For the second dimension, they stress such aspects as:



(1) sex-role inequality vs. equality (number 12); (2) fatalism or predetermined future vs. open future (number 19); (3) child dependence vs. child emancipation (number 11); (4) altruistic vs. selfish interests (number 16); (5) women's dependence vs. emancipation (number 9); and (6) institutionalized road to success or formal education vs. own road to success or furbizia (number 1).<sup>1</sup>

Among the two factors, the first dimension refers predominantly to aspects of the process of cultural attitudinal innovativeness in the public sphere, and proposes a switch in reliance from primary to secondary relationships. The second dimension refers predominantly to aspects of the process of cultural attitudinal innovativeness in the private sphere, and seems to be based most of all upon an increasing wish for self-assertion and for social justice among adolescents. Parallel and supporting evidence for the need to account for a strong emancipation factor within the modernization syndrome is reported by Schnaiberg (1970).

For each of these two major dimensions of cultural attitudinal innovativeness, separate measurements were elaborated by summing the "modern" scores of the critical

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<sup>1</sup>Contradicting expectations, adolescents who otherwise were modern in their attitudes thought formal schooling less important than furbizia (shrewdness) for getting ahead in life. Possibly, as long as in an environment of limited opportunities, a minimum of occupational and material success cannot be taken as granted, education is not valued in itself as in more advanced environments, but represents an instrumental means (as any other) to assure a decent job.

items, and each dimension was independently introduced as an alternative conception of cultural attitudinal innovativeness in the theoretical model specified in Chapter II.

#### Sample, Questionnaire, and Data-Gathering

The population from which a representative sample of respondents has been drawn, was defined as all male adolescents registered in lower grade high schools in the community area of Manfredonia. This definition has the advantage that, within certain limits, it assures control for otherwise possibly interfering variables, which would have been extraneous to the theoretical model, like urbanity, education, sex, and age.

From the specified population, as listed by the lower grade high school records of 930 entries, a systematic sample of 100 youths was drawn. The following brief characterization of the sample, based upon the marginal analysis of data from the interviews, provides the background for interpretation of the causal analysis results.

More than four-fifths of the sampled adolescents were in the usual, expected age-bracket of 11 to 14 years, corresponding to the three classes of the obligatory lower grade high school system. The remaining respondents were somewhat overage; but being overage in their classes is a rather common phenomenon in places like Manfredonia, where two-thirds of the respondents reported to have had

work experiences besides school. Almost half of all boys had worked for pay outside the family, mostly in commerce and tourism, second in the crafts, third in construction or small factories, and fourth, in agriculture.

The need to help earn the family living is due to the fact that families still tend to be large. All respondents have siblings: 30 per cent have one or two, 38 per cent three or four, 25 per cent from five to seven, and 7 per cent eight or even more. This constitutes one reason why few mothers have a job, and apparently why adolescent sons rather than their mothers are counted upon to help increase the family income.

Generally, mothers' educational level tends to be somewhat lower than fathers', but both levels have in the great majority of cases already been surpassed by their lower grade high school sons. Only 13 per cent of the mothers, compared with 19 per cent of the fathers, had entered or passed lower grade high school.

The developmental trend in the community is illustrated by comparing grandfathers' with fathers' present or last occupational activities. While the great majority of grandfathers were reportedly self-employed, the majority of fathers now have dependent jobs. Grandfathers' work was predominantly in agriculture and fishing, second in commerce and services, and least often in industry. Fathers' work, instead, is predominantly in



commerce and services, while much less, and to an equal extent, in industry or agriculture and fishing. On the one side, these trends reflect gradual urbanization, while on the other, a slow integration into industrial life of an originally rural population.

Since industrialization is only at its beginning, work chances in town are limited. In fact, one-fourth of the adolescents judged future work chances in town on the unsatisfactory side, one-third judged them on the satisfactory side, whereas the remaining were undecided. Two-fifths held that emigration is necessary to get ahead in life, and a substantial one-third already have made the emigration plans. These findings indicate that indeed considerable dissatisfaction must prevail in this age-group. This situation is also reflected in the adolescent's eventual voting intentions. More than one-third of the 90 youths who answered the question would cast "protest votes", if they had the vote today: 29 per cent would vote for the Communist Party, and 7 per cent would vote for the Neo-Fascist Party, the remaining intending to vote for the governmental parties.

In sum, the characteristics of the sample indicate that Manfredonia may indeed have provided a suitable setting to test the present model: Half of the adolescents watch television every day (or almost); there is considerable dissatisfaction with the occupational future; many youths

are motivated to emigrate once grown; and a sizeable number are discontent with the political status quo. Together, this leads us to expect a fair range of cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

Those questions from the interview schedule which are important for this study are reproduced at the end of the Appendix in English translation. After ample pretesting in location, the questionnaire was administered in late Summer, 1971 by three students of a reputed Milanese school of social work. All three originally were from Manfredonia, and thus could speak the local dialect when necessary. Interviews either took place by common agreement at a local public library, or interviewers called at the homes of respondents.

#### Analytic Scheme for Testing the Model

In general terms, two events are said to be causally interrelated when the occurrence of the earlier event is regarded as a condition for the occurrence of the later event.

The four variable model in Chapter II specifies a number of causal links between pairs of variables. These causal links, with their underlying propositions, represent working assumptions on the theoretical level of analysis about the relationship between television exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness. They can never actually be demonstrated empirically (Blalock 1964:173);

however, based upon empirical evidence, their relative plausibility can be evaluated.

In fact, based on a plausibility criterion, the causal links in the original model can be erased one at a time to specify alternative linkage sequences between the four variables. A slightly different theory on the indirect causal impact of television exposure on cultural attitudinal innovativeness would correspond to each alternative linkage sequence, or modified version of the original model.

The purpose in the analytical part of this study is to evaluate the merits of each modified version of the model, with its respective theory, in explaining the empirically-ascertained relationships between the four variables. Toward this aim, two interrelated analytic techniques have been adopted. The first is Simon-Blalock causal model analysis, which has been employed with the purpose:

....to make causal inferences concerning the adequacy of causal models, at least in the sense that we can proceed by eliminating inadequate models that make predictions that are not consistent with the data (Blalock 1964:62; also Simon 1954).

For each modified version of the original model, prediction equations are computed on the basis of correlation coefficients between pairs of variables. Thereafter, those models are rejected which produce prediction equations that are inconsistent with the actual relationship between the variables included in the model.

In detail, the degree of inconsistency between a predicted and an actual relationship between two variables is measured by a test of goodness-of-fit. For example, given two variables  $x$  and  $y$  that both depend from a third variable  $z$ ; and if  $z$  showed a correlation coefficient of .40 with  $x$  and of .50 with  $y$ ; one would predict from these associations a correlation of  $(.40)(.50)=(.20)$  between  $x$  and  $y$ . If now we were to ascertain empirically an actual correlation of .35 between variables  $x$  and  $y$  (and if we were willing to make the necessary assumptions exposed below), we would have to decide whether a difference of  $(.35)-(.20)=(.15)$  between the actual and predicted correlation coefficients does or does not satisfy our requests for goodness of fit.

Basically standards for decisions concerning goodness-of-fit are arbitrary. Yet there is some consensus to consider any difference larger than .10 between a predicted and an actually ascertained correlation coefficient as indicative of association between the two dependent variables.

Once a particular model has been inferred along these lines as the most adequate one, our second analytical technique is adopted. It consists in employing path-analysis (Duncan 1966; Land 1969) with the purpose of strengthening the argument that the relationships between the variables in the inferred model are causal ones. To

demonstrate the plausibility of causal relationships, correlation coefficients, which had been introduced into the Simon-Blalock prediction equations, cannot provide any cues for they measure only the degree of association between variables. More specifically, in the prediction equations they measure only the goodness-of-fit around the regression line.

In order to strengthen the argument of causality, the amount of change in the dependent variable(s) which is produced by standardized changes in the independent variable(s) needs to be known. This information can be obtained through the computation of path coefficients or standard partial regression coefficients (analogous to beta-weights), which indicate the unique effects of the independent variable(s) in the model.

The required calculations have been carried out by means of the formulas recommended by Hilgendorf and others (1967):

$$\beta_{12.3} = \frac{r_{12} - r_{13}r_{23}}{1 - (r_{23})^2}$$

gives the path coefficient from variable 1 to variable 2, where variable 3 is held constant; and

$$\beta_{12.34} = \frac{r_{12} - \left(\frac{r_{13}r_{14}}{2}\right) \left(\frac{r_{23}r_{24}}{2}\right)}{1 - \left(\frac{r_{23}r_{24}}{2}\right)^2}$$

gives the path coefficient from variable 1 to variable 2, where variables 3 and 4 are held constant.

Four assumptions must be set forth to warrant the application of these causal analysis techniques for the purposes of model construction and testing:

1. Each successive dependent variable in the original model, as well as in its alternative versions, is either directly or indirectly caused by one or more variables which precede, and by none that follows, in temporal sequence.
2. All variations in each dependent variable can be allocated among the independent variables that have explicitly been introduced into the model; in other terms, exogenous causes of each of the four variables are uncorrelated with the other variables in the model.
3. Relationships between the variables in the model(s) are additive and linear.

4. All postulated causal links in the model(s) are asymmetrical, or causation is uni-directional in all cases.<sup>1</sup>

These assumptions should not be considered distinctive to Simon-Blalock or path analysis, since they are part of the common logic of most techniques of causal analysis.

Concerning the first assumption, it has been shown in Chapter II that the postulated temporal sequence of the variables (television exposure→dissatisfaction with occupational chances and achievement motivation→cultural attitudinal innovativeness) is reasonably justified by theory.

Referring to the second assumption, it will be recalled that the confounding effect of some critical exogenous variables (i.e., sex, age, education, and urbanity) has been purposefully standardized. Presuming that each dependent variable may indeed be regarded as completely determined by some combination of variables in the system specified by the model, the prediction equations for the four-variable model in Chapter II (Figure 3) are the following:

- (a)  $X_1 = e_1$
- (b)  $X_2 = b_{21}X_1 + e_2$
- (c)  $X_3 = b_{31}X_1 + e_3$
- (d)  $X_4 = b_{42.3}X_2 + b_{43.2}X_3 + e_4$

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<sup>1</sup>In recent years various efforts have been made to adapt statistical procedures to situations where certain ones of these assumptions cannot be met. However, calculations soon become very complex.

Equation (a) specifies that television exposure ( $X_1$ ) is a cause of the three other variables in the model, but itself is not caused by either one. Equations (b) and (c) state that both dissatisfaction with occupational chances ( $X_2$ ) and achievement motivation ( $X_3$ ) are caused by television exposure ( $X_1$ ). Equation (d) indicates that cultural attitudinal innovativeness ( $X_4$ ) is caused jointly by dissatisfaction with occupational chances ( $X_2$ ) and by achievement motivation ( $X_3$ ).

Regarding the third assumption concerning linearity of relationship between variables stated above, evidence concerning the shape of regression lines will be reported in the next chapter. Finally, the fourth assumption, i.e. the requirement of uni-directional causation, most clearly introduces a heuristic simplification into the complex relationships at issue, for it excludes the presence of any reciprocal effects. Nevertheless, this last assumption may be accepted together with the preceding ones as long as the present effort does not claim to be more than a tentative first step in the direction of the construction of a theoretical model that links television exposure with cultural attitudinal innovativeness. The following chapter reports the results of the causal analysis of the alternative versions of the original model.



## CHAPTER V

### FINDINGS

The adequacy of the causal model will be tested in six different versions. While the intervening variables, dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) and achievement motivation (AM), will remain unchanged, the independent as well as the dependent variable will vary. The independent variables, one at a time, are: (a) general television exposure (TV); or (b) exposure to informative television programs (TV<sub>inf.</sub>); or (c) exposure to entertainment television programs (TV<sub>ent.</sub>); while the dependent variable is either: (a) the "clientelism/meritocracy" dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness (CAI I) or (b) the "dependence/emancipation" dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness (CAI II).

From the three modalities of the independent variable and the two modalities of the dependent variable, six somewhat different models were derived by combination, which were separately submitted to test on the basis of the empirical evidence.

### Relationships Between the Variables

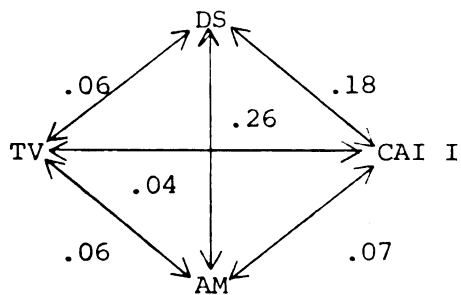
Figure 6 presents the six models and reports, next to the bi-directional arrows, the product-moment correlation coefficients that characterize each link. It will be noticed that in models A and B, in models C and D, and in models E and F, the first half of the model is identical, because in each pair the independent as well as the intervening variables are the same. Similarly, the second half of models A, C, and E is identical, as well as the second half of models B, D, and F, since here the intervening variables and the dependent variable are the same.

A first scrutiny of the correlation coefficients suggests that the relationships between the variables tends to be rather low, which means that television watching must be attributed a weaker influence than expected. Several correlation coefficients are very close to zero, or even negative, indicating an inverse relationship between certain pairs of variables.

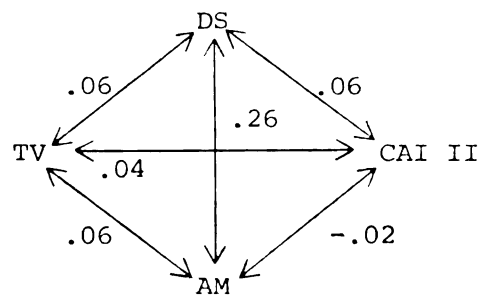
Before testing the causal models, it is important to outline the major tendencies that emerge from Figure 6.

1. While there is only an almost negligible, although positive, association between general television exposure and the two dimensions of cultural attitudinal innovativeness (models A and B), this relationship is brought to focus once exposure to different program content is

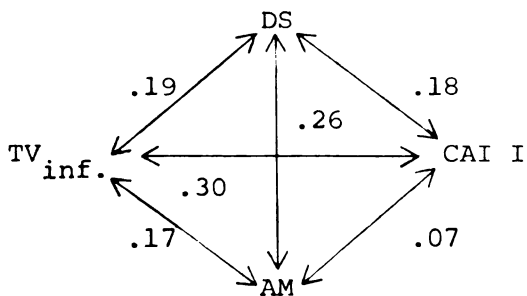
A. Television Exposure on Clientelism/Meritocracy



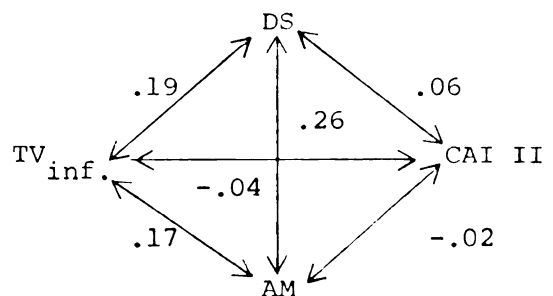
B. Television Exposure on Dependence/Emancipation



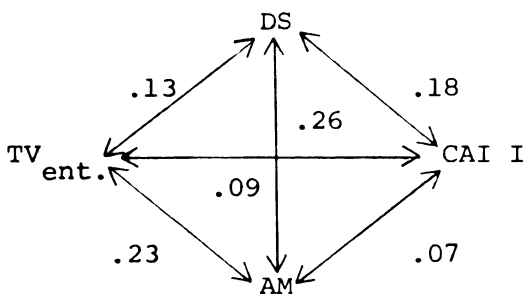
C. Television Information on Clientelism/Meritocracy



D. Television Information on Dependence/Emancipation



E. Television Entertainment on Clientelism/Meritocracy



F. Television Entertainment on Dependence/Emancipation

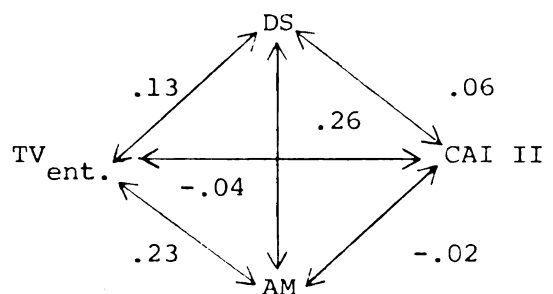


Figure 6.--Product-Moment Intercorrelations of Variables for Different Combinations of Independent and Dependent Variables with Constant Intervening Variables.\*

\*  $R > .20$  has a  $p < .05$ ;  $r > .26$  has a  $p < .01$  with  $N = 98$ . Due to incomplete data, two cases from the total sample of 100 had to be excluded from the analysis.

accounted for (models C to F). This finding is in line with Donohew's (1967), and Korsching and Burdge's (1972) results, which have been cited earlier.

1.1 In particular the relationship between television exposure to informative programs and attitudes concerning "clientelism/meritocracy" (model C), compared to the relationship between television exposure to entertainment programs and attitudes concerning the same dimension (model E), become more clearcut. It would seem that adolescents who watch informative programs (such as newscasts, cultural transmissions, and documentaries or journalistic inquiries), rather than those who watch entertainment programs (such as films and telefilms, sports transmissions, musical shows, and carosello), are the individuals who believe in meritocracy as a criterion of social advancement.

1.2 In contrast, it appears to make little difference which type of program an adolescent watches for the modernity of his attitudes concerning the second dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

Exposure to informative programs and exposure to entertainment programs show a similarly slight, and even negative, association with attitudes concerning individual "dependence/emancipation". The greater rigidity of this attitude cluster may be especially salient among adolescents.

2. Also the relationships between general television exposure and dissatisfaction with occupational chances, or with achievement motivation, become more clearcut once program content is accounted for. Thus general television exposure shows only a very slight, although positive association with either intervening variable (models A and B); whereas larger correlation coefficients suggest that exposure to informative programs, but also to entertainment programs, is related to a moderate extent with dissatisfaction with occupational chances and also with achievement motivation (models C to F). This would indicate that adolescents most exposed to informative programs are generally not those most exposed to entertainment programs, and vice versa.

3. Dissatisfaction with occupational chances shows a somewhat stronger association with either cultural attitudinal innovativeness dimension than does achievement motivation. Yet here again, the strength of association is greater in the wider public realm to which "clientelism/meritocracy" refers, than in the narrower, private or family realm of "dependence/emancipation" (models A, C, and E versus models B, D, and F). This probably attests once more to the greater rigidity of the latter attitude cluster among adolescents.
4. Lastly, there appears to be a comparatively marked relationship between adolescents' dissatisfaction with occupational chances and their achievement motivation.

In other words, these preliminary findings show that probably the influence of television upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness depends (1) upon program content watched, and (2) upon whether the reference of attitudes is to primary (e.g., familistic) or to secondary (e.g., non-familistic) relationships.

Before we turn to the test and discussion of the adequacy of the causal model for an explanation of the above relationships, two points must be raised. The first concerns the size of the product-moment correlation coefficients. Considering the sample size (N=98), only 3 out of

the total of 17 different pairs of variables recurring in the set of six models were found associated to a degree that, according to statistical standards (that is, the .05 level of probability), could not be attributed to chance. Among these, the strongest relationship was found between television exposure to informative programs and innovativeness on the "clientelism/meritocracy" dimension (model C), next between dissatisfaction with occupational chances and achievement motivation (constant in models A to F), and last, between television exposure to entertainment programs and achievement motivation (model E).

Clearly, general experience in attitude studies suggests that substantial levels of correlation are seldom obtained. Thus even minor correlations should not necessarily be disregarded, as might be done in other types of research. Interpreted with caution, they might at least indicate directions for further research and help toward a critical refinement of measurement instruments, which in this field are frequently wanting.

The second point to be raised concerns the assumption of linearity on which product-moment correlation coefficients, and for that matter, Simon-Blalock causal analysis as well as path analysis, rest. Table 7 in the Appendix reports eta-coefficients that correspond to the recurring product-moment correlation coefficients in Figure 6. For almost all 17 confrontations of variables, eta-coefficients are considerably larger than product-

moment correlation coefficients, indicating curvilinearity in the relationships, and this to an extent that statistical tests of significance of deviation from linearity appeared redundant to report.

However, pursuing the point yet farther, tracing the means of the independent variable per categories of the dependent variable for each confrontation, showed that the regression line in most cases did not even produce monotonic curvilinear slopes, as assumed by eta-coefficients. Because of this, not only eta-coefficients are reported in Table 7 of the Appendix, but also probabilities of occurrence of the respective F-statistics from one-way analyses of variance. Altogether, the results show that the coefficients of association in Figure 6 must be considered and interpreted with due reservations. They are all, to varying degrees, underestimates of the degree of association due to curvilinearity.

#### Testing Alternative Models

The Simon-Blalock goodness-of-fit procedure requires that each single theoretically-postulated link in a causal model is checked for spuriousness, i.e., the prediction is tested whether the particular relationship between a pair of variables is due to the causal effect of a third variable on this pair.



This procedure is statistically presented in Table 1. For instance, prediction equations (1a) for models A to F have been calculated to test the adequacy of alternative models where the relationship between  $X_2$  = dissatisfaction with occupational chances, and  $X_3$  = achievement motivation, is considered spurious due to the causal effect of  $X_1$  = general television exposure in models A and B, exposure to informative programs in models C and D, or exposure to entertainment programs in models E and F, on this pair. Similarly, prediction equations (1b) have been elaborated to test the adequacy of another causal model alternative where the relationship between  $X_1$  = general television exposure in models A and B, exposure to informative programs in models C and D, or exposure to entertainment programs in models E and F with  $X_2$  = dissatisfaction with occupational chances, is retained as spurious due to the effect of  $X_3$  = achievement motivation.

Once the model that best fits the empirical data concerning the first half of each model A to F in Figure 6, has been ascertained by means of equations (1a), (1b), and (1c) in Table 1, the causality or spuriousness of the theoretically-postulated links in the second half of these models is determined through equations (1d) and (1e).

TABLE 1.--Prediction Equations for Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Models of Television Influence on Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness.<sup>4</sup>

Model	Prediction	Predicted	Actual	Difference
<b>A. Television Exposure on Clientelism/Meritocracy:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.06 \times .06 =$	.00	.26	.26
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.06 \times .26 =$	.02	.06	.04*
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.06 \times .26 =$	.02	.06	.04*
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .18 =$	.05	.07	.02*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times .07 =$	.02	.18	.16
<b>B. Television Exposure on Dependence/Emancipation:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.06 \times .06 =$	.00	.26	.26
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.06 \times .26 =$	.02	.06	.04*
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.06 \times .26 =$	.02	.06	.04*
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .06 =$	-.02	.02	-.04*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times -.02 =$	-.01	.06	.07*
<b>C. Television Information on Clientelism/Meritocracy:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.19 \times .17 =$	.03	.26	.23
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.17 \times .26 =$	.04	.19	.15
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.19 \times .26 =$	.05	.17	.12
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .18 =$	.05	.07	.02*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times .07 =$	.02	.18	.16
lf. $r_{12} \times r_{24} = r_{14}$	$.19 \times .18 =$	.03	.30	.27
lg. $r_{13} \times r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{14}$	$.17 \times .26 \times .18 =$	.05	.30	.25
<b>D. Television Information on Dependence/Emancipation:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.19 \times .17 =$	.03	.26	.23
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.17 \times .26 =$	.04	.19	.15
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.19 \times .26 =$	.05	.17	.12
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .06 =$	.02	-.02	-.04*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times -.02 =$	-.01	.06	.07*
<b>E. Television Entertainment on Clientelism/Meritocracy:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.13 \times .23 =$	.03	.26	.23
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.23 \times .26 =$	.06	.13	.07*
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.13 \times .26 =$	.03	.23	.20
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .18 =$	.05	.07	.02*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times .07 =$	.02	.18	.16
lf. $r_{13} \times r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{14}$	$.23 \times .26 \times .18 =$	.05	.09	.04*
<b>F. Television Entertainment on Dependence/Emancipation:</b>				
la. $r_{12} \times r_{13} = r_{23}$	$.13 \times .23 =$	.03	.26	.23
lb. $r_{13} \times r_{23} = r_{12}$	$.23 \times .26 =$	.06	.13	.07*
lc. $r_{12} \times r_{23} = r_{13}$	$.13 \times .26 =$	.03	.23	.20
ld. $r_{23} \times r_{24} = r_{34}$	$.26 \times .06 =$	.02	-.02	-.04*
le. $r_{23} \times r_{34} = r_{24}$	$.26 \times -.02 =$	-.01	.06	.07*

\*Key to the variables in this table:

- Variable 1 = General Television Exposure (in Models A and B)
- = Exposure to Informative Programs (in Models C and D)
- = Exposure to Entertainment Programs (in Models E and F)
- Variable 2 = Dissatisfaction with Occupational Chances (in all Models)
- Variable 3 = Achievement Motivation (in all Models)
- Variable 4 = Clientelism/Meritocracy Dimension of Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness (in Models A, C and E)
- = Dependence/Emancipation Dimension of Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness (in Models B, D and F)

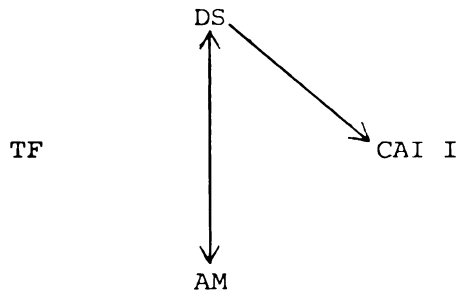
\*A "good fit" in these cases means that we can erase the causal link between these two variables in the system.

Finally, in cases where some systematic indirect linkage sequence from  $X_1$  to  $X_4$  is established, it remains to be checked whether this sequence, or instead a direct link between the independent and dependent variable, better fits the empirical evidence (equations 1f and 1g). Here the prediction equation has to be computed that tests the adequacy of a model alternative which specifies that the relationship between  $X_1$  and  $X_4$  is spurious due to the simultaneous causal effect of the two intervening variables,  $X_2$  and  $X_3$ , on this pair.

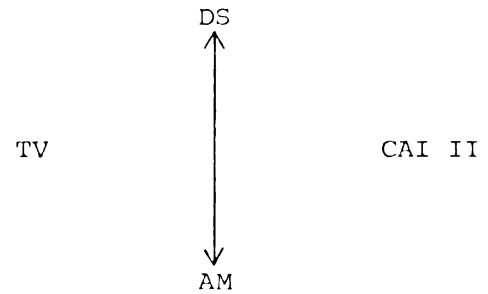
Figure 7 summarizes diagrammatically the results from Table 1. Concerning the left half of models A to F, it shows first of all that the standard intervening variables (DS and AM) are positively related, even when their common variance that must be attributed to the causal effect of the independent variable in its modalities (TV or  $TV_{inf.}$  or  $TV_{ent.}$ ) is partialled out.

It shows further that general television exposure (TV) is not causally related to either of the intervening variables (DS and AM). However, once the content of the programs watched is considered, television exposure is likely to produce consequences for the adolescent who watches the screen. Apparently, the more he watches informative programs ( $TV_{inf.}$ ), the more he will become dissatisfied with his occupational chances (DS), but also the more his achievement motivation will increase.

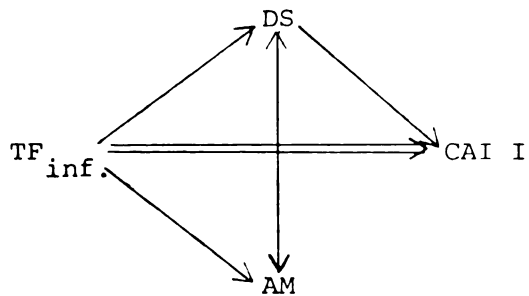
A. Television Exposure on Clientelism/Meritocracy



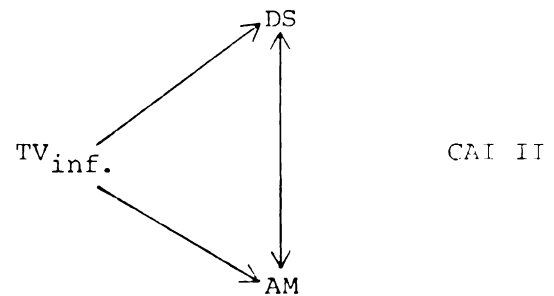
B. Television Exposure on Dependence/Emancipation



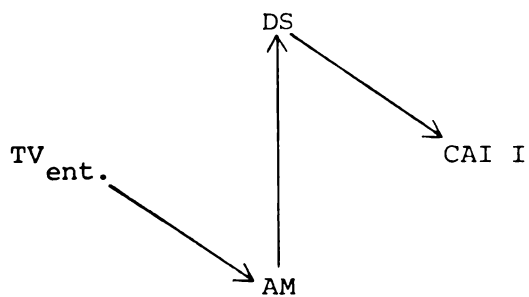
C. Television Information on Clientelism/Meritocracy



D. Television Information on Dependence/Emancipation



E. Television Entertainment on Clientelism/Meritocracy



F. Television Entertainment on Dependence/Emancipation

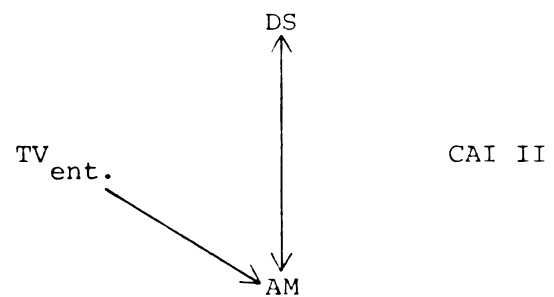


Figure 7.--Results from the Attempt to Derive Models of Television Influence on Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness on the Basis of Simon-Blalock Goodness-of-Fit Tests.

The consequence of exposure to entertainment programs ( $TV_{ent.}$ ) appears to be distinct, for it causes first of all a rise in achievement motivation (AM) and only indirectly, at a subsequent stage, a rise in dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS). Thus, in the former case one would have to acknowledge the likelihood of a simultaneous impact of the independent variable upon the intervening variables, while in the latter case the likelihood of a successive impact, first to achievement motivation and thereafter to dissatisfaction with occupational chances.

Concerning the right half of the models A to F, Figure 7 shows, on the one hand, that dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) causally affects the modernization of attitudes on the "clientelism/meritocracy" dimension (CAI I), while achievement motivation does not; on the other hand, it indicates that neither of these intervening variables produces a causal link with the modernization of attitudes on the "dependence/emancipation" dimension (CAI II).

Finally, looking at the total results for each of the models A to F, it is seen that only for two of the models some causal connection between the independent and the dependent variable could be established. Specifically, in model C the major causal link was found to be a direct one from exposure to informative programs ( $TV_{inf.}$ )



to a modernization of attitudes concerning "clientelism/meritocracy" (CAI I). This direct link is supplemented by an indirect linkage sequence leading from exposure to informative programs ( $TV_{inf.}$ ) through both intervening variables (DS and AM), and among these two from dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) to "clientelism/meritocracy" (CAI I). In model E, instead, there is no direct causal link between exposure to entertainment programs ( $TV_{ent.}$ ) and "clientelism/meritocracy" (CAI I), the indirect linkage sequence leading from the independent variable ( $TV_{ent.}$ ) through achievement motivation (AM) to dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS), and from there to the dependent variable (CAI I).

#### Path Analysis

It seems important to submit these last two models (C and E) to path analysis in order to find out how far the amount of variation in each temporally subsequent variable is produced by standardized variations in the preceding variable(s).

A series of prediction equations generated by models C and E in Figure 7 were tested by comparing predicted path coefficients with actually, i.e., empirically-obtained path coefficients. Table 2 presents the results of this analysis and shows that all the prediction equations were confirmed; while Figure 8 shows these results in conjunction with the respective models. Comparing path

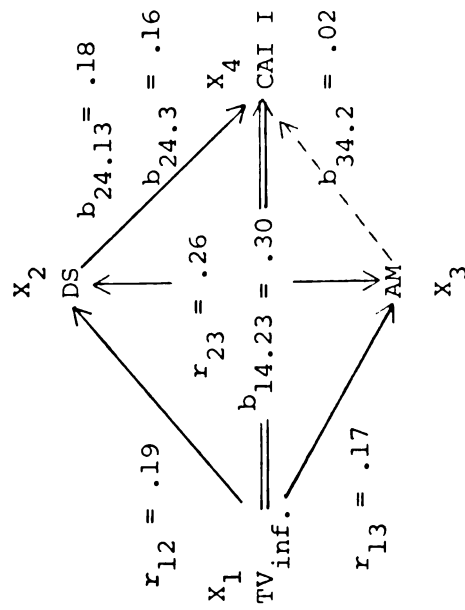
TABLE 2.--Summary of Prediction Equations Generated by Two Models of Television Influence on Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness after the Simon-Blalock Procedure.

C. Television Information on Clientelism/Meritocracy		E. Television Entertainment on Clientelism/Meritocracy	
Equation	Path Coefficient <u>Predicted</u> <u>Actual</u>	Equation	Path Coefficient <u>Predicted</u> <u>Actual</u>
$b_{12.3} \neq$	0    .16	$b_{12.3} =$	0*    .07
$b_{13.2} \neq$	0    .13	$b_{13.2} \neq$	0    .21
$b_{23.1} \neq$	0    .23	$b_{23.1} \neq$	0    .24
$b_{32.1} \neq$	0    .24	$b_{32.1} \neq$	0    .23
$b_{24.3} \neq$	0    .16	$b_{24.3} \neq$	0    .16
$b_{34.2} =$	0*    .02	$b_{34.2} =$	0*    .02
$b_{24.13} \neq$	0    .18	$b_{24.13} \neq$	0    .18
$b_{14.23} \neq$	0    .30	$b_{14.23} =$	0*    .09

\* Beta weights should be equal to zero, subject to sampling error.



C. Television Information on Clientelism/  
Meritocracy



E. Television Entertainment on Clientelism/  
Meritocracy

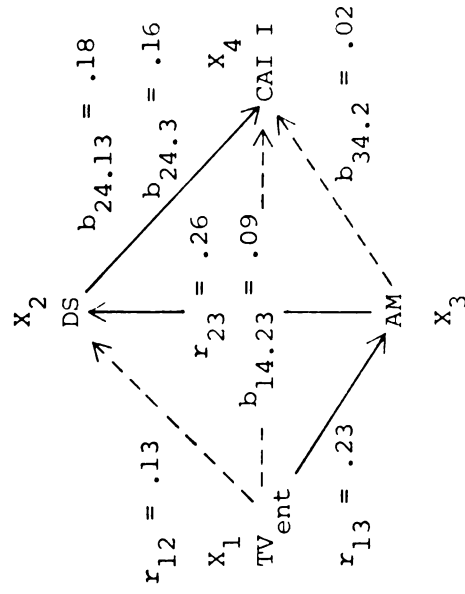


Figure 8.--Path Analysis of Two Models of Television Influence on Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness.

coefficients there with the corresponding product-moment correlation coefficients in Figure 6 (models C and E), we notice that the direct effect of exposure to informative programs ( $TV_{inf.}$ ) on "clientelism/meritocracy" (CAI I) prevails at the same level even when the effects of dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) and achievement motivation (AM) are controlled. Similarly, the slight effect of exposure to entertainment programs ( $TV_{ent.}$ ) upon "clientelism/meritocracy" is not reduced when controlling for the influence of the intervening variables. Furthermore, the direct effect of dissatisfaction with occupational chances (DS) upon "clientelism/meritocracy" remains about the same when either one or both antecedent variables are controlled.

These results, however, have to be taken with some prudence, since it is difficult to judge how much the lack of support for the assumption of linearity of relationships between variables might have distorted the chain of causal inference.

### Synthesis of Findings

Synthesizing the present findings, a few main observations emerge. First, television exposure seems to be a variable of scarce explanatory power for the present purposes of explaining innovativeness in cultural attitudes, for it cancels out the effect of more incisive sub-variables. In fact, exposure to different program

content appears to have different consequences for the adolescent viewer in the locale that was studied.

Second, these consequences do not affect the innovation of cultural attitudes indiscriminantly; rather, certain attitude clusters should be regarded as more persistent in the face of particular television influences than others, especially if they are relevant to the immediate interests of the adolescent, like those pertaining to his primary relationships.

Third, exposure to informative programs has a major causal impact directly upon the innovation of attitudes in the direction of a belief in meritocracy, rather than in clientelism as a means of social advancement. The same final result is produced by television exposure to entertainment programs only indirectly, through a strengthening of achievement motivation to an increase in dissatisfaction with occupational chances. But also in the first causal relationship, these intervening variables play a role, however of only secondary importance.<sup>1</sup>

Together, these results tend to demonstrate that the intervening effects postulated in this study cannot be ignored, if one tries to explain innovation processes

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<sup>1</sup> The directionality of the relationship between the intervening variables in this case cannot be decided by our method since both variables depend upon the preceding variable, exposure to informative television programs. In fact, even an interdependency of both variables remains a possibility.

of cultural attitudes among adolescents in a developing social setting. But most importantly, the evidence indicates that television influence upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness is tenuous, and in any event a complex matter.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary

The main objective of this study was to single out the causal effect of television exposure upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness among youths in a developing environment. An attempt was made to ascertain in how far this effect should be interpreted either as a direct one or as an indirect one which is mediated by dissatisfaction with occupational chances and/or achievement motivation.

For this purpose a causal model was derived from theory which hypothetically was to explain the process by which television modernizes cultural attitudes. It was based upon a series of interrelated causal propositions which link television exposure through a developmental sequence, via dissatisfaction with occupational chances and achievement motivation, with cultural attitudinal innovativeness. In confronting this model with empirical evidence an effort was made in the direction of deriving a parsimonious theory of the impact of mass communication upon cultural change.

Data were collected among a systematic random sample of 100 male adolescents enrolled in the lower high school system of a medium sized barely industrializing town of the Italian South. As tools for data-analysis Simon-Blalock and path analytic techniques were adopted to test the adequacy of the proposed model. In fact, this basic model was tested in somewhat different versions taking into account, on the one side, the kind of television content (informative vs. entertainment) to which a youth is exposed and, on the other side, two distinct dimensions of CAI ("clientelism/meritocracy" vs. "dependence/emancipation") which had been discovered through factor analysis of the set of cultural attitudinal innovativeness items. Evidence collected to test the adequacy of the basic model in its different versions produced rather complex results.

In short, the findings suggest that the causal impact of television exposure upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness among adolescents in an economically-developing and cultural-transitional social setting, depends: (1) upon the kind of program content watched; (2) upon the particular attitude cluster we are interested in; as well as (3) upon an adolescent's intensity of dissatisfaction with his occupational future and his achievement motivation.

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More specifically, it would seem that watching informative television programs, which should help the viewer to orient himself in his actual immediate, or more distant social involvements, has a relatively strong direct effect upon attitude change. In contrast, watching entertainment programs, which most often sollicit evasion from reality or projection into an idealized, urban, and easy-going world of affluence, seems to call forth attitude change only through an indirect three-step process; i.e., first increasing achievement motivation, which then causes--implicitly raising aspirations--dissatisfaction with restricted occupational chances; and this dissatisfaction in turn--probably producing a generalized disenchantment with prevailing conditions--generates innovative attitude change.

This sequence means that entertainment messages, unlike informative messages (for whom a similar multi-step process is only of secondary importance), are unlikely to produce attitude change unless they first succeed in breaking the vicious circle of passivity and of resigned contentment. In other words, as long as the adolescent viewer watches the screen in order to forget his actual life circumstances, without psychologically becoming involved and without participating through identification, empathy, or other mechanisms in terms of his self in the message content, his cultural attitudes have little



chance to be affected. In fact, he may come to know about possible differences in value orientations without questioning or, even less, changing his own traditionally-inherited ones.

Furthermore, the results of the present study indicate that this direct or indirect impact of television exposure to different kinds of programs does not affect the innovation of cultural attitudes indiscriminately or homogeneously. Rather, it would seem that certain attitude clusters are more sensitive to television influence than others.

It will be recalled that cultural attitudinal innovativeness in this investigation was found to be a multidimensional characteristic and that, simplifying the evidence, only two principal dimensions were considered as alternative independent variables in the causal model. Among these the first, which has been tentatively labeled "clientelism/meritocracy", which refers predominantly to an innovation of attitudes in the public sphere, was found more sensitive to change influences than the second dimension, which refers predominantly to attitude innovation in the private family sphere and was tentatively labeled "dependence/emancipation".



On the one hand, this finding could be interpreted by presuming that an adolescent's involvement in his primary relationships is more relevant to him than his mostly future involvement in secondary relationships, and that hence the first are more resistant to change. On the other hand, it may be that changes in attitudes concerning secondary relationships generally have to precede those concerning primary relationships, the first being a precondition for material socio-economic advancement in modern societies; and that a change in these attitudes inevitably traces those in the private sphere behind.

In sum, these findings lend emphasis to recent lines of research which stress that content of television exposure is a more important change variable than the simple amount of television exposure; and that individual modernization occurs sectorially in certain attitude clusters rather than concertedly.

### Discussion

Pondering the results from the present investigation one must, however, acknowledge that it raises more questions than it answers. Thus, at least at first sight, the most surprising result is the very low level of association between the variables in the causal model. I shall try to propose some possible explanations for this finding which, although by no means conclusive, I think may be valuable

as guidelines for further research on the impact of mass communication upon cultural change.

Quite certainly television influence, and probably more generally mass communication influence, must typically be considered a long-term process, which ideally needs to be studied by means of longitudinal field-experimental research designs which would yield data for at least two points in time. For instance, the measurements of television exposure adopted in this project, as usual, are insensitive to how much time an adolescent has had access to television in the past. Instead, in order to ascertain any cumulative effects, we would need extended exposure biographies for comparison with repeated measurements of dissatisfaction with occupational chances, achievement motivation, and cultural attitudinal innovativeness. Such a procedure should also permit the derivation of a typology of people depending upon their earlier or later attitude change concerning specific attitude clusters, much as has been done in diffusion studies of innovative behavior change.

However, a reliable analysis of observable adoption patterns of, e.g., technological practices presents considerably fewer difficulties than of non-observable, and only verbalized attitude change. These technical difficulties of course are well-known and need not be dwelt upon. But one might hint at a more fundamental difficulty,

which may constitute a justification for the only slight relationship between television influence and modernity of attitudes herein encountered. Drawing in part upon anticipatory socialization research, hypothetically one can consider television influence not only a long-term, but also a very subtle effect. Individuals in transitional rural-urban areas, while watching the screen, may become latently socialized for the requirements of future roles in modern, urban-industrial society. They become familiar with alternative attitude orientations which, however, become manifest only when a change in external conditions offers the necessary challenge. So adolescents who have intensively been exposed to mass media messages should be more apt to draw personal profit from local development initiatives, or should encounter fewer problems of adjustment after emigration into urban-industrial settings.

According to this view, television influence calls forth hardly-verbalizable, latent modern attitudes that remain juxtaposed and segregated from the prevailing traditional ones; only very gradually--perhaps after indicative intermittent steps of pseudo-modernization and ambivalence--will these latent attitudes superimpose and manifest themselves due to an adaptation process to external requirements. Hence, the problem of cultural change would only in part be one of persuasion, for it would have to go hand in hand with providing the essential prerequisites for insertion into modern life.

Yet, this theoretical argument should not preclude a more thorough questioning of the surprising results of the present study, which cast doubts upon the common implicit or explicit assumption that mass media are potent catalysators of modern attitudes in culturally-transitional social settings. How can these results be reconciled with incidental research evidence suggesting a relationship between mass media exposure and individual modernity, which can be assembled out of a number of empirical studies (e.g., Smith and Inkeles 1966:375; Schnaiberg 1970; and Armer and Youtz 1971)? Probably the discrepancy in results cannot entirely be attributed to differences in the operationalizations of mass media exposure, nor to inconsistencies in conceptualizations of individual modernity, which often account for behavioral aspects along with attitudinal ones.

More likely an aspect peculiar to the present study has been significant for our different results. In fact, in this study the test of the propositions on which the causal model rests, has been a relatively stringent one, because the otherwise-interfering effects of sex, age, education, and urbanity were controlled. Thus the findings imply only that television exposure makes little difference in terms of dissatisfaction with occupational chances, achievement motivation, and cultural attitudinal innovativeness among male adolescents of similar age, education, and urbanity in a developing community like Manfredonia.



Granted, on the one hand, that education in developing areas, as well as urban residence, are evidently related with television exposure; and considering the remarkably strong and consistent relationship of formal education and of urbanity with individual modernity that has been ascertained in a variety of social settings (Kahl 1968; Inkeles 1969; Schnaiberg 1970 and 1971; and Armer and Youtz 1971), theoretically the causal link between the independent and dependent variables (i.e., television exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness) should have been stronger if the effect of extraneous variables, e.g., education and urbanity, had not been standardized. But of course in this case part of the common variance between mass media exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness (or individual modernity) would not have pointed out an intrinsic relationship between the critical variables, but instead would have had to be attributed to their joint dependence on education and, in a cumulative fashion, on urbanity.

In other words, this means that the previously reported relationships between media exposure and modernity variables are suspect for their spuriousness, since probably they could largely be "explained" (Lazarsfeld 1955:123) by cross-tabulations with significant test-variables. In fact, Armer and Youtz (1971:614, Table 4)



report such a cross-tabulation from which it can be extrapolated that the frequency of cases "high" on individual modernity depends upon mass media exposure only among those individuals who have had no formal education at all. Moreover, once formal schooling has set in, the level of education appears to be by far more decisive than mass media exposure, in explaining individual modernity.

Unfortunately here the question of spuriousness cannot be checked since the present research sample was homogeneous in terms of the more important background variables, such as education. However, further studies should be designed with particular attention to this problem.

Moreover, the relationship between mass media exposure and individual modernity in other research may well have been stronger because often behavioral indices of modernity were subsumed with attitudinal ones; and also because culture-specific attitudes were frequently ignored; neither being the case in the present study. Concerning the first point, it is likely that behaviors are less resistant to change influences than attitudes; and possibly, concerning the second point, culture-specific attitudes are more rigid than cross-culturally established and generalizable ones. Still, we should not forget that when in this project only boys of similar

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age, education and urbanity were studied we probably have at the same time significantly reduced the range of possible variation on those variables we have introduced into the model. Obviously a reduction in their range of variation was bound to decrease correlation coefficients in the model itself.

I would like to focus the present discussion on a final argument to explain the low basic relationship, direct or indirect, between television exposure and cultural attitudinal innovativeness that has been found in the present investigation. The problem is rooted in the unresolved conceptualization and operationalization of the largely corresponding variables: Cultural attitudinal innovativeness, individual modernity, or individual modernism.

There can be no doubt that these variables tap a socio-psychological characteristic that is unusually global. Thus, as had already been pointed out, in particular the uni-dimensionality of the corresponding concept has repeatedly been questioned, and more recently researchers have set out to evaluate the internal consistency of the concept and the interrelatedness of specific modernity dimensions.

Following their line, in the present study some special attention was given to the dependent variable, cultural attitudinal innovativeness, analyzing its meaningfulness and defining partially dissociated dimensions of the global concept for independent consideration as

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alternative dependent variables in the causal model. Although these aspects were only collateral to the main purpose of the study, it was apparent that the homogeneity of items designed to tap the global variable was very low. In fact, no more than 10 out of the 180 phi-coefficients listed in Table 3 of the Appendix, measuring the relationships among the twenty cultural attitudinal innovativeness items, were significantly different from zero at the .05 level. Moreover, response alternatives on each of the items, that according to expert judgement should have been found to represent modernism, were quite far from producing a systematic pattern, as shown by the frequency of occurrence of negative signs in the correlation matrix.

Furthermore, according to the results from a factor analysis of the item-by-item correlations, cultural attitudinal innovativeness in the present operationalization definitely had to be considered a multidimensional characteristic. Actually, adopting the Kiel-Wrigley criterion of factor definition, a total of seven different, unrelated dimensions should have been distinguished; and we only used for heuristic reasons the two-factor solution (Table 6 in the Appendix) for the specification of alternative modalities of the dependent variable when analyzing the causal model.

Yet, whereas the two-factor solution extracted only a little more than one-fifth of the total variance in item-scores, even the seven-factor solution would not have extracted much more than half of the total variance, as can be seen in Table 7 of the Appendix. Hence, whatever the solution adopted, we are only coming to terms with a small, or at best, moderate proportion of the total information in the item scores when measuring cultural attitudinal innovativeness; in other words, we face a remarkably high degree of unexplained or error-variance.

In fact, these findings coincide with those of other researchers. Smith and Inkeles (1966) report item-to-scale correlation coefficients ranging from  $-.083$  to  $.373$  for their long-form individual modernity scale of over 60 items, and coefficients ranging from  $.293$  to  $.520$  for their 13 item short-form in which only the most consistent items were retained. This evidence suggests rather poor homogeneity of the items. On the other side, Schnaiberg (1970) could have defined 12 different dimensions of modernism after correlating his 46 modernism scale items. This result indicates multidimensionality. Moreover, Schnaiberg's findings are in accord with ours in so far as the percentage of variance in each modernism item explained by different sets of rotated factors is comparably low (as are those appearing in Table 8 of the Appendix).

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From this discussion it appears evident that generally the problem of measurement of individual modernity is still very far from being resolved. The special effort made in the present study to account for different dimensions of cultural attitudinal innovativeness represents perhaps a step in the right direction, but still the two distinct measurements derived to tap at least the main dimensions-"clientelism/meritocracy" and "dependence/emancipation"-remained rather inadequate. Indeed, the inadequacy of these measurements might even, in the last analysis, constitute the main reason for the scarcity of evidence for a causal impact of television exposure upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

Yet, in the author's opinion, the fundamental problem is antecedent to technical issues that might eventually be resolved through elaborate item analyses. The problem is a conceptual one which in the first place needs clarification at the theoretical level. Probably we need go back to the basic question: What do we mean by individual modernity? What global attribute, or which attribute dimensions, are we trying to measure?

A very recent report by Armer and Schnaiberg (1972) suggests after intensive empirical testing, on the one hand, that so far available scales for measuring individual modernity are only moderately equivalent and moderately reliable, but, on the other hand, they show



low discriminant validity in respect to a number of other constructs. Armer and Schnaiberg conclude by seriously questioning the meaningfulness of the concept and measurement of modernity.

In the light of their findings, and of our own tentative explorations of concept and measurement of cultural attitudinal innovativeness, it would seem somewhat premature to draw any substantial conclusions from the results obtained in this study concerning the causal influence of television exposure, first upon dissatisfaction with occupational chances and achievement motivation, and thereafter upon cultural attitudinal innovativeness; or to advance implications for those who practically intend to stimulate attitude change among youths in the developing world. According to the author's view, the findings that have been cited, as well as the apparent impossibility at this stage to draw any more conclusive inferences concerning the adequacy of the causal model here-in proposed, should guide further research efforts toward the conceptual and operational level of analysis.

In working toward this goal, the strategy for further scientific analysis of cultural attitudinal innovativeness must depend upon the level of specificity to be attained: The more specific the attitudes and social situs to be analyzed, the more possible variations in the content and development, as well as in the modalities of modernism need to be considered.



In particular, where the concern is not with comparative reserach, but with the investigation of modernization phenomena in a specific research locale, conceptualizations of cultural attitudinal innovativeness should be based upon through preliminary explorations into the irregularities of the particular different dimensions of the concept. Such systematic preliminary explorations are all the more important because one should be wary to the fact that the various aspects of cultural attitudinal innovativeness may not be equally affected by the same set of determinants.

In the present study an attempt has been made to respect the specificity of the reserach setting and to explore the multi-dimensionality of the dependent variable, cultural attitudinal innovativeness. Yet the need became apparent to study more thoroughly not only the dimensionality of cultural attitudinal innovativeness, but also the particular attitude clusters which may be labeled "traditional" or "modern".

In terms of steps for future research, the problem investigated might be clarified by going back to a more qualitative kind of research approach, e.g., by making use of less-structured, non-directive interviews in order to discover those aspects which discriminate between traditional and modern individuals. Probably the intensive rate of emigration from less developed communities into urban, industrialized areas could in Italy be of help in

such analysis. On one hand, one might interview those persons who have remained at home, while on the other hand, those who left. Migrants who have departed from their place of origin only recently, possible having left their families behind, would constitute an intermediate group on the continuum of exposure to modernizing influences.

Once better culture-specific conceptualizations and measurement instruments of the attitudinal innovativeness syndrome have been derived, research should be conducted to discover the correlates and determinants of the various facets of individual modernity. However, it seems to the author that yet other steps should precede further efforts to apply the methods of causal analysis for model construction in this area.

There is a definite need for longitudinal studies, or at least investigations designed to collect data at a minimum of two or more points in time. In submitting a causal model of a developmental sequence of events to causal analysis, we assume we know the time-ordering of the impact of the variables included in the model. We can never be sure of this assumption. Thus any inferences concerning the underlying process remains questionable as long as the assumptions have not been checked longitudinally.

Moreover, there are indeed many variables which

could have influenced the particular relationships analyzed her, had their effects not been controlled. At the present state of methodological development of causal analysis, it becomes a highly complex matter to test the adequacy of a model once more than four or five variables have been introduced. Certainly we would need to know more about the effects of variables like education, political participation, and urbanization, since the influence of the mass media may go hand-in-hand with other modernizing influences in order to become effective.

Whatever direction taken by further research on the impact of television upon cultural attitudinal change in developing areas, the results from the present study suggest that it is important to consider dissatisfaction with occupational chances, and achievement motivation, as intervening variables. Also the necessity to distinguish between the kinds of media programs watched has emerged from the present study, and according to the author's opinion, there is a strong need to take additional content specifications of television programs into account.

Further research should proceed in these, and other, directions so that one day we may be able to better understand what it means for people living in relative isolation from the mainstream of life to have a window upon the world, opened to them through television.

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## APPENDICES



TABLE 3.--Pool of Twelve Achievement Motivation Items.

	Code		Frequency of Response
	Low = 0	High = 1	
2. Do you think, it is necessary to make sacrifices since youth to prepare one's own future, or that it is not worth too much bother, for anyway one will have to make sacrifices once grown up?	1	0	85 15
4. Do you think, it is better to have friends from rich and important families, or that it is enough for them to be entertaining and congenial?	1 0		19 81
6. Do you believe that a poor but able, intelligent and ambitious boy: can eventually overcome all obstacles and succeed in life, or that all depends upon the luck one has?	1 0		74 26
8. Do you think that a youth who is looking for a job, should by all means try to find it in a place close to his parents, or that he should not think twice to part, if thus he can earn more?	0 1		65 35
10. If someone has to choose a job, do you think it is more important to find a stable and secure job, even when it is badly paid, or a well payed job, even when it is neither stable nor secure?	0 1		93 7
12. Would you feel more pleased if people said of you: he is a person who will get ahead in life, or he is a pleasant and congenial ( <u>simpatico</u> ) person?	1 0		75 25
14. Do you think that a man should be judged on the basis of: his success at work, or his success with the girls and his friends?	1 0		93 7

16. Do you feel that for someone like you:  
it is important to make plans for the future and to try to  
realize them, or  
that it is better not to make plans in order to avoid  
disappointments? 1 70 0 30
18. Where do you believe one lives more like a man:  
in the countryside as a peasant,  
or in town as a janitor? 0 64 1 36
20. Do you think that a mother:  
should mostly be concerned that her son is always promoted in  
school, or  
that she should urge her son to be among the best in his class? 0 71 1 29
22. Do you think that after school a boy:  
better relaxes a bit playing with his friends before he does  
his homework,  
or should he first of all do his homework, even if there may  
remain little time to play? 0 32 1 68
24. Do you think that in life it is better:  
to content oneself with what one has,  
or always to make efforts to have more? 0 82 1 18
-

TABLE 4.--Pool of Twenty Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness Items.\*

	Code		Split N=100	Factor Specification
	Traditional = 0	Modern = 1		
1. Here in Manfredonia, who do you think will succeed in getting ahead in life: a boy who could go to school, or a boy who is clever and who knows how to get along?	1 0		64 36	FII <sub>6</sub>
2. If you had the choice, would you prefer to be: a big land owner, or an industrialist?	0 1		18 82	
3. What strikes you as more important for the future of Italy: that everyone contribute with his work, or that Government finally take care of everybody?	1 0		43 57	
4. When you have seen someone who with flatteries has tried to obtain a favor from an important person, did you want to learn how one behaves in such occasions, or did all these flatteries strike you as awkward?	0 1		31 69	
5. If you would have to vote for one among two important politicians: would you give it to the more able and educated, or to the one you know personally?	1 0		80 20	FI <sub>1</sub>
6. Would you like that the girl you will marry one day: would go to school for as many years as you do, or would you prefer that she were somewhat less educated than you are?	1 0		86 14	
7. If you have or had a sister who would want to go to the movies alone with her steady boy-friend: would you let her do what she wants, or would you feel happier if they were accompanied by someone of your family?	1 0		36 64	
8. Do you think parents should be happier when they have: few children, or many children?	1 0		69 31	
9. Do you think that a father who cares for the future of his daughter, should in the first place think about the dowry, or that he should be concerned with her education?	0 1		9 91	FII <sub>5</sub>
10. Do you think that a woman who does the same work as a man should be payed less than the man, or that she should be payed the same?	0 1		13 87	

11. When in a family something important has to be decided, do you think: that parents should talk it over with their sons and daughters, or should they decide among themselves?	1 0	63 37	FII <sub>3</sub>
12. Do you think that a woman who has a job, should be helped by her husband with the home chores, or instead do you think that such duties in no way are suitable for men?	1 0	61 39	FII <sub>1</sub>
13. One day, when you will have a son, would you teach him to obey you without losing time arguing, or would you try to convince him with arguments, also when you believe that he is wrong?	0 1	32 68	FI <sub>2</sub>
14. According to you, who is right: someone who says: "Mind your own business," that is that you should think more of your own than of other's interests, or someone who says that who helps others will himself find help?	0 1	23 77	FI <sub>4</sub>
15. What is more valuable to obtain success in life: money, or friends who are influential?	1 0	30 70	
16. What, according to your impression, do the majority of those who run government here at Manfredonia or in Rome have first at all at heart: the interest of the people, or their own interests?	0 1	31 69	FII <sub>4</sub>
17. Do you believe that one learns more useful things for life: from one's parents, or from radio and television?	0 1	65 35	
18. In your opinion, should a person always and by all means fight for his rights, or is it sometimes better to forget about it for not running into troubles?	1 0	68 32	FI <sub>3</sub>
19. Do you believe, that someone who was born poor will probably die poor, and someone who was born rich will probably die rich, or do you believe that today poor people often get rich and rich people poor?	0 1	22 78	FII <sub>2</sub>
20. Do you think, that you young people will live a more pleasant and easier life than your parents did, or that it will be just about the same?	1 0	62 38	

\* Items selected on the basis of factor analytic item analysis to define the two dimensions of Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness, i.e., Clientelism/Meritocracy and Dependence/Emancipation (F II) are sublined. Arabic subscripts indicate the order of their contribution to define each dimension: 1 = most representative, etc.

TABLE 5.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Twenty Dichotomous Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness Items Based upon Phi Coefficients.\*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	--																			
2	-13	--																		
3	10	-07	--																	
4	-19	02	15	--																
5	04	16	03	04	--															
6	-18	04	-12	-08	09	--														
7	00	-08	06	10	17	12	--													
8	23	-09	01	-03	-01	-02	05	--												
9	-09	-06	-01	09	19	07	16	-06	--											
10	-04	-10	10	06	03	10	10	06	09	--										
11	03	-20	-05	-07	-07	05	10	-02	05	20	--									
12	-13	-16	03	17	-04	-03	00	-14	18	12	32	--								
13	-02	13	-01	19	41	-03	07	-18	01	05	05	07	--							
14	13	05	-01	-01	26	05	-04	-11	16	-07	12	20	19	--						
15	08	-09	-13	-13	-11	01	01	06	-10	-07	09	-19	03	-21	--					
16	-28	14	-20	25	04	17	01	02	02	06	07	13	10	-06	-08	--				
17	11	13	04	-01	-05	11	15	17	01	10	04	-02	01	-05	11	04	--			
18	02	24	-01	24	19	03	20	-14	01	12	01	02	17	-02	-21	00	14	--		
19	00	-12	-12	18	04	06	05	-10	25	08	24	12	15	11	-02	17	-27	05	--	
20	14	01	10	-03	23	-08	-01	-12	-10	00	-09	-08	21	11	15	-08	06	13	-07	--

\* Decimal points are omitted.

With  $N = 100$ :  $\psi > .20$  has a  $p < .05$ ;  $\psi > .25$  has a  $p < .01$ .

Phi's are difficult to interpret in terms of strength of relationship, because there is no standard maximal phi-coefficient. Maxima depend upon the combination of marginal proportions in each four-fold contingency table, i.e., on the proportions of modern vs. traditional scores for items that are confronted. In rather extreme cases the upper bound could be reduced to .20 in place of the theoretical limit of 1.00 (cfr. Guilford 195; 314-315).



TABLE 6.--Varimax Rotated Factor Loadings of Twenty Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness Items in the Two Factor Solution.\*

Item No.	Factor I	Factor II	Communality
	"Clientelism/ Meritocracy"	"Dependence/ Emancipation"	
1	.05	-.39**	.15
2	-.38	-.27	.23
3	-.10	-.17	.04
4	-.35	.30	.23
5	-.69	-.11	.49
6	-.07	.22	.05
7	-.24	.12	.07
8	.29	-.15	.11
9	-.21	.42	.22
10	-.09	.29	.09
11	.09	.50	.26
12	-.09	.59	.36
13	-.65	.02	.43
14	-.39	.12	.16
15	.28	-.22	.13
16	-.14	.42	.20
17	-.07	-.21	.05
18	-.56	-.03	.32
19	-.14	.56	.33
20	-.38	-.40	.30
Proportion of Variance Extracted:	.11	.10	

\* Factor loadings are sublined for items chosen to define a measurement scale for each dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

\*\* The code on this item had to be reversed to be consistent with the other items included in the scale.

TABLE 7.--Confrontation of Product Moment Correlation-Coefficients, Eta-Coefficients and Probabilities of F-Statistics concerning the Association between recurring Pairs of Variables in Figure 5.\*

Variables:	DS	AM	CAI I	CAI II
TV	.06 .17 .61	.06 .39 .03	.04 .13 .82	.04 .18 .78
TV <sub>inf.</sub>	.19 .32 .04	.17 .30 .27	.30 .32 .02	-.04 .11 .98
TV <sub>ent.</sub>	.13 .15 .69	.23 .31 .22	.09 .23 .28	-.04 .19 .74
DS		.26 .35 .11	.18 .22 .30	.06 .29 .25
AM			.07 .14 .77	-.02 .15 .91

\*In each small column:

First: Product Moment Correlation Coefficients  
 Second: Eta-Coefficients  
 Third: Probability of F-Statistics from One Way  
 Analysis of Variance Set-Ups.

Key to the Variables:

TV General television exposure.  
 TV<sub>inf.</sub> Exposure to informative television programs.  
 TV<sub>ent.</sub> Exposure to entertainment television programs.  
 DS Dissatisfaction with occupational chances.  
 AM Achievement Motivation.  
 CAI I Clientelism/Meritocracy dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness.  
 CAI II Dependence/Emancipation dimension of cultural attitudinal innovativeness.

TABLE 8.--Percentage Variation\* in each of the Twenty Cultural Attitudinal Innovativeness items explained by Sets of Rotated Factors.

Item No.	No. of Rotated Factors		
	7	4	2
1	53.5	52.4	15.5**
2	57.8	50.4	22.0
3	51.8	14.5	3.7
4	63.4	26.9	21.7
5	65.0	51.2	49.3**
6	49.7	19.0	5.2
7	49.2	38.8	7.5
8	42.6	30.6	11.0
9	49.8	24.8	21.8**
10	36.5	33.1	9.2
11	66.6	45.3	26.0**
12	65.5	41.1	36.1**
13	60.1	44.5	42.7**
14	66.9	40.9	16.5**
15	67.2	15.8	12.8
16	50.4	45.4	19.5**
17	64.8	49.6	5.0
18	46.2	41.5	31.9
19	61.6	40.1	33.4**
20	54.3	37.6	30.5
TOTAL Percentage of Variance Extracted:	56.1	37.2	21.1

\*This is the "communality" of the item.

\*\* Items chosen to define measurement scales for cultural attitudinal innovativeness dimensions.

TABLE 9.--Questions pertinent to this study from the interview schedule.\*

- 1) Do you have the occasion to watch TV? YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_

(IF "NO", TURN TO QUESTION n.5)

- 2) How often do you watch TV?

just about every day

4-5 times a week

2-3 times a week

once a week

less than once a week

- 3) I would like to know how often you watch different kinds of TV transmissions. For each you should indicate whether you watch it "almost always," "frequently," "occasionally," "rarely," or "almost never."

	"almost always"	"frequently"	"occasionally"	"rarely"	"almost never"
Newcasts					
Sports transmissions					
Films and telefilms					
Songs and entertainment music					
Variety shows					
Quiz shows					
Youth programs					
Documentaries and journalistic inquiries					
Novels adapted for the stage					
Commedies and drama					
Cultural transmissions					
Commercials (Carosello)					

- 5) Until what level you feel sure to go to school?

level \_\_\_\_\_

type \_\_\_\_\_

\*English translation from the Italian original.

TABLE 9.--Continued

- 
- 6) Keeping this educational level in mind, and judging your future opportunities very realistically, what kind of work (craft, occupation, profession) do you think you will do once you are grown up?
- 
- 7) Everyone of us sometimes imagines what he would like to be or to do, if there were no obstacles at all.  
If you could make your choice without caring for the difficulties or obstacles that might exist, until what level would you like to go to school?
- level \_\_\_\_\_
- type \_\_\_\_\_
- 8) And if you were able to choose with complete freedom any kind of craft, occupation, or profession, which kind of work would you like to do once you are grown up?
- 
- 9) Now let us look at these ten cards. Each indicates an occupation\* If we wanted to order these according to their importance, how would we proceed?

(PRESENT THE CARDS ONE AT A TIME)

For instance, where would you place this one? And this? And this?

Here to the left you place the one which strikes you as least important. Then you add one by one those which appear to you always more important. The last to the right will be the one which strikes you as being the most important among all.

(REGISTER BELOW THE NUMBERS WHICH DISTINGUISH EVERY CARD)

---

LEAST IMPORTANT

MOST IMPORTANT

\*shop owner  
hospital physician  
bank cashier  
barber (owner of shop)  
farm laborer

unskilled industrial worker  
peasant (owner of small size farm)  
elementary school teacher  
district court judge  
skilled worker

(BEFORE ASSEMBLING THE CARDS, CONTROL WHETHER THE OCCUPATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CHOSEN IN ANSWERING QUESTION n. 6 and 8 ARE REPRESENTED ON THE CARDS. IF NOT, ASK ONE OR BOTH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.)

TABLE 9.--Continued

- 10) Before you have said that you would have liked to be a .....  
(INSERT THE ANSWER TO QUESTION n.8)

Where would this occupation have to be inserted?

REGISTER: BETWEEN CARD n.\_\_\_\_ and n.\_\_\_\_  
AT THE SAME PLACE WITH CARD n.\_\_\_\_

- 11) Judging your possibilities more realistically, you have said that certainly you would be able to be a ..... (INSERT THE ANSWER TO QUESTION n.6)

Where would this occupation have to be inserted as to its importance?

REGISTER: BETWEEN CARD n.\_\_\_\_ and n.\_\_\_\_  
AT THE SAME PLACE WITH CARD n.\_\_\_\_

- 12) Which is the last occupation your father has exerted or is exerting?

Dependent	_____	Agriculture	_____
Self-employed (owner)	_____	Industry	_____
		Commerce and Services	_____

- 13) Where would this occupation have to be inserted?

REGISTER: BETWEEN CARD n.\_\_\_\_ and n.\_\_\_\_  
AT THE SAME PLACE WITH CARD n.\_\_\_\_

- 21) If today you already were able to vote, would you tell me for which party you would vote?

- 24) Thinking about the working chances Manfredonia offers you for your future, would you say they are

\_\_\_\_\_ very satisfactory  
\_\_\_\_\_ satisfactory  
\_\_\_\_\_ so-so  
\_\_\_\_\_ little satisfactory  
\_\_\_\_\_ very little satisfactory

- 25) Do you think that in order to be able to get ahead in life it is necessary to leave this county (commune) and to emigrate?

YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_  
DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_

TABLE 9.--Continued

28) And what about you? Once you will have to look for a stable job,  
do you believe you will have to emigrate?

YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_  
DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_

In order to complete our interview, you should now be so kind as to read  
these other questions and to check yourself the answer with which you  
agree most spontaneously.

NOTE: AT THIS POINT THE ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION  
ITEMS INTERSPERSED WITH CULTURAL  
ATTITUDINAL INNOVATIVENESS ITEM (see  
Tables 3 and 4) WERE PRESENTED.

-----  
GENERAL INFORMATION

Interview Code \_\_\_\_\_

Birthplace \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ (years completed)

Place of attendance of elementary schools? \_\_\_\_\_

Last year attended of lower middle school? \_\_\_\_\_

If 2nd and 3rd CLASS: Where have previous classes been attended?

At Manfredonia \_\_\_\_\_

Where else (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_

Parents' educational level: Father \_\_\_\_\_

Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Number of brothers and sisters? \_\_\_\_\_

Does mother have a job? \_\_\_\_ (SPECIFY OCCUPATION) \_\_\_\_\_

Did the boy have work experiences? YES \_\_\_\_

Payed \_\_\_\_

In Family \_\_\_\_

NO \_\_\_\_

What did he do? \_\_\_\_\_

Where did the interview take place? \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_  
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