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## Multiple sources of adolescents' conservative values: A multilevel study

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(Article begins on next page)

**Abstract**

In a sample of 677 adolescents, extracted from 39 classes of 15 different high schools in Trento, Italy, a multilevel analysis was performed to analyze the influences exerted on adolescents' conservative values by their perceptions of the conservative values their mothers would like to transmit them (i.e., maternal socialization values) and by the conservative values prevalent in their class context (i.e., classmates' and teachers' values). The cross-level interaction between mothers' and classmates' conservative values significantly influenced the dependent variable. In particular, the effect of perceived mothers' conservatism on children's conservatism was stronger when adolescents perceived an alignment between their classmates' conservative values and their mothers' expectations of those values. Conversely, the interaction between mothers' and teachers' conservatism did not influence the dependent variable. Implications of this research and its possible developments are discussed.

**Keywords:** Conservative values, Adolescence, Family, School, Multilevel analysis.

Eliminato: representative

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**Multiple Influences on Adolescents' Acquisition of Conservative Values:**

**A Multilevel Study**

Basic values are organizers of political evaluations and choices, and of positions on public policies (Feldman, 2003; Gunther & Kuan, 2007). In particular, research has shown the importance of conservative values to political thought and action and to civic engagement (e.g., Stubager, 2008). According to Schwartz (1992), conservative values—including tradition, conformity, and security—emphasize promoting traditional practices, conventional norms, and social order, also by self-restrictions. This dimension is related to matters such as law and order, immigration/multiculturalism, patriotism, and the role of authority in society. For instance, in Schwartz and colleagues' (2010) study, performed before and after the Italian 2006 national election, conservatism was the value dimension having the strongest positive associations with political core values—such as traditional morality, blind patriotism, and law and order—and the strongest negative associations with preference for free enterprise and accepting immigrants.

People may differ considerably in the importance given to conservative values (Schwartz, 2005), but little is known about the origins and development of conservative values within individuals' life trajectories. Although some studies have pointed out the genetic heritability of conservatism (e.g., Alford, Funk, & Hibbing, 2005), according to the broader body of literature child value development is largely based on the socialization process (e.g., Grusec & Hastings, 2008). The more recent perspectives recognize that, especially from adolescence, children are active participants in their value development (Kuczynski & Navara, 2006), and, consistent with earlier theories (e.g., Ecological Systems Theory; Bronfenbrenner, 1979: see below), they underline that development can occur in a variety of interacting settings.

**Eliminato:** Over the past three decades, researchers have documented the central role of b

**Eliminato:** as

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**Eliminato:** Schwartz and colleagues (2010) highlighted that

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**Eliminato:** (Lenzi et al., 2012)

1 | In this process, adolescence is the most critical time; Adolescents express clear  
 2 | preferences for specific values (Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, & Rosnati, 2011), and have relatively  
 3 | stable political values and knowledge (Krampen, 2000). Parents (especially the mother: see  
 4 | Coffé & Voorpostel, 2010; Trommsdorff, Mayer, & Albert, 2004) are the most important  
 5 | agents of socialization for children. For example, if parents are involved vs. not involved in  
 6 | civic and democratization processes, their children are more likely to be involved as well  
 7 | (Miklikowska & Hurme, 2011). However, as children grow older, they acquire further skills  
 8 | (e.g., to think about what others are thinking, to negotiate, etc.) and face with further sources  
 9 | of influence outside the family, mainly peers and teachers (Simons-Morton & Chen, 2009;  
 10 | Wentzel & Looney, 2007), which may mitigate or magnify earlier experiences in the family  
 11 | domain.

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Eliminato: for the acquisition of political values and habits

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Eliminato: are active vs. inactive in political pursuits and

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12 | The Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) posits that proximal  
 13 | processes in one microsystem (e.g., the family) may impinge on children's experiences in  
 14 | another (e.g., the school). Because of their proximity to the individual, components of the  
 15 | microsystems (e.g., parents, peers, teachers) can directly affect children's development.  
 16 | However, interactions between microsystems (mesosystem) have rarely been investigated,  
 17 | although they have a great potential for an additional influence on children's development  
 18 | (Lenzi et al., 2012).

Eliminato: teachers,

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Eliminato: ; Wilkenfeld, Lauckhardt, & Torney-Purta, 2010

19 | In the present study we aimed to contribute to overcome this limitation, examining how  
 20 | some of the most significant components of the adolescent's microsystems (mothers,  
 21 | classmates, and teachers) contribute, directly or in interaction, to children's conservatism.

Eliminato: , with reference to conservative value development. We examine

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22 | **Family Context**

23 | Most parents heavily invest in transmitting values to their children and tend to desire  
 24 | children to develop values similar to theirs; Thus, parent-child value similarity is considered  
 25 | the hallmark of a successful socialization (Barni, 2009). According to Grusec and Goodnow's

Eliminato: A certain degree of parent-child value similarity is considered the hallmark of a successful socialization. Indeed, m

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1 (1994) two-step model of internalization, transmission involves both the child's perception of  
 2 parents' socialization values (i.e., the values parents want their children to endorse) and the  
 3 child's acceptance or negotiation of the parents' perceived viewpoint. There is some evidence  
 4 that adolescents' perception of their parental socialization values is quite accurate (Knafo &  
 5 Schwartz, 2003) and significantly related to adolescents' personal values (Barni et al., 2011).  
 6 Moreover, Gniewosz and colleagues' (2009) study on political alienation in adolescence  
 7 showed that the associations between adolescent and parental views about politics was  
 8 completely mediated by adolescents' perceived parental alienation. Consistently, Førland,  
 9 Korsvik, and Christophersen's (2012) retrospective analysis on the 1960s protest from a large  
 10 sample of former students at the Oslo University showed that participants' perception of their  
 11 parents' political preferences was the strongest predictor of their own political preferences.

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Eliminato: : The literature reports mean dyadic correlations ranging from .39 to .53 for accuracy (Knafo &amp; Schwartz, 2003) and from .35 to .50 for acceptance

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12 However, results about the outcomes of parent-child value transmission are  
 13 inconsistent: Reports of a striking concordance between parents' and children's values

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14 coexist with findings of a very low parent-child value similarity (Roest, Dubas, Gerris, &  
 15 Engels, 2009). These differences may be ascribed to several factors, such as specific value  
 16 content and measurement strategies. A further confounding factor is that parent-child value  
 17 transmission takes place within a wider social context that can promote values, more or less  
 18 similar to parents' ones, and can affect parents' efficacy in transmitting values (Friedlmeier &  
 19 Trommsdorff, 2011). Actually, an effective socialization involves the child's internalization  
 20 of advocated values to function in an adaptive way *within* and *across* the significant social  
 21 groups he/she belongs to (Barni, Ranieri, & Scabini, 2012).

## 22 School Context

23 In Western countries adolescents spend a lot of time at school, daily in contact with  
 24 their classmates and teachers. Although models of socialization at school are not well  
 25 developed (Wentzel & Looney, 2007), researchers consistently consider the school as a rich

1 social context which provides adolescents with experiences of plurality, consistent or  
2 discrepant respect to what they have learned within their family. The school potentially  
3 provides social interactions that represent a level of (at least pre-) political stimulation and  
4 communication that may not be available from parents at home (Kiousis & McDevitt, 2008).  
5 In this context, teachers hold a key position in determining the activities and discussions in  
6 the classroom (Jones, 1971).

7 Ongoing social interactions with classmates shape adolescents' expectations about what  
8 they need to do to become accepted and competent members of their peer groups (Vieno,  
9 Perkins, Smith, & Santinello, 2005). In the value domain, classmates appear to be similar  
10 among them in their value preferences: Each adolescent tends to see the agreement with  
11 his/her friends as providing an external validation of his/her own value priorities. This  
12 reassurance of the value system potentially supports adolescents' wellbeing through  
13 increasing confidence and self-respect, and stabilizing identity (Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi,  
14 Golledge, & Scabini, 2006).

Eliminato: (Day & Schleicher, 2006)

### 15 **Interactions between Family and School: Isolation, Competition, or What?**

16 Family and school are portrayed by several studies as operating primarily in isolation  
17 from each other. For example, in "two social worlds" theories (for a description, see Cooper  
18 & Cooper, 1992), the influence of parents and classmates on children's values is seen as  
19 distinct, with little or no overlap in the experiences and relationships across the two settings.

20 However, most investigations on value socialization have analyzed the contributions  
21 of the family and the school to adolescents' value development in terms of "competition"  
22 between them. Few researchers, going beyond this "competitive perspective", considered the  
23 joint contribution of the different socialization agents to adolescents' value acquisition. For  
24 example, Knafo (2003), in his investigation on Israeli families with religious and nonreligious  
25 parents, concluded that a lack of fit between parents' and school's values may hinder parents'

1 value transmission. In high-fit contexts (in which parents were religious and children  
 2 attended religious schools, and those in which parents were not religious and children  
 3 attended nonreligious schools) adolescents' acceptance of parental values (including  
 4 conservative values) was higher than in low-fit contexts. Does this mean that parental efforts  
 5 are moderated (facilitated or hindered) by the school context? And what about the moderation  
 6 effects of classmates and teachers, each with a specific role in the school context?

### 7 **Aims of the Current Study**

8 | In the light of the literature above, in the present study we analyzed the interweaving  
 9 of family and school in contributing to adolescents' conservative values. Given the great  
 10 importance of mothers as socialization agents for their children, our focus was on the  
 11 conservative values mothers wanted to transmit to their children. More specifically, as  
 12 transmission outcomes strongly depend on the child's perception and acceptance of the  
 13 parents' values (Barni et al., 2011), the adolescent's perception of his/her mother's  
 14 socialization values was taken into consideration.

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15 Using a multilevel approach, we investigated whether and the extent to which the  
 16 values shared in the school context by classmates and teachers moderate the relation between  
 17 mothers' conservative values, as perceived by their children, and adolescents' conservative  
 18 values. In particular, we hypothesized high levels of classmates' and teachers' conservatism  
 19 to amplify the influence of perceived mothers' conservatism on their adolescent children's  
 20 conservatism, whereas low levels of conservatism within the school context to weaken this  
 21 influence.

**Eliminato:** teachers' and

### 22 **Method**

#### 23 *Participants and procedure*

24 | Thirty-nine classes, from 15 different high schools located in Trento (North-Eastern  
 25 Italy), participated in the study. The 83.1% of the schools was public, whereas the remaining

**Eliminato:** — chosen to provide a representative sample of the major high school types

**Eliminato:** in Trento, a large city in the North-East of Italy—

1 16.9% was private. A total of 789 students were contacted. Adolescents whose parents  
 2 consented to their participation in the study filled in a self-report questionnaire in their  
 3 classrooms. Moreover, the participation of at least one teacher per class was requested. Data  
 4 have actually been collected from 677 students (response rate: 85.8%)—with a mean of 17  
 5 students per class (range: 8-26)—and from 122 teachers—with a mean of 3 teachers per class  
 6 (range: 1-11).

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7 Students (41.6% males) were aged between 14 and 18 ( $M = 15.26, SD = 1.20$ ). A  
 8 large majority of them (84.6%) lived with both parents; a minority lived only with one parent  
 9 (mostly the mother). Teachers (28.3% males) were aged between 25 and 67 ( $M = 44.24, SD =$   
 10  $9.60$ ); 15.0% of them had a medium educational level (more than 8 years of education, but  
 11 less than 14) and the remaining 85.0% had a high level of education (more than 13 years). On  
 12 average, teachers worked in the schools which participated in the study for 7.93 years ( $SD =$   
 13  $8.13, range = 1-34$ ) and spent 4.84 ( $SD = 2.97, range = 1-15$ ) hours per week in one of the  
 14 classes involved in the study. The 49.5% of them taught scientific subjects, the 34.3%  
 15 humanistic subjects, and the remaining 16.2% foreign languages.

16 *Measures*

17 Individual level variables

18 *Students' conservative values.* Students' conservative values were measured by the 6-  
 19 item Conservatism scale from the short version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ)  
 20 (Schwartz et al., 2001). Confirmatory factor analysis and the multistep procedure suggested  
 21 by Byrne (2001) were performed to examine the factorial structure and measurement  
 22 invariance of the Conservatism scale across adolescents' perceptions (personal values and  
 23 perceived mothers' socialization values) and teachers' personal values (results available upon  
 24 request). The following five items, which resulted to be invariant, were used in the analysis;  
 25 (a) "It is important to him/her to live in secure surroundings. He/She avoids anything that

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Eliminato: FTheve se items were then extracted from the PVQ after a series of based on confirmatory factorial analyses carried out on adolescents' conservative values, on perceived mothers' socialization values, and on teachers' values.

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Eliminato: (results available upon request)

Eliminato: . Each PVQ item is a verbal portrait of a person, describing his/her goals, aspirations, or wishes and points implicitly to the importance of conservatism. An item example is:



1 might endanger his/her safety"; (b) "He/She believes that people should do what they're told.  
 2 He/She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching"; (c) "It  
 3 is very important to him/her that his/her country be safe. He/She thinks the state must be on  
 4 watch against threats from within and without"; (d) "It is important to him/her always to  
 5 behave properly. He/She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong"; and (e)  
 6 "He/She thinks it is important to do things in the way he/she learned from his/her family.  
 7 He/She wants to follow their customs and traditions". Adolescents answered "How much is  
 8 this person like you?" for each portrait. They checked one of 6 boxes labelled: "very much  
 9 like me", "like me", "somewhat like me", "a little like me", "not like me", and "not like me at  
 10 all". Respondents' own values were inferred from their self-reported similarity to people who  
 11 were described in terms of these values. Based on  $\alpha = .65$ , we computed adolescents'  
 12 conservative values by averaging the 5 items.

13 *Perceived mothers' conservative values.* The conservative values children perceived  
 14 their mothers wanted them to endorse were measured by asking adolescents to answer the  
 15 same items above indicating: "How would your mother want you to respond to each item?".  
 16 Again, in spite of the low number of items of the battery, the internal consistency of the  
 17 measure verged on the usual threshold:  $\alpha = .62$ . Thus, we computed mothers' conservative  
 18 values as the average of such 5 items.

19 *Control variables.* Based on Barni (2009), we used adolescents' gender, age, and  
 20 religiosity—measured by the *ad-hoc* item "How much do you perceive yourself as  
 21 religious?" (from 1 = not religious at all to 7 = very religious)—as control variables.

## 22 Class level measures

23 We used two contextual level variables: (a) the class mean of the conservative values  
 24 of the adolescents attending each class, used to assess the mean conservatism of each  
 25 participant's peers; and (b) the class mean of teachers' conservative values, measured using

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1 the same items we used to assess adolescents' personal values and mothers' socialization  
 2 values,  $\alpha = .62$ .

3 *Analytic strategy*

4 We examined the predictors of adolescents' conservative values, discriminating  
 5 between the independent variables lying at the individual and at the ecological (school) level,  
 6 by means of the multilevel regression technique of Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM6,  
 7 Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). After running a preliminary unconditional model, we ran a two-  
 8 level hierarchical regression model: The *within-group* (Level 1) model estimated the  
 9 influence exerted on adolescents' conservative values by mothers' conservatism, partialling  
 10 out the effects of the control variables for the student  $i$  in the class  $j$ . Moreover, we estimated  
 11 the variability of this effect. At Level 2, we entered class mean conservatism and teachers'  
 12 conservatism (at the class level) to explain the variability of the effect that mothers'  
 13 conservatism exerted on the dependent variable. Thus, the Level 1 model included 4 variables  
 14 (mothers' conservatism was class mean centred):<sup>1</sup>

15 Children's conservatism $_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{gender}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{age}) + \beta_{3j}(\text{religiosity}) + \beta_{4j}$   
 16 (mothers' conservatism $_{ij}) + r_{ij}$

17 With the aim of verifying if the relationships between mothers' and children's  
 18 conservatism ( $\beta_{4j}$ ) depended on the class characteristics, in Level 2 we entered the class  
 19 characteristics as independent variables after entering the principal effects of those variables  
 20 (expressed at the second level as the effects they exerted on the variability of the intercepts:  
 21 effects on  $\beta_{0j}$ ):

$$22 \quad \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{class mean conservatism}) + \gamma_{02}(\text{teachers' conservatism}) + u_{0j}$$

$$23 \quad \beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40} + \gamma_{41}(\text{class mean conservatism}) + \gamma_{42}(\text{teachers' conservatism}) + u_{4j}$$

<sup>1</sup>Even if the intercept variability ( $\gamma_{00}$ ) resulted non-significant  $\chi^2(38) = 37.53, ns$ , we decided to run the analyses by controlling for the design bias by introducing also the  $u_{0j}$ .

**Eliminato:** ; and (b) the class mean of the conservative values of the adolescents attending each class, used to assess the mean conservatism of each participant's peers.

**Eliminato:** We ran a two-level hierarchical regression model using the Hierarchical Linear & Nonlinear Modeling software (HLM6, Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). The *within-group* (Level 1) model estimated the influence exerted on adolescents' conservative values by our individual independent and control variables for the student  $i$  in the class  $j$ .

**Eliminato:** Students'

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## 1 **Results**

2 Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables considered in the study  
3 (Table 1 about here).

4 After partialling out the effects of our control variables (socio-demographics did not  
5 influence our dependent variable, while religiosity fostered it), perceived mothers'  
6 conservative values positively influenced adolescents' conservatism, explaining 20.6% of its  
7 variability at the individual level (see Table 2). Conversely, the mean class conservatism and  
8 the teachers' conservatism did not influence our dependent variable.

9 Most importantly, since we found a significant random variance for the effect of  
10 perceived mothers' conservatism values,  $\chi^2(38) = 62.69, p < .01$ , we were allowed to  
11 formally test our moderation hypothesis. The last three columns of Table 2 show that the  
12 class mean level of conservative values heightened the effect exerted by perceived mothers'  
13 conservative values on the dependent variable. However, the cross-level interaction between  
14 perceived mothers' conservative values and teachers' conservative values did not reach  
15 statistical significance (Table 2 about here).

16 Figure 1 shows the relationship between perceived mothers' and children's actual  
17 conservative values at the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile and at the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile in the class conservatism.  
18 As hypothesized, in classes characterized by high vs. low conservatism the effect of  
19 perceived mothers' conservative values on children's conservative values resulted stronger  
20 (Figure 1 about here).

## 21 **Discussion**

22 In this study we focused on the origins of adolescents' conservative values, taking into  
23 account different sources of influence, namely the family (mothers) and the school  
24 (classmates and teachers). Working with a multilevel approach, mothers, classmates, and  
25 teachers were not considered as competing socialization agencies; indeed, we focused on

1 their synergistic effects, explicitly testing the effects exerted on adolescents' conservative  
 2 values by the two cross-level interactions between perceived mothers', on one hand, and  
 3 actual classmates' and teachers' conservative values, on the other.

4 Results showed that conservative value socialization is a complex process deeply  
 5 embedded within a wide context, including multiple sources of influence. Indeed, as  
 6 hypothesized, the cross level interaction between perceived mothers' and classmates'  
 7 conservatism significantly influenced our dependent variable: In very conservative classes the  
 8 relation between mothers' conservative values, as perceived by children, and adolescents'  
 9 conservative values was stronger than in very liberal classes. However, contrary to what we  
 10 expected, teachers' conservatism did not moderate such relation. In terms of mesosystemic  
 11 processes (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), adolescents' acceptance of maternal values resulted to be  
 12 facilitated if peers provide experiences parallel to those lived in their family. That is, in  
 13 conservative classes, children who perceived their mothers to want them to be very  
 14 conservative or unconservative, tended to be so in their values. Thus, conservative classmates  
 15 might make the child not conservative tout court, but more ready to comply to his/her  
 16 mother.

Eliminato: the school context

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17 These results were partially consistent with those from Knafo's study (2003), which  
 18 highlighted that the fit between the family and the school values supported value transmission  
 19 between parents and children. However, Knafo could not disentangle the moderator effects of  
 20 classmates' and teachers' values, because he operationalized such fit just in terms of  
 21 in/consistency between family's religiosity and attending vs. not attending a religious school.  
 22 Our study showed that, in the case of fit, the horizontal (i.e. among peers) value socialization  
 23 enhances the vertical one between the two generations (i.e. between parents and children),  
 24 whereas the oblique socialization (i.e. with significant adults outside the family, in our case  
 25 between teachers and children) does not.

1 We could thus speculate that there is a certain amount of naive and uncritical  
 2 internalization of parental values—a sort of “family heritage”—which is then renegotiated  
 3 within the social context. This renegotiation seems to occur mostly with peers, rather than  
 4 with teachers. On one hand, this may be an age-specific phenomenon and, on the other, it  
 5 may be attributed to the current Italian *Zeitgeist*. As known, in adolescence more than in any  
 6 other age, the peer group acts as an emotional anchor and as a social comparison resource  
 7 (Seltzer, 1982). However, different cultures weigh various possible models in the  
 8 transmission process in different ways. In Italy, in the last decades adolescents have become  
 9 less and less inclined to give importance to significant adults outside the family and they  
 10 report a growing paucity of role models in the adult generation whom they could rely on  
 11 (Lanz, Iafrate, Marta, & Rosnati, 1999; Torre, 2008). Thus, before closing the book on the  
 12 moderator role of teachers' conservative values, new studies in other cultural contexts should  
 13 be performed. Additionally, although there are not significant relations between students' and  
 14 teachers' conservative values, it is likely that teachers influence their students' orientations in  
 15 a more distal way, by their behaviors or styles of instruction (e.g., degree of openness, of  
 16 promotion of students' autonomy, etc.; see Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Galloway, 2007). Future  
 17 research aimed at explicitly addressing this issue would be interesting.

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18 While researchers into value socialization have traditionally postulated a unidirectional  
 19 influence stemming from parents to children (e.g., Hyman, 1959), more recent and  
 20 convincing models postulate children to be active in building their values (e.g., McDevitt,  
 21 2005). Our results have been consistent with these new approaches: The informal comparison  
 22 and negotiation occurring in the interaction among peers can carve out a space for social  
 23 change based on reworking of what was received from previous generations.

Eliminato: political

Eliminato: political

24 This research had two main strong points. First, we analyzed data stemming from a  
 25 large, heterogeneous sample, involving more than one informant. Second, our study was one

Eliminato: representative

1 of the first using the multilevel approach to analyze the socialization of conservative values.  
2 This approach looks as particularly fruitful in studies on value socialization, allowing to test  
3 the synergistic role of family and contextual socialization agencies. As a matter of fact,  
4 multilevel methods are becoming more and more promising in explaining social  
5 psychological phenomena. According to Doise (1986), these phenomena can be explained at  
6 four different levels, respectively making reference to intra-individual, inter-individual,  
7 positional, and ideological dynamics. Multilevel analyses allow researchers to make one step  
8 further, because they can be the basis of predictions performed taking into account individual  
9 and contextual independent variables and their cross-level interactions at the same time. In  
10 our opinion, psychological research would significantly benefit from their diffusion, even  
11 outside the value field.

Eliminato: psycho-social

12 However, as often happens, our research had some limitation and left some questions  
13 unanswered, suggesting promising routes to further research. First, a longitudinal  
14 development of the present research perspective would be fruitful: Indeed, while some  
15 studies have found a greater importance given to conservative values by emerging adults than  
16 by adolescents (e.g., Alfieri, Barni, & Rosnati, 2011), some others have reported opposite  
17 results. Among them, the classic Bennington study (Newcomb, 1943) showed that attending  
18 faculties which foster social and communicative skills helps students to become aware of the  
19 others' reasons and points of view and hinders the transmission of conservative values from the  
20 family to the offspring. In methodological terms, this would lead researchers to test  
21 longitudinally the impact exerted on the relation between family's and offspring's  
22 conservatism by the three-way cross-level interaction among parents' and peers' conservative  
23 values and type of faculty attended.

24 Second, Hastie (2007), in her recent review of the literature, has reported that the  
25 horizontal socialization can happen via processes of normative socialization (people's values

1 change to match those around them) and/or informative influence (greater knowledge may  
2 lead to changes in values). New multilevel research aimed at testing these two possibilities  
3 will be interesting.

4 Third, we focused on the perception the adolescents reported about the conservative  
5 values their mothers wanted them to develop, and not on a survey of their mothers' values.  
6 Although adolescents' perceptions of their parents' socialization values are pretty accurate  
7 (e.g., Knafo & Schwartz, 2003) and constitute a necessary step towards internalization  
8 (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), new research performed by directly asking adolescents' mothers  
9 to report their conservative values should be improved.

10 Finally, according to some researchers, people's political values have at least in part  
11 genetic origins (e.g., Alford et al., 2005). In this study we could not take into account the  
12 genetic predictors of our dependent variable. New research aimed to integrate the interactive  
13 effects of genes, socialization within the family, and socialization within the school context  
14 will plausibly be the new frontier in this field of study.

15 In conclusion, according to Vandell (2000), when studying children's socialization  
16 researchers need to better understand the complex system of social relationships occurring in  
17 children's lives. The present study constitutes a relevant step in this direction, showing the  
18 importance of both vertical (i.e., with mothers) and horizontal (i.e., with classmates)  
19 relationships, and, more interesting, of the relation among these relationships.

20

Eliminato: interests, attitudes, and

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