

RACE, INTELLIGENCE AND SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY:  
A MULTIVARIATE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION STUDY

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Edward G. Carmines

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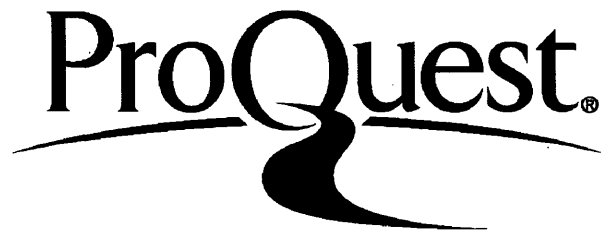
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to compare the relative influence of intelligence and race as determinants of a sense of political efficacy among a sample of junior high students.

As previous research had suggested, this study finds that intelligence is positively related to political efficacy. A second important finding is that the black students are less politically efficacious than the whites.

When controls are introduced for each of the independent variables, the results suggest that intelligence, but not race, is independently related to political efficacy.

Finally, it is suggested that the significant positive relationship between intelligence and sense of political efficacy for both the black and white students can be explained within the cognitive-developmental and genetic approaches to socialization.



RACE, INTELLIGENCE AND SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY:

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## CHAPTER I

### A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION

At the core of the concept of socialization are two main elements: the individual and his human environment. From the time of birth to death the person is continuously involved with other human beings. It is this constant human interaction which is the most incontrovertible aspect of socialization.<sup>1</sup> In addition to human interaction there are three other essential elements basic to the socialization process. One of these is the person being socialized. Whether he is seen as an Army recruit or a college freshman, the socializee is viewed in the broadest sense possible as a social learner. He is the one who is expected to "acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make him more or less an able member of his society."<sup>2</sup>

The third major aspect of the socialization process is the socializing agent. It is the socializing agent that provides the

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Clausen, "Introduction," John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheller, Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 3.

social learner with specific patterns of behavior.<sup>3</sup> Often the socializer takes the form of group identity.<sup>4</sup> This is most clearly the case with respect to the family, but it is also accurate of such other pervasive socializing agencies as the peer group. To the degree that society's expectations are reflected in the norms of the socializing agent, socialization can be viewed as the prime means through which the social learner can acquire the society's culture. However, where deep inconsistencies exist between what society expects, and what the socializer teaches, socialization may not only not aid in the society's enculturation of the individual but may be a deterrent to the process.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the focus of socialization calls attention to the content of specific systems of behavior that has been transferred from the socializing agent to the social learner.<sup>6</sup>

This approach to socialization, then, is composed of four major elements. It involves the (1) interaction between (2) the socializee

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<sup>3</sup>For a particularly vigorous statement on this point see Robert A. Levine, "Culture, Personality, and Socialization: An Evolutionary View," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 503.

<sup>4</sup>Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, "Group Pressures and Group Standards: Introduction," Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (eds.), Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (New York: Harper, 1960), p. 169.

<sup>5</sup>Clausen, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Edward Zigler and Irvin C. Child, "Socialization," Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, III (Second Edition; Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 501-505.

and (3) the socializing agent with the behavior patterns, perceptions and attitudes learned forming the (4) socialized content.<sup>7</sup> It is the concept of process that forces these four divergent elements into the socialization mold. Indeed the notion of process seems to be inseparable from the socialization phenomena. Thus, for Elkin, socialization is "the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group well enough so that he can function within it."<sup>8</sup> For Child, it is "the whole process by which an individual born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range -- the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of the group."<sup>9</sup>

A simplified model of the socialization process would resemble this scheme.

Figure 1

Socialization Process



<sup>7</sup>Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Frederick Elkin, The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Irvin L. Child, "Socialization," Gardner Lindzey (ed.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), p. 655.

By examining the recent research of Bell and Price on the socialization of California freshmen assemblymen, it is possible to illustrate the usefulness of this conceptual scheme.<sup>10</sup> In this case the socializee or social learner is the freshmen legislator and the socializing agent is represented by the various groups in the assembly such as his party's leadership. The interaction between the freshmen legislator and the party leadership occurs at certain party functions; for example, party caucuses and discussion groups. According to the authors, the content of socialization revolves around such prescriptions as how a party man should vote on certain issues, the role of a freshman in party strategy and the workings of the legislature. Besides specifying the utility of this model, this example suggests the range of complexity involved in the socialization process. There are many different groups the lawmaker will be a part of in the legislature. For each, the socializing agent, interaction and content will be different and, therefore, the freshmen legislator will experience a new and sometimes conflicting socialization experience.

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<sup>10</sup>Charles G. Bell and Charles M. Price, "Socializing California Freshmen Assemblymen: The Role of Individuals and Groups," The Western Political Quarterly, XXIII (March, 1970), pp. 166-179.

## CHAPTER II

### SIX MAJOR THEORIES OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

The six major theoretical approaches to socialization provide contrasting frameworks within which to view the aforementioned conceptual scheme. Although all could certainly subscribe to the authoritative definition offered by Zigler and Child: "socialization is a broad term for the whole process by which an individual develops through transaction with other people, his specific patterns of socially relevant behavior and experience,"<sup>1</sup> each would advance a different explanation for the transformation. Each approach, that is, postulates a different relationship among the central variables. The following discussion summarizes the more elegant explanations of the socialization phenomena.

The learning theory approach is perhaps the chief contribution of psychologists to the study of socialization. More important, some argue that the most productive research has been carried out under this theoretical rubric.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, a comprehensive definition is difficult to secure and thus instead a succinct historical characterization will serve for perspective:

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Zigler and Irvin C. Child, "Socialization," Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, III (Second Edition; Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 474.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 465.

It did not stem from the work of any one person. It has not been monolithic, nor has it suffered the stultification of possessing an orthodoxy. Rather, it is the cumulation of that distinctively American behavioral theory that began with Thorndike, became istic with Watson, technically sophisticated with Tolman, Guthrie and Hall, and more precise with Miller, Skinner and Spence. Stimulus response theory is as good a name for it as any.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, the approach seems so varied that it is useful to distinguish among three major strains of learning theory.<sup>4</sup>

The most influential group of investigators committed to a stimulus-response analysis of socialization are the neo-Hullians, whose theoretical ancestry can be traced directly to the learning work conducted at Yale under the direction of Clark Hull. Their work is characterized by three major emphases: (1) the application of general behavior theory to socialization; (2) the importance they attach to external reinforcement; and (3) a concern to augment their theory by including such intervening variables as needs and expectancies.<sup>5</sup> In particular, this latter emphasis on mediational variables has breathed new life into this theoretical construct by making it capable of handling many phenomena of central concern to students of socialization.

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<sup>3</sup>R. R. Sears, "Personality Theory: The Next Forty Years," Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 24 (1959), pp. 42, 43.

<sup>4</sup>This follows the initiative of Zigler and Child, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>On this last point see particularly R. R. Sears, "A Theoretical Framework for Personality and Social Behavior," American Psychologist VI (1951), pp. 476-483.

A learning theory noticeably different from the one described above is the social learning approach. The social learning approach to socialization has tended to emphasize modeling, imitation and vicarious learning that is somewhat independent of external reinforcement. Albert Bandura, a leading exponent of this approach, argues that "if social learning proceeded exclusively on the basis of rewarding and punishing consequences, most people would never survive the socialization process."<sup>6</sup> With external reinforcement given a secondary role, it becomes clear that models who exhibit the accumulated cultural repertoire in their own behavior patterns become the indispensable means of transmitting and modifying social behavior. The notion that the social learner is an imitator while the socializing agent is a model directs attention toward the system of action referred to as identification. Bandura offers a parsimonious definition: "identification refers to a process in which a person patterns his thoughts, feelings, or actions after another person who serves as a model."<sup>7</sup> The central mechanism for the acquisition of identificatory behavior is observational learning, in which matching behavior is acquired by an observer through simple exposure to a model's response, independent of the observer's overt response or its reinforcement.<sup>8</sup> Although social

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<sup>6</sup> Albert Bandura, "Social-Learning Theory of Identificatory Processes," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 213.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob L. Gervirtz, "Mechanisms of Social Learning: Some Roles of Stimulation and Behavior in Early Human Development," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 137.



learning theorists have recently modified some of their original ideas,<sup>9</sup> what seems especially important is the wide range of behavior they have been able to account for with a relatively straight forward, uncluttered explanation. Their research on aggression seems particularly insightful.<sup>10</sup>

A third learning theory approach to socialization can be seen in those efforts emanating directly from Skinner's position.<sup>11</sup> This approach is certainly the most mechanistic of the stimulus-response approaches since social behavior is viewed as being totally shaped by reinforcement histories. Thus the functional relationship between stimulus events and discrete responses is the principal explanatory focal point. Quite obviously this approach considers "the mediational or intervening variables of other learning theorists as excess theoretical baggage."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the fundamental S-R paradigm is viewed as operative in the acquisition of all behavior, and the most complex responses are viewed as products of the conditioning processes described by Skinner.

Though it makes sense to discuss each of these learning-theory approaches to socialization individually, this should not obscure

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<sup>9</sup>For an example see Bandura, op. cit., pp. 213-262.

<sup>10</sup>Albert Bandura and R. H. Walters, Adolescent Aggression (New York: Ronald Press, 1959).

<sup>11</sup>See, in particular, S. Birou and D. M. Baer, Child Development (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961).

<sup>12</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., p. 466.

their essential similarity. Among the various propositions that learning theorists hold in common, three should be underscored by way of conclusion. First, they tend to be environmentalistic rather than nativistis in the sense that their ultimate explanatory efforts are directed at understanding circumscribed responses emitted by the individual in the presence of designated stimulus configurations. Second, learning theory views behavior as a functions of forces applied to the individual. They, therefore, postulate that the same underlying processes are operative throughout the life cycle. Finally, there is a tendency in learning theory to conceptualize the social learner as being overly passive. Although social learning theorists have, in particular, been sensitive to this criticism, all three learning theory approaches seem to consider socialization as being essentially the habit training of a basically passive organism.

The developmental-cognitive approach to socialization stands in sharp contrast to the learning theory approaches. The developmentalists tend to see social behavior as a function of the sequential changes in the psychological structure of the individual himself. The central motivating factor for these developmental changes is encompassed within the cognitive growth of the social learner.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Albert L. Baldwin, "A Cognitive Theory of Socialization," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 337.

In general, this approach stresses change within the individual during his growth period and similarities among individuals at the same developmental level.<sup>14</sup>

A fundamental tenet of the developmental-cognitive approach is that socialization takes place within a progressive framework. A simple example provided by Kohlberg illustrates the basic metamorphosis.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Eleanor E. Maccoby, "The Development of Moral Values and Behavior in Childhood," John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 240.

<sup>15</sup>Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand and Company, 1969), pp. 357, 358.

Table 1  
Sequence in Development of Dream Concept in American and Atayal  
Children

Step	Scale Pattern Types						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. NOT REAL - Recognizes that objects or actions in the dream are not real or are not really there in the room.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2. INVISIBLE - Recognizes that other people cannot see his dream.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
3. INTERNAL ORIGIN - Recognizes that the dream comes from inside him.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
4. INTERNAL LOCATION - Recognizes that the dream goes on inside him.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
5. IMMATERIAL - Recognizes that the dream is not a material substance but is a thought.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
6. SELF-CAUSED - Recognizes that dreams are not caused by God or other agencies but are caused by the self's thought processes.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Median age of American children in given pattern or stage. (Range=4 to 8)	4,6	4,10	5,0	5,4	6,4	6,5	7,10
Median age of Atayal of given pattern. (Range=7 to 18)	8	8	10	16	12	11	

No. of American children fitting scale types=72; not fitting=18.

No. of Atayal children fitting scale types=12; not fitting=3.

Source: See next page.

Source: From Table 6.1, Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 357.

Table 1 indicates the actual steps of development which are found in children's beliefs about dreams. The first step is the recognition that dreams are not real events; the next step, that dreams cannot be seen by others. By age six, the American children are clearly aware that dreams are thoughts caused by themselves.

Table 1 also shows a series of patterns of pluses and minuses called Guttman scale types, which suggest that the steps form an invariant order or sequence in development. If there is an invariant order in the development, then children who have passed a more difficult step in the sequence, indicated by a plus, should also have passed all the easier steps in the sequence and get pluses on all the easier items. This means that all children should fit one of the patterns on Table 1. For instance, all children who pass or get a plus on Step 3, recognizing the dream's internal origin, should also pass Step 2 and Step 1. The fact that only 18 of the 90 American children do not fit one of these patterns is evidence for the existence of an invariant sequence in the development of the dream concept.<sup>16</sup>

Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental explanation for the empirical relationship deserves extended quoting:

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<sup>16</sup>The American sample has a coefficient of reproducibility of .96.

The culturally universal invariants of sequence found in the dream concept can be adequately understood through a logical analysis of the stages themselves. The steps represent progressive differentiations of the subjective and objective which logically could not have a different order. The first step involves a differentiation of the unreality of the psychic event or dream image. The next step the differentiation of the internality of the psychic event from the externality of the physical event. A still latter step is the differentiation of the immateriality of the psychic event from the materiality of other physical events.<sup>17</sup>

It should be emphasized that the cognitive-development approach has helped explain some extremely complex behavior patterns, including the acquisition of moral values by children.<sup>18</sup> Of more relevant concern is the recent attempt by Richard Merelman to interpret the development of political ideology within a largely developmental-cognitive theoretical construction.<sup>19</sup> Whatever particular phenomena is to be accounted for, this theory provides a two dimensional explanation. First, irrespective of cultural and environmental factors or innate capabilities, social learning is viewed as occurring in stages. This implies an invariant order or sequence of development in which all individuals go through the same order of steps. Second, the most important causal factor which speeds up or retards the socialization process is cognitive capability, of which a prime index is intelligence.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Kohlberg, op. cit., p. 359.

<sup>18</sup>See especially Jean Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948).

<sup>19</sup>Richard M. Merelman, "The Development of Political Ideology: A Framework for the Analysis of Political Socialization," The American Political Science Review LXIII (September, 1969), pp. 750-767.

<sup>20</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., p. 461.

Another source of evidence for students of socialization has been provided by the psychoanalytic movement. Their primary hypothesis focuses on the affective quality of the parent-child relationship as the antecedent condition for the development of particular forms of behavior.<sup>21</sup> The main dependent variable has often been the personality structure of the social learner. Thus many of Freud's concepts -- libido, infantile sexuality, the Oedipus and castration complexes -- are assumed to be manifestations of the developing personality within the complex relationships fostered by the family.<sup>22</sup> In fact, the theory is most original in its linking of early parental practices in socializing the infant's bodily functions with later attributes of personality. Among the better-known examples are the presumed associations between the mother's methods of feeding and the child's passivity, toilet training and his expression of aggression, and the parent's reactions to sexual curiosity and his later relationships with the opposite sex.<sup>23</sup>

However, the development of psychoanalytic thought in recent decades gives increasingly explicit stress to the importance of social variables. Accordingly, "emphasis has moved away from Freud's explanatory reliance on biological and instinctual factors

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<sup>21</sup>John A. Clausen, "A Historical and Comparative View of Socialization Theory and Research," John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 50.

<sup>22</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., p. 452.

<sup>23</sup>Daniel A. Miller, "Psychoanalytic Theory of Development: A Re-Evaluation," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 482.

toward a greater reliance on environmental and social determinants."<sup>24</sup>  
 Brofenbrenner has referred to this shift in emphasis as the  
 "socialization" of Freudian thinking, and one clearly encounters  
 it in the work of such neo-Freudians as Sullivan and Erikson.<sup>25</sup>

Despite these theoretical developments, there has been a  
 diminution of the relative impact of psychoanalytic theory on  
 socialization. Two major facts about Freudian theory indicate  
 why this has been the case.<sup>26</sup> First, the psychoanalytic approach  
 has never been developed to the point where it meets the minimal  
 requirements of theory construction allowing for the generation  
 of clearly testable propositions.<sup>27</sup> Second, Freudian thought  
 does not deal adequately with a variety of rational and social  
 behaviors that are of central importance to man's socialization,  
 and it is thus a very incomplete approach.<sup>28</sup> In spite of these

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<sup>24</sup>Zigler and Child, loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup>U. Bronfenbrenner, "Developmental Theory in Transition," Child Psychology: The Sixty Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 517-542; H. A. Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953); and E. H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: Norton, 1950).

<sup>26</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., pp. 452, 453.

<sup>27</sup>This point is fully developed in D. Rapoport, "The Structure of Psychoanalytic Theory," S. Koch (ed.), Psychology: A Study of a Science, III (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. 55-183.

<sup>28</sup>Edward Zigler, "Metatheoretical Issues in Developmental Psychology," M. Marx (ed.), Theories in Contemporary Psychology (New York: Macmillan, 1963), pp. 341-369.



handicaps, many non-Freudian students of socialization have consciously and systematically incorporated psychoanalytic thought into their frameworks, and in the process have produced hybrid approaches of great value and importance.<sup>29</sup>

A fourth theoretical approach to socialization has growing support among sociologists. This is the role theory approach. Its fundamental premise is that most of what is learned from socialization in childhood and indeed, throughout life, is a series of complex interpersonal relationships.<sup>30</sup> For social learners, these complex interpersonal relationships form social roles, which is defined as the behavior expected of an individual occupying a given social position.<sup>31</sup> In fact, in accordance with this definition, practically all social acts may be thought of as constituting role behavior in the sense that the individual actor is presumed to be responding to perceived legitimate expectations regarding his performance from significant others in his social environment.<sup>32</sup> From this standpoint, socialization refers to the process whereby individuals learn to play various social roles necessary for effective participation in society; that is how they acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable

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<sup>29</sup>See, in particular, the interesting comments on "Psychoanalytically Oriented Social Anthropology," Zigler and Child, op. cit., pp. 453-454.

<sup>30</sup>Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," Orville G. Brim, Jr. and Stanton Wheeler, Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 8.

<sup>31</sup>N. C. Gross, W. S. Mason, and A. W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: Wiley, 1958), p. 60.

<sup>32</sup>David A. Goslin, "Introduction," David A. Goslin (ed.), Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 6.

them to perform in accordance with the expectations of others as they move from position to position in the social order over time, from infant to child to adult, from student to worker, from son or daughter to husband or wife, to father or mother, and as they occupy several positions simultaneously; for example, adult, worker, son, husband, father, citizen. Although role theorists are at present extensively broadening their theoretical outlook,<sup>33</sup> two of their original concepts seem to make role theory a valuable perspective from which to view the socialization process.

Students of role theory have, in the first place, held a more rational, externally oriented conception of the social learner. In this vein, the learner is often viewed as consciously making choices, seeking out new roles, and deciding his own fate. This is vastly different from the impression provided by most psychological theories in which the social learner is perceived as behaving in essentially irrational or behavioristic terms. The latter view takes an overly simplified approach to the individual in that he is seen as responding in more or less automatic and stable ways, as a consequence of prior experiences, to configurations of stimuli coming both from the external environment and from within the learner himself.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>See, for example, B. J. Biddle and E. J. Thomas (eds.), Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: Wiley, 1966).

<sup>34</sup>Goslin, op. cit., p. 3.

Second, and this is a related matter, role theory underscores the notion of socialization as a two-way process between social learner and socializing agency. It does so by introducing the concept of role negotiation whereby the behavior of individuals in social groups, including the individual being socialized, may be subject to bargaining or negotiation among participants. More important, this points up the interchangeability of the roles of social learner and socializing agency since occupancy of a social position involves both responding to the expectations of significant others in the interactional system and exercising one's rights to expect certain behaviors from other participants. By interlacing these two concepts, Clausen has advanced a most comprehensive definition of socialization: "every enduring relationship may be said to entail socialization, for every enduring relationship entails a building up of mutual expectations which become to a degree normative for the participants."<sup>35</sup>

While generally less important, two additional theoretical approaches to socialization deserve brief explication. These are the social anthropological and genetic approaches, respectively. Attention is first directed to the research of social anthropologists. In a sense, the great body of ethnographic findings constitutes a demonstration of the crucial importance of cultural factors as an influence on human behavior.<sup>36</sup> Three aspects of this theoretical approach indicate its basic contribution to an understanding of socialization.

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<sup>35</sup>John A. Clausen, "Introduction," John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 7.

<sup>36</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., p. 451.

First, a critical theme of social anthropological research is the self-conscious conceptualization of socialization as the mechanism of culture transmission and survival. In Coming of Age in Samoa, for example, Margaret Mead examines the ways in which children are reared and prepared for the activities they would engage in and the roles they would occupy within their society.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, throughout the writings of anthropologists there is a tendency to "use the words socialization and enculturation uncritically and interchangeably."<sup>38</sup>

A second contribution of social anthropologists to socialization is the attention they have focused on the relationship between the cultural values of a society and the personalities of its inhabitants. The central question which this relationship raises is "If socialization produces conformity to specific cultural demands, does it also produce conformity to a modal personality characteristic of a particular group?"<sup>39</sup> Despite the inconclusiveness of the research on this hypothesis,<sup>40</sup> Sapir's contention still

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<sup>37</sup>Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1928).

<sup>38</sup>Margaret Mead, "Socialization and Enculturation," Current Anthropology IV (1963), p. 185.

<sup>39</sup>Zigler and Child, loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup>For the most scholarly evaluation see M. B. Singer, "A Study of Culture and Personality Theory and Research," B. Kaplan (ed.), Studying Personality Cross-Culturally (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 9-90.

seems to contain more than a grain of truth: "In spite of the often asserted impersonality of culture, the humble truth remains that vast reaches of culture, far from being in any real sense "carried" by the community or groups as such, are discoverable only as the peculiar property of certain individuals, who cannot but give these cultural goods the impress of their own personality."<sup>41</sup>

Third, social anthropologists have recently advanced the understanding of the socialization process by utilizing cross-cultural research designs. A notable example is ambitious study undertaken by the Whitings and their associates evaluating the process of child rearing within the larger cultural context.<sup>42</sup>

While there is little question that the bulk of empirical efforts dealing with the socialization process has had a predominantly environmentalistic orientation, students of socialization should also be cognizant of the influence of genetic factors. As McKee and Honzik point out, "the assumption that cultural variation reflects only environmental variation is extremely dubious if one suspects that the societies concerned represent different genetic pools."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>E. Sapir, "The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Cultures," Journal of Social Psychology, V (1934), p. 412.

<sup>42</sup>Beatrice B. Whiting (ed.), Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963).

<sup>43</sup>J. P. McKee and Marjorie P. Honzik, "The Sucking Behavior of Mammals: An Illustration of the Nature-Nurture Question," L. Postman (ed.) Psychology in the Making (New York: Knopf, 1962), pp. 585-661.

The fact is that Thomas and his associates have isolated a number of early-appearing and persisting reactivity patterns which appear to be responsible for variations in behavior when environmental factors remain constant.<sup>44</sup>

The genetic approach, then, calls attention to the importance of the initial biological characteristics of the individual as significant factors in determining the development of psychological individuality.<sup>45</sup> Specifically, the importance of genetic factors as determinants of individual differences in the behavior of infants and young children has been found in such diverse areas as "sensory threshold, motility, perceptual responses, sleeping and feeding patterns, drive endowment, quality and intensity of emotional tone, social responsiveness, autonomic response patterns, biochemical individuality and electroencephalogenic patterns."<sup>46</sup> Although great theoretical advances will only be made when the interaction between environmental and genetic factors can be unraveled, this is not, in itself, a sufficient reason for neglecting the significant explanatory power of the latter.

These six major theories of socialization -- the learning, cognitive-developmental, psychoanalytic, role, social anthropological and genetic approaches -- provide, then, plausible rival explanations

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<sup>44</sup>A. Thomas, H. G. Birch, Stella Chess, Margaret E. Hertzog, and S. Korn, Behavioral Individuality in Early Childhood (New York: New York University Press, 1963).

<sup>45</sup>Zigler and Child, op. cit., p. 461.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas, et. al., op. cit., p. 10.

for the learning of socially relevant behavior. In so doing, they advance different interpretations of the chief elements of the socialization process, including the social learner, socializing agency, interaction, and content.

Three observations about this set of explanations are required so that the total impact of socialization research can be adequately evaluated. First, in a sense these theoretical approaches to socialization are not in as sharp contrast as they appear to be at first glance. This is the case because in the main each approach attempts to explain different systems of behavior. The cognitive-developmental construct, for example, seems to be especially appropriate in accounting for the development of moral behavior. Aggressive behavior, on the other hand, seems to be largely governed by the theoretical propositions offered by social learning theorists. A corollary observation is that no one of the major theoretical approaches can adequately explain the totality of behavior which is part of the socialization phenomena.

Finally, note must be taken of the over emphasis that these theories place on infancy and early childhood and the correspondingly little attention given to adult socialization. While childhood may be an adequate focus for socialization research in relatively unchanging societies, it is manifestly a far too limiting vantage point from which to construct general, cross-cultural socialization theory in modern man's complex and continually changing society.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>See the extended comments in Brim, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

## CHAPTER III

### POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH:

#### CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES AND A DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERN

Although it would be advantageous to present a thoroughly comprehensive review of the political socialization literature, its voluminosity makes such an undertaking beyond the scope of the present discussion. Rather, it seems more feasible to concentrate attention on the more salient themes which have been illuminated by students of political socialization. In this vein, two of the central issues emanating from political socialization research will be dealt with in this chapter. The first concern is the continuing attempt by scholars to adequately conceptualize the nature of political socialization.

As political scientists view the socialization process, they either directly or indirectly address it in terms of one central question: Of what value is socialization to the understanding of political behavior? Or simply, what is the significance of political socialization? One of the first responses to this inquiry is presented by Herbert Hyman in his pioneering study, Political Socialization. Hyman concentrates



his focus on political socialization on three main dimensions: "PARTICIPATION or involvement in politics, and granted the involvement, whether the GOALS of action are towards radical or conservative ends AND towards democratic or authoritarian forms."<sup>1</sup> His approach emphasizes not the process of learning political behavior, but rather the consequences of such learned behavior.

Gabriel Almond advances a more systematic view of political socialization in his research. Almond perceives political socialization to be "the process of induction into the political culture."<sup>2</sup> He asserts that it is one of the four input functions which must be performed by all political systems.<sup>3</sup> In this conceptualization political socialization is primarily functional for the continuance of the political system.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Gabriel A. Almond, "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-64; and Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

<sup>4</sup>In Almond's more recent research he refers to political socialization as "system maintenance." See Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966).

The statements of Pye on political socialization are closely related to those offered by Almond. Pye insists that political socialization is functional. Indeed, his main contribution is in conceiving of socialization as operating at manifest and latent levels. Manifest socialization involves the learning of the content of the individual's culture; latent socialization consists of "all the experiences that shape the unconscious and determine the dynamics of the basic personality structure." Political socialization, he contends, is mainly manifest; i.e., it is "governed by perception and cognition and conscious learning."<sup>5</sup> Lewis Froman's conceptual scheme stresses the influence that personality can have on political behavior.<sup>6</sup> Basically, he argues that personality or attitudinal dispositions can serve as intervening variables between the socializing agent on the one hand and the behavior of the social learner on the other.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Froman elucidates a two-dimensional perspective of political

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<sup>5</sup>Lucian W. Pye, "Political Modernization and Research on the Process of Political Socialization," Items, XIII (1959), pp. 25-28. Also see Lucian W. Pye, "Introduction: Political Culture and Political Development," in Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (eds.), Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Lewis A. Froman, "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, XV (June, 1962), pp. 304-313.

<sup>7</sup>Lewis A. Froman, "Personality and Political Socialization," Journal of Politics, XXIII (May, 1961), p. 349.

socialization. First, empirical generalizations which relate the environment to the personality need to be developed. Secondly, this personality, which has been extensively influenced by various socialization agencies, needs to be examined in terms of its impact on political behavior.<sup>8</sup>

Fred Greenstein's formulation of political socialization is fundamentally a restatement of Lasswell's view of the general process of communication. He asks these five essential questions about the process: (1) Who learns? (2) What is learned? (3) Who are the agents of political socialization? (4) What are the circumstances of political socialization, and (5) What are the effects of political learning?<sup>9</sup> This scheme is similar to the conceptualization of socialization outlined in Chapter I.

Greenstein's more recent attempt to examine the literature has resulted in four basic definitions. Political socialization is said to refer to (1) the study of children's political orientations; (2) the study of the acquisition of prevailing norms; (3) the study of any political learning whatsoever, whether of conformity or deviance, and at any stage in the life cycle; and (4) actual observations of socialization processes, in any of the above senses, taking into account both the socialized and the agents of socialization.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 341-352.

<sup>9</sup>Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 12-15.

<sup>10</sup>Fred I. Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization': Definitions, Criticisms, and Strategies of Inquiry," Journal of Politics, 32 (November, 1970), pp. 971, 972.

Although each of these conceptions of political socialization seemly offers a distinct framework, their similarities are much more compelling than their differences. As Kenneth Langton points out, "most of the different frameworks are classification schemes, which on closer examination seem to cover similar portions of the same landscape."<sup>11</sup> Despite their underlying likenesses, however, contemporary research has yet to produce an agreed-upon model of political socialization. Most suggestive in this respect has been the work of David Easton. In attempting to bring some measure of clarification to the study of political socialization, he relates it to his previous work in general systems theory.<sup>12</sup>

For Easton, two essential conditions must be met for the existence of any political system. First, the members of the system must be able to allocate valued things, that is, make decisions. Secondly, these decisions must be accepted as authoritative by most members most of the time. If and when these two essential variables are present, the political system formed will resemble this model.

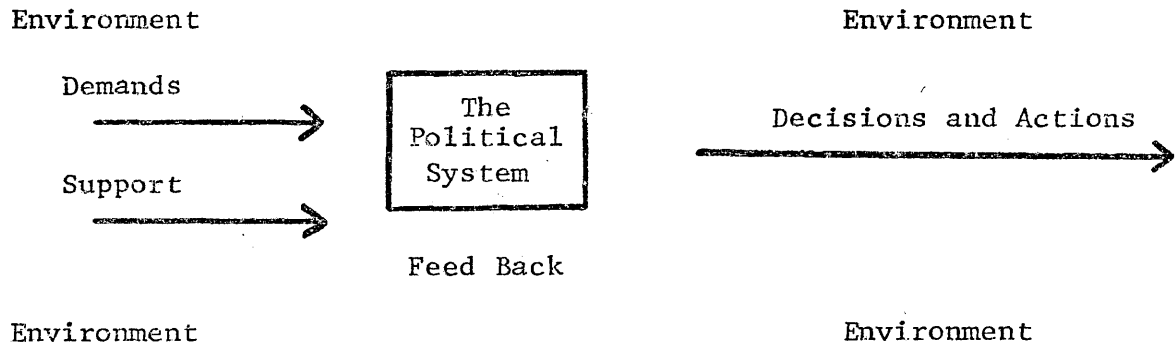
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<sup>11</sup>Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 5.

<sup>12</sup>David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," World Politics, IX (1957), pp. 383-400; David Easton, The Political System (New York: Knopf, 1953); and David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: Wiley, 1965).

Figure 2

## A Simplified Model of a Political System



Source: From Figure 3-1. David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 48.

Conceptually, Easton defines the political system as a vast conversion process through which the inputs of demands and support are transformed by various structures and processes into outputs, that is, into authoritative decisions and actions.<sup>13</sup>

For Easton, political socialization lies at the heart of the concept of support. More specifically, childhood political socialization is determinative of diffuse support. By diffuse support Easton means "the generalized trust and confidence that members invest in the various objects of the system as ends in themselves."<sup>14</sup> The importance of diffuse support is that it

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<sup>13</sup>David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 48.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

enables a political system to weather the discontent brought on by objectionable policies (outputs) and resultant cleavages in a system. To use Easton's illustration, it "forms a reservoir upon which a system typically draws in times of crises, such as depressions, wars, and internecine conflicts."<sup>15</sup> Thus, in addition to its generalized quality, diffuse support also signifies a strong emotional attachment to the political system.

The real virtue of Easton's approach is that it emphasizes the crucial relationship between political socialization and the political system. Easton is able to argue quite persuasively that it is political socialization in pre-adulthood that is the controlling factor in developing diffuse support and that diffuse support, in turn, has a salient impact on the functioning of the political system.<sup>16</sup> In other words, it is Easton's singular conceptualization of political socialization that takes into account that "research ought to be identified by theoretical reflection on the ends of political socialization -- viz, individual political behavior, and more fundamentally, the psychological prerequisites of whatever aspects of system-functioning concern the analyst."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>16</sup>David Easton and Robert Hess, "Youth and the Political System," in S. M. Lipset and L. Lowenstein (eds.), Cultural and Social Character (New York, Free Press, 1961), pp. 226-251.

<sup>17</sup>Greenstein, "A Note on the Ambiguity of 'Political Socialization': Definitions, Criticisms, and Strategies of Inquiry," op. cit., p. 977.

In addition to the effort to satisfactorily illuminate the principal dimensions of political socialization, a second sustained theme has issued from political socialization research. This has to do with the pattern of learning politically relevant behavior.

Research on political socialization during pre-adulthood has clearly called attention to the fact that it should not be considered a vast amount of undifferentiated phenomena. Indeed, political socialization associated with a particular individual does, in fact, change over a period of time. The most dramatic alterations during the life cycle typically occur in pre-adulthood. The point to be developed here is that these changes during pre-adult political socialization occur in a logical manner over a period of time -- thus, forming a developmental pattern. A corollary concern will be with the focus of this process on political authority, particularly the President. It should be admitted at the outset, however, that evidence for these propositions has usually been researched indirectly and then in a methodologically unsophisticated manner. As one critic has argued, "we study What children have learnt....not How they have learnt it."<sup>18</sup>

A similar methodology has been employed in most of the studies dealing with developmental changes in pre-adult political

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<sup>18</sup>Roberta Sigel, "Political Socialization: Some Reflections on Current Approaches and Conceptualizations," paper presented to the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1966, p. 3.

socialization. A questionnaire is usually administered to students in different grade levels. The results usually depict a high correlation between the ages of the students and their responses on the questionnaire. The correlation, it is argued, is the result of changes in the developmental process during pre-adulthood.

Before analyzing the findings of this research, three of their methodological limitations should be thoroughly delineated. In the first place, the subjects of these studies have been white children of middle class, nuclear families living in urban communities. The developmental process which will be portrayed, then, is only applicable if certain essential variables are present. Secondly, the questionnaires usually probe current attitudinal dispositions. They fail to perceive, however, the discontinuities among three levels of abstraction. There can easily be a great deal of difference, especially in childhood, between the authentic opinions of a person and the opinions that person subscribes to in filling out a questionnaire. Moreover, both of these attitudes should be distinguished from the behavior of the individual either in the present or future.<sup>19</sup> It is assumed by the researchers that their data possess these three

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<sup>19</sup>Donald G. Baker, "Political Socialization: Parameters and Predispositions," Polity, III (Summer, 1971), p. 598.



levels of abstraction; in reality they have only the written responses on the questionnaire. Thirdly, the research on the developmental pattern in pre-adult political socialization almost always focuses on different individuals at different ages. Until the same individuals are scrutinized at different ages, the results must remain tentative. Longitudinal analysis must be introduced, that is, if the research is to be of a more valid and reliable character. In spite of these severe qualifications, however, the impressive changes during pre-adult political socialization call for at least partial explanation.

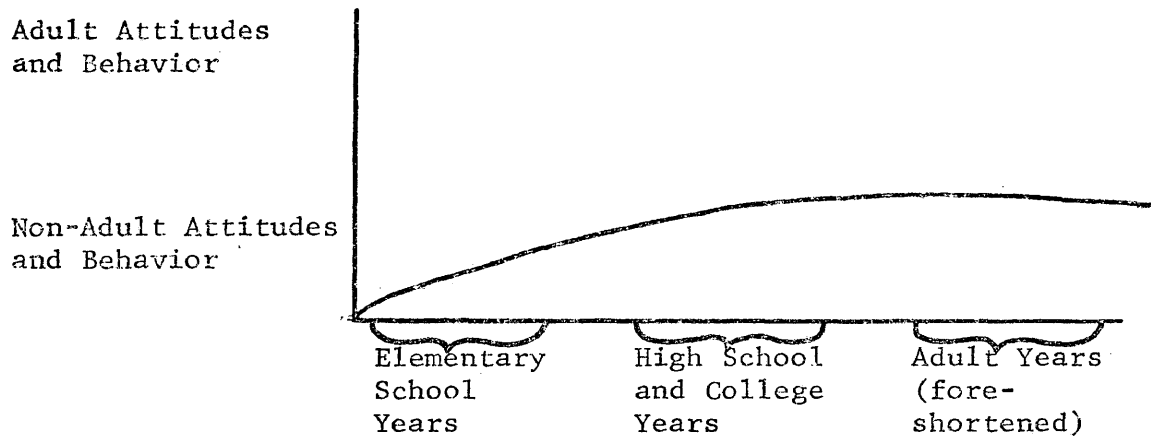
An initial question that must be answered in regard to political socialization is-- At what age does the process begin? The earliest age of the subjects to date has been seven years old or children in the second grade in school. It is apparent, however, that the socialization process begins even before the child enters the classroom. As one of the studies acknowledges, "there is reason to believe that the child arrives at the first grade with a degree of political socialization already accomplished."<sup>20</sup> The graph that follows proposes a general process of political socialization for the individual through his life cycle. Note that the pre-school years are considered to be unequivocally important.

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<sup>20</sup> Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1960), p. 639.

Figure 3

## Assumed Patterns of Development of Political Attitudes and Behavior



Source: From Figure 1. M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Summer, 1968), p. 446.

It is assumed that the family is pre-eminent as a socializing agent in the political socialization of the pre-school child.

The chief characteristic of the early elementary school child's process of political socialization is that it is affectively evaluative before being cognitively informative. The second grader responds in terms of feelings rather than displaying a complete knowledge of their direction.<sup>21</sup> However, even in the second grade

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<sup>21</sup>David Easton and Jack Dennis, op. cit., p. 137. Fred Greenstein also found this accurate in the case of fourth graders. See Fred Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), p. 936.

73 percent of the children indicate that they have some understanding of the concept of government.<sup>22</sup> The second grader apparently sees the government as being external to and perhaps superior to his family. The first phase of political socialization, therefore, can be termed politicization for the child is able to distinguish the public sector from his family environment.<sup>23</sup>

But he does not view the government in all its complexity. He first centers his attention on the political authorities, especially the President. This can be demonstrated by presenting to the child a list of government symbols and asking him which one most represents the government. When the list includes such symbols as the policeman, Uncle Sam, Supreme Court, Capital, Congress, Flag, Statue of Liberty and the President, the second graders overwhelmingly select the President.<sup>24</sup> The elementary school child opens the door to politicization because of the saliency and visibility of the President. This personalization of political authority marks the second phase in pre-adult political socialization.<sup>25</sup> But the President represents much more than simply an initial political contact for the children. Affectively, he is seen as important,

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<sup>22</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 391; Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," op. cit., p. 643.

<sup>24</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

benevolent and powerful. When elementary school children are asked what adult roles are most important, they refer most often to the President.<sup>26</sup> This is clearly confirmed by the table below.

Table 2  
Judgment of Which Adult Roles Are "Most Important"  
by Fourth Grade Children

<u>Roles</u>	<u>Percent Choosing Each Role</u>
President	80
Mayor	79
Doctor	57
Police Chief	51
Judge	48
School Teacher	35
Religious Leader	32
School Principal	22

Source: From Table 1. Fred Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960) p. 936.

The children also view the President as exceedingly benevolent. They describe him as "helping," "taking care of," and "protecting" people.<sup>28</sup> Over 80 percent of the second graders seem relatively convinced that the President would always or almost always want to help them.<sup>29</sup> This idealization of political authority, however,

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<sup>26</sup>Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," loc. cit.

<sup>27</sup>The principal reason the Mayor was rated so highly by these children is that in this case the Mayor was Richard Lee of New Haven, who was well known for his association with children.

<sup>28</sup>Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>29</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., p. 179.

seems to decline with age.<sup>30</sup> The power of the President as seen by an eight-year-old is strikingly illustrated in this interview.

Q. "What does the President do?"

A. "He runs the country, he decides the decisions that we should try to get out of and he goes to meetings and he tries to make peace and things like that."

Q. "When you say he runs the country, what do you mean?"

A. "Well, he's just about the boss of everything."<sup>31</sup>

In the eyes of the children, the President's authority even extends directly to them. Thus, children are able to postulate a coercion-oriented perception of political authority.<sup>32</sup> Finally, not only does the President serve as a link to the larger political system, but the positive feelings children have about the Presidency are transferred to the system itself. In short, children generalize their view to include the entire regime.<sup>33</sup>

The importance of the President in childhood political socialization may be summarized as follows: (1) initially and continuously through the elementary school years, the political system is specifically represented by the President; (2) the children

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>As reported in Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>32</sup>Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics, 29 (May, 1967), p. 386.

<sup>33</sup>David Easton and Robert Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (August, 1962), p. 241.

have an inordinately positive assessment of the President; (3) even when children are able to understand many different political images, the Presidency continues to be conspicuously dominate in their eyes; and (4) because of the dominance of the President, children come to understand and approve of the political system of which he is a symbol.

As previously mentioned, political socialization during early childhood is characterized by politicization, personalization, and idealization. During late childhood and adolescence, however, fundamental changes take place in this conception. In the main these changes include-- (1) an increase in the child's ability to understand more abstract political symbols; (2) growth of cognitive capacities; and (3) the birth of ideology.<sup>34</sup> The abstract symbols the adolescent learns are crystallized by his growing understanding of his nation. His ideas evolve from nearly complete ignorance of the geographical, social, and political world around him to an outlook that is not fundamentally different from perceptions of mature adults.<sup>35</sup> The adolescent also learns something about nonpersonal political symbols; for example, Congress and the Supreme Court.

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<sup>34</sup>Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 48-50.

<sup>35</sup>Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality, Part I: The Conceptual Framework," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (1963), pp. 47-60; and "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality, Part II: National Symbols and Themes," British Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXIII (1963), pp. 143-153.

This is also a time of growth of his cognitive capabilities. Adolescents show a marked increase in political information and knowledge when compared with younger children. This is clearly displayed in the following abbreviated table:

Table 3

"Reasonably Accurate" Responses to Selected Political Information Items:  
Arranged by School Years

<u>Information Asked</u>	<u>School Grade</u>	
	<u>4th</u>	<u>8th</u>
President's duties	23%	66%
Mayor's duties	35%	67%
Governor's duties	8%	43%
Role of state legislators	5%	37%

Source: Fred Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), p. 937.

Even the Presidency, which earlier had been seen in exclusively personal terms, is now viewed by the adolescents as more of a political office.<sup>36</sup> Finally, pre-adult political socialization is a period of development in relation to ideological thinking. The adolescent begins to exhibit a certain coherence about his political beliefs. This is succinctly illustrated in the following description of an eighteen-year-old:

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<sup>36</sup>Roberta S. Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of School Children," American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), p. 221.

"Above all, he is more philosophical, more ideological in his perspective on the political order. At times he is consciously, deliberately an ideologue."<sup>37</sup>

If these three changes in pre-adult political socialization can be conceived of as a single process, it most appropriately would be labeled institutionalization.<sup>38</sup> This third phase in pre-adult political socialization signifies a less personal, more complex orientation to the political system.

In sum, the developmental pattern which characterizes the learning of political orientations seems to proceed through three logically successive stages -- from politicization to personalization, and finally to institutionalization.

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<sup>37</sup>Joseph Adelson and Robert O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, IV (1966), p. 306.

<sup>38</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., p. 392.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE STUDY DESIGN:

#### BACKGROUND, THEORY, METHOD AND DATA

##### I. Background

As Chapter III amply demonstrates, there has been a multiplicity of variables dealt with by students of political socialization. Some of the most important independent variables, for example, seem to be family structure, peer group orientation and school environment. The main dependent variables for which explanations have been sought include a great variety of attitudinal manifestations, including political party identification, interest in political affairs and evaluation of political authorities.

A more recent focus of political socialization research is directed toward an understanding of the development of political efficacy. Three separate elements of this concept require clarification.<sup>1</sup> First, political efficacy refers to the timeless theme of democratic theory which asserts that members of a democratic regime ought to regard those who occupy positions of political authority as responsive agents and that the members themselves ought

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<sup>1</sup>David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), pp. 25, 26.

to be disposed to participate in the honors and offices of the system. Second, political efficacy represents a set of dispositions which tap a feeling of effectiveness and capacity toward the political sphere. The final element embraced by the term applies to the actual conduct of a person. As Easton and Dennis point out, "insofar as he (any individual) is in fact able to influence the course of events and take a hand in shaping his political destiny, he has demonstrated an observable capacity to behave effectively, regardless of whether he is aware of a principle of political efficacy or has a sense of being efficacious."<sup>2</sup> Since the subjects of the research have been primarily children it is appropriate to set aside this third implication of the term and confine the analysis of the first two. In fact, because for children the acceptance of the norm of political efficacy and its empirical reality are likely to be so closely interwoven, it is possible to interpret the presence of a feeling of political efficacy as an attitudinal indicator of confidence in and support for efficacy as a norm.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the other research dealing with the concept of political efficacy have conceptualized it in much the same vein. Its original formulation by the Survey Research Center and reported in The Voter Decides, for example, specifies that a--

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

sense of political efficacy may be defined as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change.<sup>4</sup>

A more recent attempt to characterize the concept argues that "a sense of political efficacy exists when an individual internalizes an expectation and appraisal of his role as one that is politically effective."<sup>5</sup>

These assessments indicate that political efficacy is one of the most fundamental orientations that individuals have toward their political system. As a causal factor, it helps lay the foundation on which individual political participation can be mounted.<sup>6</sup> In addition, political efficacy is an element of one's interpretative orientation through which future political happenings and perceptions are filtered.<sup>7</sup> Within Easton's framework, political efficacy can be viewed as a particularly appropriate indicator of the kind of diffuse support which is so indispensable to the functioning of democratic political systems.

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<sup>4</sup>A. Campbell, G. Gurin and W. E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 187.

<sup>5</sup>Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, 30 (August, 1968), p. 710.

<sup>6</sup>See, in particular, John Fraser, "The Mistrustful-Efficacious Hypothesis and Political Participation," Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), pp. 444-449.

<sup>7</sup>For a discussion of "interpretative orientations" see Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1969), pp. 203-205.

Quite clearly, then, political efficacy is considered to be an independent variable with significant explanatory power. The central question posed here, however, is: Given political efficacy's explanatory potential, what are its crucial determinants? That is, what major factors account for the development of political efficacy?

Responses to this inquiry have been an important focal point of political socialization research and the relevant findings can be briefly summarized. According to Easton and Dennis, grade level, IQ, and socio-economic status are positively related to political efficacy while sex seems to have no appreciable impact.<sup>8</sup>

According to Lyons, milieu, grade level, achievement in school and race are related to political efficacy, but sex is not.<sup>9</sup> His most important finding is that "Negro children regardless of where they lived had a lower sense of efficacy...than white students."<sup>10</sup>

According to White, IQ, grade level, and social participation are positively related to efficacy, but social class and sex only minimally so.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, White asserts that "the most surprising finding is a negative one: that social class has such a limited effect on sense of political efficacy in children."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., pp. 33-37.

<sup>9</sup>Schley R. Lyons, "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children: Efficacy and Cynicism," Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), 293-301.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 295-296.

<sup>11</sup>White, op. cit., pp. 715-719.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 729.

According to Langton and Jennings, race has a significant impact on political efficacy in that almost twice as many Negro students as whites scored low on their political efficacy scale.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, although the number of civics courses taken by white students has little perceptible effect on their sense of political efficacy, it does seem to be a meaningful factor for Negroes. The relationship is particularly strong for Negro students from the less educated families.<sup>14</sup>

According to Langton and Karns, the relationship between a student's political efficacy and his family, peer group and school is significant but complex.<sup>15</sup> Utilizing a causal analytical technique developed by James S. Coleman, they conclude that--

Although the family influences movement along the entire efficacy dimension, the peer group and school operate at different ends of this scale. The broader, less intimate school environment moves students from low-to-medium efficacy but has almost no influence at the high efficacy range. The face-to-face peer group, on the other hand, concentrates almost exclusively on what may be a more difficult socialization task -- moving students from medium-to-high political efficacy.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, LXII (September, 1968), p. 860.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 861.

<sup>15</sup>Kenneth P. Langton and David A. Karns, "Influence of Different Agencies in Political Socialization," Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 140-160.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 159.

According to Langton, students from maternal (mother-child) families in the Carribbean are less politically efficacious than respondents from nuclear families.<sup>17</sup> However, this is the case only among working class families and thus it appears that the more efficacious middle and upper class political culture is able to counteract the differential effects of maternal dominance. In addition, examining only an American sample, Langton finds that male respondents from nuclear families in which the mother is dominant are less politically efficacious than those from father-dominant families.<sup>18</sup> However, as Langton notes, "this relationship weakens and tends to reverse itself among the most educated families."<sup>19</sup>

According to the Harveys' research, despite the fact that intelligence is highly correlated with a number of political attitudes, they find no significant association between it and political efficacy.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Kenneth P. Langton, "Family Structure and Politics," Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 50.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>S. K. Harvey and T. H. Harvey, "Adolescent Political Outlooks: The Effects of Intelligence as an Independent Variable," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIV (November, 1970), p. 583.

However, according to Hess and Torney, the relationship between intelligence and political efficacy is highly marked.<sup>21</sup> They also find that a strong positive correlation exists between social status and political efficacy.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, their graphs indicate that the relationships continue even when intelligence or social status is held constant.<sup>23</sup> Like Easton and Dennis, Lyons and White, Hess and Torney find that one's sex has little impact on political efficacy.<sup>24</sup>

## II. Theory

The research reviewed here suggests that political efficacy develops as the result of the influence of several factors. More accurately, it may be said that the findings disclose that political efficacy is correlated with certain variables. What appears to be two of the most important of these variables -- race and intelligence -- forms the theoretical focus for the present research.

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<sup>21</sup>Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 149.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

A central question now becomes, for example, given the observed relationship between race and political efficacy -- "Why does such a relationship exist?"<sup>25</sup> Two fundamental observations seem to provide a convincing explanation for the reported correlation between these variables.

First, the relationship between political efficacy and race seems plausible in light of the fact that historically Negroes were severely limited in their political participation in the American political system. Such a situation even if no longer an important factor could easily induce a depressed sense of political efficacy. In other words, though much research indicates that efficacy underscores participation, the converse seems just as reasonable: when one is deprived of a meaningful role within the political system, this in itself lays a firm basis on which low political efficacy can develop.

Second, some indirect, empirical evidence coupled with explanatory remarks can be brought to bear on this relationship. Edward Greenberg reports that as black children mature they display a less supportive view of the community, government and political authorities than do white children.<sup>26</sup> He also finds that

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<sup>25</sup>For comments underscoring the importance of such a question see Arthur S. Goldberg, "On the Need for Contextualist Criteria: A Reply to Professor Gunnell," American Political Science Review, LXII (December, 1969), p. 1249.

<sup>26</sup>Edward Greenberg, "Black Children and the Political System," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIV (Fall, 1970), pp. 333-345. Also see Edward Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Canadian Journal of Political Science, II (December, 1969), pp. 471-492.



black students relate to the political system primarily as "subjects" rather than as "participants."<sup>27</sup> They, therefore, provide a case of "a high frequency of orientations toward a differential political system and toward the output aspects of the system, but orientations toward specifically input objects and toward the self as an active participant approach zero."<sup>28</sup> Greenberg accounts for the relationship between these variables and race by arguing that--

"life in the black community serves generally to convey to people that they have no control over their lives, surroundings or destinies. There is no reason to believe that attitudes toward government are different in any significant way. As in almost all other areas of their lives, government is seen as another institution beyond their immediate control."<sup>29</sup>

His explanation is compelling and seems equally applicable to the relationship between race and political efficacy in view of the similarity among the dependent variables, particularly efficacy and the subject -- participant orientation. These two points about blacks -- their historically enforced lack of political participation and their perceived limited control over their destinies -- provide a persuasive rationale for the hypothesis linking race and political efficacy.

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<sup>27</sup>Edward Greenberg, "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIV (May, 1970), p. 273.

<sup>28</sup>Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 19.

<sup>29</sup>Edward Greenberg, "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," loc. cit.

Even though its utility has been questioned,<sup>30</sup> the explanation for the positive correlation found between the second independent variable -- intelligence -- and political efficacy seems equally plausible. Before dealing with this thesis, however, it is necessary to review the empirical findings reported between these variables.

As noted previously, Easton and Dennis, White, and Hess and Torney find a positive relation between intelligence and political efficacy.<sup>31</sup> Yet the Harveys in their recent study find no interpretable association between these variables.<sup>32</sup> This apparent inconsistency can, however, be partially explained when three considerations are taken into account.<sup>33</sup> First, the former studies dealt primarily with pre-adolescents, while the Harveys' research focused on adolescents. It may be that during childhood political efficacy does vary according to intelligence but during adolescence other variables supplement the original influence of IQ.

Second, the Harveys' study utilized a different measure of political efficacy than that used by the other researchers. This was by virtue of the Harveys' use of: (1) only partial reliance

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<sup>30</sup>Robert Jackman, "A Note on Intelligence, Social Class and Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, 32 (November, 1970), p. 988.

<sup>31</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., p. 34; White, op. cit., p. 717; and Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>32</sup>Harvey and Harvey, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

on agree-disagree type scale items; (2) inclusion of the Civic Competence questions of The Civic Culture in this scale (tapping a very different political context); and (3) making the adolescent himself, along with his family, the reference point for the scale, rather than the family alone or people in general.

Third, the differences in results might be attributed to the significant differences in national political climate before, and then during, the War in Vietnam and the mid-1960's period of civil and racial conflict. As the Harveys put it, "while in the early 1960's the intelligent child may have felt efficacious, the conflict and strife of the mid-1960's may have made the intelligent adolescent (more observant and more fully aware of the complexity of the political situation) feel less able to present his views or have any impact on the political system."<sup>34</sup> Given these three conditions, the incongruity between the Harveys' finding and the other analyses on the relation between intelligence and political efficacy is somewhat more understandable.

The positive relationship between intelligence and political efficacy seems understandable in that "the brighter child, learning more about the world around him, should feel better able to cope with it."<sup>35</sup> Similarly, since intelligence plays a key role in all decision-making processes and learning, "the meanings of political symbols,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 583, 584.

<sup>35</sup>White, op. cit., p. 713.

the utility of political objects, the efficacy of different strategies, and the appropriateness of political roles may be understood and internalized differently by persons varying in intelligence."<sup>36</sup>

As these quotes suggest, probably two things are at work in this relationship.<sup>37</sup> One is the greater exposure potential of the child with higher intelligence. If the society is teaching that the individual has a role to play in politics, then the greater the mental capacity of the child the more easily will these cues filter through to him.

Secondly, the brighter child will probably enjoy a greater sense of general confidence and effectiveness. The fact that he is more efficacious is simply a logical extension of the feeling that he can cope successfully with the various aspects of his environment. As Easton and Dennis remark, "from this perspective his (the brighter child's) feeling that the ordinary member of the political system has influence is a natural accompaniment of his own greater ego strength and trust in his capacity to deal with the world."<sup>38</sup> When these two considerations are taken into account, it would only seem reasonable for intelligence to directly influence one's sense of political efficacy.

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<sup>36</sup>Harvey and Harvey, op. cit., p. 566.

<sup>37</sup>Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

The hypotheses suggested by the previous discussion can be stated as follows:

- (1) Race is related to political efficacy in that the black students should feel less efficacious than the white students.
- (2) Intelligence is positively related to political efficacy.

This conceptualization is multivariate in that two independent variables, race and intelligence, are posited as having an influence on the dependent variable, political efficacy. More particularly, one may inquire as to whether race and intelligence are independently related to political efficacy. For example, is there a positive relationship between intelligence and political efficacy for both the black and white students? Or conversely, should the race-political efficacy hypothesis hold even among students of similar intelligence?

As Greenstein has argued in a similar context, however, one can pursue the relative influence of independent variables only if it is plausible to assume that the variables in question are causally independent of one another.<sup>39</sup> Specifically, within the present context, it would be inappropriate to control for either race or intelligence if the actual causal sequence is either race → intelligence → political efficacy or intelligence → race → political efficacy. Although neither of these causal sequences has

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<sup>39</sup>See Fred I. Greenstein, "The Standing of Social and Psychological Variables: An Addendum to Jackman's Critique," Journal of Politics, 32 (November, 1970), pp. 989-992.

been seriously argued in the literature, a variant of them has been vigorously propounded. This variation argues that the 15 point mean difference typically found between black and white IQ scores is in part attributable to genetic differences between the races.<sup>40</sup> If this is indeed accurate, it, of course, makes little sense to institute controls for either of these variables. Although this is not the place to argue the merits of this thesis, two points should be made explicitly clear.

First, the preponderance of evidence still indicates that this 15 point IQ difference is probably the result of environmental rather than genetic factors.<sup>41</sup> Two recent studies provide some convincing evidence on this proposition. George Mayeske has concluded from a study of 124,000 grade school pupils that white and minority-group youngsters score almost identically on school achievement tests when environmental and social factors are statistically cancelled. Jane Mercer has also concluded her extensive investigation by

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<sup>40</sup>See, in particular, A. R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Education Review, 39 (1969), pp. 1-123; W. Shockley, "Negro IQ Deficit: Failure of a 'Malicious Allocation' Model Warrants New Research Proposals," Review of Educational Research, 41 (1971), pp. 227-248; and W. Shockley, "Models, Mathematics, and the Moral Obligation to Diagnose the Origin of Negro IQ Deficits," Review of Educational Research, 41 (October, 1971), pp. 369-377.

<sup>41</sup>See, in particular, I. I. Gottesman, "Biogenetics of Race and Social Class," Martin Deutsch, Irwin Katz, and Arthur R. Jensen (eds.), Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 46 and Bruce K. Eckland, "Genetics and Sociology: A Reconsideration," American Sociological Review, 32 (April, 1967), p. 191.

asserting that "the difference between the average test scores (IQ) of black and Chicano students and the scores of Anglo, middle-class students can be accounted for by environmental factors."<sup>42</sup>

The second point that should be emphasized is that given the present state of the research and the great difficulty -- or impossibility -- of sorting out the relative effects of genetic and environmental factors in the development of intelligence, it may be impossible at this time to attribute the 15 point IQ difference to genetic factors, environmental factors or a combination of the two.<sup>43</sup>

Since it is reasonable to assume that race and intelligence are causally independent of one another, an investigation of their relative impact on political efficacy is in order. The notion to be tested here is that since blacks as a group show lower intelligence scores than do whites, the relationship between race and political efficacy is a function of the relationship between race and intelligence on the one hand and intelligence and political efficacy on the other. In this case, it is postulated that intelligence rather than race is independently related to political efficacy. Specifically, one may hypothesize that--

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<sup>42</sup>Associated Press dispatch, The Times-Herald (Newport News, Virginia), September 4, 1971, p. 11.

<sup>43</sup>See, in particular, Richard J. Light and Paul V. Smith, "Statistical Issues in Social Allocation Models of Intelligence: A Review and a Response," Review of Educational Research, 41 (October, 1971), pp. 351-367; "Social Allocation Models of Intelligence: A Methodological Inquiry," Harvard Educational Review, 39 (1969), pp. 484-510; Jerry Hirsch, "Behavior-Genetic Analysis and Its Biosocial Consequences," Seminars in Psychiatry 2 (February, 1970), pp. 89-105; and James N. Spuhler and Gardner Lindzey, "Racial Differences in Behavior," Jerry Hirsch (ed.), Behavior-Genetic Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 366-414.

(3) Intelligence is positively related to political efficacy among both the black and white students.

(4) Race is not related to political efficacy when intelligence is held constant.

### III. Method and Data

To test the relative explanatory power of race and intelligence in explaining political efficacy, it was decided the subjects should be junior high school students. The research setting was an urban, middle-class area of eastern Virginia.

Questionnaires were administered to 427 students on April 2, 1971. Since it was necessary to obtain racial and intelligence data from school files, students affixed their names to the questionnaires. Six questionnaires were eliminated because of incomplete responses or lack of intelligence data, leaving a final sample of 421 students. The final sample consisted of 224 black students and 197 white students.

Specially trained graduate students rather than the regular classroom teachers administered the questionnaire. This was done primarily in order to impress upon the students that their responses to the items in the questionnaire would have nothing whatsoever to do with their school records. It was felt that this would allow the students to be more candid in responding to the various items and thus improve the general sensitivity and accuracy of the measuring instrument.



An important feature of the research setting was its total racial integration. The school from which the sample was drawn consisted of 52% blacks and 48% whites. More important, in both the black and white groups, intelligence was widely distributed. This keeps the independent variables statistically as well as conceptually distinct.

It should be emphasized that the selection of the sample was governed primarily by the criterion of attaining the greatest amount of variance on the variables under consideration. It should be also noted that while the sample is mainly a nonprobability one, it is assumed that the number of cases is large enough and selected in such a manner as to provide a legitimate test of the hypotheses.<sup>44</sup>

The dependent variable, political efficacy, is operationalized through the use of a five item index developed by Easton and Dennis.<sup>45</sup>

The items are as follows:

- (1) There are some big, powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.
- (2) My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

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<sup>44</sup>This sample is similar to the "scope" sample as discussed in David Willer, Scientific Sociology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), Chapter 6. For a recent example and discussion see Edward N. Muller, "The Representation of Citizens by Political Authorities: Consequences for Regime Support," American Political Science Review, LXIV (December, 1970), pp. 1149-1166, especially pp. 1152 and 1153.

<sup>45</sup>Easton and Dennis, op. cit., pp. 25-38. See page 30, Table 1, for the listing of the items.

(3) I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.

(4) Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

(5) What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather -- there is nothing people can do about it.

For each item the choice of responses is--

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) No opinion
- (4) Disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree

For all five items the least efficacious response is strongly agree (#1) and the most efficacious is strongly disagree (#5). To give each subject a total political efficacy score, his five responses are added together. This gives the respondent a final score somewhere within the total range of 5 to 25. The scoring procedure, therefore, weighs each item equally and assumes that the no opinion response is a valid midpoint for the scale.

In their choice of items to be included in the efficacy scale, Easton and Dennis relied primarily on factor analysis.<sup>46</sup> In order to make sure that the five items formed an adequate scale for the present sample, inter-item and item-total correlations were performed. All of the pairwise correlation coefficients are significant at the

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

.001 level. Table 4 indicates the item-total coefficients are in the range .54 to .70. Correlations of this magnitude suggest that while the individual items are sampling different properties of the underlying variable, they are related to the extent required for the formation of a single index.

The particular content of the index pertains to the responsiveness of officials (items 1 and 3), the autonomous power of ordinary people (items 2 and 4), and the (lack of) inevitability of government (item 5). In addition, it should be pointed out that the items refer directly neither to the respondent nor to other students. Rather, they ask the child to make judgments about adults generally and his family specifically (items 2 and 3). Such a phrasing of the items is necessitated because of a simple but compelling reason. It is highly unlikely that children perceive themselves as having power over such awesome figures as the President, Congress, or the Supreme Court -- some of the first concrete political objects to appear on their cognitive screens.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the index taps a highly significant attitudinal dimension of the pre-adult's political orientation in that "his capacity to think of adults in these terms represents a vital preparatory stage in his general political socialization."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," Roberta Sigel (ed.), "Political Socialization: Its Role in the Political Process," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 301 (1965), pp. 50-57.

<sup>48</sup>Easton and Dennis, "The Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," op. cit., p. 32.

Table 4

Item - Total Correlations (Pearson's r) for the  
Political Efficacy Items

	<u>Total Index</u>
1. There are some big, powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.	.62
2. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.	.54
3. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.	.65
4. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.	.70
5. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather -- there is nothing people can do about it.	.58

Since the items are worded in the same direction, it might seem that they are subject to response set. Although this possibility cannot be discounted entirely, three factors militate against it. First, the items are negatively stated thus making it harder for children who will agree to almost anything that "sounds" right.<sup>49</sup> Second, the respondents are specifically instructed to respond to each question individually. Moreover, the efficacy index is part of a comprehensive questionnaire which includes some 56 items varying in format. Finally, previous studies utilizing this political efficacy index have not found response set to be an unmanageable problem.

Information on the independent variable, race, is attained through the use of school files rather than having it as an item on the questionnaire. This is done for the simple reason that other items on the questionnaire probed racial feelings and it is felt that asking respondents about their racial identification could bias their responses to these items.

The second independent variable, intelligence, is operationalized through the use of the Verbal California Test of Mental Maturity. Use of VCTMM is partially prescribed, since its use is standard in the school system being studied. Its use in the study, however, is not purely expedient. The VCTMM is widely used in American schools and is, according to test reviews in the Fourth Mental Measurement Yearbook, characterized by extensive evidence of reliability

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

and validity. VCTMM's validity is evidenced by its similarity to the Stanford-Binet test and it provides reliability coefficients in the .92 to .95 range.<sup>50</sup>

Verbal reasoning is used as the indicator of intelligence rather than other relevant measures because of two primary reasons. First, it correlates with the general factor of intelligence more highly than do the other measures of mental ability.<sup>51</sup> Second, "the processes of political thought and behavior are primarily verbal thought processes, and as such highly dependent upon capacities for explication and manipulation of verbalized concepts and symbols."<sup>52</sup>

Finally, note must be taken that this research is conducted within an ex post facto correlational design. As such, even if an impressive correlation is found between intelligence and political efficacy, for example, there is no basis for asserting a causal relationship between these variables. It could easily be that a third variable is causing the covariance between intelligence and political efficacy. This gets to the crux of the problem: since the independent variable, intelligence, cannot be manipulated and relevant third variables thereby controlled, plausible alternative explanations for the variability in political efficacy cannot be

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<sup>50</sup>Oscar K. Buros (ed.), The Fourth Mental Measurement Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1953), p. 282.

<sup>51</sup>David Wechsler, The Measurement and Appraisal of Adult Intelligence (1958), pp. 85, 98 and 212-334.

<sup>52</sup>Harvey and Harvey, op. cit., p. 575.

refuted. The fact that in this particular design controls are introduced for each of the independent variables means only that one of a number of other plausible explanations has been controlled.

However, even though correlation does not indicate causation, causation does imply correlation. In the words of Campbell and Stanley correlational designs "are relevant to causal hypotheses inasmuch as they expose them to disconfirmation."<sup>53</sup> If, for example, there is approximately a zero correlation between race and political efficacy, the causal hypothesis linking race and political efficacy is thereby disconfirmed. If, on the other hand, there is a high correlation, then "the credibility of the hypothesis is strengthened in that it has survived a chance of disconfirmation."<sup>54</sup> In sum, the point that needs to be emphasized is that the design is adequate for the purpose to which it is being used -- which is the probing of causal explanations by rejecting inadequate hypotheses.

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<sup>53</sup>Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 64.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

CHAPTER V  
HYPOTHESES AND DATA

Hypothesis 1 - Race is related to political efficacy in that the black students are less efficacious than the white students.

As Table 5 indicates, the black students in the sample do score lower than the whites on the political efficacy scale. The respective means are 14.6 for the black students and 15.7 for the white students.

Table 5  
Mean Scores for Black and White Students  
on the Political Efficacy Scale<sup>a</sup>

<u>Blacks</u>	n	<u>Whites</u>	n
14.6	(224)	15.7	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Statistically significant at .005 level, using one-tailed test; null hypothesis is  $\mu_1 = \mu_2$ ;  $t = 2.97$ ;  $df = 419$ .

Using a difference of means test,<sup>1</sup> the difference is statistically significant at the .005 level. This indicates the mean difference in the sample would occur only five times in a thousand by chance if there were in fact no difference whatsoever in the population. A significant level of this magnitude strongly suggests that there does indeed exist a general relationship in the direction predicted

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of this significance test see Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 170-176.



between race and a sense of political efficacy. A somewhat clearer picture of the relationship is provided in Table 6.

Table 6

Association Between Race and Political Efficacy

<u>Political Efficacy</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Blacks</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Low	29.9	(59)	39.7	(89)
Medium	28.5	(56)	28.6	(64)
High	41.6	(82)	31.7	(71)
Total	100.0	(197)	100.0	(224)

Table 6 is a crosstabulation of political efficacy by race. For this and other tables the political efficacy index has been trichotomized into nearly equal groupings: low, medium, and high political efficacy. As the row marginals indicate, 148 or 35% of the respondents are low in political efficacy, 120 or 29% are medium in political efficacy, and 153 or 36% of the respondents can be considered high in political efficacy. Although this procedure has the disadvantage of obscuring inter-sample comparisons, it is a useful way of analyzing intra-sample variables with which this study is centrally concerned.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>See Oliver Benson, Political Science Laboratory (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969), p. 238.

It is clear from Table 6 that the black students are indeed less politically efficacious than the white students. For example, while 40% of the black students are low in political efficacy, only 30% of the white students can be so characterized. Similarly, 42% of the whites, but only 32% of the blacks, are high in political efficacy. The summary correlation between these variables is .14 (Pearson's product-moment)<sup>3</sup>, which indicates race accounts for about 2% of the variance in political efficacy.

A more detailed investigation of the political efficacy scale, however, provides some interesting information about the race-efficacy hypothesis. Table 7 specifies that while 57% of the black students either strongly agree or agree with the statement, "There are some big, powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people," only 44% of the white students do so. On the other hand, 41% of the whites either strongly disagree or disagree with the item while only 25% of the blacks respond similarly. On four of the five political efficacy items, the distribution of responses is similar in that the white students are consistently more efficacious than the black students. This is fully displayed in Tables 7 to 10. However, as Table 11 demonstrates, the blacks are more efficacious than the whites on the item, "My family doesn't have any say about what the government does." On

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<sup>3</sup>Use of Pearson's  $r$  with a nominally measured variable like race is somewhat unusual. However, as some researchers have recently pointed, if the nominal variable is dichotomous, then the interpretation of  $r$  is fairly straightforward. See W. Phillips Shively, "'Ecological' Inference: The Use of Aggerate Data to Study Individuals," American Political Science Review, LXIII (December, 1969), p. 1186, particularly footnote 9 and Ida W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review, LXIV (June, 1970), pp. 389-410.

this particular item, 23% of the black students either strongly agree or agree with it, while 28% of the white students do so. Conversely, 64% of the blacks and 58% of the whites either strongly disagree or disagree with the statement. This suggests that if the latter item had been deleted from the scale, the correlation between race and the political efficacy index would have been somewhat strengthened.

Nevertheless, when all five items are used for the scale, it is most accurate to conclude that although the relationship is not particularly strong, Hypothesis 1 linking race and political efficacy is adequately confirmed by the sample data.

Table 7

Responses to the political efficacy item: "There are some big, powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people" by race.

<u>Response</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Whites</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Agree <sup>a</sup>	57	(128)	44	(86)
No opinion	18	(40)	15	(30)
Disagree <sup>b</sup>	25	(56)	41	(81)
Total	100	(224)	100	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Agree refers to responses strongly agree and agree.

<sup>b</sup>Disagree refers to responses strongly disagree and disagree.

Table 8

Responses to the political efficacy item: "I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think" by race.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Whites</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Agree <sup>a</sup>	50	(113)	41	(81)
No opinion	22	(49)	19	(38)
Disagree <sup>b</sup>	28	(62)	40	(78)
Total	100	(224)	100	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Agree refers to responses strongly agree and agree.

<sup>b</sup>Disagree refers to responses strongly disagree and disagree.

Table 9

Responses to the political efficacy item: "Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government" by race.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Whites</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Agree <sup>a</sup>	47	(105)	38	(75)
No opinion	16	(37)	14	(27)
Disagree <sup>b</sup>	37	(82)	48	(95)
Total	100	(224)	100	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Agree refers to responses strongly agree and agree.

<sup>b</sup>Disagree refers to responses strongly disagree and disagree.

Table 10

Responses to the political efficacy item: "What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather -- there is nothing people can do about it" by race.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Whites</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Agree <sup>a</sup>	38	(85)	28	(55)
No opinion	17	(37)	15	(29)
Disagree <sup>b</sup>	45	(102)	57	(113)
Total	100	(224)	100	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Agree refers to responses strongly agree and agree.

<sup>b</sup>Disagree refers to responses strongly disagree and disagree.

Table 11

Responses to the political efficacy item: "My family doesn't have any say about what the government does" by race.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Race</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Whites</u>	
	%	n	%	n
Agree <sup>a</sup>	23	(51)	28	(56)
No opinion	13	(30)	14	(27)
Disagree <sup>b</sup>	64	(143)	58	(114)
Total	100	(224)	100	(197)

<sup>a</sup>Agree refers to responses strongly agree and agree.

<sup>b</sup>Disagree refers to responses strongly disagree and disagree.

Hypothesis 2 - Intelligence is positively related to political efficacy.

Hypothesis 2 suggests there should be a strong positive relationship between intelligence and sense of political efficacy. Trichotomizing the intelligence scale and crosstabulating it with the political efficacy index provides evidence for this hypothesis. As Table 12 clearly indicates, there is a strong positive relationship between these variables. Incidence of high political efficacy increases in a steady manner as intelligence increases: from 22% in the low intelligence group to 51% in the high intelligence group. Similarly, incidence of low political efficacy declines in a fairly steady manner as intelligence increases: from 47% in the low intelligence group to 20% in the high intelligence group. The overall correlation between these variables is .29, indicating that about 8% of the variance in political efficacy is associated with variation in intelligence. Moreover, an investigation of the relationship between intelligence and each item of the political efficacy scale (not shown) indicates that there exists a positive relationship between intelligence and political efficacy for all five of the items as well as the entire scale. In short, Hypothesis 2 is collaborated by the data.

Table 12

## Association Between Intelligence and Political Efficacy

<u>Political Efficacy</u>	<u>Low</u>		<u>Intelligence Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Low	46.5	(66)	38.0	(54)	20.4	(28)
Medium	31.7	(45)	25.4	(36)	28.5	(39)
High	21.8	(31)	36.6	(52)	51.1	(70)
Total	100.0	(142)	100.0	(142)	100.0	(137)

$\chi^2$  goodness of fit = 31.390  $p < .001$

Hypothesis 3 - Intelligence is positively related to political efficacy among both the black and white students.

Hypothesis 3 suggests the positive relationship between intelligence and political efficacy should hold for both the white and black students. Attention is first directed to the white sub-sample. As Table 13 demonstrates, of those white students low in intelligence, 45% are low in political efficacy, as compared to 17% of those high in intelligence. Similarly, while only 19% of the whites low in intelligence are high in political efficacy, 54% of those high in intelligence are high in political efficacy.

Table 13

## Association Between Intelligence and Political Efficacy

## Among the White Students

<u>Political Efficacy</u>	<u>Low</u>		<u>Intelligence Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Low	44.7	(21)	36.5	(23)	17.2	(15)
Medium	36.2	(17)	22.2	(14)	28.8	(25)
High	19.1	(9)	41.3	(26)	54.0	(47)
Total	100.0	(47)	100.0	(63)	100.0	(87)

$\chi^2$  goodness of fit = 19.768  $p < .001$

The relationship between intelligence and political efficacy for the black students is similar to that for the whites (see Table 14). Among black students low in intelligence, the proportion high in political efficacy is 23% yet this increases steadily to 46% among those high in intelligence. Correspondingly, the incidence of low political efficacy declines steadily as intelligence increases: from 47% among those low in intelligence to 26% among those high in intelligence.

The summary correlation between intelligence and political efficacy is .32 for the white students and .20 for the blacks. Thus, intelligence accounts for more of the variation in political efficacy among the whites ( $r^2 = .1024$ ) than it does among the black students ( $r^2 = .04$ ).



Table 14

## Association Between Intelligence and Political Efficacy

## Among the Black Students

<u>Political Efficacy</u>	<u>Low</u>		<u>Intelligence Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Low	47.4	(45)	39.2	(31)	26.0	(13)
Medium	29.4	(28)	27.9	(22)	28.0	(14)
High	23.2	(22)	32.9	(26)	46.0	(23)
Total	100.0	(95)	100.0	(79)	100.0	(50)

$\chi^2$  goodness of fit = 9.269  $p < .05$

While this may be of theoretical interest in itself, the most important point as far as Hypothesis 3 is concerned is that among both racial groups there is a positive relationship between intelligence and sense of political efficacy.

Hypothesis 4 - Race is not related to political efficacy when intelligence is held constant.

Hypothesis 4 inquires as to whether race is related to political efficacy independently of intelligence. The partial correlation coefficient between race and political efficacy when intelligence is controlled is .06 ( $r^2 = .0036$ ). That is, when intelligence is controlled, the strength of the relationship between race and political efficacy drops to less than one-fifth of its initial potency ( $r = .14$ ,  $r^2 = .02$ ). An investigation of the crosstabulations

of each intelligence group (low, medium, and high) by race and political efficacy (not shown) indicates there is literally no black-white difference in the low intelligence group and only a slight racial difference in the medium and high intelligence groups. However, neither of these relationships is statistically significant at even the .25 level. Thus, given similar intellectual attainment, the black students feel hardly any less politically efficacious than do the white students. Hypothesis 4 is, therefore, adequately supported by the sample data.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Four fundamental conclusions are supported by the foregoing analysis. First, this study finds that there is a positive and fairly substantial relationship between intelligence and sense of political efficacy. This study thus supports the intelligence-political efficacy findings reported in the Easton and Dennis, White, and Hess and Torney studies.<sup>1</sup> It was pointed out earlier that the incongruity between these findings and the non-relationship found by the Harveys<sup>2</sup> could be due to three factors: (1) a different scale was used to measure political efficacy; (2) the other studies dealt with children while the Harveys focused on adolescents; and (3) a change in the political orientation of students making the more highly intelligent no more efficacious than other students. On the basis of the present evidence, the first factor seems notably important. That is, it seems one of the main factors confounding

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<sup>1</sup>David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), p. 34; Elliott S. White, "Intelligence and Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, 30 (August, 1968), p. 177; and Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 149.

<sup>2</sup>S. K. Harvey and T. H. Harvey, "Adolescent Political Outlooks: The Effects of Intelligence as an Independent Variable," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIV (November, 1970), p. 583.

the congruence between the Harveys' finding and those reported in the other studies is the former's use of a different measuring instrument.

The second conclusion that should be emphasized is that not only is intelligence and sense of political efficacy positively related for the whole sample, but that the relationship also holds for both the black and white students. To the author's knowledge, this is the first reported evidence indicating the intelligence-political efficacy relationship is viable among black students just as it is among whites.

The third point has to do with racial difference in political efficacy. This analysis supports the findings reported by Lyons, and Langton and Jennings that black students are significantly less politically efficacious than whites.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the fourth conclusion has to do with an answer to the question, "Why are the black students less efficacious than the whites?" Although there are many reasonable responses to this inquiry, the one supported by this study is that the difference in sense of political efficacy between black and white students can

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<sup>3</sup>Schley R. Lyons, "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children: Efficacy and Cynicism," Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), pp. 295, 296 and Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, LXII (September, 1968), p. 860.

be largely explained by the racial difference in intelligence. That is, when intelligence is held constant, the black students are hardly any less efficacious than the whites. It should also be noted that the racial difference in IQ probably reflects the environmental advantage that whites have in relation to blacks in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Three theoretical implications are suggested by the findings reported in this study. First, although the black and white students in this study differ significantly in sense of political efficacy, the difference does not seem to be as pronounced as that reported in earlier studies.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this reflects the fact that the setting for the present study is more racially integrated than that of previous studies. That is, perhaps the greater interaction between black and white students provided in a highly integrated setting tends to diminish the racial difference with respect to sense of political efficacy. Clearly, this hypothesis is speculative, but it would seem to be a fruitful one for future exploration.

The second and third theoretical implications of this study revolve around the finding that intelligence holds significant explanatory potency as an influence on the development of sense of political efficacy among these junior highschoolers. First, the relationship seems to indicate that the cognitive-developmental approach to socialization offers a viable explanation for the learning of certain political phenomena. A basic principle of the cognitive-developmental model is that the greater the cognitive

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<sup>4</sup>See the studies reported in Chapter 4, footnotes 41 and 42 for evidence supporting this proposition.

<sup>5</sup>Lyons, loc. cit., and Langton and Jennings, loc. cit.

capacity of the individual, the more completely are complex and abstract concepts grasped.<sup>6</sup> If intelligence can be thought of as a crude indicator of cognitive capacity,<sup>7</sup> then the finding that intelligence significantly effects the acquisition of multi-dimensional attitudes like political efficacy is consistent with this explanation.

The final theoretical implication suggested by this study has been well stated by the Harveys -- "The independent and powerful impact of intelligence on adolescent political behavior suggests considerable importance of biological or partially biological determinants of political behavior."<sup>8</sup> Much more that it is interrelated with personality, intelligence would seem to be

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<sup>6</sup>See Hess and Torney, op. cit., pp. 21, 22.

<sup>7</sup>For a discussion of this problem see Charles F. Andrain, Children and Awareness: A Study in Political Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 91-100.

<sup>8</sup>Harvey and Harvey, op. cit., p. 592.

effected by biological factors, for example, characteristics of the parents.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, alcohol, dietary habits and a variety of drugs seem to have a pronounced influence on intellectual abilities.<sup>10</sup>

This does not mean, of course, that environmental factors are of only minor importance -- after all, there is a wealth of evidence indicating they have a marked influence on measured intelligence.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>See, for example, L. Erlenmeyer-Kimling and Lissy F. Jarvik, "Genetics and Intelligence: A Review," Science, 142 (December 13, 1963), pp. 1477-1479; J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961); Irving I. Gottesman, "Genetic Aspects of Intellectual Behavior," Norman Ellis (ed.), Handbook of Mental Deficiency: Psychological Theory and Research (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), pp. 253-296; and Cyril Burt, "The Inheritance of Mental Ability," American Psychologist, 13 (1958), pp. 1-15.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, M. Frankenhaeuser, A. L. Myrsten, and C. Jarpe, "Effects of a Moderate Dose of Alcohol on Intellectual Functions," Psychopharmacology, 3 (1962), pp. 344-351; E. M. Jelleink and R. A. McFarland, "Analysis of Psychological Experiments on the Effects of Alcohol," Quarterly Journal of Alcohol (1940), pp. 272-371; E. Levine, H. A. Abramson, M. R. Kauffman, and S. Markham, "Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (LSD-25): XVI: The Effects on Intellectual Functioning as Measured by the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale," Journal of Psychology, 40 (1955), pp. 385-395; L. James and L. F. Petrinovich, "Effects of Drugs on Learning and Memory," International Review of Neurobiology, 8 (1965), pp. 139-196; R. A. McCance, "Overnutrition and Undernutrition: II. Effects," The Lancet, 265 (October 10, 1953); H. Guetzkow and J. Brozek, "Intellectual Functions with Restricted Intakes of B-Complex Vitamins," American Journal of Psychology, 59 (1946), pp. 358-381; "Effects of Treatment of Phenylketonuria," Nutrition Review, 26 (May, 1968), p. 137; and "Diet and the Central Nervous System," Proceedings of the Nutrition Society, 27 (1968), pp. 83-112.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, Benjamin S. Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: Wiley, 1964); David Goslin, The Search for Ability (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963); Bernard Farber, "Social Class and Intelligence," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 215-225; and H. E. Jones, "The Environment and Mental Development," L. Carmichael (ed.), Manual of Child Psychology (1954), pp. 631-696.

As Professor Somit has remarked in a similar context, the objective is to appreciate the significance of genetic factors, "not to replace one form of determinism with another."<sup>12</sup>

In sum, this study suggests intelligence can be usefully conceptualized as a complex intervening variable: the product of biological-environmental factors and a significant influence on certain aspects of political behavior, including a sense of political efficacy.

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<sup>12</sup>Albert Somit, "Toward a More Biologically Oriented Political Science: Ethology and Psychopharmacology," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (November, 1968), p. 561.



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