STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIATING EFFECT OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND INTERNET USE VARIABLES ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVIC EDUCATION AND DISCURSIVE PARTICIPATION: THE CASE OF KIDS VOTING WESTERN NEW YORK

by

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To my wife, Jin In Han, and my sons, Yeon Sik and Ahn Sik, for their support and patience--without which this dissertation could not have been written.

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Abstract

Currently, researchers in social science are concerned about the potential future of the American democracy and the decline in the quality of democratic citizenship as well as political participation. Many studies indicate that these problems of political apathy and cynicism are particularly serious among young people today. They are less interested in public issues than any previous generation. They normally participated less than older adults in the civic engagement.

Given this situation, most researchers consider these patterns as an important theme to be explained, including the causes and consequences of youth political apathy and cynicism. Recognizing the seriousness of this trend, both the theory and practice of citizenship and political participation in the quality of the American democracy have been among the most important themes in social science

This study addresses the roles played by political discussion and the Internet in youth political processes from the perspective of deliberative democracy theory. Theories of deliberative democracy may help explain why young people are consistently less interested in political participation and also provide a heuristic model for improvement. Given various effects of civic education and the role of the mass media, this study posed the main question: What are the deliberative potentials of political talk and Internet use for deliberative democracy?

Using structural equation modeling, this study tests a model involving relationships between political discussion and Internet use, as well as discursive participation in politically related activities in the context of education for citizenship. More specifically, it is to test whether the relationship between civic education and

political participation is direct or mediated by discursive variables and to detect how such a mediating process might operate. The data come from a survey of 362 school children, grades 5-12, in a northeastern urban school district at Buffalo, NY.

Findings show that the relationship between civic education and political participation can be better understood as being mediated by discursive variables rather than direct. Findings also reveal that discursivity can be related to political participation. In addition, all research variables were related more strongly to communication variables such as political discussion than to the Internet variables.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Democracy requires that every citizen is eligible for participating in civic and political realms and needs to actively seek information about public issues. The Good Citizen's Handbook (2001) indicates that a good citizen is "...well-informed and interested regarding the problems of his city, state, and nation. He takes advantage of every means to increase his knowledge of the needs of his city, his state, and his nation (p. 12). Here, a good citizen is an informed and engaged citizen. The informed citizen needs to be identified as a necessary condition for political participation about public issues (Schroll, 1999; Schudson, 1998).

Recent research on democracy recognizes the unique function of a political talk and deliberation on the likelihood of political participation among citizens, specifically for facilitating non-traditional participation. Dahlgren (2002) indicates that current theories of democracy have treated "communicative interaction among citizens as a central element. Talk among citizens is seen as fundamentals to-- and expression of -- their participation...Talk is seen as constitutive of publics, which is both morally and functionally vital for democracy" (p. 6).

Theories of democracy, therefore, have focused on making a good citizen and facilitating discursive participation in the political process (Bessette, 1980, 1994; Blaug, 1996; Dryzek, 2000). Deliberative democracy is an important alternative theory to both liberal democracy and civic republicanism as advocated by several leading political theorists. Specifically, Habermas (1998) has developed what he calls a discourse ethics theory of democracy and "deliberative politics" (p.241). Kim et al. (1999) defined

deliberative democracy as "a process where citizens voluntarily and freely participate in discussions on public issues." and more precisely, as "a process where citizens share information about political affairs, talk politics, form opinions, and participate in political process" (p. 361). Participation, therefore, is assumed the communication structure in which the discussion takes place and discursive participation can be defined as a meaningful communicative action toward a political process.

Recently scholars emphasize the development of deliberative citizenship that is core in recent theories of deliberative democracy. They agree that deliberative democracy can facilitate deliberative attitudes and civility among citizens that is based on the need for civic education. Here, civic education focuses on the communicative or deliberative power (Englund, 2000; Gutmann & Thomson, 1996). Deliberative democracy needs socialization for citizenship.

Currently, researchers in social science are concerned about the potential future of the American democracy and the decline in the quality of democratic citizenship as well as political participation (Newman, 1986; Schudson, 1998). Nino (1996) argues that "political apathy in significant sectors of the citizenry is obnoxious to democracy, since relevant interests and opinions will not be considered" (p. 154). But people lack interest and motivation to participate. For instance, voter turnout was 51.2 percent in the 2000 presidential election among all eligible Americans. Voter turnout has been this low since 1960 (Cooper, 2000). In addition to political apathy and low voter turnout, they are not willing to involve in politically related activities including attending town meetings related to community and working with political candidates (See Verba et al., 1995).

While political participation among all age groups has been declining, American young people have become less informed, less interested and less involved in the civic and political realms or voting over the past few decades (Bennet, 1997; Bennet, 1998; Bennett & Bennett, 1990; Delli Carpini, 1996, 2000; Rahn & Transue, 1998). Many studies indicate that these problems of political apathy and cynicism are particularly serious among young people today. They are less interested in public issues than any previous generation. They normally participated less than older adults in the civic engagement (Bennett & Bennett, 1990; Bennett & Rademacher, 1997; Conover & Searing 1994; Barber, 1992; Time Mirror Center for the People and the Press, 1990).

For instance, while 49.6 percent of 18-to 24 year-olds exercised their right to vote in 1972, when they are first eligible to participate, only 32.3 percent of the eligible young voters participated in 2000 presidential election (Federal Election Commission, 2003; U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Specifically, in the empirical research, a couple of survey reports found that most eligible young people are disengaged from civic or political realms. For instance, they report American young people today 'lack interest, trust and knowledge about American politics.

Many scholars have focused on how to explain the origins of these problems among all eligible Americans, in general and among young people in specific. There are three competing explanation for increasing political apathy and declining political participation.

First, Putnam (1995, 2000) clearly argues that America's civic life has experienced a severe decline in social capital, and then he also recognizes that mass media, especially television, has caused political malaise. For the theory of video-

malaise (Norris, 1999), numerous studies show that there are some negative relationship between media use and political participation. Especially, most critics focus on television use, which is linked with political malaise. For instance, these include declining levels of political knowledge, political trust, and social capital (Putnam, 1995, 2000).

Second, other possible explanations show that such trends are related to decline of newspaper leadership (Cobb 1986 as cited in Chaffee & Yang, 1990) which is linked with low levels of political knowledge (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; MacManus, 1996), along with declining their trust in political institutions and in the mass media (Buckingham, 1997; Capella & Hall Jamieson, 1997). Newspaper readership among the young has declined and then has influenced on levels of political knowledge of basic facts about the political system are at an all-time low (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996).

A final explanation for declining levels of political participation can be found in the decline levels of political talk. Most studies focus on the importance of political talk for a healthy democracy (Schudson, 1997). But American young people have become less involved in political talk over the past few decades. The New York Times (03/23/02) reported about emerging millennium generations. The article title is "Debate? Dissent? Discussion? Oh, Don't go there!" It also indicates that levels of political talk are strongly related to political apathy and cynicism.

These study shows that the decline of youth participation can be brought by the low levels of political involvement, the increase of TV use, the decline of newspaper readership, and the decline of political talk. In the end, this attitude can be observed in their declining interest in participation in politics, particularly low voter turnout (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995) and in other political activities including writing a letters to

candidates, attending a public meeting, taking part in a public demonstration, and working in political campaigns.

Given this situation, most researchers consider these patterns as an important theme to be explained, including the causes and consequences of youth political apathy and cynicism. Recognizing the seriousness of this trend, both the theory and practice of citizenship and political participation in the quality of the American democracy have been among the most important themes in social science. Such patterns are a source of considerable concern across many academia including political socialization, civic education, and participation scholars about different point of views of the theory and practice of citizenship and participation (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995).

Political socialization scholars are concerned with how young people develop their civic attitudes and behaviors toward their political system. However, past research failed to explain the roles of civic education in the political socialization of young people (Galston, 2001). Conover and Searing (1994) propose that political socialization research need to back to citizenship study. Given this perspectives, most scholars examine the effects of civic education that should be related the debate of political socialization study (Chaffee et al., 1995a, 1995b; McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998, 2000, 2002; McLeod, 1998; Saphir & Chaffee, 2000; Simon & Merrill, 1997).

Civic education research indicates that civic education program might play an important role in diminishing civic apathy and that adolescents can be socialized to more participatory lifestyles (Galston, 2001; Gutmann & Thomson, 1996). They argue that civic education can reconnect young people to civic and political participation against the

rooted political apathy and cynicism. According to Bentham and Mill, education "...was the major way of ensuring responsible political participation" (cited from Pateman, 1970, p. 31).

Currently, an education-oriented research has risen. Nie et al. (1996) argue that there are strong relationship between education and political participation and more closely, between education and democratic citizenship (see also Almond & Verba, 1963; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). This renewed attention to civic education plays a significant role in the overall process of political socialization of young people.

Past political participation scholars are concerned with how each citizen's socioeconomic status (SES) influences their political behavior, such as voting. They argue that individual's socioeconomic position is one of most important factors for explaining each citizen's political behaviors (Milbrath, 1965; Verba & Nie, 1972). In response to the problems of these traditional models in political participation research, some scholars use a number of intervening variables including political efficacy, political involvement, and resources (Verba & Nie, 1972; Milbrath & Goel, 1977). Others focus on the potential effects of education (Almond & Verba, 1963; Nie et al. 1996; Wolfinger & Rosenston, 1980). They examined the role of civic education as an important factor to boost political socialization and participation.

Recent research on political participation recognizes the role of mass media, the Internet, and deliberation on the likelihood of political participation, specifically for facilitating non-traditional participation (McLeod et al., 1999b).

First, the effects of mass media are one of important independent variables mediated by political efficacy, political knowledge, and political involvement on political

participation. For the theory of video-malaise, numerous studies show that there are some negative relationship between media use and political participation and information richness (Becker & Whitney, 1980). Although, there are some conflicting views on the effects of the news media on political communication or political behavior, news media still are very important factors to shape citizens' political participation attitudes, specifically for younger people (Norris et al., 1999).

Most scholars confirm that the news media, as a political socialization agent, play an important role in shaping children' political attitudes (Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, 1970; see Simon & Merrill, 1997 for a summary, pp. 308-311). Other studies point out that the news media are important sources for learning about current public issues (Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, 1970) and play a central role in increasing political knowledge (Atkin, 1978; Conway et al., 1981; Drew & Reeves, 1980; Drew & Reese, 1984; Garramone, 1983, Rubin, 1978; see Eveland et al., 1998 for a summary, pp. 700-701). Especially, the news media play an important role in contacting political world among the youth (Drew & Reeves, 1980). Simon and Merrill (1997) confirm that the roles of the news media function "...as a general information source...and a civics function in supplying specific information on voting and government" (p. 309).

Second, the Internet almost always has both positive and negative effects on political participation and democracy. Norris (1999) proposes two competing perspectives about the potential role for facilitating political participation through the Internet. On the one hand "mobilization theories" propose that Internet use will facilitate political participation. On the other hand "reinforcement theories" suggest that use of the

Internet will "strengthen, but not radically transform, existing patterns of political participation" (p. 72).

Most empirical and non-empirical studies argue that Internet use has some indirect effects among motivated and informed and also there are some limitations for the role of the Internet in facilitating democratic citizenship (Bimber, 2001; Davis & Owen, 1998; Delli Carpini & Williams, 2001; Johnson & Kaye, 1998; DiMaggio et al. 2001; Graber and White, 1999; Sadow and James, 1999; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2001; Selnow, 1998). In addition, there have been some speculations about whether computer-mediated communication (CMC) affects democracy based on the revitalization of the public sphere.

Whether or not the Internet facilitates political participation among the youth, for a decade, new communication technologies including the Internet spread widely among children and adolescents. Generally speaking, their computer use is increasing (for a summary, see Paik, 2001, Subrahmanyam et al., 2001; Tarpley, 2001). Therefore, one can assume that the Internet becomes as important news sources and then at least tends to complement rather than substitute for traditional media and patterns of political behavior (DiMaggio et al., 2001).

Third, deliberation is one of important themes in political participation research (Page, 1996). Deliberation can be realized into political talk or discussion. Recently McLeod et al. (1999b) are interested in examining the role of interpersonal discussion for facilitating political participation. They propose that political participation can be categorized as traditional participation and deliberative participation (i.e., non-traditional participation). These studies focus on how interpersonal discussion influences on non-traditional area of political participation.

They all shared the overlapping concerns about improving U.S. democracy, which means that they are fighting the trend of declining civic cultures among U.S. populations. However, there have been relatively little interdisciplinary efforts among these fields. Therefore, beyond traditional political socialization research, it is argued that new type of socialization research is needed in the context of political participation and civic education mediated by traditional media, the Internet, and deliberation. These approaches provide us with more comprehensive understanding about making a good citizenship and civic engagement among the youth.

Recently, the problem of political apathy among citizens has become an important issue within theories of deliberative democracy. This political theory provides us with studying issues of citizenship and participation in the framework of empirical and theoretical researches. As a theoretical approach for participatory democracy, theories of deliberative democracy may help explain why young people are consistently less interested in political participation and also provide a heuristic model for improvement.

One of the most striking features of deliberative democracy has focused on reasoned public deliberation about the civic and political issues. However, while many scholars agree that the existence of deliberation is essential to a democratic politics, there is a considerable split about what deliberative democracy means and are a few research about why it is valuable against the political apathy among citizens. Dahlgren (2002) argues that "there have been few empirical studies directly building upon the specific concept of deliberative democracy"

Although there are a number of different definitions about deliberative democracy, this study focuses on "the role of open discussion, the importance of citizen participation,

and the existence of a well-functioning public sphere" (Gimmler, 2001, p. 23; for a review, Benhabib, 1994, 1996; Bohman, 1998; Bohman & Rehg, 1997; Dryzek, 1990; Elster, 1998; Gastil, 1994; Habermas, 1998; Page, 1996; Sanders, 1997). Thus, models for deliberative democracy emphasize the importance of developing "communicative and deliberative capabilities for democracy" (Englund, 2000, p. 306).

From this perspective, then, both political talk and new communication technology appear to be seen as a necessary condition for achieving a good citizenship and facilitating political participation. There are a few who suggest that the potential roles of both factors in terms of deliberative democracy (Scheufele, 2001; Scheufele & Nisbet 2001). Therefore, we are asking the main question: What is the deliberative potential of political talk and new communication technology for enhancing civic engagement in the effects of civic education?

The Purpose of the Study

This review of the research on the problems threatening the American democracy--namely, the apathy and cynicism of its citizens--shows that an extensive amount of theory and research has focused on explaining the origins and the solutions of these phenomena. Yet, in trying to understand the origins of political apathy and cynicism, surprisingly little attention has been paid as of late to the procedures of the making of engaged citizens and to the question of the political socialization of young people.

Habermas's idea of discursive democracy provides an appealing model to analyze about this process. This study constructs a discursively oriented participatory model which involves relationships between communication, traditional and Internet use, as well as participation in politically related activities in the context of education for

citizenship. This will provide us with a better understanding of the processes leading up to participation in political activities.

This study explores how to facilitate political participation and citizenship among the youth. First, this study explores the effects of media use and civic education on the various deliberative forms of political participation. Both variables influence political participation indirectly, mediated by intervening variables, political talk and Internet use. Second, it goes beyond simple direct links to examine the roles of political talk and new communication technology in the political process among the youth, from the perspective of deliberative democracy theory.

Therefore, civic education project is to provide insight into this problem. In particular, this project needs renewed focus on the specific politically relevant attitudes and orientations of young people within a framework of a deliberative citizenship. Civic intervention program is especially important to political participation because it motivates media use, facilitating political talk and informed participation via Internet use. Participants are encouraged to use more television and newspaper news about public affairs and elections.

The main goal of the Kids Voting USA (KVUSA) that produces school curriculum is to boost youths' voter turnout by encouraging them to talk about elections and politics (Merrill et al., 1994). Research found that KVUSA plays an important role in reducing political apathy and cynicism among children and adolescents. KVUSA is a non-profit, non-partisan, schools and communities-based organization for securing the future of democracy and boosting democratic citizenship in the election process before they reach voting age (Eagles & Jacobson, 1999; Simon & Merrill, 1998). To secure

participatory democracy, KVUSA is a program that works with community, school, and family to deliver democratic values to kids and youth. Research into KVUSA's effectiveness has established a variety of positive impacts. The current study builds on an expands this previous work, focusing on the ways that civic education can influence discursivity mediated by communication and how this can in turn be politically meaningful.

This study takes a more prosperous perspectives based on a study of Kids Voting, an innovative civics curriculum, which stimulated students to be participated in democratic citizenship or political socialization. This influence of children on the political process or participation was pronounced within low levels of grade students and resulted in increases in their use of news media, frequency of political talk, and expression of partisan opinions (McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998). In the Kids Voting program, therefore, we appear to have the prospect of simultaneously improving youth political involvement and redressing the deleterious effects on participation of underlying political apathy and alienation.

No one has linked these things together yet in the context of civic education. What is largely missing in the literature is an analysis of the potential interaction between mass media use and civic education effects and between political talk and Internet use for explaining youth political participation. Most studies do not examine the potential indirect links among civic education effects, communication variables (i.e., news media and political talk), and participation including new media effects. Rather than having a direct impact, the link between civic education programs and forms of participation can be expected to be intermediated by a number of media and political talk variables. At the

same time, it is possible that the relationship between various types of media and political participation is mediated by political talk variables and (or) Internet use.

This study focuses on communication and civic education effects for exploring the state of youth political participation. More specifically this study looks at the indirect effects of traditional media and civic education, a potential mediation of these variables effects through other factors is of special interest to this study. Indirect impacts of traditional media use and civic education on participation in the literature have been found working through two intermediated variables, political talk and Internet use. In other words, both traditional media use and civic education for participation are facilitated interpersonal political talk and Internet use, which in turn increases the level of political participation.

This study uses structural equation modeling (SEM). SEM has been employed in a number of more recent studies in the areas of political participation or civic engagement. AMOS 4.0 provides scholars with examining direct and indirect relationships among exogenous, antecedent exogenous, and endogenous variables. Most studies argue that SEM is suit for the analyzing the mediated relationship.

Using SEM, this study tests a model involving relationships between political talk and Internet use, as well as discursive participation in politically related activities in the context of education for citizenship. More specifically, it is to test whether the relationship between civic education and political participation is direct or mediated by discursive variables and to detect how such a mediating process might operate. The data come from a survey of 362 school children, grades 5-12, in a northeastern urban school district. .

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter two addresses the theoretical foundations of my research. It will focus on survey research on civic education, political socialization, and political participation to propose a model of discursive participation. The general claims made by deliberative democratic theorists concerning the possible models of participation. This study reviews the state of KVUSA and Kids Voting Western New York (KVWNY). Chapter three will explain the discussion of the specific theoretical links among civic education, communication, and participation. An integrated model of political participation and hypotheses will be presented. Chapter four will describe the data sets used to test the models of influence explicated in Chapter 2 and 3. In Chapter five, results of descriptive and inferential multivariate analyses are presented. The final Chapter is devoted to conclusions and discussions that need to be drawn from the results presented here. The conclusion offers a review of the findings and reflections on their implications for the political system and its future. The conclusion can provide us with the possibility of a reversed feedback from empirical evaluations to normative perspectives on democracy.

CHAPTER 2: Conceptualization

Given this situation, this section reviews the theoretical and practical dimensions of deliberative democracy with regard to deliberative citizenship and discursive participation. More specifically, this section will present critically the state of traditional political socialization researches and then documents new assumptions about political socialization. Second, it will explain the current discussion of the specific theoretical and empirical links in the study of political socialization and participation. Third, more important from a theoretical perspective, it reveals deliberative forces in the study of discursively oriented participation. Finally, it proposes that new media plays an important role in boosting democratic citizenship and facilitating political participation.

Studies on Civic Education and Political Socialization

Since Dewey (1916), civic education has been studied in the context of democracy. As mentioned earlier, young people have become less informed and less participated in democratic process. Thus, the purpose of civic education is to enable young people to nurture civic attitudes and to promote informed and thoughtful participation in the context of democracy. Civic education is concerned with the role of communication, providing students with political and social knowledge through civic communities, such as, classrooms and school. Here, the function of communication includes town meetings, public deliberation, informal conversation, and media.

The past studies in 1960 and 1970s of political socialization proposed the central roles of family, school and other agents for nurturing youth civic mindedness. At that time, political socialization can be defined as "the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a

member and to his own role as a citizen within that system" (Greenberg, 1970, p. 3). Most research proposes that political socialization research should avoid the years of young children (Marsh, 1971; Niemi and Sobieszek, 1977; Rosenberg, 1985) and then focus on the years of pre-adult between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five or during adolescence and adulthood (Kinder & Sears, 1985; Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Sears, 1987). They argue that the civic education in the childhood does not affect the civic attitudes and behavior during adulthood (Conover & Searing, 1994 for a summary). This position is not held universally.

Easton and Dennis (1969) had assumed that childhood socialization "had vital consequences for the persistence of political system" (p. 6) and Easton and Hess (1962) conclude that "the truly formative years of the maturing members of a political system would seem to be the years between the age of three and 13" (p. 235). Others argue that political participation is "a learned behavior" (Johnson, Hays, & Hays, 1998, p. 14), therefore, new study should focus on the years of young children.

Conover and Searing (1994) support this claim and then propose that political socialization research need to back to "long-standing philosophic debates about the nature of citizenship" (p. 31). In so doing, new ways of research will be "relevant to important normative concerns about relationships between children and the political communities of which they are becoming members" (p. 31). Given this perspectives, this study can examine the effects of civic education that should be related the debate of political citizenship study.

In 1980s, there was a serious criticism about the early socialization and civic education research. From the late 1950s to the mid-1970s, most studies focused on

political attitudes and orientations of young people. In a vein, scholars called into question about the effects of civic education in school. Most studies found that there is little or no impact of the civic curriculum (Beck & Jennings, 1982). For the past five decades, past research has failed to explain the roles of civic education in the political socialization of young people from the perspective of participatory democracy (Galston, 2001). Scholars of the socialization process have learned from past mistakes and made important changes. Research has shown that traditional civics courses are no longer ineffectual at shaping political learning and, thus, are important to re-consider (Niemi & June, 1998)

In response to the problems of democratic citizenship and participation in political spheres, a new empirical approach has risen (Chaffee et al., 1995a, 1995b; Eagles & Davidson, 2000; Eagles & Jacobson, 1999; McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998, 2000, 2002; McLeod et al. 1998; McLeod, 2000; Saphir & Chaffee, 2000; Simon & Merrill, 1997). Most studies focus on the effects of the school intervention program or classroom curriculum. Although previous research argues that civic curricular do not affect on students' political attitudes, Niemi and Junn (1988) propose that this program plays a key role in shaping political knowledge.

Generally speaking, Kids Voting program stimulated news media use, discussion with parents and friends, Internet use, and political participation. As a result, family, school, and news media are important agents of political socialization. First, Hess and Torney (1967) propose that the school plays key role in facilitating the political socialization process. The school can provide students with a basic information about governmental figures and institutions. Students can learn something about citizens' rights

and the right to express opinion. And school can teach the duties of citizens. While school is one of important agents of political socialization, school plays a minimal role in the democratic process.

Second, family is an important factor in the process of political socialization among the youth. The trend is to restore the field's concerns with family and political socialization in the context of civic education (Chaffee et al., 1995; McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998, 2000, 2002; Saphir & Chaffee, 2000). They proposed the central role of family in the low-SES family (See also Eagles & Davidson, 2000, for a contrary argument) and redefined family communication. They argue that these intervention programs contribute to boost the values of the democratic process among young people and their parents. This program also includes specific school curricular that bring competing political viewpoints to students' attention (Chaffee et al., 1995b; McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998).

Third, McLeod, Eveland, Jr., and Horowitz (1998) evaluated an intervention program involving schools, family, and media. They examined the effects of the school curriculum on youth's political and communication attitudes and behaviors. Then they argue that for this socialization program such as Kids Voting to succeed, there needs interconnections among schools, family, and local media. In addition, Simon and Merrill (1997) examine different types of media for the study of childhood (see also Atkin, 1978; Drew & Reeves, 1980; Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin, & Associates, 1994).

New political socialization research needs to examine the effects of civic education for deliberative democracy. Niemi and Junn (1998) have provided convincing evidence that civics educations are far more influential in shaping political knowledge than they were in the past. The civic education is to provide insight into the problems of

political apathy and cynicism among the youth. Gonzales et al. (2000) explains the roles of civic education as "building both the skills necessary for making decisions on public issues and the skills necessary for public participation" (p. 110). One can expect that new political socialization program might play an important role in boosting the political talk and active participation in public issues related to the politics as well as diminishing youth apathy.

Studies on Political Participation

Beyond traditional socialization research, this study argues that new type of socialization research is needed in the context of political participation mediated by media, civic education, political talk and new media. More recently, these perspectives were applied directly to research on political participation.

Traditionally political participation research used socioeconomic (SES) model among adults. They argue that individual's socioeconomic position—income and education—is one of most important factors for explaining each person's political behaviors (Milbrath, 1965; Verba & Nie, 1972). They show that there is a strong positive relationship between levels of participation and levels of each person's socioeconomic status. Most political participation research focuses on general adult populations.

This traditional model is based on each person's socioeconomic status, which provides a limited explanation for political behavior. Some scholars advanced another perspective explaining the likelihood of political participation. In response to the problems of these SES models in political participation research, some scholars use a number of intervening variables including political efficacy, political involvement, and resources (Verba & Nie, 1972; Milbrath & Goel, 1977). They are more concerned with

how each person's socioeconomic status influences their political behavior mediated by intervening variables. Here, political participation can be defined as "those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politic" (Milbrath & Goel, 1977, p. 2; See also Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1978).

The landmark studies of 1990s and the early of 2000s newly established the basic framework that defined the field of civic participation or democratic citizenship related to the effects of media, interpersonal discussion, political knowledge and other politically related variables. Their theoretical and empirical studies are very useful for explaining political participation (McLeod et al., 1999a, 1999b; Moy, Scheufele, & Holbert, 1999; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele, 2000a, 2000b, 2002; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Scheufele, Shanahan, & Kim, 2002; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2001).

Recently, McLeod et al. (1999b) have introduced an additional dimension of participatory behavior which they have labeled 'non-traditional forms of participation.' These activities refer to participation in public forums organized by civic journalism movements or community groups. The measure for these activities is a combined index of willingness to participate or speak out at public forums, both with and without pressure from people who hold different opinions.

There were a few studies the role of mass media in the political participation literature (McLeod & McDonald, 1985; Verba & Nie, 1972), but recent research highlights the effects of mass media on traditional and nontraditional forms of political participation and on political trust or Social capital (Moy & Scheufele, 2000).

Specifically, Moy et al. (1999) found that television viewing time is only negatively related to civic engagement. On the contrary, time spent reading newspapers

is positively related to civic engagement. Scheufele et al. (2002) confirm that TV does not have any positive impact on political involvement, but discussion networks and local newspaper use have strong influence on local political involvement.

Recently researchers are interested in examining the role of political talk for facilitating political participation. McLeod et al (1999a, 1999b) examined the role that communicatory variables play in predicting dimensions of political participation. They found distinctively different patterns for local newspapers hard news use and local television hard news use. Respondents who used more newspaper hard news use were also more likely to participate in politics.

In addition, an education-oriented research has risen. Nie et al. (1996) argue that there are strong relationship between education and political participation and more closely, between education and democratic citizenship (see also Almond & Verba, 1963; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). More precisely, they examined the role of education as an important factor to boost political participation and democratic citizenship.

Theory on Civic Education and Deliberative Democracy

There is a need to bring new perspectives into citizenship which will enable us to deal specifically with issues related to communication and political socialization for deliberative democracy. The goal of this section is to examine the relationships between citizenship and participation in a way theoretically consistent with deliberative democracy.

The model of deliberative democracy shows "the discursive creation of public opinion as an educative process" (Englund, 2000, p. 310). This approach leads to concern for education and democracy, which will boost the area of the deliberative

citizenship and discursive participation. Conover et al. (2002) examine the deliberative potential of everyday political talk using survey and qualitative data and then argue that "the factors inhibiting more deliberative discussion--structural, cultural and motivational in nature--should be amenable to some change, particularly through education" (p. 21). Therefore, deliberative democracy is based on the need for civic education, which offers citizens an opportunity for enhanced civic virtues (Gutman & Thompson, 1996). Civic virtues are both embedded in the principles of deliberative democracy itself and enhanced through the activity of discussion.

This study argues that the unique function of political talk in the political socialization process of citizens makes it invaluable as a tool for boosting political participation among the young. First, it presents the three models of democracy. Then the principles of Habermas's discourse theory of politics will be presented. Second, the concepts of deliberative citizenship and discursive participation will be presented in the context of deliberative democracy.

Three Models of Democracy

There are two competing models of democracy—liberal model of democracy and civic-republican model of democracy. The first is the Liberalism, which focuses on the expression of civic or individual interests, including life, liberty, personal security, and so on. The state plays an important role in protecting these rights from the arbitrary interference of others. Morrice (2000) argue that this model focuses on "the interests of the individual, and is concerned with the political community as a neutral means of permitting the interaction of individuals as they each pursue their chosen goals" (p. 238). The motive for political participation is to ensure this protection.

Civic republicanism focuses on the community rather than the individual (Abrahamson, Arterton, & Orren, 1988). According to Oldfield (1990), "civic republicanism is communitarian. It stresses not that differentiates individuals from each other and from the community, but rather what they share with other individuals, and what integrates them into the community" (p. 145). Thus republicanism focuses on community values and deliberation in the decision making process. The role of the state is to protect and enhance community values. The motive for public participation is duty to community.

Habermas argues a third model, deliberative democracy, that addresses some of the advantages and disadvantages found in the liberal and republican models. Habermas (1998) has developed what he calls a discourse ethics theory of democracy and "deliberative politics" (p.241). Elster (1998) defines deliberative democracy as "collective decision making with the participation of all who will be affected by the decision or their representatives; this is the democratic part. Also, all agree that it includes decision making by means of arguments offered *by* and *to* participants who are committed to the values of rationality and impartiality: this is the deliberative part" (p. 8).

Here, the political system must cultivate a communicative system that provides for meaningful but informal communication among citizens of varying interests and then feeds resulting positions into formal deliberative bodies. Discourse theory "works with the higher-level intersubjectivity of communication processes that unfold in the institutionalized deliberations in parliamentary bodies, on the one hand, and in the informal networks of the public sphere, on the other" (Habermas, 1998, p. 249; Fraser,

1992). The emphasis on doing this by facilitating public communication makes it a form of democratic proceduralism.

Communicative Action, Public Sphere, and Discourse Ethics

The central framework employed in Habermas's social theory is communicative action. Habermas (1984) defines communicative action as "acts of reaching understanding" (p. 286). According to Habermas (1984), the concept of communication action means

> the interaction of at least two subjects capable of speech and action who establish interpersonal relations (whether by verbal or by extra verbal means). The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement (p. 86)

Here, all communication presumes reciprocal expectations with reference to three implicit validity claims. Habermas (1990) call "interactions communicative when the participants coordinate their plans of action consensually, with the agreement reached at any point being evaluated in terms of the intersubjective recognition of validity claims" (p. 58). Parties to communication presume the truth, normative appropriateness, and sincerity of statements (Habermas, 1990). This reciprocal expectation can be happened through speech or language. If this happens properly in ongoing communication (Baynes, 1992),

> individuals more or less naively accept as valid the various claims raised with their utterance or action and mutually suppose that they each are prepared to provide reasons for them should the validity of those claims be questioned (p. 80).

If doubt arises, truth or normative appropriateness claims can be thematized or raised for discussion through reason-adducing arguments. For instance, if sincerity claim is violated, personal insult can result. Habermas defines discourses in terms of reaching mutual understanding. Discourse ethics, therefore, is based on the normative rules of discussion with reference to interpersonal reciprocity and mutual respect. The theory of discourse ethics argues that the structure and process of communication play key roles in shaping a variety of aspects of human sociation.

The theory of communicative action is strongly related to the public sphere. Habermas (1989) developed the idea of public sphere, where all citizens can exchange their opinions freely and equally without the constraints of government and markets power. Here, the public sphere is a "linguistically constituted public space" (Habermas, 1996, p. 361) or "a network for communicating information and points of view...filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions" (p. 360). Furthermore, the public sphere can be defined as the places [institutional space] of informal public deliberation happened where citizens can exchange their opinion and interests freely and equally. It took place in this institutionalized [public] space, for instance, from clubs, salons, coffee houses, newspapers, books, cafes to media, talk shows, and Internet chat rooms.

The discourse ethics relies on concepts of communicative action and public sphere, providing the normative foundations for Habermas's deliberative democracy. Habermas further developed the idea of public sphere, relating them to theories of democracy, so called, deliberative democracy. From the perspective of a theory of deliberative democracy, Benhabib (1996) argues that the legitimacy of democratic politics relies on "the free and unconstrained public deliberation of all about matters of common concern" in the public sphere" (p, 68).

Habermas (1990) argues that the "symbolic structures of every lifeworld are reproduced through three process: cultural tradition, social integration, and socialization," which are based on "processes operate only in the medium of action oriented toward reaching an understanding" (p. 102). Thus, society reproduction can be depended on discursively oriented communicative action.

Contemporary Theory on Deliberative Democracy: Citizenship and Participation

The concept of deliberative democracy is strongly related to Habermas's works. Most scholars agree that deliberative democracy is based on the concept of public sphere and communicative action, which is related to the reasonable public talk or deliberation. These perspectives about public sphere had a great impact on studies about new media and democracy. Thus, talk accomplishes legitimacy on democratic procedures and outcomes (Cohen, 1989; Habermas, 1998; Manin, 1987).

This study is to establish the basic framework that defined the field of citizenship and participation related to the effects of communication and new communication technologies. The discursive participation in the political realm becomes the hallmark of a meaningful citizenship. This study suggests that deliberative citizenship and discursive

participation are two concepts that form an integral part of the constitution of deliberative democracy (Enslin et al., 2001).

Deliberative Citizenship. In considering the effects of civic education on deliberative democracy, the classic political theory has enriched our understanding of citizenship by comparing the competing point of views, such as liberalism and civic-republicanism.

Habermas (1994, 1998) orients his analysis of democracy by describing two polemically contrasted models of democracy, with specific reference to the concept of citizenship. It includes liberal and the communitarian models of democracy. The notion of deliberative citizenship adopts ideas from liberal ideas as well as the communitarian or participatory-republican traditions. The tension between the two models is a familiar theme throughout political theory and is perhaps best exemplified in the persistent conflict between "liberal" and "communitarians." There are some big debates between two camps.

Liberal democracy considers citizenship to consist primarily of expression support for and making demands of a political system (Easton & Dennis, 1973). This narrow conception has directed scholarly attention primarily to the acquisition of behaviors and attitudes that are related to the political system, such as, voting, party identification, political trust, political efficacy. Thus civic education has focused primarily on the legal and structural aspects of government, exposing youngsters mainly to a narrow role model of democratic citizenship (Ichilov, 1988). This perspective views only one facet of democracy and democratic citizenship. It overlooks an important philosophical tradition, that of participatory democracy, which advocates the extension of

democracy into all societal spheres. Republican model views citizenship as a construct of the collective relationship between citizens and the political community, rather than characterizing citizenship as atomistic.

There are some competing viewpoints about a good citizen. For liberals, "the democratic process consists exclusively in the form of compromises among competing interests" (p. 246), or what it refers to as the "contractual view of citizenship" (Conover et al., 1991, p. 802). Here, the good citizen in a democracy is one who is aware of his rights and freedoms as an individual.

For communitarians, will-formation takes place in discourse that relies on the particular cultural consensus its citizen share. The communitarian perspective of good citizenship, on the other hand, commands a much more deliberative and participatory role for community (Barber, 1992). The good citizen is supposed to participate in and contribute to the well-being of his community because his own good is linked to the greater good of the community.

Discourse theory draws on both of these views. According to discourse theory, the democratic procedure grounds a presumption that deliberations achieve reasonable and fair results taking into account the preferences of both perspectives. As you can see, deliberation has been one of the most studied concepts about citizenship and democracy (Bohman, 1996; Bohman and Rehg, 1997; Conover et al., 2002; Elster, 1998; Fishkin, 1991; Gutman & Thompson, 1996; Habermas, 1996). Such deliberations allow participants to weave together pragmatic considerations, their own understanding of themselves, and their recognition of demands for justice (Habermas, 1998). In sum,

deliberative citizenship would be defined in terms of taking part in public debate with legally institutionalized procedures of democratic deliberation and decision making.

Recently scholars emphasize the development of deliberative citizenship that is core in recent theories of deliberative democracy. Gutmann and Thomson (1996) argue that democracy need to focus on deliberative attitudes in civic education for citizens to exercise the communicative power that is one of important factors in democracy's consequences. Gutman (1987) argues

> "...we can conclude that 'political education'—the cultivation of virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation—has moral primacy over the other purposes of public education in a democratic society. Political education prepares citizens to participate in consciously reproducing their society, and conscious social reproduction is the ideal not only of democratic education but also of democratic politics" (p. 287).

In sum, theories of deliberative democracy can be one of alternative models to both liberal and communitarian models of democracy. It may offer the necessary avenues for the socialization of their citizens for a propensity toward the avoidance of civic apathy by its educative components. And it provides a deliberative forum for the practice of the kind of civic virtues and citizenship.

Discursive Participation. A broad conception of citizenship is related to the degree of participation. These three modes of citizenship represent different aspects of

participation. Participation research is an important topic for defining a good citizen and making a good citizenship.

As mentioned earlier, there are two competing perspectives between two camps. For liberalism, the motive for public participation is to ensure individual freedom from the arbitrary interference of others. Milbrath & Goel (1977) defined political participation as "those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politic" (p. 2).

For civic republicanism, the motive for public participation is to protect shared community values. The traditional participatory democratic theorists, expanding on communitarian thought, also argue for a more participatory, engaged citizenry (Pateman, 1970). The early participatory democratic theorists have concerned about the positive effects of civic participation. They argue that civic participation facilitates democratic citizenship and leads citizens to be more informed about political process and public issues (Pateman, 1970). Furthermore, Barber (1984) is strongly concerned with 'democratic deliberation' of civic participation in the decision making process. Barber argues that strong democracy can be identified as "a participatory process of ongoing, proximate self-regulation and the creation of political community" (p. 151).

Habermas proposes a discursive concept of participation based on discourse theory of democracy. With communitarianism, according to Habermas (1998), discourse theory recognizes the importance of citizen interaction in the formation of political opinion and choice. But it does not, as communitarianism is prone to do, relegate constitutional provisions to a secondary status. Active participation in the political process is an essential feature of deliberative citizenship. With liberalism, this theory

insists on adherence to constitutional principles in the institutionalization of the communicative forms for political deliberation and decision-making. According to Galston (2001), "the liberal and civic republican citizen differ in that the former is not compelled to participate politically whereas the latter is primarily understood through their active relation with their community."

Discourse theory conceives "the basic principles of the constitutional state as a consistent answer to the question of how the demanding communicative presuppositions of a democratic opinion-and will-formation can be institutionalized" (Habermas, p. 248). Discourse theory, Habermas says, has the success of deliberative politics depending on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedures and conditions of communication. Here participation can be defined as meaningful communicative action toward a political process.

Habermas recommends a discursive participation and a deliberative citizenship based on communicative action from the perspective of deliberative democracy. Proponents of deliberative democracy have emphasized participatory conceptions of citizenship. Thus, participation cannot be divorced from understanding the notion of citizenship. In this discursive definition of democracy, political participation equals "discursive participation; it is communication governed by rational, communicatively achieved argument and negotiation" (Kulynych, 1997).

From this perspective, then, both political talk and new communication technology appear to be seen as a necessary condition for achieving a good citizenship and democracy. There are a few who suggest that the potential roles of both factors in terms of deliberative democracy (Scheufele, 2001; Scheufele & Nisbet 2001).

Political Talk. As mentioned early, thus, participation is a meaningful communicative action underscoring a reciprocal understanding in the political process. This communicative structure might be composed of free and equal people who affected in same political and public issues. They talked freely and rationally (Kulynych, 1997). From Aristotle deliberation has been one of the central themes about democratic citizenship and governance (Conover et al., 2002; Elster, 1998; Page, 1996; Sanders, 1997). Mackie (1998) confirms that "democracy involves both voting and discussion, and discussion is obviously at least as important to democracy, descriptively and normatively, as voting" (p. 71).

Currently, several democratic theorists have moved beyond participatory democratic theory to advocate a conception of democracy that places primary importance on deliberation (see Benhabib, 1996; Bohman, 1996; Cohen, 1989; Dryzek, 1990; Fishkin, 1991; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Habermas 1984, 1996).

From above generally, deliberative democracy have emphasized on political talk or debate as a central forms of political participation. Bohman (1996) proposes that "most defenders of deliberative democracy rely on the procedures of debate and discussion to ensure the rationality and legitimacy of decisions" (p. 322). Bohman characterizes deliberation as a dialogue in which participant exchange views in an attempt to solve a problem that cannot be settled without interpersonal coordination. Conover et al. (2002) propose that deliberation includes "citizens voicing rational reasons for their preferences, listening to one another, exchanging information and thereby moving towards decision making on the contentious issues facing society" (p. 23).

Political theorists offer competing viewpoints of deliberation (Conover et al., 2002). Most explanations include three essential characteristics. First deliberation is based on "political equality" (Conover et al., 2002, p. 24). Sanders (1997) confirms that deliberation "... is a process of political talk that excludes no one" (p. 351). Second one is public good. Cohen (1997) argue that public deliberation need to focus on "the common good, requires some form of manifest equality among citizens, and shapes the identity and interest of citizens in ways that contribute to the formation of a public conception of public good (p. 69). Third is manifest non-tyranny in terms of both process and outcome. Furthermore, the presence of others with potentially dissimilar viewpoints and conflicting information may work to modify or reinforce this individual's views.

This argument has two meanings for this study. First, it means that talk is "to increase the quality of democratic judgments" (Warren, 1996, p. 46) and leads to more informed public opinion (Fishkin, 1991). Several researchers have focused on political discussion as talk, i.e., the rational, deliberative exchange of arguments, and its implications for an informed and participatory citizenry (Kim et al, 1999). Connover et al. (2002) argue that political discussion is talk. Bennett et al. (2000) argue that

> Students of political behavior and those interested in strengthening democracy need to treat political discussion as an important form of political participation (p. 99)...[I]gnoring political discussion risks overlooking an important facet of the ways in which citizens interact with one another in the public arena (p.119).

Second, talk leads to agreement about "the dimensions over which they disagree" (Knight & Johnson, 1994, p. 282-283). Chambers (1996) argue that "talking is a way of respecting each other as moral agents; talking is a way to reach reasonable and legitimate solutions to our disputes; talking is a way of reproducing and strengthening shared understandings for which there are good reasons" (p. 11). Gutmann and Thompson (1996) perceive deliberative democracy as a distinctive method for the resolution of moral disagreement as it occurs within modern liberal democracies. This perspective allows us to illustrate deliberation interactively functioning with opposing views of strongly held moral polarities. Their development of deliberative democracy is explained through its role as it mediates moral disagreements.

There have been few empirical studies for exploring the concept of deliberative democracy (Christiano, 1997; Conover et al 2000, 2002; Fishkin, 1991; Kim et al., 1999). Fishkin (1991) has attempted to create the conditions needed for deliberation through what he terms 'issues conventions.' Conover et al (2002) used surveys in the United States and Great Britain to measure the frequency with which citizens engaged in public and private discussions about politics. They found that citizens were far more likely to engage in private conversations about politics than in the public discussions that more closely resemble the idealized discourse of deliberative democracy. Wyatt et al. (2000) confirm these findings above from a survey of 1,029 Americans. Respondents were considerably more likely to discuss politics and policy issues at home and work than in various pubic settings, such as civic associations, places of worship and commercial spaces.

If democratic deliberation is difficult to achieve, and only a small percentage of Americans are engaging in it, how does talk fit into modern democracy? As an antecedent to democratic deliberation, everyday talk is strongly connected to political talk (Barber, 1984; Mansbridge, 1999). Schudson (1997) argues that talk need to be conceptualized into two dimensions: problem-solving conversation and the sociable conversation. Schudson defined problem-solving conversation as "conversation...among citizens who are acquainted by virtue of their citizenship." The sociable conversation is just exchange information among intimates or strangers in clubs and coffee house about human-interest. Schudson argues that the sociable conversation is not positively related to democracy.

However, Scheufele (1999, 2000) argue that both types of conversations will contribute to healthy democracy. Then, Scheufele (2000) proposes that political talk is "necessary as an information source above and beyond mass media that helps people make sense of political events." In addition, political talk is "necessary for any form of rational discourse and ultimately societal decision making" (p. 729). He also suggests that causal conversation is still important among citizens for maintaining social capital and people's connection. Recently some researchers agree this argument, stating that informal political conversation is strongly related to everyday talk.

Habermas (1991) also argues that everyday conversation is an important part of public sphere or democratic deliberation. He said that

> by "public sphere" we mean first of all a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed. Access to the public sphere is open to all

citizens. A portion of the public sphere is constituted in every conversation in which private persons come together to form a public (p. 398).

Thus, this study recognizes that everyday talk is an important antecedent to democratic deliberation. Also this study will use Scheufele's concept of political talk or discussion with the functions of news media and Internet use.

The Internet Use. Although there are competing viewpoints about the role of traditional news media, as we have seen, there is a widespread belief that the there are some limitations to fulfill their historic role of producing "informed citizens" (Buckingham, 1997). Habermas confirms that the potential for democratic, rational communication has steadily declined, largely as a result of the commercialization of the media and the extension of consumer culture.

The advancement of the Internet is increasingly affects on political process. The roles of the Internet have been the focus of considerable interest and debate. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) argue that new information and communication technologies provide low costs of learning about politics for citizens. The Internet almost always has both positive and negative effects on political participation and democracy. There are at least two plausible and theoretically interesting perspectives for the effects of the Internet, but there are little evidences from the existing literatures. As mentioned earlier, Norris (1999) proposes two competing perspectives about the potential role for facilitating political participation through the Internet, such as mobilization and reinforcement theories.

Most non-empirical studies confirm reinforcement theories. They argue that Internet use has some indirect effects among motivated and informed but there is no direct relationship between Internet use and political engagement and democracy (Dahlberg, 1998, 2000, 2001; Dahlgren, 2001).

Recently political scientists and political communication scholars are concerned about effects of the information revolution on political systems and political behaviors. There are a few empirical studies for the effects of Internet use on political participation. There are some skeptical views of the Internet's effects on democracy (Bimber, 2001; Pew, 2000; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2001). Bimber (2001) focuses on how the use of the Internet can cause and increase political engagement using survey data in the period 1996-99. He found there is little relationship between information availability and political participation including voter turn out. Scheufele and Nisbet (2001) examine the role of the Internet as an important tool in political process and then find that the role of the Internet in promoting citizenship is limited and rather traditional mass media maintain a key role in promoting democratic citizenship.

Although there are some skeptical views on effects of the Internet in facilitating democratic citizenship, the Internet has some deliberative potential and democratic nature. Mobilizing scholars examine the deliberative effects of the Internet and related technologies in political process (Barber, 1984; Bell 1981; Dahlberg 2001; Harrison and Falvey, 2001; Negroponte, 1998; Rheingold, 1993; Papacharissi, 2002). They propose that the Internet plays an important role in providing information and place for political talk which then facilitate citizen's political participation among the users

Barber (1984) argues that the use of new information technology can foster 'strong democracy,' that is an early and influential example of electronic democracy inspired by deliberative ideals. Harrison and Falvey (1999) assessed the literature about the relationship between new communication technologies and democracy. Deliberative democracy thesis is one of major current thoughts for explaining these relationships through these literatures. Dahlberg (2001) provides some background information of three internet-democracy positions as follows: (1) liberal individualism; (2) communitarianism and (3) deliberative democracy. Papacharissi (2002) argues that the Internet plays an important role in providing information and place for political talk, which then facilitate political participation among the users.

Furthermore, Bimber (2001) defines the information revolution as "information-richness" and "communication intensiveness." Thus, Internet use is strongly related to the expansion of the public sphere. In the deliberative democracy model, the concept of the public sphere comes to have a special meaning. As Calhoun (1992) writes, a public sphere adequate to a democratic polity depends upon both quality of discourse and quantity of participation.

The Internet might be a place for rational discussion within the public sphere. This public sphere is the institutional arena, which relies upon intersubjectivity, that constituted through communication media in modern society. Habermas argues that

> "...when the public is large, this kind of communication requires certain means of dissemination and influence; today, newspapers and periodicals, radio and television are the media of the public sphere" (p. 398).

Papacharissi (2002) argues that the Internet plays an important role in creating discursive public space and provides a forum for political talk. Ideally the public sphere is a space free of state and corporate interests where private individuals can come together as a public and rationally deliberate upon issues of common concern. It is a place of public opinion formation. In the deliberative democracy, the concept of the public sphere has a particular meaning. Deliberative democracy model is legitimated by its facilitation of rational discourse in the public sphere. Deliberative democracy provides the public with an active and critical role in the political process--open discussion, citizen participation, the existence of well functioning public sphere. Gimmler (2001) focuses on how the Internet can boost deliberative democracy and then argues:

> "...in the deliberative process, information plays a central role along with achieving equality of access to it...Second, the opportunity for interaction which the Internet facilitates satisfies another prerequisite of deliberative practice" (p. 31).

There is some hope regarding the deliberative potential of the Internet to transform democracy. In the deliberative process, information plays a central role along with achieving equality of access to it. As a means of promoting interaction, the Internet has a positive direct or indirect effect on discursive participation.

The Kids Voting Western New York as a Context of Study

The Kids Voting program aims to strengthen democratic and deliberative citizenship among children and adolescents. In terms of democratic citizenship, this program will discourage the political apathy and alienation and then encourage voter turnout. In terms of deliberative citizenship, this program fosters talk on the perspective of discursive participation.

First, this case study briefly describes the overall Kids Voting USA program based on its origin, growth, and objectives. Second, it briefly looks at the Western New York experience with Kids Voting. Third, it introduces the annual program evaluation research conducted by Kids Voting Western New York and Department of Communication and Political Science at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York. Finally, the ancillary benefits of interests of this dissertation will be presented.

Backgrounds

Programs of civic education and school curricula have been employed in an attempt to socialize young people to more participatory lifestyles. However, past research has shown that the results of such interventions have not been particularly positive (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Against this pessimistic intellectual backdrop, one program that is attracting scholarly and popular acclaim is Kids Voting, USA (KVUSA).

Kids Voting USA is one of successful intervention programs for fighting political apathy and facilitating electoral participation among America's youth. Kids Voting USA was founded in Arizona in 1988 by three businessmen, who went for a fishing trip to Costa Rica. They learned that voter turnout at the polls was about 80~90% percent and

also learned that this high rate of voter turnout is caused by Costa Ricans' family tradition, which indicates that children go to the polls with their parents. Children can learn the importance of voting from this family event, which consequently, contribute to the higher voter participation. The three founders of the Kids Voting USA were convinced that such a tradition enhances children's confidence to their democratic government and procedures as well as the higher voter turnout.

The first pilot program for Kids Voting was launched in six Arizona metropolitan Phoenix communities and involved 30,000 students. By 1991, this program turned into Kids Voting USA as a national nonprofit, nonpartisan, and grassroots organization (Hall & Jones, 1998). In the 1992 election it reached 11 states including 1.5 million students and by 1994, affiliates with Kids Voting USA reached 20 states and the District of Columbia at a $5 million budget, reaching 3,000 schools, 8,000 voter precincts, 2.3 million students, 100,000 teachers, and 50,000 volunteers (Simon & Merrill, 1998).

By 1996, Kids Voting USA extended its reach to number more than 40 organizations, and in 1998 Kids Voting program had grown to reach 5 million students, 200, 000 teachers, 6,000 schools, 16,000 voter precincts, and 80,000 volunteers. In 2000 election day, nearly 1.5 million young people from 39 states went to local polling places to cast ballots. Presently Kids Voting USA program were expected to reach 4.3 million students at 10,600 schools in 30 states.

Goals and Mission. Kids Voting USA is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, grassroots organization working with schools and communities to enhance civics education and provide youth a voting experience at official polls on election day. Kids Voting USA program "fosters an informed, participating electorate by educating and actively engaging

young people and their families in voting and other elements of effective civic engagement, " as stated in the mission statement of the organization.

The immediate goal of Kids Voting is to provide participating students with an opportunity to learn and develop citizenship skills and voting habits. It is to reduce youth apathy and cynicism an also to boost voter participation in political process. A secondary goal is to engage students in political talk about politics or candidates. Kids Voting program is designed to develop reflection on current events and conversation about issues and candidates.

Kids Voting USA is also the only program of its kind that enables students to visit official polling sites on election day. Students will be accompanied by a parent or guardian to cast a ballot on the same candidates as the official ballot in local, state, and national elections. They voted for president, vice president, U. S. representatives, and other state and local offices. Thus Kids Voting program plays an important role in shaping participating student's full civic responsibility as a citizen (Eagles & Jacobson, 1999).

Western New York Experience. Kids Voting Western New York (KVWNY), founded with the assistances of the Buffalo News in 1996, is an affiliate of the Kids Voting USA. Like the national organization itself, KVWNY program provide participants with an opportunity to learn and develop citizenship skills and voting habits. KVWNY received a good reputation by participating students, teachers and coordinators as well as news coverage. The preliminary results strongly suggest that the program's impact appears to be highest among the younger cohorts.

In its first year of operation it involved over 100,000 students and over 7,000 volunteers to work at official polls on election day, and the voter turnout was about 67% from participating students in Erie County. In the local elections of 1997, it mobilized more than 10,000 volunteers and 7,000 teachers, recorded 58,000 ballots from students in these races. In its third year of operation in 1998, KVWNY represented 267 schools, including public, private, parochial, and more than 165,000 students at every grade levels were involved in KVWNY. Nearly 55,000 young people voted at 580 polling places in Erie and Niagara Counties. And in its fourth year of operation in 1999, KVWNY involved 286 participating schools and 48,032 students did cast a ballot on election day. By 2000, nearly 78, 325 students from 348 participating schools went to local polling places to cast ballots (Kids Voting Western New York Executive Summary).

For the past years, KVWNY affiliated itself with the Department of Communication and the Department of Political Science at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York for annual assessment of the program.

We have distributed questionnaires to a sample of participating schools with the purpose of assessing the effectiveness of the program and of testing some basic hypotheses about political socialization and communication. The survey includes a student survey, a teacher survey, and a coordinator survey. Both a teacher and a coordinator survey of participating schools showed that most teachers in Western New York program seem to value the activity. Specifically, in 2000, 100% of teachers surveyed felt that the program increased student knowledge of the electoral process at least somewhat. Thus, these results will not be presented.

For the student survey, there are four broad objectives. First, the survey is to measure students' overall evaluation of the program. Students were asked whether they liked voting, whether they would like to vote next year, and whether they had fun with the program. Second, the survey also evaluates how students actively participated in this program. They were asked whether they registered to vote, whether they voted, and whether they participated in the Kids Voting activities in their school. Third, the survey measures students' attitude toward voting in the context of impact of Kids Voting program. Students were asked whether they think voting is an important. Finally, the current study builds on and expands these previous objectives, focusing on the ways that Kids Voting program can influence discursivity mediated by communication and media and how this can in turn be politically meaningful.

In both the 1997 and the 1998, Goldhaber Research Associates conducted two post-election telephone surveys for assessing the awareness of Kids Voting on Western New York community. These surveys include the awareness, impression, and impact of this school intervention program. For 1997 survey, 744 Erie County voters from both participating and non-participating schools involved in telephone survey. For 1998 Survey, 750 Erie County voters participated in telephone interviews.

The results of both survey show that Erie country voters are highly aware of the program and most the voters have a very favorable or favorable impression of program. The results also show that approximately 10% of voters cited the program as a determining factor in voters' decision to vote (9% of a sample of voters in 1998). In other words, this intervention program had a great impact on voters' decision in Erie County. Even more remarkable was that two thirds of voters among those who have children

participating in the Kids Voting reported that (1) their children asked them questions or initiated discussions about candidates or issues; (2) their children were able to go to the polls with them on election day, and (3) for the 1998 data, they talked about candidates and issues with their spouse, other family members or friends in their home. Thus, this is a promising successful program.

In addition, an annual student survey was conducted by the Department of Communication and Political Science at the University at Buffalo in both 1998 and 1999. In 1998, 1796 students from participating 25 schools in Erie County were surveyed. This sample comprised from 5th through 12th graders. In 1999, 683 students from participating 12 schools in both Erie and Niagara County were surveyed. This comprised the 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders.

Overall, the results of 1998 and 1999 surveys show that Kids Voting receives very positive responses from the students. First, most students reported that they liked voting, would voted next year, and had fund with the program as well as it is important to vote. Second, most students said that they registered to vote, voted in the Kids Voting election, and participated in Kids Voting activities. In addition, both grade and years participated in the program are a significant predictor of students' participation in Kids Voting activities.

The overall results of 2000 survey will be presented at next section.

2000 Western New York Student Survey. The Department of Communication received 362 students' responses from participating 7 schools. This survey includes seven questions evaluating students' participation and attitudes in this intervention program.

First, students' participation is measured by whether students registered to vote, whether they voted in Kids Voting Election, and how much they participated in the Kids Voting activities at their school. Table 2.1 shows that there are high rates of student participation in elections: (1) 74% of students registered to vote and (2) 72% of students voted. In other words, the rate of students who registered and voted in the Kids Voting election is about three times that of who those who did not.

Survey results in Table 2.2 show that the younger the students, the more they registered to vote, voted in the Kids Voting election, and participated in the Kids Voting activities at their school. This relationship, however, is not matched in years of participation in the Kids Voting program. Table 2.2 also indicates that the longer students participated, the less likely they registered to vote in the Kids Voting election and participated in the Kids Voting activities. The reason why there are older students in schools that have been with the program for five years. In other words, this biased sample causes a negative correlation between years in participated the Kids Voting program and students' participation. Among those who have been in four years participated, most of them (77.6%) were 5^{th} to 7^{th} graders. However, among those who have been in five years participated, half of them (56.68%) were 5^{th} to 7^{th} graders. As mentioned above, grade is a significant factor for explaining students' participation in the Kids Voting program, the large number of older students (43.23%) in five years participated in this school intervention program decrease the likelihood of participation in the Kids Voting program including registered to vote, voted, and participated in KV activities.

Second, students' overall experience with this intervention program is evaluated by whether they liked voting, whether they would like to vote next year, whether it is important to vote, and whether they had fun with the program.

The table 2.3 indicates that students' overall evaluation with this intervention program is positive: (1) 71% of those who voted liked voting; (2) 92% of students think it is important to vote; (3) 84% would like to vote next year, and (4) 60% of students had fun with Kids Voting programs.

In Table 2.4, while chi-square analysis shows that grade is a significant factor in determining students' overall impression with the Kids Voting Program, grade level is not related to student attitudes toward voting. This shows that the younger students, the more likely they evaluated their experiences positively with this program. Interestingly, 7^{th} & $8^{th\ grades}$ are less likely to like voting and to vote next year than high school ones. However, middle school students have more fun with the program than high school ones.

Table 2.4 also indicates that the longer students participated, the less likely they evaluated their experiences positively with this program. As discussed in the previous section, the large number of older students (43.23%) in five years participated in the Kids Voting program decrease the likelihood of their evaluation positively.

CHAPTER 3: An Integrated Model of Discursive Participation

This section focuses on how both Internet use and political talk mediate the influences of traditional media use and civic education program on youth political participation. First, this study establishes the connection between media use and civic intervention program on political participation. Second, this study explores the relationship between differential patterns of media use and Internet use and political talk. Third, this study demonstrates the relationship between civic education and political talk and Internet use. Fourth, this study shows the mechanism that connects political talk and Internet use with political participation.

The Relationships of Civic Education and Media Use to Participation

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, research on political socialization began to emerge in the field of communication. Early work examined the role of family communication patterns in influencing the knowledge and attitudes of children. Later research began to evaluate the use and influence of news media among children and adolescents, finding that news use (especially television news) was relatively prevalent among children (Atkin, 1978; Chaffee & Tims, 1982; Drew & Reeves, 1980) and that it had some impact on their political knowledge (Beck, 1977; Chaffee & Tims, 1973).

The traditional approach to the role of communication in political socialization has consisted of attempt to document the importance of mass media as agents of socialization of young people (Atkin & Gantz, 1978; Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970; Rubin, 1978). They argue that the news media play a central role in political socialization. Chaffee et al. (1970) found that there is a causal relationship between attention to media public affairs and political knowledge. These researchers argue that

there are strong positive relationships between news media use and public affairs knowledge throughout childhood. Pinkleton and Austin (1998) argue that "the media have a positive impact, increasing citizens' interest and satisfying their information needs. This decreases cynicism and increases participation"(p. 75).

Most studies suggest that children are more likely to use and pay attention to electronic information than they are print sources. Buckingham (1997) argues that there is comparative value of print media and television as means of political learning. While researchers disagree on the extent of causality, there is nevertheless a consistent correlation between exposure to print media and higher levels of political knowledge, as compared with exposure to television (Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Graber, 1988; Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992; Robinson & Levy, 1986). While those who follows news in general are predictably better informed than those who do not, those who rely primarily on television news are less well informed than those who read newspapers. Those who rely primarily on television news about election process are less likely to participate, or to be involved in political process (Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Buckingham, 1997).

Recently, television is primarily to blame. Putnam (1995), for example, regards the decline in newspaper readership as an indication of the decline of "social capital"—that is, of organized social networks and the feelings of "connectedness" which they produce—which he argues has largely been caused by the rise of television. Especially, most critics focus on television use, which is linked with political malaise. Research shows that television viewing diminishes social capital and has a negative effect on participation in politically related activities and ultimately, increase political apathy and cynicism among the youth people (Putnam, 1995).

But media still are very important factors to shape citizens' political participation attitudes, specifically for younger people. For the theory of mobilization effects, the mass media including television viewing have positive effects on higher levels of political knowledge and interest as well as participation. Norris et al. (1999) examine the role of the media in civic engagement and argue that media use increases the level of political knowledge and mobilizes civic engagement in the long term. Young people are politically socialized through communication in a variety of settings including family, friends, traditional mass media, and the Internet. Many children use multiple media and are influenced by them in political socialization.

The civic curriculum, however, is using television program and newspaper as educational tools for facilitating civic attitudes and public affaires including the elections. Niemi and Junn (1998), who found that civics education contribute strongly to political knowledge, suggest that schooling can encourage students to pay more attention to political media. Both news media and civic education program are important in children's political participation. Thus, this study will treat them as separate but parallel predictors.

Results from the Kids Voting research demonstrate that this civic intervention program stimulates increases in media information seeking about the politics and elections. Patterns of different media use may have complementary relationship with civic education program. Students with highly involved in KV program typically follow news of elections and public issues. The role of news media socializes kids to participate in politics and public issues. Students with highly followed by news of elections and

public issues from media involved in civic intervention program typically follow news of elections and public issues from television and newspaper.

Thus, this study suggests that researchers need to explore the relationships between media use and civic education in political participation research. Although, the media can play a positive or negative role in the context of political participation, participants in the Kids Voting program are encouraged to use more television and newspaper news about public affairs and elections. Here, traditional media plays an important role in disseminating information about public issues. Thus, civic education program may have complementary relationship with media use. But both of them cannot directly effects on political participation. They need mediators. This correlated effect of media use and civic education on political participation is very likely mediated by the reciprocal effects of political talk and Internet use.

The patterns of political talk may have complementary relationships with Internet use, especially in situations where both traditional media and civic education program stimulate indirectly political participation. Traditional news media play a key role in disseminating information about election and public issues. Civic education program is another tool for educating civic attitudes and pubic affairs including elections.

The Relationships of Civic Education and Political Talk to Participation

Civic education is central to deliberative citizenship. Civic education helps youth people promote the ability to connect their personal interests with political and public issues and to connect those issues with family and friends for political talks or to build up the discussion networks and to connect "those issues with candidates who are more likely

to share their views and promote their interests" (Galston, 2001, p. 223) or to connect those issues with the people who are opposed to talk some issues.

Civic education programs originally encourage students to use more political information via mass media and simultaneously provide political information for interpersonal discussion with parents and friends. Conover et al (2002) found that "the factors inhibiting more deliberative discussion...should be amenable to some change, particularly through education" (p. 21). Thus, new political socialization research needs to examine the interdependent effects of civic education and interpersonal communication (McLeod, 1998).

Earlier empirical studies show that there is a strong relationship between taking civic courses and the frequency of their political discussion. Jennings and Niemi (1974) use data from the national survey of American high school seniors in 1965 and find that those who taking civic courses are more likely to have political discourse.

Current civic intervention program, Kids Voting Western New York, includes class discussion of current elections, assignments to learn about items on the ballot, and mock voting exercise. It will lead students to develop their own opinions and pay more attention to the topic of politics.

Because civic education is fundamental to political participation, this study begins with the expectation that Kids Voting program increased concept-oriented communication and Internet use for exploring in-depth information as the chief intervening variable.

Merrill et al. (1994) point out that Kids Voting program "ties class room instruction to political discussion between student and parent at home" (p. 2). Simon and

Merrill (1998) also suggest that this program "increased student use of the news media and increased discussions of public affairs with family and friends—activities which are linked to long-term political socialization" (p, 29). Thus, Conover and Searing (2000) find that there is a strong relationship between discussion at school and at home or church. In other words, the more the students discuss political issues at school, the more they discuss political issues at home or at church.

Kids Voting program has direct effects on youth peoples' political talk with their family and friends. There is promising evidence that well-designed civic education programs can promote dramatically higher levels of civic and political engagement and participation.

In 1998 survey, results of correlation analysis show that the more the students participate in the kids Voting program, the more likely they will talk about the election. The 1999 survey results show that the Kids Voting curriculum has greater impact on younger students than older ones. The Kids Voting curriculum motivates them to talk more about government, economy, foreign affairs, religion and crime.

Previous research shows that taking civic courses is weakly correlated with discussions of issues and is not correlated with political discussion with various social partners (Conover & Searing, 2000). However, previous research also indicates that the more civic courses the student has, the more likely he or she is to have more political discussion. Exposure to civic curriculum contributes to student political talk. Moreover, civic curriculum also motivates students to talk more about subjects they otherwise would not talk about, such as government and foreign affairs.

Exposure to civic intervention program increases a number of positive political socialization outputs of school children. Students who had been exposed to the special civic curriculum at school knew more about elections and public issues, frequently used media news, engaged actively in more political talk with family and friends. Civic intervention program is especially important to informed and thoughtful political participation.

The Kids Voting that serves as the independent variable in this study has previously produced a lot of positive outcomes for the study of political socialization and political communication. The program tends to be correlated with mass media use, which in turn leads to greater involvement of political talk and more information seeking relative to Internet use. If this is the case, then the both political talk and Internet use are important mediators (McLeod, 1998), which in turn should lead to a more informed discursive participation.

Taken together, there is evidence that civic education can have powerful effects on political talk, and that this political talk can help facilitate political participation through Internet use. This study put forth a set of hypothesis.

(H1) The exposure to Kids Voting program is positively related to political talk.

(H2) The impact of Kids Voting program is positively related to political participation through reciprocal effects of students' political talk and Internet use.

The Relationships of Media Use to Political Talk and Internet use

For several decades, researchers are interested in the roles of the news media in political socialization. One survey conducted by the Annenberg Public Policy Center

(1998) points out that "the average child in the United States spends about 25 hours a week in front of the television (including the use of VCR)" (CNN, 08/20/99, p. 1). This shows that children and young adulthood greatly relied on television for information and entertainment. Especially, the news media play an important role in contacting political world among the youth (Drew & Reeves, 1980). In addition, for a decade, new communication technologies including the Internet spread widely. Some researchers point out that there are some changes to learn something about politics from traditional media to the Internet (Bimber, 2000, 2001).

Most research confirms that the news media, as a political socialization agent, play an important role in shaping children' political attitudes (Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970; see Simon & Merrill, 1997 for a summary, pp. 308-311). Simon and Merrill (1997) propose that the roles of the news media function "...as a general information source...and a civics function in supplying specific information on voting and government" (p. 309).

Other studies point out that the news media are important sources for learning about current public issues (Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, 1970) and play an central role in increasing political knowledge (Atkin, 1978; Conway et al., 1981; Drew & Reeves, 1980; Drew & Reese, 1984; Garramone, 1983, Rubin, 1978; see Eveland et al., 1998 for a summary, pp. 700-701)

New communication technologies change the way and tools of the media use for gathering an information about politics and public issues. Specifically, the Internet becomes as important news sources. On the one hand, some researchers argue that Internet use will be one of most important information source about politics. On the

other hand, others argue that Internet use will substitute the old media for gathering an information about politics. Finally, one can say that the Internet might be an another medium and then it might be complemented by old media.

Recently there are some research outputs about Internet use among the adolescents (Annenberg Public Policy Center, 1999; UCLA, 2001; Jupiter Communications, 1999; Kirchner, 1999; Pew Research Center for People and the Press, 1996, 1998, 2000; Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999; Tobiason, 1997). Tarpley (2001) proposes that "the Internet has the potential to profoundly influence children and young people....with the thrill of information seeking and retrieval" (p. 551).

Although there are some consensus about the growing number of the Internet populations among kids and adolescents, there are competing viewpoints about whether or not the Internet can substitute the traditional news media for gathering an information about politics (Althaus and Tewksbury, 2000). On the one hand, the proponents of this argument propose that "Indeed, computers have replaced television as the favorite medium of children and adolescents of children and adolescents (both boys and girl) from 8 to 18 years of age" (Robert et al. 1999).

The traditional media are effective in providing information about the public issues but had limited effects. That is, the traditional media have little impact on the public. The mass media provide some agendas for talking public issues among peoples (Chaffee and Frank, 1996; McLeod et al., 1999a; Scheufele, 2000). Talking about this information with others may help them to acquire additional information or clarify potential ambiguities in the media accounts. Kim et al. (2002) found that the mass media play an important role in shaping the agenda of attributes among audiences. People

actively attempt to talk with others. Talk is "critical to form, reinforce, or change political opinions" (Meffert, 2001, p. 8).

It, in turn, provides the opportunity to seek out complementary information or in-depth information from other formats of media. Here, the Internet emerged as the complementary media in the functions of providing information about political and public issues. In other words, political talk serves as an important tool of information seeking for these individuals if media provide them with only insufficient or ambiguous information.

Thus, political talk encourages kids to use new media for searching for new and in-depth information. Political talk enhances Internet use and political participation by informing and mobilizing citizens and by enabling citizens to express their views without being filtered by the traditional media (Bennett, 1998). Internet is a worthy supplement to these traditional media, but not a reliance on the Internet (McLeod, 1998) as a replacement of information seeking from traditional media forms (See also Pew research report, 1999).

This pattern of results stresses the unique role of print media sources and in particular newspapers. They appear to be antecedent sources of political information that facilitate political disagreement in the first place. If people encounter disagreement in their personal environment, they are assumed to search for more information, something that would likely lead them to one or more the complementary media sources (i.e., Internet source). Furthermore, Chaffee (1982) suggests that the expectation of becoming involved in a political talk as well as the wish to engage in attempts of interpersonal persuasion provide a motivation for seeking out information in the 'new' media.

Mass media can provide useful information on specific topics of public affairs or elections to large numbers of people (Pinkleton & Austin, 1998; Pinkleton et al., 1998). The use of this information can, in turn, be facilitated by interpersonal discussion or political talk. Many scholars have argued that the mass media are powerful at disseminating information and to increase the awareness and knowledge (or what public issues are) (Chaffee, 1982; Valente & Saba, 1998) and participation (Pinkleton & Austin, 1998) and promote interpersonal discussion for providing the basic information, but that political discussion is necessary for opinion formation and behavior change (Jackson-Beeck, 1979)

An opposite view, however, argues that mass media, especially TV, bear a large responsibility for the reduced voter turnout, for increased citizen apathy and alienation toward the democratic process (See Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995, 1996; Entman, 1989; Fallows, 1996; Ranney, 1983) and for lower activity, efficacy and poor decision making (Miller & Reese, 1982; McLeod et al., 1983; Robinson, 1976). Putnam's (1995) argument that television has contributed to the decline of social capital, political trust, and political participation would tentatively make a similar claim.

However, in any case, newspapers appear to play an important role in shaping citizens' political discussions quantitatively and qualitatively (McLeod et al., 1999a, 1999b; Guo and Moy, 1998). By increasing political disagreement, newspapers shape public opinion. More specifically, Bennett et al (2000) found that "reliance on newspapers for campaign information was a significant predictor of how frequently Americans took part in political discussions in 1992" (p.110).

When we receive new political information through interpersonal contacts, people who have conversations with others are more likely to better understand news (Robinson & Levy, 1986). In addition, interpersonal discussions in which disagreement occurs provoke the greatest cognitive activity and provide individuals with opportunities to begin to learn about each other and about reasons for their differing opinions (Eliasoph, 2000; Gamson, 1992, 2001). It also sparks people to find other media sources.

This study considers media use a driving force for exploring political behavior among the youth. Recently, some research has suggested that media use may be the most important predictor of political participation (Moy et al., 1999). Media use is potential sources not only for disseminating of information but also for increasing civic skills and knowledge about politics and public affairs. Therefore mass media is one of important tools for civic education. In other words, civic education may be especially important source for citizens to use mass media for getting political information.

According to recent research on public opinion, this study assumes that news media use as an independent variable is significantly related to the frequency of political talk (Kim, Wyatt & Katz, 1999). It says that news media provide important sources for interpersonal discussion. In political socialization research, youths' use of news media tends to be positively associated with interpersonal discussion of elections and public issues (Atkin & Gantz, 1978; Garramone & Atkin, 1986; Schramm et al., 1961).

(H3) TV news use about the election is positively related to political talk.

(H4) Newspaper news use about the election is positively related to political talk.

There were some competing viewpoints about the role of news media in the political participation literature. Research indicates that newspaper news provide important sources for political participation than television. In other words, television tends to increase political apathy and cynicism and negatively influence citizens' willingness to engage in democratic process, especially for the young people (Becker & Whitney, 1980; Moy, Pfau, Kahlor, 1999). On the contrary to, newspaper use will facilitate political participation (McLeod & McDonald, 1985).

Some studies examine the influence of different media use between traditional media and new media (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000). They found that while online news source is significantly correlated with reading newspapers, there is no any specific relationship between online news use and viewing television news. One of recent study on social implications of the Internet (DiMaggio et al. 2001), they summarized the existing research by social scientist about the Internet's implications for social change. They confirmed that the Internet tends to complement rather than substitute for traditional media and patterns of behavior. Instead of replacing traditional media, however, media use motivated citizens to turn to the Internet for more detailed information. The Internet has complemented (or reinforced), not replaced existing patterns of traditional media use.

This study posits a hypothesis regarding the relative impact of use of television and newspaper news on political participation. The effects of mass media on political participation are one of important independent variables mediated by political talk and Internet use. Most past researches suggest that newspapers have consistently been found to increase overall levels of political participation (McLeod et al. 1999),

(H5) Newspaper news use is positively related to political participation through the reciprocal effects of students' political talk and Internet use.

The Reciprocal Effects of Political Talk and Internet Use on Political Participation

Traditional news media play a key role in disseminating information about election and public issues and also civic education program is an educational tool for facilitating civic attitudes including the elections. From the effects of news media and civic education program, this study proposed that political talk is a crucial mediating force and then the Internet is another complementary mediator of participation in political process.

Most research on participatory behavior is based on indirect relationship (McLeod et al., 1999a, 1999b; Scheufele, 2000; Kim, Wyatt, & Katz, 1999). In addition, studies of political socialization and civic education are based on mediated relationship (Atkin & Gantz, 1978; Chaffee & Tims, 1982; Garramone, 1983; Garramone & Atkin, 1986; Roberts et al., 1975; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2000).

For example, McLeod et al (1999a) examines the effects of local media use, interpersonal discussion, and reflection of information as mediators on participation in public forums. They found that interpersonal discussion as a mediator is positively related indirectly in traditional and directly in non-traditional forms of participation. Using telephone survey data, Scheufele (2000) finds that the exposure of political news from hard news source is positively related to political talk and then those who talked about politics more frequently also are positively related to political participation. Furthermore, Eveland and Scheufele (1998) find that those who talked about political issues with other people play a key role in understanding political information obtained

from mass media sources. Kim et al. (1999) examines Tarde's public opinion model and suggest that news media use is positively related to the frequency of political conversation, both news media use and political talk are closely related to willingness to argue with those who have different opinions, and finally these discursive development are positively related to participatory activities. Here, political talk serves as a mediator.

To understand the relationship between news media and youth political socialization, scholars use political talk as a dependent variable as well as an independent one. Garramone (1983) and Garramone and Atkin (1986) find that the exposure of political information from mass media sources is strongly related to political discussion of politics among students. Roberts et al. (1975) find that those who exposed to media public affairs content are more likely to participate in family political discussion.

As mentioned earlier, many scholars contend that talking about politics has positive effects for citizens' participation and the democratic process (Dryzek, 1990; Lasswell, 1941). In addition, political talk is not the only potential mediator of the relationship between media use and political participation. Younger people are more likely to use television over the newspaper, and specifically tend to use the Internet for more in-depth information. The Internet provides younger people with a public sphere. Most research outputs about Internet use propose that the Internet has the potential to profoundly influence on young people's political participation (Kraut, 2000).

Although there are competing viewpoints about the role of the Internet on political participation, there is a widespread belief that the there is some possibility to fulfill their role of facilitating engaged citizens. Therefore, one can predict that the

Internet will transform the information seeking process in the near future away from the traditional media use.

(H6) Political talk is positively related to political participation.

(H7) Internet use is positively related to participation.

As we have seen, both political talk and Internet use have the reciprocal effects on the levels of political participation among adults and young people. Harrison and Falvey (2000) argue that "new communication technologies will enable citizens to engage in more productive political dialogue and in so doing contribute to a reconstitution of what they regard as the deliberative substance of democracy" (p. 15). The deliberative potential of the Internet is for facilitating political discussion or talk (Davis, 1997, 1999). The Internet and political talk composed of mobilizing information may be especially important for citizens to engage in discursive participation.

For example, Papacharissi (2002) argue that the Internet can create a new public sphere for political discussion and then both will increase political participation. In relation to political participation, Buckingham (1997) further notes that "there are many who argue that the deliberative potential of new media forms and technologies in terms of participatory democracy is significantly greater than that of more traditional forms of news journalism" (p.348). Thus, this study assumes that interpersonal discussion of politics tends to be reciprocally associated with youth's attention to Internet news.

(H8) The reciprocal effects between political talk and Internet use are positively related to political participation.

Hypothesized Model of Discursive Participation

Considering the theoretical and practical considerations reviewed above, this study takes the position that there is a developmental (i.e., discursive) process in the formation of discursive participation. Basically, this study is based on Tarde's model of public opinion formation. Tarde demonstrates that conversation plays an important role in the formation of public opinion and political participation. Tarde's model of public opinion is: media---conversation---opinion--action. Tarde notes that "conversation at all times, and the press, which at present is the principal source of conversation, are the major factors in opinion" (Clark, 1969). Tarde notes that the press does not exhibit directive influence; rather it sets the agenda for conversation (Katz, 1992). Without conversation, newspapers would exercise no profound influence on the people (Katz, 1992; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955).

Recently, the landmark studies of 1990s and the early of 2000s newly established the basic framework that defined the field of civic participation or democratic citizenship related to the effects of media, interpersonal discussion, political knowledge and other politically related variables. Their theoretical and empirical studies are very useful for explaining political participation

The models of participation put forth in this study are similar to scholars' models above in that they represent a process of participation focusing on the effects of the media, education, interpersonal discussion, and new media separately. However, this model is new in that it foci on the direct and indirect effects of news media and communication in

the context of civic education. In addition, this study separately considers the effects of the media, such as, traditional and the Internet. Here, the Internet has different effects as an intervening variable.

This study is to model the relationship among media use, civic education, and communication variables in a way theoretically consistent with the discursively oriented model of participatory democracy. Thus, this study expects media use and civic education (a so-called exogenous variables) to directly affect communication and news media variables (mediated variables), communication and Internet use variables to affect politically related participation (behaviors or behavioral intentions, a so-called endogenous variables), controlling for demographic variables, grades earned in school and gender. Jaccard et al. (1990) define a mediated relationship as "one in which X exerts a causal impact on Y, but only through its impact on a third variable, Z" (p. 7). For example, news media and civic education do not influence political participation directly—at least not exclusively—but rather indirectly through political talk and Internet use.

Figure 3.1 graphically depicts the theorized model of discursive participation. It should be added that the model includes all the direct and indirect relationships we considered plausible from a theoretical perspective. This study, however, cannot theoretically discuss and empirically investigate all these relationship. It concentrates on accounting for mediating relationship among media, civic education, and communication. The approach of this study is mainly deductive and normative. This study also explores empirically those structural models which have the more explanation power.

This study addresses two research questions. Taken together, there is evidence that civic education can have powerful effects on political talk, and that this political talk can help facilitate political participation through Internet use. Given the dearth of studies concerning this civic education program, this study poses a research question on the impact of civic education program on youth political attitudes.

(R1) How is the impact of civic education on discursive participation mediated by the influences of the Internet use and political talk?

Most research found that interpersonal political discussion has a great effect on political participation. The Internet also emerged as the complementary media in the functions of providing mobilizing information about political issues. But given the dearth of studies regarding the reciprocal effects of both political talk and Internet use, this study poses another research question on the impact of political talk.

(R2) What is the deliberation process by which the Internet use affects political participation?

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the methodological procedures utilized to test the research questions and hypotheses presented in chapter three. In order to verify that the hypothesized model is useful as a theoretical framework, structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis was used to fit the discursive participation model to a dataset. Specifically, this chapter includes the following: 1) the research sample; 2) data collection procedures; 3) measures, and 4) the data analytic procedures.

Survey sample and Data Collection Procedures

For the past four years (1997-2000), the Department of Communication at University at Buffalo, the State University of New York has distributed questionnaires to a sample of participating schools with the purpose of assessing the effectiveness of the Kids Voting of Western New York (KVWNY) program and of testing some basic hypotheses about political socialization and communication. Buffalo is one of the strongest Kids Voting sites in part because this intervention program is well supported by Buffalo News. The study was planned in association with a local branch of the national organization Kids Voting of USA (KVUSA).

In this study, a post-election survey was conducted to evaluate the program. To gauge the program's impact in the classroom, the survey targeted at 1275 students and 51 classes from participating 15 schools in Erie and Niagara Counties. Participating schools were stratified by racial, political and demographic characteristics, then selected in a manner designed to yield approximately the same number of respondent in grades 5^{th} to 12^{th}. Individual classes in each school were then selected at random by coordinator or social science class, all students in a chosen class completed a questionnaire. Fifty four

questions were given to students in participating grade groups. Seven schools out of the fifteen returned the questionnaires. The student survey yielded 362 responses at 7 schools in both Erie and Niagara Counties.

The compliance rate was 28%. Due to lack of obtaining permission for distributing questionnaires to students in classrooms, our sample size was reduced substantially. The overall cooperation rates were lower than anticipated. The sample frame also yielded a smaller than expected percentage of eligible respondents. Some biases are reported by the low compliance rate in this survey. For example, there are older students in schools that have been with the program for five years. In structural equation modeling analysis, however, from 100 to 200 subjects are recommended for maximum likelihood estimation (Hair et al., 1998; Kline, 1998).

For the actual survey, the target population for this study was all participants of the civic curricular program provided by the KVWNY in a northeastern urban school district at Buffalo. The researcher, thus, used the convenient sampling method. This method was less time-consuming. In addition, this sampling procedures is used when a list of all members of population is not available, or when the random selection of individual is inconvenient, as was the case for this study (Fink, 1998).

In the data collection procedures, the field research assistants scheduled a time to personally hand questionnaires to the school coordinator. We surveyed one classroom from each grade participating in Kids Voting, including grades 5 and higher, in each school. Questionnaires and response sheets enclosed in a manila envelope noting the School name and grade level have been provided for each grade. We asked coordinators to choose away classroom at their discretion, but more or less randomly. At this time, the

field research assistant introduced the purpose of the study and explained the specific procedures to school teachers or coordinators to minimize non-response error. At this time, or when handing them over, scheduled a time to pick them up. Finally, in an effort to determine what values did participating teachers and coordinators assign to the program, responses were used. The 16 questions survey asked teachers to rate KV on a variety of dimensions, including its ability to increase student knowledge about elections.

Although there may be concerned about the representativeness of the student sample to a more general population, the purpose of this study is to examine whether there are some useful casual relationships among each construct and how one construct can explain directly or indirectly. Thus, this study does not concern the specific parameters for the degrees of media use, the impacts of civic educations and political talks. Therefore, this study does not need to use random sampling. The respondents were collected in the time period beginning one week after the presidential election in 2000 until the end of December 2000. This group is by no means representative of the larger kids population, and this study suggests that this kids' population does not generalize to patterns of political participation that might be found in a broader cross section of American society. This study suggests that their political behavior patterns found in this kids group are of great theoretical interest to political socialization and participation research (see Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000)

Measures

The hypothesized model for the present study consisted of latent constructs, measured variables, and indicator variables. The latent constructs were Political Discussion and Internet Use. The measured variables were TV use, Newspaper use,

Grade, Gender, Kids Voting effects, and political participation. Likert scaling is often used for examining the kids' opinions toward the degrees of media use, the impacts of civic education, and involvement of political talk (DeVellis, 1991 for Likert scaling). In addition, the result of Cronbach's alpha should be 0.7 or above, but given previous studies it better than .05 (Ajzen & Madden, 1986; Becker & Gibson, 1998) or .06 (Peterson, 1994; Slater, 1995) seems to be acceptable.

The measures in our study can be grouped into three categories: (1) exogenous variables, which are not influenced by any other variables in the model; (2) antecedent endogenous variables (i.e., political talk and Internet use variables), which serves as both independent and dependent variables in the model; and (3) the final endogenous variable—participation. The appendix provides the exact wording for all variables (See Appendix 2).

The variables used in the analysis, variable names and descriptions, and descriptive statistics are showed below. The indicators used to measure each construct are also discussed below. In structural equation analysis, the operational definition describes "the procedures to follow to form measures of the latent variable(s) that represent a concept" (Bollen, 1987a, p. 181). The first step is to identify of the exogenous as an independent and endogenous as a dependent variables for the evaluation of the hypothesized conceptual model.

Prior research has demonstrated that several demographic variables play a key role in predicting news media use, talk, Internet use, and political participation (see McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy, 1999b). For grades earned in school, Merrill et al. (1994) argue that "many students peak in their early political interest during the junior high

school years; their attitudes toward the political world can become so entrenched that little change often occurs in high school, even though they are exposed to more information through social studies classes" (p. 3). Atkin and Gantz (1978) find that grade in school is the strongest predictor of political talk with peers and parents. As children gets older, they are particularly likely to increase discussions with peers, while conversations with parents are less strongly related to grade. Several studies show that age (Uslaner, 1998) and gender are positively related with civic participation. And past research shows that Kids Voting program is less effective with the older high school students (Chaffee et al., 1995a). It means that Kids Voting program has its strongest impacts on students' political behavior in their earlier grades. For gender, previous research results show that boys tend to be more interested in politics compared with girls. Thus, it might be the case that Kids Voting already exerted most or all of its potential influence in the students' earlier grades.

Demographic variables work through newspaper, television use and the effects of civic education. Thus, two demographic controls are included for all endogenous variables in the model. Gender (M=1.52, S.D.=.48) is straightforward in this measurement and grades were measured as years earned in school (M=7.53, S.D.=2.1). Because this study do not propose any hypothesis regarding the relationships between the demographic control variables and the theoretical variables, these paths are not discussed in the text. By controlling for demographics, this study has established a model test for evaluating Kids Voting effects.

This study includes three exogenous variables. To explain the variance in this endogenous criterion variable and specify this hypothesized model, this study included

two traditional media variables and one civic education one. Civic education program, which provides kids the background skills to locate political information and process its messages, is a strong correlate of media use (Chaffee et al., 2001). Thus, this study treats them as separate but parallel predictors.

Two patterns of media use, newspaper use (M=2.40, S.D.=.93) and TV use (M=1.90, S.D.=1.03) were measured with variables indicating respondents' frequency of exposures on likert scales. And my operationalization of different types of media use was limited to the measures available in the data set. Therefore, TV and Newspaper use was operationalized using a single item. They were labeled 'TV use,' and 'Newspaper use,' and 'Kids Voting (KV) effects' for observed variables. Respondents were asked (1) How much information did you get from television about the election? and (2) How much information did you get from newspapers about the election? They are measured on ordinal four-point scale, ranging from none (0), a little (1) to some (2) and a lot (3). For KV effects, there are four indicators: (1) Do you like voting?; (2) Do you think it is important to vote?; (3) Would you like to vote next year?, and (3) Did you have fun with Kids Voting? Each indicator was coded from No (0) to 1 (Yes). Civic education effects was measured as an additive index of four items measuring students' attitudes in this intervention program (α=.73).

Two antecedent endogenous and one endogenous variables are included in the analyses. All variables were factor analyzed by principle component analysis with direct oblimin and produced three distinct factors with an eigenvalue of at least 1.0 which were used to compute factor score variables: (1) political talk; (2) Internet use including Internet information use and computer mediated communication, and (3) non-traditional

political participation. This factor analysis indicated that each construct is an independent and coherent factor, distinguishable from other variables. The factor loadings are presented in table 4.1.

For antecedent endogenous variables, two latent variables, political talk and Internet use, included in this analysis. Exposure to political talk was measured on a four-point scale indicating how often the respondents had talked about political issues and campaigns with their parents and friends and participated in political talks in which others had taken different points of view from themselves. For political talk, respondents were asked (1) How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your parents and others in your family? (M=1.64, S.D.=.94); (2) How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your friends? (M=1.12, S.D.=.86), and (3) During the recent election campaign, how often did you talk with people whose ideas or candidate preferences were different than yours? (M=1.64, S.D.=.99). They are measured on an ordinal four-point scale, ranging from never (0) seldom (1) to sometimes (2) and often (3). The reliability coefficient was .63.

For Internet use, respondents were asked (1) How much information did you get from the Internet (computers) about the election?; (2) On average, how much time a day do you spend browsing the Internet?; (3) How often do you use e-mail or chat groups?, and (4) How often did you talk about the recent election campaigns using e-mail or chat groups? For (1) and (2), they are measured on ordinal four-point scale, ranging from none (0), a little (1) to some (3) and a lot (4). For (3), they are measured on ordinal four-point scale, ranging from rarely (0), a few times each month (1) to a few days each week (2) to daily (3). For (4), they are measured on ordinal four-point scale, ranging from

never (0), seldom (1), sometimes (2), and often (3). This study will combine each two items into an additive index. Two of these were combined into a factor, Internet information use (M=2.81, S.D.=1.80). The two others were combined into a second factor, computer mediated communication (M=2.62, S.D.=2.09). The two factors are positively correlated with each other ($r=.45$, $p<.01$).

One endogenous Variable is included. The criterion measure political participation is operationalized as an additive index from seven dichotomous items measuring non-traditional types of political participation ($\alpha=.63$). Most studies show that participation in a deliberative forum has been treated as a dependent variable (McLeod et al., 1999). This study looked at the relationships among interpersonal discussion, media use, and reflection and the dependent variable.

Despite the relatively low reliability coefficient, the lack of alternative measures limits us to the index described here. Respondents were asked (1) Have you ever written a letter to a newspaper, magazine or television news program?; (2) Have you ever called in to a radio or television talk show?; (3) Have you ever written a letter to, phoned or otherwise contacted a candidate for public office or an elected official?; (4) Have you ever attended a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs?; (5) Have you ever spoken out at a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs?; (6) Have you ever taken part in a public demonstration or march?, and (7) Have you ever worked in a political campaign? Each item was coded from 0=no to 1=yes.

Data Analytic Procedures

The paper is to test this theoretical model against the survey sample data in five analytical steps. First, it will analyze whether news media sources separately have an

influence on political talks while controlling for a series of confounding influences. In the second step, it will analyze whether civic education has an influence on political discussions while controlling for a series of confounding influences. In the third step, it will analyze whether political talk has an influence on Internet use and the vice versa. The consequences of the interaction between political talk and Internet use within the civic program effects will be analyzed. In the fourth step, it will analyze whether each independent variable, TV use, newspaper use, and civic education, has an influence indirectly on political participation through the reciprocal effects between political talk and Internet use. In the final step, it will analyze whether both political talk and Internet use have an influence on political participation.

The causal ordering of variables and the processes leading to non-traditional types of political participation will be explained. Structural equation modeling (SEM) will be used to develop and test this model. SEM has been employed in a number of more recent studies in the areas of political participation or civic engagement (Austin & Pinkleton, 2001; Eveland, 2002; Eveland et al., 2000; Nisbet et al., 2002; Nabi & Sullivan, 2001; Moy et al., 1999, 2001; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Sotirovic and McLeod, 2001; McLeod et al., 1999a, 1999b; Scheufele, 2000). Many communication scientists also have employed SEM to analyze relationships among variables (see Holbert & Stephenson, 2002; Stephenson & Holbert, 2003)

SEM has at least two advantages compared to other multivariate methods. First, SEM analysis is based on the theoretical model for testing the hypotheses and to examine a series of linear relationships among variables simultaneously. Variables in a model may include both measured variables and latent variables. Holye (1995) argues that SEM

is "a very general linear statistical model that can be used to evaluate statistically most research hypotheses of interest to social scientists" (p. 5). Second, SEM provides scholars with both examining direct and indirect paths among variables (Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999). Direct relationships are defined as links between variables that are not mediated or moderated by other any variables in the model. Indirect links involve mediation by other variables; variable A affects variable B through a third variable C that is directly linked to both. The total effect of one variable on another is defined as the sum of its direct and indirect effects. Consequently, SEM is suit for the analyzing the mediated relationship (Alwin & Hauser, 1975; Baron & Kenney, 1986; Bollen, 1987a; MacKinnon et al., 2002; Sobel, 1988) and is considered a suitable multivariate technique to apply in this research (Frazer, 2001).

The analysis of the fit of the KV data to the conceptual model is conducted using the AMOS 4.0, standing for Analysis of MOment Structure, computer program for structural equation modeling (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999). AMOS 4.0 provides scholars with examining direct and indirect relationships among exogenous, antecedent exogenous, and endogenous variables. It allows testing of the fit of the hypothesized model to the sample data.

Some exogenous and endogenous variables were measured by dichotomous variables. Gender and civic education as dichotomous exogenous variables are acceptable in SEM, but participation as a dichotomous endogenous variable must be continuous and normally distributed (de Menezes, 1999). Thus, the criterion measure was measured as an additive index from seven dichotomous items. More importantly, the model was estimated using the normal-theory method of estimation, maximum likelihood

(ML) with bootstrapping (Bollen & Stine, 1990, 1992; Boomsma, 1986; Ichikawa & Konishi, 1995; Stine, 1989; Yung & Bentler, 1994, 1996). Bootstrapping is acceptable for use with categorical data with underlying non normal distribution and a sufficient number of categories as described above for the KV data (Efron, 1979; West et al., 1995). Nevitt and Hancock (2001) propose that "bootstrap resampling...is one potential solution for estimating model test statistic p values and parameter standard errors under nonnormal data conditions" (p.353). In addition, the missing data influences maximum likelihood with bootstrapping in AMOS 4.0. This study did not identify any systematic pattern of missing data in this survey data set. The missing values were replaced with the mean value of the variable (Hair et al., 1995).

While some researchers conduct the five-step analysis, this study was conducted in two steps, the measurement and structural models (Bollen, 1987b; Hair et al., 1995; Hayduk, 2000; Kline, 1998). The measurement model concerns the structural relations between latent variables and their indicators. Bollen (1987b) proposes that the measurement model "specifies a structural model connecting latent variables to one or more measures or observed variables" (p. 182). The structural model evaluates the hypothesized model for examining the relations among the latent or measured constructs (Hoyle, 1991).

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) will be conducted in the measurement model. The purpose of this confirmatory factor analysis is to identify and correct problems before testing the causal relationships among the latent or measured constructs. If the goodness-of-fit is acceptable, the structural model will be analyzed. The causal relations among these constructs will be reported by path coefficients with standardized

and unstandardized regression weights of each relation and its significance. Furthermore, squared multiple correlations for each measured or latent variable were reported to assess how well each variable was accounted for by the corresponding latent variable. In addition, as for significance tests, either P-values or Critical Ratios (C.R.) will be used for determining if the null model is true (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999).

Researchers have developed several fit indices for evaluating the relative strength of a particular model with regard to absolute, relative, and adjusted indexes (Hair et al., 1995; Hoyle, 1995; Hutchinson & Olmos, 1998; Kline, 1998). Tanaka (1993) argues that "relative fit indices are defined with respect to a specific model that serves as an anchor for subsequent model comparisons; absolute fit indices do not employ such a comparison actor" (p. 16). Most research results show that scholars need to use several indices to assess a particular SEM model, depending on the type of data and size of the model (Kline, 1998).

The chi-square test and normed chi-square (CMINDF) will be used commonly for testing significance in a proposed model. The chi-square test is a measure of the overall fit of the hypothesized model to the data. If chi-square is not statistically significant and the ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom (X^2 is 2 or less) (Hatcher, 1994), it indicates that this proposed model fits very well. Because the evaluative chi-square test is very sensitive to sample size, most researchers have recommended several additional methods of evaluating the goodness of fit, such as the noncentral chi-square distribution (Bentler, 1993; Kaplan, 2000; Stephenson & Holbert, 2003).

Additional indices used for this study include: (1) absolute index: goodness-of-fit index (GFI) of .90 or greater, as close to 1 as possible and a root mean square error of

approximation (RMSEA) less than or equal to .06 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993) and (2) comparative or incremental index: a Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), a comparative fit index (CFI), the normal fit index (NFI) of .95 or greater, as close to 1 as possible (Bentler, 1990; Bentler & Bonett, 1980; Bollen, 1986; Hu & Bentler, 1999). The final index used in this analysis was the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), which is quite robust against violations of multivariate normality. It's values below .08 show small discrepancy and good fit.

CHAPTER 5: Results

This study examined that communication and Internet use mediate the influences of traditional media and civic education on political participation. It expects media use and civic education to directly affect political talk and new media variables. These mediators will affect politically related participation, controlling for demographic variables. The results of the AMOS analyses for the hypothesized model were presented as follows: (1) the measurement model using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA); (2) the structural model using maximum likelihood (ML) with bootstrapping, and (3) alternative structural models.

For significance tests of individual parameters, AMOS output contains critical ratios (C.R.). A critical ratio is calculated by dividing the estimate by its standard error. Critical ratios that fall between -1.96 and +1.96 are not statistically significant at alpha level of .05. For a bootstrapping estimation, this study used the bootstrap Mean and SE columns to compute critical ratio value. In a same vein, any critical ratio greater than 1.96 in magnitude for a two-tail test would be statistically significant. Instead, AMOS output contains the percentile-corrected confidence (PC Confidence) and bias-corrected confidence (BC confidence) intervals and p-values. Based on the guidelines for the reporting of SEM results (Boomsma, 2000; Hoyle & Panter, 1995; McDonald & Ho, 2002; Raykov et al., 1991) both the unstandardized and standardized regression (beta) coefficients are presented. AMOS output also contains the R^2 values for each dependent and mediating variable.

The Measurement Model

Goodness of fit indices for the measurement model as a whole are examined. As mentioned earlier, the latent variables in the model were political talk with three indicators and Internet use with two indicators. Table 5.1 summarizes the chi-square and goodness-of-fit statistics for the measurement model.

Results indicated that it was a good model for the data. Although the statistically significant chi-square value was indicative of a poor fit and thus not supportive of this model, most fit indices were supportive of this hypothesized model.

Two additional absolute fit indices, normed chi-square and goodness-of-fit index (GFI) indicate how well the parameters in the model match the covariances in the data. The normed chi-square, which is the chi-square divided by the degrees of freedom, may be more accurate in assessing the model fit in relation to how many parameters were estimated. A normed chi-square of 2 or less shows good fit. The GFI is analogous to an R^2 statistic in multiple regression. It varies between 0 and 1 and explains the proportion of observed covariances that were explained by the model covariances. Values closer to 1 mean better fit between the data and the model.

Three fit indices, the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), the normal fit index (NFI), and the comparative fit index (CFI), evaluate incremental fit by comparing the model being tested to a null model. They all exceeded .90, which supports this hypothesized measurement model. Good fit is indicated by values over .90, which means that the tested model fits the data 90% better than a model that does not fit at all. Two fit indices used in this analysis were the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and Standardized RMR (SRMR). RMSEA is a measure that corrects for the tendency of chi-

square to reject any model if the sample is sufficiently large. The value of RMSEA represents the discrepancy between the data and the model per degree of freedom and values below .06 show small discrepancy and good fit. The final index used in this analysis was the Standardized RMR (SRMR), which is quite robust against violations of multivariate normality. It's values below .08 show small discrepancy and good fit.

The results of confirmatory factor analysis supported that the observed variables adequately represented their corresponding latent variables.

The Structural Model

Structural model testing was conducted in two steps: (1) assessment of model fit and (2) comparison of nested models. In the second phase of structural model testing, nest model comparisons were considered. Model comparisons were focused on judging whether one model was a significantly better fit than another nested model

The hypothesized structural relations among the latent constructs were tested and the fit of the structural model was evaluated. Analysis of the structural model produced estimates of the relationships among both latent constructs and measured variables. Table 5.2 indicates that that the final structural model fit the data very well. As shown in Table 5.2, discrepancy between this model and the observed data was significant [X^2(28, n=362)=44.239, $p < .05$], indicating that this model did not fit the data well.

However, other fit indices revealed that the structural model fit the data reasonably well. The normed chi-square was less than two, which confirmed good fit of the model to the KWWNY data. The GFI was .98, indicating that approximately 98% of the covariance in the data was explained by the covariance in the model. Likewise, additional fit indices, TLI, CFI, and NFI, were greater than the .90 with respective

coefficients of .93, .97, and .92. This indicated an adequate fit of a model. In addition, RMSEA was below .05, showing good fit of the model to the data. The final index used in this analysis was the Standardized RMR (SRMR), which is quite robust against violations of multivariate normality. It's values were below .08, showing small discrepancy and good fit. Considering all the measured fit indices, it can be concluded that this proposed structural equation model achieved the best fit with the data.

The analysis obtained a model that fits well and is theoretically consistent. Then AMOS output contains the R^2 values for each dependent or mediating variable and the parameter estimates. First, the R^2 values for the two antecedent endogenous and one endogenous outcome variables are reported in Figure 5.1. These values should be regarded as descriptive statistics that represent the variance explained by the combination of variables that precede each variable, similar to the R^2 statistics in multiple regression. However, though the R^2 values for the individual outcome variables may provide an intuitive understanding of the effects of the variables on each other in this data, the R^2 values are not tested for statistical significance in a SEM analysis. The variables in the final model accounted for 30% of the variance in political participation. In addition, the structural model explained 37% of the variance in political talk, 28% of the variance in Internet use.

The model shown in Figure 5.1 supports some of the hypotheses put forth in this study. Most estimated paths are significant at the .05 level. Unstandardized path coefficients in a structural equation model can be interpreted in much the same way as they would in a standard regression model (see Table 5.4). The coefficient represents the change in the dependent variable for a given change in the independent variable

controlling for the other variables in the equation. Using standardized beta coefficients, this study can compare the relative contributions of each predictor variable to each dependent variable in the model (see Table 5.3).

The results of this analysis indicate that three exogenous variables were interrelated among each other. In other words, civic education was positively related to television news use (beta=.19, C.R.=3.15) and newspaper news use (beta=.12, C.R.=2.02).

Hypothesis 1 states that the exposure to Kids Voting program is positively related to political talk. The exposure to this civics program increased the likelihood of political talk (beta=.20). People who participated in this civic intervention program displayed significantly more to talk with their parents, friends, and with people opposed.

Hypothesis 2 states that the impact of Kids Voting program is positively related to political participation through the interaction of students' political talk and Internet use. The results demonstrated that this intervention program stimulated students' political participation through the mechanism of students' political talk. With respect to political participation, this intervention accounted for seven percent of the variance in support for political participation (see Table 5.5).

According to Hypothesis 3 and 4, television news watching and newspaper news reading would be related to the political talk about the politics and the presidential election. The data showed that newspaper use exerts a very strong positive effect on political talk (beta=.28). A markedly different pattern of results emerged for the effects of television news watching. Television watching is not significantly related to political talk.

Furthermore, hypothesis 5 states that newspaper use is positively related to political participation through the reciprocal effects of students' political talk and Internet use. Newspaper news reading does have an important indirect influence on political participation mediated through political talk (beta=.11). They tended to be more participating in public affairs. Respondents with higher levels of newspaper use were more likely to expose themselves to political talk and on Internet. Consistent with previous research, this study found respondents who used more newspaper news to be more likely to follow up this information in Internet via political talk (beta=.12) (see table 5.5). On the contrary, the results show that television news watching does not have any significant direct or indirect effect on any of the endogenous variables.

Hypothesis 6 states that political talk would be related positively to political participation. This was supported (beta=.19). The effect of political talk with family and friends seems to be particularly relevant. In addition, political talk was found to have a positive impact on participation, both directly, and mediated through Internet use (beta=.19). Those who talk to others are more likely to use Internet source and to actively involve in political participation.

Hypothesis 7 which stated that Internet use would be related positively to political participation was supported (beta=.40). The data showed that reliance on Internet use exerts a very strong positive effect on political participation. Moving on to Internet use, Kids Voting accounted for somewhat small amounts of variance in these indicators via political talk (beta=.08). One can say that political talk nurtured the curiosity of students to the extent that they were paying more attention to politics or election news via the Internet (see table 5.5).

Finally, hypothesis 8 stated that the reciprocal effects between political talk and Internet use are positively related to participation. This was not supported. As mentioned earlier, the relationship between political talk and Internet use is a key interest in this model. The hypothesized model presented here conceptualizes this link as a reciprocal one. Political talk, however, is positively related to Internet use (beta=.42). Political talk does have an important indirect influence on political participation mediated through Internet use (beta=.19). Thus, this study found respondents who participated political talk to be more likely to expose themselves to Internet use and to participate political spheres through Internet use. On the contrary, the results show that Internet use is positively related to political talk. It means that Internet use does not have any significant indirect effect on political participation through political talk.

Alternative Models

Alternative models were considered as the final SEM analysis. Model comparisons were focused on judging whether an original structural model was a significantly better fit than another alternative models. Alternative models are created by theoretical backgrounds and modification indices greater than 4.00 produced by AMOS. Modification indices (MI), however, produced uninterpretable added parameters, including many possible correlations between error variances or indicators.

Alternative model of discursive participation is only slightly revised from the structural model (see Figure 5.2 & 5.3). Alternative model thus differs from the initial expectations in two aspects. First, the one-directional path from political talk to Internet use might be included. The reciprocal path from political talk to Internet use, anticipated from the initial research, failed to obtain significant relationships with the present data set.

The lack of a relationship between two mediators might be due to the fact that a non-recursive relationship was specified. Second, this model added path from newspaper use to Internet use because reading newspapers is significantly correlated with online news source. A few studies argue that both Internet use and newspaper use play an important role in shaping mobilizing information. However, there is no specific relationship between online news use and viewing television news.

Therefore, this study tested two alternative models. The difference of the two models was tested by comparing the difference of the X^2 ($p<.05$) values of the two models with the difference in the degrees of freedom. Results indicated that there was no any significant difference between the structural model and two alternative models.

The fit measures indicated that there were no significant differences between the structural model and the competing models. The fit indices for these two alternative models are shown in Table 5.6 (see also Table 5.7 & 5.8). Although it is possible that one of the alternative models is the correct model, the structural model was not denied. The main focus of structural model was to investigate a reciprocal or non-recursive relationship between two mediators, political talk and Internet use. The original structural model in Figure 5.1 was supported by the review of the literature and thus has a stronger theoretical base than do the alternative models.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusions

The primary intention of this study was to offer a discursive model of civic and political participation that can be applied across many participation contexts. The discursive model as proposed here suggests that political participation is dependent on political talk, traditional media, the Internet, and civic education program. This study examined the contribution of two demographic variables controlled, two traditional media variables and then considers the mediating roles within the context of civic education. More importantly, this study explored the reciprocal relationships between political talk and Internet use on discursive participation among adolescents.

The results of the analysis indicated that this model was an acceptable model for a sample of Kids Voting Western New York (KVWNY). Although the chi-square value was statistically significant, all of the incremental fit indices met the minimum accepted values for goodness of fit. The present results provided strong support for the discursive model of political participation. Each newspaper use and civic education variable was significantly related to political participation mediated by political talk and Internet use after just demographic controls. Both have indirect effects and then political talk and Internet use separately were significantly and positively related to political participation. These important conclusions drawn from the SEM analysis were maintained when adding political talk and Internet use to the model as mediating variables.

Findings

The structural model of discursive participation found that both the effects of newspaper use and civic education were mediated by political talk and Internet use on the information processing and discursive participation. In the discourse of discursive

participation, citizens can access to information from reading newspaper news. Based on this information citizen can act and engage in deliberative discussion with family, friends, and "both like-minded and differently minded others" (Swanson, 2000, p. 412). Through this whole process, citizen can be conceived as an informed citizen who will actively process information and am looking forward new or reliable information from the Internet and also directly participate in political process as an engaged citizen.

Highlights of these findings include as follows:

Civic education as a driving force. Research into Kids Voting's effectiveness has established a variety of positive impacts as a driving force. Kids Voting Western New York intervention program is a strong predictor of facilitating the political talk, which is entirely consistent with past research (McDevitt & Chaffee, 1998, 2000).

This research demonstrates that the intervention program stimulated students' political participation, primarily through the mechanism of students' political talk and secondly through the effects of students' Internet use. This study found participation in civics curricula resulted in statistically significant improvement in students' political talk directly and indirectly in students' Internet use and participation.

Thus, civic education tended to have effects on political participation, meaning that the substantial political impact of the Kids Voting program was indirect, through both political talk and Internet use. Young people who got involved in Kids Voting program were more likely to talk to family and friends about elections and politics. They were more likely to engage in political discussion with differently minded people. In turn, they were more likely to search more news in the Internet. Finally, the exposure to this civics program was found to have a positive impact on political participation.

These relationships help formulate an answer to Research Question 1, which concerned the effects of civic education on political participation through the effects of political talk and Internet use. For instance, the Kids Voting program encourages links between news media and classroom discussion at school and engaging in political discussion with family and friends. Kids Voting students increased the use of newspaper and the Internet for information seeking, developed active feelings about politics and elections, and were more likely to talk about political issues. Thus, exposure to civic education program promotes deliberative citizenship and discursive participation in students. More specifically, civic education programs play important roles in boosting citizenship and facilitating discursive participation intermediated by the influences of political talk and Internet use.

Politically educated children might actively engage in discussions about public matters and process their information through Internet use. It extended the link between schools and families in the context of civic life (McLeod et al., 1998). Thus, this program is to facilitate informed voting and civic engagement for the democratic political process. One can say that well organized civic education programs can promote higher levels of political participation.

While the Kids Voting program has positive effects on young peoples' participation in political processes, many kinds of communication have important roles to play in facilitating, educating and socializing them. These include news media, political discussion, and the Internet.

News Media as an information force. The structural model shows that both civic education and newspaper use as separate but parallel predictors provide citizens with the

basic information and skills needed to engage in deliberative discussion. Civic education may be especially important source for citizens to use news media for getting political information. News media is one of important tools for civic education. In terms of deliberative democracy, the news media, which have a central role in enabling political talk to occur, can serve to enhance discursive participation.

This discursive model of political participation claims that the roles of news media use, especially the newspaper use, are to disseminate news content, issues or agenda. This process, in the form of news media use and news reflection, directly affects the interpersonal discussion about the politics among the adolescents and indirectly affects Internet use for in-depth information and political participation. The model suggests that the apparent impact of news media use presented in past research is in fact mediated by political talk, so that the direct relationship between news media use and political participation will effectively disappear.

This study found distinctively different patterns for newspapers news use and television news use. Television news use was not related to higher levels of political talk. Past studies have shown that there are two perspectives on the role of TV in the context of civic and political participation. One says that TV, as an important information provider, plays an important role in disseminating information to citizens. But another point of view says that TV destroys social capital and then brings the decline of civic participation. One can say that this study supports the second perspective from Putnam's critique of television. Exposure to television contents on politics or elections no longer predicts political participation

Consistent with the structural model reported, newspaper news use had a positive impact on political participation, and TV news use had no impact. Respondents who used more newspaper news are more likely to talk with their friends and family and also more likely to participate in politics. In other words, understanding political information obtained from news media is a necessary condition for talking about issues with other people.

As mentioned earlier, the results of this analysis do not support that newspaper news use is positively related to political participation through the reciprocal effects of students' political talk and Internet use. This study, however, supports only that newspaper use tended to have indirect effects on political participation through political talk and Internet use.

The structural model demonstrates that respondents who reported higher levels of newspaper use were more likely to talk to others about politics. In turn, this made them more likely to search more news in the Internet. Respondents who reported higher levels of newspaper use were more likely to follow up what they had seen by searching and talking more about news content on the Internet.

This pattern of results stresses the unique role of newspapers and the Internet. Newspaper news appears to be antecedent sources of political information that facilitate political disagreement in the first place. It is possible that if people encounter disagreement in their personal environment, they may search for more information, something that would likely lead them to one or more the complementary media sources (i.e., Internet source). Chaffee (1982) finds that the expectation of becoming involved in

a political talk as well as the wish to engage in attempts of interpersonal persuasion provide a motivation for seeking out information in the 'new' media.

Past studies argue that while the Internet news is significantly correlated with reading newspapers, there is no specific relationship between online news use and viewing television news. Alternative model, however, indicates that there is no specific relationship between online news use and reading newspaper news. In other words, although the news media plays an important role in disseminating information about political or public issues, there is little mobilizing content in current the mass media including television.

Political talk as a reflective integrator. This study argues that newspaper news is an important information source about elections and public issues, and also that civic education program is an educational tool for facilitating civic attitudes including the elections. From the effects of news media and civic education program, this study suggests that political talk is a crucial mediating force and also that the Internet is another complementary mediator of participation in political process. This result supports the roles of political talk as a reflective integrator (Kosicki & McLeod, 1990).

By treating political talk as both independent and dependent variables, structural equation modeling allows for the estimation of direct and indirect effects. An indirect effect is the influence of news media as an independent variable on political participation as a dependent variable through Internet use as mediating variable. A direct effect is the influence of political talk as an independent variable on political participation as a dependent variable.

This study found that political talk was found to have a positive impact on participation, both directly, and mediated through Internet use. This communication variable mediates the relationship between newspaper use and participation and between the effects of civic education program and participation. For example, talking about political issues with family and friends is a necessary condition for facilitating discursive participation (McLeod et al., 1999a, 1999b). This study, however, does not support that the reciprocal effects between talk and Internet use are positively related to political participation. Only political talk was relatively strongly related to Internet use and then indirectly related to participatory activities via Internet use.

These relationship help formulate an answer to Research Question 2, which concerned the nature of the deliberation process by which new media communication affects political participation. The data indicate that political talk increases the likelihood of political participation directly and then indirectly through increased Internet use. Thus, political talk is mediator between news media and participation. It supports the existing studies (Eliasoph, 1998; Scheufele, 2002). They argue that the impact of news media on political knowledge and participation is strongly related to discuss politics with others. This means that political talk is the core of deliberative democracy.

In sum, both traditional news media use and civic intervention program have as an overall positive effect on political talk. These effects, however, showed significantly different effects for children who talk to others about politics and public issues rather than those who do not. Those who talk to others are more likely to use the Internet and to actively involve in political participation. There is strong evidence to support the notion that political talk is a primary reflective integrator of discursive participation.

The Internet as a mobilizing information force. Some researchers point out that the way to obtain political information has changed from traditional media to the Internet (Bimber, 2001). The Internet change the way media are used for gathering information about politics and public issues. Here, the Internet play an important role in providing what has been labeled "mobilizing information" (Lemert et al., 1977; Lemert, 1984, 1992; Norris, 2001). Mobilizing theorists contend that the Internet provides citizens with some possibilities to facilitate informed citizenship in political sphere (Kellner, 1997). For the theory of mobilization effects, the Internet has positive effects on higher levels of political knowledge and interest as well as participation.

This study examined the role of the Internet as an important tool in discursive process and then found that Internet use plays an important role in promoting deliberative citizenship. From the effects of the Internet on political participation, Internet use was found to have a positive impact on participation directly and mediated through the political talk, civic education, and news media indirectly. An indirect effect is the influence of news media and civic education as independent variables on political participation as a dependent variable through political talk as mediating variable. A direct effect is the influence of Internet use as an independent variable on political participation as a dependent variable.

Specifically, this study found that Internet use has a significant indirect impact on political participation through political talk. Traditional media is a crucial tool for disseminating information about election and public issues and then the Internet is one of the strongest predictors of participation in political process based on the process of traditional media' information. In other words, the Internet needs to be supplemented by

traditional media. Here, young people who involved in Kids Voting program were more likely to talk to family and friends about elections and politics. In turn, they were more likely to search more news in the Internet.

It showed that the expansion of the youth participation through the Internet requires not only developing deliberative space but also expanding the civic education program. This result should not be interpreted as evidence that the Internet brings participatory democracy or political behavior directly. This study confirms that the Internet has a deliberative potential for boosting discursive participation.

Implications

The results of this study, while limited in generalizability, nevertheless have some implications.

First of all, this study used both normative and empirical dimensions and so they put it into stronger position. This research proposes the reasonable or normative ideal as a more practical evaluative tool, one that asks whether discursive participation is achievable, whether political talk advances democratic goals, and whether the Internet as a public sphere contributes to boosting political participation. This study showed that political discussion is a central theme for explaining deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is an important alternative theory to both liberal democracy and civic republicanism as advocated by several leading political theorists.

Second, this research supports the notion that political socialization can be better understood through interdisciplinary theories and ideas from communication, civic education, and political participation. While there was tremendous growth in political socialization research from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s, by the early 1980s, political

socialization as a field of study faced serious criticism and threats to its legitimacy (Conover and Searing 1994). In particular, scholars criticized the heavy focus of early political socialization research on the attitudes and beliefs of young children. Therefore, the purpose of civic education was called into question as study after study could find little or no impact of the civics curriculum in schools on the political attitudes of young people (Beck and Jennings, 1982; Jennings and Niemi, 1974). These findings lend support to the view that scholars need to consider the roles of civic education, news media, the Internet, and political talk on political socialization and participation.

Third, the implications of a discursive model suggest that those who intend to use civic instruction to facilitate an informed citizenship must take into account the political discussion. The civic curriculum should encourage both students and teachers for developing deliberative space. This study also supports the notion that "school administrators and parents should encourage teachers to allow for political discussion and debate, even if the topics are contentious" (McDevitt et al., 2003, p. 46).

Fourth, the findings supporting this theoretical model can provide valuable information for those interested in news media use. The findings of this research are consistent with the results of several previous studies about mass media research. Traditional perspectives of media use shows that newspaper is better than TV for information or political knowledge. Buckingham argues that print media and television differ as means of political learning. While researchers disagree on the extent of causality, there is nevertheless a consistent correlation between exposure to print media and higher levels of political knowledge, as compared with exposure to television

(Robinson & Levy, 1986; Graber, 1988; Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992).

In addition, this study assumes that those who rely primarily on television news do not well informed politically. In an important, albeit limited, sense, our findings also touch on Robert Putnam's claim that increased reliance on television since the 1960s has eroded America's 'social capital', and thus put democracy at some risk. Thus civic intervention programs designed to actively encourage students to use newspaper news as a primary information source.

Fifth, most studies have focused on the interactions between news media and political talk. They, however, less focus on the possibility that the Internet's role and the two-step information seeking strategies. This study found Internet use has a significant direct impact on political participation. This study did not confirm the current research outputs from most empirical and non-empirical studies, stating that there are few, if any, direct relationships between Internet use and political participation (Bimber, 2001; Davis & Owen, 1998; Johnson & Kaye, 1998; DiMaggio et al. 2001; Graber and White, 1999; Sadow and James, 1999; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2001; Selnow, 1998). This study, however, confirmed that the Internet tends to have affects on participation among those who are motivated, interested and informed.

Sixth, another implication of this study is the testing the reciprocal effects of both political talk and Internet use as mediating variables. It shows that political participation can be better explained by political talk directly and indirectly than by Internet use. Therefore, civic instruction should encourage students to use newspaper news about political issues and elections and to actively participate in political talk with their family

and friends. They became informed and motivated. Then, the Internet can play an important role in boosting political participation among adolescents.

Finally, by using structural equation modeling (SEM), this research serves to extend the knowledge about political socialization and participation. SEM has advantages to test integrative models mediated. SEM is a strong tool for testing hypotheses on indirect or reciprocal relationships of main predictors of political participation.

Limitations

These findings support the discursive model of political participation as a useful contribution to the study of effects of news media and civic education using survey data. But despite the strengths of the model, this study should be qualified by following limitations.

First of all, this study did not question students in the matched, adjacent non-KV areas and use their responses as a control group. A comparison of the students using KV and those in a control group would have been useful in gauging the program's impact on media usage, political talk, Internet use, and participation.

Second, the local sample limits direct generalizability to larger populations from which they were drawn, as well as the degree to which they can represent the U.S. as a whole. The Western New York affiliate organizes only a portion of students in two counties in the state, leaving the vast majority of New York state's school children in other counties without access to the program. Similarly, the penetration of Kids Voting into the schools in a geographic area is likely to be contingent on a number of factors outside the organization's control (Eagles & Jacobson, 1999). However, it is unlikely

that the theoretical relationships found here are unique to this sample of Western New York.

Third, like most survey research on political participation and socialization, this study is limited by its reliance on self-report measures from school children. It also reflects the well-known fact that national elections are more important than state or local elections in the eyes of children. Reflecting the well-known fact that presidential elections are more important than state elections in the eyes of the intervention participants.

Fourth, in order to examine the differences across the media, such as TV use and newspaper use as this study has done here. Johnson et al., (2000) argue that the relationship between media use and political behaviors depends on how media use is measured. They found that media attention is a stronger predictor of political behaviors than media use. This study fails to examine the influence of different media measures including attention on political participation among youth. But researchers have found that media use measures specifically of news about the elections is a strong predictor.

Future Study

The findings and limitations presented in this study have important implications for future research in the areas of communication and participation. This study proposed the heuristic research model for boosting youth discursive political participation. That is, beyond traditional socialization and participation research, it is argued that new types of socialization and civic education studies are needed in the context of political participation mediated by media, political talk, and the Internet.

Currently, political socialization and participation studies are important for defining an engaged citizen and making a good citizenship. The primary intention of this study can be applied across many participation contexts using a discursive model of civic engagement. Thus, more research using these heuristic and integrative models capable of testing similar hypotheses is needed. Using this structural modeling, future research needs to use existing survey data, such as National Election Studies (NESs) or the General Social Survey (GSS), applying this model to adult populations.

Second, the 2000 presidential election provided more supportive results to explore this hypothesized model than the other local and regional elections. Furthermore, this study suggests that it is essential to monitor students' civic and participatory development over time using a panel design. This study also needs to collect pre-test information in the aggregate that could have been used to evaluate the program in a quasi-experimental framework. This would it possible to isolate changes in individual or collective attitudes and behavior that may be due to the stimulus of Kids Voting.

Appendix 1:
2000 Student Survey

Kids Voting Western New York-2000 Student Survey

Thank You

Kids Voting Western New York and the University at Buffalo would like to thank you in advance for completing this survey questionnaire. Your answers will help us understand how well the Kids Voting program is doing. Just as importantly, your answers will help us improve it. All of the survey questions must be answered using the "bubble" answer sheet.

Please note that this is NOT a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to check any answer that applies.

Instructions

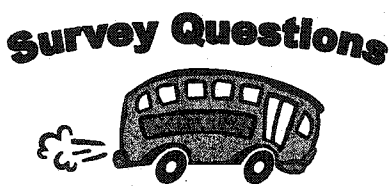
(Please read fully through the instructions below before starting.)

1) Do NOT complete the Name section either on the back of the bubble answer sheet or by writing your name on the front. This is an "anonymous" survey.

2) Please do not write on the questionnaire form.

3) When you are done, please hand in this instruction sheet, the questionnaire and the bubble answer sheet to your teacher.

4) You may now start the questionnaire with Question 1.



Kids Voting Western New York – 2000 Student Survey

1. Did you register to vote for Kids Voting? ***[kvreg: KV Register]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

2. Did you vote in the Kids Voting election? ***[kvvote: KV Vote]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

3. Did you like voting? ***[likev: Like Voting]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

4. Do you think it is important to vote? ***[impo: Important to vote]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

5. Would you like to vote next year? ***[votnx: Vote next year]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

6. Did you have fun with Kids Voting? ***[fun: Fun with KV]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

7. How much did you participate in the Kids Voting activities in your school? ***[kvpar: KV Participation]***

   A) A lot ***[3]***
   B) Some ***[2]***
   C) Not much ***[1]***
   D) None ***[0]***
   [9] Missing

8. Have you ever voted in school to elect any of the following?

   [schel: School Election]

   A) US President ***[1]***
   B) A Member of the US Congress (House of Representative or Senate) ***[2]***
   C) State, County or Local Official ***[3]***
   D) Other (Issues, Not school related offices) ***[4]***
   E) Have never voted ***[5]***
   [9] Missing

9. If you are old enough to vote in an adult election, have you registered to vote? ***[regist: Register to vote]***

   A) Yes ***[1]***
   B) No ***[0]***
   C) Not applicable ***[8] Missing***
   [9] Missing

10. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and current events most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all? ***[effic1: Follow current events]***

    A) Hardly at all ***[1]***
    B) Only now and then ***[2]***
    C) Some of the time ***[3]***
    D) Most of the time ***[4]***
    E) Don't know ***[8] Missing***
    [9] Missing

11. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? ***[effic2: Trust]***

    A) Just about always ***[3]***
    B) Most of the time ***[2]***
    C) Some of the time ***[1]***
    D) No opinion ***[7] Missing***
    E) Don't know ***[8] Missing***
    [9] Missing

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with these statements:

12. "I don't think that elected government leaders care much what people like me or my parents think." Do you: ***[effic3: Government leaders care]***

A) Agree	***[0]***
B) Disagree	***[2]***
C) Neither agree nor disagree	***[1]***
D) It depends	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

13. "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated a person like me can't really understand what is going on." Do you: ***[effic4: Politics too complicated]***

A) Agree	***[0]***
B) Disagree	***[2]***
C) Neither agree nor disagree	***[1]***
D) It depends	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

14. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are dishonest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are dishonest? ***[effic5: Dishonest]***

A) Quite a few are dishonest	***[1]***
B) Not very many are dishonest	***[2]***
C) Hardly any are dishonest	***[3]***
D) No opinion	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

15. Do you think that people in government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it? ***[effic6: Waste money]***

A) A lot	***[1]***
B) Some	***[2]***
C) Not very much	***[3]***
D) No opinion	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

16. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think? ***[effic7: Government pays attention]***

A) A good deal	***[3]***
B) Some	***[2]***
C) Not much	***[1]***
D) It depends	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

17. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do—a good deal, some, or not much? ***[effic8: Government pays attention]***

A) A good deal	***[3]***
B) Some	***[2]***
C) Not much	***[1]***
D) It depends	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

18. How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?

A) Just about always	***[3]***
B) Most of the time	***[2]***
C) Some of the time	***[1]***
D) No opinion	***[7] Missing***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

19. What is President Clinton's political party? ***[clinto: Clinton's party ID]***

A) Republican	***[1]***
B) Democrat	***[2]***
C) Reform	***[3]***
D) Other	***[4]***
E) Don't know	***[5] Missing***
	[9] Missing

20. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? ***[partyi: Party ID]***

A) Republican	*[1]*
B) Democrat	*[2]*
C) Independent	*[3]*
D) Other	*[4]*
E) None	*[5]*
	[9] Missing

21. If you consider yourself a Democrat or a Republican, how strongly do you feel? ***[stron: Strength of Party ID]***

A) Strongly	*[2]*
B) Not very strongly	*[1]*
C) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

22. Generally speaking, does your mother (or female legal guardian) usually think of herself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? ***[moth: Mother's Party ID]***

A) Republican	*[1]*
B) Democrat	*[2]*
C) Independent	*[3]*
D) None	*[4]*
E) Don't know	***[5] Missing***
	[9] Missing

23. Did your mother (or female legal guardian) vote in the election held early in November? ***[mvot: Mother votes]***

A) Yes	*[1]*
B) No	*[0]*
C) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

24. Generally speaking, does your father (or male legal guardian) usually think of himself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? ***[fathe: Father's Party ID]***

A) Republican	*[1]*
B) Democrat	*[2]*
C) Independent	*[3]*
D) None	*[4]*
E) Don't know	***[5] Missing***
	[9] Missing

25. Did your father (or male legal guardian) vote in the election held early in November? ***[fvote: Father votes]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

26. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins a Presidential election, or don't you care very much which party wins? ***[win: Which party wins]***

A) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
B) Don't care	***[0]***
C) Care a good deal	***[1]***
	[9] Missing

27. Generally speaking, who do you think has the most influence over your own political view? ***[influe: Political influence]***

A) Parents or other relatives	***[1]***
B) Teachers	***[2]***
C) Friends	***[3]***
D) People in the media	***[4]***
E) Others	***[5]***
	[9] Missing

Now, we are going to ask you some political participation questions. Please tell me whether you have used any of the following forms of expression:

28. Have you ever written a letter to a newspaper, magazine or television news program? ***[letter: Write letters to the media]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

29. Have you ever called in to a radio or television talk show? ***[callin: Call in talk shows]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

30. Have you ever written a letter to, phoned or otherwise contacted a candidate for public office or an elected official? ***[conta: Contact elected officials]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

31. Have you ever attended a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs? ***[meeti: Attend public meetings]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

32. Have you ever spoken out at a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs? ***[spok: Spoken out]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

33. Have you ever taken part in a public demonstration or march? ***[marc: Demonstration/March]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

34. Have you ever worked in a political campaign? ***[camp: Worked in political campaign]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
C) Don't remember	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

Now, we are interested in finding out how much information you got from the mass media regarding this year's election.

35. How much information did you get from newspapers about the election?
[news: Info from papers]

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

36. How much information did you get from television about the election?
[tv: Info from TV]

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

37. How much information did you get from radio about the election?
[radio: Info from radio]

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

38. How much information did you get from magazines about the election?
[maga: Info from magazines]

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

39. How much information did you get from the Internet (computers) about the election?
[inter: Info from the Internet]

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

40. On average, how much time a day do you spend browsing the Internet? ***[brow: Browsing the Internet]***

A) A lot	*[3]*
B) Some	*[2]*
C) A little	*[1]*
D) None	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

41. Do you ever use e-mail or participate in chat groups on the Internet or a commercial on-line service such as America On Line, CompuServe or Prodigy? ***[email: Email/chat groups]***

A) Yes (Please continue to Question #42)	*[1]*
B) No (Please skip to Question #44)	*[0]*
	[9] Missing

42. How often do you use e-mail or chat groups? ***[eofte: How often/email]***

A) Daily	*[4]*
B) A few days each week	*[3]*
C) A few times each month	*[2]*
D) Rarely	*[1]*
E) Don't know/Not applicable	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

43. How often did you talk about the recent election campaigns using e-mail or chat groups? ***[talkeec: Using email]]***

A) Often	*[3]*
B) Sometimes	*[2]*
C) Seldom	*[1]*
D) Never	*[0]*
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

Now we would like to know a little about discussions you may have had concerning politics and the elections.

44. How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your parents and others in your family? ***[talkp: With parents]***

A) Often	*[3]*
B) Sometimes	*[2]*
C) Seldom	*[1]*
D) Never	*[0]*
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

45. When political issues and campaigns are discussed in your family, is it something you usually bring up, or does someone else in your family usually bring it up? ***[talkip: Initiated discussion from the family member]***

A) I bring it up.	***[1]***
B) Someone else in my family brings it up.	***[2]***
C) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

46. How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your friends?

[talkf: With friends]

A) Often	***[3]***
B) Sometimes	***[2]***
C) Seldom	***[1]***
D) Never	***[0]***
E) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

47. When political issues and campaigns are discussed with your friends, is it something you usually bring up, or do your friends usually bring it up? ***[talkif: Initiated discussion from my friends]***

D) I bring it up.	***[1]***
E) My friends usually bring it up.	***[2]***
F) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

48. During the recent election campaign, how often did you talk with people whose ideas or candidate preferences were different than yours? ***[talko: With people you opposed]***

G) Often	***[3]***
H) Sometimes	***[2]***
I) Seldom	***[1]***
J) Never	***[0]***
K) Don't know	***[8] Missing***
	[9] Missing

49. During the recent election campaign, did you try to talk anyone into being for a candidate you liked? ***[talkc: With a Candidate you liked]***

A) Yes	***[1]***
B) No	***[0]***
	[9] Missing

Now we like to know a little about your activities at school.

50. Do you participate in student government at school?
[stugov: Participate in student government]

A) Yes *[1]*
B) No *[0]*
[9] Missing

51. Do you participate in any activities at your school outside of class (extra-curricular activities)? *[extrac: Participate in extracurricular activities]*

A) Yes *[1]*
B) No *[0]*
[9] Missing

52. Were you able to do any volunteer work in the last twelve months, by contributing your free time to a community group or social service?
[volun: Participate in volunteer works]

A) Yes *[1]*
B) No *[0]*
[9] Missing

53. Are you a _____? *[sex: Gender]*

L) Female *[1]*
M) Male *[2]*
[9] Missing

54. What is your ethnic background? *[ethni: Ethnic background]*

A) Asian *[1]*
B) African American *[2]*
C) Hispanic (Latino) *[3]*
D) White *[4]*
E) Other *[5]*
[9] Missing

Appendix 2:
Questions Wording

TV Use

How much information did you get from television about the election?

Newspaper Use

How much information did you get from newspapers about the election?

Kids Voting Effects

Do you like voting?
Would you like to vote next year?
Do you think it is important to vote?
Did you have fun with Kids Voting?

Political Talk

How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your parents and others in your family?
How often do you talk about political issues and campaigns with your friends?
During the recent election campaign, how often did you talk with people whose ideas or candidate preferences were different than yours?

Internet Use

How much information did you get from the Internet (computers) about the election?
On average, how much time a day do you spend browsing the Internet?

How often do you use e-mail or chat groups?
How often did you talk about the recent election campaigns using e-mail or chat groups?

Political Participation

Have you ever written a letter to a newspaper, magazine or television news program?
Have you ever called in to a radio or television talk show?
Have you ever written a letter to, phoned or otherwise contacted a candidate for public office or an elected official?
Have you ever attended a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs?
Have you ever spoken out at a public meeting of an organization interested in public affairs?
Have you ever taken part in a public demonstration or march?
Have you ever worked in a political campaign?

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 3-1:
Hypothesized Model of Discursive Participation

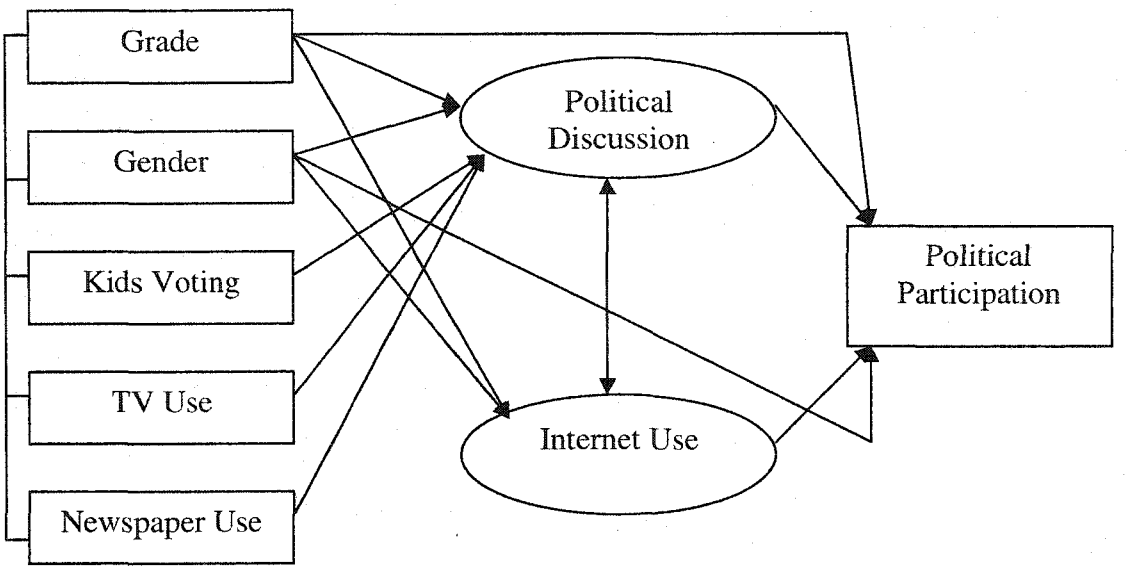
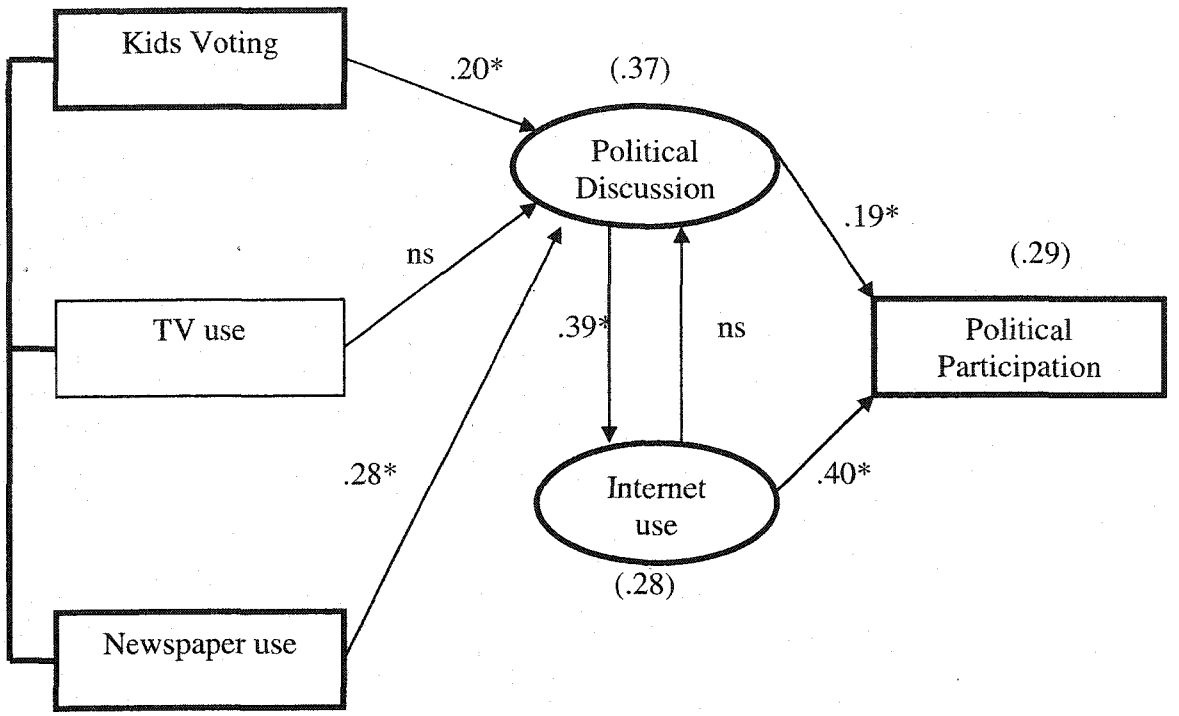


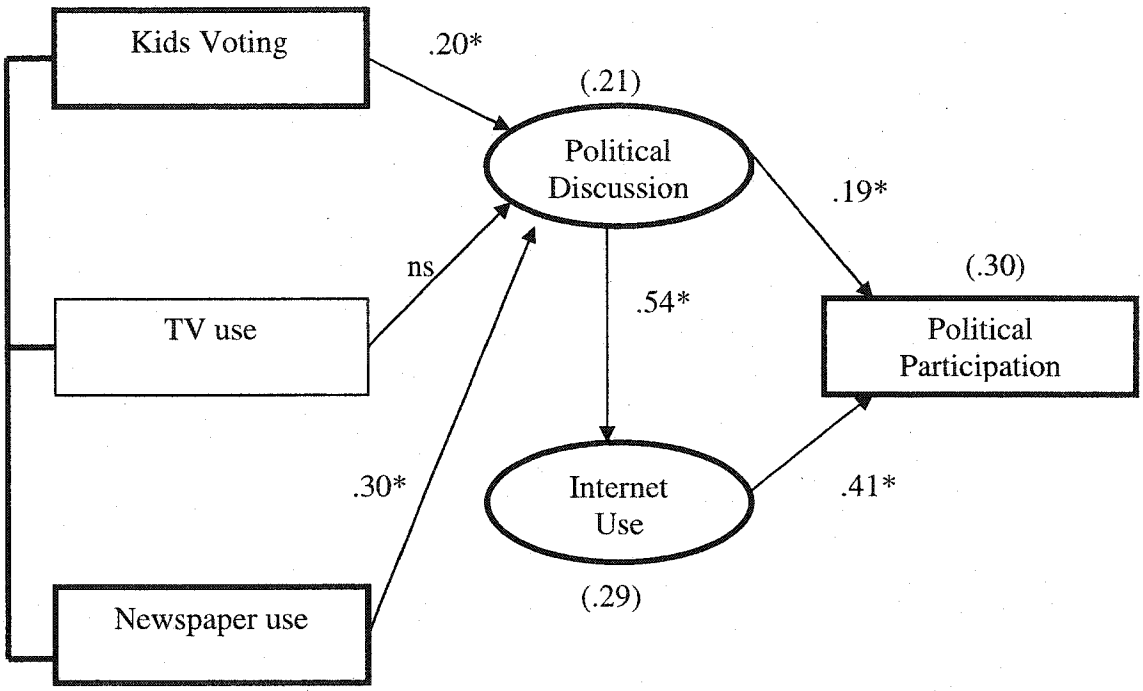
Figure 5.1:
Structural Model of Discursive Participation
(Demographics Controlled)



Note: Structural model with standardized path coefficients.

- P<.05, ns=non significant.
- Parenthesis indicates R^2.

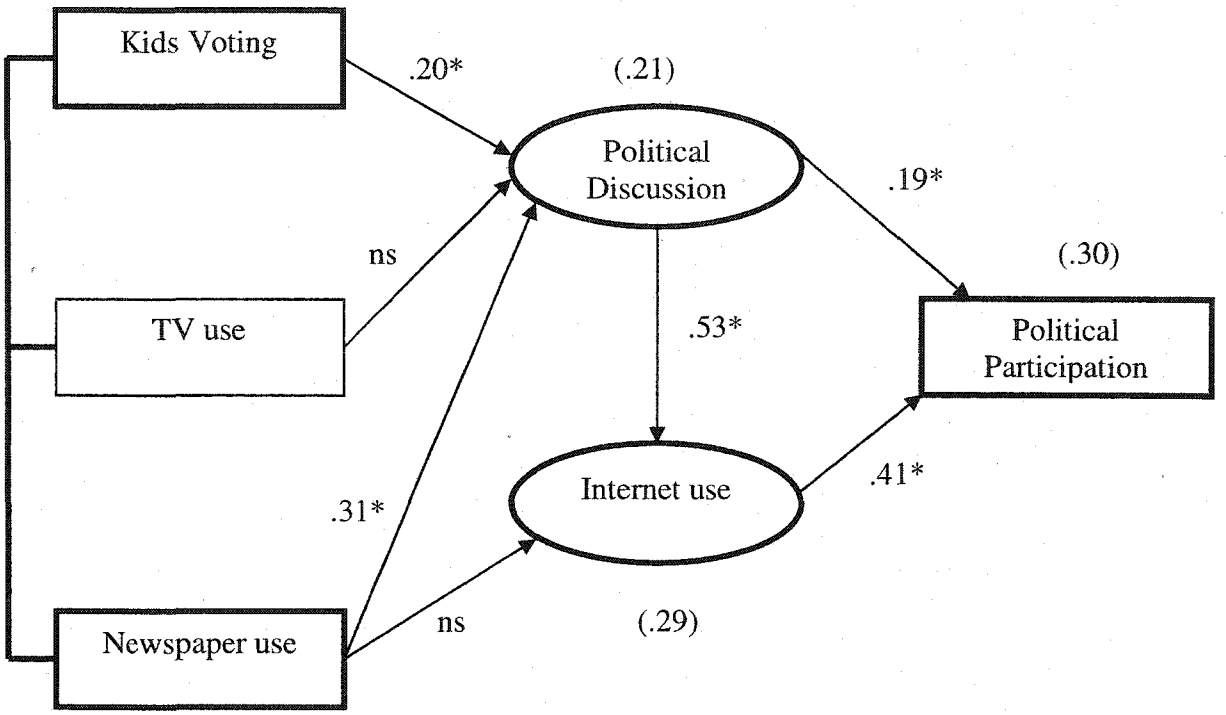
Figure 5.2:
Alternative Model One of Discursive Participation
(Demographics Controlled)



Note: Alternative model one with standardized path coefficients.

- P<.05, ns=non significant.
- Parenthesis indicates R^2.

Figure 5.3:
Alternative Model Two of Discursive Participation
(Demographics Controlled)



Note: Alternative model two with standardized path coefficients.

- P<.05, ns=non significant.
- Parenthesis indicates R^2.

Table 2.1:
Student Participation in the Kids Voting Program

Questions	Responses (%)
Did you register to vote for Kids Voting?	
Yes	74.3
No	25.7
Missing	
N	362
Did you vote in the Kids Voting election?	
Yes	71.5
No	28.2
Missing	.3
N	362
How much did you participate in the Kids Voting activities in your school?	
A Lot	17.7
Some	29.8
Not Much	29.3
None	22.4
Missing	.8
N	362

Table 2.2:
Proportion Comparison Based on Grade and Years Participated in the Program

Grades / Years Participated	Register to Vote for KV	Vote in the KV Election	Participated in KV Activities
Grades			
5^{th} & 6^{th}	.89	.79	1.63
7^{th} & 8^{th}	.72	.64	1.54
9^{th} to 12^{th}	.56	.65	1.07
X^2	40.779	21.550	40.770
df	7	7	21
p	.000	.003	.006
n	362	361	359
Years Participated			
4 yrs.	.87	.83	2.08
5 yrs.	.71	.69	1.26
X^2	7.915	5.903	40.305
df	1	1	3
p	.005	.015	.000
n	362	361	359

Table 2.3:
Students' Overall Evaluation with the Kids Voting Program (%)

Questions	Responses (%)
Did you like voting?	
Yes	70.4
No	28.2
Missing	1.4
N	362
Do you think it is important to vote?	
Yes	91.4
No	8.0
Missing	.6
N	362
Would you like to vote next year?	
Yes	84.0
No	15.5
Missing	.6
N	362
Did you have fun with Kids Voting?	
Yes	59.4
No	39.5
Missing	1.1
N	362

Table 2.4:
Proportion Comparison Based on Grade and Years Participated

Grades / Years Participated	Like Voting	Important to Vote	Vote Next Year	Fun with KV
Grades				
5^{th} & 6^{th}	.76	.92	.90	.69
7^{th} & 8^{th}	.66	.91	.80	.60
9^{th} to 12^{th}	.68	.92	.80	.46
X^2	21.668	13.909	28.081	23.324
df	7	7	7	7
p	.003	.053	.000	.001
n	357	360	360	358
Years Participated				
4 yrs.	.82	.95	.93	.80
5 yrs.	.69	.91	.82	.55
X^2	4.875	1.014	5.910	16.423
df	1	1	1	1
p	.027	.314	.015	.000
n	357	360	360	358

Table 4.1:
Direct Oblimin Rotated Pattern Matrix of Discursive Variables

Variables	Factor 1 (Political Discussion)	Factor 2 (Internet Use)	Factor 3 (Political Participation)
With parents	-.70		
With friends	-.78		
With people you opposed	-.57		
Info from the Internet		-.66	
Browsing the Internet		-.83	
Email / Chat Groups		-.60	
CMC about election		-.47	
Write letters to the media			.52
Call in talk shows			.48
Contact elected officials			.66
Attend public meeting			.61
Spoken out			.68
Demonstrated and March			.42
Worked in political campaign			.57

Table 5.1:
Goodness of Fit Indices from the Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Hypothesized Model.

Measurement Model	Chi-square (df)	P	CMIN/DF	GFI	TLI	CFI	NFI	RMSEA
	39.784	.02	1.730	.98	.92	.96	.92	.05

Note:
CMINDF: Normed Chi-Square
GFI: Goodness-of-fit index
RMSEA: Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
TLI: Tucker-Lewis Index
CFI: Comparative Fit Index
NFI: Normal Fit Index

Table 5.2:
Goodness-of-fit Indices for the Modified Full Structural Equation Models

Structural Model	CMIN (df)	P	CMIN /DF	GFI	TLI	CFI	NFI	RMSEA	SRMR
	44,239 (28)	.03	1.58	.98	.93	.97	.92	.04	.04

Note:
CMINDF: Normed Chi-Square
GFI: Goodness-of-fit index
RMSEA: Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
TLI: Tucker-Lewis Index
CFI: Comparative Fit Index
NFI: Normal Fit Index
SRMR: Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR)

Table 5.3:
Standardized Regression Weights for Paths in Proposed Structural Full Model

Regression Weights	Estimate	Bootstrap			PC Confidence (P-value)	BC Confidence (P-value)
		SE	Mean	C. R.		
KV-- Talk	.20	.06	.20	3.14*	.006**	.011*
TV--Talk	.12	.08	.12	1.59	.13	.15
Newspaper--Talk	.28	.07	.29	3.92*	.004**	.008**
Talk--Internet	.39	.18	.40	2.24*	.029*	.034*
Internet--Talk	.20	.20	.18	.09	.285	.318
Talk--Participation	.19	.10	.20	1.98*	.032*	.044*
Internet--Participation	.40	.10	.40	4.21*	.004**	.005**

(* p <.05, ** p <.01)

Note: EDU (Civic Education) / Talk (Political Discussion) / TV (TV use) / Paper (Newspaper Use) / Internet (Internet Use) / Participation (Political Participation)

Table 5.4:
Unstandardized Regression Weights for Paths in Proposed Structural Full Model

Regression Weights	Estimate	Bootstrap			PC Confidence (P-value)	BC Confidence (P-value)
		SE	Mean	C. R.		
KV-- Talk	.10	.03	.10	3.06*	.006**	.011*
TV--Talk	.08	.05	.08	1.52	.13	.16
Newspaper--Talk	.16	.05	.17	3.67*	.004**	.007**
Talk--Internet	1.03	.46	1.03	2.26*	.029*	.028*
Internet--Talk	.08	.08	.07	.86	.285	.299
Talk--Participation	.50	.28	.52	1.87	.032*	.034*
Internet--Participation	.40	.11	.40	3.58*	.004**	.002**

(* p <.05, ** p <.01)

Note: EDU (Civic Education) / Talk (Political Discussion) / TV (TV use) / Paper (Newspaper Use) / Internet (Internet Use) / Participation (Political Participation)

Table 5.5.
Decomposition of Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects

Predictor Variable	Outcome Variables		
	Talk	Internet Use	Participation
Civic Education (Kids Voting)			
Direct effect	.19*	-	-
Indirect effect	.02	.08*	.07*
Total effect	.21*	.08*	.07*
Television use**			
Direct effect	-	-	-
Indirect effect via political talk	-	-	-
Indirect effect via political talk & Internet use	-	-	-
Total effect	-	-	-
Newspaper use			
Direct effect	.28*	-	-
Indirect effect	.03	.12*	.11*
Total effect	.31*	.12*	.11*
Political Talk			
Direct effect	-	.39*	.19*
Indirect effect	.09	.03	.19*
Total effect	.09	.42*	.38*
Internet use			
Direct effect	.20	-	.40*
Indirect effect	.02	.09	.08
Total effects	.22	.09	.48

*All standardized path coefficients reported are at least 1.96 times larger than their standard error (i.e., significant at an alpha level of .05)

**Television use did not have any significant direct or indirect impact on any of the endogenous variables.

Table 5.6:
Comparison of the Goodness-of-fit Indices for
the Structural and Alternative Structural Models

	CMIN (df)	P	CMIN /DF	GFI	TLI	CFI	NFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Structural Model	44.239 (28)	.03	1.58	.98	.93	.97	.92	.04	.04
Model 1	45.512 (29)	.03	1.57	.98	.93	.97	.91	.04	.04
Model 2	45.511 (28)	.02	1.625	.98	.93	.96	.91	.04	.04

Note:
CMINDF: Normed Chi-Square
GFI: Goodness-of-fit index
RMSEA: Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
TLI: Tucker-Lewis Index
CFI: Comparative Fit Index
NFI: Normal Fit Index
SRMR: Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR)

Table 5.7:
Parameter Estimates for Structural Model and Alternative Models

Regression Weights	Estimate	Bootstrap			PC Confidence (P-value)	BC Confidence (P-value)
		SE	Mean	C. R.		
KV -- Talk	.20 .20 .20	.06	.20	3.14*	.006** .010** .010**	.011* .011* .011**
TV--Talk	.12 .12 .12	.08	.12	1.59	.13 .162 .167	.15 .162 .158
Newspaper--Talk	.28 .30 .31	.07	.29	3.92*	.004** .004** .004**	.008** .003** .003**
Newspaper--Internet***	.00				.983	.957
Talk--Internet	.39 .54 .53	.18	.40	2.24*	.029* .004** .004**	.034* .005** .005**
Internet--Talk	.20 -- --	.20	.18	.09	.285 -- --	.318 -- --
Talk--Participation	.19 .19 .19	.10	.20	1.98*	.032* .048* .047*	.044* .064 .079
Internet--Participation	.40 .41 .41	.10	.40	4.21*	.004** .004** .004**	.005** .004** .004**

(1) * p <.05, ** p <.01
(2) Coefficient in the first row of each cell indicates Structural Model, coefficients in the second row indicates Alternative model 1, and coefficients in the third row indicates Alternative Model 2.
(3) *** for Model 2 only
Note: EDU (Civic Education) / Talk (Political Discussion) / TV (TV use) / Paper (Newspaper Use) / Internet (Internet Use) / Participation (Political Participation)

Table 5.8:
Comparison of Squared Multiple Correlations (R^2) for
the Structural and Alternative Models

Variables	Political Discussion	Internet Use	Participation
Structural Model	.37	.28	.29
Alternative Model 1 (One-directional path)	.21	.29	.30
Alternative Model 2 (One-directional path)	.21	.29	.30