INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

74-23,662

FOWLKES, Diane Lowe, 1939-
THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL,
PEER GROUPS, AND THE MASS MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL
SOCIALIZATION OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN THE
UNITED STATES.

Emory University, Ph.D., 1974
Political Science, general

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL, PEER GROUPS,
AND THE MASS MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN THE UNITED STATES

By

Diane Lowe Fowlkes
B.A., Southwestern at Memphis, 1961
M.A., Georgia State University, 1971

Adviser: William E. Hulbary

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Political Science

1974

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL, PEER GROUPS,
AND THE MASS MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN THE UNITED STATES

Approved for the Department:

William E. Hulbary
Adviser

22 April 1974
Date

Accepted:

Chas T. Lester
Dean of the Graduate School

April 22, 1974
Date

NOTICE TO BORROWERS

Unpublished theses deposited in the Emory University Library must be used only in accordance with the stipulations prescribed by the author in the preceding statement.

The author of this dissertation is:

      NAME   Diane Lowe Fowlkes
      ADDRESS P.O. Box 832
                Atlanta, Georgia 30301

The director of this dissertation is:

      NAME   William E. Hulbary
      ADDRESS Department of Political Science
                Emory University
                Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Users of this dissertation not regularly enrolled as students at Emory University are required to attest acceptance of the preceding stipulations by signing below. Libraries borrowing this dissertation for the use of their patrons are required to see that each user records here the information requested.

Name of user	Address	Date	Type of use (Examination only or copying)

In presenting this dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I agree that the Library of the University shall make it available for inspection and circulation in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I agree that permission to copy from, or to publish, this dissertation may be granted by the professor under whose direction it was written, or, in his absence, by the Dean of the Graduate School when such copying or publication is solely for scholarly purposes and does not involve potential financial gain. It is understood that any copying from, or publication of, this dissertation which involves potential financial gain will not be allowed without written permission.

Diane Lowe Fawlker

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, recognition should be given to two people who were responsible for starting me on my way and provided continuing inspiration: Lawrence E. Noble and Nancy Skougor Bordier.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

DETERMINING RELATIVE EFFECTS OF AGENTS OF
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: PURPOSE,
PROBLEMS, AND METHOD

Purpose of the Study

Definitions of political socialization emphasizing cultural transmission or indoctrination of newer members of a society by older members of that society may lead researchers to assume that agents of political socialization carry the major responsibility for politicizing individuals.[1] Dawson and Prewitt[2] and Easton and Dennis[3] suggest that definitions of political socialization emphasize the "acquisition" rather than the indoctrination or learning of political orientations. As Dawson and Prewitt point out, indoctrination implies that the process is passive from the point of view of the individual, while learning implies that the individual takes most of the initiative in the process.[4] For purposes of the present study, the Easton and Dennis definition of political socialization is used: ". . . those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior."[5] Thus, the variability of the acquisition process is emphasized as an area of empirical inquiry. The present study is concerned with certain aspects of this acquisition process.

1

The purpose of the present study is three-fold: (1) to demonstrate the effects of various specified agents relative to one another and relative to other unspecified influences, (2) to specify some of the effects of social position on an individual's political socialization, and (3) to specify some of the social psychological linkages between an individual and his politicized environment. Problems of past studies related to purposes (1) and (3), preliminary definitions of certain terms, and a preliminary discussion of methodology are presented in the following subsections.

Relative Effects of Agents

Research on agents of political socialization in the United States has focused primarily on the effects of a single agent on specified political orientations of elementary or secondary school children. The agents examined in these past political socialization studies have included mainly the family, the school, and peer groups.[6] Since such studies have focused usually on one agent at a time, assertions that the family or the school is the predominant influence have gone untested.

Few if any multivariate analyses of agents' effects have been attempted. Langton and Karns appear to be the only political scientists to have attempted the assessment of the relative effects of several agents on one political attitude.[7] Their efforts result in a one-stage causal model explaining the relative effects of the family, the school, and peer groups on levels of political efficacy in high

school youth. In this model the family is shown to be the most influential agent.

The mass media have been mentioned as agents of political socialization,[8] but until recently, little attention was directed toward investigating the media's socializing effects. Hirsch reports that the mass media serve as the most important sources of information about state, national, and international affairs.[9] Hollander reports that the mass media serve as the most important sources of information about international conflict, war in general and the Vietnam war in particular.[10] Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton report that the mass media not only serve as information sources but also exert influence on attitude formation.[11]

One purpose of the present study, as listed on page two, is to determine the effects of the family, school, peer groups, and the mass media relative to one another and relative to other unspecified influences on high school seniors' acquisition of future activism through the intervening variables political awareness and political trust. Future activism, as will be discussed in Chapter II, is a student's estimation of how active he or she will be in politics in the future. These high school seniors are randomly chosen respondents in a nationwide study conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center under the direction of M. Kent Jennings. They were interviewed in the spring of 1965.[12] The present study is a secondary analysis of these data and is subject, therefore, to certain

limitations in relation to operationalization of variables. For example, future activism is a surrogate variable for actual political participation, since there are no items available in the data set to indicate actual political participation.

Effects of Social Position

Another purpose of the present study, as listed on page two, is to specify the effects of an individual's social position on the agents' relative influences. According to Milbrath, social position may be defined as ". . . being close to the center of . . . social and political activity . . . or of being out on the periphery."[13] In other words, people who occupy more central social positions have greater access to the political system. People who occupy more peripheral social positions have less access to the political system. Access to the political system can be considered as (1) participating in politics and (2) receiving a share of the rewards and benefits of the political system.

In the present study, social position will be indicated by race or social status.[14] As Milbrath suggests, black people tend to occupy more peripheral social positions and white people tend to occupy more central social positions.[15] Among white people, lower status people tend to occupy more peripheral social positions and higher status people tend to occupy more central social positions.[16] When the sample is subdivided into racial and social status groupings and the model is examined separately for each social grouping, it

will be possible to explain the effects of controlling for social position.[17]

Social Psychological Linkages in the Political Socialization Process

Past studies of the family as an agent of political socialization have compared parents' orientations with their children's orientations. Hyman inventories many such studies that claim, on the basis of inferences made from covariation between the different sets of orientations, to find that the family influences its children to acquire the family's orientations.[18] Connell, reviewing these studies, suggests that the problem of sampling bias, especially in the earlier studies, and the problem of interpretation of statistics invalidate these various researchers' and Hyman's conclusions.[19]

The statistical interpretation problem is most important in more recent studies, which have not suffered very greatly from sampling biases. Connell explains this problem by showing that often a clear distinction has not been drawn between what he calls pair correspondence and group correspondence:

> Complete pair correspondence exists where, for instance, the son of the most radical father is the most radical member of the younger generation, the son of the most conservative father is the most conservative of the younger generation, etc. This correspondence is almost always measured by a correlation coefficient, calculated with parent-child pairs as the 'cases.' . . . On the other hand, we may have correspondence in the sense of a similar distribution of opinions in each generation, regardless of the standing of each child with respect to his own parent. This we may call 'group' correspondence. . . . The distinction between the two types of correspondence . . . has

not always been clear in practice. This is particularly true
where measures of group correspondence have been reported in
the form of correlation coefficients. . . . The coefficients
so produced are very easily misconstrued as measures of pair
correspondence.[20]

Connell then states, after separating studies involving pair
correspondence from those involving group correspondence in Hyman's
inventory,:

We may therefore describe the common pattern of findings, over
a range of topics and at a number of points in a quarter-century
of American life, as one of low pair correspondence but high
group correspondence between the opinions of parents and children.
. . . The social psychological mode of explanation of mass opi-
nion is found to break down at what had seemed to be its strongest
point, the showpiece of interpersonal transmission of attitudes,
the family. That is what the low pair correspondence argues.[21]

Connell concludes that forces at the societal level are producing the

group correspondence and that a macrosocial approach is probably

needed to explain it. "On both counts we are forced back toward

sociological explanations of the patterns of mass belief."[22]

Connell thus brings researchers to the analytical problem

of linking common societal experiences at the macro-level to indivi-

dual attitudes at the micro-level.[23] He does imply that the social

psychological approach, which attempts to link group-level variables

to individual-level variables, might yet be rescued and used to

specify the relationships through which the family-child correspon-

dences occur.[24] The present study, as listed on page two, attempts

to specify some of the social psychological linkages between the

environment and individuals that occur in the politicization of

individuals.

Methodology

Path analysis provides a method for assessing the relative effects of each agent for a particular sample or subsample. These effects are indicated by the path coefficients for the paths from each agent to each orientation. The effects of all other unspecified influences may be assessed by the size of the residual paths. Path analysis will be explained in Chapter II. A three-stage causal model of the acquisition of future activism will be evaluated by means of path analysis. The first stage of this model (see Figure 1) will demonstrate the relative effects of the family, the school, peer groups, and the mass media on political awareness. The second stage will demonstrate the effects of the four agents and political aware-ness on political trust. The third stage will demonstrate the relative effects of the four agents, political awareness, and politi-cal trust on future activism. The agents' direct effects on future activism will be compared to their indirect effects through political awareness and trust in order to determine the extent to which these attitudes are intervening variables in the acquisition of future activism.

In other words, future activism is hypothesized to be a function partially of the attitudes of political awareness and trust and partially of influence flowing directly from the agents. Political trust is hypothesized to be a function of political awareness and of

Figure 1. Hypothesized Model of Agent Influences on Political Awareness, Political Trust, and Future Activism
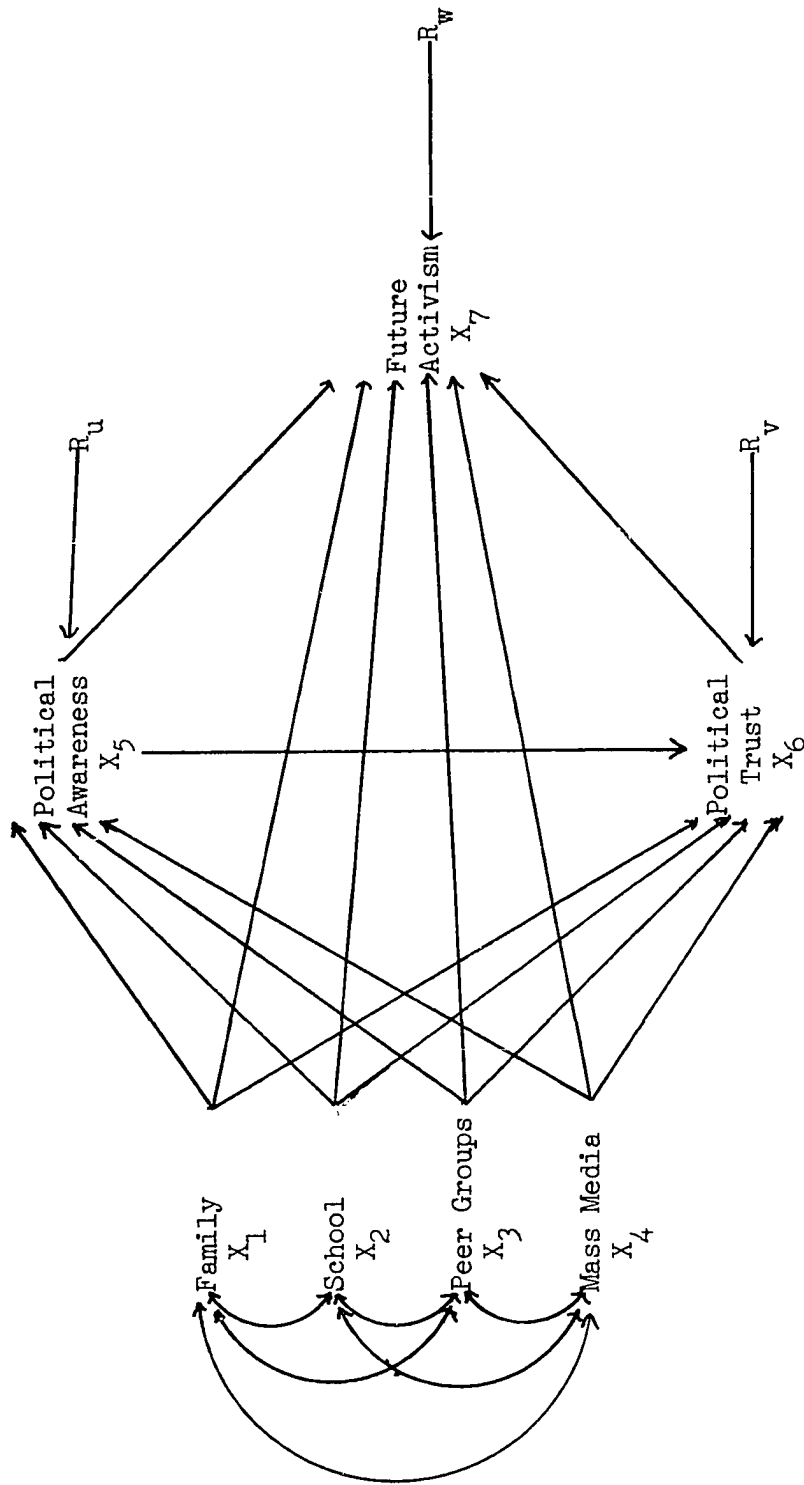
$$\text{Assume } r_{1u}=r_{2u}=r_{3u}=r_{4u}=r_{1v}=r_{2v}=r_{3v}=r_{4v}=r_{1w}=r_{2w}=r_{3w}=r_{4w}=r_{uv}=r_{uw}=r_{vw}=0$$

influence flowing from the agents. Political awareness is hypothesized to be a function of influence flowing from the agents.

To the extent that agents do influence an individual's acquisition of political orientations, how can these agents and their influences be conceptualized and measured or indicated? In the present study, agents are conceptualized as politicized social environments that influence individuals' acquisition of political orientations.[25] The existence of such politicized environments is indicated partially by responses of individuals to questions about their perceptions of politicization in their primary groups of family and friends and partially by responses considered objectively to represent politically relevant interactions. These indicators will be described in Chapter II. Agent influence will be indicated by path coefficients. The method of developing a model of hypothesized effects and evaluating it by means of path analysis also will be discussed in Chapter II.

It should be understood that the models of political socialization developed here are static models because the data come only from one point in time. The discussion in Chapter II of path analysis as a means of demonstrating influence will explain the simplifying assumptions to be made about time sequences in the causal chain of events. When group or other processes are mentioned below, it should be understood that only inferences about the processes will be drawn from the data. Since political socialization is a dynamic

process of change, understanding of the process can be gained only
by developing propositions from dynamic concepts. But in the present
study hypotheses can be tested only with the data from one point in
time. Therefore, inferences, not conclusions, about these processes
can be suggested by the models.

A Suggested Framework for Inferring Agent Influences

A two-part conceptual framework is presented here. Three
main questions are to be answered: (1) Which agents are most impor-
tant in influencing individuals' acquisition of future activism?
(2) How do agents exert their influence? (3) Why is social position
in terms of race or social status an important factor in the politi-
cal socialization process?

Individual Political Socialization

The first part of the conceptual framework provides a way
to answer two of these questions about the importance of certain
agents and how they exert their influences on an individual's
acquisition of future activism. The ways in which agent influences
are operationalized provide information about the social psychological
linkages between agents and individuals influenced by agents. Opera-
tionalization of agent influence variables, which is discussed fully
in Chapter II, and hypotheses about the effects of these agent in-
fluences are based generally on the following discussion.

Individuals exist in social environments in which they interact physically and symbolically with other individuals or with social institutional representatives. To varying degrees these interactions involve messages containing politically relevant content. Such content involves information about any of the activities that contribute to influencing or determining the authoritative allocation of values for society.[26] Through these interactions individuals form images of various aspects of political life and develop political orientations. The interactions provide channels through which influence may be exerted on the contents of these orientations.[27]

These propositions about interaction among individuals gain explanatory power if they are related to propositions from small group theory. Within an individual's social environment exist small groups of which he is a member. Group membership is based, among other things, on (1) interaction through some kind of communication, (2) affection for other group members and consequent desire to be a group member, and (3) observance of group standards in order to maintain group membership.[28] Smith suggests that information flow, which provides the basis for group formation, may be factual as well as normative.[29] Normative information would include group standards. If an individual perceives his social interaction as desirable, then he would develop attitudes to preserve his group membership.[30]

In terms of the present research, this suggests that an

individual is exposed to information and influence from his politicized
social environments. As a consequence he develops attitudes of poli-
tical awareness and trust and subsequent future activism in order to
meet his own or relevant others' standards. Indices of perceived
group politicization have been developed for the family, peer groups,
and the school.[31] The index for each politicized environment, when
possible, includes items indicating affection for the agent, communi-
cation with the agent, and political content of the communication.
An assumption is made that communication pertains in part to norms
about political activity, awareness, and trust. The family, peer
groups, and the school, therefore, are hypothesized to influence
individuals' acquisition of political awareness, trust, and future
activism because individuals wish to maintain membership in these
groups and consequently observe group norms about being politically
aware, trusting, and active.

The mass media also provide political information, but they
do not provide group interaction. Hirsch finds in a factor analysis
that so-called "personal" agents of information transmission (family,
friends, and school) load on a dimension separate from so-called
"non-personal" agents of information transmission (the mass media:
radio, television, newspapers).[32] The mass media, therefore, are
hypothesized to be influential because they represent a politicized
environment that transmits political information, which may contribute

to the acquisition of political orientations.

Hypotheses derived from this part of the conceptual framework are tested by developing and assessing a causal model that focuses on the relative effects of the family, peer groups, school, and mass media on high school seniors' acquisition of future activism directly or indirectly through political awareness and trust. Hypotheses related to this part of the explanation are developed and tested in Chapters III, IV, and V.

Social Position and Political Socialization

The second part of the conceptual framework provides a way to answer the third question about the effects of social position in terms of race or social status on the political socialization process. There are at least two ways in which peripheral or central social position may affect political socialization, depending on whether individuals acquiesce in or reject their social position. These two possibilities suggest two alternative models of the political social-ization process: (1) traditional political socialization of indivi-duals and (2) political modernization of individual members of a deprived but politicized peripheral subculture.

Traditional Political Socialization

Traditionally, individuals characterized by more peripheral social positions have been less politically active.[33] If occupants of more peripheral social positions accept or at least acquiesce in

their social positions, they should tend to be socialized to participate minimally in politics according to the norms traditional for their social position. For purposes of discussion, this kind of political socialization will be called traditional political socialization.

Dawson and Prewitt suggest that agents of political socialization may vary in importance according to the kinds of interaction they provide. They categorize agents of political socialization as (1) groups that provide informal face-to-face primary relationships, such as families and peer groups, and (2) social institutions that provide more formalized impersonal secondary relationships, such as schools and the mass media.[34] In a highly differentiated society of many interdependent institutions they suggest that primary groups will be strong agents of political socialization. But social institutions will tend to be the most influential agents of political socialization. These institutions should be more influential because they provide the same kinds of formalized relationships that occur between individuals and political institutions. Learning from such experiences should be transferable to the political sphere of an individual's life.[35] The findings of Hirsch and of Hollander suggest that social institutions should be more influential than families and peer groups also because they are more important sources of political information.[36] Thus, in a highly differentiated social and political system such as the United States, and in spite of the

importance of primary groups as agents of political socialization, schools and the mass media generally should be more influential agents than families and peer groups.

The types of relationships provided by different agents may affect individuals differently, however, depending on the individual's social position. It is suggested that agents providing primary or secondary relationships may relate to social position as pictured in Figure 2.

Type of Socializing Agent	Social Position	
	Peripheral Black/Low Social Status	Center White/High Social Status
Primary Relationships Family Peer Groups	Greatest Influence on Attitudes	Least Influence on Attitudes
Secondary Relationships School Mass Media	Least Influence on Attitudes	Greatest Influence on Attitudes

Figure 2. Relationships between type of agent and social position

In traditional political socialization, politicized environments providing primary or secondary relationships should operate differently for individuals of different race or social status depending on the social position indicated by a particular race or

social status. People and their children occupying more central social positions should have more contact with social and political institutions and, therefore, should be influenced more by these institutions. Such institutions would include schools and the mass media. People in more peripheral social positions and their children should be less open to influence from these social institutions. As Marshall suggests, institutions that become national and specialized cannot ". . . belong so intimately to the life of the social groups they served . . . ."[37] Rather, groups closer to peripheral members of the population should have more influence. This would include groups such as families and peer groups.

Political Modernization

Occupants of more peripheral social positions may become as politically active as or more politically active than occupants of more central social positions if they do not accept their peripheral positions. This phenomenon seems to have been occurring, for example, among black people in the United States. If nonacceptance of peripheral social position can be attributed to stimulation by the mass media or awareness of discrimination against a racial group, then there is evidence that black people tend not to accept their peripheral position. Matthews and Prothro find that black people who pay attention to the mass media tend to be almost as active as white people.[38] Orum and Cohen find that students who are aware of belonging to a

black subculture tend to be more active than white students.[39]
Verba and Nie find that black people who have group consciousness,
that is, who are aware of their race as a basis for political conflict,
tend to be as active as white people.[40] Matthews and Prothro suggest
that black people as inhabitants of the South, a developing section of
the United States, are modernizing.[41]

Modernization and development are terms used in the social
sciences to deal with economic, social, and political change. Some
students of modernization focus on political system change.[42] But
part of one dimension of Coleman's "development syndrome" is relevant
to the present study of individual politicization. This subdimension
is citizens' striving for equality in terms of right to participate
(for example, voting) and right to claim equal distribution of values
allocated by the political system (for example, nondiscriminatory
distribution of social security).[43] In terms of the present study,
political development would be manifested by increased political
participation or the mobilization of a peripheral group in the popu-
lation as its members strive to gain more access to the political
system.

The present study is confined to acquisition of individual
future activism, which, it will be recalled, is a surrogate variable
for political participation. Lerner's modernization theory provides
a source of hypotheses about why individuals acquire future activism.
According to Lerner, modernization involves becoming a political parti-
cipant and acquiring the new attitudes that accompany such activity.

For those people exposed to the mass media, social and political changes as reported and reflected through the mass media lead to increased political participation and affect individual attitudes.[44]

But Lerner seems to suggest that individuals do not become participants already possessing a set of fully developed attitudes that go with participation. Rather, empathy at first provides the link between the mass media and individual political participation. Empathy is the ability to see oneself in another person's situation and enables an individual to rearrange his "self-system on short notice" and to "operate efficiently" in new situations.[45] The aptitude of empathy coupled with the desire to see and do things experienced vicariously (for example, through the mass media) leads to actual participation.[46] Personal potency also is a basic requirement for participation, ". . . since participation is based on the expectation that what one says and does will matter in the world."[47] Desire to participate and personal potency seem to be predispositions that enable an empathic person to be activated by the mass media.[48]

In political terms, these predispositions would include, for example, desire to achieve access to the political system and political efficacy. Political efficacy might be enhanced through identification with some kind of group and development of group consciousness.[49] Such predispositions would enable individuals to be activated through attention to the mass media. Once activated, continued participation and associated learning would enable empathic individuals to close the

"psychic gap" between traditional and modern ways of life and to develop a set of attitudes that go with the new participant life style.[50]

Propositions about the effects of social position on political modernization in the present study focus on individuals in relatively peripheral social positions who are being mobilized in the sense of becoming more politically active. If citizens in peripheral social positions are not content with their status, they may strive for equality of access to the political system and attempt to move toward more central social positions. The possibilities for mobilization should be even greater if people in peripheral social positions (1) perceive themselves as members of a deprived subculture but (2) believe that together they can overcome their deprivation through political participation. Lerner's emphasis on the importance of the mass media suggests that the mass media should be seen as probable agents of individual political modernization. To the extent that black students identify and empathize with events and black political actors reflected in mass media news programs, they may be activated by the mass media.

Primary groups, such as the family and peer groups, and the school should not be expected to be agents of political modernization, at least in the United States. If individual political modernization is encouraged by awareness of socio-political change, these three agents probably do not transmit enough information about fast-moving events to make them effective mobilizers. Both the Hirsch and

Hollander studies found that parents and friends are the least important sources of students' political information.[51] The schools provide a social science curriculum, but political information transmitted by textbooks probably tends to emphasize institutional structures rather than citizen participation and up-to-the-minute events. Litt, for example, found that textbooks for students of lower social status deemphasized political participation, while textbooks for students of higher social status emphasized political participation as a means of influencing public decision-making.[52]

Hypotheses derived from the second part of the conceptual framework are tested by dividing the sample into racial and social status subsamples and running the path analysis for each relevant group. Because of the findings about black political participation cited earlier (page 16), the model of political modernization is expected to be supported by the data from the black subsample. The model of traditional political socialization, however, provides an alternative model for comparative purposes. Specific hypotheses about agents' effects for each model will be developed and tested in Chapter VI for students occupying peripheral social positions because of their race or social status.

Implications of the Research

The present study makes theoretical and methodological contributions to the political socialization literature. The development of a causal model assessing the relative effects of four agents

on future activism through intervening attitudinal variables provides
(1) a test of one theoretical explanation for variation in these
attitudes and differential agents' effects on their acquisition, and
(2) a useful methodological took for investigating other survey data
sets.

Methodological Tool

Causal models are generally useful for the bridge they provide
between data and theory. Their hypothesized relationships represented
by mathematical structures are derived from theoretical frameworks.
These structures are then evaluated statistically with empirical
data so that the fit of the theoretical model with empirical reality
can be objectively assessed. Application of this particular model
to other data could result in further validation or refinements of the
explanation of how different agents affect the attitudes of different
social groupings in the population.

Causal models also contribute to planning new research designs.
The present model might be revised to include reciprocal relationships
(for example, between political awareness and political trust). Such
a revised model would require the measurement of other meaningful exo-
genous variables uncorrelated with the agent influence variables so
that appropriate statistical analysis could be performed. Thus, future
research could be planned with such needs in mind. If a nonrecursive
model then could be applied to data from various age groups, it would
indicate at what points in the life cycle agents exercise their

strongest influences. It also could be used to differentiate between the periods of political modernization for different social groupings (1) when levels of political trust have more influence on levels of political awareness and (2) when levels of political awareness have more influence on levels of political trust. In Inkeles's terminology, political awareness could indicate an active citizenship dimension, and political trust could represent a political resentment dimension.[53] The model tested for different kinds of social groupings at different historical periods would specify conditions under which political resentment negatively or positively affects participant citizenship.

Theoretical Explanation

As has been noted, the theoretical explanation suggested by the model is derived partially from small group theory and partially from political modernization concepts. It should be emphasized that the present study does not claim to explain conclusively any processes, whether group, political socialization, or political development and modernization. It is impossible to draw any conclusions about dynamic processes when data from only one point in time are used. Rather, propositions developed from group theory or political modernization concepts may suggest explanations of why different agents affect individual political socialization differently depending on an individual's social position. These propositions and related specific hypotheses give theoretical meaning to the path coefficients that therefore are interpreted to represent agent influence.

Through the use of political modernization concepts, particularly, it may be possible to infer how political and social changes can affect individual political socialization processes. Thus we are reminded that attitude studies take place in historical time and space amidst ongoing political events. Future studies must be designed to incorporate indicators of time and contemporary events if greater understanding of political socialization is to be gained.

The present study procedes to describe fully the methodology for determining and the findings about the relative effects of the family, school, peer groups, and the mass media on high school seniors' acquisition of future activism. Chapter II is a presentation of the data, discussion of path analysis, and operationalization of the variables used in the model of political socialization. Chapters III, IV, and V present the model for the entire sample of students. Chapter III focuses on individuals' acquisition of political awareness. Chapter IV focuses on individuals' acquisition of political trust. Chapter V focuses on individuals' acquisition of future activism. Chapter VI is a comparative analysis of political socialization for black and for white students; low status white students also provide an additional example of the effects of peripheral social position on political socialization. Chapter VII concludes the study with a brief summary of findings and a comparative analysis of a traditional agent of political socialization, the family, and the agents of political modernization, the mass media.

ENDNOTES

[1]Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 38; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 10-12.

[2]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 38.

[3]Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 7.

[4]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 38.

[5]Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, p. 7.

[6]Much of this literature is reviewed in Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization, Free Press Paperback (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization; Richard E. Dawson, "Political Socialization," in Political Science Annual: An International Review, Vol. 1, ed. by James A. Robinson (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966); John J. Patrick, Political Socialization of American Youth: Implications for Secondary School Social Studies, Research Bulletin No. 3 (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967). More recent reviews and critiques include Thomas J. Cook and Frank P. Scioli, Jr., "Political Socialization Research in the United States: A Review," in Political Attitudes and Public Opinion, ed. by Dan D. Nimmo and Charles M. Bonjean (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1972), pp. 154-74; Richard M. Merelman, "The Adolescence of Political Socialization," Sociology of Education, 45 (Spring, 1972), 134-66; Robert S. Erikson and Norman R. Luttbeg, American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973); Dean Jaros, Socialization to Politics (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

[7]See Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 140-60. Hirsch determined the relative importance of different agents as sources of political information, but he did not determine the effects of any one agent on a political attitude relative to, that is, while controlling for the effects of, other agents. See Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization (New York: The Free Press, 1971).

[8]For example, see Dawson and Prewitt, *Political Socialization*, pp. 194-200; David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," *American Political Science Review*, 61 (March, 1967), 34; Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 5.

[9]Hirsch, *Poverty and Politicization*, pp. 34-36.

[10]Neil Hollander, "Adolescents and the War: the Sources of Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly*, 48 (Autumn, 1971), 472-79.

[11]Steven H. Chaffee, L. Scott Ward, and Leonard P. Tipton, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly*, 47 (Winter, 1970), 647-59, 666.

[12]M. Kent Jennings, Principal Investigator, *The Student-Parent Socialization Study* (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1971).

[13]Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 111.

[14]Social status, to be discussed in Chapter VI, will be operationalized in terms of level of education of head of household inhabited by the individual respondent.

[15]Milbrath, *Political Participation*, p. 138.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 122. Because of the small number of black respondents, 194, this subsample cannot be further subdivided according to social status. The subsample sizes become too small to give even theoretically suggestive findings. Furthermore, because of growing group consciousness, higher status black people may tend to identify with lower status black people as far as feeling out near the periphery of the political system is concerned. See, for example, Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," *American Political Science Review*, 64 (December, 1970), 1214-15.

[17]For a discussion of controlling for variables in this manner in order to determine how relationships vary from one subgrouping to another, see Hayward R. Alker, Jr., *Mathematics and Politics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 96.

[18]Hyman, *Political Socialization*, pp. 52-54.

[19]R. W. Connell, "Political Socialization in the American Family: The Evidence Re-examined," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 (Fall, 1972), 323-33.

[20]Ibid., pp. 324-25.

[21]Ibid., p. 329.

[22]Ibid., p. 330. See also his "Bibliography and Review of Findings of Two-Generation Surveys of Political and Social Attitudes," Working Paper No. 163, Center for Social Organization Studies, University of Chicago, August, 1970, pp. 14-15.

[23]For general discussions of some problems of micro-macro analysis, see Fred I. Greenstein, Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1969), especially pp. 120-40; and Douglas Price, "Micro- and Macro-politics: Notes on Research Strategy," in Political Research and Political Theory, ed. by Oliver Garceau (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), especially pp. 124-40.

[24]Connell, "Political Socialization in American Family," p. 329.

[25]Cf. Langton, Political Socialization, p. 143.

[26]Political is defined here on the basis of David Easton's definition of a political system. See The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 129.

[27]This conceptualization is analogous in part to M. Brewster Smith's framework for linking personality to political behavior and owes a great deal to Smith's work. See his "A Map for the Analysis of Personality and Politics," Journal of Social Issues, 24 (July, 1968), 15-28.

[28]Overviews of various aspects of group theory may be found in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds., Group Dynamics (3rd ed.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968), Chapter 3, 11, 17, 24, 31, 36; Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). See also Herbert McClosky and Harold E. Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty," American Political Science Review, 53 (September, 1959), 757-76.

[29]Smith, "Map for Analysis," Figure 4, p. 25.

[30]Ibid., Figure 4, Arrow V, p. 25. Desire for group membership is necessary before group standards are salient. See Cartwright and Zander, Group Dynamics, especially pp. 144-45.

[31]It should be noted that the school structure is represented in this study by many small and changing groups of teachers, administrators, and students. Teachers and administrators are the personal representatives of the school structure. It is these school representatives and thus the school that students may like or dislike. Social science or civics courses involve textbooks with political content and discussions that provide interaction with teachers.

[32]Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization, pp. 38-39.

[33]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 113.

[34]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 100.

[35]Ibid., pp. 100, 107, 188.

[36]Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization; Hollander, "Adolescents and the War." These findings will be presented at length in Chapter III.

[37]T. H. Marshall, Class, Citizenship, and Social Development, with an introduction by Seymour Martin Lipset, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 80.

[38]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), p. 253.

[39]Anthony M. Orum and Roberta S. Cohen, "The Development of Political Orientations Among Black and White Children," American Sociological Review, 38 (February, 1973), 71.

[40]Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 158.

[41]Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and New Southern Politics, pp. 261-63.

[42]Recent work in political development and modernization procedes from an evolutionary rather than a typological approach. Whereas students of developing political systems formerly viewed development as a linear progression from primitive or traditional societies through a transitional stage to developed or modern systems, now they view development as an open-ended interaction among three potentially conflicting dimensions: (1) citizens' striving for equality in terms of (a) right to participate and right to claim equal distribution of values allocated by the political system, (b) universalistic norms in government-citizen relationships, and (c) equality of opportunity in recruitment to political and bureaucratic positions; (2) political system capacity to respond and adapt to citizen demands for equality; and (3) political system differentiation or structural reorganization meant to increase system capacity for responsiveness and effectiveness. Compare the earlier work by Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966) to the more recent collection of essays by Leonard Binder et al., Crises and Sequences in Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). The definition of political development given above comes from James Coleman, "The Development Syndrome: Differentiation-Equality-Capacity," in Binder et al., Crises and Sequences, pp. 73-80.

Political modernization as a term is used interchangeably with political development by Reinhard Bendix. According to Bendix, economic development or industrialization refers to ". . . economic changes brought about by a technology based on inanimate sources of power as well as on the continuous development of applied scientific research." Social and political development or modernization refers to ". . . all those social and political changes that accompanied industrialization in many countries of Western civilization." See Reinhard Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 5. Binder et al. use development and modernization as complementary terms. Political modernization is defined as the management of conflicts and crises inherent in the political development process. See Lucian W. Pye, "Foreword," in Binder et al., Crises and Sequences, p. viii. Presumably management can be attempted by political systems through organization of structures or by individuals through development of attitudes. It is the latter type of individual management of conflict that is related to the present study of acquisition of future activism. Acquisition of future activism can be seen as an attempt by individuals in unacceptable peripheral social positions to overcome this deprived status through political participation.

Though Matthews and Prothro consider only Southern black people as modernizing (see note 41, above), the evolutionary

perspective on development suggests that all nations are involved in a never-ending development process. Even the United States is a developing nation. Given the development of the black Southern civil rights movement into a national mass movement, as noted by Anthony M. Orum in "Patterns of Protest: The Politics of Black Youth in the 1960's," in The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics in America, ed. by Anthony M. Orum (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 277, it is possible to hypothesize a political modernization model for a national sample of black students.

[43]Coleman, "Development Syndrome," p. 77.

[44]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 45-46.

[45]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[46]Ibid., p. 72.

[47]Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[48]Cf. the discussion of activation by the mass media in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (3rd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 73-86.

[49]See, for example, group or situational political efficacy as conceptualized and operationalized by Charles E. Billings, "Black Activists and the Schools," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 82, 84-86.

[50]Lerner, Passing of Traditional Society, pp. 48-51.

[51]See note 36, above.

[52]Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 28 (February, 1963), 69-75.

[53]Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), 1120-41.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY FOR DETERMINING RELATIVE EFFECTS OF AGENTS OF

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: DATA, PATH ANALYSIS,

AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

As noted in the previous chapter, this study is a
secondary analysis of data collected in interviews with high school
seniors in the spring of 1965. The data are important not only
because of the age of the respondents but also because of the his-
torical period in which they were gathered. As Jennings and Niemi
point out, the data are particularly useful because they come from a
nationwide group of respondents who are almost at the end of the
pre-adult political socialization period and are ready to go to
college or into the work force. Twelfth graders are at a period in
life when the family and school are nearing the close of their
opportunities to directly affect the political socialization of these
young people.[1] Thus, a summary of relative effects of various agents,
including family and school, at this period in life is useful for
comparison with studies of relative effects of agents on younger and
on older respondents.

The period during which the data were collected was mid-decade
of the 1960's. As will be described more fully in Chapter VI, the

decade of the 1960's was a period of political upheaval and
turbulence.[2] This political upheaval was manifested in part by modes
of political participation new for the young people who used them in
varied attempts to influence United States domestic and foreign
policy. If young people growing up in this period were affected by
the actions of these youthful political activists, probably as re-
ported through the media news, then it should be possible to discover
such effects through analysis of a nationwide random sample of high
school seniors. Thus it may be possible to infer the effects of
political and social change through specified agents on pre-adults
during this period.

The effects of political and social change as stated earlier,
cannot be demonstrated since the data represent a cross-section of
the population interviewed only at one point in time. But the use of
path analysis, given certain assumptions about the nature of the data
and the directions of causation, will permit inferences to be made
about the exertion of influence by specified agents of political
socialization on the acquisition of specified political attitudes
thought to predispose individuals to political activity. As suggested
in Chapter I, concepts related to the dynamics of change through the
processes of political development and modernization may contribute
useful hypotheses that can be tested for racial or social status
groupings in the sample. The general path model can be assessed
with subgroupings of the data by race or social status and will reveal

the differential effects of agents within each social grouping. A short description of the data, an explanation of path analysis as applied in the present study, and a description of variables used in the general model follow.

The Data

The data for the present study were collected by the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, under the direction of M. Kent Jennings. Randomly chosen high school seniors from a nationwide (United States) probability sample of ninety-seven secondary schools (including eleven nonpublic schools) were interviewed in the spring of 1965. The sample included 1,669 students. The sample was weighted ". . . to correct for unavoidable misestimates (sic) at the time of sampling frame construction."[3] The weighted sample totals 2,063, including 1,063 males and 1,000 females, 1,086 whites, 194 blacks, and 13 Asians, Mexicans, or Puerto Ricans. The sampling universe does not include school "drop-outs," which are calculated to be about twenty-six percent of this age cohort.[4]

The number of black students in the sample is not large enough to warrant drawing firm conclusions. The subsample is not entirely representative of the black age cohort due to larger drop-out rates among black students.[5] Racial comparisons, however, will be theoretically suggestive.

Path Analysis

Path analysis provides a way to demonstrate the influences of specified agents of political socialization on acquisition of specified political attitudes. Influence may be defined as an alteration in the behavior of B caused by changes in the behavior of A.[6] Causation is defined in terms of a model, which abstractly describes the "real world," rather than as a "real world" phenomenon.[7] If A only causes changes in B, that is, if the direction of change is unidirectional, then the relationship is asymmetrical, and influence is said to be exerted.[8] If B also causes changes in A, the relationship is reciprocal or symmetric, and it is not possible to determine the exercise of influence. If the process of A causing changes in B and then B causing changes in A can be assumed to occur over periods of time rather than instantaneously, then it is possible to examine empirically either of the asymmetric relationships A→B or B→A.

In any case, the analysis of change occurring over a span of time would call for a research design that incorporates the time dimension in any measures of change. The present study, as stated earlier, does not contain measures based on changes through time. The data come from a sample of one age group in the population at one point in time. Change in levels of political awareness, political trust, or future activism must be inferred, therefore, from a statistic, such as a path coefficient, that represents the effects of one variable on another. Such inferences can be made for a recursive set

of simultaneous equations from such survey data only when certain simplifying assumptions are made: (1) that error terms or residuals represent influences on the dependent variable not explicitly brought into the model, (2) that these error terms are uncorrelated with one another and with the independent variables, and (3) that the independent variables have been measured without error.[9]

How does a path coefficient demonstrate influence? Simon develops a set of variables, representing influencers and influencees, related through a system of equations.[10] The system of equations is the same as that found in a recursive model,[11] which can be estimated by means of linear regression. As will be discussed below, path analysis under certain assumptions is the same as regression performed on a recursive set of simultaneous equations. Thus the coefficients estimated by this means are the measures of influence hypothesized to flow from the exogenous (influencer) to the endogenous (influencee) variables in the system of equations. These standardized regression or path coefficients represent the amount of change A causes in B in the theoretical model.

Agent influences are hypothesized to operate on an individual's levels of political awareness, political trust, and future activism. These hypotheses are derived from the theoretical framework presented in Chapter I. The framework provides the substantive basis for the asymmetry of the relationships and the meaning of the path coefficients in the set of equations that describes the hypothesized

asymmetrical relationships between agent influence variables and

political attitudes.

Sewall Wright developed path analysis

. . . primarily as a means of combining the quantitative
information given by a system of correlation coefficients
with such information as may be at hand with regard to the
causal relations, and thus of making quantitative an inter-
pretation which would otherwise be merely qualitative.[12]

By quantification, a qualitative hypothesis may be objectively

evaluated and adjusted if necessary.

In many cases a fairly adequate representation of the course
of nature can be obtained by viewing it as a coarse network in
which the 'events' of interest are the deviations in the values
of certain measurable quantities. A qualitative scheme depends
on observation of sequences and experimental intervention. It
is of interest to make such a scheme at least roughly quanti-
tative in the sense of evaluating the relative importance of
action along different paths. This was the primary purpose of
the method of path coefficients.[13]

Wright shows how, by the use of path analysis, least squares

estimates (standardized regression coefficients) may be deduced from

knowledge of the correlation coefficients.[14] It is this particular

use of path analysis that Duncan expands into the field of sociology[15]

and that is used in the present study.

It should be noted that Wright actually was able to observe

changes over time in genetic experiments and in corn production-hog

production relationships. Thus his path coefficients truly were

quantitative measures of relative amounts of change. As was explained

above, in nonexperimental survey research using data from one point

in time, it is necessary to make simplifying assumptions about sources of error in order to infer that change has occurred. Furthermore, causal relationships that may be reciprocal in reality are assumed to occur over periods of time rather than instantaneously so that specific asymmetric relationships may be examined.

Duncan reemphasizes Wright's finding that path coefficients may be mathematically equivalent to standardized regression coefficients. If we can assume that all relationships are linear and additive, that all residual terms are uncorrelated, and that each dependent variable is linearly dependent on each preceding independent variable,

> . . . path analysis amounts to a sequence of conventional
> regression analyses . . . . The path coefficients are then
> nothing other than the 'beta coefficients' in a regression
> setup . . . .[16]

An additional assumption required by regression analysis that variables be measured at the interval level also is assumed.[17]

Path analysis in its general form goes beyond regression analysis in lending interpretation to causal systems. Land suggests the following contributions of path analysis:

(1) The path diagram corresponds to the ". . . set of structural equations . . representing the postulated causal and non-causal relationships among the variables under consideration."[18] In other words, the path diagram visually represents the coarse network

of influences of certain variables on the deviations in value of other
variables.

(2) The diagram may be used with Wright's algorithm to trace
compound paths between two variables.[19] Such tracing is analogous to
the decomposition of correlation coefficients into all possible paths
between the variables correlated. Decomposition provides an analysis
of direct and indirect effects of the independent variable on the
dependent variable.[20] As Stokes warns:

> But the investigator may reach a surer understanding of the
> basis of these expressions by deriving them from the structural
> equations of his system. In some cases this may save him from
> error in discerning the compound paths linking two variates in
> an intricate system.[21]

(3) The inclusion of the residual term and path provides an
explicit interpretation for the coefficient of alienation, which is
the value of the residual path.

> The residual path coefficient, then, represents the proportion
> of the standard deviation, and its square represents the pro-
> portion of the variance, of the endogenous variable that is caused
> by all (unmeasured) variables outside of the set under considera-
> tion in the path model.[22]

Thus path analysis allows one to assess completely the determination
of each endogenous variable, either from measured variables included
in the model or from unspecified variables included in the residual
term.[23]

In the present study the path estimates will be obtained from the following structural equations describing the path diagram in Figure 1.

$$X_5 = P_{51}X_1 + P_{52}X_2 + P_{53}X_3 + P_{54}X_4 + P_{5u}R_u \qquad (1)$$

$$X_6 = P_{61}X_1 + P_{62}X_2 + P_{63}X_3 + P_{64}X_4 + P_{65}X_5 + P_{6v}R_v \qquad (2)$$

$$X_7 = P_{71}X_1 + P_{72}X_2 + P_{73}X_3 + P_{74}X_4 + P_{75}X_5 + P_{76}X_6 + P_{7w}R_w \qquad (3)$$

Solutions for P_{51}, P_{52}, P_{53}, P_{54}, P_{61}, P_{62}, P_{63}, P_{64}, P_{65}, P_{71}, P_{72}, P_{73}, P_{74}, P_{75}, and P_{76} are obtained by multiple regression of each dependent variable, X_5, X_6, or X_7, on its respective independent variables as shown in equations (1), (2), and (3). As stated above, the path coefficients are the standardized regression coefficients or Betas in the regression solution, since this is a recursive model. Solutions for the residual paths, $P_{5u}R_u$, $P_{6v}R_v$, and $P_{7w}R_w$, are found by taking the square root of the value $1 - R^2$, R^2 being the multiple correlation coefficient squared.

An analysis of compound paths in the model for the present study demonstrates how the agents of political socialization directly and indirectly affect any one of the political orientations. Analysis of compound paths in a multistage model is the terminology used by Stokes.[24] Expansion of correlation coefficients is the terminology used by Duncan.[25] In either case the equations are analogous to the

normal equations for solving for the slope b in regression theory.[26]
But, as Duncan suggests, equation (7) below best permits the researcher
to appreciate "the properties of the causal scheme."[27] Analysis of
compound paths or expansion is obtained, therefore, by algebraically
manipulating the structural equation for the dependent variable con-
cerned.[28] For example, the direct effects of family influence on
political trust and the indirect effects of family on political trust
through political awareness are obtained by multiplying the structural
equation for political trust, equation (2), with equation (1) substi-
tuted for X_5, by the family influence variable X_1 and taking
expectations.[29]

$$X_6 = P_{61}X_1 + P_{62}X_2 + P_{63}X_3 + P_{64}X_4 + P_{65}(P_{51}X_1 +$$
$$P_{52}X_2 + P_{53}X_3 + P_{54}X_4 + P_{5u}R_u) + P_{6v}R_v \qquad (4)$$

$$X_6 = P_{61}X_1 + P_{62}X_2 + P_{63}X_3 + P_{64}X_4 + P_{65}P_{51}X_1 +$$
$$P_{65}P_{52}X_2 + P_{65}P_{53}X_3 + P_{65}P_{54}X_4 + P_{65}P_{5u}R_u +$$
$$P_{6v}R_v \qquad (5)$$

$$E(X_1X_6) = P_{61}E(X_1X_1) + P_{62}E(X_1X_2) + P_{63}E(X_1X_3) +$$
$$P_{64}E(X_1X_4) + P_{65}P_{51}E(X_1X_1) + P_{65}P_{52}E(X_1X_2) +$$
$$P_{65}P_{53}E(X_1X_3) + P_{65}P_{54}E(X_1X_4) + P_{65}P_{5u}E(R_uX_1) +$$
$$P_{6v}E(R_vX_1) \qquad (6)$$

$$r_{16} = P_{61} + P_{62}r_{12} + P_{63}r_{13} + P_{64}r_{14} + P_{65}P_{51} +$$

$$P_{65}P_{52}r_{12} + P_{65}P_{53}r_{13} + P_{65}P_{54}r_{14} +$$

$$P_{65}P_{5u}r_{1u} + P_{6v}r_{1v} \qquad\qquad (7)$$

In the present study concern is focused on the direct effects of the agents and their indirect effects through intervening variables on a particular dependent variable. Hypotheses about such relationships will be presented. Unexplained relationships between the exogenous agent influence variables have been designated in the path diagram by curvilinear two-headed arrows. Though some indirect effects are shown to flow through these arrows, for example, $P_{65}P_{52}r_{12}$, these indirect effects will not be formally analyzed. No theoretical basis will be advanced for such relationships, and the direction of causation will not be specified. The existence of these particular indirect effects, which should tend to be small, would suggest areas of interest for future analysis. The indirect effects that will be formally analyzed are those unidirectional effects flowing from agents to attitudes within the path diagram. Thus, in this example, the effects to be analyzed would be P_{61} and $P_{65}P_{51}$. The values for these two relationships would indicate respectively how much direct effect the family has on an individual's level of political trust and how much indirect effect the family has on political trust because of its influence also on the individual's level of political awareness.

Since all possible paths of causation going in the same direction toward the final dependent variable have been hypothesized,

there are no hypothesized zero paths by which the fit of the model can be evaluated. Instead, the criterion for keeping paths in the model will be the requirement that a path coefficient be statistically significant at the .01 level. This level of significance is chosen arbitrarily but would seem to be sufficiently rigorous to give the reader some confidence in the path coefficients calculated for each model. This is especially true for the black student model, which has a relatively small average n (190). The correlation matrices, on which the path models are based, are calculated for different sample and subsample sizes. Since the statistical significance of correlation coefficients depends partly on sample size (that is, high levels of statistical significance can be obtained for coefficients of relatively small magnitude when the sample size is very large), the .001 level of significance will be indicated for all tables based on the whole sample (2,063) and the white subsample (1,825). The .05 level of significance will be indicated for the other correlation matrices because of their smaller sample size (black subsample = 190, low social status white subsample = 401).[30]

Definitions and Scaling of Variables

Conceptual and operational definitions of each variable used in the model of political socialization are presented in this section. Tests of reliability are applied to each scale or index developed. These tests include coefficient alpha,[31] item analysis,[32] and principal component factor analysis.[33] For all scales or indices, "not

ascertainable" or "don't know" responses are coded as missing data, but these codes are not listed for the variables below. Pairwise deletion of missing data is utilized in calculating the path coefficients and correlation coefficients.[34]

Family Influence on Respondent's Politicization

This index indicates a social situation involving interaction with people whose social role is the upbringing of children and the integration of these children into the ways of society or of a sub-culture. It focuses on integration into political society through communication of messages with political content. Affection for the family group is assumed to have a multiplicative effect on its ability to politicize.

The choice of items for the index is based on findings in small group research discussed earlier. From this perspective, the existence of a small group consisting of mother, father, and respondent is assumed. The subsequent possibility that the parents will influence the respondent depends on how much communication occurs between all three group members. Of particular interest in this study is the amount of political subject matter in the communication and the parents' political interest as perceived by the respondent. This interest may be passed on to the respondent in the course of communi-cation and either internalized or copied by the respondent in an effort to retain acceptance in the group.[35] The measure of perceived parents' political interest is somewhat open to distortion by the respondent's

possible projection of his own interest or disinterest on a parent
to whom he feels close or not close. Analysis proceeds with this
possibility in mind. Feeling close to one's family is assumed to be
a necessary condition for the family's influence to be accepted in
the same direction that it is exerted. For example, if a family
discourages political trust, then the individual who feels close to
this family will acquire political distrust.

The Family Influence Scale is constructed from the following
items:[36]

VAR176/VAR180. How close would you say
you are to your father/mother?

3 = very close
2 = pretty close
1 = not very close
0 = not close at all

VAR177/VAR181. Would you say your father/
mother is very much interested in public
affairs and politics, somewhat interested,
or doesn't he/she pay much attention to it?

3 = very much interested
2 = somewhat interested
1 = doesn't pay much attention
0 = not interested at all

VAR141. Do you talk about public affairs and
politics with members of your family?

3 = yes, several times a week
2 = yes, few times a month
1 = yes, once or twice a year or
    yes, NA how often
0 = no

An index of closeness to parents is formed by summing the scores of
responses to VAR176 and VAR180. An index of perceived parents'

political interest is formed by summing the scores of responses to VAR177 and VAR181. Family political discussion is indicated by responses to VAR141. The Family Influence Scale is formed by multiplying the sum of perceived parents' political interest and family political discussion scores by the closeness to parents score. The scale has a range of 0 to 54. The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 1. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, one dimension explaining 82.3 percent of the variance among the items is found.

School Influence on Respondent's Politicization

The school is another social structure whose role partially is to integrate individuals into the social system. This index focuses on certain variables thought to be important in the integration of individuals into the political system: (1) favorable attitudes toward school, courses, teachers, and administrators, and (2) political communication through courses with political content. The School Influence Index is constructed from the following items:

> VAR011/VAR012. Generally speaking, what kinds
> of subjects have you liked best/least in the
> last three years?
>
> > 1 = like social science courses
> > 0 = like other courses
> > -1 = dislike social science courses
>
> VAR013. In general how have you felt about going
> to school?
>
> > 2 = liked it a lot
> > 1 = liked it a fair amount
> > 0 = haven't cared for it

TABLE 1

FAMILY INFLUENCE SCALE

Scale and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1. Family influence	28.237	176.36	.74
a. Perceived parents' political interest**	19.081	78.88	
b. Family political discussion**	9.161	32.39	

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.
1. Family influence			
a. Perceived parents' political interest	.945*		
b. Family political discussion	.860*	.646*	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

**Since the formula for the Family Influence Scale is (close to parents) (perceived parents' political interest + family political discussion), this may be manipulated to form two items that can be treated additively: (close to parents) (perceived parents' political interest) + (close to parents) (family political discussion).

VAR031. Do you feel that you have ever been treated
unfairly by any teachers here at this school?

1 = no
0 = yes

VAR034. What about the principal, vice-principal,
counselors, and people like that. Do you feel that
you have ever been treated unfairly by any of them?

1 = no
0 = yes

An index of social science course impact is formed by summing the three responses to VAR011 and VAR012 and adding 3 to cancel any net negative scores. Social science responses include all history, government and politics, and international relations courses, social problems, race relations, and democracy and economics courses.[37] The School Influence Index is formed by summing the scores of responses to each question and has a range of 0 to 10.

The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 2. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, two components explaining respectively 29.3 percent and 26.2 percent of the variance among the items are found. This analysis is displayed in Table 3. The two components are called Fair Treatment and Liking School and Courses in later discussions. The social science course impact index is combined additively with VAR013 response scores to form the liking school and social science course index. A fair treatment index is formed by summing the scores of responses to VAR031 and VAR034.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL INFLUENCE INDEX

Index and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1. School influence	6.268	1.504	.086
a. Like school	1.562	.347	
b. Fair treatment, teachers	.688	.215	
c. Fair treatment, administrators	.904	.087	
d. Like social science courses	3.113	.726	

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.	c.	d.
1. School influence					
a. Like school	.556*				
b. Fair treatment, teachers	.432*	.076*			
c. Fair treatment, administrators	.304*	.025	.141*		
d. Like social science courses	.716*	.059	-.021	-.003	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

TABLE 3

COMPONENT LOADINGS FOR SCHOOL INFLUENCE DIMENSIONS

Items	Fair Treatment	Liking School and Courses
Like school	.238	.681
Like courses	-.198	.769
Fair treatment, teachers	.750	.065
Fair treatment, administrators	.708	-.031

Peer Group Influence on Respondent's Politicization

Like the family and the school, peer groups provide social interaction that sometimes possesses political content and therefore may influence political attitudes. The term "peer group" is used in the same way that Langton used it: a "face-to-face group of 'best friends.'"[38] These groups exist informally within and outside the school structure. Thus, in one sense, peer groups might be considered an informal subsystem of the formal school structure. But even though these groups may exist physically within the confines of the school and help members to cope with the formal school structure, their membership is not restricted to students from the same school, and they may independently influence members' political attitudes.

The scale includes items relevant to the informal groups to which the respondent belongs and not to the formal school structure.

The items are:

VAR142. Second, how about with your friends outside of classes. Do you talk about politics? How often would you say that is?

    3 = yes, several times a week
    2 = yes, a few times a month
    1 = yes, once or twice a year or
        NA how often
    0 = no

VAR019. Thinking now about the people you go around with most often, what kinds of things are important to do in order to stay popular with them?

    1 = political response
    0 = nonpolitical response

Politically oriented or related responses to VAR019 include being student government leader, being interested in or taking part in public affairs and community activities, being in school extra-curricular activities such as clubs. Four responses are coded, and all responses are summed to form a group standards score. The Peer Groups Influence Scale is formed by summing the scores of responses to each question and has a range of 0 to 7. The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 4. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, one dimension explaining 50.3 percent of the variance among the items is found.

Mass Media Influence on Respondent's Politicization

Mass media influence depends partly on the respondent's exposure to political content, the frequency of his exposure, and his ability to independently determine exposure. Therefore, a measure of

TABLE 4

PEER GROUP INFLUENCE SCALE

Scale and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1. Peer group influence	3.017	2.036	.012
a. Political discussion	1.806	1.126	
b. Group standards	1.209	.898	

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.
1. Peer group influence			
a. Political discussion	.748*		
b. Group standards	.668*	.006	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

media influence should tap (1) whether a person pays attention to

political content (news) as opposed to nonpolitical content in the

media, (2) how often a person exposes himself to such content, and

(3) evidence of motivation to use political content in the media.

The following items tap political content, amount of exposure, and

assumed motivation to seek out radio and television news information.

VAR128. We're also interested in finding out whether students ordinarily pay much attention to current events, public affairs, and politics. Take newspapers, for instance. Do you read about public affairs and politics in any newspaper? How often do you read news-paper articles about public affairs and politics?

```
4 = yes, almost daily
3 = yes, two or three times a week
2 = yes, three or four times a week or
    yes, a few times a year or
    yes, NA or DK frequency
0 = no
```

VAR130. How about radio. Do you listen to any programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on the radio? How often do you listen to them on radio?

```
4 = yes, almost daily
3 = yes, two or three times a week
2 = yes, three or four times a month or
    yes, a few times a year or
    yes, NA or DK frequency
0 = no
```

VAR131. Are these mainly news broadcasts or do you listen to other kinds of public affairs pro-grams too?

```
2 = other kinds
1 = mainly news
0 = coded 0 in VAR130
```

VAR132. Do you usually listen with other members of your family or mostly by yourself?

    3 = by myself
    1 = with family
    0 = coded 0 in VAR130

VAR133. If somebody else in your family weren't listening, would you go ahead and listen anyway?

    2 = yes
    0 = no or coded 0 in VAR130

VAR134. How about television. Do you watch any programs about public affairs, politics, and the news on television? About how often do you watch such programs?

    4 = yes, almost daily
    3 = yes, two or three times a week
    2 = yes, three or four times a month or
        yes, a few times a year or
        yes, NA or DK frequency
    0 = no

VAR135. Are these mainly news programs or do you watch other kinds of public affairs programs too?

    2 = other kinds
    1 = mainly news
    0 = coded 0 in VAR134

VAR136. Do you usually watch TV with other members of your family, or mostly by yourself?

    3 = by myself
    1 = with family
    0 = coded 0 in VAR 134

VAR137. If somebody else in your family weren't watching, would you go ahead and watch TV anyway?

    2 = yes
    0 = no or coded 0 in VAR134

VAR138. Finally, how about magazines. Do you read about public affairs and politics in any magazines? Are there any magazines that you read pretty regularly about public affairs and politics?

    3 = yes, pretty regularly
    2 = yes, but not very regularly or
        yes, DK regularity
    0 = no

For each "yes" response about exposure in VAR128, VAR138, VAR130, and VAR134, a score of 1 is given. In these same variables an additional score of 3, 2, or 1 is given for frequency of exposure. Thus possible scores are 4, 3, 2, or 0. Indices for radio and for television public affairs or news attention are constructed by summing respectively VAR130 + VAR131 and VAR134 + VAR135. Indices for radio and for television efficacy (assumed motivation to seek and use) are constructed by summing respectively VAR132 + VAR133 and VAR136 + VAR137. The Mass Media Influence Index is formed by summing the scores of each medium index or question response and has a range of 0 to 29.

The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 5. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, three components explaining respectively 34.7 percent, 30.7 percent, and 18.7 percent of the variance among the items are found. This analysis is displayed in Table 6. The three components will be called Radio, Television, and Print Media in later discussions. Radio is formed by summing VAR130, VAR131, VAR132, and VAR133. Television is formed by summing VAR134, VAR135, VAR136, and VAR137. Print Media is formed by summing VAR128 and VAR138.

TABLE 5

MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE INDEX

	Index and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1.	Mass media influence	16.549	30.678	.593
	a. Newspaper	2.937	1.872	
	b. Magazine	1.883	1.898	
	c. Radio	3.219	5.572	
	d. Radio efficacy	1.958	2.067	
	e. Television	4.109	2.933	
	f. Television efficacy	2.470	1.180	

TABLE 5--Continued

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
1. Mass media influence							
a. Newspaper	.430*						
b. Magazine	.433*	.302*					
c. Radio	.715*	-.027	.066*				
d. Radio efficacy	.706*	-.020	.070*	.938*			
e. Television	.610*	.229*	.122*	.093*	.078*		
f. Television efficacy	.549*	.241*	.144*	.029	.042	.774*	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

TABLE 6

COMPONENT LOADINGS FOR MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE DIMENSIONS

Items	Radio	Television	Print Media
Newspaper	-.070	.222	.755
Magazine	.086	-.016	.843
Radio	.983	.034	.008
Radio efficacy	.982	.032	.015
Television	.062	.930	.103
Television efficacy	.004	.933	.106

Political Awareness

Political awareness is defined as psychological involvement in politics and public affairs, interest, concern, knowledge, and ability to express opinions.[39] The items include:

VAR206. Some people seem to think about 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 public affairs . . . . ?

3 = most of the time
2 = some of the time
1 = only now and then
0 = hardly at all

VAR200. Now I'm going to read you a statement which contains two different ideas. If you aren't very inter-ested in either of the ideas, we will go on to the next question. Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken care of by the family and the church. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other? Which do you think?

```
                        1 = having an opinion
                        0 = no opinion

        VAR201.  Some people say that the government in Washington
        should see to it that white and Negro children are allowed
        to go to the same schools.  Others claim that this is not
        the government's business.  Have you been concerned
        enough about this question to favor one side over the
        other?   What do you think?

                        1 = having an opinion
                        0 = no opinion

        VAR204.  Some people say that the United States should
        get out of the United Nations because it's not doing us
        or the world any good.  Others claim that we should stay
        in the United Nations because it is helpful to us and
        the world in general.  Have you been interested enough in
        this to favor one side over the other?  What do you think?

                        1 = having an opinion
                        0 = no opinion

        VAR221.  Now I'd like to ask you a few questions that you
        may or may not be able to answer.  We don't expect people
        to know all the answers.  About how many years does a
        U.S. Senator serve?

                        1 = correct answer
                        0 = incorrect answer

        VAR223.  Do you happen to know about how many members
        there are on the United States Supreme Court?  How
        many?

                        1 = correct answer
                        0 = incorrect answer

        VAR224.  Who is the governor of (name of this state)
        now?

                        1 = correct answer
                        0 = incorrect answer

The Political Awareness Index is formed by summing the scores of each

item and has a range of 0 to 9.
```

TABLE 7

POLITICAL AWARENESS INDEX

Index and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1. Political awareness	6.613	2.503	.461
a. Political interest	2.218	.603	
b. United States Senate term	.501	.250	
c. Supreme Court Justices	.381	.236	
d. Governor	.882	.104	
e. School prayer	.867	.115	
f. School desegregation	.928	.067	
g. United Nations	.832	.140	

TABLE 7--Continued

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.
1. Political awareness								
a. Political interest	.711*							
b. United States Senate term	.535*	.147*						
c. Supreme Court Justices	.534*	.181*	.294*					
d. Governor	.427*	.157*	.164*	.152*				
e. School prayer	.334*	.096*	-.018	-.017	.067*			
f. School desegregation	.314*	.096*	.056	.059	.034	.193*		
g. United Nations	.463*	.224*	.090*	.056	.124*	.154*	.113*	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 7. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, two components explaining respectively 24.5 percent and 17.7 percent of the variance among the items are found. This analysis is displayed in Table 8. The political interest item loads moderately on both components. The two components will be called Knowledge and Opinion. Knowledge is formed by summing the variables that load on that component, VAR221, VAR223, and VAR224. These are all political knowledge items. Opinion is formed in the same way by summing VAR200, VAR201, and VAR204, the items asking the respondents to give opinions on certain political issues.

TABLE 8

COMPONENT LOADINGS FOR POLITICAL
AWARENESS DIMENSIONS

Items	Knowledge	Opinion
Political interest	.472	.391
U.S. Senate term	.712	-.061
S.C. Justices	.718	-.071
Governor	.501	.172
School prayer	-.126	.719
School desegregation	.019	.596
U.N.	.224	.576

Political Trust

Stokes has defined political trust as a "basic evaluation of government."[40] Finifter finds in the Almond and Verba Five-Nation Study data a dimension of attitudes, "perceived political normlessness," that she suggests is related to the concept of political cynicism.[41] The items loading on this dimension deal with one's expectations of fair treatment by public officials, prudence of political parties, influence of groups on how government is run, reliability and trustworthiness of public officials.

In other words, the concept political trust involves the following: (1) perceptions of community political norms, (2) perceptions of whether government and government officials live up to these standards about how well government should do its jobs, (3) having confidence in government and government officials as a result of this judgment, and (4) basically liking government and government officials.

The measure of political trust is formed from the same items that comprise the political cynicism scale of the Jennings data set. The scoring is reversed so that low cynicism scores are the same as high trust scores. The items are:

> VAR156. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?
>
> 2 = hardly any
> 1 = not very many
> 0 = quite a few

VAR157. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

        2 = not much
        1 = some
        0 = a lot

VAR158. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right, just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

        2 = about always
        1 = most of the time
        0 = some of the time

VAR159. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

        1 = know what they're doing
        0 = other, depends, both or don't
            know what they're doing

VAR160. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

        1 = for benefit of all
        0 = other, depends, both or few big interests

The Political Trust Scale is formed by summing the scores of responses to each question and has a range of 0 to 8. The results of the reliability tests are displayed in Table 9. When the items are subjected to principal component factor analysis, one dimension explaining 40.3 percent of the variance among the items is found.

Future Activism

Future activism is the respondent's estimation of how active he may be in politics and public affairs when he reaches legal

TABLE 9

POLITICAL TRUST SCALE

Scale and Items	Mean	Variance	Coefficient Alpha
1. Political trust	5.171	2.917	.60
a. Government crooked	1.137	.449	
b. Government waste	.952	.447	
c. Trust government	1.345	.382	
d. Government smart	.853	.126	
e. Government for big interests	.857	.122	

TABLE 9--Continued

Correlation Matrix for Item Analysis

	1	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
1. Political trust						
a. Government crooked	.688*					
b. Government waste	.698*	.297*				
c. Trust government	.684*	.285*	.284*			
d. Government smart	.487*	.161*	.190*	.243*		
e. Government for big interest	.553*	.249*	.265*	.270*	.284*	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

adulthood. Estimation of future activism is indicated by responses to the question:

> VAR211. Looking ahead to the time when you are on your own, what about actual participation in public affairs and politics. Do you think you will be very active, somewhat active, or not very active in these matters?
>
> 2 = very active
> 1 = somewhat active
> 0 = not very active

An attempt was made to construct a future activism scale using VAR211 and another item asking the respondent his concept of a good citizen. This is the same variable used by Langton and Jennings to indicate whether a student has an active participation or passive loyal orientation toward politics.[42] Preliminary analysis was performed using this variable as an indicator of predispositions toward various modes of participation.[43] Responses were coded as follows (only the first responses were coded):

> VAR119. People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means. We're interested in what you think. Tell me how you would describe a good citizen in this country--that is, what things about a person are most important in showing that he is a good citizen.
>
> 3 = very active: taking part, being active, exercising leadership, trying to improve country or government, active in community affairs, working to better the community, participating in school affairs, PTA, etc.
>
> 2 = active: voting, informed voting, other references to activity

```
            1 = traditional:  indications of support for
                              country, loyalty, respect,
                              serving country, obeying laws,
                              paying taxes

            0 = nonpolitical: references to interpersonal and
                              social behavior--helping, tolerant--
                              moral, ethical, religious, other
                              personal attributes--good worker,
                              independent
```

An active dimension would include 3 and 2; a passive dimension would include 1; 0 would be nonpolitical. It was thought that concept of good citizen would be related to future activism, but the correlation was very low ($r = .059$, significant at .005 level).

Apparently, an individual's estimation of how active he actually will be does not have much relationship to his conception of an ideal citizen. This accords with Milbrath's findings of higher mean scores for what people think they should do compared to what people say they actually do. For Milbrath's adult respondents, at least, some relationships were found between real and ideal behavior reports ($r = .40$ to $.60$).[44] But for pre-adults the relationship evidently has not begun to develop. Therefore, a decision was made to proceed using only the item asking for an estimation of one's future activity (VAR211).

Future Activism has a range of 0 to 2. No tests of reliability may be performed on this variable. Therefore, the variable is validated by examining its relationship to other variables found to correlate positively with political participation scales. Two such validating scales are available in the Jennings data set, political

efficacy and ego strength (B scale).

Political efficacy is defined as a sense that individual political action can have impact on the political process.[45] Political efficacy has been found to be related positively to political participation, particularly voting, and to what Milbrath calls spectator activities.[46] Thus, it is hypothesized that political efficacy will be positively related to future activism. With only two items from the original political efficacy scale provided in the Jennings data set scale, those students who are more politically efficacious tend to say they will be more politically active in the future ($r = .149$, significant at .001 level).

The ego strength scale used in the present study contains items about holding one's own in arguments, having strong opinions, and resisting mind-changing arguments. It appears to pertain to personal effectiveness in social situations. Since decisions about what one thinks have to be made before effective action can be taken, this kind of ego strength should be related to future activism. Such a relationship is found; the more ego strength these students have, the more likely they are to say they will be politically active in the future ($r = .172$, significant at .001 level).

ENDNOTES

[1]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, 62 (March, 1968), 171.

[2]An overview of the period, as well as studies of activist youth, black and white, upper and lower social status, may be found in Anthony M. Orum, ed., The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972).

[3]"Weight Usage Information," in M. Kent Jennings, Principal Investigator, The Student-Parent Socialization Study (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1971), no page number.

[4]"Sampling Information," in Jennings, Student-Parent Socialization Study, no page number.

[5]Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 100-101.

[6]Herbert A. Simon, Models of Man (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 66.

[7]Ibid., p. 12.

[8]Ibid., pp. 66-67. The ideas in the rest of the paragraph come under this same citation. Cf. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Theory Construction: From Verbal to Mathematical Formulations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 50.

[9]Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961, 1964,), pp. 44-50.

[10]Simon, Models of Man, pp. 13-19.

[11]This is noted by Blalock in Causal Inferences, p. 59.

[12]Sewall Wright, "The Method of Path Coefficients," Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 5 (1934), 175.

[13]Ibid., pp. 176-77.

[14]Ibid., pp. 170-71.

[15]O. D. Duncan, "Path Analysis: Sociological Examples," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (July, 1966), 1-16.

[16]Ibid., p. 6.

[17]While Wilson's point that ". . . the problem of finding valid and reliable interval measures of sociological variables is the most important methodological and theoretical issue confronting sociology" is well taken, he is admittedly taking a "hard science" perspective. See Thomas P. Wilson, "Critique of Ordinal Variables," in Causal Models in the Social Sciences, ed. by H. M. Blalock, Jr. (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), p. 429. Even as astronomical physicists cannot demonstrate additivity of light years by placing them end to end on a measure, even less can social scientists demonstrate additivity of their constructs such as measures of attitudes. See J. P. Guilford, Psychometric Methods (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 6-11. Yet this inability has not stopped and should not stop scientists in either the "hard" or "soft" sciences, if one wishes to so characterize science, from continuing to use the strongest methods of data analysis available as long as they are aware that these methods are not conclusive for theory building or for applications in the "real world." See John W. Tukey, "The Future of Data Analysis," Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 33 (March, 1962), 1-67, for an argument for relaxation of assumptions in order to derive "indications" from social scientific research. The point to be emphasized is that data analysis cannot be halted until interval scales are developed, but greater efforts must be put into their development at the same time that exploratory theoretical investigations continue. Richard P. Boyle's demonstration of path analysis with ordinal data and assumed interval level of measurement is a contribution to the development of better measurement techniques. He argues that under the interval-level assumption, correlation coefficients tend to be conservative estimates of measures of relationship; and regression coefficients should not be affected at all unless more than one kind of distortion occurs (which is unlikely). See Richard P. Boyle, "Path Analysis and Ordinal Data," in Causal Models in the Social Sciences, edited by H. M. Blalock, Jr. (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), pp. 432-52. See also the experimental work of Sanford Labovitz on the assignment of numbers to ordinal measures so that they may be treated as interval-level data: "Some Observations on Measurement and Statistics," Social Forces, 46 (December, 1967), 151-60; Comments by Dean J. Champion, Raymond N. Morris, and Labovitz's Reply, Social Forces, 46 (June, 1968), 541-44. See also Labovitz's "The Assignment of Numbers to Rank Order Categories," American Sociological Review, 35 (June, 1970), 515-24.

[18]Kenneth C. Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," in Sociological Methodology 1969, ed. by Edgar F. Borgatta (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1969), p. 7.

[19]Wright's algorithm for tracing paths on a path diagram may be found in his article "The Interpretation of Multivariate Systems," in Statistics and Mathematics in Biology, ed. by Oscar Kempthorne et al. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1954), p. 17.

[20]Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," pp. 15-16.

[21]Donald E. Stokes, "Compound Paths in Political Analysis," in Mathematical Applications in Political Science V, ed. by James F. Herndon and Joseph L. Bernd (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971), p. 87.

[22]Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," p. 12.

[23]Stokes, "Compound Paths," p. 76.

[24]Ibid., pp. 84-87.

[25]Duncan, "Path Analysis: Sociological Examples," pp. 5-6.

[26]Ibid., p. 6. See also Raymond Boudon, "A New Look at Correlation Analysis," in Methodology in Social Research, ed. by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. and Ann B. Blalock (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), pp. 207-208.

[27]Duncan, "Path Analysis: Sociological Examples," p. 6.

[28]Different modes of manipulation are presented in Stokes, "Compound Paths" and Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," but the results are the same. Stokes's method is used in the present study.

[29]As Stokes explains, since the structural equations refer to variables scored in standardized form (notice that no intercept or constant appears in any equation), taking the expectations of the covariation of, for example, X_1 and X_6 results in $E(X_1X_6) = r_{16}$. See Stokes, "Compound Paths," p. 75.

[30]For a discussion of choice of level of statistical significance for correlation and regression coefficients, see Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 397-400.

[31]This is a good way to check the reliability of scales administered only once to a cross-section of the population. The test amounts to finding the average correlation between all possible halves of a scale. Each half represents a different measure of the same concept. Reliability concerns the amount of correlation between the different measures. For a full discussion of reliability in terms of equivalence, see Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (rev. ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1959), pp. 172-76. They suggest the use of coefficient alpha as a good measure of reliability and cite L. J. Cronbach, "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal Structure of Tests," Psychometrika, 16 (September, 1951), 297-334: R. C. Tryon, "Reliability and Behavior Domain Validity; Reformulation and Historical Critique," Psychological Bulletin, 54 (May, 1957), 229-49. See Cronbach, Essentials of Psychological Testing (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 158-61, for further discussion and for the formula used in this study:

$$\text{Alpha}_k = \frac{k}{k-1}\left(1 - \frac{\text{sum } s^2_{x_i}}{s^2_{x_t}}\right)$$, where k = number of items, $s^2_{x_i}$ =

variance of each item, and $s^2_{x_t}$ = variance of sum of k items or variance of total index score. Following Di Palma, a minimum reliability coefficient of .70 is chosen to indicate the presence of a scale. See Giuseppe Di Palma, Apathy and Participation (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 218.

[32]Item analysis is another way of evaluating internal consistency of summated scales. See Karl Schuessler, Analyzing Social Data (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), pp. 325-26.

[33]Though the item analysis yielded all scale-item correlations statistically significant at the .001 level, some of the inter-item correlations for some of the scales were very low and statistically insignificant. Thus the items for each scale were subjected to principal component factor analysis to determine the dimensionality of the scale. The criterion for determining whether a dimension exists or should be retained for rotation is a requirement that the eigenvalue of the dimension be 1.0 or more. If all the items loaded on one dimension only, then the group of items was considered to represent a unidimensional scale. If the items loaded on more than one dimension, then the items loading on each of these dimensions were then summed to form subindices for use in the analysis of agent characteristics.

For a discussion of principal component factor analysis, see M. J. Hagood and D. O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 523-25; R. J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), pp. 112-13. Rummel explains the rule of thumb eigenvalue-one criterion on pp. 362-64.

[34]Items used in the indices have from about 1 percent to 2 percent missing data. The seven system scales or indices have missing data ranging from .1 percent to 3.4 percent. A. J. Mackelprang has investigated the effects of various levels of missing data in regression analysis and has found that when there are low levels of correlation between the independent variables (less than .70), "relatively high levels of missing data can be tolerated without excessive distortion . . . when the pair-wise procedures are used." See "Missing Data in Factor Analysis and Multiple Regression," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14 (August, 1970), 504.

[35]H. C. Kelman, "Processes of Opinion Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25 (Spring, 1961), 57-78.

[36]All of the items in the following scales and indices may be found by variable number in the codebook for the Jennings data set, Student-Parent Socialization Study. For this particular index, closeness to parents, and for the perceived parents' political interest index, respondents who are not living with a parent are not asked these questions; they are scored, therefore, not close at all or not interested at all.

[37]Jennings and Niemi suggest that history courses may have effects on students' reported increases in political interest. See M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Summer, 1968), 448, footnote 7. Since social and economic problems courses may also raise political interest, all of these kinds of social science courses were added to the civics courses used in Kenneth P. Langton and Jennings' study r e ported in Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 84-119.

[38]Langton, Political Socialization, p. 124.

[39]This definition includes Milbrath's definition of psychological involvement, as well as having knowledge and opinions. See Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 50.

[40]Donald E. Stokes, "Popular Evaluations of Government: An Empirical Assessment," in Ethics and Bigness, ed. by H. Cleveland and H. D. Lasswell (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1962; distributed by Harper and Brothers), pp. 61-72.

[41]Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review, 64 (June, 1970), 389-410.

[42]See Langton, Political Socialization, pp. 95, 109-10.

[43]On the conceptual difference between modes and extent of participation, see Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-on Kim, The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971).

[44]Lester W. Milbrath, "The Nature of Political Beliefs and the Relationships of the Individual to the Government," American Behavioral Scientist, 12 (November-December, 1968), 31-33.

[45]Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1954), p. 187.

[46]Ibid., p. 190; see also Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 56-57.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, SCHOOL, PEER GROUPS,
AND MASS MEDIA ON POLITICAL AWARENESS

To what extent do the agents of political socialization
influence an individual's acquisition of political awareness? What
are the processes of influence? The conceptual framework developed
in Chapter I suggests that an individual's social environments provide
information and influence that affect the development of this attitude.
Evidence from past studies substantiates hypotheses that the family,
the school, peer groups, and the mass media do influence the acquisi-
tion of the components of political awareness. This evidence is
presented below and is followed by the path analysis demonstrating
the direct effects of the various agents relative to one another and
to other unspecified influences. The processes of influence operating
in these politicized environments are inferred from relationships
between agent characteristics and political awareness.

Hypotheses

Family and Political Awareness

The family has been called a major if not the major influence
on various aspects of children's politicization.[1] In the United

States the family has been found to be a transmitter of political interest. Hess and Torney, using data from a predominantly white urban sample, find that the family is an important transmitter of political interest; children in father-dominant families tend to have higher political interest than children in mother-dominant families.[2] Langton, using the Jennings data analyzed in the present study and also a sample of Jamaican secondary school students, finds little impact of family structure on female students' political interest but considerable impact on male students' political interest.[3] Milbrath finds that exposure to political stimuli in general increases political interest.[4] A politicized family group, regardless of dominance structure, is likely to discuss politics and thus provide a political stimulus for its members' political interest, knowledge, and ability to express opinions. Family politicization is hypothesized, therefore, to influence directly and positively an individual's political awareness.

School and Political Awareness

Hirsch finds that Appalachian students, ranking agents of politicization as sources of information about state, national, and international affairs, rank the school second after the mass media and above parents and peers.[5] Students taking civics courses are more likely to rank the school higher as a source of information and to have greater political interest and knowledge.[6] Langton and Jennings find a small positive relationship between taking civics courses and

having political interest and political knowledge.[7] If one function of public school education is to teach students the prerequisites of democratic citizenship, then liking school and social science courses and receiving fair treatment from school authorities should make an individual more receptive to the school's influence on his acquisition of the prerequisites of political interest, knowledge, and ability to express opinions. Thus, the school is hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's political awareness.

Peer Groups and Political Awareness

Hyman reports from an unpublished 1952 study that "peer-oriented" students are less interested in politics than "parent-oriented" students.[8] Remmers and Radler, also writing in the 1950's, find peer groups to have more influence on one's nonpolitical ideas and actions and parents to have more influence on one's political ideas and actions.[9] The measure of peer group influence used in the present study is based on political relevancy of contact, however, so whatever influence on political awareness exists should be tapped. Thus politicized peer groups are hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's political awareness.

Mass Media and Political Awareness

The short-term effects of campaigns waged through the mass media have been the object of considerable study. Particularly, in the political area, studies of Presidential campaigns have been made

in order to determine the effects of the mass media on voting decisions.[10] Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet and Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee find that exposure to media tends to be cumulative; that is, people who use one medium tend to use others as well.[11] They find that increased exposure leads to increased interest in a political campaign. This finding is based on an analysis of panel survey data that maps an initial level of political interest and then finds subsequent increases or decreases in political interest depending on whether media exposure continues throughout the campaign or not.[12] Chaffee, Tipton, and Ward more recently report supporting evidence for these findings in their panel study of junior and senior high school students.[13] They find that students attribute most influence to mass media rather than to parents, teachers, or friends, in providing information _and_ in influencing opinion formation. They also find that increased public affairs media exposure during the campaign leads to increased political knowledge after the campaign.[14]

Even in campaigns, which occur over relatively short periods of time, the Lazarsfeld-Berelson studies find what they call an activation process occurring.[15] Activation, in the case of political campaigns, is a process through which undecided voters' latent pre-dispositions toward the Democratic or the Republican parties are transformed into manifest votes.[16] The concept also has a general applicability.[17] Activation generally is the process through which information from the media arouses interest, which is already grounded

in a latent political predisposition.[18] Increased interest leads to increased exposure, which in turn leads to more information gathering and even greater interest.[19] In the present study, this suggests that while an individual may be predisposed by social status or race to be politically aware, the media activate this awareness, thereby increasing it.

While the activation process is one of circular relationship or reciprocal influence,[20] it is reasonable to assume that this process may occur over periods of time rather than instantaneously. As noted in Chapter II, this assumption makes it possible to examine the effects of the media over time on an individual's political awareness. As the Langs suggest, the mass media should have long-term effects since news reports bring information about political activity every day, not just campaign activity at election time.[21] Thus the mass media are hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's political awareness.

Relative Effects of the Agents

Hypotheses concerning the relative importance of the different agents are based on the findings of Hirsch and of Hollander and on the conceptual framework. Socially transmitted information provides a basis for social interaction and influence. This information is sent by various sources with certain meanings encoded and is decoded by the individual who receives it.[22]

Milbrath explains why information and its sources should be important in the formation of attitudes, values, and beliefs.[23] People receive information directly through their senses and from other people or social institutions. Socially transmitted information increases in credibility and is more likely to be integrated into one's cognitive structure (1) as the authoritativeness of the source increases, (2) as the unanimity of the beliefs of people around an individual increases, and (3) as the desire for information to be true increases.[24] The agents of political socialization considered in the present study, to the extent that they represent group or institutional structures, should vary in degrees of authoritativeness, unanimity, and transmitted norms about truth. Thus, as sources of information, they should exert different levels of influence on political awareness.

Dawson and Prewitt suggest that in a highly differentiated social and political system, which the United States is, social institutions should be relatively influential if families and peer groups are ineffective socializing agencies.[25] If effectiveness depends largely on transmission of authoritative political information, then the findings of Hirsch and Hollander, presented below, suggest that families and peer groups will be less effective sources of influence than the mass media or schools.

Hirsch finds that his Appalachian sample of students, controlled for age, ranks the mass media first as sources of

information about national and international affairs. The school, the family, and friends follow the mass media in importance.[26] Hollander finds that high school seniors in two schools in the state of Washington generally rank these agencies as sources of information about war in general and the war in Vietnam specifically as follows: mass media, schools, family, friends.[27] The rankings of these agents as sources of information on a very diffuse concept, public affairs, and on a specific political object, war, by two very different types of samples are strikingly similar. This strongly suggests that source of information is a basic variable to consider when attempting to assess influence of agents on political awareness. As Hollander says:

> Many studies have begun at the level of an assumption of a relationship between a source and political orientations. The research then examined the extent of the relationship. . . . No study has begun with an attempt to look for the relevant sources of socialization before orientation relationships.[28]

The Jennings data set does not include specific items asking the respondents to rank the importance of agents as sources of information. The present study has proceeded, therefore, on the assumption that political discussions, social science courses, and media news provide information in combination with influence. Hypotheses, rather than assumptions, based on theoretical reasoning link these possible sources of information to orientations toward a diffuse political object, the political process. The Hollander and Hirsch findings suggest that if importance of agents as sources of information influences orientation, then the mass media, school, family, and peer groups, in

that order, should influence the acquisition of political awareness.
Thus the mass media are hypothesized to have the greatest positive
direct effects on an individual's political awareness, followed by
the school, family, and peer groups, in that order.

The Relative Direct Effects of the Agents on Political Awareness

The path analysis displayed in Figure 3 demonstrates that
each agent exerts a direct positive influence, as hypothesized, on an
individual's political awareness. The path analysis is based on the
zero-order correlation matrix displayed in Table 10.

The mass media exert the greatest direct influence on an
individual's political awareness. They are followed by the school,
peer groups, and the family. The rankings of the agents (1) as sources
of information, based on findings in other studies, and (2) as influ-
ences on political awareness are brought together in Table 11 to
provide strong evidence that source of information may be an impor-
tant determinant of influence. With one exception, the ranking of
peer groups above family in direct influence, the rankings are exactly
comparable. The mass media are important sources of information for
the most people and exert the strongest influence on an individual's
political awareness. The school is second in importance as a source
of information and exerts the second greatest amount of influence on
political awareness. The family is third in importance as a source
of information but drops to fourth place in terms of direct influence

Figure 3.   Path Diagram Showing Relative Effects of
Agents of Political Socialization on
Political Awareness

$R^2 = .186$
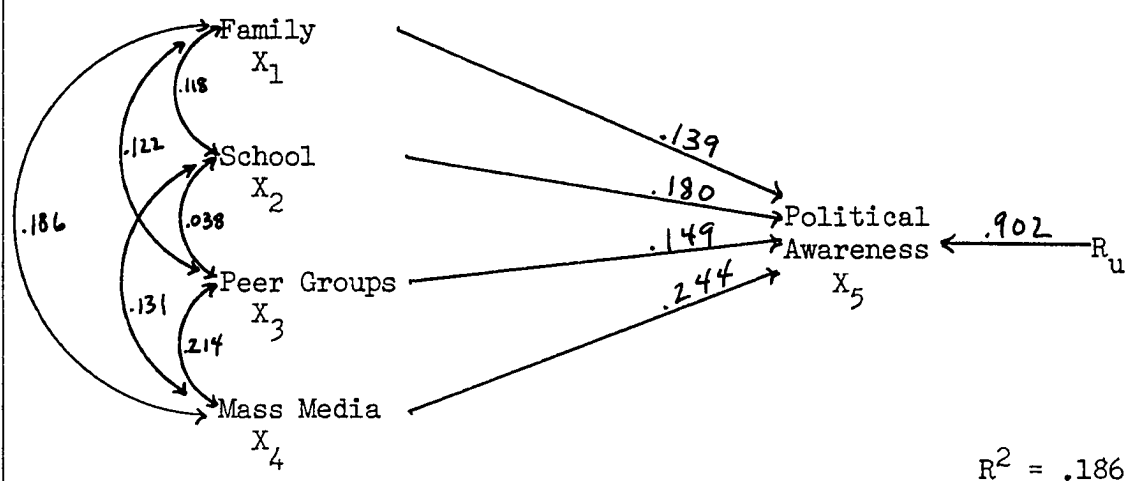
Agent	Direct Effects	Total Indirect Effects
Family	.139	.085
School	.180	.055
Peer Groups	.149	.077
Mass Media	.244	.082

TABLE 10

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX: POLITICAL AWARENESS, FAMILY,
SCHOOL, PEER GROUP, AND MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE

Scale	1	2	3	4	5
1. Family Influence					
2. School Influence	.118*				
3. Peer Group Influence	.122*	.038			
4. Mass Media Influence	.186*	.131*	.214*		
5. Political Awareness	.224*	.235*	.226*	.326*	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

TABLE 11

COMPARATIVE RANKING OF AGENTS AS SOURCES OF
POLITICAL INFORMATION AND AS INFLUENCES
ON POLITICAL AWARENESS

Source of Information (Hirsch)	Source of Information (Hollander)	Direct Effect on Political Awareness (present study)
Mass Media	Mass Media	Mass Media
School	School	School
Family	Family	Peer Groups
Friends	Friends	Family

on political awareness. Peer groups (friends) are fourth in importance as sources of information but rise to third place in terms of direct influence on political awareness. Even though the family has less influence than the peer groups for this sample, the sizes of the paths from family and from peer groups are very close in magnitude. The important finding is that the mass media and the school are more influential than an individual's primary groups in encouraging political awareness.

The Indirect Effects of the Agents and
Suggestions for Future Research

The inter-agent correlations displayed in Figure 3 suggest that there are relationships between the various agents within an individual's general politicized social environment. It is understandable that most of the agents are related to one another, since they are all social structures existing in or transmitting information to specific home, neighborhood, or area locations. Indirect effects exerted through this network are small in comparison to the direct effects, but their existence does suggest that future research might profit from examining the operation of the network.

As can be seen in Figure 3, if each agent's indirect effects are considered as a proportion of its total effects (direct and indirect effects), the family's indirect effects are greater than those of the other agents. Dawson and Prewitt suggest that ". . . the family generally stands out as the most important agent determining

the extent . . . of political learning."[29] However, the findings in

this chapter suggest an amendment to this proposition. By the time

their children reach the end of high school education, families exert

the weakest direct effects on acquisition of political awareness. But

the family appears to have a reservoir of indirect effects. Since the

family is the first agent with which children come into contact, the

family sets the tone for contact with other politicized environments.

To the extent that family groups decide where to send their children

to school and influence school policy, influence their own children's

friends, and determine the availability and use of the mass media in

the home, they may partially determine the effects of the other agents

who raise or lower the general politicization of their offsprings'

environments.

The relationship between the school and the media influence

indices might be explained by reasoning that the more students like

school and social science courses, the more they pay attention to

the media. Responses to a question asking the students whether cer-

tain courses required them to pay attention to current events provides

a way to begin exploring this relationship in future research.[30]

Peer groups exert indirect influence through their positive

relationships to family and mass media influences. It is interesting

to note that both primary groups, family and peer groups, exert in-

fluence through positive relationships to mass media influence. As

will be seen in the next section of this chapter, they also exert

influence mainly through political discussion. This may be a manifestation of multisource influence rather than of "two-step flow of information."[31] The strong direct path from mass media influence to political awareness demonstrates that respondents are to a large degree using mass media independently. Connell notes that many of the Australian children he interviewed seemed to watch television, learn about political figures and situations there, and then talk to their parents and friends about these political topics.[32] Thus people appear to use the mass media independently and then discuss news content with other people, with consequent increases in political awareness influenced by several sources.

Furthermore, considering the direct effects of the mass media vis a vis their indirect effects through possible opinion leaders, it should be noted that if opinion leadership explained the effects of the media, then very slight if any direct effects of the media should be found. In other words, the more an individual's political aware-ness is influenced by information from family and peer opinion leaders, the less he should have to go to the media for information, and, there-fore, the less direct effect the media should have on political aware-ness. It may be that opinion leaders are just that, influencing the content and direction of opinions on specific issues. But when the diffuse political process is the object of an orientation, the mass media may exert greater effects directly on a general orientation such as political awareness. Future research might attempt to sort out the relative effects of the mass media and opinion leaders on specific

opinions and general orientations.

Agent Characteristics and Their Influences
on Political Awareness

To the extent that the family, school, peer groups, and mass media transmit politically relevant information, how do they influence an individual to acquire political awareness? An examination of the relationships between the characteristics of each agent influence variable and political awareness will provide possible answers to this question. The relationships are displayed in Table 12.

As expected, closeness to parents is not significantly related to political awareness. Closeness to parents is assumed only to act with a multiplier effect on the parents' ability to influence the respondent's political awareness. Closeness to one's parents indicates the extent to which any information they transmit may be considered authoritative. The correlations of perceived parents' political interest and family political discussion with the respondent's political awareness suggest that the group process is indeed exerting some influence. In the process of discussion, the norm of being interested in politics is apparently transmitted, along with political knowledge and occasions for expressing political opinions.

The group theory approach to operationalization of the family influence scale has incorporated two exploratory avenues suggested by Jennings and Niemi: the possible effects of student perceptions of parents' political interest and, more generally, existence of politicized families.[33] Jennings and Niemi's methods of analysis are not

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGENT INFLUENCE CHARACTERISTICS AND POLITICAL AWARENESS

Agent Influence Characteristics	Political Awareness
Family	
Closeness to parents	.057
Perceived parents' political interest	.167*
Family political discussion	.318*
School	
Liking school and courses	.293*
Fair treatment	-.040
Peer Groups	
Peer group standards	.003
Peer group discussion	.300*
Mass Media	
Television	.210*
Radio	.097*
Print media	.389*

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level. The use of the product-moment correlation coefficient maintains continuity between this part of the analysis and the path analysis. An assumption of interval-level measurement, which is required for this statistic, is made for each of the variables. The ranges of the variables vary from 0 to 2 to 0 to 11.

directly comparable to those used in the present study, but their
statement about finding no consistent relationships between student-
parent political conversations and "general political interest among
parents and students"[34] can be taken as a starting point. The present
findings suggest that if parents not only discuss politics with their
children but also are perceived as being interested in politics, the
family does provide a politicized social environment that affects an
individual's political awareness independently of the mass media,
schools, and peer groups. Furthermore, the closer an individual feels
to this politicized family group, the more influence the family exerts
on the individual's political awareness.

The peer group is comparable to the family group in that peer
group political discussions also provide a channel through which
friends may influence an individual's political awareness. Group
norms as measured in this study evidently do not require these high
school seniors to have political awareness. Political awareness
apparently is influenced by information and the way it is passed
through discussions with friends. These political discussions may
alert an individual to the necessity for being politically aware if
he wishes to retain his group membership.

The school offers an interesting contrast to the two informal
primary groups discussed so far. The school is a formal community
institution. It is legally constituted, and students are required by
law to attend until they reach a certain age. The teachers and other
school staff are political authorities within the school structure.

Course offerings are usually considered to be authoritative bodies of knowledge. Thus, for these reasons alone, the school should be an authoritative source of information. However, <u>liking</u> school and the social science curriculum add considerable weight to the school's authoritativeness, as can be seen in the following discussion.

While Langton and Jennings used different measures and methods, they did report a partial beta coefficient, somewhat comparable to a path coefficient, of .11 for the relationship between taking civic courses and political knowledge.[35] Thus, the finding in the present study of a correlation of .293 between liking school and courses and political awareness points to the importance of a variable called for by group theory, affection for the group. Liking school and courses evidently encourages the student to receive political information and to develop political interest, which is supposed to be a norm of good citizenship transmitted by the school. It is reasonable to think that fair treatment by school authorities would also lead one to like school and thus contribute to the school's influence on political awareness. But fair treatment is not related to political awareness. In fact, fair treatment appears to have a negative impact on political awareness. Future research should attempt to explain this negative relationship.

Among the mass media, the print media have the strongest influence on an individual's political awareness. They are followed by television and then radio. Though television and radio are more accessible in the general population,[36] the print media have the

greatest influence. Of the 94 percent of these students reporting
that they follow public affairs in two or more media,[37] about 46
percent say they get most information from television, 40 percent say
from the print media, and 12 percent say from radio. According to
the source-of-information hypothesis, discussed earlier in this chap-
ter, therefore, television as the source of information for the most
people should have the greatest influence on political awareness. But
the print media have the greatest impact. This suggests an amendment
to the hypothesis. When broad categories of sources, such as mass
media, school courses, and discussions are being considered, each type
of source is sufficiently different from the others to permit discrimi-
nation among the source influences. Within a category such as mass
communications, however, different kinds of media provide very differ-
ent kinds of content. Even though television news may be more credi-
ble[38] and easier to use, the print media provide the most comprehensive
information per unit of time spent in exposure. Therefore, the mass
media in comparison to the other agents are most influential because
they are the source of political information for the most people. But
within the mass medium category, the print media are most influential,
not because they are the most used source of information but because
they provide the most comprehensive information.

Summary

The effects of all four agents account for about 19 percent
of the variance of political awareness. According to one assumption

underlying the path analysis, the rest of the variance is explained by unspecified variables not in the model, represented by the residual term. Following the implications of defining political socialization as a process of acquiring political orientations, the question then arises about the sources of the remaining 81 percent of the variance of political awareness. Might political awareness be influenced by contact with political officials or impact of government programs? Measures of these influences should be included in future models of political socialization.

Among the four agents, the mass media exert the greatest direct influences on an individual's acquisition of political awareness. The mass media are followed in importance by the school, peer groups, and the family. Though the family was hypothesized to be more influential than peer groups because the family has been found to be a more important source of political information for more people, the differences in magnitude for their path coefficients are very small. The important finding is that, as Dawson and Prewitt suggest for highly differentiated social and political systems, social institutions may be more important agents of political socialization than primary groups. This appears to be the case for the United States as far as pre-adults are concerned. Moreover, it appears that social institutions are important because they are the sources of most peoples' information about the political system.

While the family is found to be the least important agent in terms of direct influence on acquisition of political awareness, there

is some evidence that the family may remain a very influential basis for the whole politicization process. Of all the agents, the family exerts the greatest proportion of indirect effects through its relationships to the other agents. If longitudinal data about agent influences were available, the family might be found to partially determine whether the other agents exert their influences.

Changing from a historical to a present-time approach, the network of indirect influences also suggests that something might be learned from future research into the process of influence operating in this network. The most important process of influence within the primary groups, family and peers, is political discussion. Discussion apparently provides a channel for transmitting information about the political system. But there are unexplained relationships between the primary group influence scales and the mass media influence index. If the primary groups are acting partially as opinion leaders, particular attention should be paid to determining the relative effects of the mass media and these primary groups on specific opinions as opposed to general political orientations.

Among the mass media, the print media have the greatest influence on political awareness, followed by television and then radio. The print media are only second in importance as sources of information, however, thus suggesting an amendment to the source-of-information hypothesis. A source may be influential not only because it is an important source for most people in the population but also because of the comprehensiveness of its content.

ENDNOTES

[1]See, for example, Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization, Free Press Paperback (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969). R. W. Connell questions such a proposition in "Political Socialization in the American Family: The Evidence Re-examined," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 (Fall, 1972), 323-33.

[2]Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 101.

[3]Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 46-51.

[4]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), pp. 39-40.

[5]Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization (New York: The Free Press, 1971), pp. 93-115.

[6]Ibid., pp. 114-15.

[7]Langton, Political Socialization, p. 98.

[8]Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 84.

[9]H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 222-23.

[10]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (3rd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[11]Lazarsfeld et al., People's Choice, pp. 121-22; Berelson et al., Voting, pp. 241-42.

[12]Lazarsfeld et al., People's Choice, pp. 76-78; Berelson et al., Voting, p. 246.

[13]Steven H. Chaffee, L. Scott Ward, and Leonard P. Tipton, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization," Journalism Quarterly, 47 (Winter, 1970), 647-59, 666.

[14]Ibid., p. 658.

[15]Lazarsfeld et al., People's Choice, pp. 73-83.

[16]Ibid., p. 75.

[17]Ibid., p. 103.

[18]Ibid., p. 83.

[19]Ibid., p. 76.

[20]Berelson et al., Voting, p. 246; Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 40; Lazarsfeld et al., People's Choice, p. 76.

[21]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Mass Media and Voting," in Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, ed. by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 462.

[22]See a brief but concise synthesis of communication theory in Melvin L. DeFleur, Theories of Mass Communication (2nd ed.; New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 87-96.

[23]Lester W. Milbrath, "The Nature of Political Beliefs and the Relationship of the Individual to the Government," American Behavioral Scientist, 12 (November-December, 1968), 28-36.

[24]Ibid., p. 30.

[25]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 100-107.

[26]Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization; this ranking is extrapolated from Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for sources of information on national and international affairs, pp. 35-36, and Table 6.2, pp. 96-97, concerning the increasing importance of school as a source of information by senior level of high school the media are assumed to occupy the first three rungs: ["The media are the primary agents of information transmission for all age groups, ..." (p. 140)]. Family and friends are found to remain in third and fourth positions, respectively; see pp. 72-75.

[27]Neil Hollander, "Adolescents and the War: the Sources of Socialization," Journalism Quarterly, 48 (Autumn, 1971), 476.

[28]Ibid., p. 474.

[29]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 107.

[30]VAR125 and VAR126 (introduction to question), in M. Kent Jennings, Principal Investigator, The Student-Parent Socialization Study (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1971).

[31]The two-step flow of information theory posits that opinion leaders pay more attention to the mass media than their friends. The opinion leaders then pass mass media information on to their friends through discussion. See Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence, Free Press Paperback (New York: The Free Press, 1964); Lazarsfeld et al., People's Choice; Berelson et al., Voting; Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community," in Communications Research, 1948-1949, ed. by Frank Stanton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (New York: Harper, 1949); Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 21 (Spring, 1957), 61-78; Lloyd R. Bostian, "The Two-Step Flow Theory: Cross-Cultural Implications," Journalism Quarterly, 47 (Spring, 1970), 109-17.

[32]R. W. Connell, The Child's Construction of Politics (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1971).

[33]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, 62 (March, 1968), 183.

[34]Ibid., p. 182.

[35]Langton, Political Socialization, pp. 96-98.

[36]By August, 1965, 92 percent of households had one or more television sets. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1966 (87th ed.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 521. In 1965, 98 percent of homes had radios. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1967 (88th ed.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 729. The great majority of the general population read a newspaper every day (77 percent); 60 percent read at least the front page, an indication that some political news is available. Eighty-three percent of the general population have read magazines at least weekly, though the percentage who read only news magazines is not reported. See Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, Use of the Mass Media by the Urban Poor (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 17-21.

[37]VAR140, in Jennings, Student-Parent Socialization Study. This report substantiates the Lazarsfeld-Berelson findings cited in note 11 that media usage tends to be cumulative.

[38]Burns W. Roper, An Extended View of Public Attitudes Toward Television and Other Mass Media (New York: Television Information Office, 1971), pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, SCHOOL, PEER

GROUPS, AND MASS MEDIA ON POLITICAL TRUST:

DIRECT EFFECTS AND INDIRECT EFFECTS

THROUGH POLITICAL AWARENESS

To what extent do the agents of political socialization
influence an individual's acquisition of political trust? Does politi-
cal awareness contribute to the acquisition of political trust? What
are the processes of this influence? The conceptual framework pre-
sented in Chapter I suggests that an individual's politicized social
environments provide information and influence that may affect the
acquisition and direction of this basic evaluation of the political
system. These environments also provide information that has been
found in Chapter III to influence the acquisition of political aware-
ness, which may subsequently influence the acquisition and direction
of political trust. Path analysis will demonstrate the agents' direct
effects and their indirect effects through political awareness. The
processes of influence will be explored further through inferences
from relationships between agent characteristics and political trust.

99

<center>Hypotheses</center>

Family and Political Trust

Easton and Hess find that by age seven children tend to be attached firmly to their political community,[1] and to have high regard for the President.[2] They suggest that the family may be important in transmitting these affective bases for political trust.[3] Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron, on the other hand, in comparing their data to the Jennings data, find their sample of Appalachian children to have much lower levels of political trust.[4] They, too, suggest that the parents may influence their children's lower political trust, since the adults in the region are noted for their less supportive views of American political institutions.[5]

Jennings and Niemi find a slight positive correspondence between parents' and high school students' levels of political cynicism. When this relationship is controlled for various indicators of family politicization and affectivity, the relationship is strengthened for the most politicized parents.[6] Since the measure of family influence in the present study is constructed from several of the indicators used as controls by Jennings and Niemi--closeness to parents, political discussions, and perceived parents' political interest--the family is hypothesized to influence directly and negatively an individual's political trust.

School and Political Trust

Jennings and Niemi speculate that school patriotic rituals and

the lack of critical classroom discussion about the United States
political system probably develop trust in the political system in
general.[7] Langton and Jennings, however, find that taking civics
courses has no effect on black students' political cynicism and only
a small positive effect on white students' political cynicism.[8]

If an individual's political trust is dependent on having
information, then taking social science courses that one likes should
provide such information and thus positively influence the individual's
level of poltiical trust. Additionally, fair treatment by teachers and
school officials should heighten one's liking for the school institu-
tion. If political trust is a perceived norm of the school officials,
then liking these officials should encourage an individual to adopt
this norm of political trust. Thus, the school is hypothesized to
influence directly and positively an individual's political trust.

Peer Groups and Political Trust

There is evidence from studies of adults that small groups
influence individuals' political and nonpolitical attitudes.[9] Poli-
tical trust is one such political attitude that should be influenced
by an individual's peer groups. Langton reports that homogeneous-class
peer groups of high school age in Jamaica tend to reinforce members'
political attitudes; heterogeneous-class peer groups tend to change
working class members' attitudes. These attitudes include feelings
of growing ambivalence about government legitimacy,[10] which may be
related to political trust. Thus, politicized peer groups are

hypothesized to influence directly and negatively an individual's political trust.

Mass Media and Political Trust

Lang and Lang suggest that the mass media may encourage political distrust by the ways in which they represent the political process.[11] A test of the Langs' hypothesis may be found in Hirsch's Appalachian study. He finds that exposure to news in any one medium is not related to political cynicism.[12] But his test of the hypothesis may be weakened by the nature of his measures of media exposure. His measure for exposure to news asks respondents to name only one type of program or section of newspaper--sports, news, comics, etc.--to which they pay attention "most of the time."[13] Many people habitually watch or hear or read daily news.[14] At the same time they may pay attention to other types of media content. If asked about the type of content to which they pay attention most of the time, they may not report their habitual news consumption. Therefore, Hirsch's measure for news exposure may miss many respondents who habitually pay attention to news but who instead report on another kind of topic to which they pay attention more of the time. By considering exposure to news in one medium at a time, Hirsch also misses any added effects that may result from paying attention to news in more than one medium.

The Jennings study contains questions about exposure to news specifically in newspapers and magazines and on radio and television. The present study can test this hypothesis with an index that measures

specific political content of media consumed (news) and the cumulative amount of exposure to news in all four media. Therefore, the mass media are hypothesized to influence directly and negatively an individual's political trust.

Relative Effects of the Agents

No studies have reported the relative importance that respondents attribute to agents concerning the authoritativeness of the agents' evaluation of the political system. However, a general proposition advanced by Dawson and Prewitt and incorporated into the conceptual framework in Chapter I suggests that in a highly differentiated social and political system social institutions should be more influential agents than primary groups. Therefore, the mass media and school are hypothesized to have more influence than the family and peer groups on students' acquisition of political trust.

The Relative Direct Effects of the Agents on Political Trust

The path diagram in Figure 4 displays the paths of agents' influence on political trust. The path analysis is based on the correlation matrix in Table 13.

Path analysis demonstrates that only three agents exert direct influence on an individual's political trust. The school exerts the greatest direct influence by far. The school is followed by peer groups and the mass media, in that order. The family exerts no direct influence on political trust.

Figure 4.

Path Diagram Showing Relative Effects of Agents of
Political Socialization on Political Trust
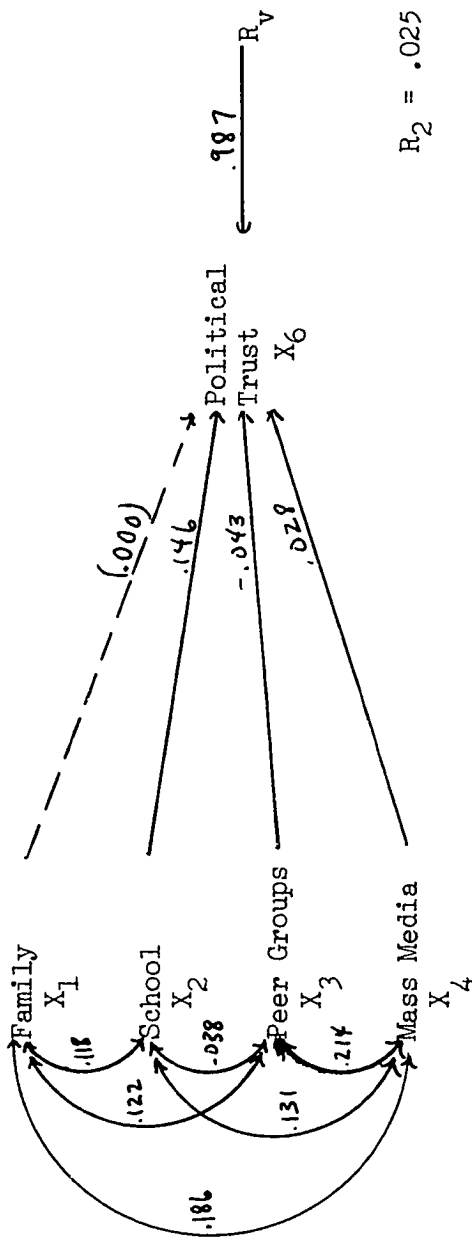
Path coefficients on solid paths significant at .01 level; path coefficients on dotted paths and
in parentheses not significant.

TABLE 13

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX: POLITICAL TRUST, POLITICAL AWARENESS, FAMILY, SCHOOL, PEER GROUP, AND MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Family Influence						
2. School Influence	.118*					
3. Peer Group Influence	.122*	.038				
4. Mass Media Influence	.186*	.131*	.214*			
5. Political Awareness	.224*	.235*	.226*	.326*		
6. Political Trust	.033	.150*	-.030	.041	-.040	

*Product - moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

The family, peer groups, and the mass media were hypothesized to have negative influence on an individual's political trust, while the school was hypothesized to have positive influence. Only the hypotheses concerning the school's positive influence and peer groups' negative influence are supported.

Social institutions were hypothesized to exert more influence than primary groups on acquisition of political trust. At this stage of the analysis, this hypothesis is not supported. A social institution, the school, and a primary group, peers, have the greatest direct effects. When political awareness is brought into the analysis in the next section, this hypothesis will be tested again.

The Indirect Effects of the Agents on Political Trust Through Political Awareness

Hypothesis: Political Awareness
and Political Trust

How should political awareness affect the acquisition of political trust? Stokes finds in a nationwide sample interviewed in the 1950's that the American peoples' basic evaluations of government are for the most part diffuse, lacking in several distinct dimensions, and not based on specific information.[15] If political awareness represents the processing of information from various agent sources, as was suggested in Chapter III, then according to Stokes' findings political awareness would not be expected to affect political trust.

Research carried out in the 1960's suggests, however, that political trust develops partly in exchange for government policies

perceived to reward citizens. Conversely, lack of political trust, or political distrust, may be tied to experiences or perceptions of discriminatory or nonrewarding government policy. Greenberg finds in Philadelphia that black junior high school students who are aware of discrimination against black people and also are aware of national government efforts to stop discrimination are more likely to develop political trust by ninth grade than nonaware members of their racial group.[16] Aberbach and Walker find in Detroit that both black and white people who are aware of discrimination, as defined from the black or the white perspective, tend to develop more political distrust than the less aware of each racial group.[17] Muller finds that his scale of sense of representation is curvilinearly related to an index composed of political interest (reading about public affairs in magazines) and political knowledge items.[18] Sense of representation is operationalized by a complex coding procedure relating more and less specific types of information to evaluation of government policies and personalities. The variable is positively related to political trust.[19] Thus, those who are more politically aware (interested and knowledgeable) sense that they are represented by assessing the congruence of their demands with government responses and subsequently develop political trust.

Political awareness, to the extent that it does represent information processing and evaluation, should be related to political trust. If the relationship is negative, this suggests that political

awareness is indicating perceptions of nonrewarding government policy and officials' behavior, which consequently cause an individual to become more distrusting. If the relationship is positive, this suggests that political awareness is indicating perceptions of rewarding public policy, which subsequently results in greater political trust.

From a developmental point of view, young children generally tend to have evaluations of government that are not grounded in political knowledge. White middle class and working class children seem to acquire at an early age a basic positive evaluation toward government in general, the President at the national level and the policeman or the mayor (New Haven) at the local level.[20] White lower class children in a Kentucky Appalachian region seem to acquire a basic negative evaluation of government.[21] Black children of all social classes have much lower levels of political trust than white children.[22] Easton and Hess[23] and Easton and Dennis[24] conclude that these positive evaluations are not based on knowledge. It can be assumed that the negative evaluations also are not based on knowledge.

As children grow older, continue through school, hear more people talk, and pay more attention to news media, they evidently begin to fill in the gaps in their knowledge of the political system and to de-idealize the government and government officials. Political trust decreases,[25] though people probably retain varying reservoirs of political trust that continue to influence later intake of information.[26] This information-trust relationship is a feedback process

that begins to occur across time as political awareness develops. If
it can be assumed that the feedback process occurs over a relatively
long period of time rather than instantaneously, as was discussed in
Chapter II, then one-way influence may be considered. Thus, political
awareness is hypothesized to exert negative influence on an indivi-
dual's political trust.

To what extent is political awareness an intervening variable
between the various agents and political trust? A comparison of
agents' direct effects and indirect effects through political aware-
ness will provide an answer to this question.

Findings

The path diagram showing the effects of the agents and political
awareness on political trust is displayed in Figure 5. It should be
noted that the agents' direct effects now support the hypothesis that
social institutions will have greater influences than primary groups
on acquisition of political trust. The school continues to exert the
strongest direct influence, but the mass media now exert the second
strongest direct influence. Peer groups and the family, tied for
third place, exert the same amount of direct influence, but the family's
influence is positive while peer groups' influence is negative. The
unhypothesized positive nature of the family's influence will be dis-
cussed below in the section dealing with agent characteristics.

As hypothesized, political awareness has a negative effect on
political trust. It can only be assumed that students view some

Figure 5. Path Diagram Showing Relative Effects of Agents of Political Socialization on Political Trust Through Political Awareness
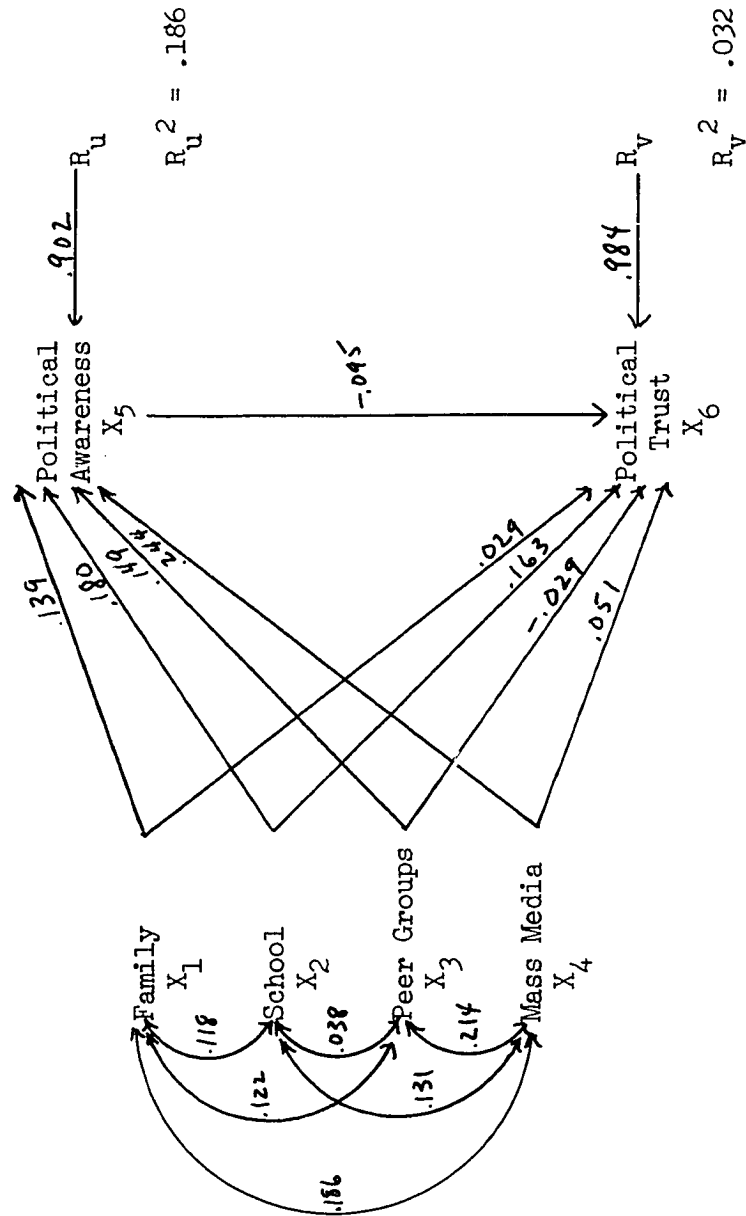
aspects of public policy as undesirable and that these negative
evaluations of policy lead to mistrust of public officials. To what
extent public officials' personality and character also contribute to
this evaluation cannot be determined with the present data. Future
research must follow the lead of the political scientists cited in
the section hypothesizing the negative awareness-trust linkage by
incorporating questions about specific policies and specific public
officials' characters in survey schedules.[27]

A comparison of agents' direct effects and indirect effects
through political awareness on political trust is displayed in Table
14. Though all of the agents discourage political trust to varying
degrees by increasing political awareness, their major effects are
direct and positive except in the case of peer groups. Even the
mass media, which more recently have been reviled by certain public
officials for raising doubts about government officials,[28] are found
to encourage political trust directly. Future research should try
to determine what characteristics of the mass media are responsible
for this effect, which goes against the hypothesis of negative direct
effects.

The ratio of each agent's direct to indirect effects gives an
idea of the extent to which political awareness intervenes in or
explains the acquisition of political trust. For family, peer groups,
and mass media, the ratio is about two to one. In other words,
considering only the effects within the formal model (and not

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS AND INDIRECT EFFECTS THROUGH POLITICAL AWARENESS ON POLITICAL TRUST

Agent	Influence Through Political Awareness	Direct Effects
Family	-.013	.029*
School	-.017	.163*
Peer Groups	-.014	-.029*
Mass Media	-.023	.051*

*Path coefficients significant at .01 level; significance of indirect effects cannot be determined since they are products of direct paths.

considering the effects exerted through unexplained agent relationships), two-thirds of these agents' effects are direct and one-third of their effects are indirect. The school is another matter. The school's direct effects are almost ten times as great as its indirect effects. Whatever negative effect the school exerts on political trust by increasing political awareness is overwhelmingly cancelled by its strong direct effects.

The effects of the agents and political awareness relative to unspecified influences on political trust are very small. As can be seen in Figure 5, the four agents and political awareness explain only 3.2 percent of the variance of political trust. This leaves 96.8 percent of the variance to be explained in future research by attempting to specify other major direct influences on acquisition of political trust. An examination of agent characteristics, particularly the school's characteristics, may suggest another type of influence variable.

<center>Agent Characteristics and Their Influences
on Political Trust</center>

What are some of the agent characteristics that may influence an individual's political trust? Table 15 displays the correlations between the agent influence characteristics and political trust.

Unlike political awareness, political trust appears to be somewhat affected by closeness to parents. Apparently a close family group provides a nurturant atmosphere that contributes to building

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGENT INFLUENCE CHARACTERISTICS
AND POLITICAL TRUST

Agent Influence Characteristics	Political Trust
Family	
Closeness to parents	.091*
Perceived parents' political interest	-.006
Family political discussion	-.058
School	
Liking school and courses	.112*
Fair treatment	.114*
Peer Groups	
Peer group standards	-.020
Peer group discussion	-.023
Mass Media	
Television	.068*
Radio	-.006
Print media	.028

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

trust in the larger political system.[29] While not quite significant
at the .001 level, the relationship between family political discussion
and political trust is negative. Family discussions tend to discourage
political trust, probably by increasing political awareness as found
in Chapter III. This would account for Jennings and Niemi's finding,
cited above in the hypotheses, that the family encourages political
cynicism or distrust. In other words, the family as a group has
conflicting influences. On the one hand, closeness to parents tends
to generate political trust; this influence is represented by the
family's positive direct influence. On the other hand, family group
discussion of politics increases a student's political awareness,
which then increases political distrust. The Jennings and Niemi
finding is incorporated in the compound path from family to political
trust through political awareness.

The slight negative influence of peer groups apparently stems
from a combination of negative effects from both scale items. Dis-
cussions with friends evidently provide factual information and
transmit norms that discourage political trust.

Among the mass media, only television significantly encourages
political trust. The print media also have a slight tendency to
encourage political trust. As suggested earlier, future research
should try to explain this relationship. It may be that the nature
of the content of different media results in different outcomes. It
was suggested in Chapter III that the print media encourage political

awareness because of the relatively comprehensive information emmanating from these sources. Such comprehensiveness may increase political knowledge and interest and ability to express opinions. But political trust may depend not so much on depth of information as on perceiving that government officials are doing their jobs and producing favorable policies. The headline quality of television news may be sufficient to give people a sense of government effectiveness.

This is not to say that television news would always convey a sense of government effectiveness. To the extent that television news, or any media news, merely reflects public officials' actions, the effects of this reporting will depend on the nature of the historical events as they happen and the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness as perceived at any one time. Thus future research should try to pinpoint which events are reported and how these events as reported affect citizen trust or distrust over time.

As has already been pointed out, the family, peer groups, and mass media influence variables contribute almost nothing to an explanation of the acquisition of political trust. This means that other variables must be found to explain this acquisition. The school influence variable may provide a clue as to where to look in future research. Aberbach and Walker find that perceptions or experiences of unrewarding local government policies discourage political trust.[30] Though conceptualized as a politicized social institutional environment, the school also might be considered a local government authority

that allocates values for the community.[31] In the present study,
these allocated values or outputs take the form of fair treatment by
school political authorities and provision of social science courses
and general school experiences that are pleasing to the individual.
Through direct contact with a local political system, individuals tend
to develop positive evaluations of the national political system.

Future research should incorporate other indicators of such
experiences and of perceptions of rewarding or depriving government
policies. It may be that the political system itself, through its
policies and the behavior of government officials, is partially
responsible for generating political trust among its citizenry.[32]
If an individual's political trust is given in return for fair treat-
ment by officials, this may be considered an example of development
of specific support.[33] If such actions by government officials are
partially responsible for generating political trust, this finding
also has implications for public policy. It behooves every govern-
ment official to make a concerted effort to insure fair and nondis-
criminatory treatment of every citizen.

Whereas Langton and Jennings find that the school, as
represented by the civics curriculum, slightly encourages white
students' political distrust,[34] the present approach has resulted in
a strong positive relationship between school influence and political
trust. An examination of the relationships of political awareness
components to political trust in Table 16 may shed some light on

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POLITICAL AWARENESS
DIMENSIONS AND POLITICAL TRUST

Political Awareness Dimensions	Political Trust
Political interest	.006
Political knowledge	-.073*
Political opinion	-.001

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

these seemingly contradictory findings. As can be observed in Table 16, political knowledge is the only component of political awareness that has any significant relationship to political trust, and this relationship is negative. It appears that Langton and Jennings are tapping part of the negative relationship found here between the knowledge dimension of political awareness and political trust. This knowledge reasonably could have come partially from taking civics courses, since liking school and social science courses is the main contributor to the school influence-political awareness relationship (see Table 12 in Chapter III). In the present model, the compound path from school to political trust through political awareness incorporates the Langton and Jennings finding. In other words, taking courses that one likes can lead to political awareness, which then

leads one to evaluate the political system, negatively in this case. The direct positive path from school to political trust incorporates the other dimensions of the school experience, receiving fair treatment and <u>liking</u> school and courses. The school, therefore, can also have a positive effect on building political trust through its own public policy, providing pleasant educational experiences.

Summary

All of the agent influence indices and political awareness together explain only 3.2 percent of the variance of political trust. Of the influence exerted, the school by far has the greatest direct effects, followed by the mass media and peer groups. The family has no direct effects on political trust until political awareness is brought into the model; then the family exerts positive direct effects. The school and mass media encourage political trust while peer groups discourage political trust.

Political awareness exerts negative effects on political trust and provides a path for the various agents' indirect effects, also negative. Political awareness intervenes only to a small extent between the family, peer groups, the mass media, and political trust. About a third of these agents' effects are exerted indirectly by increasing political awareness. But their major effects are direct and positive, except in the case of peer groups, which exert negative direct effects. This means that even though these agents increase an individual's political awareness, which then has a negative impact on

political trust, they still exert influences directly as politicized environments in their own right.

The school provides a contrast to these other agents as far as strength of direct effects and ratio of direct to indirect effects are concerned. The school's direct positive effects are almost ten times as great as its negative indirect effects. The major reason for the school's influence appears to be its fair treatment of students. If the school is considered as a local political system in its own right, this suggests that its favorable policy outputs, fair treatment, lead to students' (system members') political trust. Just as the studies by Aberbach and Walker, Greenberg, Muller, and Balch cited earlier find that negative evaluations of specific policies contribute to citizen distrust, so the present study finds that positive evaluations of school policy contribute to students' trust of government officials. Such findings imply that policy evaluations may have major influences on increasing or decreasing political trust. Future research, in trying to explain more of the variance of political trust and therefore its origins, should incorporate questions relating to specific policy evaluations into interview schedules.

ENDNOTES

[1]David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 6 (August, 1962), 236.

[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 242.

[4]Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (June, 1968), 564-75.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 565-66.

[6]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (March, 1968), 181-83.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 178.

[8]Kenneth P. Langton, *Political Socialization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 105.

[9]See literature cited in Chapter I, note 28.

[10]Langton, *Political Socialization*, pp. 129-31.

[11]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Mass Media and Voting," in *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*, ed. by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 466.

[12]Herbert Hirsch, *Poverty and Politicization* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 150.

[13]*Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

[14]See, for example, Gary Steiner, *The People Look at Television: A Study of Audience Attitudes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 167-68.

[15]Donald E. Stokes, "Popular Evaluations of Government: An Empirical Assessment," in Ethics and Bigness, ed. by H. Cleveland and H. D. Lasswell (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1962; distributed by Harper and Brothers), pp. 61-64.

[16]See Edward S. Greenberg, "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14 (May, 1970), 263-67.

[17]Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), 1210-11.

[18]Edward N. Muller, "The Representation of Citizens by Political Authorities: Consequences for Regime Support," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), 1149-66.

[19]Ibid., pp. 1163-64.

[20]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World"; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969); Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

[21]Jaros et al., "Malevolent Leader, " p. 570.

[22]The same applies to black adults. See Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (September, 1965), 112-27. Studies of black children include "Children and Government," Schley R. Lyons, "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children: Efficacy and Cynicism," Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), 288-304; Anthony M. Orum and Roberta S. Cohen, "The Development of Political Orientations Among Black and White Children," American Sociological Review, 38 (February, 1973), 62-74.

[23]Easton and Hess, "Child's Political World," p. 236.

[24]Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, Chapter 6.

[25]See, for example, Greenberg, "Children and Government."

[26]Aberbach and Walker develop this kind of interpretation of political trust as a feedback process, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," p. 1202.

[27]See above, notes 16, 17, and 18. George I. Balch finds that perceptions of Vietnam war policy intervene between political awareness and political trust. See his "Political Trust and Styles of Political Involvement Among American College Students," paper presented to Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill., 1971, pp. 15-30. Richard M. Merelman, in "The Adolescence of Political Socialization," Sociology of Education, 45 (Spring, 1972), 134-66, also warns that findings about political trust as well as about other political orientations may be situation or time-specific.

[28]For an example of one public official's remarks that became a cause celebre, see Vice President Spiro Agnew's speech to the Mid-West Regional Republican Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, November 13, 1969, as recorded by the New York Times and presented therein on November 14, 1969, p. 24. The question raised in the present study is: How can a medium alleged to question the President's (Richard M. Nixon) abilities, how can "a gaggle of commentators raising doubts about whether he was reading public opinion right," encourage citizen trust in government? The quote is from Mr. Agnew's speech and refers to an anology between Mr. Nixon and the Vietnam war and Sir Winston Churchill and World War II; the implication is that Churchill did not have to contend with the "gaggle of commentators" that Nixon does.

[29]Cf. the interpresonal transfer model in Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 20.

[30]See note 17.

[31]Cf. David Easton's definition of a political system in The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 129.

[32]This is suggested by Easton and Dennis in Children in the Political System, Chapter 3.

[33]Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[34]Langton, Political Socialization, p. 105.

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF THE FAMILY, SCHOOL, PEER GROUPS, AND MASS MEDIA ON FUTURE ACTIVISM: DIRECT EFFECTS AND INDIRECT EFFECTS THROUGH POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL TRUST

To what extent do the agents of political socialization influence an individual's acquisition of future activism? Do political awareness and political trust contribute to the acquisition of future activism? What are the processes of this influence? The conceptual framework presented in Chapter I suggests that an individual's politicized social environments transmit information and influence that may affect his acquisition of future activism. Path analysis will demonstrate the agents' direct effects and indirect effects through political awareness and trust on future activism. The processes of influence will be explored further through inferences from relationships between agent characteristics and future activism.

Hypotheses

Family and Future Activism

Studies of political recruitment show that many state and national legislators, city councilmen, and local party officials are

politicized and activated by politically active families during their childhood.[1] Milbrath cites numerous studies that support a proposition linking increased exposure to political stimuli in general and political participation.[2] In the present study, politicized family groups have been mentioned as providers of such stimuli and, therefore, are hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

School and Future Activism

Litt finds no relationship between taking civics courses and attitudes about political participation.[3] Langton and Jennings find a slight positive relationship between taking civics courses and participation predispositions.[4] Social science courses and class discussions should provide participation-related information, however. If one likes these courses and the school officials, he should be more inclined to follow their normative cues about democratic behavior and to utilize whatever facts will contribute to effective action. The school is hypothesized, therefore, to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

Peer Groups and Future Activism

Langton and Karns find that the peer group exerts some influence on high school students' sense of political efficacy.[5] Since political efficacy was reported in Chapter II to be positively related to future activism, peer groups should also encourage future activism.

Milbrath reports that the most active participants, "gladiators," are more likely than "spectators" to be encouraged by their friends to be active in politics.[6] Bowman and Boynton find external pressures, in the form of being asked by friends, to be a major cause of one's running for political office.[7] Politicized peer groups, therefore, are hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

Mass Media and Future Activism

Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee find that amount of media exposure affects voting turnout positively.[8] Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, however, find no significant positive relationship between increased media exposure and campaign activity.[9] Milbrath cites the mass media as sources of political stimuli that may raise an individual's level of political activity.[10] As suggested in the conceptual framework in Chapter I, to the extent that these high school students are empathic they may be activated by the mass media. The mass media are hypothesized, therefore, to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

Relative Effects of the Agents

No studies reporting respondents' assessments of the various agents as influences on political activity are available. However, Dawson and Prewitt's proposition incorporated into the conceptual framework in Chapter I suggests that in a highly differentiated

social and political system social institutions should be more
influential than primary groups in the political socialization process.
Therefore, the school and mass media are hypothesized to be more in-
fluential than peer groups and the family in encouraging future acti-
vism.

The Relative Direct Effects of the Agents on Future Activism

The path diagram in Figure 6 displays the paths of agents'
influence on future activism. The path analysis is based on the
zero-order correlation matrix in Table 17.

Each of the agents as hypothesized exerts a direct positive
influence on future activism. The mass media continue to be powerful
agents of political socialization. They exert the greatest direct
effects on future activism. The family exerts the second greatest
direct effects, followed by peer groups. These primary groups are
very comparable in amounts of influence, as their path coefficients
are within .003 points of one another. The school ranks last in
importance of direct effects. The school as a social institution
tends to encourage awareness of and trust in the political system but
does not have very great influence on activist predispositions.

Figure 6.

Path Diagram Showing Relative Effects of Agents of
Political Socialization on Future Activism
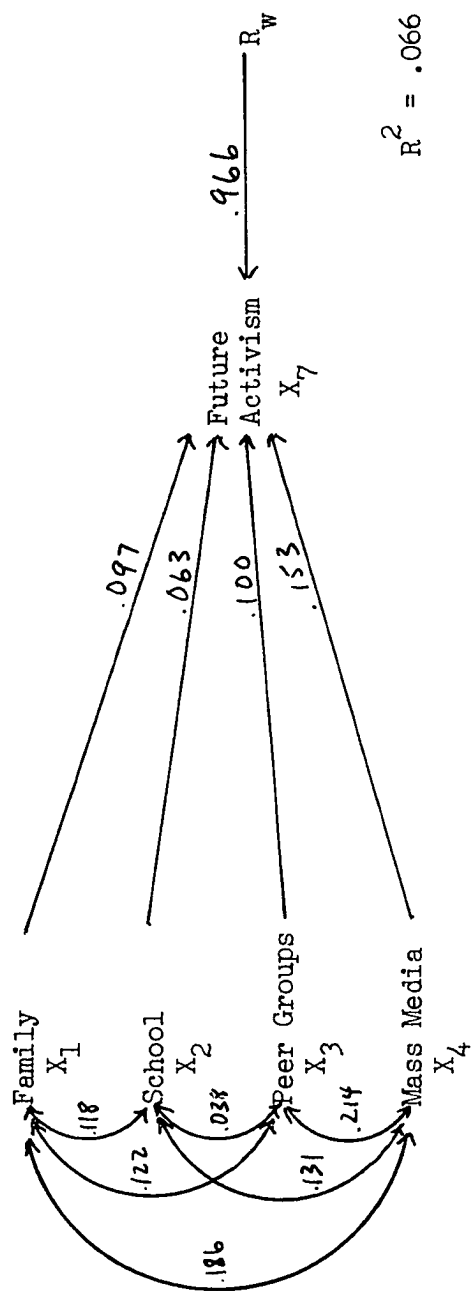
TABLE 17

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX: FUTURE ACTIVISM, POLITICAL TRUST,
POLITICAL AWARENESS, FAMILY, SCHOOL, PEER GROUP,
AND MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Family Influence							
2. School Influence	.118*						
3. Peer Group Influence	.112*	.038					
4. Mass Media Influence	.186*	.131*	.214*				
5. Political Awareness	.224*	.235*	.226*	.326*			
6. Political Trust	.033	.150*	-.030	-.040	.249*		
7. Future Activism	.145*	.098*	.147*	.200*		-.002	

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

The Indirect Effects of the Agents on Future Activism Through Political Awareness and Political Trust

Political Awareness and Future Activism

Milbrath cites many studies finding that the more political interest people have the more they tend to vote and to be politically active in general.[11] Inkeles finds the same kind of positive relationships between political interest and political participation in six developing countries.[12] Matthews and Prothro find that political interest and political knowledge encourage political participation.[13] Campbell, Gurin, and Miller report that issue involvement, which involves expressing opinions on issues, is positively related to political participation.[14] If these relationships begin to emerge prior to adulthood, then political awareness is hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

Political Trust and Future Activism

Milbrath cites several studies finding that the politically cynical tend to be less politically active.[15] Boynton, Patterson, and Hedlund find that active political participation is positively related to high support for legislative institutions.[16] Di Palma finds an inverse relationship between his measure of cynicism-direct action and political participation.[17] Cynicism-direct action measures not only an individual's distrust of competitive political institutions but also his "advocacy of more direct and authoritarian types of political rule."[18] Though political distrust might lead to lack of

participation in regularized democratic channels, it might lead at times to citizen demands for a dictatorship. Since future activism appears to refer to traditional kinds of political activity, political trust is hypothesized to influence directly and positively an individual's future activism.

Findings

The path diagram demonstrating the direct and the indirect effects of the agents on future activism is displayed in Figure 7. There is no path between political trust and future activism in this model. Therefore, political trust is not an intervening variable, since it has no effect at all on future activism. Though such a relationship has been found to exist in the adult population, apparently it has not yet begun to emerge in the pre-adult high school senior population. But political awareness is an intervening variable for all the agents. Indirect effects from the agents flow through political awareness to future activism.

A comparison of direct effects to these indirect effects in Table 18 shows to what extent political awareness intervenes between each agent and future activism. The ratio of direct to indirect effects for the school is about one to one. This means that the school exerts fifty percent of its influence directly and fifty percent indirectly by increasing political awareness. The ratio of direct to indirect effects is about three to one for the family, peer groups, and the mass media. This means that though these agents

Figure 7. Path Diagram Showing Relative Effects of Agents of Political Socialization on Future Activism Through Political Awareness and Political Trust
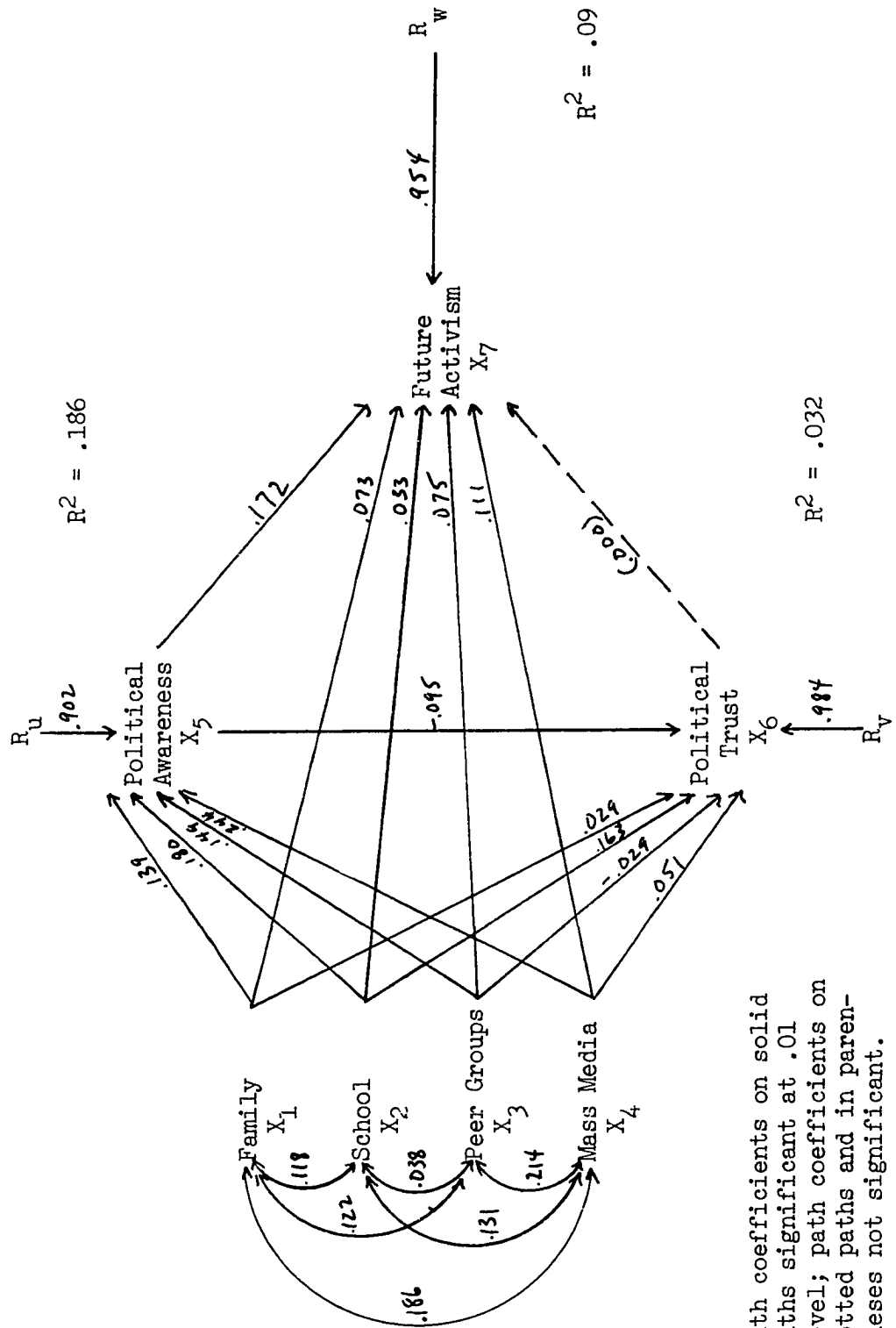
Path coefficients on solid paths significant at .01 level; path coefficients on dotted paths and in parentheses not significant.

TABLE 18

COMPARISON OF AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS AND INDIRECT EFFECTS
THROUGH POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL
TRUST ON FUTURE ACTIVISM

Agent	Influence Through Political Awareness	Influence Through Political Trust	Direct Effects
Family	.024	.000	.073*
School	.031	.000	.033*
Peer Groups	.026	.000	.075*
Mass Media	.042	.000	.111*

*Path coefficients significant at .01 level; significance of indirect effects cannot be determined since they are products of direct paths.

encourage future activism by increasing political awareness, their main effects are direct. The political awareness that they encourage then also has its own direct effects, which are much greater than any of the agents' direct effects.

How does political awareness affect future activism? The relationships between the political awareness components and future activism are displayed in Table 19.

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POLITICAL AWARENESS
DIMENSIONS AND FUTURE ACTIVISM

Political Awareness Dimensions	Future Activism
Political Interest	.286*
Political Knowledge	.089*
Political Opinion	.152*

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

Self-rated political interest contributes most to the relationships between political awareness and future activism. This finding from 1965 data contributes continuing support for Robinson's finding from the Lazarsfeld group's 1940 Erie County data that self-rated political interest is a good generalized measure of political interest, which may be manifested to varying degrees in different

levels of political behavior.[19]

The ability to express opinions itself might be conceptualized as a low-level type of political participation. The fact that political opinion is positively related to future activism suggests that one kind of political activity may eventually lead to other kinds of political activity. This in turn suggests that in the search for other influences on future activism, future research should consider other indicators of political activity that might lead to political participation.

Political knowledge has the lowest positive effect on future activism. Many people probably are able to be active politically without possessing great stores of relevant knowledge. If people say they will act in spite of a lack of knowledge, perhaps they are being encouraged to do so by political organizations as Nie, Powell, and Prewitt suggest.[20] In the present study, informal groups, such as the family and peer groups, certainly are directly encouraging individuals to have activist predispositions regardless of the individual's level of political awareness. The mass media also appear to be activating students directly. An examination of agent characteristics and their relationships to future activism will suggest how these influences may be exerted.

Agent Characteristics and Their Influences
on Future Activism

Table 20 displays the correlations between the agent influence characteristics and future activism.

The relationships between the school influence characteristics and future activism suggest why the school has the least effect on future activism. Liking school and social science courses alone would probably increase the ranking of the school as an agent. The characteristic of school influence that most affects an individual's political awareness, liking school and courses, contributes considerably to encouraging future activism. But fair treatment, which influences an individual's political trust, is negatively related to future activism and thus lowers the overall effect of the school. It appears that those who receive fair treatment from local political authorities, teachers and school administrators, feel less need to participate and to attempt to make changes in policies.

As expected, there is no correlation between closeness to parents and future activism. This means that closeness to parents is not intrinsically related to activist political orientations, but closeness to a politicized family is assumed to multiply the effects of such a family. Politicized parents do encourage future activism mainly through political discussion with children and evidently through passing on norms of political interest.

Peer group political discussion, like family discussion, is important in encouraging future activism. Peer group standards, as

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGENT INFLUENCE CHARACTERISTICS
AND FUTURE ACTIVISM

Agent Influence Characteristics	Future Activism
Family	
Closeness to parents	.029
Perceived parents' political interest	.120*
Family political discussion	.201*
School	
Liking school and courses	.147*
Fair treatment	-.062
Peer Groups	
Peer group standards	.020
Peer group discussion	.180*
Mass Media	
Television	.112*
Radio	.115*
Print media	.176*

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .001 level.

measured in the present study at least, apparently have no effect on future activism.

All the mass media encourage future activism. Whether this influence results from transmitting information that is salient for political activity or from triggering empathy cannot be determined from the available data. That media news reports may trigger empathy in certain kinds of students seems reasonable to assume when it is considered that during the decade of the 1960's media news reported the events of black and student political protest and citizen and police attempts to suppress protest. Some of these events will be outlined briefly in Chapter VI as an attempt is made to explain further how and why the various agents of political socialization operate to encourage or discourage the acquisition of future activism.

Summary

All of the agent influence indices and political awareness together explain nine percent of the variance of future activism. The mass media have the strongest direct effects on future activism. They are followed in importance by peer groups, the family, and the school. All agents exert positive influences. When political awareness and political trust are brought into the model, only political awareness is found to be an intervening variable. While the school exerts about 50 percent of its influence by increasing political awareness, the family, peer groups, and mass media exert only about

25 percent of their influence by increasing political awareness. Their major influences are direct and operate regardless of the student's political awareness.

However, political awareness has an impact of its own independent of the agents' influences and greater than any one of the agents' effects. As a part of the political awareness index, political interest has the greatest positive effect on future activism. The fact that the political opinion component also has a positive effect on future activism suggests that future research might explain more of the variance of future activism by including other indicators of political behavior experiences in the model.

The characteristics of the family and peer groups most responsible for encouraging future activism are similar to those affecting political awareness. Political discussions provide the most encouragement for future activism. All the mass media encourage future activism, but the print media are most important, followed by radio and television. The school environment provides conflicting influences. Liking school and social science courses encourages future activism, but receiving fair treatment from school officials discour.ges future activism.

The model as developed to this point provides a static representation of the political socialization process. Two general channels of influence emerge from the analysis. Politicized environments, designated agents in the present study, influence positively

or negatively the acquisition of political awareness and future
activism on the one hand and political trust on the other hand.
Following the lead of Inkeles, it is suggested that political
awareness and future activism are components of an active citizenship
syndrome that is a ". . . general requirement placed upon the citizen
of [any] modern polity."[21] It is suggested that political trust or
distrust, whatever the case, is an ". . . evaluative and judgmental
element of the individual's confrontation with the state . . . and
is . . . a potentially independent component of his total political
role. To be interested is not to approve. To act is not to ac-
quiesce."[22] Political distrust may be seen as a component of a
"resentment syndrome," but its relationship to political activity can-
not be predicted without considering an individual's specific situation
in relation to the political system and to social groupings within the
socio-political system.[23]

In the next chapter this static model of political
socialization will be examined within groups of black and of white
students and within the group of low social status white students.
By considering these social groupings in terms of their social
positions and their specific political situations during an era of
political turbulence, it will be possible to determine whether the
agents operate differently for each grouping and whether political
resentment sometimes affects the acquisition of future activism.

ENDNOTES

[1]Lewis Bowman and G. R. Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales," American Political Science Review, 60 (September, 1966), 667-76; Allan Kornberg and Norman Thomas, "The Political Socialization of National Legislative Elites in the United States and Canada," Journal of Politics, 27 (November, 1965), 761-75; Kenneth Prewitt, Heinz Eulau, and Betty H. Zisk, "Political Sociali-zation and Political Roles," Public Opinion Quarterly, 30 (Winter, 1966), 569-82.

[2]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 39.

[3]Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 28 (February, 1963), 73.

[4]Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 97.

[5]Ibid., pp. 154-59.

[6]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 101.

[7]Bowman and Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns," p. 673.

[8]Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 248.

[9]Steven H. Chaffee, L. Scott Ward, and Leonard P. Tipton, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization," Journalism Quarterly, 47 (Winter, 1970), 658.

[10]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 40.

[11]Ibid., p. 51.

[12]Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), 1120-41.

141

[13]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), pp. 266-75.

[14]Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 120.

[15]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 79.

[16]G. R. Boynton, Samuel C. Patterson, and Ronald D. Hedlund, "The Structure of Public Support for Legislative Institutions," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (May, 1968), 163-80.

[17]Giuseppe Di Palma, Apathy and Participation: Mass Politics in Western Societies (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 56.

[18]Ibid., p. 55.

[19]See W. S. Robinson, "The Motivational Structure of Political Participation," American Sociological Review, 17 (April, 1952), 151-56.

[20]Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kenneth Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relation-ships, II," American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 813.

[21]Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship," p. 1123.

[22]Idem.

[23]Ibid., pp. 1124, 1129-31.

CHAPTER VI

PERIPHERAL SOCIAL POSITION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BLACK STUDENTS' AND LOW
STATUS WHITE STUDENTS' ACQUISITION
OF FUTURE ACTIVISM

Social position was defined in Chapter I as being close to or distant from the center of social and political activity. Individuals in peripheral social positions tend to have less access to the political system. They tend to participate in political activities less, and they tend to receive less of the rewards and benefits of the political system. The black students in the present study are assumed to occupy more peripheral social positions than white students. Among the white students, low status students are assumed to occupy more peripheral social positions than middle or high status students.[1]

While both black students and low status white students are assumed to occupy peripheral social positions, vast differences should be found in their political socialization. Among black people, for example, Verba and Nie find that an emerging group consciousness has contributed to increasing their participation rate and closing the previous gap between black-white political participation rates.[2] Matthews and Prothro suggest that increased political participation

among black people in the southern United States may be a manifestation of political modernization; black people who pay attention to the mass media have been activated by these agents of political modernization.[3] In other words, black people appear to have been mobilized from their peripheral social positions to more central social positions. Among low status white people, on the other hand, Verba and Nie find that their political participation rate has continued to be lower than the rate of higher status white people. They appear to lack any group consciousness that would predispose them to be mobilized.[4] In other words, low status white people appear to acquiesce in their peripheral position and to be socialized into a traditionally low level of political participation.

The survey data used in the present study should provide a good test of whether black and low status white students' acquisition of future activism differs significantly. As noted earlier, the students were interviewed in the spring of 1965,[5] the middle of a politically turbulent decade. The decade began with some black youth in the southern states turning to nonviolent protest tactics such as those used by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Alabama beginning in the 1950's.[6] Early in 1960 in North Carolina, a few black college students inspired by the King tactics began to "sit in" at white-owned lunch counters in an attempt to assert their rights as United States citizens.[7] As the decade progressed, protest tactics included more sit-ins as well as freedom rides, mass marches, and demonstrations.[8]

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, black voter
registration in the South also began to rise.[9] Meanwhile, riots
began to erupt in black ghetto areas of many American cities.[10]
Though only a minority of black people actually participated in riots,
a considerable number of people in these communities felt the riots
were helpful to the black civil rights cause.[11]

If the black students in the present study paid attention to
the reporting of these events through the mass media news before 1965,
they may have been mobilized into the ranks of black political acti-
vists. In answer to a question[12] about future political activity,
about 20 percent of the black students said they thought they would
be "very active," and an additional 64 percent responded "somewhat
active." In comparison, less than 15 percent of the low status white
students thought they would be very active, and an additional 61 per-
cent thought they would be somewhat active. The mean score on this
variable for black students is 1.04 in contrast to .907 for low
status white students (the variable ranges from 0 to 2). The differ-
ence between these mean scores is statistically significant at the
.01 level (t = 2.44). This finding suggests that black youth intend
to be more active than low status white youth in the future. Such a
finding is not surprising, given Verba and Nie's finding about
increasing black participation rates during the 1960's.[13] A deter-
mination of some of the sources of this activation and an explanation
of differences between black and low status white students' acquisition

of future activism will be the purpose of this chapter.

As discussed in Chapter I, there are two possible explanations of why students in peripheral social positions do or do not acquire future activism. One explanation is based on a model of traditional political socialization of individuals who acquiesce in their social positions. An alternative explanation is based on a model of political modernization of individuals who perceive themselves as members of a deprived but politically efficacious peripheral subculture. Propositions, hypotheses, and findings for black students and for low status white students follow. First the political modernization model is developed and then tested by comparing[14] black students to all white students. Then the traditional political socialization model is developed and tested by comparing low status white students to black students. The main emphasis and fullest treatment is devoted to the political modernization of black students in comparison to white students. Low status white students in particular provide an example of individuals in peripheral social positions whose acquisition of future activism is best explained by a model of traditional political socialization.

For purposes of analysis, only black and white students' responses are examined.[15] Not counting missing cases, which vary in number for different variables and account for less than 2 percent of either the black or white subsamples and less than 3 percent of the low status white subsample, the average size of each subsample is

190 black students, 1,825 white students, and 401 low status white students. Social status is indicated by educational attainment of head of household. The father is assumed to be head of a household; if there is no father in the household, the mother's educational attainment indicates social status. Educational attainment of parents is assumed to result in a certain kind of life style associated with its relevant social status.[16] Low social status is indicated by an educational attainment no higher than 8th grade.

Political Modernization of Members of a Peripheral Subculture

Hypotheses

Agents' Direct Effects

Black students, as members of a peripheral subculture, are expected to be modernizing in the sense of acquiring future activism because of (1) their unacceptable peripheral social position and (2) their sensitivity to racial news reported by the mass media. Recent research suggests that young black people do belong to a subculture within the larger white-dominated political culture.[17] As members of a racial subculture, black people should tend to identify with one another and have consciousness of their group's peripheral social position. Verba and Nie find that such group consciousness of racial deprivation is related to increasing political participation among black people.[18] Matthews and Prothro find that paying attention to the mass media "increases both political motivation and politically

unmotivated activity in politics," for black people.[19] Such findings
relate to Lerner's proposition that empathy, the ability to imagine
oneself operating in new situations, allows people to be mobilized
by the mass media.[20] That is, given (1) a black group identity, (2)
an assumed desire by black students to gain more access to the politi-
cal system, and (3) an assumed ability of black students to empathize
with black people whose political activities are reported through the
mass media, the mass media should exert the strongest direct influences
on black students' acquisition of future activism. Since, in the mod-
ernization process, political participation tends to depend at first
on empathy and later on attitudes that partially determine this
activity,[21] the mass media's direct effects on future activism should
be extremely pronounced and much greater than their indirect effects
through political awareness and trust.

As suggested in Chapter I, the schools, family, and peer
groups should not be expected to operate as modernizing agents. They
apparently tend not to transmit information about fast-moving politi-
cal events as do the mass media. Dawson and Prewitt suggest, in fact,
that the family tends to be a conservative force in the political
socialization process.[22] The family, therefore, would not be expected
to encourage its children to behave in a manner not expected for
people in peripheral social positions. The school, at least in the
United States, seems to be notorious for not encouraging political
participation.[23]

The model of individual political modernization will be supported if and only if the agents of political socialization operate for black students as hypothesized below. In order to analyze the effects of agents within racial groupings, the agents' direct effects are ranked 1 through 4 according to their order of importance. Importance is defined in terms of the magnitude of the path coefficients representing agents' direct effects on political awareness, trust, and future activism.

(a) The path coefficient representing mass media influence on future activism is hypothesized to rank 1 for black students.

(b) The path coefficients representing school, family, and peer group influence on future activism are hypothesized to rank below 1 for black students.

(c) The path coefficient representing mass media influence on future activism is hypothesized to be greater in magnitude for black than for white students.

(d) The mass media's direct effects on black students' future activism are hypothesized to be considerably greater than their indirect effects through political awareness and trust.

As already stated above, black students are expected to follow the political modernization model just hypothesized, but hypotheses for a traditional political socialization model (proposed in Chapter I)

are presented here for comparative testing purposes only. Working
under the assumption that black students accept their peripheral
social position, it is hypothesized that:

  (a) family and peer group influences will rank 1 or 2
       and school and mass media influences will rank 3 or
       4 for black students' political awareness, trust, and
       future activism;

  (b) school and mass media influences will rank 1 or 2
       and family and peer group influences will rank 3 or
       4 for white students' political awareness, trust, and
       future activism.

Comparing across racial groupings,

  (c) the path coefficients representing the direct effects
       of family and peer group influences on political aware-
       ness, trust, and future activism should be larger   for
       black students than for white students;

  (d) the path coefficients representing the direct effects
       of school and mass media influences on political
       awareness, trust, and future activism should be larger
       for white students than for black students.

Political Awareness and
Political Trust

     In Chapter IV, political awareness was found to have a negative
impact on political trust for the entire sample of high school seniors.

But black students assumed to occupy more peripheral social positions
may have greater distrust of public officials than white students.
The Greenberg and Aberbach and Walker studies suggest that political
awareness of black people includes perceptions of discriminatory
policies against them. Such awareness results in reduced political
trust.[24] Therefore, it is hypothesized that the negative effects of
political awareness on political trust will be greater in magnitude
for black than for white students.

Political Awareness and
Future Activism

Inkeles's findings from a study in six developing countries as
well as Milbrath's review of studies in economically developed coun-
tries suggest that political awareness universally leads to political
participation.[25] In Chapter V, political awareness was found to lead
to future activism for the entire sample of high school seniors. The
relationship should be stronger for students in central social posi-
tions because they already tend to exist in a dominant participant
political culture. Therfore, political awareness is hypothesized to
have a greater positive effect on white students' than on black
students' future activism.

Political Trust and
Future Activism

Political trust was found in Chapter V to have no effect on
future activism for the whole sample of high school seniors. But the

lack of relationship may be due to interaction with race through an intervening variable not included in the present model, political efficacy.[26] Political efficacy is defined as "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process."[27] Ehman finds in a sample of black and white high school students surveyed first in 1967 and then in 1969 that black students' political efficacy increased while white students' political efficacy decreased.[28] Billings finds that both activist and non-activist black high school students feel that black people can make changes in their racial condition; Billings defines this feeling as a sense of situational or group political efficacy.[29] Apparently, black students tend to feel that if public officials are crooked, stupid, and not to be trusted, not to mention racist, they, the students, can do something about it. Gamson suggests that decreased political trust may increase group solidarity and the need to attempt to influence political authorities. ". . . a combination of high sense of political efficacy and low political trust is the optimum combination for mobilization--a belief that influence is both possible and necessary."[30] Previous tests of Gamson's hypothesis with white adult survey data have failed; they have resulted in positive relationships between political trust and political efficacy.[31] But the findings cited above suggest that the hypothesis may be valid for the black population if they desire to attempt to influence public officials.

In other words, lower political trust may be translated into future activism for black students partly as a result of what Billings calls group political efficacy. This proposition can be tested by examining the relationships between political trust, political efficacy,[32] and future activism for black and for white students. For black students, it is hypothesized that the relationship between political trust and political efficacy will be negative; the relationship between political efficacy and future activism will be positive. For white students growing up in the dominant participant political culture, on the other hand, the "normal" positive relationships between political trust and political efficacy and between political efficacy and future activism are hypothesized.[33]

While the relationship between black students' political trust and political efficacy is not statistically significant (r = -.032, level of significance = .33), the hypothesized negative relationship is found. In comparison, the relationship for white students is positive (r = .050, level of significance = .02). The relationship between political efficacy and future activism is positive for both black and white students as hypothesized (for blacks, r = .089, level of significance = .11; for whites, r = .165, level of significance = .001). These findings suggest that for black students, at any rate, Gamson's hypothesis may be valid.

Though it may be difficult to find a statistically significant relationship for black students because of (1) small sample size,

(2) not using Billings's group political efficacy items, and (3)
using only two of the usual Survey Research Center political efficacy
items, as provided in the data set, the findings should be considered
theoretically suggestive of the interaction between political trust,
future activism, and race. Thus, in this model of political sociali-
zation, black students' political trust is hypothesized to have a
negative effect on their future activism while white students' politi-
cal trust is hypothesized to have a positive effect on their future
activism.

Findings

The models of political socialization for black and for white
students are displayed in Figure 8. They are based on the zero-order
correlation matrices in Table 21. The relative effects of agents
within racial groupings will be presented first, followed by a com-
parison of their effects across racial groupings. Then findings
about the direct effects of political awareness on political trust
and of political awareness and political trust on future activism
are presented. Finally, the agents' indirect effects on future acti-
vism are presented and compared to their direct effects.

Agents' Direct Effects

The relative direct effects of agents within racial groupings
are summarized in Table 22. As explained above, the agents are ranked
one through four according to their order of strength of influence.

155

Figure 8. Path Diagrams Showing Relative Effects of Agents of Political Socialization on Future Activism Through Political Awareness and Political Trust, Black and White Students
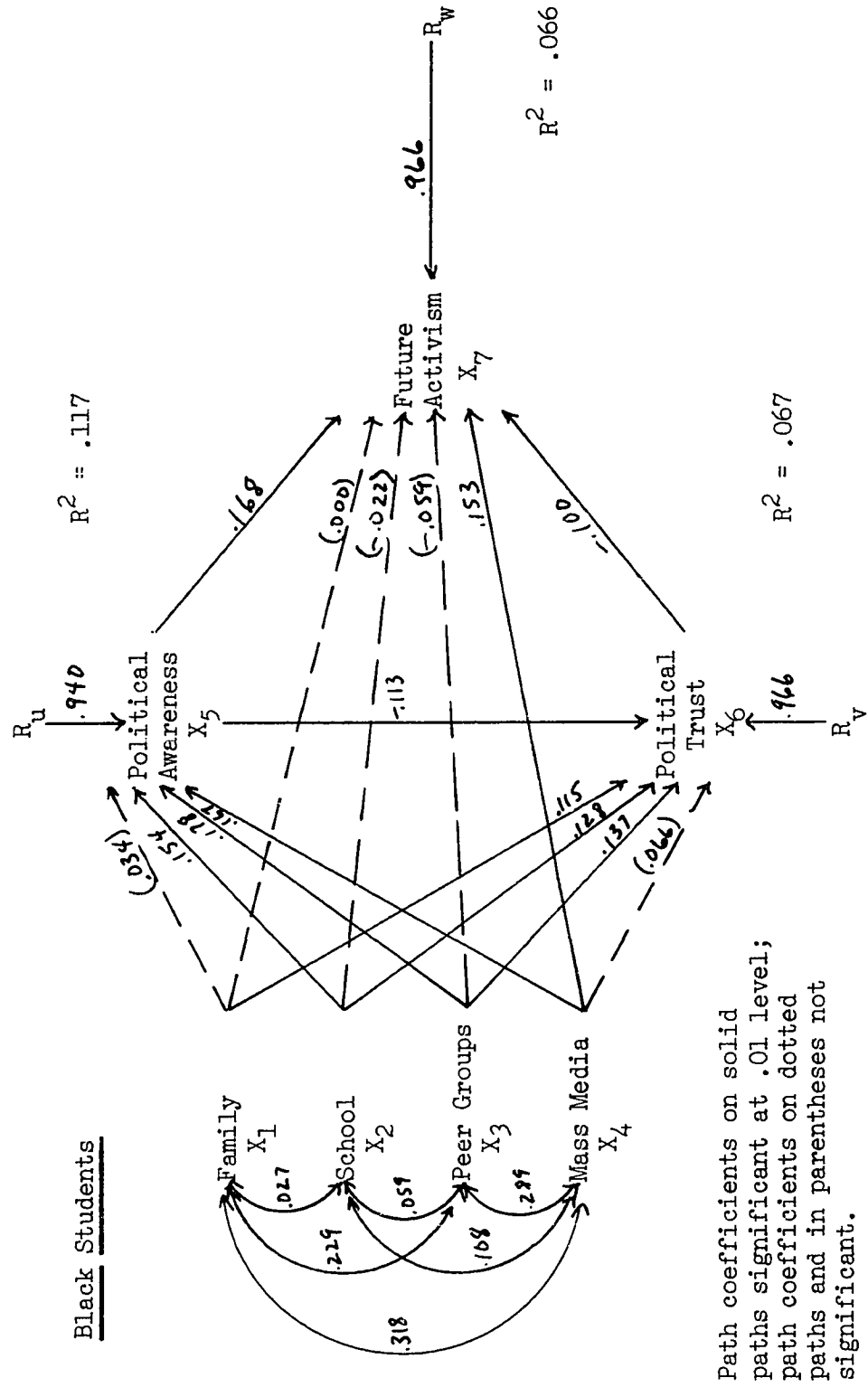
Black Students _____

Path coefficients on solid paths significant at .01 level; path coefficients on dotted paths and in parentheses not significant.

Figure 8.--Continued

White Students

TABLE 21

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRICES: FAMILY, SCHOOL,
PEER GROUPS, MASS MEDIA, POLITICAL AWARENESS,
POLITICAL TRUST, AND FUTURE ACTIVISM:
BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

Black Students

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Family Influence							
2. School Influence	.027						
3. Peer Group Influence	.229*	.059					
4. Mass Media Influence	.318*	.108	.289*				
5. Political Awareness	.132*	.183*	.243*	.246*			
6. Political Trust	.156*	.125*	.162*	.128*	-.025		
7. Future Activism	.041	.009	.009	.162*	.190*	-.097	

TABLE 21--Continued

White Students

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Family Influence						
2. School Influence	.129*					
3. Peer Group Influence	.110*	.035				
4. Mass Media Influence	.177*	.140*	.209*			
5. Political Awareness	.235*	.234*	.228*	.349*		
6. Political Trust	.018	.151*	-.051*	.032	-.046*	
7. Future Activism	.160*	.112*	.159*	.201*	.268*	.011

*Product-moment correlation coefficients, significant at .05 level or higher.

TABLE 22

OUTCOMES OF HYPOTHESIZED AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS
WITHIN RACIAL GROUPINGS

Agents Providing	Periphery--Black Students			Center--White Students		
	Political Awareness	Political Trust	Future Activism	Political Awareness	Political Trust	Future Activism
Primary Relationships						
Family	4*	3*	4*	4	4	3
Peer Groups	1	1	2	3	3	2*
Secondary Relationships						
School	3	2*	3	2	1	4*
Mass Media	2*	4	1*	1	2	1

*Non-hypothesized outcomes (table based on hypotheses for traditional political socialization). Table entries are ranks in importance of agents' direct effects.

According to the hypotheses for traditional political socialization, agents providing primary relationships should have rank scores of 1 or 2 for black students, 3 or 4 for white students. Agents providing secondary relationships should have rank scores of 1 or 2 for white students, 3 or 4 for black students. Non-hypothesized results are starred.

Within the white student subsample the mass media and the school, as hypothesized, have the strongest direct effects on political awareness and trust. Only the mass media follow the hypothesis for future activism. The school has the weakest direct effects on future activism and presents an exception to the proposition about the strength of secondary institutions for white students. The family and peer groups, as hypothesized, have the weakest direct effects on political awareness and trust. Again the case of future activism presents an exception to the proposition that primary groups should have the weakest effects on white students' political attitudes. In this case, peer groups have the second greatest direct effects on future activism.

Within the black student subsample, peer groups operate as hypothesized and rank 1 or 2 in influencing black students' political attitudes. The black family, however, is not found to have its hypothesized strong direct effects. The black family consistently presents an exception to the proposition that primary groups are the strongest agents for black students. The school and mass media, as hypothesized, have weak effects on black students' attitudes in three cases. The

school has the third greatest effect on political awareness and future activism. The mass media have no effect on political trust. In the other three cases, however, these social institutions present exceptions to the proposition that they should be weaker agents for black students' attitudes. The mass media of all agents have the only significant direct effects on black students' future activism and the second greatest effect on political awareness. The school has the second greatest direct effect on political trust.

The relative direct effects of agents compared across racial groupings are summarized in Table 23. Outcomes supporting the hypotheses are scored +. Non-hypothesized outcomes are scored 0.

As hypothesized, the politicized environments providing secondary relationships, school and mass media, have stronger direct effects on all political attitudes of white students than of black students,[34] with one exception. This exception is that the mass media have the strongest (and only) direct effects on black students' future activism (refer back to Figure 8). The politicized environments providing primary relationships operate as hypothesized in only three out of six cases. Peer groups and the family, as hypothesized, have stronger direct effects on the political trust of black students than of white students. Peer groups have stronger direct effects on the political awareness of black students than of white students. But peer groups do not have their hypothesized stronger influences on black students' future activism. The black family again presents exceptions to the proposition that primary groups should have stronger effects on

TABLE 23

OUTCOMES OF HYPOTHESIZED AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS
COMPARED ACROSS RACIAL GROUPINGS

	Periphery--Black Students			Center--White Students		
Agents Providing	Political Awareness	Political Trust	Future Activism	Political Awareness	Political Trust	Future Activism
Primary Relationships						
Family	O	+	O	O	+	O
Peer Groups	+	+	O	+	+	O
Secondary Relationships						
School	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mass Media	+	+*	O	+	+*	O

Hypothesized outcome = +, non-hypothesized outcome = O (table based on hypotheses for stable political system).

*This outcome is arbitrarily declared as expected. Although the absolute value of the path is greater for the black model, .066 over .049, there is no direct path from mass media to black students' political trust because of the statistical insignificance of the path coefficient for this model.

black students' political awareness and future activism.

Four general exceptions to the propositions about the operation of the model of traditional political socialization for black and for white students have been found. One involves the relatively strong showing of white peer groups and the weak showing of schools in relation to white students' future activism.[35] A second exception involves the strong showing of schools in relation to black students' political trust. Schools apparently operate in similar ways for black and white students, in that they have relatively strong positive impacts on their acquisition of political trust and very weak impacts on their acquisition of future activism. These findings perhaps can be attributed to the nature of the educational institution itself and some of the classroom experiences it provides. Massialas reviews the response, or what he would call lack of positive response, of educators to the decade of the 1960's and finds that their image of citizenship continues to be one of maintaining obedience to law and keeping order in an ideal society of responsive governments and rational individuals.[36] Apparently the school's emphasis on responsive government contributes to the acquisition of students' political trust. Levenson finds that the school contributes little to what he calls the learning of participatory responsibility; teachers in particular seem to stress the obedience component of participation in public life.[37] Thus the school appears to be a social institution that has the overall effect of building support for the political system. But the school fails to instill a predisposition thought to be required for

the functioning of democratic societies, future activism.

The third general exception involves the weak showing of the black family[38] in relation to political awareness and future activism. The black family's lack of influence on these attitudes may be due to their own tendencies toward political passivity. In the past even outside the southern states black voter turnout has tended to be less than white voter turnout.[39] Marx finds that those black people assumed to be high on exposure to traditional black southern values, because of their age, sex, region, and rural upbringing, tend to be less militant than younger people raised in the urban North.[40] Older black people in general, including black parents in this study, therefore, apparently have tended not to develop a fully participant life style and have not encouraged their children to do so.

The fourth exception involves the strong showing of the mass media in relation to black students' future activism. This finding may be explained in terms of political modernization and the political events taking place during this era. During the late 1950's and the 1960's, the revolution in black political participation described earlier was being reported in the national news. Orum suggests that the mass media helped disseminate knowledge of this participation revolution and expanded the parochial black student movement in the South into a mass movement involving black and white people.[41] As noted earlier, Matthews and Prothro suggest that the mass media may contribute to the political modernization of less politicized segments

of society. That is, the mass media may encourage people to be active in politics by reporting the political events of the times, which in this case included black protest activities. Mass media reporting of political events may have the effect of activating peripheral groups in society if members of these groups empathize with actors reported to be taking part in the political events. The mass media, therefore, appear to be agents of political modernization for black students in the present study. Hypotheses (a), (b), and (c) about the mass media's importance, stated earlier for the model of political modernization, are supported. The political modernization model, therefore, appears to explain black students' acquisition of future activism.

Political Awareness and
Political Trust

The direct effects of political awareness on political trust for black and for white students can be observed in Figure 8. As hypothesized, political awareness has a negative effect on political trust; the impact is greater for black students than for white students. This finding is attributed to the black students' assumed greater awareness of the implications of being black in a white-dominated society. To be black is to be subject to daily discriminatory acts by some public officials despite the national ideal of equality before the law. Awareness of such discrimination tends to decrease an individual's trust of these officials and of government in general.

Political Awareness and
Future Activism

Political awareness, as hypothesized, has direct positive effects on the future activism of both black and white students. The difference in magnitude of effects is not great. This finding further supports the proposition that black students are modernizing. Since white students have tended to grow up in a life style more participant than that of black students, white students should be more advanced in acquiring an attitude that will partly determine subsequent political activity. But if political awareness helps to bridge the "psychic gap" between participant and non-participant life styles, then black students have caught up with white students in acquiring an attitude that leads to future activism.

Political Trust and
Future Activism

As hypothesized, political trust has a negative impact on black students' future activism and a slight positive, but statistically insignificant, impact on white students' future activism. For black students the inverse relationship means that lower political trust caused by greater political awareness will lead to increased future activism. Conversely, greater political trust acquired regardless of political awareness under the influence of peer groups, family, and the school will lead to decreased future activism.

This can be explained if it is assumed that black students tend to occupy peripheral social positions and, therefore, lack access

to the political system. Their awareness of lack of political access
and the assumed nonacceptability of this peripheral social position
lead to decreased political trust. If it can be assumed further that
the black students in this study also feel politically efficacious,
they will feel that they can move into more central social positions
and gain access to the political system. Therefore, lower political
trust coupled with assumed feelings of political efficacy lead to
future activism.

Agents' Indirect Effects
on Future Activism

An examination of the model of political socialization
separately for black and for white students suggests that these
students are acquiring future activism, though in different ways.
The model developed in Chapter V for the entire sample indicated that
political awareness--but not political trust--was an intervening
variable in the acquisition of future activism. Only when the sample
is split into black and white subsamples is political trust also
found to be an intervening variable, at least for black students.

This can be seen in Figure 8 by observing that in the black
student model, paths run from some of the agents through both political
awareness and political trust to future activism. In the white stu-
dent model, paths run from the agents to future activism only through
political awareness, since there is no path from political trust to
future activism.

A comparison of the magnitudes of agents' direct and indirect effects will indicate to what extent political awareness and trust are intervening variables in the acquisition of future activism. A comparison of the mass media's direct and indirect effects for black and for white students will give additional indications of whether political modernization is affecting their political socialization. Table 24 displays the agents' indirect effects on future activism through political awareness and trust as well as their direct influences on future activism.

The comparison of direct and indirect effects on white students' future activism shows that each agent's direct effects are greater than its total indirect effects. The ratio of direct to total indirect effects ranges from one to one for the school to three to one for the family and peer groups. For black students, on the other hand, only peer groups, the school, and mass media have direct effects on future activism. These direct effects, also, are greater than indirect effects by ratios ranging from one and a half to one for the school to almost seven to one for the mass media. Only the mass media have significant direct effects on black students' future activism, and these direct effects are much greater than their indirect effects. Hypothesis (d), stated earlier for the model of political modernization, thus is supported. The political modernization model explains black students' acquisition of future activism.

TABLE 24

COMPARISON OF AGENTS' INDIRECT EFFECTS* THROUGH
POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL TRUST
WITH AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS ON FUTURE
ACTIVISM, BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

Agents	Influence Through Political Awareness	Influence Through Political Trust	Influence Through Political Awareness and Trust	Total Indirect Effects Through Political Awareness and Trust	Direct Effects on Future Activism
			Black Students		
Family	.006	-.012	.000	-.006	.000
School	.026	-.013	.002	.015	-.022
Peer Groups	.030	-.014	.002	.018	-.059
Mass Media	.028	-.007	.002	.023	.153**

TABLE 24--Continued

	White Students				
Family	.028	.000	.000	.028	.084**
School	.032	.002	.000	.034	.039**
Peer Groups	.028	-.001	.000	.027	.087**
Mass Media	.050	.001	.000	.051	.097**

*Dotted paths in Figure 8, though statistically insignificant, were given their full values in the calculation of indirect effects.

**Path coefficients significant at .01 level; it is not possible to test significance of indirect effects because they are products of direct effects.

Further examination of Table 24 also suggests that the
political socialization process has continuity for white students but
discontinuity for black students. Discontinuity is defined as lack
of consistency among agents' messages transmitted in the process of
political socialization.[42] For white students, all four agents en-
courage future activism directly. They also exert smaller positive
influences indirectly through political awareness. At this stage of
the white students model, political trust is not translated into future
activism; it has no effect one way or the other on future activism.
The agents' only effects on white students' future activism, there-
fore, are either direct or indirect through political awareness, and
virtually all are positive. Evidently all agents influence white
students' future activism positively because of white students' cen-
tral social position. In other words, they have been reared in more
politicized environments that are more likely to influence the acqui-
sition of political awareness and transmit norms of political
participation.

For black students on the other hand, the family apparently
operates as a traditional force in opposition to the modernizing
force of the mass media. As can be observed in Figure 8, the black
family's only significant influence is to encourage students' political
trust. Because of the inverse relationship between political trust
and future activism, this political trust then leads to a decline in
future activism. Thus the black family indirectly discourages future

activism while the mass media directly encourage future activism.
Peer groups and the school exert positive influences on black students'
future activism through political awareness and through the political
awareness-trust linkage (see Table 24). But they also exert negative
influences on future activism through political trust. In fact, these
agents also act as traditional brakes on black students' political
socialization, since their indirect negative effects on future acti-
vism, when added to their negative direct effects, override their
positive effects.

Because they are beginning to move from peripheral social
positions toward more central positions, black students seem to be
experiencing discontinuities in political socialization. Black stu-
dents receive traditional encouragement of political trust and dis-
couragement of future activism from the family, school, and peer
groups. But these traditional forces are outweighed by the mass
media's strong positive influences on future activism. The mass
media appear to have mobilized these black students.

A Comparison of Black and Low Status White Students' Acquisition of Future Activism

Hypotheses

Agents' Direct Effects

Low status white students' acquisition of future activism
should follow the hypothesized model of traditional political sociali-
zation presented in Chapter I, because there is evidence to suggest

that they acquiesce in their peripheral social position. In the first place, low status white people appear not to have developed a group consciousness as black people have.[43] In the second place, social status, unlike race, has not divided the population into rigid, legally deprived categories of people.[44] As Lane finds in his study of Eastport workers, people of working-class status tend to think there is enough opportunity (if not completely equal opportunity) for everyone to assume personal responsibility for achieving his own status.[45] According to Lane, these working class individuals tend to identify themselves not by status but as "the People" of the United States; they seem to believe that government is for, by, and of them.[46] Therefore, working under the assumption that low status white students accept their peripheral position, family and peer groups are hypothesized to have greater effects than school and mass media on these students' acquisition of future activism.

Political Awareness and Political Trust

Lower status white students should tend to be committed to the values that Lane finds in his study of Eastport workers. These people of low social status stress the worth of themselves as individuals whose best interests are served by their representative public officials, regardless of the public officials' possible stupidity, crookedness, or wastefulness.[47] As long as they are aware that public officials care for them and are responsive to their needs, they develop political trust.[48] Thus, political awareness is hypothesized

to have a positive effect on low status students' political trust.

Political Awareness and Future Activism

The model developed in the present study has consistently shown a positive impact of political awareness on future activism. Since black students' in the present study have been found to have a higher level of future activism than low status white students, the political awareness-future activism relationship is hypothesized to be greater in magnitude for black students than for low status white students.

Political Trust and Future Activism

Low status white students have been raised in environments that value allegiance to the political system and the citizen obligation to vote.[49] Thus their political trust should have a positive influence on future activism. Political trust is hypothesized to have a positive effect on low status white students' future activism.

Findings

The direct effects of the agents of political socialization on low status white students' future activism are compared to the agents' direct effects on black students' future activism in Table 25. The direct effects of political awareness and political trust on future activism for each group also are displayed in Table 25.

As hypothesized, the family has greater positive effects than social institutions on low status white students' future activism.

TABLE 25

DIRECT EFFECTS OF AGENTS, POLITICAL AWARENESS, AND POLITICAL TRUST
ON BLACK AND ON LOW STATUS WHITE STUDENTS' FUTURE ACTIVISM

| | Peripheral Social Position | |
| | Black Students | White Students |
Agents Providing	Future Activism	Future Activism
Primary relationships		
Family	.000	.141*
Peer Groups	-.059	.086*
Secondary relationships		
School	-.022	-.059*
Mass Media	.153*	.120*
Political Awareness	.168*	.097*
Political Trust	-.100*	.100*

*Path coefficients, significant at .01 level.

TABLE 26

COMPARISON OF AGENTS' INDIRECT EFFECTS THROUGH POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL TRUST WITH AGENTS' DIRECT EFFECTS ON FUTURE ACTIVISM, LOW STATUS WHITE STUDENTS

Agents	Influence Through Political Awareness	Influence Through Political Trust	Influence Through Political Awareness and Trust	Total Indirect Effects Through Political Awareness and Trust	Direct Effects on Future Activism
Family	.014	-.004	.001	.011	.141*
School	.023	.011	.002	.036	-.059*
Peer Groups	.008	-.004	.001	.005	.086*
Mass Media	.031	.007	.002	.040	.120*

*Path coefficients significant at .01 level; it is not possible to test significance of indirect effects because they are products of direct effects.

The family thus operates differently for black and for low status white students. As can be observed in Table 25, the black family is the least important agent in regard to black students' future activism. But the low status white family encourages future activism in its children. It is the strongest agent for low status white students. As can be observed in Table 26, these effects are almost entirely direct. The ratio of direct to indirect effects for the low status white family is thirteen to one. This means that the low status white family, if it is politicized, activates its children regardless of the children's levels of political awareness and political trust.

Peer groups, which were hypothesized to be important agents for low status white students, emerge as relatively unimportant agents for low status white students. But the school, as hypothesized, is not an important agent for students in peripheral social positions. It operates for low status white students as it does for black students. The school directly discourages future activism for both black and low status white students. Because of the different linkage between political trust and future activism for each type of student, however, the school indirectly discourages black students' future activism and indirectly encourages low status white students' future activism.

The mass media have stronger direct effects than hypothesized for white students in peripheral social positions. Whether these media effects should be interpreted as modernizing effects depends on

the extent to which these direct effects on future activism are greater than the mass media's indirect effects through political awareness and trust. A comparison of direct and indirect effects is displayed in Table 26. Whereas the mass media's direct effects on future activism were found earlier to be almost seven times as great as their indirect effects for black students, their direct effects on future activism are only three times as great as their indirect effects for low status white students. The ratio for all white students was two to one (see Table 24), so the mass media affect low status white students' future activism proportionately about the same way they affect all white students' future activism. Thus, the mass media appear to be agents of political modernization for black students but more "normal" agents of political socialization for low status white students.

Political awareness and trust operate as intervening variables for low status white students as well as for black students. As hypothesized (see Table 25), political awareness has a positive influence on future activism, and the impact is stronger for black than for low status white students. But the nature of the other linkages is completely different for each social grouping. For black students, as reported earlier, political awareness was found to decrease political trust; lower political trust was found to increase future activism. For low status white students, political awareness, as hypothesized, leads to increased political trust (path coefficient is .067, significant at .01 level). Political trust, as hypothesized, leads to

increased future activism (see Table 25).

Summary and Implications

The present study, as already noted, does not claim to explain political modernization processes. However, modernization concepts have served as useful explanatory devices for developing propositions about how agents of political socialization differ for peripheral groups in the United States. When, in addition to race and social status, the assumed nature of an individual's politicized social environments and his social position are taken into account, an even broader understanding of the process is suggested. Race is found to be a powerful variable for revealing and inferring different political socialization processes in the United States. Social status among white students is found to be a less powerful variable for inferring different processes of political socialization.

White students in general, who are assumed to occupy central social positions, appear to be involved in a rather steady continuous political socialization process. All agents positively encourage political awareness and future activism, what Inkeles would call components of a participant life style. Evaluative orientations to politics as indicated by political trust appear not to have any relationship to future activism for white students. Compared to black students, white students apparently develop a more participant life style as a matter of course.

Black students, on the other hand, appear to be involved

in a discontinuous political socialization process. They are pulled toward passivism by the school and their primary groups. They are pulled toward activism by the mass media. According to Lerner's theory of modernization, their apparent ability to empathize with black political activists reported through media news predisposes them to be mobilized by the mass media. Some agents, particularly the mass media, also encourage a more participant life style by increasing political awareness. But political participation is not going to occur for black students as a matter of course. Their mobilization by the mass media is accompanied by future activism growing out of distrust of public officials and government and assumed feelings of group solidarity and efficacy. According to Inkeles's terminology, black students provide a case of a developing participant life style partially determined by political resentment.

Low status white students appear to be individuals in peripheral social positions who, unlike black students, seem to be satisfied with their positions. Their political awareness increases political trust, and political trust encourages future activism. Low status white students thus seem to provide a good example of allegiant citizens being socialized into what they perceive to be a benevolent political system.

Black and low status white students, therefore, represent divergent political socialization processes. Because of their race and regardless of their peripheral social position, low status white students are becoming allegiant citizens. With the exception of their

strong family influence on future activism, low status white students are affected as if they occupied more central positions. Social institutions are as important in their political socialization as they are for students in more central social positions. The effects of the mass media on black students' future activism, however, suggest that these students are modernizing. The relatively traditional effects of the family, school, and peer groups in discouraging future black political participation have been counteracted by the modernizing influence of the mass media. Presumably through their coverage of increased black political activism, the mass media apparently have activated black students intent on gaining full access to the political system. Because of their race, black students necessarily have existed in peripheral social positions. But this existence is no longer acceptable to them, and they appear to be mobilizing to change the status quo.

ENDNOTES

[1]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), pp. 110-14, 122-24, 138. As will be recalled from Chapter I, note 16, the black subsample is not subdivided into social status groups because of the small subsample sizes that would result from such subdivision.

[2]Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), pp. 252-59.

[3]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), pp. 261-63.

[4]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, pp. 256-59.

[5]M. Kent Jennings, Principal Investigator, The Student-Parent Socialization Study (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1971), "Study Description," no page number.

[6]For a history of the black civil rights movement up to the 1960's, see Robert H. Brisbane, The Black Vanguard: Origins of the Negro Social Revolution 1900-1960 (Valley Forge, Pa.: The Judson Press, 1970). Some of the major racial civil rights incidents of the 1950's and 1960's are outlined in Georgianna F. Rathbun, ed., Revolution in Civil Rights (4th ed.; Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968), pp. 10-14.

[7]Anthony M. Orum, ed., The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 3-4. For a case study of one of the students involved, his inspirations, and his motivations, see Frederic Solomon and Jacob R. Fishman, "Youth and Social Action: II. Action and Identity Formation in the First Student Sit-in Demonstration," Journal of Social Issues, 20 (April, 1964), 36-45.

[8]Rathbun, Revolution in Civil Rights, pp. 10-14.

[9]This may be observed in Table 600 in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1972 (93rd ed.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 374.

[10]Some of the major riots are described in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (The New York Times ed; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968).

[11]See the compilation of empirical findings about riot participation and riot sympathy in Nathan Caplan, "The New Ghetto Man: A Review of Recent Empirical Studies," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Winter, 1970), 59-73.

[12]See Chapter II, pp. 62, 66, of this dissertation for a description of future activism.

[13]See note 2, above.

[14]Path coefficients are stable across different sample sizes and thus comparable. See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961, 1964), pp. 114-19.

[15]Thirteen individuals of Asian, Mexican, or Puerto Rican origins are deleted.

[16]Kenneth Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 101, footnote 40.

[17]See, for example, Anthony M. Orum and Roberta S. Cohen, "The Development of Political Orientations Among Black and White Children," American Sociological Review, 38 (February, 1973), 70-71; Charles E. Billings, "Black Activists and the Schools," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 77-89.

[18]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, pp. 157-60.

[19]Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and New Southern Politics, p. 261.

[20]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 48-50.

[21]Idem.

[22]Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 124.

[23]See, for example, Byron G. Massialas's conclusions in "The Inquiring Activist: Citizenship Objectives for the 70's," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 243-48.

[24]Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), 1199-1219; Edward S. Greenberg, "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14 (May, 1970), 249-75.

[25]Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), 1129. Cf. Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 50-51.

[26]Political efficacy was not included in the model for two reasons. An attempt was made to keep the model as simple as possible. Since political awareness is assumed to precede political efficacy in a causal chain leading to future activism, political awareness rather than political efficacy was chosen as one possible intervening variable between agents and future activism. Furthermore, since political efficacy in the Jennings data set is indicated by only two of the Survey Research Center political efficacy items (see VAR308 in the Student-Parent Socialization Study), it was decided not to include such a partial scale in the model.

[27]Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 187.

[28]Lee H. Ehman, "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies Curriculum," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 96.

[29]Billings, "Black Activists and the Schools," pp. 82, 84-85.

[30]William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 48.

[31]See John Fraser, "The Mistrustful-Efficacious Hypothesis and Political Participation," Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), 444-49; Brett W. Hawkins, Vincent L. Marando, and George A. Taylor, "Efficacy, Mistrust, and Political Participation: Findings From Additional Data and Indicators," Journal of Politics, 33 (November, 1971), 1130-36.

[32]The Guttman political efficacy scale is composed of the following items:

> VAR123. Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things.

> VAR124. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

[33]Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 60; Campbell et al., Voter Decides, p. 192.

[34]This finding for school influence and political awareness may be surprising considering Langton and Jennings' redundance hypothesis, reported in Langton, Political Socialization, pp. 101-103. According to the redundance hypothesis, a source of information that provides redundant information for an individual will have no effect on his political knowledge. (Remember that some of these political knowledge items are included in the political awareness scale in the present study.) Langton and Jennings find that the number of civics courses taken has little effect on white students' level of political knowledge but has considerable effect on black students' level of political knowledge. They reason that since black students have less knowledge to begin with, they can be more affected by civics courses, which give them new information. White students, on the other hand, having had more opportunities to gather political knowledge, have reached a saturation level of information and are not open to redundant information from the civics curriculum.

In the present study, which uses an index for liking social science courses, a positive relationship between this variable and black students' political knowledge also results ($r = .126$, significant at .05 level). But an even greater positive relationship is found for white students ($r = .198$, significant at .001 level). Liking school as well as courses adds strength to the relationships for both black and white students. The more students of either race like school and social science courses, the higher their level of political knowledge tends to be ($r = .136$ for black students, .208 for white students). It therefore appears that white students taking courses they like are not exposed to redundant information but instead tend to increase their level of political knowledge just as black students do. In fact, the relationship apparently is strong enough to cause the school to have more influence for white students than for black students.

[35]Significance will be attributed to the weak showing of the school in the following discussion, so that the strong showing of white peer groups is attributed simply to their moving up a rank to fill the position abdicated by the school. This also would account for the resulting non-hypothesized effect of black peer groups on future activism.

[36]Massialas, "Inquiring Activist," pp. 243-48.

[37]George B. Levenson, "The School's Contribution to the Learning of Participatory Responsibility," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 129-31.

[38]A question might be raised as to whether black families can even be compared to white families. See Billings' remarks, for example, in "Black Activists and the Schools," p. 82. In this study the two kinds of families are rendered comparable for the following reasons.

Andrew Billingsley, in Black Families in White America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 197-215, suggests that families only in the lowest category of black lower social status, the nonworking poor, have been treated extensively in social welfare studies or general family studies. These disorganized black families thus have become a stereotype for all black families. But Billingsley shows that the black family is a highly diverse institution manifesting several patterns and varying across several categories of black social status (pp. 8-10, 15-21). The majority of black families, even in the lower social status categories, are headed by parents who play egalitarian roles in running the family (pp. 143-44).

In the present study, 2.5 percent of the white students as opposed to 10.8 percent of the black students are not at all close to their parents. As the closeness to parents index is constructed, this means that these students do not live with their mother or father, but they may live with a family composed of relatives such as grandparents, aunts, or uncles. This may be true particularly for the black students. (See Billingsley, Black Families in White America, pp. 19-21.) This does not mean that there is not some kind of family group influence occurring for these students. It may mean, however, that the influence comes from even older and more traditionally oriented individuals.

Furthermore, the fact that the sample is drawn from high school seniors and not dropouts, who are said to comprise 26 percent

of this black age cohort (see Jennings, Student-Parent Socialization Study, Sampling Information), suggests that these black students come from the categories of black social status that render them comparable to white students in terms of having some kind of family to which they can be close. The distribution for closeness to family controlled for race is as follows:

Close to Parents Index		Black Students	White Students
Not close at all	0	10.8%	2.5%
	1	.2	.7
	2	6.6	5.8
	3	15.4	11.6
	4	14.0	25.7
	5	27.2	26.2
Very close	6	25.9	27.5
		100.1%	100.0%
		(191)	(1,810)

[39]Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), pp. 276-82. The report is based mainly on survey data from studies of the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections.

[40]Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community, Harper Torchbook (rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 51-54. Militancy is defined in terms of willingness to press actively for civil rights, pp. 40-41.

[41]Anthony M. Orum, "Patterns of Protest: The Politics of Black Youth in the 1960's," in The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics In America, ed. by Anthony M. Orum (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 277.

[42]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 82.

[43]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, pp. 258-59.

[44]The poor are an exception. See Jacobus Ten Broek, Family Law and the Poor, Essays, ed. by Joel F. Handler (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971). These people are probably underrepresented in this sample of students who have managed to stay in school through the twelfth grade.

[45]Robert E. Lane, _Political Ideology_, Free Press Paperback (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 61-64.

[46]_Ibid._, pp. 166-70.

[47]_Ibid._, pp. 159-60.

[48]_Idem._

[49]_Ibid._, pp. 162-65.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATIVE EFFECTS OF AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:
MASS MEDIA VERSUS THE FAMILY FOR RACIAL AND
STATUS PERIPHERAL SOCIAL POSITIONS

The present study has proceded from a definition of the political socialization process that stresses the variability of agent influences in the acquisition of political orientations. Before analyzing the effects of the family, school, peer groups, and mass media relative to one another, a few words should be said about the effects of these agents relative to unspecified influences. Unspecified influences were indicated by the residual paths to each political orientation in each path diagram. All of the residual paths were of very great magnitude. This means that all four agents together explained very little (less than 20 percent) of the variance of any one of the political orientations examined. Such findings suggest that the agents of political socialization as conceptualized and measured here do not have much influence in the political socialization process. Better measurement in future studies may increase the explanatory power of such variables. But measurement of other influences also should be attempted. Indicators of actual political experiences, such as contact with public officials (for example,

police arrests, school visits by the local Congressman), might
explain more variance in political awareness or future activism.
Indicators of perceptions and evaluations of specific government
programs and officials' performances might explain more variance in
political trust. As research in the area of "agents" of political
socialization continues, hopefully we will attain better measurement
of more theoretically relevant variables.

The political socialization literature generally has stressed
the importance of four agents of political socialization: the family,
the school, peer groups, and the mass media. In the past, some re-
searchers have asserted that the family is a very important agent of
political socialization.[1] This assertion is based on the following
assumptions: (1) "childhood learning is relatively enduring through-
out life," and (2) "basic orientations acquired during childhood
structure the later learning of specific issue beliefs."[2] Since the
family is the first social group that controls the beginnings of a
child's personality development and integration into society, the
family determines the child's basic and enduring political orienta-
tions and thus has the greatest influence in the political socializa-
tion process.

Other researchers have asserted that the school is the most
important agent of political socialization.[3] This assertion is
qualified by suggesting that the family is responsible for basic
evaluations of the political system while the school is responsible

for transmitting information about the operation of the political
system and influencing attitudes and beliefs about this operation.[4]

The assertions discussed so far usually have come from
studies of the political socialization of younger children. Generally
the respondents have been of elementary or middle school age (seven
to thirteen or fourteen years old). When respondents of high school
age are studied, peer groups also are thought to become important
agents of political socialization. As students grow up it is assumed
that peer groups may begin to exert some influences on their political
orientations. Sometimes peer groups will reinforce the family's
earlier influences on an individual; sometimes peer groups will in-
fluence an individual to change his political orientations.[5]

Finally, recent studies of agents of political socialization
have realized the importance of the mass media as providers of poli-
ticized environments and particularly as sources of political infor-
mation through daily news reports.[6] Furthermore, the study of
political development and modernization, which emphasizes the impor-
tance of the mass media in mobilization, seems to have turned from a
typological approach that compares so-called traditional, transitional,
and modern societies to an evolutionary approach that views all so-
cieties as continually changing.[7] Thus it is possible to apply Lerner's
propositions about the mass media as agents of modernization in
"developing" nations[8] to a study of mass media as agents of political
socialization or modernization (for certain subcultures) in the

United States. At the same time, the emphasis moves from
conceptualizing the mass media as objects of attention at the spectator
level of political activity[9] to conceptualizing the mass media as
sources of political information or as triggers of empathy and politi-
cal activity.[10] In other words, instead of viewing exposure to the
mass media as a dependent variable, mass media influence is viewed
as an independent variable along with other agent influences in the
political socialization process.

Path analysis provides a means of assessing the effects of
these four agents relative to one another and relative to other
unspecified sources of influence on certain political orientations
of theoretical interest. The dependent variable chosen for the
present study is future activism, which is assumed to be a good indi-
cator that the respondents will become political participants, take
part in the choice of public officials, and attempt to influence
policy-making. Future activism is the focus of the study because a
consideration of certain events in the 1960's, especially increased
black political participation, raises the question of how this mobili-
zation occurred. Some studies have revealed the differential impacts
of political awareness and political trust on political participation
for different social groupings in the citizenry.[11] Thus, these
political orientations are considered as intervening variables between
the agents and future activism. Path analysis also provides a means
of determining the extent to which variables intervene between

independent and dependent variables and thus allows a comparison of
agents' direct effects on future activism with their indirect effects
through these intervening variables. Path analysis, therefore, pro-
vides a bridge between data and theory.

The following theoretical statements can be made on the
basis of inferences from the path analysis findings in the present
study. These theoretical statements should be received with the
understanding that certain limiting assumptions have been in force
during the analysis. These assumptions underlying the path analysis
technique were stated in Chapter II. The limitations of applying
dynamic propositions to a static model were discussed in Chapter I.
Thus, these theoretical statements may serve as hypotheses to be
tested further with other data.

In general, as found in Chapters III, IV, and V, social
institutions--school and the mass media--are the most influential
agents of political socialization for high school seniors. The mass
media and the school have the greatest positive direct effect on the
acquisition of political awareness. The school and the mass media
have the greatest positive direct effect on the acquisition of poli-
tical trust. The mass media have the greatest positive direct effect
on the acquisition of future activism, but in this case the school
has the least positive direct effect.

The debate over whether the family or the school is the most
influential agent is resolved partially by these findings.

Specifically, by the time people reach the last year of high school, the family has become the least influential agent of political socialization as far as the acquisition of political awareness, trust, and future activism are concerned. In contrast to Hess and Torney's suggestion that the school does not affect students' political trust by eighth grade,[12] high school seniors' political trust is encouraged by fair treatment from school teachers and officials. In fact, the school takes an overwhelming lead among the four agents in positively influencing the acquisition of political trust. The school also contributes strongly to the encouragement of political awareness.

But the most important agents of political socialization are the mass media. They are especially influential in the acquisition of political awareness and future activism. This influence appears to be attributable not only to their importance as sources of information but also to their ability to activate students directly. Assumptions about social position as indicated by race or social status make it possible to specify how the mass media's activation effects operate. Assuming that (1) black people tended to occupy peripheral social positions but generally were desirous of achieving access to the political system during the 1960's and (2) low status white people tended to occupy peripheral social positions but acquiesced in their status, it was shown that the mass media were very effective in activating black students but not low status white students.

These findings contribute additional support to the attempts to revise past interpretations of mass media effects. As Blumler suggests, one result of past studies of mass media effects on voters during and after election campaigns was the formulation of ". . . a veritable law of the political impotence of all the mass media . . . ."[13] People were thought to be shielded from media influence either because they were uninterested in politics or because they selectively exposed themselves to information that reinforced their own points of view. But selective exposure has been found to operate only for some individuals, who tend to be highly involved partisans.[14]

Selective exposure involves exposing oneself to communications that stress one favored point of view, such as editorials. General news reporting attempts to be objective and covers situations that may involve different types of people doing different things. People who pay attention to the media news may identify with and interpret these different people and events according to their own subjective situation. Thus the principle that may be most important is "information evaluation"[15] or selective perception.

Selective perception may be related to Verba and Nie's finding of group consciousness among more politically active black people.[16] Black group consciousness is a manifestation of what Blumer calls collective definition, ". . . an interpretative process which through analysis and critical judgment reworks the presentations into different forms before assimilation into experience." Collective

definition affects the state of sensitivity to certain messages for that portion of the media audience who identify with one another through their collective definition.[17] For black people, their collective definition involves ". . . an awareness of their own status as a deprived group . . ." and "[c]onsciousness of race as a problem or a basis of conflict . . ."[18] "Black Power" for many black people represents a desire to get their fair share of the benefits and rewards of society, to exercise their political rights, and to gain greater political power.[19] Given news reporting of black political activity during the 1960's, the assumed growth of group identification among black people, and their assumed desire and perceived ability to achieve access to the political system, the conditions were optimal for modernization and mobilization of the black students in this study. Because of group consciousness, black students may have selectively perceived events concerning black people reported in the news during the 1960's. This selective perception of material with which they could identify and empathize would explain why the mass media activated them.

Those black students who paid attention to media news, therefore, were exposed to the political change reflected there and were activated directly by the mass media. The fact that the media's direct effects were so much greater than their indirect effects through political awareness and distrust suggests that activation by the media overshadows media influence on the development of political awareness

and distrust during the modernization process. This is not to say that political awareness and distrust had little influence on the acquisition of future activism by black students. These attitudes had their own direct effects on future activism. But the mass media activated black students directly, regardless of their levels of political awareness and distrust.

Low status white students also tended to occupy peripheral social positions. But because they are white, they probably did not perceive themselves as a deprived group as black students apparently perceived themselves. In other words, low status white students may have been less peripheral than black students. Not subject to a collective definition of deprived status, they were socialized to become aware and trusting. They probably will become obedient citizens whose political activity will include voting at most.

Though the agents of political socialization tend to operate in the same way for white students in general and low status white students in particular, the low status white family is an exception. The low status white family is the most important agent for its children. This finding is unexpected, given Dawson and Prewitt's proposition that the low status family is less likely than the high status family to contribute to its children's political learning.[20] Perhaps Hyman's warning about the possible effects of social status on family influence are relevant to this discussion.[21] If Hyman is correct, the direct path from family influence to future activism should disappear when the model is run for each social status grouping.

Though the political socialization of high status white students was
not the object of comparison and explanation in this study, that
portion of their political socialization model dealing with family
effects directly and through political awareness is presented here to
test this hypothesis. High social status is indicated by the father's
(or mother's) educational attainment of one or more years of college
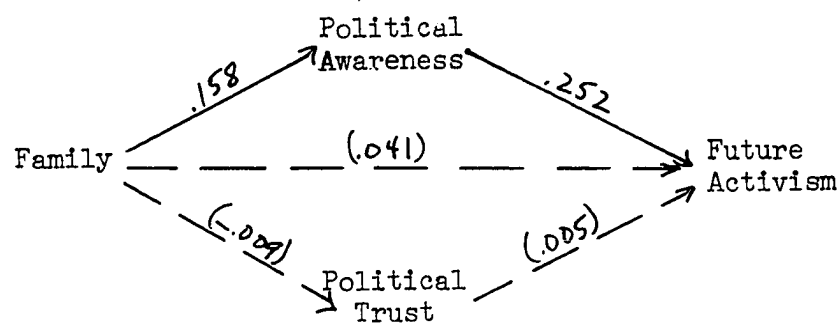and higher.

Figure 9--Partial Model of Political
Socialization for High Status
White Students

As can be seen in the partial path diagram in Figure 9, high
status white families' effects are entirely indirect through political
awareness. With social status controlled, the path from family in-
fluence to future activism disappears for high status white students.
This means that high status white families tend to politicize their
children because political awareness and participation are part of
their high status life style. They encourage their children to be
politically aware, and this awareness leads to future activism.[22]

Dawson and Prewitt's proposition may be revised as follows.

While low status families generally may tend to be less politicized
than high status families, those low status families that are politi-
cized are the most important agents of political socialization for
low status students. Of the four agents examined, they are most
responsible for encouraging their children to attain whatever level of
future activism these students do have, regardless of the student's
political awareness and trust. In contrast, high status white families
are not at all influential in directly activating their children.
Rather, they indirectly encourage future activism by increasing
political awareness.

Peripheral social position defined in terms of lack of access
to the political system because of race or social status has been
found to be a useful concept for inferring differential processes of
political socialization for different social groupings. Milbrath lists
several indicators of social position, including income, education,
occupation, urban-rural location, organizational activity, sex, reli-
gion, and race.[23] Following Blumer's suggestion that media effects
must be considered in relation to audience sensitivity to time-specific
events and experiences,[24] future research should continue to specify
whether social position in terms of these other indicators might
affect individual political socialization or modernization. Whereas
race appears to have been one of the salient politicized aspects of
the social position definition of the 1960's, sex may be such an
aspect of social position definition in the late 1960's and early

1970's. The model of political socialization developed in this study should provide a useful tool for further research on this problem.

ENDNOTES

[1]Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization, Free Press
Paperback (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 51-70; Richard E.
Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little,
Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 99-103.

[2]These two assumptions are called the "primacy principle"
and the "structuring principle" by Searing et al. See Donald D.
Searing, Joel J. Schwartz, and Alden E. Lind, "The Structuring
Principle: Political Socialization and Belief Systems," American
Political Science Review, 67 (June, 1973), 415. See also Langton's
warning about assuming constancy of childhood orientations, in
Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1969), pp. 18-19.

[3]Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of
Political Attitudes in Children, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company,
1967), pp. 217-18.

[4]Idem.

[5]Langton, Political Socialization, p. 124.

[6]Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization (New York: The
Free Press, 1971); Neil Hollander, "Adolescents and the War: the
Sources of Socialization," Journalism Quarterly, 48 (Autumn, 1971),
472-79.

[7]James S. Coleman, "The Development Syndrome: Differentiation-
Equality-Capacity," in Leonard Binder et al., Crises and Sequences in
Political Development (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press,
1971), pp. 73-100.

[8]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society:
Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

[9]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand
McNally & Company, 1965), pp. 18-22.

[10]Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization; Hollander, "Adolescents
and the War"; Lerner, Passing of Traditional Society.

201

[11]Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), 1199-1219; Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), 1120-41.

[12]Hess and Torney, Development of Political Attitudes, pp. 113-15.

[13]Jay G. Blumler, "The Political Effects of Television," in The Effects of Television, ed. by James Halloran (London: Panther Books Limited, 1970), p. 75.

[14]Ibid., pp. 75-76, 84-85.

[15]David O. Sears and Jonathan L. Freedman, "Selective Exposure to Information: A Critical Review," Public Opinion Quarterly, 31 (Summer, 1967), 213.

[16]Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972).

[17]Herbert Blumer, "Suggestions for the Study of Mass-Media Effects," in American Voting Behavior, ed. by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 202.

[18]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, pp. 157-58.

[19]Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "The Meanings of Black Power: A Comparison of White and Black Interpretations of a Political Slogan," American Political Science Review, 64 (June, 1970), 371.

[20]Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 183.

[21]See Hyman's hypothesis that relationships between family and children's attitudes may be due to having the same social status in Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 52.

[22]Cf. the finding that the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation is explained by intervening political attitudes in Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kenneth Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships, II," American Political Science Review, 63 (September, 1969), 808-32.

[23]Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 110-41.

[24]Blumer, "Suggestions for Study of Mass-Media Effects," pp. 202-203.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberbach, Joel D., and Walker, Jack L. "The Meanings of Black Power:
    A Comparison of White and Black Interpretations of a Politi-
    cal Slogan." American Political Science Review, 64 (June,
    1970), 367-88.

_____, and Walker, Jack L. "Political Trust and Racial Ideology."
    American Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970),
    1199-1219.

Alker, Hayward R., Jr. Mathematics and Politics. New York: The
    Macmillan Company, 1965.

Almond, Gabriel A., and Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. Comparative
    Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little, Brown
    and Company, 1966.

Balch, George I. "Political Trust and Styles of Political Involvement
    Among American College Students." Paper presented at the
    annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association,
    Chicago, Ill., 1971.

Bendix, Reinhard. Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our
    Changing Social Order. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,
    1964.

Berelson, Bernard R.; Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; and McPhee, William N.
    Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential
    Campaign. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago
    Press, 1966.

Billings, Charles E. "Black Activists and the Schools." Political
    Youth, Traditional Schools. Edited by Byron G. Massialas.
    Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

Billingsley, Andrew. Black Families in White America. Englewood
    Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Binder, Leonard; Coleman, James S.; LaPalombara, Joseph; Pye, Lucian
    W.; Verba, Sidney; and Weiner, Myron. Crises and Sequences
    in Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University
    Press, 1971.

Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961, 1964.

_____. Social Statistics. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.

_____. Theory Construction: From Verbal to Mathematical Formulations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

Blumer, Herbert. "Suggestions for the Study of Mass-Media Effects." American Voting Behavior. Edited by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959.

Blumler, Jay G. "The Political Effects of Television." The Effects of Television. Edited by James Halloran. London: Panther Books Limited, 1970.

Bostian, Lloyd R. "The Two-Step Flow Theory: Cross-Cultural Implications." Journalism Quarterly, 47 (Spring, 1970), 109-17.

Boudon, Raymond. "A New Look at Correlation Analysis." Methodology in Social Research. Edited by H. Blalock and A. Blalock. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

Bowman, Lewis, and Boynton, G. R. "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials: A Model and Some Preliminary Findings in Selected Locales." American Political Science Review, 60 (September, 1966), 667-76.

Boyle, Richard P. "Path Analysis and Ordinal Data." Causal Models in the Social Sciences. Edited by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971.

Boynton, G. R.; Patterson, Samuel C.; and Hedlund, Ronald D. "The Structure of Public Support for Legislative Institutions." Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (May, 1968), 163-80.

Brisbane, Robert H. The Black Vanguard: Origins of the Negro Social Revolution 1900-1960. Valley Forge, Pa.: The Judson Press, 1970.

Campbell, Angus; Converse, Philip E.; Miller, Warren E.; and Stokes, Donald E. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960.

Campbell, Angus; Gurin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren E. The Voter
        Decides. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954.

Caplan, Nathan. "The New Ghetto Man: A Review of Recent Empirical
        Studies." Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Winter, 1970),
        59-73.

Cartwright, Dorwin, and Zander, Alvin, eds. Group Dynamics: Research
        and Theory. 3rd ed. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers,
        1968.

Chaffee, Steven H.; Ward, L. Scott; and Tipton, Leonard P. "Mass
        Communication and Political Socialization." Journalism
        Quarterly, 47 (Winter, 1970), 647-59, 666.

Champion, Dean J.; Morris, Raymond N.; and Labovitz, Sanford.
        "Communications." Social Forces, 46 (June, 1968), 541-44.

Coleman, James S. "The Development Syndrome: Differentiation-
        Equality-Capacity." Crises and Sequences in Political Develop-
        ment. By Leonard Binder, James S. Coleman, Joseph LaPalombara,
        Lucian W. Pye, Sidney Verba, and Myron Weiner. Princeton:
        Princeton University Press, 1971.

Connell, R. W. "Bibliography and Review of Findings of Two-Generation
        Surveys of Political and Social Attitudes." Working Paper
        No. 163. Center for Social Organization Studies, University
        of Chicago, August, 1970.

_____. The Child's Construction of Politics. Carlton, Victoria:
        Melbourne University Press, 1971.

_____. "Political Socialization in the American Family: The
        Evidence Re-examined." Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 (Fall,
        1972), 323-33.

Cook, Thomas J., and Scioli, Frank P., Jr. "Political Socialization
        Research in the United States: A Review." Political Attitudes
        and Public Opinion. Edited by Dan D. Nimmo and Charles M.
        Bonjean. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1972.

Cronbach, L. J. "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal Structure of
        Tests." Psychometrika, 16 (September, 1951), 297-334.

_____. Essentials of Psychological Testing. 3rd ed. New York:
        Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970.

Dawson, Richard E. "Political Socialization." Political Science
        Annual: An International Review, Vol. I. Edited by James A.
        Robinson. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.,
        1966.

_____, and Prewitt, Kenneth. Political Socialization. Boston:
        Little, Brown and Company, 1969.

DeFleur, Melvin L. Theories of Mass Communication. 2nd ed. New
        York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970.

Di Palma, Giuseppe. Apathy and Participation: Mass Politics in
        Western Societies. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

Duncan, Otis Dudley. "Path Analysis: Sociological Examples."
        American Journal of Sociology, 72 (July, 1966), 1-16.

Easton, David. The Political System: An Inquiry Into the State of
        Political Science. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.

_____, and Dennis, Jack. Children in the Political System:
        Origins of Political Legitimacy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book
        Company, 1969.

_____, and Dennis, Jack. "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms:
        Political Efficacy." American Political Science Review, 61
        (March, 1967), 25-38.

_____, and Hess, Robert D. "The Child's Political World."
        Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6 (August, 1962),
        229-46.

Ehman, Lee H. "Political Efficacy and the High School Social Studies
        Curriculum." Political Youth, Traditional Schools. Edited
        by Byron G. Massialas. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-
        Hall, Inc., 1972.

Erikson, Robert S., and Luttbeg, Norman R. American Public Opinion:
        Its Origins, Content, and Impact. New York: John Wiley &
        Sons, Inc., 1973.

Finifter, Ada W. "Dimensions of Political Alienation." American
        Political Science Review, 64 (June, 1970), 389-410.

Fraser, John. "The Mistrustful-Efficacious Hypothesis and Political
        Participation." Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970), 444-49.

Gamson, William A. Power and Discontent. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey
        Press, 1968.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Dervin, Brenda. Use of the Mass Media by the Urban Poor. New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970.

Greenberg, Edward S. "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines." Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14 (May, 1970), 249-75.

Greenstein, Fred I. Children and Politics. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

_____. Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1969.

Guilford, J. P. Psychometric Methods. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954.

Hagood, M. J., and Price, D. O. Statistics for Sociologists. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

Hawkins, Brett W.; Marando, Vincent L.; and Taylor, George A. "Efficacy, Mistrust, and Political Participation: Findings from Additional Data and Indicators." Journal of Politics, 33 (November, 1971), 1130-36.

Hess, Robert D., and Torney, Judith V. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

Hirsch, Herbert. Poverty and Politicization: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture. New York: The Free Press, 1971.

Hollander, Neil. "Adolescents and the War: the Sources of Socialization." Journalism Quarterly, 48 (Autumn, 1971), 472-79.

Hyman, Herbert H. Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior. Free Press Paperback. New York: The Free Press, 1969.

Inkeles, Alex. "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries." American Political Science Review, 63 (December, 1969), 1120-41.

Jaros, Dean. Socialization to Politics. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Jaros, Dean; Hirsch, Herbert; and Fleron, Frederic J., Jr. "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture." American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968), 564-75.

Jennings, M. Kent, Principal Investigator. The Student-Parent Socialization Study. Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1971.

_____, and Niemi, Richard G. "Patterns of Political Learning." Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Summer, 1968), 443-67.

_____, and Niemi, Richard G. "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child." American Political Science Review, 62 (March, 1968), 169-84.

Katz, Elihu. "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis." Public Opinion Quarterly, 21 (Spring, 1957), 61-78.

_____, and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. Free Press Paperback. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

Kelman, H. C. "Processes of Opinion Change." Public Opinion Quarterly, 25 (Spring, 1961), 57-78.

Kornberg, Allan, and Thomas, Norman. "The Political Socialization of National Legislative Elites in the United States and Canada." Journal of Politics, 27 (November, 1965), 761-75.

Labovitz, Sanford. "The Assignment of Numbers to Rank Order Categories." American Sociological Review, 35 (June, 1970), 515-24.

_____. "Some Observations on Measurement and Statistics." Social Forces, 46 (December, 1967), 151-60.

Land, Kenneth C. "Principles of Path Analysis." Sociological Methodology 1969. Edited by Edgar F. Borgatta. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1969.

Lane, Robert E. Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does. Free Press Paperback. New York: The Free Press, 1967.

Lang, Kurt, and Lang, Gladys Engel. "The Mass Media and Voting."
    Reader in Public Opinion and Communication. 2nd ed. Edited
    by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz. New York: The
    Free Press, 1966.

Langton, Kenneth P. Political Socialization. New York: Oxford
    University Press, 1969.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Berelson, Bernard; and Gaudet, Hazel. The
    People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a
    Presidential Campaign. 3rd ed. New York: Columbia Univer-
    sity Press, 1968.

Lerner, Daniel. The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the
    Middle East. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

Levenson, George B. "The School's Contribution to the Learning of
    Participatory Responsibility." Political Youth, Traditional
    Schools. Edited by Byron G. Massialas. Englewood Cliffs,
    N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

Litt, Edgar. "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political
    Indoctrination." American Sociological Review, 28 (February,
    1963), 69-75.

Lyons, Schley R. "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children:
    Efficacy and Cynicism." Journal of Politics, 32 (May, 1970),
    288-304.

Mackelprang, A. J. "Missing Data in Factor Analysis and Multiple
    Regression." Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14
    (August, 1970), 493-505.

Marshall, T. H. Class, Citizenship, and Social Development. With an
    Introduction by Seymour Martin Lipset. Anchor Books. Garden
    City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.

Marvick, Dwaine. "The Political Socialization of the American Negro."
    The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social
    Science, 361 (September, 1965), 112-27.

Marx, Gary T. Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black
    Community. Rev. Harper Torchbook Paperback ed. New York:
    Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969.

Massialas, Byron G. "The Inquiring Activist: Citizenship Objectives
    for the 70's." Political Youth, Traditional Schools. Edited
    by Byron G. Massialas. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-
    Hall, Inc., 1972.

Matthews, Donald R., and Prothro, James W. Negroes and the New
        Southern Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.,
        1966.

McClosky, Herbert, and Dahlgren, Harold E. "Primary Group Influence
        on Party Loyalty." American Political Science Review, 53
        (September, 1959), 757-76.

Merelman, Richard M. "The Adolescence of Political Socialization."
        Sociology of Education, 45 (Spring, 1972), 134-66.

Merton, Robert K. "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal
        Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community."
        Communications Research, 1948-1949. Edited by Frank Stanton
        and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. New York: Harper, 1949.

Milbrath, Lester W. "The Nature of Political Beliefs and the
        Relationship of the Individual to the Government." American
        Behavioral Scientist, 12 (November-December, 1968), 28-36.

_____. Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get
        Involved in Politics? Chicago: Rand McNally & Company,
        1965.

Muller, Edward N. "The Representation of Citizens by Political
        Authorities: Consequences for Regime Support." American
        Political Science Review, 64 (December, 1970), 1149-66.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Report. New York
        Times ed. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968.

New York Times. Report of Spiro Agnew speech, November 13, 1969.

Nie, Norman H.; Powell, G. Bingham, Jr.; and Prewitt, Kenneth.
        "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental
        Relationships, II." American Political Science Review, 63
        (September, 1969), 808-32.

Orum, Anthony M. "Patterns of Protest: The Politics of Black Youth
        in the 1960's." The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics
        in America. Edited by Anthony M. Orum. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:
        Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

_____, ed. The Seeds of Politics: Youth and Politics in America.
        Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

Orum, Anthony M., and Cohen, Roberta S. "The Development of Political Orientations Among Black and White Children." American Sociological Review, 38 (February, 1973), 62-74.

Patrick, John J. Political Socialization of American Youth: Implications for Secondary School Social Studies. Research Bulletin No. 3. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967.

Prewitt, Kenneth; Eulau, Heinz; and Zisk, Betty H. "Political Socialization and Political Roles." Public Opinion Quarterly, 30 (Winter, 1966), 569-82.

Price, Douglas. "Micro- and Macro-politics: Notes on Research Strategy." Political Research and Political Theory. Edited by Oliver Garceau. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Pye, Lucian W. "Foreword." Crises and Sequences in Political Development. By Leonard Binder, James S. Coleman, Joseph LaPalombara, Lucian W. Pye, Sidney Verba, and Myron Weiner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Rathbun, Georgianna F., ed. Revolution in Civil Rights. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968.

Remmers, H. H., and Radler, D. H. The American Teenager. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957.

Robinson, W. S. "The Motivational Structure of Political Participation." American Sociological Review, 17 (April, 1952), 151-56.

Roper, Burns W. An Extended View of Public Attitudes Toward Television and Other Mass Media. New York: Television Information Office, 1971.

Rummel, R. J. Applied Factor Analysis, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970.

Schuessler, Karl. Analyzing Social Data. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971.

Searing, Donald D.; Schwartz, Joel J.; and Lind, Alden E. "The Structuring Principle: Political Socialization and Belief Systems." American Political Science Review, 67 (June, 1973), 415-32.

Sears, David O., and Freedman, Jonathan L. "Selective Exposure to Information: A Critical Review." Public Opinion Quarterly, 31 (Summer, 1967), 194-213.

Selltiz, Claire; Jahoda, Marie; Deutsch, Morton; and Cook, Stuart W. Research Methods in Social Relations. Rev. ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1959.

Simon, Herbert A. Models of Man. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957.

Smith, M. Brewster. "A Map for the Analysis of Personality and Politics." Journal of Social Issues, 24 (July, 1968), 15-28.

Solomon, Frederic, and Fishman, Jacob R. "Youth and Social Action: II. Action and Identity Formation in the First Student Sit-in Demonstration." Journal of Social Issues, 20 (April, 1964), 36-45.

Steiner, Gary. The People Look at Television: A Study of Audience Attitudes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

Stokes, Donald E. "Compound Paths in Political Analysis." Mathematical Applications in Political Science V. Edited by James F. Herndon and Joseph L. Bernd. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971.

_____. "Popular Evaluations of Government: An Empirical Assessment." Ethics and Bigness. Edited by Harlan Cleveland and Harold D. Lasswell. New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1962; distributed by Harper & Brothers.

Ten Broek, Jacobus. Family Law and the Poor. Essays. Edited by Joel F. Handler. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971.

Tryon, R. C. "Reliability and Behavior Domain Validity: Reformulation and Historical Critique." Psychological Bulletin, 54 (No. 3, 1957), 229-49.

Tukey, John W. "The Future of Data Analysis." The Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 33 (March, 1962), 1-67.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1966, 1967, 1972. 87th, 88th, 93rd eds. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966, 1967, 1972.

Verba, Sidney. Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

_____, and Nie, Norman H. Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972.

_____; Nie, Norman H.; and Kim, Jae-on. The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1971.

Wilson, Thomas P. "Critique of Ordinal Variables." Causal Models in the Social Sciences. Edited by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971.

Wright, Sewall. "The Interpretation of Multivariate Systems." Statistics and Mathematics in Biology. Edited by Oscar Kempthorne, Theodore A. Bancroft, John W. Gowen, and Jay L. Lush. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1954.

_____. "The Method of Path Coefficients." The Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 5 (1934), 161-215.