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A Test of the Affects of Selected Variables on Student Attitudes toward Political Participation

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A TEST OF THE AFFECTS OF SELECTED
VARIABLES ON STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

by

Donald R. Clark, Jr.

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
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Donald R. Clark, Jr.

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To understand the mature man, Tocqueville comments:

"...we must see the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his mind, the first occurrences that he witnesses: We must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his earliest efforts if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions which rule his life."

(Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America.
New York: The New American Library, 1960.)

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose

In The United States, specifically the two years preceding the advent of the 70's, political and quasi-political activity has begun to focus on the younger non-voter. This is especially true of the student activist since the 1968 Democratic convention. The concentration has been primarily on the university student and most recently, with the war and the ecology movement, on some high school students. The nature of their political activity has most frequently been strikes, demonstrations, confrontations and even violence as evidenced recently at Kent State.

Much has been written and many theories are presented as to whether these students represent the philosophy of the bulk of the student population. It is my belief that most students still choose and expect to work through more traditional institutional channels.

This thesis is concerned with the variables that predispose a student in high school to political

activity or political participation through the traditional institutional channels of voting, working for a party or running for an office. The basic hypothesis is that the variables that have been most useful in accounting for adult political participation will also be the ones most strongly related to this attitude of expecting to participate in politics among high school students.

Four General Variable Areas

Four general areas of variables are identified by Milbrath¹: stimuli in the person's immediate environment, personal factors, political setting and social position. My data from a 1960 Holt, Michigan study allows me to examine three of these general variables. They are: environmental factors, personal factors and social position.

It is assumed that students have and develop an attitude of expecting to participate in politics. And that having such an attitude the student should be predisposed to participate as adults. It is further

¹Milbrath, Lester W., Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965, p. 28.

assumed that such positive attitudes would at least encourage rather than inhibit possible future participation. This assumption pervades the entire philosophy of western educational systems.

Function of the School

Society expects that the school will serve at least two functions. It is expected to shape the orientations of the pre-adult through political socialization experiences and to affect his understanding of the world of politics.

Coleman¹ considers two types of formal political indoctrination. First "civic training" which emphasizes how a good citizen participates in the political life of his nation. Second, a political indoctrination function by the learning of a specific political ideology intent on rationalizing and justifying a particular regime.

Merrian² also offers an excellent summary of the school's role and function in socialization from his

¹Coleman, James S. (Ed.), Education and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 226.

²Merrian, Charles E., The Making of Citizens. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, p. 288.

survey of eight western nations. He says, "In all the systems appraised in this study, the school emerges as the heart of the civic education of the political community."

The direction of contemporary opinion and philosophy regarding our educational system is summarized by Key¹ into four dimensional areas: (1) better educated persons feel a stronger sense of duty to participate politically, (2) the educated person feels a greater sense of political efficacy, (3) the better educated the citizen is the more involved he will be in political matters and, (4) education is strongly related to the probability of political activity.

It is further evident that, as Dawson and Prewitt² show, the school provides the student with direct political education and with experiences which have latent consequences for political orientation. They also suggest that being educated affects political knowledge, involvement, and the sense of political ability and efficacy.

Although my study centers on a discussion of

¹Key, V.O., Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Knopf, 1961, Pp. 323-331.

²Dawson, Richard E. and Prewitt, Kenneth, Political Socialization. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969, Ch. IX.

the political socialization of the Holt High School student, I do not contend that this is the only arena for political socialization. On the contrary, I view political socialization as a four step process with the school being a primary reinforcer of family attitudes and a practicing area for quasi-political activity. The four step process is: (1) During formative years the child picks up views on the political world from the family, (2) The school provides the first public agency of socialization, (3) The school also reinforces the child's key political orientations by more concrete information and (4) More political socialization is provided by secondary groups, the mass media and direct experiences with the political world.

Since WW II the feeling has developed among political scientists that there must be some connection between the political decision made and the events leading up to that decision. It is possible, as in sociology and psychology, that these "political decisions" result from environmental factors. If there is no connecting rationale for this decision/behavior, then the behavior itself is simply a random event for which one cannot find theoretical or empirical explanations.

Function of the Individual

As political scientists we cannot accept the random event theory. We then search for a function which somehow results in some effect on the system. This functional approach prompted Dahl¹ to ask, "Who Governs," and the complexity of the problem prompted him to subdivide his problem into a series of questions concerning the distribution of resources and political influence. His concern for the distribution of political resources opens many areas of research regarding the oligarchic or pluralistic nature of democracy. The individual event of voting and participation and the nature of leadership discussed in this study assist in giving direction to the study of individuals within a political system. We have found then that the individual does serve a function. The extent and direction of this function is the major emphasis of this study.

The development of literature on structure and function finds another invaluable study in the Almond and Verba² study which points out that a functioning

¹Dahl, Robert A., Who Governs. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961.

²Almond, Gabriel and Verba, Sidney, The Civic Culture. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1965.

democracy requires a "political culture" which will work within a participatory political system. Emphasis is placed on the subtler cultural components of the way in which political elites make decisions, their norms and attitudes, as well as the norms and attitudes of the ordinary citizen and his fellow citizens.

My task then becomes to view the socialization process of the pre-adult's disposition to participate in light of its possible effect on possible future participation as an adult.

Basic Hypothesis

The basic hypothesis is that the variables that have been most useful in accounting for adult political participation will also be the ones most strongly related to this attitude of expecting to participate in politics among high school students.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In reviewing current literature on political behavior, I am concerned with an overview of contemporary studies of adult political participation. I am hopeful that many of the same trends in the adult population will also be indicative of student predisposition to politically participate. This is necessary because I consider political socialization learning cumulative and because so little has been done to date with pre-adult society.

Understanding of Political Behavior

This study is based on three of the four general areas of political participation variables described by Milbrath¹ in his study of adult political participation. His four areas are: stimuli in the environment, personal factors, the political setting and social position which are useful in discussing "causes" of political behavior.

In analyzing these four variables, Milbrath starts with the resultant decision and then works

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 28.

backward to the behavior which affects that decision.

Behavior is considered continuous. There is no such thing as not behaving politically. A decision is seen as a result of the function of the interaction of stimuli in the environment modified by time of exposure. This would mean then that a decision to act comes from predisposed elements within the environment. The strength of the predisposition allows one to be influenced more by a given situation as opposed to other situations. The strength of one's beliefs and attitudes are reinforced by the learning mechanism. They are modified by strength of belief and credibility. In my understanding of this system of beliefs, Milbrath¹ explains, "It is important to emphasize that political behavior is very dependent on the cognitions, and their credibility, that political actors hold about the political system in which they operate." What Milbrath calls "the selective effect" acts as a sorter to screen out the many perceived stimuli in the environment. It can then be concluded that the function of the need of the organism is to select from available stimuli in the

¹loc. cit., p. 32.

environment, according to the strength of various predispositions, that preception which will take precedence over those concepts available.

My next step is to understand how these predispositions develop, since they have such a marked affect on decisions. Three factors are at work on one's beliefs and attitudes. They are: personality needs and drives, cognitive learning and learning as a result of stimulus and response which is behaviorally reinforced by rewards and punishment. These personal factors are a result of heredity and socialization. The effect of this is that behavior within a given environment is mediated by personal factors through a system of feedback. These personal factors affect present and future behavior.

To understand political behavior we must examine stimuli that is present, the selective impact of personality, and competing predispositions of one's needs. For, as Milbrath¹ indicates, "When we examine connections between environmental factors and political behavior, either we are indirectly measuring the impact of environment in shaping personality or we are

¹loc. cit., p. 37.

seeing how the current environment presents opportunities and barriers to the action."

Herein lies the real barrier to our understanding of the complex learning process which mediates between the person and his environment. My task fortunately is not this complex in that I simply wish to indicate that this process goes on in the attitude selection accomplished in the student's predisposition to act politically.

Before turning to the three predisposition elements of this study which give direction to student political predisposition, I wish to discuss political participation.

The basic concern of this section is to make the reader aware of the nature of political participation. This is most accurately done by a simple definition of the term. Milbrath¹ defines politics as, "The process by which decisions about governmental outcomes are made." It is evident that this covers nearly every aspect of human behavior. However, different individuals relate or participate in politics in different ways. Some "decide" not to participate at all. These

¹loc. cit., p. 2.

are the apathetics. Some become actively involved, some are confused by the system, some understand and deal with it, some want to change the system, others decide to adjust to the changing system. The point is that even political inactivity involves making a political decision not to participate. Not only must a person make this decision, but he also must decide the direction that his participation will take. In his section, "The General Dimension of Involvement," Milbrath¹ discusses a patterning of characteristics which has two parts. One is that certain variables correlate with other political acts as well. And in the study of involvement, a hierarchy develops in that "Persons at a given level of involvement tend to perform many of the same acts, including those performed by persons at lower levels of involvement."

Hierarchy of Political Involvement

Concerning the hierarchy of political involvement, the Guttman scale that I intend to use indicates that if a person performs the activity performed by the

¹loc. cit., p. 16.

fewest percent of the people, he also probably will or has done the activity below it on the list (the activities performed by greater proportions of the people).

The activities on my scale are: being a candidate ranked toughest (a gladiatorial activity), working for a party ranked next, and the simple act of voting as the least activity, which Milbrath's¹ figure 1 on the following page calls spectator activity. As this hierarchy of political involvement demonstrates, political participation is cumulative.

In this conceptual scheme the most often engaged in behavior is at the bottom and the least is at the top. The cumulative effect comes from the fact that a person who engages in the topmost behavior has most probably also done those below. Milbrath contends that perhaps only 1% of the American adult population engages in the top two or three behaviors.

As in the Milbrath hierarchy of behavior, my Guttman scale considers being a candidate, a gladiatorial activity, as the toughest; working for a party next; and voting as the least tough. The latter being "spectator activity." In this concept the "0" cell is those who do not even plan to vote (Milbrath's apathetics).

¹loc. cit., Pp. 18-19.

Table 1.--Hierarchy of Political Involvement¹

	Holding public and party office	
	Being a candidate for office	Gladiatorial
	Soliciting political funds	
	Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting	Activities
	Becoming an active member in a political party	
	Contributing time in a political campaign	
	Attending a political meeting or rally	Transitional
	Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate	
	Contacting a public official or a political leader	Activities
	Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car	
	Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way	Spectator
	Initiating a political discussion	Activities
	Voting	
	Exposing oneself to political stimuli	
		Apathetics

¹ibid.

Political participation is then a cumulative hierarchal activity which involves a circular reinforcement of factors which affect a political decision. Political participation decisions are made by political actors either to act or not to act. It is then evident that in some way all decisions are political.

The next section concerns the independent variables which are used to establish a political predisposition. I have used three primary areas which are stimuli in the environment, personal factors and social position. In each area there are many factors which will give an indication of the affect that the independent variable has on political predisposition. I shall describe each variable and how it affects the political predisposition under examination.

Stimuli in the Environment

In the area of stimuli in the environment, my research on the Holt High School students discusses the following specific areas and their affect on political predisposition: political party appreciation (scaled from their attraction to politics), positive attraction to politics, political interest, media exposure, political discussion in the home, discussion outside the home, father and mother's interest in

politics, father and mother's organization activities, and father and mother's voting behavior.

Many factors account for stimuli in the adult environment which affect political participation. I have selected several areas which were converted to a test of student predisposition. These areas are: party appreciation, positive attraction to politics, interest in politics, media exposure, political discussion in the home and outside the home, political interest of the father and mother, father and mother's organization activity and father and mother's voting behavior.

Appreciation of the political party

A major part of political predisposition is appreciation of the political party. A general proposition which appeared repeatedly in my research indicated that the more stimuli about politics a person receives, the greater the likelihood he will participate in politics and the greater the depth of his participation. Milbrath¹ states that, "Evidence supporting this proposition comes from at least twelve different studies and eight different countries..."

¹loc. cit., p. 39.

Not only will these persons receive more stimuli, but by a positive appreciation and participation in a party or group his feeling of influence and his actual affect is increased. For as Almond and Verba¹ point out, "He may have more influence over government officials merely by being a member of such a group... Even if he does not use it ... and ... his membership in itself enhances the prospect that he will believe himself capable of influencing the government ... this sort of influence is of great significance..." Dawson and Prewitt² in their consideration of political parties as secondary institutions, state that, "One of the primary attributes of more developed states... is that they have specialized secondary institutions for carrying out political socialization." The effect of a positive attitude toward politics through political parties is most important to the political socialization process.

Party identification

Research that shows development of party appreciation in pre-adult society is limited. However, two

¹Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 150.

²Dawson, Richard E. and Prewitt, Kenneth, Political Socialization. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969, p. 100.

excellent studies; one by Easton and Hess¹, and one by Greenstein² show that well over half of the children studied had formed some sort of identification with a political party by age seven or eight.

The importance of party identification is significant to a developmental democratic society as far as the adult population is concerned. However, a link is sought between this adult society and the pre-adult society central to my thesis. This link is provided quite significantly by Hyman³ who reports that the correspondence between parents and offsprings is particularly strong in American society for political party identification. He further supports the proposition that, "The socialization of the individual into a party is a much more direct process than the socialization of the logically congruent area of ideology."

Lane⁴ asks the specific question, "Does the American family [the adult] make the child feel that

¹Easton, David and Hess, Robert D., "The Child's Political World." Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (1962), p. 242.

²Greenstein, Fred I., Children and Politics. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965.

³Hyman, Herbert H., Political Socialization. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959, p. 74.

⁴Lane, Robert E., Political Life. New York: The Free Press, 1965, Pp. 204-08.

his voice counts and that people will listen to him; that is, does he acquire a junior version of a sense of political efficacy? By and large, he does." It is evident that party identification is one of the orientations that assist the differentiation of the politicized citizen from the apolitical one. For as Dawson and Prewitt¹ state, "When political cues and examples are absent in the family, or at least not perceived by the children, the children are less likely to develop them."

Not all party identification is positive in its affect on political socialization. For as Greenstein² states in his discussion of children, "Class differences in party support and political opinion [appreciation] are important sources of the basic divisions in American politics and therefore have a major effect on the political system." I have considered, regarding appreciation, that as Lane³ states, "Child rearing practices in the lower status groups tends to provide a less adequate personality basis for appropriately self-assertive social participation."

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 109.

²Greenstein, op. cit., p. 88.

³Lane, op. cit., p. 234.

In developing his thesis on children and their orientation, Greenstein¹ shows, in an excellent example, the development at a very early age of issue orientations about political parties in children. In the table below, the age factor and status factor and their affects are evident as well as the many variations in preferences.

Table 2.--Children's Orientations Toward Partisan Politics by School Year and Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Upper SES	School Year				
	4	5	6	7	8
Has a party preference	63%	66%	61%	71%	49%
Calls self independent (written in)	2	5	4	13	16
Names leaders of both parties	18	27	33	47	59
Total naming party leaders	38	62	66	65	75
Total cases	49	56	46	38	37
Lower SES	School Year				
	4	5	6	7	8
Has a party preference	63%	56%	56%	67%	61%
Calls self independent (written in)	0	0	3	2	3
Names leaders of both parties	14	18	25	31	36
Total naming party leaders	35	39	42	51	60
Total cases	62	62	69	97	143

- a. the following SES differences are significant:
calls self independent (pL.02); total naming
party leaders (pL.02). SES differences in
"naming leaders of both parties" approach
significance (pL.10)

¹op. cit., p. 73.

It is evident from the previous discussion that the political self is never finalized. He is continually confronted with political information and choices. It is further evident that these choices and preferences develop at an early age. And as Dawson and Prewitt¹ state, "The persistence of basic views is of great importance for the overall development of the political self. These feelings serve as the foundation upon which subsequently acquired orientations are built."

As new orientations are acquired they occur within the boundary of the deep and persistent orientations acquired in childhood and pre-adult society. It is this environmental stimuli area that I have studied in the narrow range of the Holt High School student.

Positive attraction to politics

Before one can receive stimuli that is present in his environment, one must have a positive attraction to politics for as Milbrath² states, "Persons with a positive attraction to politics are more likely to

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 23.

²Milbrath, op. cit., p. 39.

receive stimuli about politics and to participate more." If one is properly exposed to this stimuli, the quantity and sharpness of his political knowledge will increase as will his interests, his attachment to party, and his overall participation. It is not necessary to try to determine which comes first, interest or participation, for they are mutually supportive. In my test of this phenomenon my concern was a test of why people go into politics. A positive reason would show a positive attraction for politics.

Interest in politics

The next tested area under stimuli was an interest in politics, for as I have demonstrated one must be interested to participate. Dawson and Prewitt¹ develop this theme very well and conclude that, "Politically involved individuals tend to be products of politically interested families." This interest developed from parents is one of the most important factors in deciding whether one is to become involved politically.

This association of an interest in politics is reinforced by interested secondary groups in that

¹op. cit., Pp. 115-6, 188.

participation in secondary groups is associated with higher levels of political interest. Milbrath¹ gives excellent support to his thesis as does Lane² in his reference to groups and their interest in politics. This interest is supportive of participation and is encouraged from member to member. Lane³ demonstrates the more interested a person is in politics, the more "centrally located a person is, and the more accessible he is to others, the more likely he is to be informed on group relevant issues, the more discussion he takes part in, the more interested he is in those issues."

Participation in a group enhances political interest. This is especially evident regarding labor unions and present student associations. It was expected when the Holt students were tested that interest would correlate with predisposition as adult interest correlates with adult participation for one must have an interest before one can participate.

The influence of mass media

The influence of the mass media on political

¹op. cit., Pp. 130-7.

²Lane, op. cit., Pp. 187-203.

³loc. cit., p. 196.

participation has been criticized recently by many government officials and media personnel. Their position assumes that the media does affect interest, participation and political decisions. Even though this is a strong assumption presently the affects of the media on participation or expected participation needs documentation. Many excellent studies point out the link between the media and political participation and document that this information seeking behavior is cumulative. There are two areas to be discussed here. First is the fact that the more information one seeks, the more active he will be politically and, second, the less active not only receive less media exposure, but they also tend to shut out messages which they do not agree with or which are of no interest to them. The interrelationship of the many stimuli areas is very evident here. In an excellent discussion of the affects of mass media on participation among white and negro students, Langton¹ found that media does affect participation.

The effect on interest generated by media exposure and participation is evident. This may not be viewed as absolute political participation, but the

¹Langton, Kenneth P., Political Participation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 108.

direction of influence from the media is indicated.

Dawson and Prewitt¹ also point out that, "Political organizations, civics courses, and political communications in the mass media help educate politically." They point out that there are primary relationships which form political orientations. The negative side of this is that as secondary groups they can be controlled. The Almond and Verba² study reports the following results from their five nation study. The table below measures comparative exposure to the mass media by nation and Table 4 compares civic cognition by nation and education.

Table 3.--Following Reports of Public Affairs in the Various Media; by Nation

	<u>Percentage Who Follow Accounts</u>				
	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
In newspapers	49	43	53	16	31
On radio or TV	58	36	52	20	28
In magazines	57	21	45	26	25
Total number	970	963	955	995	1,007

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 100.

²Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 56.

Table 4.--Following Politics Regularly or From*¹
Time to Time; by Nation and Education

Nation	Total %	Primary or less %	Some secondary %	Some University %
United States	80	67	84	96
Great Britain	68	60	77	92
Germany	72	69	89	100
Italy	36	24	58	87
Mexico	55	51	76	92

The affects of media exposure is clearly evident in that as Almond and Verba² explain these tables, "Output cognition is closely related to level of education attainment and socio-economic position. It also appears that education is strongly correlated with civic cognition."

An excellent summation of the affects of mass media on participation in the adult society is provided by Dawson and Prewitt and is quoted at length on the following page. They state four relevant observations on the affects of the mass media on participation:

¹loc. cit., p. 57.

²ibid.

*Table shows percentage results only.

"First, more often than not the media act¹ as transmitters of political cues which are originated by other agencies. Second, the information carried by mass media goes through a two-step flow mediated by opinion leaders/. Third, the media tend to reinforce existing political orientations rather than create new ones. Fourth, the messages of the mass media are received and interpreted in a social setting, and in the context of socially conditioned predispositions."

In none of the research above is the fact that the media has an affect on participation denied. This affect on the student population will be a central part of this thesis.

The influence of peer groups

The balance of stimuli discussion centers on elements of influence of peer groups; primarily family, friends, and teachers. The affect and influence of this area is a very important part of political socialization for the process assumes that opinions and information comes from such sources.

The influence of the family, primarily the mother and father, is at the core of political socialization. Here is where the first political information is received and the political self is developed. If

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 197.

the family fails in this regard, peer groups may fill the need. Dawson and Prewitt¹ make this case very strongly for they state firmly that, "The family exists universally as the most significant primary institution and as an important source of social learning. It is the key agent through which political culture is transmitted from one generation to the next." Hyman² also supports this proposition in that, "The sign, almost without exception are never negative ... parents are the agents who transmit politically relevant attitudes to their children."

Milbrath³ indicates that in his research, "Children growing up in a home with a high incidence of political discussion ... are more likely to maintain a high level of exposure to stimuli about politics when adults."

Hess and Torney⁴, even though they indicate that the affect is overestimated, admit that the family's most effective role, "is to support other institutions in teaching political information and orientations."

¹loc. cit., Pp. 107-26.

²Hyman, op. cit., p. 72.

³Milbrath, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴Hess, Robert D. and Torney, Judith V., The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1967, p. 247.

Clearcut similarities are confined to partisanship and related attitudes and their affects on interest and participation. In a study of high school youth and parents' party preference, Hess and Torney¹ report a strong correlation of .8 and .9 and conclude that, "Socialization of partisan preferences is apparently well established before voting age, and frequently follows that of the parent." Furthermore, in this study the affects of the father on political attitudes is very large.

Milbrath² shows that, "Persons participating in informal political discussions are more likely than non-discussants to vote and participate in other ways in the political process."

The affects of the family and of peer groups as well is stressed by Dawson and Prewitt³ who state that, "In early life the family, and in later years adolescent and adult peer groups provide the individual ... with his very conceptualization of self and his position in the social world."

¹loc. cit., p. 110.

²Milbrath, op. cit., p. 40.

³Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 134.

Bowen¹ also lends support to the family's role. In his reference to the family he states, "The primary agency for the process of political socialization is the transmission from one generation to the next of norms, preceptions, and styles relating to the political world."

In my research I have not intentionally divided family and peer groups. Where differences develop and correlations are evident, they will be discussed. My concern is to discuss the relevent affect of parents and peer groups as well as their behavior where it affects the Holt student and his opinions. I shall especially concentrate on the overt activity of the parent. The concept that parent and peer groups as elements of cultural transmission is especially relevant to the understanding of political socialization. This is especially true since the political self is never fully developed and my study of the Holt student is simply one step in that development.

Personal Factors Affecting Political Participation

The next area of consideration is that of personal

¹Bowen, Don R., Political Behavior of the American Public. Columbus, Ohio: C.E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968, p. 45.

factors which affect political decision. This list, although not complete or absolute by any means, is representative of those factors which may affect political participation for the adult as well as provide a link to the analysis of the student's predisposition to participate politically.

Affects of intense party preferences

The first of these factors is intense political preferences which are determined by strength of political party identification. In the adult population, much of this is related to my discussion of party appreciation. Milbrath's¹ contention is that, "Persons who strongly identify with or intensely prefer a given party are more likely to participate actively in the political process."

The correlation of parent/child relationship in party identification is eluded to in the Langton² reference to a study which indicated that, "Fifty-seven per cent of the triples (mother, father, child) are broadly homogeneous, 17% have homogeneous parents and a deviating child; and 26% include heterogeneous parents."

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 52.

²Langton, op. cit., p. 58.

These same people will actively seek more information, they will talk more politics and they are more likely to actively participate. The personal involvement and need to fulfill personal needs is a strong motivation toward political participation.

The affect of the family on party preference was eluded to in the previous discussion and the mutual support of these factors is important here for as a Campbell, et al¹ study shows, the large majority of children coming from homes exhibiting a strong party preference also held a strong preference for the same party. Those from homes not showing strong preference were less likely to develop any identification and when they did develop any identification, it was weak.

In American politics a lack of party identification usually goes with low levels of political information and involvement. As Dawson and Prewitt² demonstrate, "Political party identification is one of the key orientations that differentiates the more highly politicized citizen from the apolitical one."

An interesting development is discussed by

¹Campbell, op. cit., The American Voter, p. 99.

²Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., Pp. 112-13.

Langton¹ in his discussion of homogeneity of parent/child party as the table below demonstrates where the mother is more highly politicized than the father, she has more of an affect on party identification.

Table 5.--Relative Campaign Activity Level of Mother and Father and Student Agreement with Party Identification of Homogeneous Parents

Triples Involving Homogeneous Parents			
Relative Activity Level of Mother vs. Father	Parents and Student Agree (per cent)	Parents Agree, Student Differs (per cent)	N
Mother higher	85	15	71
Approximately equal	75	25	171
Father higher	73	27	128

The affect of strong party preference is stated as follows by Lane² in that, "It is his party identification which sustains a persons intent in politics and determines his vote decision when his party is in the clear minority, rather than his views on issues or candidate."

Greenstein³ also shows that the affects of

¹Langton, op. cit., p. 60.

²Lane, op. cit., p. 175.

³Greenstein, op. cit., Pp. 167-8.

intensity in political preferences pervades the entire gambit of politics from precinct to federal level. In his New Haven study he shows that this intensity development begins at the 4th and 5th grade level with children identifying with the mayor.

An excellent discussion of partisanship and its strength is provided by Almond and Verba¹ in which they suggest that an effectively functioning democracy requires a balanced partisanship that avoids intense antagonisms and political indifference. They contend that the very intense partisan is divided from his party opponents and emotionally involved in electoral contests. In their five nation study they demonstrate that the most intense partisan is most frequently encountered in Germany, Mexico, Italy, Britain and the United States in that order. And that the affect of this degree of partisanship has a marked effect on democratic participation.

Hyman² also supports this theme with two major observations: One, a full 75% of his respondents with voting intentions followed the political lead of their families and for first voters, voting for either of the major parties, 75% still associated themselves

¹Almond and Verba, op. cit., Pp. 113-16.

²Hyman, op. cit., p. 93.

with the same party. Some defection may take place, but this is often a temporary phenomenon.

Hess and Torney¹ show party preference in children as a process that develops with age. In their study, 55% of the second graders could not identify as Republican or Democrat. This fell to only 15% with the eighth graders. They further show that between 30% and 55% of the children at all grade levels reported that their father was committed to the same party. This correspondence increased only slightly with age and only between 4% and 8% report deviation with the parent regarding party identification.

I shall develop this further in the Data section. However, one must view party preference as a developmental factor affected by family, peer groups and age. The strong affect for the Holt student of party identification will be developed later in this thesis.

Affects of political efficacy

Political efficacy, as a personal factor, is a scale of several agree/disagree items intended to show attitude and feelings for as well as identification

¹Hess and Torney, op. cit., Pp. 102-03.

with politics. The reader is directed to the Methods chapter for a discussion of this. My intent here is to show the direction of contemporary research regarding this area.

Efficacy is regarded as having a positive attitude toward politics as well as having a feeling that one can accomplish things through politics.

Milbrath¹ uses an efficacy scale structured from the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan to demonstrate that efficacy is related to political participation. This table is given in total below.

Table 6.--Percentage at Different Levels of Political Participation by Rank on the Efficacy Scale

Campaign activity	Rank of Efficacy Scale (%)					Total
	Lowest				Highest	
Index	0	1	2	3	4	
Non voter	46	38	23	15	6	25
Spectator activities only	51	54	65	64	66	61
At least one gladiatorial activity	3	8	12	21	28	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 56.

Two observations are indicated here: First is that persons who are psychologically involved in politics are more likely to feel efficacious about political action and persons who feel efficacious politically are more likely to become actively involved in politics.

Dawson and Prewitt¹ touch on the negative side of efficacy in citing a Jamaica study which reported that, "Children in families without a father tended to be more authoritarian, to be less interested in politics, and to have a lower sense of political efficacy."

Hess and Torney² show an excellent developmental pattern for children in their summary of efficacy in that, "An active citizen-government relationship is unimportant to second and third graders ... [however] by the eighth grade, children have acquired norms which make interest obligatory; they accept the notion of citizen control over government and they expect citizen action to be effective." The child feels an obligation to be effective politically very early in life and this is developed as he matures.

¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 121.

²Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 83.

Hess and Torney¹ further demonstrate that political relevance comes very early in life, that lower class children accept authority more readily, and that higher status children have higher levels of interest and a greater sense of efficacy in the political world.

Political efficacy, or political confidence as Dahl² refers to efficacy, and participation are mutually reinforcing. For as he states, "A citizen with a high sense of political efficacy is more likely to participate in politics than a citizen pessimistic about his chances of influencing local officials."

In Table 7 on the following page Dahl shows this relationship. This very graphically points out the more one participates actively in local affairs, the more confident one is likely to be in one's capacity to be effective.

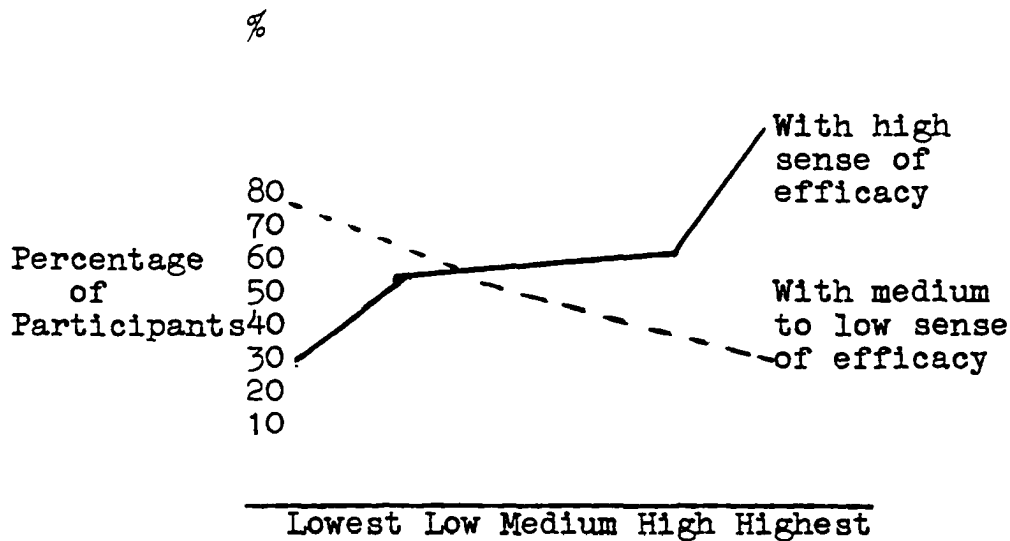
Bowen³ offers additional support to this idea of efficacy when he states that a person, "centrally located ... is likely to feel more politically involved and therefore more efficacious than those who are not."

¹loc. cit., Pp. 126-172.

²Dahl, op. cit., p. 287.

³Bowen, op. cit., p. 67.

Table 7.--The More One Participates in Local¹
Affairs, the More Likely One is to
Have a High Sense of Political
Efficacy



There is a strong similarity to Dahl's Table 7 and the Milbrath² scale on "gladiatorial" activities.

Bowen³ further strengthens this position in that, "Efficacy, self-confidence, and security are ... feelings ultimately traceable to individual psychic organizations and have their genesis in childhood."

¹loc. cit., p. 288.

²Milbrath, op. cit., p. 18.

³Bowen, op. cit., p. 68.

Since efficacy is evident in early childhood, it is quite probable that those same developmental attitudes are evident in the Holt student.

Dahl¹ continues his argument of the affects of efficacy and political participation by offering Table 8 in which he suggests that by controlling the feelings of confidence and efficacy, the environment is the primary affect in shaping political participation through personality traits. This table indicates that with the above controls, registered voters with similar levels of confidence participate at about the same rate in local affairs whether they have a white collar or working class resource. Table 8 is presented on the following page.

It seems quite evident therefore, as Bowen² states, "... there is a strong intercorrelation between the more general notion of personal effectiveness and the more specific sense of political efficacy."

¹Dahl, op. cit., p. 291.

²op. cit., p. 99.

Table 8.--Registered voters with similar levels of confidence participate at about the same rate in local affairs whether they have white-collar or working-class resources

Sense of political efficacy	High %	Medium %	Low %	Total %	N
High					
Middle classes	33	22	45	100	54
Working classes	32	14	54	100	28
Medium					
Middle classes	17	22	61	100	83
Working classes	5	19	76	100	75
Low					
Middle classes	8	24	68	100	25
Working classes	6	29	65	100	49
Total					314

Thus, if one is able to handle one's affairs and cope with the environment and feel confident about the future, these feelings translate into efficacy which affects political participation. The link in efficacy development is in the childhood pre-disposition.

Educational aspirations and grade in school

The next area of discussion concerns plans after high school and grade in school. These two come under the intellectuality area along with grade average.

In the area of education and its effects on political participation, it is rather a truism to state as Milbrath¹ does that, "Persons of higher SES, especially education, are more likely to become highly involved psychologically in politics than persons of lower status." However, my concern is to establish an attitude among these students toward a political predisposition and as Campbell² states below, education is an integral part of this analysis.

"Perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is number of years of formal education. There are apathetic college graduates and highly involved people of very low educational level but the over-all relationship of education and political interest is impressive. It is impossible to say with confidence why it is that formal schooling makes people more responsive to political stimulation. One may surmise that education tends to widen the scope of one's acquaintance with political facts, to increase capacity to perceive the personal implications of political events, or to enlarge one's confidence in his own ability to act effectively politically. Whatever the precise nature of the educational process, it has clear effects on political interest."

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 53.

²Campbell, Angus, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, VI (fasc. 1-2), (September, 1962), p. 20.

The definition of intellectuality put forth here is that it is a posture of seeking full information and reasoning one's way to a conclusion. This is assisted by education level and performance in school.

As elements of sociability, efficacy and education are positively related to political participation. It is hoped that intellectuality will follow the pattern.

Affects of manipulativeness

Manipulativeness as a personal factor is looked at in two ways. Questions are designed agree/disagree on statements showing the effect of "good contacts" and "the best way."

The need for power and the drive to manipulate people has been a subject of politics for some time. Hobbes and Nietzsche built political philosophies with this theme. A more contemporary political writer, Harold Lasswell, stresses the point of private motives as the reason for political participation. However, his attitude was softened to make power a non-primary motive for entering politics. Presently, the available evidence, although rather limited, suggests that business or the military would be more fruitful areas

for one who seeks the power to manipulate. This evidence leads Milbrath¹ to suggest that, "A desire for dominance and power provides only a weak attraction toward general political action; only in special cases affording clear use of power ... could power be considered a significant or primary motivation."

In the discussion of power then the Hobbes² view that the desire of power after power closes only upon death is too simple and too easy an explanation.

Lane³ provides an excellent summary of this area in his discussion of power and his conclusions are worthy of quoting at some length.

"Among the leaders of a democracy there is little tendency for a higher than average concentration of persons with needs to exercise power over others. There is also little tendency of this sort among the active group in the electorate.

"Among persons with needs to exercise power over others there is in American democracy little, if any, tendency to select activity in one of the major parties as a vehicle for power oriented persons to find a vehicle for their needs in extremist or deviant political groups.

"Among the qualities of those who are active

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 82.

²Hobbes, Thomas, Leviathen reprint of 1st ed. (1651) Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press (1904), p. 13.

³Lane, op. cit., Pp. 124-28.

in political life, a moderate desire to impose one's views and wishes on others, and shall in doing it, contribute to a persons willingness and capacity for political participation."

A positive correlation of these affects on manipulativenness would indicate that it is a factor of American politics for the Holt student.

Power or manipulativenness then is slightly outside the democratic cultural framework. It may be a contributing factor given the proper strength and skills to use it properly. The extent of its effect on political participation is more properly done as a subject study for future students of politics.

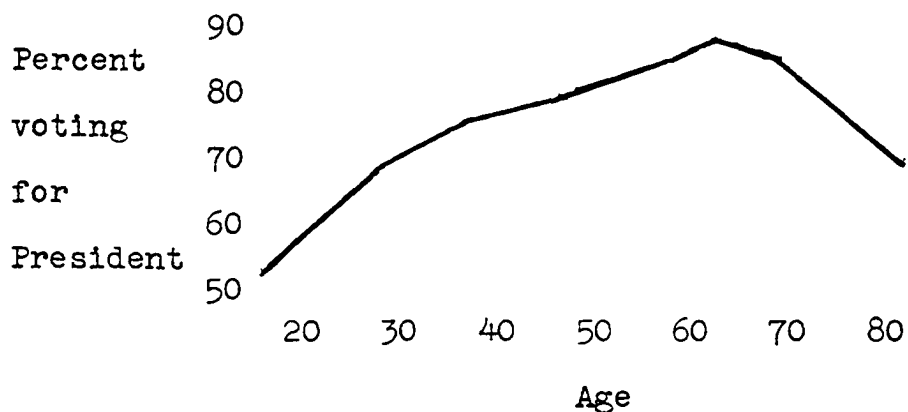
Affects of age

Age has always been a factor of political participation for the adult population. In general political participation rises gradually with age and reaches a peak at the age of fourty and fifty and gradually declines as a factor after age sixty.

As the Campbell, et al¹ table on the following page indicates, age follows the life cycle regarding participation.

¹Campbell, et al, op. cit., The American Voter, p. 494.

Table 9.--Comparison of Voting Behavior and Life Cycle



As the above table from the Michigan Survey Research Center shows, only 52% of the 21 year olds in the 1952 and 1956 samples voted for president. By age 30 this level reached 70% and 79% by age 50. The absolute peak was at age 63 and by 65 a steady decrease is indicated.

Lane¹ states a case for pre-adults in his observations that, "There can be no doubt that this phase of life has significant influence upon political behavior patterns. This is not only because it is at this point that important career decisions are made, and the silver cord is broken, but also because this is a time when abstract thinking is possible ... and Utopian visions of the world are said to be prevalent."

¹Lane, op. cit., p. 217.

With increasing age, motivations develop which cause certain selfish concerns which cause interest in the community especially after one is married, has children in school and owns a home. I have not studied such a large range of age groups. My concern is limited to four high school years, however, age has been a factor even at the early childhood level. Greenstein¹ shows that by the fourth grade, 96% of the children studied could identify the president by name in a questionnaire. He further demonstrates that at every age level there were more identifications with the president and mayors than to any other role. The positive side of politics emerges early in life. He further shows that, "Favorable conceptions of political authority are an early acquisition. They emerge years before the child has more than a smattering of factual political information." This early learning may have a very lasting influence on personality development.

Greenstein² research shows that, "In general, the more important a political orientation is in the behavior of the adults, the earlier it will be found to emerge in the learning of the child."

¹Greenstein, op. cit., p. 32.

²loc. cit., p. 56.

Hyman¹ demonstrates in the table below that there is a consistent increase in participation with year in high school.

Table 10.--Differential Interest in the 1952 Presidential Election with Year in School

Grade	Percent who have followed campaign hardly at all
9	35
10	31
11	24
12	22

The increase of participation with increased age, especially at the younger level, is also pointed out by Hyman² in a study of youth in Sweden, illustrated by Table 11 which is presented on the following page.

¹Hyman, op. cit., p. 53.

²loc. cit., p. 57.

Table 11.--Growth of Membership in Political Organizations with Age for Youth in Sweden

Age	Percent who are members of political organizations
16 - 17	4.8
17 - 18	7.2
18 - 19	9.7
19 - 20	13.0
20 - 21	13.3
over 21	11.4

The smaller percentage in the latter group may mean evidence of lack of interest in the youth group rather than in politics. The evidence does indicate, however, an increased percentage of youth does participate as age increases. The affect of age on adults has already been evidenced.

In research of this type one must also be aware of factors which may lessen participation and I shall discuss two of these items at this time under personal factors. They are alienation and cynicism.

Affects of alienation and cynicism

Alienation and cynicism are companion terms in that they both imply an active rejection of politics.

Campbell et al¹ indicate that their research showed a person's, "orientation toward the world of politics is not simply one of detachment, but of suspicion, distrust, hostility and cynicism. These people believe that political office holders are corrupt, self-seeking and incompetent..."

The major thesis developed among adults and in my study is that persons who show signs of high alienation and cynicism are less likely to become actively involved in politics.

Milbrath² cites several examples that indicate that, "Persons who feel cynical about or alienated from politics are much less likely to participate in politics." His general discussion shows that higher educated persons are less cynical than lower educated; and socially involved people less cynical and less alienated politically.

Bowen³ describes the democrat as highly ego centered and efficacious. This, "ego strength is intimately related to a sense of political efficacy which in turn is one of the strongest single causes of heavy political involvement." He shows further,

¹Campbell, op. cit., "The Passive Citizen," p. 14.

²Milbrath, op. cit., p. 80.

³Bowen, op. cit., Pp. 96-7.

"Little if any of the alienation, cynicism, or anomie which seems to mark his archetypal opposite, the authoritarian."

The alienation attitude has several dimensions in that Milbrath¹ shows that, "Preliminary evidence from a study shows that those with low "'faith in people,'" have little faith in the qualification of voters, in the responsiveness of legislators, or in the integrity of candidates, fear unrestricted freedom of speech, and are willing to see the state used as an instrument of suppression." Certainly this attitude is not conducive to the development of political participation.

Lane² has shown that alienation is multi-dimensional in its effects by also showing up in other SES areas. In summary then, as Bowen³ states, "Alienation and cynicism imply a more active and hostile orientation toward politics and government ... they more than likely find little to be proud of in the political system ... have little faith in majority rule ... regard politicians as corrupt..."

¹op. cit., p. 112.

²Lane, op. cit., p. 232.

³Bowen, op. cit., p. 112.

Lane¹ cites alienation as one of the major reasons for social class differences in participation in his reference, "Alienation ... is more prevalent in low status groups [and] ... those in the upper status are generally more satisfied with their community, or better integrated in it ... [and] ... since both satisfaction with one's own life prospects and one's community tend to increase participation, the distribution ... helps to explain lower turnout in lower status groups."

In a very interesting discussion of alienation, Almond and Verba² call the alienated "output alienates" indicating that government should do things for them and for people like them, government was viewed as corrupt and indifferent, government neglects them and takes all their money.

Alienation and cynicism as feelings inhibit the development of political participation and have a negative affect on political socialization. If this feeling is present in the Holt research, it is expected to inhibit political predisposition as well. The lack of these conditions is the rationale for the

¹Lane, op. cit., p. 232.

²Almond and Verba, op. cit., Pp. 46-51.

wide spread support for the political system in The United States. Certainly alienation and cynicism are not conducive to a viable functioning democracy.

As alienation and cynicism inhibit development of political socialization, openmindedness and sociability are expected to enhance this development.

Affect of sociability

Sociability is defined as belonging to the person who possesses certain social skills and an ease of feelings which place him comfortably within social relationships.

Milbrath¹, in two different studies, demonstrates that, "Sociable personalities are more likely to enter politics than non-sociable personalities; this is especially true of political activities that require social interaction." At first glance this may appear rather redundant to say that sociable persons seek social interaction. However, sociable persons were significantly more likely to engage in activities such as campaigning, soliciting funds, and contacting politicians.

.. In their five nation study, Almond and Verba²

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 75.

²Almond and Verba, op. cit., Ch. X and XI.

demonstrate that nations that were high on the social activity scale also were high on the citizen participation scale in politics. Italy, which was low in social and political activity, had a corresponding high percentage of people who were not confident in their interaction with others.

A further link between sociability and participation is shown by Lane¹ in a combination of two indicators (number of group organizations and number of friends) into a "gregariousness scale" which showed a relationship between sociability and political affairs and opinion leadership. This was true regardless of social status or how well informed the person was politically. For as Lane states, "The person who seeks out his fellow man ... is more likely to assume position of grass roots leadership in the political life of his community."

Adults who demonstrate social skills and who get along well with others are more likely to be active in politics.

Even the fact that children at a very early age demonstrate the phenomenon was evident to Greenstein²

¹Lane, op. cit., p. 165.

²Greenstein, op. cit., Pp. 120-2.

in his New Haven study.

It is quite possible that sociability is simply an extension of SES and it is not my intent to argue this point here. If it is true that sociability is a component of SES, so much the better for correlation studies which establish a firm relationship between SES and political participation are well known in the study of politics.

Openmindedness is related to the discussion above and will be viewed only in its effects as far as Holt students are concerned.

Social Position Factors Affecting Political Participation

The final area under review concerns social position. These are factors within the immediate environment which may affect one's political predisposition. Regarding the Holt student, the following areas were investigated: father's education as a measure of social class, residential history, in and out of school participation, community integration scale (see Data for explanation), frequency of church attendance and finally, attachment to nation. These are intended as expansion on the normal SES research to attempt to establish and explain other factors which are social position variables and their affect on a predisposition to politics.

Affects of father's education (SES)

Father's education is used as a measure of social class since the relationship between class and education is already established. Traditionally, SES has been the method used to study effects of the socialization process. In many cases this method has been inadequate. It is hoped that the additional factors introduced here will bring the study of the socialization process and its affects on political

participation into sharper, more meaningful forms.

One must keep in mind that social position affects political behavior in two ways. It influences motivation and the availability of the means to pursue political ends. This does not mean "causes" participation; however, these elements, as those previously discussed, are requisites for the development of a predisposition to political participation. These requisites are mediated through one's personality, beliefs and opinions.

Education indicates social class and in my research I tested father's education as an indicator of the family social class position. The assumption is that the higher the father's education, the higher the social class and the greater its correlation with predisposition.

Education has long been considered a part of behavioral politics and an essential indicator of social economic status or SES. People tend to seek persons of like education activity and to interact with them. They are more involved in and talk more about politics and as Milbrath¹ states, "A more highly educated person encounters more stimuli about politics than one

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 43.

not so well educated." This ease of action is especially characteristic of "in groups." Almond and Verba¹ show in their five nation study that political awareness varies sharply with education with the exception of Mexico. They characterize Germany as less democratic because of the lack of political exposure and information on the "input" side of politics. They show that a relationship exists between education and national pride and state that, "In England, the U.S. and Mexico the better educated possess more political pride." They further demonstrate the alienation of the Italian as related to less education and lack of political pride.

Education also affects the person's exposure to political stimuli. Education has a positive affect on exposure to political stimuli as well as a cumulative effect.

Milbrath² demonstrates that persons of higher socio-economic status (SES), especially higher education, are more likely to become highly involved psychologically in politics than persons of lower status.

¹Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, Pp. 64-8.

²*op. cit.*, p. 45.

Perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is number of years of formal education. One may surmise that education tends to widen the scope of one's acquaintance with political facts, to increase capacity to perceive the personal implication of political events, or to enlarge one's confidence in his own ability to act effectively politically. Campbell¹ shows that whatever the precise nature of the educational process, it has clear effects on political interests.

An additional positive effect of education can be demonstrated in the relationship of education to "anomie." The anomic person is described as one that lacks values, direction, feels ineffective, feels persons of authority do not care about them and that activity loses its point and its urgency.

Lane² demonstrates that the anomic parent affects the views of the child stating that, "...the original theories of government as an extension of the family, both historically and functionally, turn out to have psychological validity." A second major relation eluded to by Lane is the relation between anomie and

¹Campbell, op. cit., "The Passive Citizen," p. 20.

²Lane, op. cit., Pp. 166-9.

electoral participation is the tendency of the anomic to be a deviant.

A further relationship between anomie and participation is demonstrated when education is used as a central factor. This shows education as an important counter action to anomie. Milbrath¹ eludes to an unpublished paper by Dorothy Meier given in 1963 to the American Sociological Association, which showed that anomie correlated more highly with education than in other variables in the study.

As a summation of the points made above, I would simply like to refer to a consolidation of the effects of education in The Civic Culture. Almond and Verba² show that the more education, the more awareness; the more education, the more likely one is to say he follows politics; the more educated have more political information and the more educated have opinions on a wider range of political subjects. Almond and Verba³ further show in Chapter 4 that the more educated person discusses politics more and feels more free in doing so, the more educated feel they

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 79.

²Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

³loc. cit., pp. 111-14.

can influence government, thus less anomie, the more educated are more likely to be members of some organizations and finally, in Chapter 10¹, the more educated feel more trust in others.

Education then has a consistant and significant positive affect on many political acts. This is a prerequisite to the many areas of my study.

We may therefore concede, as outlined above, that the affect of education on participation is positive. I would hope to add the factor of father's education for the basis of my study. This variable, I believe, is consistant with the preceding investigation of the affect of education on political participation in the adult community.

Affects of community integration

A universal observation is that persons who are attracted to politics expose themselves more to stimuli about politics than those not so attracted. This is true and a result of a given concern for the community as well as for satisfaction of personal needs. To explain why one person will be involved in politics in a community and another will not,

¹loc. cit., Pp. 380-5.

Lane¹ and Milbrath² use a dimension called "central-peripheral." This concept includes additional factors to the normal SES approach, i.e., length of time at a given residence, amount of group activity, urban-rural residence and integration into the community.

Lane explains this concept as follows, "... the more centrally located a person is and the more accessible he is to others, the more likely he is to be informed on group-relevant issues, the more discussions he takes part in, the more interested he is in the issues."

This position of central periphery is a psychological feeling of being close to the center of things or of being out on the periphery. This feeling of closeness to or distance from the center is an important correlate of political participation.

It is Lane's observation that political participation in a group is positively related to (a) spatial or geographic centrality and accessibility, (b) high sociability and affectional choice by other group members, (c) leadership positions in a group.

¹op. cit., Pp. 196-7.

²Milbrath, op. cit., Pp. 110-1.

Lane thus defines this concept in terms of communication.

This identification or attachment of "center" persons, according to Milbrath¹, places them in "... an environmental position which naturally links them into the communication network involved in policy decisions for the society. They become identified with the body politic." They receive and send more communication, they have a high rate of social intention, they are more active. "This central position increases the likelihood that they will develop personality traits, beliefs, and attitudes which facilitate participation in politics," according to Milbrath².

Milbrath³ further cites three studies by Dogan, 1961; Guttman, 1951; and Marvill and Nixon, 1961, which showed that children growing up in homes located near the center are more likely to develop personalities, beliefs, and attitudes facilitating their entry into politics.

¹loc. cit., p. 113.

²ibid.

³loc. cit., p. 114.

Lane¹ states that, "Those who belong to more organizations of any kind tend to vote more ..., it is also true that if they have more friends, they are more likely to be high participants." He also points out that, "It is the person who finds his community a good place to live in who is more likely to be active in public affairs -- and this is not only true for those with high status, it is also true for the prosperous and less prosperous alike. Moreover, if the attitude is broadened to include a more active sense of "belongingness" to the community, the same relationship holds true."

Lane² concludes that, "The person who has faith in people, the sociable man with many social contacts, and the man who likes his community is the effective citizen in our democracy."

Affects of residential history

The concept of length of time in the community and residential history are so interrelated here that these two factors will be discussed simply as community integration in the Review section. It is most

¹Lane, op. cit., Pp. 165-6.

²ibid.

interesting to note, as with many of these factors, two general observations which can be made regarding community integration and length of time in the community. First is that newcomers to the community often join in to obtain that feeling of belonging and often participate more while; secondly, the longer one lives in a community, the more he becomes a part of the community.

Milbrath¹ demonstrates that, "The longer a person resides in a given community, the greater the likelihood of his participation in politics." This is especially true of those who are involved in gladiatorial activities. The newcomer will often vote right away, but will not be trusted or encouraged in a political office and often will not work for a party until after a few years. The most apathetic, established by Milbrath², are the unmarrieds who are only marginally integrated into a community. They are unlikely to become integrated until they become established in a job, a home, and start a family.

The residential history section studied in this thesis concerns where the respondents have lived and

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 133.

²loc. cit., p. 134.

this is correlated with political predisposition. The community integration section is a scale discussed fully in the Data section. However, generally speaking, it tested a "feeling" for the community. Of primary concern was whether one felt a part of the community or not; the assumption being that one who does will show a greater predisposition to participate.

Affect of group participation

Americans have continually been pictured as joiners. The theme of Hausknecht¹ supports this. Tocqueville² develops this theme as well. Hausknecht demonstrates that the higher education, higher income, the higher job status and residence in small communities are all variables linked to higher membership participation. He shows that social class and size of community are determinants of voluntary association memberships among adults. Voluntary association membership is seen leading to greater awareness of the social environment. Hausknecht calls such

¹Hausknecht, Murray, The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in The United States. New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962.

²Tocqueville, Alexis de, Democracy in America. Richard D. Heffner (Ed.), New York: The New American Library, 1960.

memberships a "configuration of linkages" to the community.

Milbrath¹ cites a multitude of studies which demonstrate that general group activity is highly related to participation in politics; not simply because of close personal and social characteristics, but also because groups, as mobilizers, reinforce political action by their members. Milbrath² further demonstrates that living in a homogeneous community increases a sense of political effectiveness, facilitates communication about politics, strengthens political norms, and deepens group identifications. He is supported in this observation by Lane.³

Lane⁴ sums up his argument by stating a hypothesis containing a "proportion" effect or the larger the proportion of a politically cohesive group to the population in a voting district, the greater the participation of group members in politics; the "concentration effect," the more concentrated are the

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 17.

²loc. cit., p. 131.

³Lane, op. cit., Pp. 261-4.

⁴loc. cit., Pp. 263-4.

members of a politically cohesive group in a voting district, the greater the participation of group members in politics. And finally an "enclave" effect where the greater the sense of differences between group members of a voting district and surrounding populations, the greater the participation of group members in politics.

A final observation by Milbrath¹ is of interest in the statement that, "The social group with which a person identifies and interacts can have an impact on interests in politics." He cites labor union studies and a study on religious memberships to make this point.

The membership factors are also reinforced according to the needs and demands of the participant. For as Lane² points out, "If it is a need for social adjustment he has valued friendships at stake and he will adjust his interest ... If he seeks power within the group, he will accommodate his political views so that he can gratify these power drives. If the group offers economic rewards, he will extract them better from the group if he retains his membership in good

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 35.

²Lane, op. cit., p. 191.

standing." "In short ... the group is a "lifespace" in which a person can achieve some part of his life goals." So the rationale is ever present in group membership and is constantly reinforced according to developmental needs.

We are then interested in the effectiveness of culturally induced identification and as Lane¹ states, "... the most effective groups include family, friendships, cliques, work groups ... and other voluntary associations." The effectiveness and influence of a group is very nicely summarized by Lane² in that the general group influence on members is to define content of morality and duty, structure beliefs about the environment, influence opinions, affect life goals and suggest means of obtaining these goals. A group must satisfy the demands placed on it by its members. It does this by defining what is public and private, providing grounds for partisanship, providing status for individuals, and stimulating loyalties.

Lane gives further insight into the effects of group membership in the following table. Lane shows that a person is more likely to vote if he has more

¹loc. cit., p. 153.

²loc. cit., Pp. 194-5.

organization memberships no matter where he is in the social system.

Table 12.--Group Memberships and Political Activity¹

Per cent who:	Group Members	Non-Members
Say they voted in last presidential election	72%	63%
Disc. labor last week	63%	36%

Lane's² conclusion is that "Political participation for an individual increases with (a) the political consciousness and participation of his associates, (b) the frequency and harmony of his interpersonal contacts and group memberships, and (c) the salience and unambiguity of his group references." The above observations then are central to my discussion of the affects of group activity on expected political participation.

The effects of group membership are demonstrated by Almond and Verba³ in that they contend that, "If the citizen is a member of some voluntary organization,

¹loc. cit., p. 188.

²loc. cit., p. 189.

³Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 245.

he is involved in a broader social world ... the association ... can represent his needs and demands before the government. It can make the government more chary of engaging in activities that would harm the individual." And finally, "above all ... affiliation with some voluntary organization appears to have significant effects on his political attitude."

In the five nation study, Almond and Verba¹ show that in The United States one in four respondents belongs to an organization, that he perceives to be involved in politics. They further demonstrate that organizational memberships expand an individual's range of political opinions and increase his competence. They contend that this open and moderate partisanship or belonging is an essential part of a stable democracy.

The rationale behind memberships in groups is that a person is alone in his attempt to influence government. He is often pictured as alone and powerless and often awed by the power of the government he confronts. This fact is pointed out by Almond and Verba², Table VI-3, which shows that in the five

¹loc. cit., p. 251.

²loc. cit., p. 148.

nation study, in the U.S. 77%, in the U.K. 78%, in Germany 62%, Italy 51% and Mexico 53% of the respondents enlist the aid of others in their attempts to influence government. It was also a conclusion by Almond and Verba that even if a formal organization was not used, the fact that one is a member has a positive effect on his actions. The significance of this "need" to organize is further emphasized by Almond and Verba¹ in this five nation study in that, "Cooperative political behavior appears to be of the greatest significance in the two most successful democracies, the U.S. and Britain, and of relatively little significance in Germany and Italy."

The evidence then indicates that a person seeking cooperation of his peers, believes the government is responsive to group appeals, believes groups are available to him and he expects their help, especially family and friends, and finally believes they can be used for political activity.

The voluntary association is viewed by Rose² as a place for the individual to turn for self-expression and satisfaction of his interests. This being the

¹loc. cit., p. 218.

²Rose, Arnold M., The Power Structure. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, Pp 161-2.

case then the voluntary association would tend to contribute to the democratic character of American society and membership in voluntary associations would seem to enhance the democratic process. This may well be the general rationale to voluntary organizations. However, in a specific individual sense, the voluntary association provides a sense of security, a "sense of community" and "provides status in areas where individuals feel weak." The functional aspect of memberships in voluntary associations is very pointedly brought out by Rose. A summation of these functions is that they distribute power, they orient a person to the social, political and economic processes, they provide an arena for social change in a limited sense, they are socially cohesive, they give a person identity and often provide social and economic advancement. Therefore in light of the above, a person may use his memberships in voluntary associations or groups to accomplish one or all of the above and the positive effects of his belonging are intensified.

As Rose points out people do belong to organizations. We as a society are "joiners." A Detroit study in 1951, conducted by the University of Michigan

and cited by Rose¹, showed that 63% of the population belonged to some organization other than a church. Half of them belonged to two or more groups. Also, a Benington, Vermont study, cited by Rose², showed that 64.2% belong to an organization, 24.6% to one only, 15.9% to two, 8.6% to 3 and 15.1% to four or more groups. This sample was taken from a town of 8,000 population.

In my study I am concerned with specific groups that the student actually belongs to rather than groups in general. However, the general discussion of adult groups above gives some excellent insight into the part groups can play. My study looks at predisposition effects emanating from in school and out of school memberships.

In general we can conclude from this discussion that Americans are joiners, that they have a reason or reasons to become group members, that simply belonging is not enough -- one must be active, that many people belong to more than one group, that status affects participation, and that the positive effects actual or not, provide the impetus for people to

¹loc. cit., p. 219.

²ibid.

become involved. I, in any case, would hope to find in my study that there are many similarities in those studies cited and the study of students at Holt, Michigan.

Affects of religion

Religion as a variable, not on an individual basis but on a group basis, has some impact in general on political interest. Milbrath¹ cites a 1945 Saenger study which reports that Jews generally have a higher political interest level than Catholics or Protestants. The relative impact of this variable may be diminished by the fact that there is a tendency for religious grouping to coincide with SES, ethnic and racial backgrounds. Even though it is impossible to fully separate religion from the above, Milbrath² cites data from the Survey Research Center on the 1956 election that shows Catholics more likely than Protestants to vote. Further research has shown that non-attendees and non-affiliates were less likely to participate.

Bowen³ combines religion and ethnicity together

¹Milbrath, op. cit., p. 55.

²loc. cit., p. 137.

³Bowen, op. cit., p. 52.

to qualify his discussion. He confirms Milbrath's theory and divides the type of participation as follows: Jews and Protestants are more likely to personally participate, "by giving money, taking an active part in campaigns, and engaging in other types of activity which call for greater commitment."

Other studies, Matthews¹, have shown that the lower rank and file political jobs are filled by Catholics whereas Protestants dominate national office holdings.

Bowen² states that rather than theology accounting for the religious effect, the determining factor is cohesiveness of the group which is more relevant. He cites the cohesiveness of Jews, the Roman Catholics and finally the Protestants. Also, the Campbell³ study shows that Jews and Catholics who have a strong sense of identification with their co-religionists are more likely to participate than those who do not so identify.

¹Matthews, Donald, U.S. Senators and Their World. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1962.

²op. cit., Pp. 52-3.

³Campbell, et al, op. cit., The American Voter, Ch. 11.

It is not my intent therefore, as outlined above, to be overly concerned about religion theoretically, but I will concentrate on the organizational aspects and incidence of attendance and its correlation with expected participation. This position is maintained because of the homogeneous nature of the sample in that over 70% of the sample reported Protestant affiliation. I also found that 47% attended church every week, pointing toward a disposition for organization linked with the fact that over 57% belonged to the church choir, 77% attended Sunday school and 62% belonged to a church youth group. Furthermore, 24% reported going to church at least once or twice a month and only 5% said they never attended church.

Affects of national attachment

Nationalism or attachment to the nation was indicated by the students' responses in answer to a question on being a citizen of another country. It is intended as an indication, however small, of the effect of the system and corresponds to Almond and Verba's¹ "national pride."

¹Almond and Verba, op. cit., Pp. 64-6.

The Almond and Verba¹ observations indicate that, "The Americans and the British with greatest frequency take pride in their political systems, social legislation, and international prestige. Italians in the overwhelming majority take no pride in their political system, not even in their economy or society."

This observation supports the general characterization of the political culture of the five nations developed so well by the authors. Lack of pride or nationalism may very well lead to lack of participation and to alienation. This would produce more apathetic people and it is assumed a less developed political culture.

In nationalism I have tried to provide a link between those who demonstrate the least national tendencies and the least participation. Only the results of the actual test and correlation can bear this out.

¹loc. cit., p. 65.

METHODS

Description of the Student Body

The data for this thesis were collected by the Bureau of Social and Political Research at Michigan State University by administering a questionnaire to 397 students out of a student population of 407 students in May, 1960. This was accomplished in two parts, on May 18 and 20. The questionnaire was again administered on May 25 to those who failed to complete the first questionnaire and to those who were absent. Even with this precaution, some did not complete the questionnaire and figures of 391 and 396 appear in the following distributions.

The student body was from a homogeneous community with a single high school which I would expect to mirror the community. The data indicate a primarily middle class community whose families own or are buying their own homes, predominately Protestant, and totally caucasian oriented. The high school was comprised of 215 boys and 182 girls. One hundred three of those were in the 9th grade, 110 were 10th graders, 96 were 11th graders and 88 were 12th graders.

From survey responses given to certain questions on possible or probable participation, a Guttman scale

measuring predisposition to political participation was prepared. This is my dependent variable. This research is structured to indicate that certain positive aspects or responses to a series of questions, which indicate strength of independent variable, will correlate with the positive aspects of the dependent variable.

The index of expected political participation was constructed on a very low interest, low interest, high interest and very high interest scale. The activities used in this research are: being a candidate - ranked toughest, working for a party - ranked next, and voting - ranked least difficult among the hierarchy of involvement. The "0" cell is for those who do not even plan to vote and are considered apathetics.

This scale is prepared from responses to the following questions:

1. If I sincerely felt the government was not run right, I would become a candidate for public office.
2. I would consider taking a full time job with a political party.
3. When I am old enough I plan to vote in every election.

From these responses, a correlation was prepared which indicates a coefficient of reproducibility which

is significant as follows: The statistics used are gamma which is a statistic intended for bivariate distribution of ordinal variables. All variables in this thesis are ordinal. A scaling of ordinal variables defines the relative position of objects or individuals with respect to characteristics. One can only determine from an ordinal relationship which is greater, same as, or less than others, but not the distance between two points.

This measuring procedure is considered valid to the extent to which scores reflect true differences among individuals, groups or situations in the characteristics which it seeks to measure or true differences in the same areas from one occasion to another, rather than constant or random errors.

The Z test in each case indicates which gamma values are large enough to be considered significantly different from chance. In this thesis the value of the Z score is considerably diminished since I have a rather complete and controlled population group. Gamma runs from -1.00 to 0 to +1.00. In this analysis, the tables are set to produce a plus value if they are consistent with the supporting literature on the variables. These Gamma values indicate then the degree of association of the independent variable to the dependent

variable. If the association is positive, the Gamma value will be positive. The original data for this study were collected by the Bureau of Social and Political Research at Michigan State University. The data along with the corresponding literature are on file with the Public Affairs Institute at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Questions Measuring Independent Variables

The independent variables center on three principal sources of the evolutionary process of political predisposition. They are: stimuli in the environment, personal factors and social position. I shall reproduce each variable here and the corresponding questions from which the table is taken.

The measure of party appreciation, Table 15, is taken from a scale of positive attraction to politics. The questions were loaded so they could only be interpreted as measuring satisfaction with political party institutions in the United States. These items are:

1. Political parties don't belong in national elections.
2. There shouldn't be any political parties.
3. Political parties don't belong in state elections.

4. Political parties don't belong in city elections.
5. People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas.
6. Political parties exist because people can never agree on anything.
7. Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way.
8. When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election.

"Disagree" responses to the first seven items and an "agree" response to the eighth item were considered as indicating satisfaction with or appreciation of political parties. Seven or eight responses in this direction is called "very high," four, five and six as "high," two or three as "low," and one or none as "very low" political party appreciation.

Table 14 results from a question intended to indicate a positive attraction to politics. Students were asked to check one of the following answers: Agree strongly, agree, neutral, disagree or disagree strongly to the question - People go into politics to serve the community. 61.6% of the respondents indicated this as a reason for entering politics.

The next area under Stimuli was simply asking the student the question - I am interested in politics.

Again, students were simply asked to agree strongly, agree, neutral, disagree or disagree strongly. One hundred forty-two students disagreed with the statement, 112 were neutral and 129 students agreed. A comparison of these responses to political predisposition resulted in Table 13.

Table 19, media exposure, concerns answers to the question - Which of the following sources do you consult regularly on public affairs questions? Possible answers were: television and/or radio, newspapers, news magazines. One hundred of the students checked none, 71 consulted one, 120 checked two and 93 consulted three or more.

The next series of questions concerned political discussions. Table 17 results from "never," "sometimes," or "often" responses to the question of how frequently the student discussed politics with the father. Table 22 gives the same information on political discussion with the mother. Table 25 concerns political discussion with the teacher and finally Table 21 gives the responses for frequency of political discussion with friends.

The final six questions under Stimuli were designed to indicate the interest, activity and voting behavior of the parents. Table 18 indicates the

distribution of answers to the statement - My father is interested in politics. Thirty-three students disagreed which indicated low interest, while 120 agreed strongly indicating high political interest of the father.

Table 16 indicates the same information concerning the mother. Forty-six students strongly disagreed with the statement while ninety-one strongly agreed or indicated strong political interest for the mother.

Table 20 indicates the distribution of the responses to a question concerning number of organizational memberships of the father. Students were asked simply to indicate "none," "one," "two," "three," or more. The largest response was in the "one" category with 212 students responding. Fifty-six reported "none," 71 "two," and 43 "three or more" indicating very high membership.

Table 24 shows the distribution of the answers to the same question for the mother. In this category 108 indicated no organizational memberships for the mother, 108 indicated one, 74 indicated two and 92 three or more.

The final question concerning mother and father's political disposition is the area of voting behavior.

Students were asked to indicate three categories of voting participation: "never," "sometimes," or "always."

Table 26 shows the mother's voting frequency. It is interesting to note that 306 of the respondents reported that their mothers always voted.

Table 23 indicates the distribution of responses regarding father's voting behavior. Again, the very high frequency, 321 responding "always," of father's voting behavior is evident.

In each of these tables, the responses to the questions were then correlated with the student's ranking on the Guttman scale of predisposition to political participation.

The second area of questions and responses tested was the area of personal factors. Twelve items were tested here and the following discussion indicates the response distribution:

Table 36 indicates strength of political party identification. Students were asked to rate their identification as independent or no party, to weak party, average party, or strong party identification. Most of the respondents checked the two former categories - 264 out of 380. Only 32 show strong party identification with 84 showing weak identification.

Table 27 results from a scale designed to measure political efficacy. Sex questions were asked and scaled to indicate low, medium, or high efficacy. Students were asked to agree strongly, agree, neutral disagree, or disagree strongly. The questions were:

1. Political parties exist because they help the voter make up their minds.
2. Politics and government are so complicated, it is hard to understand what really is going on.
3. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to betrayal of our own side.
4. Political parties exist because they give a few big men a chance to get their own way.
5. People go into politics to make money.
6. Political parties exist because there has to be some way people can fight for their own interests.

Campbell, Gurin and Miller¹ define a sense of political efficacy "... as the feeling that the individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process..." A similar

¹Campbell, Angus, Gurin, Gerald and Miller Warren, The Voter Decides. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954, p. 187.

Guttman scale to measure adult political behavior was constructed by Campbell, Gurin and Miller. Their item on voting rationale and complication of government is included in my test of efficacy.

In the above efficacious test, disagree responses were coded as efficacious. There are three classes of political efficacy: high, medium and low. Disagreement with one or two items is low; three or four items, medium; and with five or six items, high efficacy. This test resulted in 121 students as low efficacy, 172 as medium, and 89 as highly efficacious. The actual results of this scale and its affect on predisposition is discussed further in the Data section of this thesis.

Table 30 shows the educational aspirations distribution of the student. He or she was asked to indicate plans on the following: Will you get a job or become a housewife, attend trade school, attend a junior college, or attend a four year college. The majority intended to continue their education; 192 indicated so, with 117 intending to attend a four year college. The next item of analysis studied was a comparison of the distribution of grade in school and predisposition. In this area, the student was simply asked to check a box indicating his present grade level. This

distribution has already been discussed and results appear in the total column of Table 37.

Table 29 is the distribution of the first of two "manipulativeness" items. Students were asked to strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, or strongly agree with the following statement: Good contacts with important men are more helpful than staying close to your own people. Students who disagreed with this statement are less manipulative than those who agreed. The distribution indicates that the majority disagreed with the statement.

A second manipulativenness item, represented by Table 28, was the same responses to the statement that: The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear. In this table, the strongly agree show manipulativenness and less participation. Seventy-six respondents answered in this category and 116 strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 31 shows the distribution of grade point average and its correlation with predisposition. The hypothesis was the higher the grade average, the higher the predisposition. An examination of the very low and very high predisposition categories point out the correctness of this theory. The majority of the respondents fall in the "C" and "B-C" category, yet the

smaller responses in the "B" and "A-B" category show a greater percentage in the high and very high predisposition area. Grade point average is used here as a test of intellectuality.

Table 35 demonstrates the distribution of the age factor and its affect on predisposition. The distribution was 22% in the 14-15 area, 24% in the 16 year old area, 27.3% were 17 and 26.7% were 18-19 years old. The theory previously discussed was that older people vote more to a certain age than younger people do. Since I am only testing a five year spread here, the theory simply is that predisposition increases with age. The findings correspond to the analysis of grade level since the two are so inter-related.

Table 34 is a test for alienation. The question asked was: I would rather not have responsibility for other people. Strong agreement or agreement with this statement means alienation. Disagreement means less alienation and a greater predisposition to political participation. A study of the distribution of responses in this table gives some very interesting indications regarding political predisposition. These are discussed in the Data chapter.

Table 33 analyzes the distribution of an item on

cynicism. This sub-variable is intended to show that the more cynicism shown, the less predisposition correlated. Those who disagreed fit this category. Agreement means a higher predisposition to political participation. The statement tested was: Most government officials are honest.

Table 32 continues this test of opinions by seeking to discover the affect of a feeling of open-mindedness on predisposition. The statement tested was: People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life. Disagreement with the statement indicates less openmindedness and hopefully less predisposition. Agreement would indicate a more open mind concerning "American way of life" and a stronger predisposition to political participation.

A final sub-variable is a test of sociability represented in Table 38. The test was on a statement intended to show anxiety or a less sociable item. The statement was: When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about. Strong agreement indicates less sociability and less predisposition. Agreement means a more sociable, less anxious person and a stronger predisposition to participate.

In this section an attempt has been made to select variables which affect one's personal beliefs and may affect his predisposition. It is not my intent to eliminate other personal factors which could have an affect for I feel that this area could and will change as attitudes change. Additions and deletions over a period of time would serve to sharpen the analysis. It is my intent to indicate how and to what degree the twelve sub-variables affect predisposition. Further discussion of this phenomenon is left for the Data chapter that follows.

The final independent variable area and the corresponding sub-variables tested was in the area of social position and its affect on predisposition. Again, it is expected that certain sub-variables for the student will compare with the previous discussion of adult literature.

In this area the items tested were: father's education, residential history, in school participation, out of school participation, a scale of community integration, frequency of church attendance and finally attachment to nation.

Table 42 shows the relationship of father's education to predisposition. The student was to indicate in which of the following levels of education he

would place his father. The levels were 8th grade or less, some high school, high school graduate, some college, and college graduate. It was expected that the higher the level of the father's education, the higher the predisposition to politics for the student. This table, even though in the final analysis it did not correlate significantly, contains some very interesting distributions regarding the SES background of the student at Holt.

Table 41 questions the residential history of the student. The student was asked to indicate one of the following areas regarding where he had lived: Always lived in Holt or Ingham County, lived elsewhere in Michigan, lived elsewhere in the United States. It is interesting to note that for those who had lived elsewhere in Michigan or elsewhere in the United States the predisposition levels also increased. Perhaps this indicates a student's effort to become involved in a new community. The distribution shows that 134 students out of 382 had always lived in or near Holt. One hundred fifty had lived elsewhere in Michigan and only 98 lived elsewhere in the United States. This latter group shows the largest percentage of high or very high predisposition.

Table 39 correlates in school participation with

predisposition. Students had an opportunity to check certain in school activities and these were divided into five categories from none to four or more. The distribution indicates a very active student body with 114 respondents checking four or more activities and only 49 reporting none. The theory developed is that the more one participates now, the more likely one is to indicate he will be active in the future. The distribution indicates that this is true. The reverse is also true, if one views the distribution of those who checked "none" in the present participation category.

Table 40 continues the analysis of present participation with a discussion of the distribution of out of school activities. As with in school activities, even though not as important, the distribution gives strong evidence that out of school activities are an important indicator of a predisposition to politics. The theory here is that the more one indicates he participates now, the more likely he is to indicate that he will participate at a later time.

Table 43 represents an attempt to scale community integration; the theory being that the more one feels a part of the community, the more likely one is to participate. The reader is reminded of the

previous discussion of "center periphery" in the Review of Literature section. To determine the dimension of this sub-variable, it was necessary to construct a scale of integration. This was accomplished by structuring questions which would indicate a degree of feeling of community integration. The following questions were asked:

1. When I am on my own, I would like to live around this community.
2. I would like my children to go to the same school I went to.
3. When I'm on my own, I would like to live close to my parents.
4. When I'm on my own, I would like to have the same friends I have now.
5. When I'm on my own, I would like to live in the same neighborhood I live in now.

Items were then scaled from no attachment to strong attachment if all five were answered in the affirmative. The theory behind this scale is that the higher one ranks on community integration, the more likely one is to indicate future participation.

Table 44 discusses the relevance of church attendance to political predisposition. Students were asked to indicate frequency in the following manner: once a year or never, few times a year,

once or twice a month, and at least once a week. The distribution indicates that the majority of the students attended church with regularity, yet the theory that church attendance indicates a stronger predisposition to participate politically is not substantiated.

Table 45 is an attempt to show an indication of nationalism and its affects on possible political participation. The student was asked to indicate degree of difficulty to the statement: Could you see yourself becoming a citizen of another country? Answers were distributed from very easy to very difficult. The theory here was that the more difficult, the more national attachment and the higher the predisposition to politics.

These three independent variables and the thirty-three sub-variables provide a wealth of comparative possible indicators of a predisposition to politics. They are presented and discussed as a representative sample of the factors that may affect a student's predisposition. A more detailed discussion of these effects are discussed in the Data section that follows.

DATA

The following is a discussion of the three major variables which may affect a predisposition to political participation. In this section I shall discuss each table in terms of their significance with the strongest sub-variable discussed first. I shall indicate where each is significant and to what extent each is effective as an indicator. Each table shows the actual gamma range and the corresponding Z score of reproducibility. The gamma is a statistic for bivariate distribution of ordinal variables. All the variables and sub-variables are ordinal. Gamma was structured to run from -1.00 to 0 to +1.00. If the tables are consistent with the reported literature, they produce a plus value. At the end of each variable section, a summary table lists each sub-variable and the corresponding gamma value.

I have, for comparative purposes only, established a mean value for each of the three areas discussed. I wish to again stress the fact that the data is confined to Holt students.

Stimuli

The most significant relationship between stimuli

and political participation was evident in the student's agree/disagree answer to a question on present political interest. The question asked was: I am interested in politics. If the person strongly disagreed, they were more likely to indicate a low predisposition to political participation. The "very low" disagree strongly cell indicates a 52.1% felt this way. A correlary to this is the strongly agree and "very high" predisposition to political participation which shows that 70.0% of the respondents felt high interest and very high predisposition. In this area both the high and low cell prove a relationship exists between interest and expectation. This was expected. However, even though one would expect such a relationship, the strength of this is the highest of any single item in any category tested.

The gamma, which as indicated in the measure of degree of association, indicates that there is a strong relationship between strength of interest and a predisposition to political participation such that strongly interested persons are likely to be strongly predisposed to participate. The converse is also true in that those who strongly disagree with the question also are very low in predisposition. In examining Table 13 only one respondent strongly disagreed with

Table 13.--The Relationship Between Present
Political Interest and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Disagree Strongly	52.1	39.0	6.5	2.4	46
Disagree	37.5	38.5	19.9	4.1	96
Neutral	-	31.2	44.7	24.1	112
Agree	-	28.1	32.4	39.5	96
Strongly Agree	-	6.0	24.0	70.0	33
Total	15.6	31.2	29.0	24.2	383

Gamma .683

Z Test 12.6

P .001

the question and yet reported very high predisposition. In the strongly agree cell no respondents answered in the "very low" cell and only two in the low predisposition cell with a clear majority of 70% at the very high predisposition/strongly agree level. The relationship in this area is most evident.

At the opposite end of the stimuli scale is the positive attraction to politics. I do not mean to indicate that because this is in the lowest order of environmental stimuli that it is not significant. I simply mean that, as ranked according to statistical effect, a positive attraction to politics is not as strong an indicator as other environmental areas. Yet, upon examination my research indicates a gamma association of .194. This means that there is a relationship between a high attraction for politics and a predisposition to politically participate. At the other end of the scale my research indicates that if one strongly disagreed with the statement on political attraction, one is likely to have a very low or a low predisposition to participate politically. As Table 14 indicates 52.9% fall in this category. At the strongly agree/very high or high end, 60.7% of the respondents fall in this dual category.

It is evident then that a relationship is

Table 14.--The Relationship Between Positive
Attraction to Politics and Political
Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Disagree Strongly	19.6	33.3	31.3	15.8	51
Disagree	20.9	44.1	17.5	17.5	86
Neutral	12.3	31.5	35.6	20.6	73
Agree	13.0	23.3	32.7	31.0	107
Agree Strongly	13.6	25.7	28.8	31.9	66
Total	15.6	31.3	28.9	24.2	383

Gamma .194

Z Test 3.52

P .001

established between a positive attraction to politics and a predisposition to politics. This environmental category is, however, the least strong of those tested.

These statistics indicate the following ordinal relationship between stimuli in the environment and a predisposition to participate politically. The reader is encouraged to keep in mind that in every stimuli area tested, the relationship, as indicated by the gamma association as a measure of degree, is never below a .194 degree of association.

Table 15 results from a scaling of answers to questions on party appreciation discussed earlier. The respondents were rated low, medium and high. If the appreciations were low, the predisposition should be low. If the appreciations were high, the predisposition should be high. The gamma reported in this area of stimuli was .483. This means then that if one does have a high political party appreciation, he will have a high predisposition to participate politically. Previous adult research points this out. In examining the high and low cells, my research indicates that 70.2% of the low appreciators indicate a low predisposition for political participation. Also, of those who are high appreciators, 75.8% indicate a high

Table 15.--The Relationship Between Party
Appreciation Index and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Low	29.8	40.4	22.3	7.6	104
Medium	14.6	30.6	31.0	23.8	177
High	3.0	21.2	32.3	43.5	99
Total	16.0	30.8	28.9	24.3	380

Gamma .483

Z Test 7.58

P .001

predisposition to politically participate. This area of party appreciation, like present political interest, is an excellent example of the significance of interest to intent. Those interested now indicate a high interest possibility for later participation.

Table 16 examines the affect of the political interest of the mother on the predisposition of the Holt student. This area substantiates further the previous discussion of family influences on the child. The gamma in this area of mother's interest is .354. This means then that the mother's political interest does have a positive affect on the student's predisposition to participate politically. By viewing the table, it is evident that those who strongly disagree, 71.7% of the disagree respondents, are largely in the low predisposition category. In the agree strongly area, the high and very high predisposition level contains 67.1% of these student respondents. It is, therefore, concluded that a student whose mother indicates an interest in politics will more than likely indicate a high predisposition for political participation.

Table 17 compares the frequency of political discussion with the father to a student's responses on political predisposition. In this area, as with

Table 16.--The Relationship Between Mother's
Interest in Politics and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Disagree	34.8	36.9	26.0	2.3	46
Disagree	26.6	33.3	18.5	21.6	60
Neutral	14.3	41.5	31.2	13.0	77
Agree	9.3	25.2	33.7	31.8	107
Agree Strongly	7.7	25.2	28.5	38.6	91
Total	15.7	31.5	28.4	24.4	381

Gamma .354

Z Test 6.43

P .001

Table 17.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Political Discussion with Father and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	29.5	37.7	26.3	6.5	61
Sometimes	15.2	32.8	30.2	21.8	256
Often	4.8	17.8	25.8	51.6	62
Total	15.8	31.1	28.9	24.2	379

Gamma .464

Z Test 6.23

P .001

the previous comparison, the family influence on the student is felt. The gamma is .464. This means that those students who discussed politics with the father most frequently are more likely to say they would participate at a later date. Table 17 confirms this thesis. Of those students who indicated that they never discussed politics with their father, 67.2% also indicate that they do not have an interest in politics. Of those students who indicate that they often discuss politics with their father, 77.4% also indicate a high predisposition for politics. It is then evident that the higher the frequency of discussion with the father, the higher the predisposition to participate politically as far as Holt students are concerned. It is also evident that this factor is significant in the area of political stimuli.

As in the two previously discussed areas, the father's interest in politics and the student's predisposition to participate politically correlate. The statistical difference between the mother's interest and the father's interest is very small.

In Table 18 if a student strongly disagreed with the statement, he would also indicate a low predisposition to politics. 69.8% of the students responded in this manner. At the other end of the continuum a

Table 18.--The Relationship Between Father's
Interest in Politics and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Disagree	33.4	36.4	29.1	3.0	33
Disagree	20.6	29.5	41.2	8.7	34
Neutral	19.0	45.0	24.0	12.0	100
Agree	10.8	25.0	31.6	32.6	92
Agree Strongly	10.8	23.3	26.8	39.1	120
Total	15.8	31.4	29.3	24.5	379

Gamma .343

Z Test 6.06

P .001

strong agreement with the statement indicated that the father's interest was high. In the same manner the student should exhibit a strong predisposition. 65.9% of the students answered in the high or very high predisposition category. This is supported by a gamma of .343. This means that a strong correlation exists between the political interest of the father and the predisposition to political participation of the student at Holt.

Table 19 concerns media exposure and its affect on political predisposition. In the first few months of the 1970's, a great deal of discussion has centered upon the mass media, especially television, and its affect on the formation of opinions. The theory behind Table 19 is that the less information one seeks, the more one is inclined to have a low predisposition. The more information exposure, the higher the predisposition. The research here points this out. The gamma is .341.

In examining the table, of those students who indicated that they consulted **none** of the media sources, 56% also indicated a low or very low predisposition to political participation. Of those students consulting three or more of the sources, 77.4% indicate a high political predisposition. This indicates a very

Table 19.--The Relationship Between Media Exposure and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
None	25.0	31.0	27.0	17.0	100
One	22.5	42.2	23.1	12.2	71
Two	10.8	36.6	31.8	20.8	120
Three or More	6.4	16.2	32.3	45.1	93
Total	15.6	31.2	28.9	24.3	384

Gamma .341

Z Test 5.95

P .001

definite relationship between media exposure and political predisposition. My previous references also substantiate this fact. It is interesting that certain aspects of the family and party appreciation show a stronger indication of correlation than media exposure. However, media exposure has a stronger correlation than does discussion of politics with friends or memberships of the father and the mother.

Table 20 continues the discussion of the family, especially the father, and its affect on political predisposition. This correlation is only slightly less than the media exposure previously discussed. The gamma for organizational memberships of the father is .334. This means then that the higher the membership pattern of the father, the higher the student's indicated predisposition for politics. Examination of the table points this out with one noted exception, i.e., of those students who checked "none" on father's memberships, 55.4% also indicate a high or very high predisposition to participate. In this case, the reverse should be true. This may indicate that the student either was actually unaware of his father's actual memberships or that for these 56 respondents the effect was minimal. My research only provides an assumption here, not an answer. The high

Table 20.--The Relationship Between Father's
Organizational Memberships and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
None	37.5	7.1	48.3	7.1	56
One	9.4	52.7	19.4	18.3	212
Two	12.6	7.2	38.0	42.2	71
Three or More	23.2	-	32.7	44.1	43
Total	15.5	31.2	29.3	24.0	382

Gamma .334

Z Test 5.53

P .001

participation pattern of the father and high predisposition of the student, however, is most significant. In this category, high father's membership and high predisposition, 76.8% of the students responded in this area. I consider father's organizational memberships an indicator of high predisposition for the Holt student.

Of the stimuli items under discussion, the affect of discussing politics with friends is number eight out of fourteen indicator areas. Table 21 indicates a gamma range of .413. The assumption is, as with political discussion with father and mother, that the less frequent the discussion, the lower the predisposition. Examination of the table points this out. Of those who never discuss politics with friends, 70% indicate a low predisposition for political participation. Of those students who often discuss politics with friends, 74.7% show a high political predisposition. This means that discussion of politics with friends is an indicator of political predisposition. It also reinforces the fact that interest in politics may generate discussion and this discussion generates additional interest. It is not possible to separate these indicators for the relationship between them becomes increasingly evident.

Table 21.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Political Discussion with Friends and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	32.0	38.0	24.0	6.0	50
Sometimes	15.9	32.3	27.4	24.4	266
Often	4.7	20.6	36.6	38.1	63
Total	15.8	31.1	28.9	24.2	379

Gamma .413

Z Test 5.32

P .001

Table 22 continues the discussion of the affect of the family on political predisposition. In this table political discussions with the mother are compared with political predisposition. The gamma is .399. This means that in all probability political discussion with the mother can be considered an indicator of political predisposition. In examining the table it is evident that the lower the discussion rate, the lower the predisposition for of those who checked "never" on discussion with mother, 63.1% indicate a low or very low predisposition. Of those who indicate that they often discuss politics with the mother, 77% also indicate a high predisposition for politics. Frequency of political discussion with mother is considered an indicator of political predisposition.

Table 23 is a comparison of the father's voting patterns with the political predisposition of the student. The gamma range is .517. This indicates that the more frequent the father's voting, the higher the political predisposition. Examination of this table points this out. Of those students whose fathers never voted, 73.2% show a low predisposition to politics. Of those whose fathers always voted, 58% show a high predisposition for political participation. Voting patterns of the father can, therefore, be

Table 22.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Political Discussion with Mother and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	27.6	35.5	24.6	12.3	65
Sometimes	15.3	32.4	30.2	22.1	262
Often	3.8	19.2	27.0	50.0	52
Total	15.8	31.1	28.9	24.2	379

Gamma .399

Z Test 5.24

P .001

Table 23.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Father's Voting in Public Elections
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	29.2	44.0	26.8	-	41
Sometimes	23.8	47.6	28.6	-	21
Always	13.4	28.6	29.4	28.6	321
Total	15.6	31.2	28.9	24.3	383

Gamma .517

Z Test 5.19

P .001

considered an indicator of political predisposition of the Holt student.

Table 24 compares organizational memberships of the mother to student's predisposition to politics. It is interesting, although expected, that the effect here is less than Table 20 which considers father's organizational memberships. Both are significant, but the affect of father's membership exceeds that of the mother. This probably means that the fathers have more time for such membership involvement. The gamma for mother's organization activity is .265. According to previous discussion, I consider mother's organizational activity a significant indicator of predisposition of the student. In examination of the table, it is evident that the lower the mother's membership, the lower the predisposition. Of those students who indicate no organizational activity for the mother, 62.9% also indicate a low predisposition. Of those who indicate three or more organizations for the mother, 63% indicate a high predisposition to political participation. The organizational activity of the mother is an indicator of a predisposition to political participation.

Frequency of political discussion with the teacher is discussed in Table 25. This table

Table 24.--The Relationship Between Number of
Organizational Memberships of Mother
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
None	25.0	37.9	18.0	9.1	108
One	12.3	30.6	31.5	25.6	108
Two	14.0	29.7	29.7	26.6	74
Three or More	10.9	26.1	26.1	36.9	92
Total	15.7	31.4	28.8	24.1	382

Gamma .265

Z Test 4.60

P .001

Table 25.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Political Discussion with Teacher and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	23.6	48.4	14.4	13.6	97
Sometimes	14.0	25.6	32.9	27.5	207
Often	10.6	24.0	36.1	29.3	75
Total	15.8	31.1	28.9	24.2	379

Gamma .307

Z Test 4.59

P .001

reinforces my assumption of the affect of the teacher and the school of political participation. It is evident as this table and the corresponding statistics show, that the role of the teacher is significant as an indicator of political predisposition. The gamma correlation is .307. The theory is that the higher the frequency of discussion with the teacher, the higher the predisposition. Table 25 points this out for those who never discuss politics with the teacher, 72% show a low predisposition. For those who often discuss politics with the teacher, 65.4% also indicate a high predisposition. Even though this area is not as significant as the majority of the points under stimuli, the effect is clearly evident. Frequency of political discussion with the teacher is an indicator of student political predisposition.

Table 26 compares the mother's voting pattern to predisposition of the student and, as with father's voting pattern, a significant relationship develops. It is considered that the higher the voting pattern, the higher the predisposition. Of those students whose mothers never voted, 65% show a low political predisposition. Of those whose mother always voted, 58.3% show a high predisposition to political participation. The gamma for this comparison is .407.

Table 26.--The Relationship Between Frequency of
Mother's Voting in Public Elections
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Never	30.2	34.8	28.1	6.9	43
Sometimes	24.7	47.0	16.6	11.7	34
Always	12.7	29.0	30.6	27.7	306
Total	15.6	31.2	28.9	24.3	383

Gamma .407

Z Test 4.52

P .001

This means that frequency of mother's voting is an indicator of a predisposition to political participation for the Holt student.

The final table under discussion in the area of stimuli and the least significant, is a positive attraction to politics indicated in Table 14. This table shows that those who strongly disagree with the statement are low on the political predisposition scale and 52.9% indicate so. Of those who agree or show a positive attraction for politics, 60.7% show a high predisposition for politics. It is interesting to note that even though this area is significant, its effects in an ordinal arrangement are less than any of those in the stimuli area. The gamma for Table 14 is .194. Community service as a measure of a positive attraction to politics is an indicator of political predisposition among Holt students.

Summary of Stimuli Tables

Table		Gamma Value
13	Present Interest	.683
23	Father's Voting Behavior	.517
15	Party Appreciation	.483
17	Political Discussion (father)	.464
21	Political Discussion (friends)	.413
26	Mother's Voting Behavior	.407
22	Political Discussion (mother)	.399
16	Mother's Political Interest	.354
18	Father's Political Interest	.343
19	Media Exposure	.341
20	Father's Memberships	.334
25	Political Discussion (teacher)	.307
24	Mother's Memberships	.265
14	Positive Attraction to Politics	.194

mean gamma value .393

Personal Factors

In the area of personal factors the most significant relationship developed when I tested political efficacy and predisposition to political participation. The degree of association (gamma) is at .439. This indicates that a low efficacy and low predisposition are common. It also indicates that a relationship is also significant between high efficacy and high predisposition. Table 27 shows that in the low efficacy category, 70.3% of the respondents report a low predisposition to politics. Of those reporting a high predisposition for politics, 80% also rank high on the efficacy scale.

It is also interesting to note that those ranking high on the efficacy scale and very low predisposition compromise only 7.8% of the sample. At the other extreme, low efficacy and very high predisposition, only 10.7% report in this cell.

At the opposite end of the ranking of personal factors is a test for manipulativeness. I shall discuss both tests of manipulativeness at this time since neither proved to have a highly significant affect on predisposition. This area was tested with two questions.

Table 27.--The Relationship Between Rank on
Political Efficacy Scale and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Low	23.9	46.4	19.0	10.7	121
Medium	13.3	29.6	31.4	25.7	172
High	7.8	12.4	38.3	41.7	89
Total	15.0	31.0	29.0	25.0	382

Gamma .439

Z Test 6.92

P .001

The first, and least significant, was a question on the "best way" to handle people. The gamma curvilinear measure of .031, Table 28, indicates that in this study there was a low significance relationship between manipulativeness, as measured by "best way," and predisposition to political participation. Therefore, manipulativeness is not a strong predication of participation in this study.

The second measure of manipulativeness, Table 29, concerned the importance of good contacts with "important people." Even though the gamma is higher, a relationship is not statistically verified. We can, in this case as well, say that "good contacts" is not a predication of participation. This is not to say it cannot be, but simply that as I have developed the rules these two indicators do not fit the present case under study at the present time.

Between political efficacy and the dual test of manipulativeness, there are several personal factors which affect political predisposition. I shall, in turn, discuss these from the most effective to the least. My research and statistics on educational aspiration, Table 30, indicate a gamma of .411. This means that if a student indicated that he expected to seek additional education, it was likely that he would

Table 28.--The Relationship Between the Best Way
to Handle People (Manipulativeness
item) and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Agree	15.5	31.8	30.3	22.4	76
Agree	15.8	31.6	24.1	28.5	63
Neutral	24.2	33.3	25.7	16.8	66
Disagree	9.7	27.4	27.4	35.5	62
Strongly Disagree	13.8	31.8	32.7	21.7	116
Total	15.6	31.2	29.0	24.2	383

Gamma .031

Z Test .560

P .05

Table 29.--The Relationship Between Importance of
Good Contacts (Manipulativeness item)
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Disagree	14.0	30.0	33.3	22.7	57
Disagree	15.0	33.1	27.9	24.0	133
Neutral	25.2	37.3	24.3	13.2	99
Agree	9.6	19.2	30.8	40.4	52
Strongly Agree	4.6	28.0	34.9	32.5	43
Total	15.9	31.2	28.8	24.1	384

Gamma .080

Z Test 1.41

P .05

Table 30.--The Relationship Between Educational Aspirations and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Get a job or become a housewife	22.5	35.8	30.0	11.7	173
Attend trade school	19.5	41.7	27.0	11.8	41
Attend junior college	3.0	32.3	32.3	32.3	34
Attend four year college	9.4	19.6	24.0	47.0	117
Total	16.1	32.6	28.0	23.3	365

Gamma .411

Z Test 6.48

P .001

also expect to participate in politics at a later date as well. Table 30 and the distribution of answers also indicates this. In the table, if a student did not intend to seek additional education, the low political predisposition cell showed 58.3% and he had a low predisposition to participate politically. If a student intended to seek additional education as indicated by an intent to attend college, 71% of these students show a high predisposition to participate in politics and only 29% indicate a low predisposition. This indicates, as previous research has documented, that educational intention, as well as achieved education, has a correlative affect on political predisposition. This item -- educational aspiration -- was one of the most effective indicators found in this research.

The next most significant indicator tested was grade point average. A statistical correlation of this item indicates a gamma of .246. Table 31 explains the distribution and indicates that the lower the grade point average, the lower the indicated predisposition to participate. A positive correlation is developed. Those with less than a "C" average indicate 62.6% of the time that they would have a very low or low political predisposition. Then if we consider

Table 31.--The Relationship Between Grade
Average and Expected Political
Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Less than C	24.0	38.6	24.0	13.4	75
C	17.7	34.0	25.4	22.9	118
B - C	14.0	26.0	34.0	26.0	100
B	5.9	35.4	31.3	27.4	51
A - B	9.0	18.0	28.9	44.1	34
Total	15.6	31.6	28.5	24.3	378

Gamma .246

Z Test 4.33

P .001

the high grade average of "A-B" we find that 73% of these students report a high or very high predisposition to participate. This table then supports the previous research on intellectuality and its affects on future political decisions.

The next most significant test was for openmindedness. In administering this question, it was considered that if a person disagreed or disagreed strongly with the openmindedness statement, this person would be less likely to participate in politics than those who agree, i.e., agreement with the statement means high participation. The gamma for openmindedness correlation was .262. This correlation is further substantiated by viewing the high and low cells of Table 32. The persons who disagreed with the statement or were less openminded indicate a low or very low predisposition. 61.6% are in this category. If a person agreed with the statement or was more openminded, he should also have a high predisposition. 67.5% of the respondents report a high predisposition to participate politically.

Table 33 tested a degree of cynicism. The gamma scale was .218. The pattern of this test is similar to the previous table. A disagree response means high cynicism and a low predisposition to participate.

Table 32.--The Relationship Between Openmindedness
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Disagree	36.0	25.6	36.0	2.4	39
Disagree	8.4	46.9	26.7	18.0	83
Neutral	22.3	26.9	36.8	14.0	78
Agree	14.9	32.1	23.2	29.8	87
Strongly Agree	9.4	23.1	26.5	41.0	95
Total	15.5	31.2	29.3	24.0	382

Gamma .262

Z Test 4.78

P .001

Table 33.--The Relationship Between Cynicism
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Disagree Strongly	19.5	39.1	28.4	13.0	46
Disagree	22.2	40.1	17.7	20.0	45
Neutral	22.3	26.8	29.1	21.7	78
Agree	20.4	26.6	32.6	20.4	49
Agree Strongly	7.7	30.5	31.8	30.0	157
Total	15.4	31.4	29.5	23.7	375

Gamma .218

Z Test 3.73

P .001

Agreement means low cynicism and high predisposition. The table points this out in the disagree area -- 58.6% indicate a low predisposition. In the agree area, 61.8% in this area report a high probability to participate politically. This research points out that how one feels or views politics will affect his possible political actions.

Table 34 was an attempt to test the affects of alienation on political predisposition. The strongly agree represents the most alienated and the least predisposed to politics. The strongly disagree means least alienated and a high predisposition to participate. The low cell in the agree area indicates that 60% of the respondents are not likely to participate. In the disagree less alienation column, 62% of the respondents report a high predisposition to participate. This feeling of degree of alienation, as previous research in the adult population has shown, does affect one's predisposition to participate politically. This table indicates a gamma range of .218.

Table 35 shows the affect of age on political predisposition. I have detected a caution here from the standpoint that we can only view a narrow space of age. Previous research has shown that age does affect political action. The gamma is .168. This

Table 34.--The Relationship Between Alienation
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Agree	23.8	36.2	18.8	21.2	80
Agree	16.1	40.6	28.7	14.6	68
Neutral	11.1	32.8	31.1	25.0	64
Disagree	10.4	26.7	40.8	22.1	86
Strongly Disagree	16.6	21.4	26.3	35.7	84
Total	15.5	31.1	29.4	24.0	382

Gamma .189

Z Test 3.46

P .001

Table 35.--The Relationship Between Age and
Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
14 - 15	21.4	44.2	16.6	17.8	84
16	15.0	32.2	22.7	30.1	93
17	13.3	31.5	32.4	22.8	105
18 - 19	13.7	19.6	41.3	25.4	102
Total	15.6	31.1	28.9	24.4	384

Gamma .168

Z Test 2.94

P .01

means that age does affect one's predisposition to participate among Holt High School students. In examining Table 35 we find that in the lower age area of 14-15, 65.6% of the respondents indicate a low predisposition to participate while in the high age level of 18-19, 66.7% of the students indicate a high political predisposition. Age then is a factor in my search for indicators of a predisposition to participate politically. However, the affect is less than some other factors discussed.

In examining strength of party identification, Table 36, I expected a very strong correlation. However, the affect of this area is less than those discussed above. The gamma range was .178. If a student indicated independent or no party identification, he was more likely to indicate a low or very low predisposition. 57% of the students so indicated. Those who indicate a strong party identification also report a high predisposition to participate. 68.8% so indicate. A full examination of this area shows increased significance of the strength of party identification and the degree of political predisposition.

Table 37 follows the same general pattern as age in that the affect indicates a gamma range of .166. In examining the table, I have determined that the

Table 36.--The Relationship Between Intense
Party Preferences and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Independent or no party identifica- tion	23.0	34.0	26.3	16.7	156
Weak Party identifica- tion	10.1	21.3	35.2	33.4	108
Average party identifica- tion	11.6	44.4	23.8	20.2	84
Strong party identifica- tion	9.4	21.8	28.1	40.7	32
Total	15.8	31.7	28.7	24.8	380

Gamma .178

Z Test 2.94

P .01

Table 37.--The Relationship Between Grade in High School and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Ninth	24.5	37.9	18.3	19.3	98
Tenth	15.0	30.0	26.1	28.9	107
Eleventh	10.5	31.5	34.9	23.1	95
Twelfth	11.9	25.0	37.0	26.1	84
Total	15.9	31.2	28.8	24.1	384

Gamma .166

Z Test 2.89

P .01

lower the grade level, the lower the predisposition for at the ninth grade level, 62.4% show a low predisposition. At the twelfth grade level only 36.9% so indicate. At the ninth grade level, 37.6% indicate a high predisposition and correspondingly the twelfth grade level has 63.1% of them in the high and very high cell. Perhaps this analysis of grade simply reinforces the age statistics given above. In any event, grade level is important as an indicator of political predisposition.

Table 38 indicates the affects of anxiety on political predisposition. If a respondent indicated a strongly agree level, they would suffer the most anxiety and a low political predisposition. The table supports this analysis in that the strongly agree respondents comprise 55.4% in the low predisposition cell. At the strongly disagree level or less anxiety level, 63.8% report a high or very high predisposition to participate. The gamma range reported was .133. This then indicates that anxiety does affect a predisposition to participate significantly and that the degree of anxiety is an indicator of political intent. Previous research on the adult population points this out as well.

The last two items under personal factors

Table 38.--The Relationship Between Anxiety
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Strongly Agree	17.2	38.2	24.9	19.7	81
Agree	19.1	24.4	32.1	24.4	63
Neutral	16.6	40.0	24.6	18.8	90
Disagree	11.4	25.3	33.2	30.1	79
Strongly Disagree	14.5	21.7	34.9	28.9	69
Total	15.5	30.9	29.3	24.3	382

Gamma .133

Z Test 2.43

P .01

concern the previously discussed manipulativeness items. I shall not reiterate this discussion. Suffice it to say that in the area under test, these two items could not be considered very significant as far as the Holt students were concerned. Both Table 29 with a gamma of .080 and Table 28 with gamma at .031 show a small degree of association. For my research then this indicates that "good contacts" and "the best way" are not very significant indicators of a predisposition to participate politically because the degree of association is low. This does not mean that at a later date the importance of these items may not increase; however, confining my analysis to Holt students under my test for significance, I must regard these items as not significant.

Summary of Personal Factor Tables

<u>Table</u>		<u>Gamma Value</u>
27	Political Efficacy	.439
30	Educational Aspirations	.411
32	Openmindedness	.262
31	Grade Average	.246
33	Cynicism	.218
34	Alienation	.189
36	Intense Party Preferences	.178
35	Age	.168
37	Grade in School	.166
38	Anxiety	.133
29	Manipulativeness (good contacts)	.080
28	Manipulativeness (best way)	.031
mean gamma value		.210

Social Position

The final area tested relevant to this study was social position. As I have indicated, many previous studies have traditionally used income, education, age, etc., as measures of "social class." This has traditionally been a most subjective test. I have attempted, through the use of the following, to expand on this traditional list and add certain variable factors for objectivity. Of the three areas tested, this area has the least statistically related data. There are, however, some very interesting observations to be made relative to this view of social position.

The strongest relationship in the tested social position area is in school participation. Table 39 indicates that a very positive relationship exists between present activity and a predisposition to participate politically. The gamma relationship at .305 indicates that if the student is involved now, it is very likely that he will be involved later. The present involvement is viewed as a predication of future participation.

It is interesting to note that those that reported no in-school participation comprise 75.5% of the low or very low predisposition category. At the

Table 39.--The Relationship Between In School
Participation and Expected Political
Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
None	20.4	55.1	18.3	6.2	49
One	14.7	44.1	30.9	10.3	68
Two	20.0	32.0	26.6	11.4	75
Three	14.6	24.0	26.6	34.8	75
Four or more	12.2	17.5	35.9	34.4	114
Total	15.6	31.2	29.1	24.1	381

Gamma .305

Z Test 5.55

P .001

four or more activity level, 70.3% indicate a high or very high predisposition to participate. It is also interesting in this area to view the correlation between the "none" response at 6.2% very high predisposition and the four or more category at 34.4% very high predisposition. The very high category goes up in percentage reported as the activity increases which indicates a very clear relationship.

If we compare Table 39 to Table 13 and Table 27 on political efficacy, we have three very excellent predications of possible future political participation among high school students. The most interesting factor here is the possible development of a strong relationship between present interests and future interests.

The least significant relationship under social position developed when I considered nation attachment. The gamma in this category was .028. This was the smallest relationship in any category tested. These statistics show that there is only a slight relationship between national attachment and a predisposition to political participation. A high sense of national attachment does not indicate future participation and is therefore not a predictor that is relevant to this thesis.

In discussing the balance of these table individually, the reader is cautioned to keep in mind that I have not attempted to eliminate any of the social position factors from future consideration. The strength of these relationships are significant to the Holt study and as social positions change, it is possible for the effect to change. The introduction of a time factor could have several adverse effects on the study.

I shall, as previously indicated, discuss each of the above items in terms of significance from the most to the least significant item.

A correlation of the answers regarding out of school participation, Table 40 indicates a gamma range of .234. This means that even though out of school participation is not as important as in school participation in my search for indicators, the out of school memberships are very significant. For an examination of Table 40 shows that persons who have no outside memberships report a full 90% low predisposition to participate politically. While at the four or more membership level, 58.6% of the students indicate a high or very high predisposition. An examination of the extent of memberships then is a significant indicator both for in school and out of

Table 40.--The Relationship Between Out-of-School
Participation and Expected Political
Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
None	35.0	55.0	10.0	0	20
One	17.2	44.9	24.1	13.8	29
Two	10.8	35.1	35.1	19.0	37
Three	16.3	31.1	31.1	21.5	61
Four or more	14.5	26.9	29.5	29.1	234
Total	15.7	28.6	29.1	26.6	381

Gamma .234

Z Test 3.47

P .001

school participation.

Table 41 examines residential history based on answers concerning feelings for the community and length of time in the community. The correlated statistics indicate a gamma range of .130. This is a most interesting table and requires full examination since the responses indicate that of those who have always lived in Holt, 50.8% indicate a high or very high predisposition to participate. However, of those who report living elsewhere in the United States, outside of Michigan, 66.2% report a high predisposition to participate. My only conclusion here is that residential history is an indicator, although not as strong as other factors mentioned above, and that newcomers to Holt are more disposed to participate than those who have always lived in Holt. It is my untested suggestion that this may indicate a way for newcomers to become a part of the community. Whichever the case, residential history is a significant indicator of a predisposition to participate among Holt High School students.

Table 42 uses father's education as an indicator of social class and according to my analysis shows no significance as an indicator of a predisposition to participate in politics. The gamma range is .086

Table 41.--The Relationship Between Residential History and Expected Political Participation

Predisposition to Political Participation					
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	Total
	%	%	%	%	
Always lived in Holt or Ingham Co.	18.6	30.6	27.7	23.1	134
Lived else- where in Michigan	16.0	36.6	26.0	21.4	150
Lived else- where in the U.S.	11.3	22.5	35.7	30.5	98
Total	15.9	30.9	29.1	24.1	382

Gamma .130

Z Test 2.04

P .05

Table 42.--The Relationship Between Father's
Education and Expected Political
Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Eighth grade or less	19.0	22.0	38.3	20.7	68
Some high school	18.8	31.1	31.1	18.8	90
High school graduate	12.2	39.8	30.3	17.7	123
Some college	18.4	29.6	24.2	27.8	54
College graduate	10.5	23.7	15.8	50.0	38
Total	13.1	31.4	29.6	23.1	373

Gamma .086

Z Test 1.50

P .05

degree of association and is comparatively small. This means then that in the Holt situation, the educational level of the father did not affect the student's answer on political predisposition.

In examining Table 42, the cells of high and low seem to support this view. The students whose fathers had an 8th grade education or less indicate 59% in the high cell and at the other extreme, college graduate level, 65% indicate a high predisposition to participate. I cannot, therefore, consider this area of social position significant as an indicator of predisposition.

Table 43 examines community integration as a result of a five question test which was scaled and discussed previously. When I statistically compared the answers from no attachment to strong attachment, the gamma range was .067. The low and high cells bear this out. In the no attachment category, 46.9% of the students indicate high predisposition, at the 3 score level, 56.9% indicate high predisposition and at the highest attachment level, 62.2% report a high predisposition. If this area were significant as an indicator of political predisposition, I would expect the reverse to be true at the no attachment level.

I can, therefore, only conclude that community

Table 43.--The Relationship Between Community
Integration and Expected Political
Participation

Predisposition to Political Participation						
		Very Low	Low	High	Very High	Total
		0	1	2	3	
		%	%	%	%	
No attach- ment	0	20.3	32.8	25.0	21.9	64
	1	15.7	24.8	32.5	27.0	89
	2	18.5	38.2	22.2	21.1	81
	3	13.4	29.7	35.8	21.1	67
	4	15.7	31.5	31.5	21.3	19
Strong at- tachment						
	5	11.1	20.7	28.9	33.3	45
Total		13.1	30.6	29.0	27.1	365

Gamma .067

Z Test 1.21

P .05

integration as an indicator of political predisposition was not significant for the Holt students.

My next social position factor is frequency of church attendance. This is represented by Table 44. This is scaled from low of once a year or never to at least once a week as high. The gamma range is .057. This means that church attendance is not significant as an indicator of political predisposition. This is strongly made evident when one examines the difference between the levels of high predisposition. Those who attend church a few times a year report a 51.1% of high predisposition while the faithful church-goer reports 52.6% high predisposition to participate. Frequency of church attendance is not a significant indicator of political predisposition.

Under social position, a final tested category is attachment to nation, represented by Table 45. It appears that nationalism among the Holt students is not a significant indicator of a predisposition to politically participate. This result was the lowest tested with the gamma being a mere .028. This is reaffirmed upon examination of the cells in the low and high category. If a person felt less nationalism, he still indicated 54.4%, a high predisposition. If, however, he indicated high nationalism, the high cell

Table 44.--The Relationship Between Frequency
of Church Attendance and Expected
Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
	0	1	2	3	
	%	%	%	%	
Once a year or never	16.7	43.7	31.2	8.4	48
Few times a year	13.2	35.7	28.5	22.6	56
Once or twice a month	14.1	23.9	31.5	30.5	92
At least once a week	16.0	31.4	27.8	24.8	181
Total	15.1	31.8	29.3	23.8	377

Gamma .057

Z test .898

P .05

Table 45.--The Relationship Between Nationalism
and Expected Political Participation

	Predisposition to Political Participation				Total
	Very Low 0	Low 1	High 2	Very High 3	
	%	%	%	%	
Very easy	22.8	22.8	31.6	22.8	22
Easy	6.6	36.7	13.3	43.4	30
Hard to say	20.7	30.3	29.0	20.0	135
Difficult	13.8	29.2	32.1	24.9	65
Very difficult	12.3	33.3	29.6	24.8	129
Total	15.7	31.2	28.7	24.4	381

Gamma .028

Z Test .464

P .05

should be greater. In this case, 54.4% reported high nationalism and high predisposition. I therefore conclude that nationalism among Holt students is not an indicator of political predisposition.

The reader is encouraged to compare this last analysis with the in school participation Table 39. The strength of the significance of the latter is ten times that of the former category.

Summary of Social Position Tables

<u>Table</u>		<u>Gamma Value</u>
39	In School Participation	.305
40	Out of School Participation	.234
41	Residential History	.130
42	Father's Education	.086
43	Community Integration	.067
44	Church Attendance	.057
45	Attachment to Nation	.028

mean gamma value .129

CONCLUSIONS

The stated purpose of this thesis was to attempt to explain, through the use of ordinal statistics, the attitude of Holt High School students toward political participation. For the most part, this has been done. I have shown that three areas of independent variables, i.e., social position, personal factors and stimuli in the environment do affect this avowed attitude.

Of these three tested, stimuli in the environment seems to be the most effective indicator. The mean gamma was .393. This may be true for several reasons. First, because we are dealing with the most immediate in terms of time and therefore the time between the stimuli and the decision is less than in the other areas. Second, one of the items tested was simply, "I am interested in politics." This item was the strongest indicator tested with a gamma of .683. The rationale for this has already been stated. Third, under stimuli I considered factors which tested the affects of family and peer groups on the student's attitude. In the socialization process it is no longer debated whether these two affect decisions - they do. In my study the effect is considerable. It is expected

and indicated by this research that the political and organizational interest and voting patterns of the student flow from a correlative interest in the home.

And, finally, in this section I tested media exposure. The true affect of this area is under debate at the present time. In my research this area ranked high in correlation which gives a strong indication of its affect when viewed with political predisposition. The tempo and complexity of our society is such that it demands quick and compact news coverage. It is possible that future studies on future generations will indicate even a more positive affect on the opinions of our population.

The next most effective of the three items tested was personal factors. The mean gamma here was .210 indicating that combined as an indicator, with the possible exception of manipulativeness items Tables 28 and 29, these sub-groups are also indicators of political predispositions. Of special interest in this area was openmindedness and its effects on predisposition. It is interesting that this item ranks fourth behind efficacy, plans after high school and grade average. It is also interesting that the sociability item, although significant, was far down

the ranking, third from last just above manipulative-ness. The correlation of age, alienation, cynicism and possibly grade in school were expected since these are quite interrelated naturally.

It was not expected that strength of party identification would rank as low as it did, Table 36. I expected party preference or at least an indication of party preference to rank in the area near the top. This entire section was designed to show that how one "feels" about a system will affect his predisposition. I have pointed this out in both the Holt study and in the Review of Literature. It could be argued that alienation, cynicism, sociability and openmindedness are not particularly personal factors. Perhaps they would be more at home under stimuli or social position. I think not, simply because they are attitudes of personal development. However, irrespective of their place, the tested affect on political predisposition will not change. They are, as the category is, significant factors in my effort to develop indicators of predisposition.

The final and least effective category tested was social position. The mean gamma was .129 which shows a positive correlation; however, it was lower than the other two tested areas.

I was disappointed with Table 42 on father's education. I have considered that education was an excellent measure of social class, yet this correlation was insignificant according to my design. It is evident that the education of the father did not function as an indicator of predisposition to politics for the Holt student. This is not to say it may not be effective, it only says my statistics do not indicate so for Holt students. In this area, in school and out of school participation did show significance being at the .305 and .234 levels respectively. This was in part expected if the socialization process of the school fit the western ideology. Residential history, however, was an important indicator and the higher correlation for newcomers to the community gives a hint for further correlation studies.

The affect of religion, as measured by church attendance, was not surprising from references to current literature. It became evident that after one passes the Catholic, Jewish, Protestant analysis of behavior, the effect diminishes. In my study the area of religion was not an effective indicator.

The community integration scale did not develop as an indicator of political predisposition. I had expected that if one felt a part of the community, one

would participate more. This was not the case at Holt. And, finally, attachment to nation was among the least effective as an indicator of any sub-group studied. I cannot explain this to my satisfaction. Perhaps it is a developmental process whereby the effect and concern for nationalism is on the wane.

I would not make any changes in the three areas studied, if I were to redevelop this line of reasoning. I do not say it cannot be improved for certainly the scales and tables could be modified, perhaps for clarity. Also, additions could be made which would provide a better barometer for future studies. If I were to make any changes it would be to use these students again after a period of time for a follow up study. In this way one could note changes in both the independent and dependent variables.

For the present, my purpose is served for my own continued education and hopefully for the interest and enlightenment of the reader.

APPENDIX

**QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED MAY 18, 1960
IN HOLT HIGH SCHOOL, HOLT, MICHIGAN**

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, East Lansing
College of Business and Public Service

May 18, 1960

You are about to fill out a booklet of questions about things which all of us have something to do with at some time in our lives. We want to find out what you and other high school students think about these things. THIS IS NOT A TEST. There are some questions which ask about facts that you know, and you should do your best to give the correct information. Other questions ask for your opinions on a number of different things, so, of course, there are no right or wrong answers for these questions. On all questions, read the question carefully and try to be as accurate as possible.

All of your answers will be completely confidential and no one other than the research staff at Michigan State University will see the answers you have given. You are asked to give your name. This is because you might be selected for personal interviewing at a later time.

If you are puzzled about what a particular question is asking, raise your hand to signal for help, and go on to the rest of the questions. The person who passed out these booklets will come to explain the question as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. Name _____
(last) (first) (middle name or initial)
2. Address _____
(number and street or road)

(city or town)
3. Sex _____ Male
_____ Female
4. Race, nationality, or cultural background: _____

5. Date of birth: _____
(month) (day) (year)
6. Were you born in the United States?
_____ Yes
_____ No
If "Yes" _____
(city or town) (state)
If "No" _____
(country)
7. Have you ever lived outside of Holt or Ingham County?
_____ Yes
_____ No
If "Yes" check the furthest away you have lived:
_____ I have lived elsewhere in Michigan, outside
this county
_____ I have lived elsewhere in the United States,
outside of Michigan

8. How are you doing in school?

_____ "A" average
_____ "A-B" average
_____ "B" average
_____ "B-C" average
_____ "C" average
_____ "C-D" average
_____ "D" average
_____ "D-F" average
_____ "F" average

9. On the line opposite each
school activity in the
following list, please
check the boxes that apply.

I have
partici-
pated
in this
activity

I am or
have
been an
officer
or other
leader

Class government

Student government

Band or orchestra

Chorus or other singing group

Varsity sports

Intramural sports

Dramatics

Language Club

Current events club

Science club

Photography club

Other (explain)

10. On the line opposite each activity outside of school in the following list, please check the boxes that apply
- | | I have participated in this activity | I am or have been an officer or other leader |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
|--|--------------------------------------|--|

Boy/Girl Scouts

Organized sports

Church choir

Social club

Teen Democrats

YMCA/YWCA

Religious class or Sunday school

Hotrod/motorcycle club

Church youth group

Teen Republicans

Fraternity/sorority

Musical group

Other (explain)

11. Do you plan to finish high school?

 Yes

 No

12. What course are you now taking?

- ☐ Commercial or Business Education
 - ☐ College Preparatory
 - ☐ General
 - ☐ Vocational Education or Agriculture
 - ☐ Other (explain) _____
-

13. In general, what is your religious preference?

- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Catholic
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ None

14. What specific denomination would you say that you belong to?

15. Some people attend church or Sunday school, others do not. Do you?

- ☐ At least once a week
- ☐ Once or twice a month
- ☐ A few times a year--for major holidays
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Never

16. What church do you go to?

17. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be:

- ☐ Strong Republican
- ☐ Average Republican
- ☐ Independent, but lean toward the Republicans
- ☐ Independent, don't lean either way
- ☐ Independent, but lean toward the Democrats
- ☐ Average Democrat
- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ Never thought of it

18. If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?

- ☐ Upper class
- ☐ Middle class
- ☐ Working class
- ☐ Lower class

19. Which of the following sources do you consult regularly on public affairs questions? (Check as many as necessary)

- ☐ Television and radio
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ News magazines

20. What do you plan to do after you graduate from high school and, if necessary, serve in the armed forces? Check only one.

_____ I plan to get a job right away

_____ I plan to be a housewife

_____ I plan to go to a technical or trade school

_____ I plan to go to a junior college

_____ I plan to go to a 4-year college or university

_____ I have other plans (explain) _____

Read each of the following sentences carefully. Then indicate how much you agree or disagree by checking one of the boxes. Give your opinion or impression on every statement. Don't puzzle over any sentence. Work quickly. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
1. I am inter- ested in politics.					
2. When I'm on my own, I would like to live around this community.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
3. Political parties don't belong in national elections.					
4. Political parties exist because they help the voters make up their minds.					
5. Political parties exist because people who believe the same things like to stick together.					
6. I would consider taking a full-time job with the government.					
7. People go into politics to represent a particular group					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
8. Politics and government are so complicated it is hard to understand what really is going on.					
9. Political parties exist because there is more than one side to every issue					
10. People go into politics because they are unsuccessful in other areas.					
11. Voting is the main thing that decides how government is run in this country.					
12. My mother is interested in politics.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
13. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.					
14. There shouldn't be any political parties.					
15. Most government officials are honest.					
16. I would rather not have responsibility for other people.					
17. When I'm on my own, I would like to live in the same neighborhood I live in now.					
18. I would like my children to go to the same schools I went to.					
19. When I am old enough, I plan to vote in every election.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
1. If my father became ill and couldn't work, I would get a job and support the family.					
2. People go into business to make personal contacts.					
3. The things people buy is the main thing that decides how the business world is run.					
4. People go into religion to represent a particular group.					
5. To get ahead in the world, you have to learn who is higher and who is lower than you are.					
6. People go into religion to make personal contacts.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
7. People go into business to represent a particular group.					
8. In choosing friends and dates, high school students must pay a lot of attention to the reputation of the crowd they are getting into.					
9. People go into politics to make personal contacts.					
10. I would rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Dis- agree	Dis- agree Strongly
1. People go in- to politics to serve the community.					
2. Good contacts with important men are more help- ful than staying close to your own people.					
3. Political parties exist be- cause people can never agree on anything.					
4. To compromise with our political opponents is dan- gerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.					
5. If I sincerely felt the govern- ment was not run right, I would be- come a candidate for public office.					
6. Political parties don't be- long in state elections.					

Agree Dis-
Strongly Agree Neutral agree Strongly

7. When I'm on
my own, I would
like to live
close to my
parents.

8. Political
parties exist
because they
give a few big
men a chance to
get their own way.

9. My father is
interested in
politics.

10. When I'm on
my own, I would
like to have the
same friends I
have now.

11. Political
parties don't
belong in city
or town
elections.

12. People ought
to pay more atten-
tion to new ideas,
even if they seem
to go against the
American way.

	Agree			Dis-	Dis-
	Strongly	Agree	Neutral	agree	Strongly

13. I would consider taking a full-time job with a political party.

14. When in a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.

15. People go into politics to make money.

16. Political parties exist because there has to be some way people can fight for their own interests.

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED MAY 20, 1960
IN HOLT HIGH SCHOOL, HOLT, MICHIGAN

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY East Lansing
College of Business and Public Service

May 20, 1960

This is a booklet of questions similar to the one you filled out on Wednesday. The instructions as to how you should proceed are the same as for the first booklet, so we will review them now.

As we said on Wednesday, THIS IS NOT A TEST. There are some questions which ask about facts that you know, and you should do your best to give the correct information. Other questions ask for your opinions on a number of different things, so, of course, there are no right or wrong answers for these questions. On all questions, read the question carefully and try to be as accurate as possible.

All of your answers will be completely confidential and no one other than the research staff at Michigan State University will see the answers you have given. You are asked to give your name. This is because you might be selected for personal interviewing at a later time.

If you are puzzled about what a particular question is asking, raise your hand to signal for help, and go on to the rest of the questions. The person who passed out these booklets will come to explain the questions as quickly as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Name _____
 (last) (first) (middle name or initial)

ABOUT YOUR FATHER OR STEP-FATHER (WHICHEVER YOU LIVE WITH):

1. How old is he?

_____ Up to 32 years old

_____ 33-37

_____ 38-42

_____ 43-47

_____ 48-52

_____ 53-57

_____ 58-62

_____ 63 or older

_____ He is not living.

2. His occupation (or what it was, if he is dead or retired):

What kind of work does he do? _____

How long has he done this sort of work?

_____ 1 year or less _____ 5-9 years

_____ 2-4 years _____ 10 years or more

What kind of place does he work in? _____

How long has he worked there?

_____ 1 year or less _____ 5-9 years

_____ 2-4 years _____ 10 years or more

Is he the owner, a manager or supervisor, or an employee?

_____ owner

_____ manager or supervisor

_____ employee

3. How far did he go in school?

_____ Less than 8th grade

_____ 8th grade graduate

_____ Some high school, but didn't finish (9-11 grades)

_____ 12th grade graduate

_____ Some college, but didn't finish

_____ College graduate

_____ Post-graduate college (more than 4 years of college, including doctors, lawyers, and so forth)

_____ I don't know

4. What is his religious preference?

_____ Protestant

_____ Catholic

_____ Jewish

_____ Other (explain) _____

_____ None

5. Does he belong to any of the following types of organizations? Check as many as necessary.

_____ Church or religious group

_____ Labor union

_____ Political party

_____ Farm group

_____ Veterans group

_____ Social club

_____ PTA

_____ Neighborhood association or club

_____ Lodge or fraternal

6. Does he vote in most elections?

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

7. Generally speaking, does he consider himself a:

- ☐ Strong Republican
- ☐ Average Republican
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Republicans
- ☐ Independent, doesn't lean either way
- ☐ Independent, but leans toward the Democrats
- ☐ Average Democrat
- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Other (explain) _____
- ☐ I don't know

ABOUT YOUR MOTHER OR STEP-MOTHER (WHICHEVER YOU LIVE WITH):

1. How old is she?

- ☐ Up to 32 years old
- ☐ 33-37
- ☐ 38-42
- ☐ 43-47
- ☐ 48-52
- ☐ 53-57
- ☐ 58-62
- ☐ 63 or older
- ☐ She is not living

2. Her occupation (or what it was, if she is dead or retired)
What kind of work does she do? _____

IF THE ANSWER IS "housewife," GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 3.

How long has she done this sort of work?

- _____ 1 year or less
- _____ 2-4 years
- _____ 5-9 years
- _____ 10 years or more

What kind of place does she work in? _____

How long has she worked there?

- _____ 1 year or less
- _____ 2-4 years
- _____ 5-9 years
- _____ 10 years or more

Is she the owner, a manager or supervisor, or an employee?

- _____ owner
- _____ manager or supervisor
- _____ employee

3. How far did she go in school?

- _____ Less than 8th grade
- _____ 8th grade graduate
- _____ Some high school, but didn't finish (9-11 grades)
- _____ 12th grade graduate
- _____ Some college, but didn't finish
- _____ College graduate
- _____ Post-graduate college (more than 4 years of college, including doctors, lawyers, and so forth)
- _____ I don't know

4. What is her religious preference?

_____ Protestant

_____ Catholic

_____ Jewish

_____ Other (explain) _____

_____ None

5. Does she belong to any of the following types of organizations? Check as many as necessary.

_____ Church or religious group

_____ Labor union

_____ Political party

_____ Farm group

_____ Veterans group

_____ Social club

_____ PTA

_____ Neighborhood association or club

_____ Lodge or fraternal group (women's section)

_____ None of these

6. Does she vote in most elections?

_____ Always

_____ Sometimes

_____ Never

1. How often do you discuss politics with:

	Often	Some- times	Never
Father			
Mother			
Friends your age			
Teachers			
Ministers			
Other (explain)			

2. Could you see yourself:

	Very easy	Easy	Hard to say	Diffi- cult	Very dif- ficult
Changing what you want to be when you are older.					
Changing your religion (for example, from Protestant to Catholic, etc.).					
Changing your political preference (for example, from Republican to Democrat, etc.).					
Becoming a citizen of another country.					

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