

POVERTY, PARTICIPATION, AND POLITICAL
SOCIALIZATION: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY ACTION
PROGRAM AND THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
THE APPALACHIAN CHILD

UNIT 5
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C O M M U N I T Y A C T I O N I N A P P A L A C H I A

An Appraisal of the "War on Poverty"
in a Rural Setting of Southeastern Kentucky

(Report of a study by an interdisciplinary team of the University of Kentucky, performed under Contract #693 between the University of Kentucky Research Foundation and the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965-68)

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POVERTY, PARTICIPATION, AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

A study of the relationship between Participation
in the Community Action Program and the Political
Socialization of the Appalachian Child

by

Herbert Hirsch

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COMMUNITY ACTION IN APPALACHIA

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ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

POVERTY, PARTICIPATION, AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In recent years the study of political socialization has received increasing attention from political scientists. This study contributes to the continued growth and expansion by striking off in a different direction. It differs from its predecessors in that it is primarily focused upon the relationship between childhood participation in the "War on Poverty" and the political socialization of the Appalachian child.

The study is based upon a random sample of fifth through twelfth grade school children in rural Knox County, Kentucky. Three techniques of data analysis were used. First, chi square was used as a data reduction device to ascertain whether or not there were significant differences between participating and non-participating children. Where differences were noted we further analyzed them using a technique developed by Campbell and Stanley, called "cross-lagged panel correlation", which enables one to infer that A causes B more than B causes A based on the time differential. Thirdly, we further isolated causal paths through the use of the Simon-Ballock causal model.

At the outset we posited a two pronged model.

Socializing -----> Child -----> Output
agents participation

Thus, we are asking two broad questions. First, what causes the child to participate in the program, and second, what are the results of this participation?

It was found that three variables were directly related to childhood participation in the program: parents' participation, father's education, and distance the child lives from the center. Children whose parents participated were more likely to participate; children whose fathers had a relatively low level of education were more likely to participate than children whose father's had a higher level of education, and children who lived close to the center were more likely to participate than those who lived farther away. Regarding output it was found that the participation of the child manifested itself in three outputs. First, participation caused the child to join a 4-H club, second, it also caused him to join an athletic team. Consequently, participation seems to be resulting in the inculcation of a general participatory ethic which, as the program continues in existence for several more years, may be generalized into wider spheres of participatory activity. The third output resulting from participation is an improved opinion of the program. While the evidence is not overly encouraging, neither is it discouraging, for we have the indication, in a year's time of operation, that the center has begun to stimulate participatory activity on the part of the child and has influenced at least one attitudinal dimension, i.e., opinion of the program.

The findings lead to several recommendations. First, in order to stimulate greater child participation it is necessary that the program concentrate upon inducing greater parental participation. The parent is a crucial link to the child. The child is probably relying upon the presence of a participating parental model that causes him to participate. Since the modeling dynamic is so successful in inducing partici-

pation it should be extended and used as a means to achieve the desired goals of the program. Second, the child must be provided with transportation so he can reach the center. Third, if the center is to become a truly efficacious agent it must provide the Appalachian child with some means of implementing his desired life goals. Remembering that, when asked what they would most like the center to do for them, the great majority responded in terms of helping to find good jobs and getting a good education leads us to recommend that the program place increasing emphasis upon these dimensions. In so doing it is likely that participation will increase as well as the increasing likelihood that concrete output of jobs and education will result in attitudinal change manifesting itself in social change.

In closing it is important to re-emphasize that the program live up to its promises and to the child's "rising expectations".

PREFACE

Since the birth of the "War on Poverty" many have talked about its problems and promises. It has been criticized from right and left and even from the center. Yet, amid all this verbiage no one has brought the methodological sophistication and scientific rigor of modern social science to bear upon the question: "Is the War on Poverty having any affect upon those participating in it?" This study utilizes the methods and theory of modern political science in an attempt to provide precise and theoretically meaningful answers to that very question. We have focused on the socializing agents that motivate the Appalachian child to participate in the poverty war, and upon any outputs that might manifest themselves as a result of this participation. In answering these important policy questions we are moving political science out of the ivory tower, from which it has been escaping for many years, and pushing it further into the area of public policy. The present research does indeed have numerous implications for the operation of the poverty program--implications which are spelled out in the text. My fellow political scientists may legitimately accuse me of slighting political socialization theory. If this be the charge then I plead guilty, for the primary focus of the study was to ascertain the causes of and results of the child's participation in the poverty war. Hence, the main concern is with policy results and causes, and only secondarily with political socialization theory.

I have many debts to acknowledge. This study was completed while the author was part of a larger interdisciplinary team whose primary purpose was to evaluate the affect of the "War on Poverty" in Knox County, Kentucky. The data upon which this study is based were collected under Contract #693 between the University of Kentucky Research Foundation and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The grant was administered by the University of Kentucky, Center for Developmental Change, who also provided office space and research assistance for the author.

Specific individuals made significant contributions to the study. I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the Superintendent of the school of Knox County, Kentucky who gave us access to his students; of the Director of the Testing Program of the Knox County schools who administered the questionnaires; to the teachers who cooperated (some did not); and to Dr. Ottis Murphy who served as field representative and who expedited the collection of the data. I wish also to thank Dr. Paul Street, Director of the Project, for his encouragement and support throughout this enterprise; Robert Chanteloup, graduate student in Sociology, whose programming and statistical assistance were instrumental in getting the data processed; and my office mate, Professor Lewis Donohew, School of Communications, whose conversation and comments helped clarify many ideas.

Two final acknowledgements are important. A special note of thanks to Miss Peggy Amato who typed the rough and final drafts of the study, and to my own private proof-reader, my wife, who read many copies of this work and commented upon them all. Her diligence is responsible for the lack of errors and for any clarity of expression that it may have.

Finally, of course, I acknowledge, that any errors of interpretation
are probably my own.

H. H.

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Introduction

In recent years the study of political socialization, i. e., the process by which the child learns about the political culture in which he lives, has received increasing attention from scholars.¹ Interest in the process by which the child learns to become a citizen is, however, not new. It goes back at least to the time of Plato and has been of continued interest since then.² Only within the last decade, however, has systematic empirical research into the process been undertaken,³ with a corresponding rapid growth in the number of studies. The present study contributes to this growth. It differs from its predecessors in that it is primarily focused upon "evaluation," which, as defined by Hyman, "refers to the procedures of fact finding about the results of planned social action . . ."⁴ The program to be evaluated is the Community Action Program with special emphasis given to the relationship between this program and the political socialization of the Knox County child. The primary objective of this study is to ascertain whether or not the child's participation in community center activities has any affect upon his political socialization.

Footnotes to Introduction

¹ For an indication of the present volume of literature on political socialization see: Jack Dennis, Recent Research on Political Socialization: A Bibliography of Published, Forthcoming, and Unpublished Works, Theses, and Dissertations, and a Survey of Projects in Progress (Medford, Mass.: Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1967).

² For a brief review of this literature see: Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 1-5. Most reviews include the following: Plato, Republic, VIII and IX; Rousseau, Emile; Jean Bodin, Six Books of the Commonwealth; Hobbes, Leviathan; and Locke, Two Treatises on Government.

³ Herbert Hyman's, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), is usually considered to be seminal.

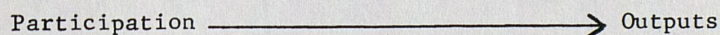
⁴ Herbert Hyman, Charles R. Wright, and Terence K. Hoskins, Applications of Methods of Evaluation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 3.

Chapter I

Political Socialization and the Community Action Program

If we are to ascertain the impact of a social action program, the objectives or goals of that program must be subject to measurement. It is no mean trick to operationalize and measure abstract goals, for to do so requires that they be reduced to a lower level of abstraction. Hyman labels this step in the evaluation process, the translation of "broad and abstract statements into a series of simpler concepts."¹ This operationalization leads one to inquire into the "intended" effects of a program, and this is the second aspect of the present evaluation task. The question to be answered here is: "Has the child's participation had any differential impacts upon his political socialization in the time period of this study?"

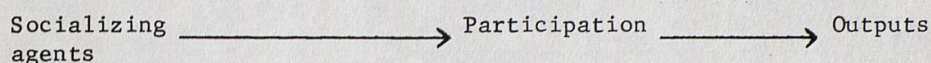
To answer this question we have adopted the following strategy. Participation is conceptualized as the main independent variable and is cross-tabulated with certain hypothesized "output" variables. Thus, a schematic diagram of the second half of the model:



This relatively simple conceptualization constitutes only half of our paradigm, for in evaluating a program's impact upon the individual, one must examine not only the intended objectives or goals of the program, but must also inquire into the participation patterns that have evolved. Thus, the first two questions to be investigated are "Who participates?"

and "What causes the child to participate?"

It is the contention of the present author that the agents that have been found and hypothesized to be influential in orienting the child to political stimuli should also be involved in the socialization of attitudes toward, and participation in, the program. This rounds out the first half of the rough paradigm. Thus:



The first question, which precedes and is integrally related to the question of the induction of participation patterns is that of "Who participates?" Here we mean to control demographic variables identified by socialization scholars as being important in the process of political socialization in an attempt to ascertain whether they explain participation patterns. However, before we may proceed directly to the analysis, two tasks must be accomplished. First, to review the political socialization literature dealing with the agents of socialization and the attendant demographic variables and, second, to discuss the methodological techniques to be utilized in the study.

Footnotes to Chapter I

- ¹ Hyman, et. al., p. 8.

Chapter II

Political Socialization: A Brief Review of the Literature on "Agents" and "Demographic Variables"

According to Greenstein and Mitchell, most of the extant literature on political socialization may be summarized under a paraphrase of the Lasswellian formulation of the general process of communication: "(a) who, (b) learns what, (c) from whom, (d) under what circumstances (e) with what effects?"¹ The present review deals only with the first and third questions, and makes no claim to comprehensiveness.

"Who Learns?"

According to Froman:

The primary question in political socialization is "how do children learn politically relevant attitudes and behaviors?"²

Most of the studies have attempted to answer this question by concentrating, for the most part, on young children.³ The rationale for concentrating on this population is based on two propositions. First, that basic orientations toward politics are learned in late childhood and early adolescence,⁴ and second, that early socialization has important consequences for the stability of political systems and for adult political behavior.⁵

There is indeed evidence to substantiate the first proposition. According to Greenstein, age is one of the most important factors influencing the political socialization of the child.⁶ Easton and Hess have,

in fact, claimed that "the truly formative years of the maturing member of a political system would seem to be the years between the ages of three and thirteen."⁷ Indeed, a prominent finding of many studies is that the young child acquires certain political orientations at an early age.

For example, at a very young age, the child has an awareness of the President. The child's image of the President is positive and highly idealized, but suffers diminution as the child gets older.⁸ Other findings related to age are: (1) that by the time the child is in the fourth grade six out of ten "were able to state whether their party preference was Republican or Democratic. . .",⁹ (2) a cynical attitude toward politics increases as age increases,¹⁰ and (3) as the child gets older he is less likely to state that he would ask his parents for voting advice.¹¹ It is evident, therefore, that at an early age the child has become aware of political figures, has acquired a preference for a political party and holds certain political attitudes. These factors appear early in the life cycle, but are subject to change as the child matures.

Factors other than age have been shown to relate to childhood political socialization. The two primary ones being sex and social class.¹²

Regarding sex, findings are similar to those concerning the political behavior of adults. That is, boys know more about politics than girls;¹³ boys are more interested in, and active in, politics than girls;¹⁴ and boys are more likely to read about politics in the newspaper.¹⁵

Gender does not have any relationship to the child's future expectation of whether or not he will vote when he is twenty-one.¹⁶

In regard to class, one finds that, in general, children of the upper socio-economic strata are more likely to express an interest in politics and to be more active politically than children of lower status.¹⁷ The relationship between socio-economic status and political socialization, however, is not always clear. For example, Greenstein found that there is no difference between the classes in ability to identify political figures, and that children in both status groups indicate that they prefer one political party over another.¹⁸ According to Greenstein, these differences in political socialization, which are related to sex and social class factors, "have already begun to be established by nine years of age. . ."¹⁹

The young child, consequently does acquire certain political orientations at an early age. However, the question of whether or not these early years are the "truly formative years" in the development of political attitudes has not been, and cannot be, answered from the data gathered by any of the studies thus far concluded. Only a design incorporating a sample composed of a wide dispersion of ages, either a cross-sectional or a longitudinal study, could adequately answer this question.²⁰

Indeed, there is evidence to show that Easton and Hess may have been premature in their conclusions. In a review of the psychological and sociological literature on socialization, William Sewell demonstrates that, while early learning is important, social-role learning persists throughout one's life cycle.²¹ Other studies cast further doubt on Easton and Hess's conclusion. For example, studies of the socialization of American state legislators point out the fact that, while a large percentage of them remember being socialized in childhood, there were a considerable percentage who were socialized later in life.²²

All this is not to deny the importance of early socialization experiences, it is to take issue with the static conception of socialization that political scientists have adopted.²³ Not only have we concentrated our research attention on children, but we have concentrated primarily on a certain age group (2-13). By so restricting our attention, we have been unable, or unwilling, to deal with a basic assumption upon which research into childhood socialization is based. We have been unable to answer what is perhaps the key theoretical question: "How does early socialization relate to later political behavior?" Or, as Prewitt phrases it, "do individuals marked for an adult political career experience initial political socialization in a manner which increases the probability that they will select themselves or be selected for political leadership?"²⁴

"From Whom?": The Agents of Political Socialization

The question of "From Whom?" the child learns about politics reminds one of Mark Twain's oft-quoted statement about the weather. To paraphrase, one could say that everyone talks about the agents of socialization but no one does anything about them. Most scholars agree, with little or no data to back them up, that all of the following act as agents of political socialization: family, school, church, peer groups and youth organizations, social class, ethnic origin, geographic region, and mass media.²⁵ All of these formulations are hypothetical. By far the most comprehensive inquiry into the agents of political socialization is that of Hess and Torney. They divide "socializing contexts" into three general types.

The first type includes institutions of well-defined structure and organization: the family, school, and church.

The second type of socializing influence occurs in larger social settings. The most important of these social contexts are: social class, ethnic origin, and geographical region.

A third type of influence in the socializing process derives from the child's personal characteristics.²⁶

According to them, the first type influences the child by "direct teaching of political attitudes and values and by inducting him into the behavior and roles appropriate to family, school, or church membership. These values are then generalized to attitudes toward political life of the community and nation."²⁷

Most scholars agree that the family is one of the most potent sources of political socialization. According to Hess and Torney the family acts as an agent in three ways. First, it transmits attitudes to the child; second, the parent serves as a model to the child; third, role definitions and expectations within the family structure are generalized to political objects.²⁸

Probably the strongest finding to date, involving the family as an agent, is the child's tendency to assimilate the party preference of his parents.²⁹ The parent also is the most preferred source of voting advice for the child.³⁰ Even this relationship is not as simple as Greenstein presented it. Hess and Torney demonstrate that age acts as an intervening variable. That, as the child grows older, he looks less to the parent for political information.³¹ Hence, the parent is more salient as an agent to the youngest child.

Hess and Torney find that other factors had little influence on the parent as an agent. The two they investigated were the absence or presence of the father in the home, and the status of inter-familial rela-

tionships.³² They find that father-absence makes no difference in attitudes toward authority,³³ and that "children who see their fathers as being powerful tend to be more informed and interested in political matters."³⁴

The basic finding involving the family is, then, that the child is most likely to acquire his party preference from his parents, and that the child's perception of the family relationship influences this process.

The second well-defined structure which acts as an agent of political socialization is the school. Hess and Torney disagree with Greenstein. While the latter regards the family as the primary agent, the former feel that "the public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States."³⁵ The school operates as both a manifest and a latent form of transmission.³⁶ It is manifest when it socializes directly through class room instruction, class rituals and ceremonies, such as pledging allegiance to the flag, singing patriotic songs, and celebrating patriotic holidays.³⁷ It is latent when it socializes role behavior within the school structure which may be transferred to other behavior outside the school. Contextually the school socializes respect and awe for the government and stresses "the structure rather than the dynamics of government."³⁸ It tells the child little concerning the role of political parties and tends to "stress certain consensus values," such as the importance of voting and the criteria one should use to determine his voting choice."³⁹

Now, while this appears at first glance to be a rather impressive array of data regarding the school as an agent of political socialization, one must be wary of lending too much credence to it. Most of the con-

clusions presented above are not based on empirical data. They could more realistically be labeled hypotheses. The role of the school as an agent of political socialization requires a great deal more investigation.

The last well-defined structure which acts as an agent is the church. There are practically no data at all on the church as an agent of political socialization. The only finding is from Hess and Torney who report that religious affiliation affects party preference.⁴⁰ Needless to say, more work is needed here.

The second type of socializing influence is that which occurs in the larger social setting. Three types have been identified: social class, ethnic origin, geographic region. We have discussed social class earlier, and there is little research--on children--regarding the other two factors.⁴¹ There are, however, other agents which operate in the larger social setting, i. e., the peer group and the mass media. Peer group activities in which the child may participate are of three basic types:

Children's service organizations (YMCA, Scouts, etc.); school-sponsored clubs (band, sports, etc.); and positions of leadership (holding office, etc.) in these groups.⁴²

It has been found that "students who join groups express more interest in political affairs, are more actively involved in conversations about politics and current events, and defend their opinions on those issues."⁴³ In regard to the mass media as an agent of socialization one is able to find no data other than those dealing with how much television the child watches.⁴⁴

The third type of socializing influences are the personal characteristics of the child. According to Hess and Torney, "these individual characteristics influence socializing efforts of the family, school and

other agents, and limit the extent of learning."⁴⁵ Hess and Torney state that the main factor, which limits the child's ability to assimilate what is taught, is intelligence.⁴⁶ Personal characteristics have received even less attention than the media. Rosenberg demonstrates that self-esteem is related to interest in, and discussion of, public affairs;⁴⁷ and Jaros has shown that the anxiety displayed by the child is related to authoritarianism, which in turn is related to attributed presidential strength and power.⁴⁸

In summary, one must conclude that, other than the family, we have no hard data concerning the relative influence of the different agents. The question of "From Whom?" has not been adequately researched.

F. Critique

We have, for the most part, outlined a number of criticisms in the preceding pages. Such factors as, the lack of and need for longitudinal data,⁴⁹ the lack of studies dealing with the socialization of adults, and the lack of data on the effect of early socialization on later behavior, have already been discussed.⁵⁰ Other basic criticisms involve the need to supplement questionnaires by personal interviews and both of these techniques by methods such as observation, projective techniques, and laboratory experiments.⁵¹

The most comprehensive criticism of the literature has been leveled by Roberta Sigel. According to her, the term "socialization is a misnomer for what we study because we study what children have learned (the output) not how they have learned it."⁵² We have, in other words, not been looking at the process of political socialization, we have been

looking at the content. The preceding review of the literature has demonstrated the imbalance. The large amount of work examining "what is learned" as compared to the dearth of studies dealing with the question of "from whom?" is evident. As Sigel further states, once we have enumerated the content, we then compare the answers "by age, and if we find systematic differences over age, we assume they are due to development" of the child.⁵³ This procedure is highly inferential. The differences observed could just as easily be the result of other factors, such as exposure to media, etc. With the conspicuous exceptions noted above, political scientists have not attempted to isolate intervening variables. They have used variables such as age and social class as direct agents of socialization, when in fact they probably mediate between the agents and the content. For now, one may say that the political scientist has primarily concerned himself with "describing the content of children's political evaluations."⁵⁴ Such an approach leads to a "static and homogeneous" conception of political socialization. The present study should contribute to upsetting the static balance in two ways. First, by concentrating upon a sub-cultural population, it yields new insights into the socialization process; and second, it is the first investigation dealing with the relationship between political socialization and a large-scale program designed to bring about social change.

The variables to be used in the present study will be drawn from the above review. In brief, we have noted that all of the following should effect the process of political socialization: age, sex, income, education, and family patterns. All of these will be inserted into the present study to see if they are related to participation in the Com-

munity Action Program.

Before proceeding to this analysis we shall first discuss the analytical procedures to be utilized in the study.

Footnotes to Chapter II

¹ Fred I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," Article written for the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, forthcoming, p. 3; a similar formulation has been proposed by William C. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 146.

² Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, 15 (June, 1962), p. 305.

³ The only studies using older subjects are: M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review, LXII (March, 1968), pp. 169-184; and Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Fred Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," The American Political Science Review (June, 1968).

⁴ Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years, Part 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1965), p. 4; Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 7; and David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI, 3 (August, 1962), p. 236.

⁵ Robert D. Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority: Some Cross National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, IV (1963), p. 544; Roberta S. Sigel, "An Exploration into Some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President," in Martha Wolfenstein and Gilbert Kliman (eds.), Children and The Death of a President: Multi-Disciplinary Studies (New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 31.

⁶ Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 6.

⁷ Easton and Hess, Midwest Journal, p. 236; also Hess, International Social Science Journal, p. 544.

⁸ Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," The American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960); Greenstein, Children and Politics; Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 24 (1960), pp. 632-644; Hess, International Social Science Journal; Hess and Torney, p. 97; Roberta Sigel, "An Exploration into Some Aspects of Political Socialization," p. 33; and Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," The Journal of Politics, 29, 2 (May, 1967), pp. 368-387.

⁹ Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 71.

- 10 Ibid., p. 57.
- 11 Ibid., p. 104.
- 12 Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 3.
- 13 Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, 23, 2 (May, 1961), p. 358.
- 14 Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 115.
- 15 Ibid., p. 117.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 3; and Children and Politics, pp. 58-59.
- 18 Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 73.
- 19 Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 3.
- 20 The only study, of which the author has knowledge, which uses a sample of children in grades 5 through 12 is: Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," The American Political Science Review, June, 1968.
- 21 William H. Sewell, "Some Recent Developments in Socialization Theory and Research," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (September, 1963), pp. 163-181. Sewell cites a study which demonstrates that in later life a role reversal occurs and adult children become agents of socialization for their aged parents. See; Raymond Payne, "Some Theoretical Approaches to the Sociology of Aging," Social Forces (May, 1960).
- 22 Heinz Eulau, et. al., "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol. 3 (1959), pp. 188-206.
- 23 A similar comment concerning the static nature of the political scientist's model of socialization has been made by Roberta S. Sigel, Political Socialization: Some Reactions on Current Approaches and Conceptualizations. Paper delivered at the 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City, September, 6-10, p. 14.
- 24 Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Socialization and Leadership Selection," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361 (1965), p. 97.

²⁵ On the agents of socialization see: Easton and Hess, "Youth and the Political System," p. 251; Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 9-15; and by the same author, International Encyclopedia, p. 6; Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Personality and Political Socialization," Journal of Politics, 23 (May, 1961), pp. 341-352; William C. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York: The Free Press, 1962), esp. Chapter 7, "The Socialization of Citizens," pp. 145-178; and Hess and Torney, op. cit., pp. 182-228.

²⁶ Hess and Torney, op. cit., pp. 182-184.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 182.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 184. For Greenstein the family is the primary agent of socialization. See: Children and Politics, p. 44.

²⁹ Hess and Torney, p. 185.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 165; and Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 103 and p. 119.

³¹ Hess and Torney, p. 165.

³² Ibid., pp. 187-200.

³³ Ibid., pp. 193-195.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), pp. 65-66.

³⁷ Hess and Torney, p. 200; Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 6; and Mitchell, op. cit., p. 161.

³⁸ Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 6; and Hess and Torney, p. 202.

³⁹ Hess and Torney, p. 154 and p. 210.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 216-217.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 183.

⁴² Ibid., p. 222.

⁴³ Ibid.

- 44 Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 6.
- 45 Hess and Torney, pp. 183-184.
- 46 Ibid., p. 184.
- 47 Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 206-223.
- 48 Jaros, Journal of Politics, p. 385.
- 49 Sigel, A.P.S.A., p. 3; and Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, 15 (June, 1962), pp. 305-306, also note the need for longitudinal studies.
- 50 Sewell, The Annals, pp. 173-179, gives a detailed account of the lack of and need for studies of the socialization of adults.
- 51 Sigel, A.P.S.A., pp. 10-11. For an interesting account of the weaknesses of depending solely on interview data see: Robert Rosenthal, Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), and for a delightful account of alternatives and supplements to interview and questionnaires see: Eugene J. Webb, et. al., Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966).
- 52 Sigel, A.P.S.A., p. 3.
- 53 Ibid., p. 2.
- 54 Froman, Western Political Quarterly, p. 312.

Chapter III

Methodology and Technique of the Study

Selection of the Sample

The sample upon which the present study is based is a random sample drawn from the population of fifth through twelfth grade school children in rural Knox County, Kentucky. Excluded from the sample are those areas of Knox County that have been defined as "non-rural." This technique was adopted because the population is designed to represent a model rural Appalachian poverty area. Knox County is neither the poorest nor the richest county in Appalachia, but it does contain elements of extreme poverty and some "better-off." The area of study was chosen on the basis of distributions of: sex, age, birth rate, out-migration, education, income, employment and industry.¹ The selection of the population within Knox County was accomplished through (1) conferences with officials residing in Knox County, and (2) from a complete census of the households of the area and a detailed mapping of the area. Data are gathered, consequently, from a carefully constructed population designed to represent a "typical" Appalachian poverty area.

Development of the Questionnaire

A preliminary questionnaire was designed in the summer of 1966. During the months of July-August, 1966, a pre-test of this schedule was administered to a group of sixty (60) children, grades 7-9, who were attending a summer camp program (Camp UNICO) in Barbourville, Kentucky.

These children came to the camp from all portions of Kentucky's Appalachian counties, with one or two from Tennessee. Many of them verged on functional illiteracy. The reasoning behind using this population for the pre-test being that if they could comprehend the items and complete the questionnaire, then children who have higher intellectual capabilities would have little trouble with it.

At the time of the pre-test the questionnaire was so long that it had to be administered at two different sittings. The compilation of this extensive schedule was the result of a thorough and comprehensive review of the political socialization literature. On the basis of this review all the items that were suspected of being valuable as measures of the process of political learning were extracted and put into the instrument. As a result of the pre-test about 150 items were eliminated. The selection of items to be included in the final questionnaire was based on the following considerations: first, the relationship of the item to socialization theory; second, the similarity of the item to items used in other studies of political socialization, to permit comparisons; third, certain properties of the responses, such as the shape of the distribution and frequency of "don't know" responses; fourth, the controversial nature of the question.² For example, on this basis the word "damn" contained in one question was changed to "hang". In other words, wording of the questions was changed to fit the cultural context. Finally, an item analysis of all scales was run. Resulting from this, it was possible to eliminate a number of scale items as "non-discriminating" in the cultural context of Appalachia.³

With the final tabulation completed on the pre-test, the Time #1 questionnaires were administered during the months of January-March,

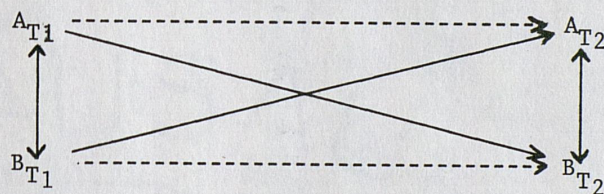
1967. Questionnaires for Time #2 data were administered about one year later, i. e., February-March, 1968. A single form of the questionnaire was used for all grades involved.

Data Analysis

The present study is essentially a panel study of the same subjects over time. That is, we are primarily interested in ". . . predicting from variable A measured at one point in time to variable B measured at a later point in time . . ." ⁴ A technique developed by Campbell and Stanley, called "cross-lagged panel correlation," is designed for this type of analysis. ⁵ It enables one to examine causal directions and is best illustrated by the following diagram.

Figure 5-1*

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of Variables A and B At Times 1 and 2



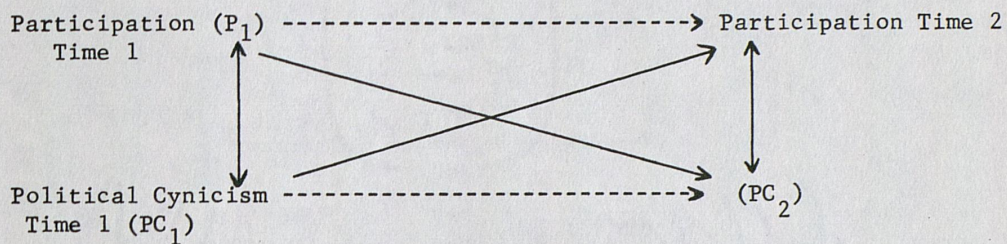
* Figure 5-1 is from Bachman, et. al., p. 97.

"In essence, this technique permits us to infer that A causes B more than B causes A to the extent that the $A_{T1} \leftrightarrow B_{T2}$ correlation is greater than the $B_{T1} \leftrightarrow A_{T2}$ correlation. The additional relationships among the variables indicated by dotted arrows in Figure 5-1 will add to our information about the association between A and B over time." ⁶

In the present study A_{T1} and A_{T2} are the main independent variables-- A_{T1} is participation in community center activities at Time 1 and A_{T2} is participation at Time 2. B_{T1} and B_{T2} will be the main dependent variables and will consist of such variables as political attitudes. For example, Figure 1 is a demonstration of how the diagram would look using Political Cynicism as a dependent variable.

Figure 1

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of Participation and Political Cynicism



In some cases, participation is conceptualized as both independent and dependent variables. The first portion of the study, "Who participates?" involves participation as a dependent variable; the second portion conceptualizes it as an independent variable.

Prior to using the cross-lagged panel techniques we will use Chi-square to ascertain whether there are significant differences between participants and non-participants in the variables to be introduced into the study. If there is no difference, then further analysis to attempt to discover causal paths is not necessary.⁷ Where differences are evident, the analysis will be pursued by means of the cross-lagged technique outlined above. We are, in a sense, using chi-square as a

data reduction device.

With the measures outlined, the task remaining is to discuss the derivation and content of the scales.

Scales and Scores

The scalar measures employed in the present study, for the most part, measure political attitudes and personality characteristics. The first scale mentioned is the political cynicism scale.⁸ (questions 44-48, p. 19, T #1; questions 37-41, p. 12, T #2).

. . . Cynicism is a basic orientation toward political actors and activity. Found empirically to be related to political participation, the presence of distrust and skepticism presumably pervades all encounters with political objects . . . Political cynicism appears to be a manifestation of a deep-seated suspicion of other's motives and actions.⁹

The scale consists of five items and formed a Guttman scale when administered to both parents and children of a national random sample. (Coefficient's of reproducibility of .93 and .92 respectively).¹⁰

The second attitude dimension is political efficacy which is measured by the child's political efficacy index developed by David Easton and Jack Dennis.¹¹ They distinguish

a number of elements which might serve as part of the meaning of political efficacy: a sense of the direct political potency of the individual; a belief in the responsiveness of the government to the desires of individuals; the idea of comprehensibility of government; the availability of adequate means of influence; and a general resistance to fatalism about the tractability of government to anyone, ruler or ruled.¹²

To tap these sub-dimensions of efficacy, they developed an eight item scale (Q. 19-26, pp. 22-23, T #1; Q. 63-69, p. 14, T #2). Analysis of their data yielded the surprising finding that by "grade 3 children have already begun to form an attitude . . . which we could call a sense of political efficacy."¹³

The measure of political knowledge consists of six questions (Q. 15-20, pp. 16-17, T #1; Q. 30-35, p. 11, T #2) which simply ask the child to name different political figures. It was put in the study by the author and was designed to provide as simple an index as possible.

One measure of a personality characteristic is the self-esteem scale (Q. 70-79, pp. 14-15, T #1; Q. 13-22, pp. 9-10, T #2) adopted from Rosenberg.¹⁴ The self-esteem scale is a Guttman scale designed to measure the individual's self image. Rosenberg conceptualizes the self image

as an attitude toward an object. (The term "attitude" is used broadly to include facts, opinions, and values with regard to the self, as well as favorable or unfavorable orientation toward the self). In other words, this study takes as its point of departure the view that people have attitudes toward objects, and that the self is one of the objects toward which one has attitudes.¹⁵

Self-esteem has been shown to relate to a number of factors outside the borders of the individual's psyche. "It extends out into his relationship with other people . . ."¹⁶ Self-esteem appears to be a basic personality characteristic which largely shapes the individual's relationship with his external world.

With our methodology and analytic techniques outlined we are ready to turn our attention to the actual analysis.

Footnotes to Chapter III

¹ On the research population see: Paul Street, et. al., The Knox County Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Preliminary report to the Office of Economic Opportunity, May, 1967, pp. 1-25.

² Hess and Torney, p. 48 used a similar technique.

³ On the use of item analysis for attitude scales see: Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957).

⁴ Jerald G. Bachman, et. al., Youth in Transition, Volume 1: Blueprint for a Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Boys (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1967), p. 97.

⁵ D. T. Campbell and J. C. Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research on Teaching," in N.L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 238-240.

⁶ Bachman, et. al., p. 97.

⁷ As our measure of association to determine these paths we shall employ Goodman and Kruskal's coefficient of Ordinal Association, i. e., Gamma. Since we do not have interval level measurement we cannot use Pearson's r to describe the degree of association. Even though all of our variables do not achieve ordinal level measurement, most of them do, and the benefits to be gained from using a standard measure for all variables outweighs the necessity to comply with statistical convention, especially if convention multiplies confusion. On Gamma see: Linton C. Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics: For Students in Behavioral Science (New York: Wiley, 1965), pp. 79-88.

⁸ The scale of political cynicism is taken from: Jennings and Niemi, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹ David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," The American Political Science Review (March, 1967), pp. 25-38.

¹² Ibid., p. 29.

¹³ Ibid., p. 31.

14 Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 305-307.

15 Ibid., p. 5.

16 Ibid., p. 168.

Chapter IV

Participation Patterns

The Participants: A Statistical Profile

Before investigating the causes of participation it is important to get a brief picture of the participants so we may ascertain whether or not the program is reaching its target population, i. e., the so-called "hard core" poverty group.

Participants are split evenly as to sex (51% male; 49% female). Most of them do not know what their family income is (75%) or are unwilling to say. Their fathers are either laborers (27%) or are unemployed (19%) or deceased (19%), and they come from families in which the parents are poorly educated (See Tables 11 and 12, Chapter IV). Twenty-six percent come from homes in which there is no father and the modal family size is four to six people. In regard to religion, 81% are Baptist and go to church at least once a week (67%). Their political party identification is split (31% Republican, 25% Democrat, and 31% don't know) as is that of their parents.

This brief statistical description does not, of course, tell us whether or not these variables are statistically significant predictors of participation, and it is to this task that we now turn.

Patterns of Participation

In both time one (T_1) and time two (T_2) over 85% of the children have at least heard about the community centers. While most of them

have heard something about the center, in general; less than 45% in both testing periods know anything about the Youth Activities Program. In the preliminary report it was noted that this program needs to be publicized much more. The same recommendation is repeated with added emphasis. The extreme simplicity and logic involved are too evident to merit additional comment. It is obvious that a program cannot reach and affect those who are not aware of its existence.

Moreover, only 52% of our T_1 and T_2 respondents have ever visited a Community Center, while only 34% in T_1 and 39% in T_2 participate in center activities. Participation in center activities is undoubtedly an act requiring greater motivation than merely visiting a center. As one continues to climb the ladder, that is, as participation activity requires the expenditure of greater time and energy, one notes a continuing decline in the percentage who participate.¹ Thus, less than 20% of the respondents have ever visited with a counselor at a center. Table 1 indicates a rather interesting finding regarding the content of what the child discussed with the counselor when they met.

Table 1

What Child Discusses with Counselor

	<u>T_1</u>	<u>T_2</u>
"If you talked with a counselor at a center, were you interested in discussing or receiving help in:"		
Problems concerning home	21%	18
Need for money	4	11
Securing a job	15	20
School Problems	31	31
Other	29	20
TOTAL %	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	52	61

Table 1 demonstrates an increase in the child's desire to discuss economically related categories i. e., "need for money" and "securing a job." These data are congruent with the "economic" approach adopted by the latest O.E.O. director in the county. The fact that there is an increase in those wishing to discuss economic problems may augur well for the success of the continued "economic" approach. Moreover, while the over-all increase in those who wished to discuss problems with a counselor is not great ($T_1 = 21\%$; $T_2 = 25\%$), it is still a manifestation, in less than a year's time, that there is someone available in the county to whom the child can turn for some assistance, and some do in fact seek him out.

The percentage of children who have read anything at the center ($T_1 = 37\%$; $T_2 = 33\%$) is somewhat larger than the percentage who go to the center to discuss problems with a counselor.

Despite this slight increase in participatory activity there is no indication, as shown in Table 2, that the child's opinion of the Youth Activities Program (YAP) is improving.

Table 2
Opinion of YAP

Opinion	<u>T_1</u>	<u>T_2</u>
No opinion	46%	49
Very Poor	7	4
Poor	5	7
Average	19	16
Good	18	16
Excellent	5	8
TOTAL :	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

N = 159

N = 164

$\chi^2 = 4.06$

G = .36*

DF = 5

P = .001

P = .70

* Gamma coefficient is computed for the entire matrix of the ordinal variable.

The relatively high Gamma indicates a significant amount of agreement in the rankings of opinion for the two time periods. While it would have been reassuring to document an increase in favorable orientations toward the program, this result was not manifest, and it is important to find out whether the child's opinions of the program are related to his participation in it.

Given that the data demonstrate a relatively small degree of overt participation the main question becomes: "What variables explain the patterns of participation?" Who, in other words, are the participators and who are the non-participators? Table 3 indicates the relationship between opinion of the program and participation.

Table 3
Relationship between Opinion of
YAP and Participation

Opinion	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
No opinion	25%	66	23%	75
Very poor	4	11	2	5
Poor	5	5	10	5
Average	31	7	28	5
Good	27	9	26	5
Excellent	8	2	11	5
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
	N = 77 N = 82		N = 83 N = 80	
	X ² = 39.46		X ² = 50.99	
	DF = 5		DF = 5	
	P = .001		P = .001	

Table 3 indicates that there is a significant difference in the opinions of participants and non-participants in both T_1 and T_2 , and that opinion is in fact quite strongly related to participation. The differences in Table 3, however, may be thought to be exaggerated due to the presence of the "no opinion" category. It is a fact that non-participants are much more likely to be reluctant to express an opinion.

Table 4 presents the data minus the "no opinion" category and indicates that a significant difference is still present.

Table 4
Relationship between Opinion of
YAP and Participation Minus
"No Opinion" Category

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>T₁</u>		<u>T₂</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
Very Poor	5%	32	3	20
Poor	7	14	12	20
Average	41	21	36	20
Good	36	25	34	20
Excellent	10	7	14	20
TOTAL %	99	99	99	100
	N = 58 N = 28		N = 64 N = 20	
	$\chi^2 = 13.48$		$\chi^2 = 13.72$	
	DF = 4		DF = 4	
	P = .01		P = .01	

Putting the Gamma coefficients into the cross-lagged panel figure yields the following results.

Figure 2

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of Opinion
and Participation

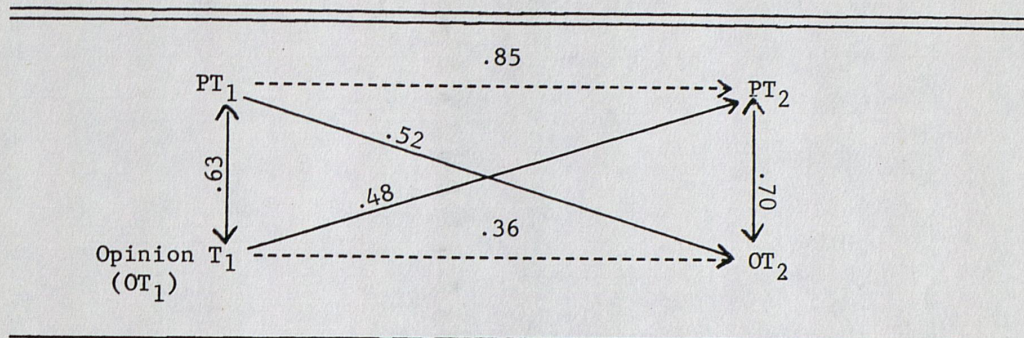


Figure 2 demonstrates that the causal path travels from participation to opinion. Participation is more likely to cause opinions to vary than vice versa. The child's opinion of the program is not a causal variable, and one must look elsewhere to explain participation patterns. More will be said about opinion as an output in the output portion of our discussion.

An earlier analysis of the data lead us to believe that the distance which the child lives from the center constituted an important explanatory variable. Since transportation in Knox County is extremely difficult and most of our sample probably do not have access to automobiles, the distance hypotheses is quite probably important.

Table 5
Relationship between Participation and
Distance of Center from Home

Distance	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
Less than ½ mile	25%	10	19%	14
½ - 1	18	10	27	11
1 - 1½	10	17	14	14
1½ - 2	16	15	15	11
2 - 3	13	9	6	14
3 - 4	10	6	9	13
4 - 5	1	15	3	6
5 - 6	2	8	1	6
6 +	4	9	5	10
TOTAL %	99	99	99	99*
N = 79		N = 143	N = 93	N = 139
X ² = 27.25		X ² = 20.79		
DF = 8		DF = 8		
P = .001		P = .01		
G = .34		G = .32		

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 5 indicates that there is a very definite relationship between participation and distance the child lives from the center. Perusal of the distribution further indicates that distance has a much greater effect upon participants than non-participants. As distance increases, the percentage of participants decreases rather sharply while the percentage of non-participants remains rather stable. Further on in the analysis, we shall have more to say about the role of "distance" as a causal variable. At this time we shall examine additional variables.

Studies of political socialization have indicated that the family is probably the main socializing agent for the child.² Given these

findings one would logically expect that a child whose parents go to the center would be more likely to participate in center activities than the child whose parents do not attend the center. Table 6 indicates that this is the case.

Table 6
Relationship between Participation of
Parents and Participation of Child

<u>Participation of Child</u>	<u>Participation of Parent</u>	
	<u>Participant</u>	<u>Non-Participant</u>
Participant	83%	29
Non-participant	17	71
TOTAL %	100	100
	N = 47	N = 188
	$\chi^2 = 46.28$ DF = 1 P = .001 G = .85	

Unfortunately, we were not able to measure parents' participation in T_1 ; but the data presented indicate that children whose parents are participants are much more likely to be participants themselves, and conversely, that children whose parents do not participate are likely not to participate. Parents' participation, moreover, accounts for more variance than do either distance or the child's opinion of the program. Examination of the same data indicates that children who participate are not necessarily more likely to have parents who participate, while children who do not participate do in fact have parents who are non-participants.

Thus, 62% of participating children have parents who participate while 94% of non-participating children have non-participating parents. However we read it, the data indicate that parents' participation is an important variable. Moreover, as Table 7 indicates, participating parents are more likely, than non-participating parents, to have children with a positive opinion of the program.

Table 7
Relationship between Parents'
Participation and Child's Opinion of
the Program

Child's Opinion	Parents' Participation	
	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
No Opinion	28%	57
Very Poor	5	3
Poor	5	8
Average	14	17
Good	35	8
Excellent	14	6
TOTAL %	101	99*
	N = 43	N = 120
	$\chi^2 = 23.47$	
	DF = 5	
	P = .001	

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

It appears that if one wanted to increase children's participation in the center, one could do so most successfully by inducing more parents to participate. A comprehensive program designed to increase participation would include the above as well as providing some means of transporting the child to the center. Further evidence that distance is

important may be found in the fact that parents' participation is not related to distance ($X^2 = 7.95$; $DF = 8$; $P = .50$), while the child's participation is so related. Providing transportation would increase participation and improve the child's opinion of the program.

We have isolated two key variables that seem to explain participation patterns. To be sure of these findings, it is necessary that we ascertain whether or not demographic factors mediate the discovered relationships. If demographic variables do not themselves relate to participation, then we may have greater confidence in the above findings.

Demographic Variables and
Center Participation

The following tables demonstrate that demographic variables are not related to participation in either Time 1 or Time 2.

Table 8

Relationship between Demographic
Variables and Participation: Time 1

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X^2</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Sex of child	2.40	1	.20
Frequency of church attendance	5.97	4	.20
Religion	4.95	8	.80
Income	8.01	8	.50
Year in school	4.61	7	.70
Father's education	9.48	6	.20
Mother's education	13.47	6	.05
Father's occupation	7.48	8	.50

Table 9

Relationship between Demographic
Variables and Participation: Time 2

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Sex of child	.14	1	.70
Frequency of church attendance	8.67	4	.10
Religion	9.23	8	.50
Income	7.25	8	.70
Year in school	13.77	7	.10
Father's education	15.43	6	.02
Mother's education	13.22	6	.05

As Tables 8 and 9 indicate, the education of the parents is the only variable that is significantly related to the child's participation in the center.

Closer examination of these variables is, therefore, in order.
(Tables and 10 and 11).

Table 10

Relationship between Mother's
Education and Child's Participation

<u>Mother's education</u>	<u>T₁</u>		<u>T₂</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
No school	5%	2	2%	4
Grade school (1-6)	27	26	24	29
Junior high school (7-9)	38	29	41	27
Some high school (10-11)	15	15	18	11
Completed high school	5	23	9	22
Some college	4	4	2	6
Completed college	3	1	2	1
TOTAL %	99*	100	98	100
N	73	121	87	111

$X^2 = 13.47$, $DF = 6$,
 $P = .05$, $G = .21$

$X^2 = 13.22$, $DF = 6$,
 $P = .05$, $G = .07$

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 11

Relationship between Father
Education and Child's Participation

Father's education	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
No school	9%	3	2%	7
Grade school (1-6)	42	33	43	30
Junior high school (7-9)	33	27	34	26
Some high school (10-11)	7	13	12	10
Completed high school	6	13	7	14
Some college	1	5	1	7
Completed college	1	4	0	6
TOTAL %	99*	98	99	100
	N = 67	N = 114	N = 83	N = 101
	$\chi^2 = 9.48$		$\chi^2 = 15.43$	
	DF = 6		DF = 6	
	P = .20		P = .02	
	G = .31		G = .22	

Tables 10 and 11 indicate that as the education of the parents increases, participation tends to drop off. Children with poorly educated parents are more likely to participate than those with better educated parents. This is not unexpected since the program is designed to reach "hard core" poverty groups who are probably also the least educated.

It would appear, therefore, that we have isolated three variables which could conceivably cause the child to participate in community center activities--distance, parents' participation, and parents' education.

We are, unfortunately, unable to use our cross-lagged paradigm on these three participation agents, because they were not measured in both time periods. We can, however, isolate causal paths by using a form of the Simon-Blalock causal model.³ In so doing, we will be able to determine the path of causality leading to the child's participation

in the program. The model enables us

to make causal inferences concerning the adequacy of causal models, at least in the sense that we can proceed by eliminating inadequate models that make predictions that are not consistent with the data.⁴

Three different models are proposed, and those that "make prediction equations inconsistent with the actual relationships between the variables in the system are rejected."⁵ The models proposed will fill out the first portion of our basic paradigm. The usual procedure in using this method has been to propose a model derived from prior theoretical literature and proceed to test the alternative causal paths. In our case there is little or no such literature upon which to base our derivation of the model. We have, consequently, empirically eliminated possible alternatives until we are left with the basic models in Figures 3 and 4. Figure 4 presents the three possible participatory-inducing variables and, the coefficients between them, and the other two elements of the first half of the model, i. e., parents' participation and child participation in community center activities.

Figure 3

Basic Participatory Model

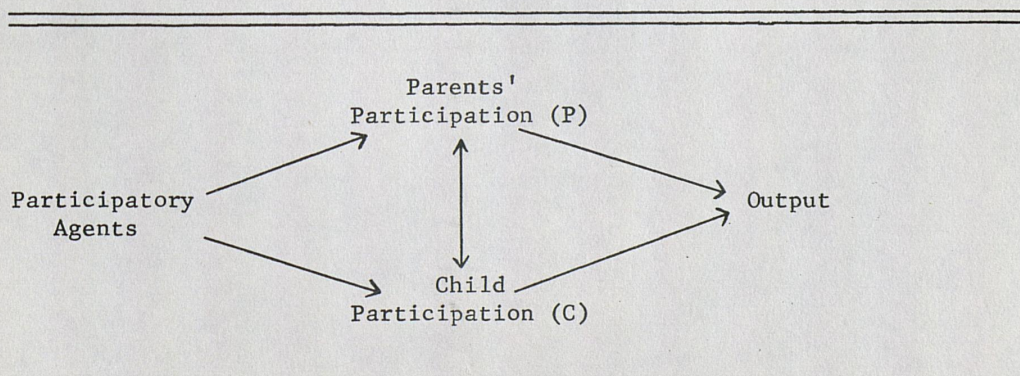
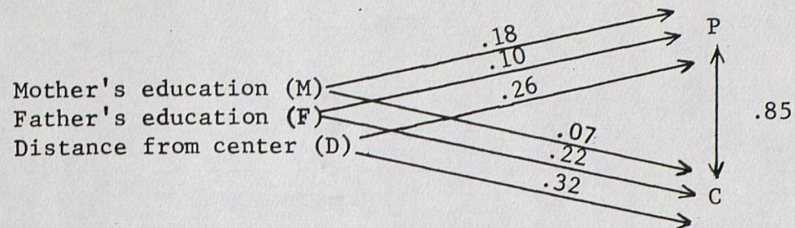


Figure 4

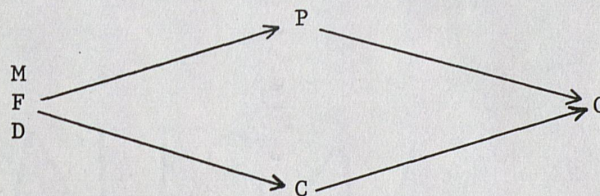
Basic Participatory Model: First Half
Including Coefficients

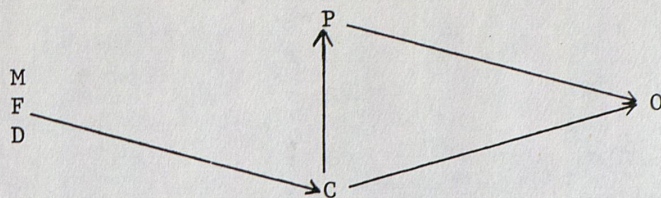


The question to be answered is: Is child participation caused by parental participation or by the other socialization variables? The three basic alternative models are presented in Figure 5.

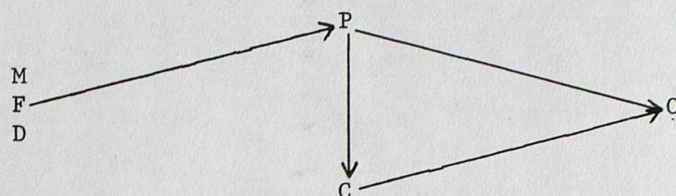
Figure 5

Three Alternate Causal Models





Model 1b. Developmental sequence from M, F, or D to C to P.



Model 1c. Developmental sequence from M, F, or D to P to C.

Tables 12, 13, and 14 give the prediction equations for models 1a., 1b. and 1c.

Table 12

Prediction Equations and Degree of Fit for Participatory
Model: First Half-Mother's Education

Predictions		Degree of Fit	
Models	Predicted	Actual	Difference
1a. GMP, GMC = GPC	$(.18)(.07) = .01$	.85	.84
1b. GMC, GPC = GMP	$(.07)(.85) = .06$	.18	.12
1c. GMP, GPC = GMC	$(.18)(.85) = .15$	.07	.08

Table 13

Prediction Equations and Degree of Fit for Participatory
Model: First Half-Father's Education

<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1a. GFP, GFC = GPC	$(.10)(.22) = .02$	.85	.83
1b. GFC, GPC = GFP	$(.22)(.85) = .19$	.10	.09
1c. GFP, GPC = GFC	$(.10)(.85) = .085$	.22	.135

Table 14

Prediction Equations and Degree of Fit for Participatory
Model: First Half-Distance

<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1a. GDP, GDC = GPC	$(.26)(.32) = .08$	.85	.77
1b. GDC, GPC = GDP	$(.22)(.85) = .27$	.26	.01
1c. GDP, GPC = GDC	$(.26)(.85) = .22$	.32	.10

The conclusions are mixed. For mother's education models 1a. and 1b. are rejected. There is no causal link between mother's education and child participation. Regarding father's education and distance models 1a. and 1c. are rejected. Both father's education and distance are directly related to child participation in community center activities. These findings leave us with two basic models of participation, and three primary causes of child participation.

The findings regarding this portion of our analysis are entirely congruent with those of other socialization studies which have demonstrated

the family's importance as a socializing agent. In this case we have succeeded in extending this dynamic into the realm of the family as an agent inducing the child to participate in the "War on Poverty."

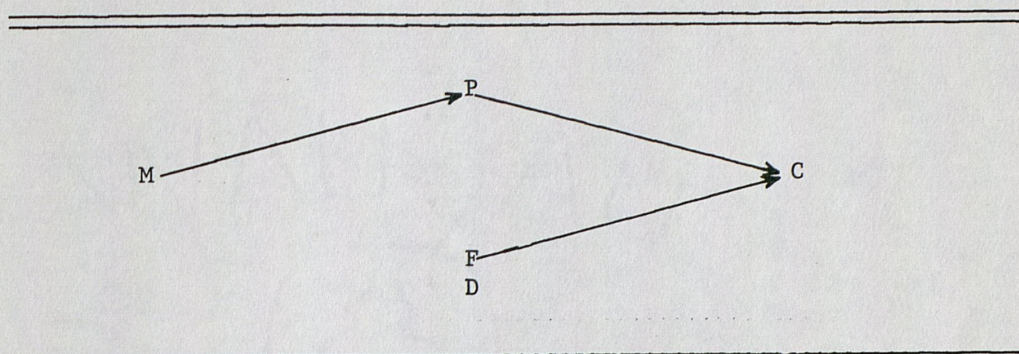
Possibly the most important finding to emerge is that in all three cases model 1a., which posits no causal link between parental participation and child participation, is overwhelmingly rejected in each analytic computation, while the "rejection margin" for models 1b. and 1c. is at all times extremely narrow. We may say with great confidence, therefore, that the model positing no causal link between P and C is not acceptable.

Summary

We have found that three variables are consistent indicators of child participation: Parents' participation, father's education, and distance from the center. This finding is further highlighted by noting that other usually salient variables such as the political party identification of the mother and father do not relate to participation. The conclusion is unmistakable. Only two stimuli related to the family are influential in inducing participation. This finding is more interesting when we note that none of the above variables are significantly related to the child's opinion of the center, giving further confirmation to the earlier finding that participation is more likely to cause opinion than vice versa. These data, then, leave us with the following model:

Figure 6

Final Participatory Model: First Half



Thus, mother's education is causally related to parents' participation which is related to child participation, while father's education and distance are directly related to the child's participation. In other words, we have discovered two causal participatory-inducing agents which are related to the family, and one that is not related to the family.

As noted above, these findings are congruent with those uncovered by prior studies of political socialization which have found that the family is one of the main agents of political socialization. We have found that the family is an important agent in socializing the child to participate in community center activities. We shall, therefore, concentrate from this point, on the remaining agents of socialization in an attempt to discover whether the family is in fact the primary participatory inducing agent. Before we may conclude this, we must examine other family-related factors and thence look into the other socializing agents. This is crucial, for if we discover that the family is the main participatory-inducing agent, then the inculcation of child participation, in the hope of achieving the long range O.E.O. goals, will have to emphasize

increasing parental participation--not necessarily with the goal of modifying parental behavior patterns but as a crucial communication link with the child.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

¹ Findings similar to this are common in the literature on general political participation. See, for example, Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965).

² On the importance of the family as an agent see: Greenstein, Children and Politics and M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, LXXII (March, 1968), pp. 169-184; James C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization," The Annals, 361 (1965), pp. 10-19; Frank A. Pinner, "Parental Over-protection and Political Distrust," The Annals, 361 (1965), pp. 58-72; and Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 93-101.

³ On the Simon-Blalock model see: Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 62; Hervert A. Simon, "Spurious Correlations: A Causal Interpretation," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 49 (1954), 467-479. For applications of the model see: Charles F. Cnudde and Donald J. McCrone, "The Linkage Between Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting Behavior: A Causal Model," The American Political Science Review, LX (March, 1966), pp. 66-72; Donald J. McCrone and Charles F. Cnudde, "Toward a Communications Theory of Democratic Political Development: A Causal Model," The American Political Science Review, LXI (March, 1967), pp. 72-79; and Arthur S. Goldberg, "Discerning a Causal Pattern Among Data on Voting Behavior," The American Political Science Review, LX (December, 1966), pp. 913-922.

⁴ Blalock, p. 62. Also Simon, pp. 467-479.

⁵ McCrone and Cnudde, p. 74. Also see: Blalock, pp. 60-94.

Chapter V

Socializing Agents and Participation

It is almost a truism that ". . . exactly what is learned will depend upon the sort of people who play the role of socializer to the child."¹ It has been hypothesized that all of the following act as socializers or agents of political socialization: family, school, church, peer groups, and mass media.² The immediate question to be answered is: "Do these agents operate to induce the child to participate in community center activities?"

Family Agents and Child Participation

Most scholars of political socialization agree that the family is one of the most pervasive agents. This stands to reason, for the child is usually exposed to familial influence for a long period of time. This exposure results in several classes of behavior which may be acquired through parental agents.³ For example, studies have demonstrated that the child tends to assimilate the party preference of the parent⁴ and to prefer the parents as sources of voting advice.⁵

Table 15

Relationship between Family-Related
Variables and Participation: Time 1

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Father Absence	1.84	1	.20
Number of People in Home	3.45	4	.50
Members of Family holding political office	.47	1	.50
Parents talk politics	1.39	1	.30
Child's perceived influence in family	5.33	2	.10
Family interaction	3.50	2	.20
Discuss politics with family	3.65	3	.30
Parents as sources of voting advice	4.05	5	.70

Table 16

Relationship between Family-Related
Variables and Participation: Time 2

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Father Absence	.50	1	.50
Number of people in home	5.74	4	.30
Members of family holding political office	.01	1	.90
Parents talk politics	2.94	1	.10
Child's perceived influence in family	.28	2	.90
Family interaction	6.55	2	.05
Discuss politics with family	11.07	3	.02
Parents as sources of voting advice	2.99	5	.70

If the family is such an important socializing agent, it should extend its dynamic influence into the area of participation. We have already found that the education level of both parents, as well as their participation in the center, are related to the child's participation

pattern. Further analysis (Tables 15, 16) reveals that there are only two additional family-related variables relating to the child's participation, i. e., family interaction and the frequency with which the child discusses politics with his family. These occur in our time 2 measurement, and when the "don't know" response is extracted for the family interaction variable, the result is no longer statistically significant. Therefore, political discussion is the only variable meriting additional attention.

Table 17
Relationship between Participation and Frequency Child
Discusses Politics with Family

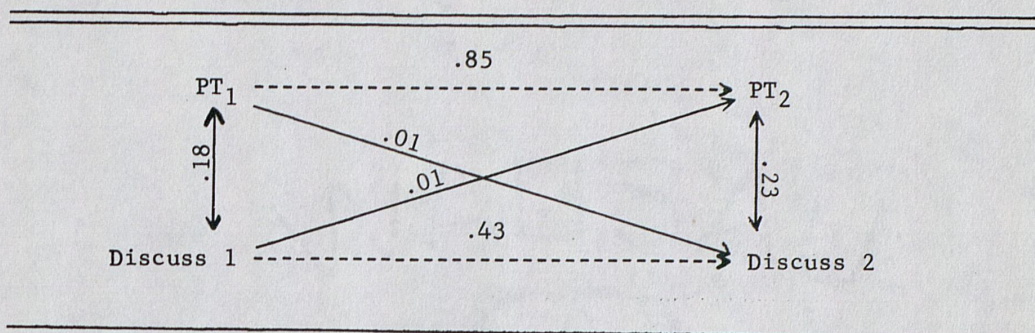
	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
Never	38%	51	27	45
Once or twice a year	12	9	8	9
A few times a month	26	20	34	18
Several times a week	25	20	31	27
	101*	100	100	99*
	N = 77	N = 143	N = 94	N = 142
	X ² = 3.65		X ² = 11.07	
	DF = 3		DF = 3	
	P = .30		P = .02	
	G = .18		G = .23	

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 17 demonstrates that T₂ participants discuss politics with their family more often than non-participants. However, if we place the correlation coefficients into the cross-lagged paradigm we find that no causal direction is evident (Figure 7).

Figure 7

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Discussion of Politics with
Family and Participation



The difference still suggests the possible existence of a communication variable which can be tested by examining how the parent's role as an agent of information transmission is related to participation. Tables 18 and 19 demonstrate that in no case is there a statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in their ranking of the parents as agents of information transmission. The parents' rank as agents of information transmission is clearly not related to the child's participatory pattern. It would appear, therefore, that variables usually thought to play a role in the family's operation as an agent of political socialization are not influential in inducing the child to participate in center activities.

The fact that variables related to family communication and interaction are not related to participation could be due to the fact that by participating in the activities of the center, the parent is providing a model for the child to imitate. Without going into all the complexities of social learning theory, it is important to note that one of the ways man learns is through the imitation of models.⁶ This process has been

Table 18

Relationship between Rank of Parents as
Agents of Information Transmission
On Four Levels of Government and Participation: Time 1

	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Mother - Local	5.72	7	.70
Father - Local	9.07	7	.30
Mother - State	7.71	7	.50
Father - State	7.07	7	.50
Mother - National	13.04	7	.10
Father - National	13.07	7	.10
Mother - International	1.00	7	.99
Father - International	8.98	7	.30

Table 19

Relationship between Rank of Parents as
Agents of Information Transmission
On Four Levels of Government and Participation: Time 2

	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Mother - Local	9.38	7	.30
Father - Local	2.52	7	.95
Mother - State	7.38	7	.50
Father - State	3.17	7	.90
Mother - National	12.03	7	.10
Father - National	9.40	7	.20
Mother - International	7.19	7	.30
Father - International	2.34	7	.90

found to be influential in political learning⁷ and is undoubtedly at work here.

The implications of this are quite profound. If the provision of participating models is the primary means of inducing the Appalachian child to participate in the program, then this dynamic should extend its influence into additional aspects of Appalachian life. Consequently, if one is interested in changing behavior patterns it is probably important to provide the child with new models to whom he can look. Since we have ascertained that parental models are important, we shall now examine the remaining hypothesized models or agents to see if they are related to participation.

Peers as Participation-Inducing Agents

The role of peers as agents of political socialization has not been adequately investigated. Langton does note that the peer group is one of the agents which transmits the culture of the society of which it is a part, but does not say much else.⁸ Since it is a hypothesized agent, we must examine it in relation to participation.

Using variables similar to those for the parents we find that only one peer-related variable is related to participation. Membership in the 4-H club accounts for a high percentage of the variance in the child's participatory activity (Table 20). However, even though it is true that more participants than non-participants are members of the 4-H, it remains that only a minority of participants are members, and that this dynamic does not extend into membership in other peer organizations (Table 19). We cannot say, consequently, that membership in peer organizations is a highly efficacious predictor of the child's participation.

Table 20

Relationship between Membership in 4-H
Club and Participation

Member	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
Yes	39%	6	37	3
No	61	94	63	97
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

N = 69 N = 126 N = 79 N = 127

$X^2 = 34.91$ $X^2 = 40.77$
 DF = 1 DF = 1
 P = .001 P = .001

Table 21

Relationship between Membership in
Peer Organizations and Participation

Organization	X^2		DF	P	
	T ₁	T ₂		T ₁	T ₂
Boy Scouts	.11	1.45	1	.80	.30
Girl Scouts	.25	3.99	1	.70	.05
FFA	1.45	2.35	1	.30	.20

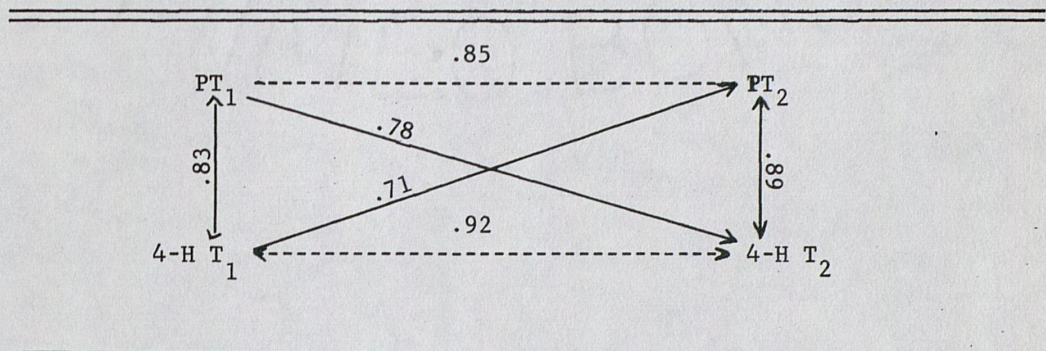
Yet, there is some indication that membership in these organizations has increased between time 1 and time 2. For all the organizations the correlation has increased, although the difference between participants and non-participants is not nearly as large as for the 4-H. It would appear, therefore, that participation in the center extends into other realms of peer youth activity. Thus, it is not that membership in the 4-H "causes" an increase in participation, but, as demonstrated by Figure

8, that participation in the program is more likely to cause the child to be a member of the 4-H club.

Peer-related variables are, therefore, not nearly as influential participation-inducing agents as family related variables, but they are related to the output side of our model.

Figure 8

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Membership in 4-H Club



The School as a Participation-Inducing Agent

The school environment presents to the child another possible source of models that may induce child participation. The exact role the school plays as an agent of political socialization is unclear. There is disagreement, in fact, whether or not it is even an important agent.

Greenstein regards the family as the most important agent, while Hess and Torney feel that "the public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States."⁹ This blunt statement, in turn, does not entirely accord with data from a national study of high school seniors. Langton and Jennings find that the school has little or no relationship to the political socialization

of the middle class portion of their sample, but has rather profound implications for a Negro sub-sample.¹⁰

Evidence concerning the role of the school is, therefore, rather mixed. Intuitively, one would expect the Appalachian sub-culture to manifest a result similar to that which Langton and Jennings found for the Negro sub-sample. One could logically expect this since both groups would represent low SES sub-cultures and since the school, as Friedenburg states, is the

chief formal social institution bearing on the adolescent . . . The school is the official agent--the contemporary secular arm--by which society deals with adolescents. As such, the school is peculiarly representative of social forces and demands.¹¹

We shall proceed, then, to examine the school's role as a participatory-inducing agent.

Table 22

Relationship between School-Related Variables and Participation: Time 1

<u>Variables</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Taken a civics course	5.83	1	.02
Run for school office	11.49	1	.001
Member of:			
Athletic Team	4.93	1	.05
Band	.12	1	.80
Debate or Speech Club	.09	1	.80
Held School Office	.79	1	.50

Table 23

Relationship between School-Related
Variables and Participation: Time 2

<u>Variables</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Taken a civics course	.86	1	.50
Run for school office	5.78	1	.02
Member of:			
Athletic Team	2.32	1	.20
Band	.27	1	.70
Debate or Speech Club	3.49	1	.10
Held school office	.66	1	.50

Tables 22 and 23 indicate that three school-related variables discriminate participants from non-participants and merit additional analysis. It is interesting to note that "attendance in a civics course" and "membership on an athletic team" do so significantly only in time one, while "running for school office" is significant in both time periods.

Table 24

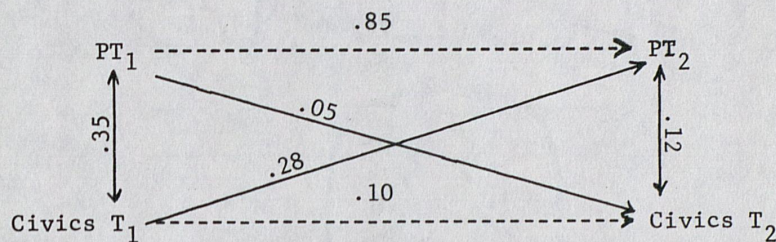
Relationship between Attendance in a
"course that required you to pay attention
to current events, public affairs,
and politics" and Participation

<u>Taken Course</u>	<u>T₁</u>		<u>T₂</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
Yes	73%	57	58	51
No	27	43	42	49
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
N	79	162	92	142

Table 24 indicates that the percentage of both participants and non-participants who have taken a course oriented to politics has decreased and that the difference between them has disappeared. Placing the data into the cross-lagged paradigm indicates a causal direction. Attendance in a course is more likely to cause participation than vice versa.

Figure 9

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Attendance in
a "Civics" Course



Examination for the data on athletic team membership yields a different result. Figure 10 indicates that participation seems to cause the child to join an athletic team. This finding is probably related to our earlier finding which indicated a similar causal direction in regard to 4-H membership. Participation may be responsible for the inculcation of a more general participatory ethic.

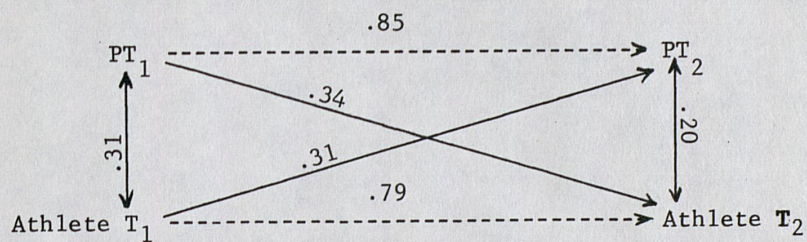
Table 25

Relationship between Membership on an
Athletic Team and Participation

Member of team	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
Yes	50%	34	50	39
No	50	66	50	61
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
N	74	145	91	140

Figure 10

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Athletic Team Membership



Another successful predictor of participation among the school-related variables is running for a school office.

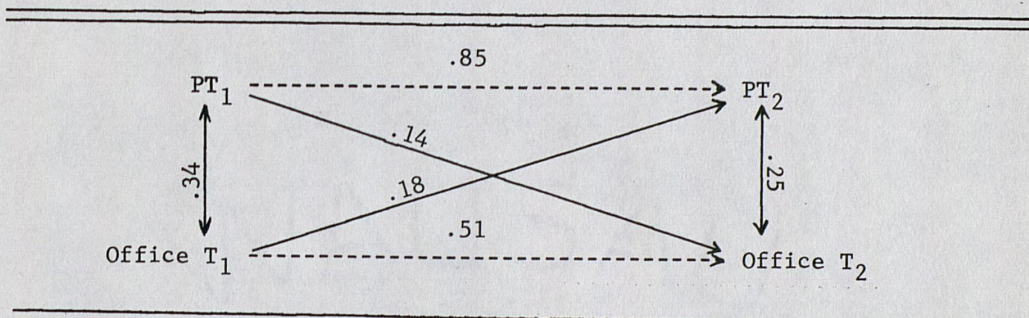
Table 26

Relationship between Running for
Office and Participation

Run for Office	T ₁		T ₂	
	P	N-P	P	N-P
No	41%	64	46	62
Yes	59	36	54	38
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
N	78	146	94	141

Figure 11

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Running for Office



On the other hand, running for office is similar to taking a civics course. Those who have run are more likely to participate. We are witnessing growing evidence for the inculcation by the program of a general participatory norm. At the same time, those who have participated in other activities are likewise more likely to participate in the center. The child's participation in the community center is probably one of his first general participatory activities and is most likely generalized into a more comprehensive behavior pattern which stimulates the child to

"come out of his shell" and participate in a greater number of activities. It also acts to reinforce earlier participatory motivation.

To gain additional certainty concerning the findings regarding the effect of "civics course" and "running for office" we have analyzed them in the same manner as the earlier variables. The prediction equations are presented in Tables 27 and 28.

Table 27

Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Participatory Model: First Half-
Civics Course (CC)

Predictions		Degree of Fit	
Models	Predicted	Actual	Difference
1a. GCCP, GCCC = GPC	$(.06)(.28) = .02$	.85	.83
1b. GCCC, GCP = GCCP	$(.28)(.85) = .24$	.06	.18
1c. GCCP, GPC = GCCC	$(.06)(.85) = .05$	.28	.23

Table 28

Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Participatory Model: First Half-
Run for Office (R)

Models	Predicted	Actual	Difference
1a. GRP, GRC = GPC	$(.16)(.18) = .03$	.85	.82
1b. GRC, GCP = GRP	$(.18)(.85) = .15$	.16	.01
1c. GRP, GPC = GRC	$(.16)(.85) = .14$	.18	.04

The data demonstrate that models 1a. and 1c. are rejected. Consequently, these two variables are directly related to child participation and are aligned with Father's education and distance.

It is true, however, that the civics course data do not fit the models nearly as well as the other variables, and the data on running for office do not account for as much variance as the previous findings. Thus, for the sake of theoretical parsimony we shall subjectively relegate them to the status of

"second class" causal variables. Examination of the other hypothesized agents could conceivably add to the basic model.

The Media as a Participation-Inducing Agent

Political scientists have largely ignored the mass media as possible agents of political socialization. Greenstein notes they are important, but presents no data other than the number of hours children spend in front of the television set.¹² It is necessary, therefore, that we turn to learning theory to give us some indication of the media's potential influence.

The largest group of models discussed by Bandura and Walters are symbolic models.¹³ Symbolic models include: pictorially presented or audio-visual stimuli such as provided in films and television; audio stimuli such as radio; and visual stimuli such as newspapers.¹⁴ Though such models clearly induce rather specific kinds of behavior, like performing aggressive acts,¹⁵ their increasing availability may have broader implications.

In this section media usage is conceptualized as both a dependent and an independent variable. That is, media may act as models inducing participation or participation in the center may "cause" greater media usage. In either case, if this dynamic is present there should be a statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in their patterns of media consumption. (Data are presented in Tables 29 and 30.)

Table 29

Relationship between Participation
and Media - Variables: Time 1

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Watch TV	4.26	1	.05
Hours TV exposure	6.33	5	.20
Type TV exposure	5.88	5	.50
Listen to radio	.02	1	.90
Hours radio exposure	.65	5	.99
Type radio exposure	1.35	4	.90
Read Newspaper	.98	1	.50
Which paper read	6.97	6	.50
Section of paper read	6.96	4	.20
Often read front page	.20	3	.70
Receive paper in home	2.14	1	.20
Which paper receive	11.66	6	.01
Read magazines	.33	1	.70
Type of magazine	2.71	6	.90
Read books	2.16	1	.20
Use bookmobile	.99	1	.50
Use library	1.51	1	.30

Table 30

Relationship between Participation and
Media - Variables: Time 2*

<u>Variable</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Watch TV	.07	1	.80
Hours TV exposure	3.22	5	.70
Type TV exposure	5.54	5	.50
Listen to radio	2.50	1	.20
Hours radio exposure	4.48	5	.50
Type radio exposure	6.23	4	.20
Read Newspaper	2.07	1	.20
Which paper read	4.93	6	.70
Section of paper read	5.48	4	.30

* Measures on books, magazines and movies not taken in T₂

The data are striking. There is a statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in only one case, and here the amount of variance accounted for is miniscule. Media usage is simply not related in any way to participation in community center activities.

Personality and Participation

The personality of the child has been posited as influencing the socialization process. According to Hess and Torney, "these individual characteristics influence socializing efforts of the family, school and other agents, and limit the extent of learning."¹⁶ These authors state that the main factor which limits the child's ability to assimilate what is taught is intelligence.¹⁷ While we were unable to obtain measures of the child's intelligence we have measured one other personality factor that has been identified as influencing political orientations. Rosenberg has demonstrated that self-esteem is related to interest in, and discussion of, public affairs.¹⁸ One might expect that self-esteem would relate to participation in center activities.

Table 31

Relationship between Self-Esteem
and Participation

	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Self-Esteem: T ₁	19.19	19	.50
Self-Esteem: T ₂	3.33	19	.99

Table 31 indicated that there is no relationship between self-esteem and participation. There is no indication, therefore, that self-esteem would be causally related to participation.

Who Participates

The answer to the question "Who participates?" is not complicated. There are three basic variables that are causally related to participation. First, the most powerful index of child participation is family participation. Children whose parents participate are themselves likely to participate. Second, father's education. The education level of the participating child's father is lower than that of the non-participating child. Third, distance the child lives from the center. The closer he lives the more likely the Appalachian child is to participate. One additional variable, running for school office, has been found to be related to participation, but accounts for a smaller amount of the variance than the other variables. Examination of the other hypothesized agents of socialization indicated that no peer, media or personality variables were causally related to participation patterns.

The fact that "family-related variables" are the most valid predictors of child participation leads to the hypothesis that the child who participates is in all probability relying upon the presence of a participating family model at work in his primary environment. Observational learning, that is learning by the imitation of models, is a pervasive influence upon myriad forms of behavior. By extrapolation it is logical to expect the presence of a participating model to influence the child's participatory patterns. We have found this to be so and the implications for social action programs are indeed profound. The extension of the modeling process into the realm of induction of participatory patterns means that the focus of the program should be altered.

It is probably true that the presentation of desirable models to the Appalachian child would do more to bring about desired change than all the games and other youth activities now provided. The Appalachian child is now confronted with models drawn primarily from his poverty sub-culture. This is particularly disastrous in regard to such factors as the male models provided to the male child. Weller states that the Appalachian male is

no longer able to be the breadwinner, no longer able to make his own independent way, has lost his traditional reason for living. . . Frustrated at every turn, the mountaineer has suffered a loss of self, or worth. Once the dominant member of the family, he is now its burden. Forced to sit at home, unemployed, while his family suffers or becomes the object of various forms of relief, he becomes discouraged and beaten. . . the whole image of maleness has suffered.¹⁹

If he is correct, then the Appalachian male child is probably modeling an impaired model who will transfer his own feelings of low esteem. The introduction of new models into the Appalachian culture is a prerequisite to the alteration of established behavior patterns.

The question becomes, of course, "how do you implement this?" One might expect the teacher to act as such a model. However, the Appalachian teacher acts, for the most part, to reinforce traditional culture patterns, and is not, moreover, a particularly salient political model for the child.²⁰ One possibility is to use the community center as a vehicle. In doing so the emphasis of the youth program would have to be shifted away from games toward the provision of models.

One might take as an example the "Big Brother" program now operative in certain areas of the country. This program provides a face to face

relationship between a male child with no father figure in his primary environment and an adequate adult male. The program provides several hours of contact per week. If such a program were to be instituted in Appalachia, contact would have to be more extended. It would also require that the "new" model tread softly so as not to incur the animosity of the native residents. Admittedly this is no easy task. The requirements of man power and financing would be great, but if we are serious about "fighting poverty" we can do no less.

It is of course possible that the success of the adult portion of the program might successfully alter the established culture patterns and change the adult male so that he would become such a model. Analysis of this aspect of the program is outside of the present author's purview. Yet it is important to stress the need for continuation of an adult program. For if the child were to go back into the primary environment, any results would immediately begin to dissipate. We are, in other words, making a plea for a form of wholesale family therapy with concentration upon the child. The findings of the present report underscore the need for such an approach.

Having thus discussed the input side of our model it is time to turn our attention to the "output" or "results of the program" side. If we find that nothing much has occurred we shall have further confirmation of the need for new approaches.

Footnotes for Chapter V

¹ Irwin L. Child, "Socialization," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesely, 1954), pp. 686-687.

² On the agents of socialization see footnote 30.

³ For summaries of the relevant literature see Herbert Hirsch, Political Socialization in Appalachia. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky, 1968.

⁴ Hess and Torney, p. 185.

⁵ Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 103 and 119.

⁶ On imitative learning see: Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters, Social Learning and Personality Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963); Morton Deutsch and Robert M. Krauss, Theories in Social Psychology (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp. 77-101; and studies cited therein.

⁷ Hirsch, Political Socialization in Appalachia.

⁸ Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Groups and School and the Political Socialization Process," The American Political Science Review, LXI, 3 (September, 1967), p. 752.

⁹ Hess and Torney, p. 200.

¹⁰ Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, Forthcoming, September, 1968.

¹¹ Edgar Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 37. Also see: Francis J. Brown, The Sociology of Childhood (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939).

¹² Greenstein, International Encyclopedia, p. 6.

¹³ Bandura and Walters, p. 49.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 61-63; 73-76; 82; 117. Also see: Leonard Berkowitz, Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), Chapter 9, pp. 229-255.

¹⁶ Hess and Torney, pp. 183-184.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 184.

¹⁸ Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image (Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 206-223.

¹⁹ Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 76-77.

²⁰ Hirsch, op. cit., Chapter VI.

Chapter VI

Program Outputs

This chapter is concerned with the second half of the paradigm proposed at the outset of this study, i. e.,

Child Participation \longrightarrow Output

If the Community Action Program is to have any lasting effect upon the political socialization of the Knox County child, then the community center must supplement and/or replace the traditional agents of socialization, i. e., the family, school, peers, and the media. This is a necessity, because it is rather naive to expect a program which has been operative for about a year's time to have any appreciable impact upon a process of socialization that has been in operation for, in this case, anywhere from 9 to 19 years. In order to get some approximation of the long range impact of the CAP program we shall examine the role that the community center has come to play as an agent of political socialization. If there is some indication that the center is beginning to manifest itself as a salient agent, then we shall have some indication that it may have a long range impact upon the political behavior of the Knox County child. It would, of course, be most desirable to follow up the present study in five or ten years to truly ascertain what the program has accomplished. We shall concentrate for now upon the immediate impact of participation upon the attitudes and aspirations of the youth of the area.

It has been hypothesized:

That the Youth Development Program will have a measurable impact upon youth in the areas served by the Program and particularly among those directly participating, toward:

- (a) Development of social and civic adequacy,
- (b) Vocational efficacy,
- (c) Educational efficacy.¹

In line with (a), we are going to look at political knowledge and attitudes.

Regarding (b) we shall look at the level of aspiration and "jobs" which the children will be satisfied or dis-satisfied with.

Regarding (c), we will look at the participation in extracurricular activities.

Participation and Political Knowledge and Interest

The data regarding the relationship between participation in the center and political knowledge are not encouraging. There is no statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in their level of political knowledge in either T_1 or T_2 (χ^2 for $T_1 = 2.25$; $DF = 5$; $P = .90$; χ^2 for $T_2 = 1.59$; $DF = 5$; $P = .90$). The relationship between participation and interest in politics is not any more encouraging. There is no statistical difference between participants and non-participants in political interest. Nor is there any significant difference between participants and non-participants in their expressed preference for a political party. An overwhelming percentage of both groups state that they will vote and state a party preference.

Table 32

Relationship between Participation
and Political Party Preference

<u>Party</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
Republican	42%	40
Independent	9	4
Democrat	49	55
TOTAL %	100	99
N	74	47
	$\chi^2 = 2.07$	
	DF = 2	
	P = .50	

It appears, therefore, that participation has had little if any appreciable effect upon the child's political knowledge, political interest or political party identification. The fact is that there are no statistically significant differences between participants and non-participants.

Participation and Political Attitudes

If participation has any affect upon "social and civic adequacy" the results should manifest themselves in attitudinal differences between participants and non-participants. Thus, if participation is a crucial variable in political attitude formation, we might expect participants to demonstrate a higher sense of efficacy and lower sense of political cynicism than non-participants. The data do not corroborate these expectations. As Table 33 demonstrates there is no statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in efficacy or cynicism.

Table 33

Relationship between Participation
and Attitudinal Variables

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Political efficacy: T ₁	38.54	31	.20
Political efficacy: T ₂	18.40	31	.98
Political cynicism: T ₁	7.16	12	.90
Political cynicism: T ₂	3.34	12	.99

Examination of the raw data regarding efficacy confirms the finding that participation is not related to efficacy. The data show that participants have a lower sense of efficacy than non-participants. Thus, participation in the program has done nothing to elevate the efficaciousness of the Appalachian child.

Further confirmation of the finding that participation is not related to attitude change is found by examining the correlations between a series of individual civil rights attitudes and participation. In only one case is there a significant relationship (Table 34). Consequently, the conclusion regarding the first portion of our general hypothesis is that participation has not resulted in the "development of a sense of civic adequacy." In regard to social adequacy the findings are similar.

Table 34

Relationship between Civil Rights
Attitudes and Participation**

	<u>Ø</u>	<u>P</u>
Public officials should be chosen by majority votes	*	*
If a Negro were legally elected mayor of your city or sheriff of your county, the white people should not allow him to take office.	.10	.10
If a Communist were legally elected mayor of your city or sheriff of your county, the people should not allow him to take office.	*	*
If a person wanted to make a speech in your neighborhood against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak.	.04	.30
If an admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your neighborhood favoring Communism, he should be allowed to speak.	.10	.11
A Negro should not be allowed to run for mayor of your city or sheriff of your county.	.17	.02
People of different races should not dance together.	.04	.30
Swimming pools should admit people of all races and nationalities to swim in the same pool.	.05	.27
There should be laws against marriage between persons of different races.	*	*
Hotels are right to refuse to admit people of certain races or nationalities.	*	*
Pupils of all races and nationalities should attend school together everywhere in this country.	.05	.27

*CORRELATION BELOW .01

**Phi coefficients are reported because data are dichotomous. Probability levels are based on the normal Z deviate. For method of computation see: John G. Peatmen, Introduction to Applied Statistics (New York: Harper, 1963), p. 270.

Participation and Social Adequacy

The second portion of part "a" of the hypothesis posits that participation will be related to the development of feelings of "social adequacy" on the part of the participating child. We have chosen to use as a measure of social adequacy a scale measuring "faith-in-people." Our expectations are that by participating in the program the child will eventually come to feel that people are concerned and will manifest this by a generally positive image of people.

Table 35

Relationship between Participation
and Faith-in-People

	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Faith-in-people: T ₁	1.65	7	.98
Faith-in-people: T ₂	5.95	7	.70

Table 35 indicates that this is not the case. Participation is not related to faith-in-people. We have not succeeded in isolating any output variant from the program which related to the development of "social adequacy." If this finding generalizes to other dimensions, then parts "b" and "c" of our general hypothesis should fair equally as bad.

Participation and Vocational Efficacy

Our measure of "vocational efficacy" is relatively simple. It consists of asking what jobs the child would or would not be satisfied with.

Table 36
Relationship between Participation
and Job Aspiration**

Job	T ₁		T ₂	
	χ^2	P	χ^2	P
Restaurant worker	.07	.80	.21	.70
Lawyer	.27	.70	.08	.80
School teacher	.82	.50	.32	.70
Governor of a state	.01	.90	.66	.50
Mail carrier	.13	.80	*	*
Clerk in a store	.16	.70	.27	.70
President of the U.S.	4.75	.05	.65	.50
Bookkeeper	1.10	.30	.20	.70
Religious leader	.10	.90	1.92	.20
School Superintendent	.70	.50	.75	.50
Police chief or sheriff	1.52	.30	1.46	.30
County judge	.19	.70	.25	.70

* Chi-square below .01.

** DF = 2 for all computations.

Table 36 indicates that there is **absolutely** no relationship between job aspirations and participation. The odd difference expressed for the Presidency, which disappears on T₂, cannot be accounted for.

There is no statistically significant difference between participants and non-participants in job aspiration, and the more generalized dimension concerned with the child's over-all life goals demonstrates a similar finding. The respondents were asked a series of questions regarding what they would like to "get out of life." The data are in

Table 37.

Table 37
Relationship between Participation
and Life Goals*

<u>Goal</u>	<u>T₁</u>		<u>T₂</u>	
	<u>X²</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>P</u>
Owning home	3.45	.70	1.17	.95
Lots of money	2.55	.80	.57	.99
Good education	4.67	.50	3.67	.70
Lots of friends	8.77	.20	2.69	.80
People "look-up" to you	1.30	.90	1.45	.95
Good steady job	1.86	.90	6.21	.30

* DF = 5 for all computations.

Table 37 demonstrates that there is no significant difference between participants and non-participants in their life goals. Hence, participation in the program is not related to the child's goals. It is possible, however, that the child who wants very much to improve his upward social mobility would be more likely to participate in the hope of achieving this goal. This possible causal direction is given added emphasis by the earlier finding which noted an increase (though not statistically significant) in the desire to discuss economically related categories with a community center counselor. Such a finding would be important for it would demonstrate that the center has begun to fulfill an important function. Thus, even though we have been unable to determine any significant output from participation, if we find that the Knox

County child does indeed use the center as a means to aid him to fulfill certain desired goals, it would be encouraging.

In order to tap this dimension respondents were asked how important it was to them to "get ahead." If the center is in fact being used as a tool, then participation should not be causally related to a desire to get ahead. Rather, a desire to get ahead should cause participation.

Figure 12

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Desire to Get Ahead

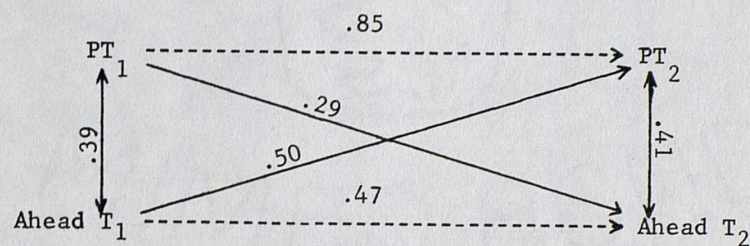


Figure 12 validates the hypothesis. A desire to get ahead is causally related to participation. The child who feels it is important to "get ahead" is more likely to be a participant than the child who feels it is not important. Yet, if we analyze the data in a manner similar to that for the other participatory-inducing agents, we find that "desire to get ahead" does not "fit" the basic model nearly as well as the other participatory agents. As was done for "civics course" we relegate "desire" to the status of a second class variable.

Table 38

Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Participatory Model: First Half-
Desire to Get Ahead

<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1a. GPA, GAC = GPC	$(.15)(.50) = .075$	.85	.775
1b. GAC, GPC = GAP	$(.50)(.85) = .425$	.15	.275
1c. GAP, GPC = GAC	$(.15)(.85) = .13$	.50	.37

Despite this, while the center does not appear to be changing attitudes or aspirations, it is being used as a means to implement existing desires to "get ahead." It is probably acting to reinforce rather than change existing values. The center is probably being used as a tool, and any corresponding output to the contrary is not evident in the short time period encompassed by the present study. If, therefore, the center is to act as an agent of social change, a total re-evaluation of its present mode of operation is a necessity.

Given the above finding a further logical extension leads to the speculation that the same causal direction should be evident in the child's perception of his chances of achieving his desired goals. That is, those who believe their chances are good will be more likely to participate, but participation will not alter the perception of these chances.

Figure 13

Cross-Lagged Panel Correlation of
Participation and Chance of Getting Ahead

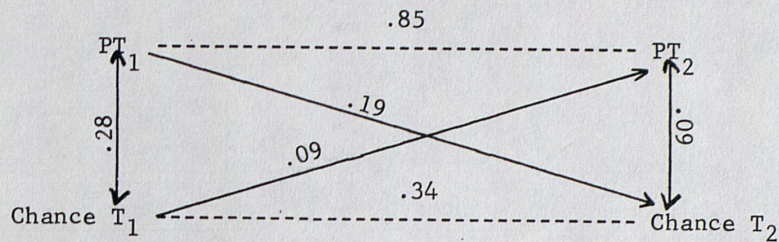


Figure 13 does not substantiate the hypothesis. Participation is causally related to the child's optimism regarding his chances of achieving his desired life goals. The conclusion is clear. Center participation has not changed attitudes, job aspirations, or life goals. Rather, the child uses the center to implement his motivations in these areas, and by his participation becomes optimistic regarding his chance of reaching these goals.

It is, of course, interesting to speculate upon where the child would turn were the center not operating. We have no data upon which to empirically validate hypotheses concerning this question, but it is possible that the mere presence of the center provides the child with an avenue along which he may begin his travels toward increased vocational and educational efficacy. It is also possible, that by so providing this avenue, the center, assuming that it operates to efficiently aid the child, forestalls the possibility of increasing cynicism, alienation and frustration. On the other hand, if the child is to be disappointed and find that the center is "failing" him, then cynicism, alienation, and frustration may increase. Psychologists have documented

what occurs when the achievement of a desired goal is blocked.¹ In most cases, they tell us, frustration results in a number of different behavioral manifestations--one of which is aggression. It is important, therefore, that the community center become an effective tool to aid in the achievement of desired goals.

If the Knox County child himself could form the center's program, what would he have it to do to help him? In order to ascertain the Appalachian child's conceptualization of the role of the community center we asked one final question: "If you could make one choice, what would you like the community center to do for you more than anything else?" The response pattern is presented in Table 39.

Table 39

Relationship between Participation
and What Child Would Like Center to do for him

<u>Center should:</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
Help me find a job	24%	33
Help me get an education	40	46
Provide a place where I can go to play games and meet people	30	18
Help me to get books to read	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTAL %	100	100
N	83	112
$\chi^2 = 6.99$ $DF = 3$ $P = .10$		

Table 39 demonstrates that both participants and non-participants rank assistance in getting an education as the most desirable thing the center could do for them. Second, is finding a job. It is clear that

these young people expect and want the center to give them substantial assistance. The centers cannot do less and remain viable.

Educational Efficacy

The last part of the general output hypothesis posits that participation will have an impact upon educational efficacy. In Chapter V we noted that participation is indeed causally related to greater childhood participation in one school activity, i. e., being a member of an athletic team. Thus, participation in the center does appear to have some influence upon the child's participation in extracurricular activities.

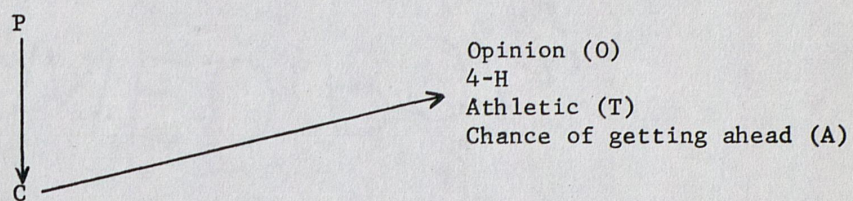
Summary

We have been able to substantiate only part of the general hypothesis. Participation is not causally related to outputs of political knowledge, attitudes, or job aspirations. Participation itself is causally related only to: participation in the 4-H club, shaping the child's opinion of the program, increasing optimism regarding the child's perception of his possibilities of achieving his goals, and, participation in extracurricular activities in school.

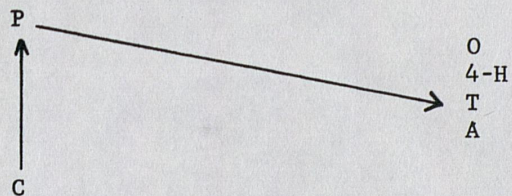
These "output" variables form the basis of the second half of our participatory model. We want to ascertain whether they are the causal results of child participation in center activities or whether they are more likely to emanate from parental participation or father's education. Running for office is excluded from the analysis on the grounds of "face validity," for it is not logical to expect it to be causally related to the output variables. The alternative models are presented below (Figure 14).

Figure 14

Output Side of Participatory Model: Parents' Participation



Model IIa. - No causal link between P and O, 4-H, T or A



Model IIb. - No causal link between C and O, 4-H, T or A

Table 40

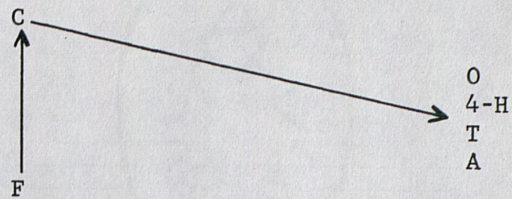
Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Output Side of Participatory
Model: Parents' Participation

<u>A. Opinion (O)</u>			
<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
IIa. GPC, GCO = GPO	$(.85)(.52) = .44$	.50	.06
IIb. GPC, GPO = GCO	$(.85)(.50) = .425$	.52	.095
<u>B. 4-H Membership</u>			
IIa. GPC, GC4-H = GP4-H	$(.85)(.78) = .66$	.78	.12
IIb. GCP, GP4-H = GC4-H	$(.85)(.78) = .66$	.78	.12
<u>C. Athletic Team (T)</u>			
IIa. GPC, GCT = GPT	$(.85)(.34) = .29$	.10	.19
IIb. GPC, GPT = GCT	$(.85)(.10) = .085$	.34	.255
<u>D. Chance of Getting Ahead (A)</u>			
IIa. GPC, GCA = GPA	$(.85)(.19) = .16$	.13	.03
IIb. GPC, GPCA = GCA	$(.85)(.13) = .11$	.19	.08

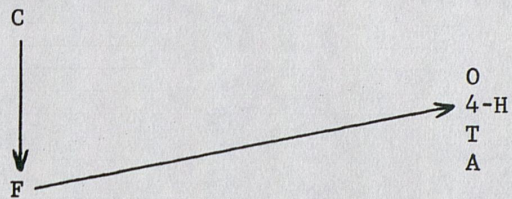
It is clear that Model IIb. cannot be accepted. The causal link is between child participation and the output variables. If the same holds for father's education, then we shall have increased confidence that we have indeed succeeded in discovering some output resulting from the child's participation in community center activities. The models are the same as those for parents' participation except that father's education is substituted for parents' participation (Figure 15).

Figure 15

Output Side of Participatory Model:
Father's Education



Model IIa. No causal link between F and O, 4-H, T, or A



Model IIb. No causal link between C and O, 4-H, T or A

Table 41

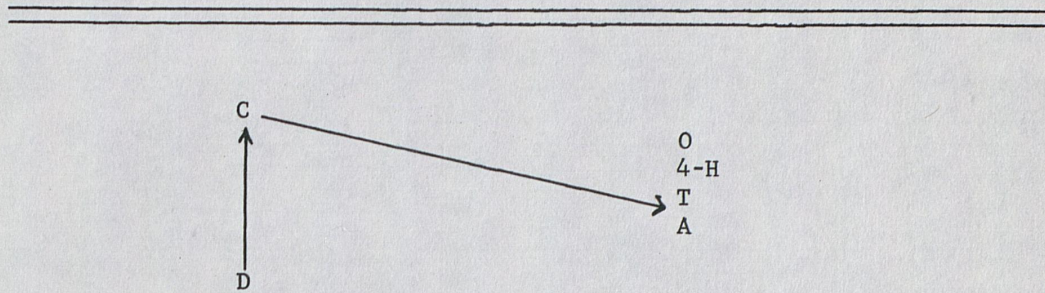
Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Output Side of Participatory Model:
Father's Education

<u>A. Opinion (O)</u>			
<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
IIa. GFC, GCO = GFO	$(.22)(.52) = .11$	.15	.04
IIb. GFC, GFO = GCO	$(.22)(.15) = .08$	.52	.44
<u>B. 4-H Membership</u>			
IIa. GFC, GC4-H = GF4-H	$(.22)(.78) = .17$	.01	.16
IIb. GFC, GF4-H = GC4-H	$(.22)(.01) = .002$	.78	.778
<u>C. Athletic Team (T)</u>			
IIa. GFC, GCT = GFT	$(.22)(.34) = .07$	.02	.05
IIb. GFC, GFT = GCT	$(.22)(.02) = .004$	.34	.256
<u>D. Chance of Getting Ahead (A)</u>			
IIa. GFC, GCA = GFA	$(.22)(.19) = .04$	.39	.35
IIb. GFC, GFA = GCA	$(.22)(.39) = .09$	.19	.10

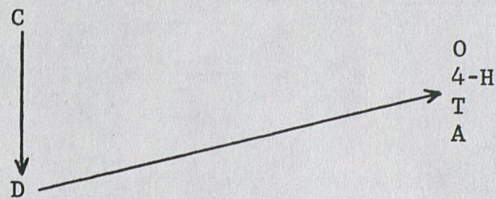
The results regarding father's education are similar to those for parents' participation. Opinion of the program, 4-H membership and joining an athletic team are, indeed, outputs from childhood participation in community center activities. The exception appears regarding the child's optimism about his chances of getting "ahead." This dimension is more likely to be causally related to father's education than to childhood participation.

Figure 16

Output Side of Participatory Model:
Distance



Model IIa. No causal link between D and O, 4-H, T or A



Model IIb. No causal link between C and O, 4-H, T, or A

Table 42

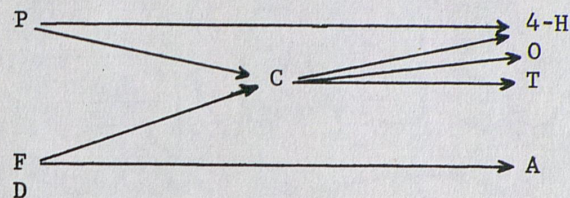
Prediction Equations and Degree of
Fit for Output Side of Participatory
Model: Distance

<u>Predictions</u>		<u>Degree of Fit</u>	
<u>Models</u>	<u>Predicted</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>A. Opinion (O)</u>			
IIa. GDC, GCO = GDO	$(.32)(.52) = .17$	.22	.05
IIb. GDC, GDO = GCO	$(.32)(.22) = .07$	.52	.45
<u>B. 4-H Membership</u>			
IIa. GDC, GC4-H = GD4-H	$(.32)(.78) = .25$	.28	.03
IIb. GDC, GD4-H = GC4-H	$(.32)(.28) = .09$	.78	.69
<u>C. Athletic Team (T)</u>			
IIa. GDC, GCT = GDT	$(.32)(.34) = .11$	.11	.00
IIb. GDC, GDT = GCT	$(.32)(.11) = .03$	.34	.31
<u>D. Chance of Getting Ahead (A)</u>			
IIa. GDC, GCA = GDA	$(.32)(.19) = .06$	.20	.14
IIb. GDC, GDA = GCA	$(.32)(.20) = .06$	.19	.13

Inserting distance into the same configuration demonstrates a finding similar to that for father's education. Opinion of the program, 4-H membership and joining an athletic team are still outputs resulting from the child's participation in the center. Optimism could be related to either distance or the child's participation. Filling in the second half of our model gives us the following.

Figure 17

Final Participatory Model



Thus, we have found that there are three primary "causes" of childhood participation, i. e., parents' participation, father's education, and distance. Childhood participation in turn leads to three specific output dimensions: membership in the 4-H, which is equally as likely to result from parent participation; opinion of the program; and being a member of an athletic team. While at first glance optimism regarding his chances of getting "ahead" appeared to result from participation, further analysis demonstrated that there was no causal link between P and A, and when placed in the paradigm with father's education there was none between C and A. Consequently, we are left with the conclusion that an optimistic perception of one's chances of getting ahead is more likely to be causally related to the father's education level. Examination of the raw data reveals that the higher the father's education level the more optimistic the child.

We have, therefore, only been able to isolate three specific output variables. In a year's time period this is not in itself a finding of minimal importance. As the program continues, further output manifestations should result. The fact that a participatory ethic is one of these output manifestations, and that greater participation is causally

related to an improved opinion of the program are encouraging. If, however, the community center is to become an efficacious agent of social change, more concrete output is needed. If it is not forthcoming, the long range goals of inducing social change are likely to be aborted before they are fully developed. Again, therefore, it is recommended that the center pursue more vigorously the stated goals of the Appalachian child. He asks us to use the center to aid him in getting a job and a good education. Can we do less?

One further issue remains to be joined. We must inquire, however briefly, into the possibility that the community center may be in the process of becoming a socializing agent whose learning stimuli may not manifest themselves in behavioral responses for a number of years. In other words, what are the long range possibilities that the center may be manifesting a dynamic output which is not necessarily an "intended" goal of the community action program?

Footnotes to Chapter VI

¹ W. Paul Street, General Research Design for Evaluation of Knox County, Kentucky Community Action Program. University of Kentucky: Mimeo, June, 1966, p. 15.

² Berkowitz, Aggression; and Dollard, et. al., 1939.

Chapter VII

The Community Center as an Agent of Political Information Transmission

A further indication of the center's probability of becoming a salient socializing agent may lay in its role as an agent of information transmission to the Appalachian child.¹ As noted previously, any long range impact emanating from the center must be related to the center's assuming a prominent role as a socializing agent. While we have been able to discover little substantive participation output, it behooves us to examine the possibility that there might be certain non-intended results of the program that are not specifically related to participation in the program.

A characteristic of the Appalachian culture is the tendency to gather at central points in the area to engage in communication regarding anything from politics to horse-trading.² If the community center were to become such a focal point, then it may assume a role as a vital communication link in the county. The data presenting the relative rankings of the center are presented in Tables 43 and 44.

Table 43

Rank of Center as an Agent of Information Transmission
on Four Levels of Government

<u>Level of Government</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>High (1-4)</u>	<u>Low (5-8)</u>	
Local	65%	35	100
State	21	79	100
National	13	87	100
International	13	87	100

Table 44

Chi-Square Test of Difference
between Comparative Rankings of the
Center as an Agent of Information
Transmission on Four Levels of Government

<u>Level</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P</u>
Local-State	79.28	1	.001
Local-National	114.87	1	.001
Local-International	114.87	1	.001
State-National	3.42	1	.10
State-International	3.42		.10
National-International	*		*

* No difference

The data demonstrate that the center is given the highest ranking as an agent transmitting information about the local level of government.

The local ranking differs to a statistically significant degree from the center's rank as a transmitter of information concerning the state, national and international levels. Thus, as the level of government becomes more remote the center's salience as an agent decreases. This is as one would expect, for the center is locally oriented and is, therefore, a more salient agent on the local level.

To round out our examination of the center's role as a communication and information link we have compared the center's rank with that of seven other hypothesized agents (Table 45).

Table 45A

Comparative Rankings of Agents of Information
Transmission on Four Levels of Government

<u>A: Local</u>				
<u>Agent</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>X²*</u>	<u>P</u>
	<u>High (1-4)</u>	<u>Low (5-8)</u>		
Radio	79%	21	11.43	.001
TV	63	37	.04	.98
Newspaper	42	58	21.85	.001
School	48	52	12.50	.001
Mother	65	35	**	**
Father	64	36	.65	.50
Friends	57	43	2.60	.20
Center	65	35		

* Chi-square test is performed on raw data in 2x2 Tables. Comparison is between rank of center and rank of listed agent.

** No difference

Table 45B

<u>B: State</u>				
<u>Agent</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>X²</u>	<u>P</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>		
Radio	15%	85	2.47	.20
TV	86	14	184.53	.001
Newspaper	78	22	134.43	.001
School	79	21	140.94	.001
Mother	48	52	34.19	.001
Father	40	60	17.15	.001
Friends	42	58	22.78	.001
Center	21	79		

Table 45C

<u>C. National</u>				
<u>Agent</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>X²</u>	<u>P</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>		
Radio	11%	89	.36	.70
TV	94	6	279.90	.001
Newspaper	96	4	297.94	.001
School	83	17	202.69	.001
Mother	51	49	66.72	.001
Father	28	72	13.21	.001
Friends	36	64	28.36	.001
Center	13	87		

Table 45D

<u>D. International</u>				
<u>Agent</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>X²</u>	<u>P</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>		
Radio	5%	95	7.45	.01
TV	92	8	260.90	.001
Newspaper	96	4	300.74	.001
School	85	15	214.84	.001
Mother	51	49	66.79	.001
Father	31	69	18.27	.001
Friends	30	70	16.96	.001
Center				

The data show that the center is among the highest ranking agents transmitting information on the local level, while it is among the lowest ranking agents transmitting information about the state, national, and international levels.

On the local level Radio is the only agent that ranks significantly higher than the center, while on the other three levels radio is the only agent ranked lower than the center. This further corroborates the finding that the center is a locally oriented information link. Radio programming is decidedly more locally oriented than that of television and it is logical to expect radio to be a more salient transmitter for the local level. It is interesting to note that, on the local level, the center ranks equally as high as television, mother, father, and peers, who are usually thought to be important socializing agents.³

Thus, we have some indication that the community center is manifesting a communication dynamic not related to participation in the program. Corroboration of the above finding is found in Table 46, where the center's ranking as an information agent is correlated with participation in the program.

Table 46A
Relationship between Participation
and Center's Rank as an Agent
of Information Transmission
on Four Levels of Government: Local Level

<u>Rank</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
1	28%	11
2	15	15
3	15	22
4	7	15
5	13	13
6	8	9
7	8	12
8	5	2
	<u>99*</u>	<u>99*</u>
	$X^2 = 15.81$	
	DF = 7	
	P = .05	

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 46B
State Level

<u>Rank</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
1	1%	1
2	7	6
3	6	8
4	5	12
5	16	20
6	22	21
7	31	26
8	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>
	99*	100

$X^2 = 5.33$
 $DF = 7$
 $P = .70$

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 46C
National Level

<u>Rank</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
1	0%	1
2	0	2
3	2	3
4	5	11
5	28	15
6	22	24
7	26	41
8	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	99*

$X^2 = 25.45$
 $DF = 7$
 $P = .001$

* Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 46D

International Level

<u>Rank</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>N-P</u>
1	1%	5
2	1	1
3	2	2
4	4	9
5	27	17
6	25	24
7	29	41
8	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

$\chi^2 = 18.43$
DF = 7
P = .01

The data demonstrate that only on the local level, in which the center is given its highest ranking, do participants rank the center significantly higher than non-participants. On the state level there is no statistically significant difference, while on the national and international levels non-participants rank the center higher than participants.

It seems likely, therefore, that the center is acting as a focal point where residents can gather to receive and transmit information and that this process is not necessarily related to participation. These data lead us to believe that the center is indeed fulfilling a role as a communication and information link which could conceivably act to increase participation in the program if the information dynamic is extended into other desired areas, i. e., education and job assistance. Given additional time, along with a change in emphasis, the center could indeed become a salient socializing agent within the Appalachian area; and the

transmission of information could conceivably be a first important step on the long road to social change.

Footnotes for Chapter VII

¹ For a comprehensive analysis of information agents in Appalachia see Hirsch, 1968.

² John Fetterman, Stinking Creek (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1967).

³ Hirsch, 1968.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

We are now able to fill in the elements of the model proposed at the outset of the study.

Figure 18

A Causal Model of Participation and Output

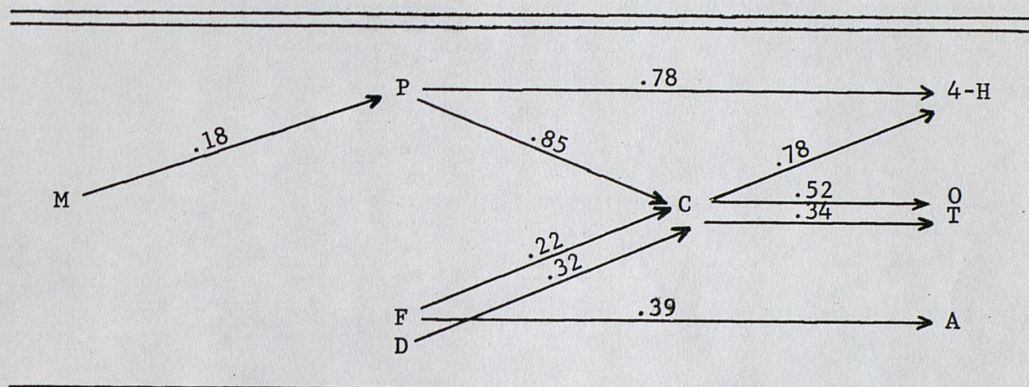


Table 47

Prediction Equations and Degrees of Fit for a Model of Participation and Output - Final Link

Predictions		Degree of Fit	
Models	Predicted	Actual	Difference
IIIa. GMP, GPC, GCO = GMO	$(.18)(.85)(.52) = .08$	.17	.09
IIIb. GDC, GCO = GDO	$(.32)(.52) = .17$	.22	.05
IIIc. GFC, GCO = GFO	$(.22)(.52) = .11$	.14	.03
IVa. GMP, GPC, GC4-H = GM4-H	$(.18)(.85)(.78) = .12$	.16	.04
IVb. GDC, GC4-H = GD4-H	$(.22)(.78) = .25$	.27	.03
IVc. GFC, GC4-H = GF4-H	$(.22)(.78) = .17$	.01	.16
Va. GMP, GPC, GCT = GMT	$(.18)(.85)(.34) = .05$	.10	.05
Vb. GDC, GCT = GDT	$(.32)(.34) = .11$	.11	.00
Vc. GFC, GCT = GFT	$(.22)(.34) = .07$	.01	.06

The models all fit relatively well. Hopefully, it is not too much to ask the social scientist to accept a complex model of a complex phenomenon.

Thus, childhood participation in community center activities is causally related to "father's education," "parents' participation," and to "distance." Childhood participation manifests itself in three specific outputs, i. e., (1) 4-H membership, (2) membership on an athletic team, and (3) improved opinion of the program. Father's education is itself related to the child's sense of optimism regarding his chances of achieving his life goals.

It is clear that the community center has not yet begun to act as a truly salient socializing agent. We have been able to discover only three output variables specifically related to participation in community center activities. Two of these involve membership in youth organizations and might possibly be manifestations of the center's acting to inculcate a general participatory ethic which could conceivably extend itself into wider spheres of psychic endeavor. The remaining output variable, opinion of the program, is a general attitudinal dimension. It is possible that, given the short period in which the center has been operative, the center may eventually manifest itself by producing more concrete "output" results. While the evidence is not overly encouraging, neither is it discouraging, for we have the indication, in a year's time of operation, that the center has begun to stimulate participatory activity on the part of the child and has influenced at least one attitudinal dimension.

Regarding the input side of our paradigm we found that "parents' participation" in community center activities, "father's education," and "distance" accounted for the greatest amount of the variance in the

child's participation. These findings indicate that the program must concentrate upon inducing greater parental participation, therefore, utilizing the parent as a communication link to the child. For the child is probably relying upon the presence of a participatory model in his primary environment which transmits cues inducing him to participate. Since the modeling process is so successful in inducing participation it should be extended and used as a means to achieve the desired goals of the program.

Our findings regarding the relationship between distance the child lives from the center and participation lead us to recommend that greater emphasis be placed upon transporting the child to the center. This alone should greatly increase participation. Also, if the center is to become a truly efficacious agent it must provide the Appalachian child with some means of implementing his desired life goals. When asked what they would most like the center to do for them, the great majority of children responded in terms of helping to find "good" jobs and getting a "good" education. This leads us to recommend that the program place increasing emphasis upon these dimensions. A concrete output of good jobs and education should increase participation and accelerate social change.

In closing it is important to re-emphasize that the center live up to its promises and to the child's "rising expectations." If it does not, the recent uprisings in the urban ghettos are indications of what we may expect. The Kerner Commission amply documents what occurs when frustration sets in. The Community Action Program has expended thousands of dollars in Appalachia; and if it does not fulfill its promise, we could conceivably expect the widespread Appalachian apathy to dissipate and,

perhaps, manifest its disillusionment in aggression. (The psychological result of goal blockage is frustration which in turn leads to aggression.) If the center fails, if it does not become a salient socializing agent, we may be sorry the "war on poverty" ever became even a skirmish.

Footnotes for Chapter VIII

- ¹ See Berkowitz, 1962.

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