Montana Boys State and Montana Girls State: Political Socialization of the Adolescents in Transition to Adulthood in the Context of Family, School, and Community
by Patricia McNulty Nelson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:
Many young people in the United States are not being adequately prepared for the roles and responsibilities of democratic adult citizenship and political participation. Research has shown that the trends of increased disengagement have continued throughout the years. From elementary level to college level, students appear to be less informed and concerned with politics and political participation.

Political socialization research attempts to explain the basically sociological conception of political activity. Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development theory provides the environment of family, school, community and the dimension of individually to study Elder's life course transition of the adolescent to adulthood. The theories of identity formation, formal operational cognition and post-conventional moral development converge in adolescence. These theories provide multifaceted ways to examine the development of the life long trajectory of political socialization.

The sample for the study were 16 to 18 year old boys (289) and girls (177) who were carefully chosen on the basis of leadership, citizenship and scholarship to represent Montana youth at the American Legion and its Auxiliary-sponsored Boys' State and Girls' State held in Helena, Montana in June, 2002. Respondents were a good cross sectional representation of various size schools and geographical locations in Montana.

The questionnaire was developed by the researcher to specifically answer the question: How is this group of Montana students who were chosen to be members of Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State being politically socialized in the political and civic structures of society, and in what is often considered the "non-political" crucibles of family, school and community? The sampled youth appear to be more involved in church- related programs than in either voluntary or political activities. Surprisingly, the youth did not organize their thinking about sociopolitical policies or laws in accordance with their reported political partisanship or their religious affiliation.

The values, beliefs and actions of prior generations are transmitted in the political and non political institutions of our society. The family, school and community and the influences operating within them are instrumental in politically socializing our youth and perpetuating democracy.

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APPROVAL

of a dissertation submitted by

Patricia McNulty Nelson

This dissertation has been read by each member of the dissertation committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

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Date August 6, 2004

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ABSTRACT

Many young people in the United States are not being adequately prepared for the roles and responsibilities of democratic adult citizenship and political participation. Research has shown that the trends of increased disengagement have continued throughout the years. From elementary level to college level, students appear to be less informed and concerned with politics and political participation.

Political socialization research attempts to explain the basically sociological conception of political activity. Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development theory provides the environment of family, school, community and the dimension of individually to study Elder's life course transition of the adolescent to adulthood. The theories of identity formation, formal operational cognition and post-conventional moral development converge in adolescence. These theories provide multifaceted ways to examine the development of the life long trajectory of political socialization.

The sample for the study were 16 to 18 year old boys (289) and girls (177) who were carefully chosen on the basis of leadership, citizenship and scholarship to represent Montana youth at the American Legion and its Auxiliary-sponsored Boys' State and Girls' State held in Helena, Montana in June, 2002. Respondents were a good cross sectional representation of various size schools and geographical locations in Montana.

The questionnaire was developed by the researcher to specifically answer the question: How is this group of Montana students who were chosen to be members of Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State being politically socialized in the political and civic structures of society, and in what is often considered the "non-political" crucibles of family, school and community?

The sampled youth appear to be more involved in church- related programs than in either voluntary or political activities. Surprisingly, the youth did not organize their thinking about sociopolitical policies or laws in accordance with their reported political partisanship or their religious affiliation.

The values, beliefs and actions of prior generations are transmitted in the political and non political institutions of our society. The family, school and community and the influences operating within them are instrumental in politically socializing our youth and perpetuating democracy.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Political and civic competencies can be transferred to adolescents through a democratic heritage as well as contemporaneous political and non-political agents. American families, schools, and communities have been entrusted with safekeeping of the values, beliefs, and actions of prior generations and now serve as transmitters to future generations.

> The accident of birth places the individual into a particular family environment which nurtures political (or apolitical) outlooks early in life and locates the individual in a sociopolitical setting that may last a lifetime....Family environments may be important not only for direct transmission...but also for providing children with sets of predispositions that will effect their later reactions to political events and forces at work in the polity. (Beck and Jennings, 1991, p. 742-745

Families are primary agents of political socialization for the adolescent. However, schools also have a special responsibility for the democratizing of each generation. "Schools fulfill the competency and civic responsibility through both formal and non-formal education beginning in the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process" (Branson, 1998, p. 7 of 28). Schools must synthesize inherited standards and traditions with contemporary experiences and events into a core curriculum that will later draw students into the macro-level political arena.

"Involvement in high school extra-curricular activities is predictive of several indicators of healthy adult development, including active participation in the political process and other types of volunteer activities" (Eccles, Barber, 1999, p.12).

Yet, the civic skills that facilitate political participation are acquired beyond the family and school. Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) believe that the "workplace, voluntary associations and church are the backbone of civil society, lying between the personal world of the family and the public world of politics" (p. 369). Graber (1997) saw the media as a tremendously powerful force which contributes to the life-long process of political socialization and learning (p. 193). Participation in community activities, sports, and leisure and recreation nurture non-political roles and responsibilities of membership, as well as organizational and communication skills that can be transferred to the political realm.

Background of the Problem

Research shows that the premature formation of families, the breakup of families, and the rise of families never formed by past generations are causing rippling effects associated with multi- generational welfare dependency, prenatal difficulties, abortion, child abuse, divorce, single-parent families, poverty, and crime (Eberstadt, 1988, 1996; Murray, 1996; Herrinstein and Murray, 1994). Symbolic of profound social and economic distress, political policies have significantly altered the formations of families and considered by some to be destructive. For example, Poznar (October 1995) writes about the tyranny of majority opinion:

> How tragically have some of the authoritarian ideologies of our century debased the worth of the individual life. How blandly and passively we accept quantification as the basis of legislative and social reforms. How pervasive the temptation to think of human beings in groups and how gradually we cease to be able to conceive of each human being as an end it itself (p. 4).

Poznar also suggested that "one of the major goals of all education and experience ought to be reverence for life; for a life lived without reverence is essentially hollow and personally destructive" (p. 4).

Baungart and Baungart (1998) gathered information from seven National Survey of Youth studies conducted from 1990 to 1995 looking at 13 to 25 year olds from across the United States. A central finding of the investigation was that there is too much emphasis on individual freedom and not enough attention to personal and collective responsibility.

> While the fundamental task of the adult generation is to transmit political values and the national heritage to its offspring, the task is made more difficult when the political culture is perceived as fragmented and contentious, the electorate is alienated from politics, and Americans' passion for individual freedom overrides their sense of civic or collective responsibility. Exacerbating the political socialization process, young peoples' attitudes and behavior in the United States appear at odds with traditional American values (p. 99).

They also found that the surveyed youths and adults strongly endorse their country and its traditional values, but are highly critical of politics, politicians and the way the federal government operates.

One of the nation's comprehensive assessments of the attitudes of freshman at 469 institutions in American colleges and universities, *The American Freshman* is conducted annually at the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California in Los Angeles. *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall, 1998,*

states: This year's college freshmen exhibit higher levels of disengagement both academically and politically than any previous entering class of students (p. 1).

The New Millennium Project was commissioned by the National Association of Secretaries of State to conduct a nation-wide study of American youth aged 15-24 years old. The most disturbing conclusion drawn was..."Young Americans have only a limited, vague understanding of what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society...Young people today lack interest, trust, and knowledge about American politics, politicians and public life generally" (*New Millennium Project*, 1999, p.1).

Lief Carter and Jean Bethke Elshtain, members of the American Political Science Associations Task Force on Civic Education expressed concerned about the evidence regarding the failure to politically educate students in the craft and practices of the political machine (*Task Force on Civic Education*, December 1997, p. 745). Charles Quigley (1999) agreed that civic education is an important part of the student's overall education, but is seldom given sustained and systematic attention in the kindergarten through twelfth grade curricula:

> Education in civics and government should not be incidental to the schooling of American youth, but a central purpose of education essential to the well being of American democracy. Effective instruction in civics and government should include attention to the content of the discipline as well as to the essential skills, principles, and values required for full participation in and reasoned commitment to our democratic system. (p. 1426)

> Branson (June 1999) added, ...democratic predispositions need to be nurtured-they do not develop so spontaneously that it can be taken for granted that every new generation will be so supportive of America's political and civic traditions and institutions as previous generations (p. 8).

Problem Statement

The problem is that many young people in the United States are not being adequately prepared for the roles and responsibilities of democratic adult citizenship and political participation. Research has shown that the trends of increased disengagement have continued throughout the years. From elementary level to college level, students appear to be less informed and concerned with politics and political participation.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the political socialization of a select group of adolescents who are in transition to adulthood. The study identifies factors related to family, school, and community that have been shown to provide the adolescent with structural opportunities and constraints that have political consequences in adulthood.

The theoretical framework for this study was both psychological and sociological. The psychological dimensions of political socialization focused on the cognitive, affective, and moral determinations of the adolescent in transition to adulthood. The sociological model considered the development of the political socialization trajectory in the environment of family, school and community. Multi-disciplinary constructs of human development and life course transition with tenets of political socialization are examined to determine how these components are linked with the importance of life-long learning of citizenship and leadership in a democratic society.

Research Questions

The research questions in this study were designed to explore how the participants in the Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State programs were socialized in the political and civic structures of society in the context of family, school and community.

To explain the political socialization process, this study considered many pathways to social and political participation. The following research questions guided the exploration of the relationships of these contextual elements of the students' lives and their political socialization:

1. What is the demographic profile of the young people who attended Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State (age, gender, and grade point average)?
2. How did the factors of home-town population, ethnicity, and "new demography" (both parents, single mothers, single fathers, grandparents, or guardians in the role of principal care giver) define the young adults in this study?
3. What are the academic choices, interests, abilities and achievements that are likely to contribute to citizenship development and leadership attainment through the political socialization agents of the family, school, community and the mass media?
4. Using a time-budget scale of hours per week, hours per month, and frequency distribution, how did respondents spend their school and non-school time (with attention to family reciprocity, involvement in school and extracurricular programs, and participation in community related activities of sports, church,

employment, youth groups, leisure and recreation, mass media, voluntarism and politics)?

5. What are the sources of knowledge concerning political issues and trends that research has shown to lead to political socialization?
6. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' church involvement in educational, charitable and social programs and the young adults' own involvement in such programs?
7. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' structured community volunteer activities and the young adults' involvement in such activities?
8. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' political participation and the young adults' involvement in politics or political affiliation?
9. What were the perceptions and beliefs of young adults about abortion, pornography, and the definition of family as related to traditional Christian mores.

Significance of the Study for Young Adults in Transition to Adulthood

The study is significant in terms of its contribution to adult education program planning for young adults. Darkenwald and Knox (March, 1984) discuss the apparent neglect, both in the literature and practice of young adults as a distinctive population for continuing education programming (p. 99). They believed that encouraging young adults to participate in adult education requires an understanding of their distinctive needs and characteristics as a basis for curriculum and program development.

> If late adolescents are not "adult enough", persons in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties are "too adult" in the sense that they are prototypical, constituting the prime age category for most providers of continuing education (Darkwald and Knox, p.100).

Adult educator Stephen Brookfield (1995) comments on the adolescent-adult education connection:

> Adult learning is frequently spoken of by adult educators as if it were a discretely separate domain, having little connection to learning in childhood or adolescence. To understand adult learning we need to know of its connections to learning in childhood and adolescence and to the formation during these periods of interpretive filters, cognitive frames and cultural rules. (p.8)

A person's ability to act as a civil member of community is always central to democratic political engagement and the genesis of this ability can be traced back through the entire history of interpersonal relationships (Damon, 1998, p. 622-623). Taken together, the experience of the child and of the adolescent are the mold from which the adult emerges (Elliot, Feldman, 1990, p. 6).

Significance of the Study for Practitioners

The study is significant for practitioners in the fiscal and social domains. Curricula and program planning must meet the specific needs and qualities of the individual student. "...responsive educational activities for young adults must relate directly to practical tasks associated with role performance and adjustments" (Knox, 1984, p. 38).

The transitional period between adolescence and adulthood is an ideal time to prepare for the world of work. The centrality of this period in the life of the adolescence in shaping political values and behaviors has long been recognized. Early preparation

and the choices made available to adolescents have important life-long consequences for their well-being. "Adolescence is the last stage of the life course during which society has reasonably ready access to the entire population, so such potential cannot be ignored" (Elliot and Feldman, 1990, p. 6)

Significance of the Study for Policy Makers

"Public policy is a part of the macrosystem determining the specific properties of the exo-meso-and microsystem that occur at the level of everyday life and steer the course of behavior and development" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 9). "... it is essential to determine which policies and programs can do most to enable families to perform the magic feat of which they alone are capable: making and keeping human beings human" (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, p. 738).

Eventually, some members of this sample are likely to enter political careers and become the policy makers of the future. There are moral and social implications that current political policies and legal decisions hold for the adolescents' own future and for their legacy to future generations after their own. It is important to raise the consciousness of the adolescents themselves to the opportunities available to assist in policy making.

Policies concerning continuing education and life long learning "need to be proposed, formulated, discussed, approved, appropriated and implemented. Constituents need to be able and willing to articulate needs in ways that are meaningful to legislators at all levels of government" (Jackson,1999, p. 39).

> Basing life-long learning policy decisions on research not only leads to increased effectiveness, but it also imparts an objectivity and an enduringness that is indispensable in the highly political charged arena in which policy is made (Sherrod, 1997, p. 17).

Zaslow and Takaniski (1993) believe that "research to understand the conditions that contribute to optimal development during this period {young adulthood} and research informed interventions that sustain that development should be given high priorities for federal and private research support for the future" (p.191). Thomas (1991) explained that legislation is significant for adult education policy makers because it may be considered the centerpiece of political science, "further examination of its role in the relationship to adult education promises increased clarity about the relationship between the two domains of inquiry" (p.313).

Finally Small (1995) believed research must lead to action:

> If we are interested in understanding how context can impact adolescent trajectories, and ultimately the more practical but challenging problem of enhancing the contexts that affect adolescents, we need to give more attention to how research can lead to action, as well as to the value of collaboratively designing research with the citizens who can benefit from it (p. 231).

Appropriate political and social environments can be provided for the young adult if adolescents, parents, teachers, school administrators, and key community constituents combine their expertise to become active participants in all phases of the research.

Definitions for the Purpose of the Study

The Adult Education Act and other legislation defines adults broadly to include late adolescents.

The term "adult" means an individual who has attained 16 years of age or who is beyond the age of compulsory school attendance under state law....The purpose of the Adult Education Act is to improve educational opportunities for adults who lack the level of literacy skills requisite to effective citizenship and productive employment (*Adult Education Act* November 3, 1966, and April 28, 1988).

Adolescence is a transitional developmental period between childhood and adulthood which is characterized by psychological, biological and social changes.

The sample for this study is a birth cohort born between the years 1984 and 1986. Connecting this group of cohorts to politics is the hotly-contested presidential election of 2000. Political and social beliefs and values, and a sense of patriotism could have been influenced by the terrorists' September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC.

Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State programs are structured to teach young adults how to participate in the political process. A simulated government environment, modeled after local and state government bodies, offers young leaders an opportunity to experience the political, social and moral realities of modern democracy. American Legion and its Axillary respectively sponsor the Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State programs.

The following theories used in the study are defined: the ecology of human development, the life course paradigm, tenets of political socialization, and the adult theories of adult education and learning.

The Ecology of Human Development Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) relates to:

> the scientific study of the progressive mutual accommodations between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between those settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded. (p. 21)

Bronbrenner's ecology defines different political and social relationships in an individual's biography situated in historical time (chromosystem), in the context of family (microsystem), school and community (mesosystem and exosystem), and the institutions, organizations and associations of the distal world (macrosystem).

Contexts are the developmental pathways for the political socialization of the adolescents. For the purpose of this study, the contexts of family, school, community and the mass media are considered transmitters of society's sociopolitical heritage to future generations.

Elder's life course paradigm, for the purpose of this study considers the adolescent's trajectory of political socialization in transition to adulthood. The four themes central to the life course paradigm used in this study are "the interplay of human lives and historical times, the timing of lives, linked or interdependent lives, and human agency in choice making" (Elder, 1994, p. 5).

Trajectories and transitions, for the purposes of this study are:

> elements of established pathways, individual life courses, and developmental patterns. Trajectories provide a long view by linking social and psychological states over a substantial part of the life span.... Transitions depict a short view... transitions are always elements of trajectories...each transition, combining a role exit and entry, is embedded in a trajectory that gives it specific form and meaning...the meaning of a transition has much to do with its timing in a trajectory (Elder, 1998, p. 955).

The sample of adolescents used for this study are at the stage called late adolescents and will soon be eligible for full political participation.

Political Socialization is a life-long learning process by which citizens mature politically as they participate across a whole range of political and social domains. The tenets of political socialization for the purpose of this study are the intergenerational transfer of political orientations, generational involvement of cohorts, and programs and projects specifically designed for the development of citizenship and leadership in the context of family, school and community.

Andragogy is an exclusive word for different methods of adult learning. "Theories of adult learning are examples of theory-based knowledge that is borrowed, cumulative and central to the core issues of adult education" (Peters, Jarvis, 1991, p.23).

Life long learning: For the purpose of this study, life-long learning embraces basic skills, literacy skills, problem solving, training and retraining for social, political and economic purposes, accreditation, certification, and licensing.

Assumptions, Limitations and Delimitations

Assumptions:

The young men and young women who participated in Montana Boys' State (n. 346) and Montana Girls' State (n. 336) during the first week of June, 2002, met stringent requirements of personal scholarship, patriotism, and leadership to be chosen.

This study was constrained by several limitations and delimitations.

Limitations include:

1. The absence of longitudinal data beyond this snapshot makes it impossible to track the sequencing steps of the young men and women in their political socialization.

2. The study was conducted immediately after a national presidential election that suffered unique procedural problems with the counting of votes.
3. Selection of participants at Montana Boys' and Girls' State was controlled by school level personnel and local parents.

Delimitations include:

1. The sample for this study was purposefully selected for their activities and academic achievement and as such the findings can not be generalized to all young men and women.
2. This study examined only students attending Montana Boys' and Girls' State in the summer of 2002.

The Research Approach

Young men and young women attending Montana Boys' and Girls' State Conference in the summer of 2002 participated in this study. They were asked to complete a 120-item questionnaire that examined their involvement in activities in the family, school and community. The directors and other adults distributed the instrument at a simulated government meeting. The boys in Dillon returned their questionnaire before they left the room while the girls responded over a five-day period. Using mark-sense forms the responses were converted into an electronic base. These data became the basis of the descriptive analysis, the results of which are reported and discussed in the study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature includes a wide range of socialization opportunities available to adolescents who are constructing viable pathways to the adult world of politics. Intergenerational resources along with cohort influences supply necessary prerequisite skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviors. Participation in high school and extracurricular activities shape the political and civic components of emerging identities into life-long entities. The community, by offering religious activities, employment, leisure, recreation, political and voluntary programs, serves as a pillar of political strength by contributing to the positive development of citizens and leaders.

This chapter examines the literature relevant to the psychological, emotional, and moral processes of adolescence that facilitate meaningful political deliberations. The integrated constructs of the ecology of human development, life-course paradigm, and tenets of political socialization are applied to the theories of adult education and lifelong learning. Next, political and non-political environments in the contexts of family, school, and community through which political understanding occurs are explored. Focusing on the ideologies of the Political Platform of the Democratic and Republican Parties, attention is next drawn to the current political stands concerning the definitions

of the family, abortion and pornography. These are issues that will affect the adolescents' own future and their legacy to later generations.

The study's subsequent chapters are arranged as follows: Chapter 3, the methodology section, describes the study design. The study group of young men and women who attended 2002 Montana Boys' and Girls' States represents those who are at the life stage marked by the initial entry into the adult world of politics. The survey instrument was distributed and collected by the director and other adults at a simulated city meeting on a specified evening. In Chapter 4, mark-sense forms were used as the measuring device. The answers to the questions were scanned at the Montana State University Information Technology Center. Descriptive statistics were used for the data analysis of the 120-item questionnaire. Chapter 5, the discussion section, considers the results of the survey, and how they apply to the participants and the literature.

The Psychology of Adolescents in Transition to Adulthood

The cognitive development approach "concentrates on the developing understanding of economic and social issues, of how political systems function, and of citizens' relationship to them; the individual actively makes sense of experience, generating an increasingly complex theory of how the world works" (Haste, Summer 1992, p.2). The environmental and emotional affective spheres are considered "inextricable aspects of cognition" by Ceci and Hembrooke:

> The environment including physical, mental, social and historical contexts assumes a pivotal role in the development of cognition. Additionally, bio-ecological theory assumes that within each of these contexts, the interactions that

> transpire between the child and other people, objects and symbols are what unleashes unactualized potential contained within (Ceci & Hembrooke 1995, p. 308).

Piaget viewed human cognition as a "specific form of biological adaptation of a complex organism to a complex environment... the Piagetian mind always reconstrues and reinterprets that environment to make it fit in with its own existing mental framework" (Flavell, Miller and Miller, 1993, p.4). To explain the development and transformation of cognition, intelligence and morality, Piaget synthesized biological concepts with his psychological theory. All organic systems must function within an organization and adapt to the environment. Schemata in Piaget's theory are the basic units of cognition. "Sequentially constructed schemata become progressively more adequate in enabling the organism to adapt to a wider range of internal and external disturbances" (Piaget, 1977). From the point of view of psychology, using biological concepts of assimilation and accommodation, Piaget explained how the transition is made from a lower to higher level of knowledge:

> Psychological assimilation as well as biological assimilation is the transformation of the external world in such a way as to render it an integral part of oneself. In the case of intelligence, it is the integration of external objects to the schema of subjective actions, fusing pre-existing schema and a new object. (p.216)

Accommodation occurs when an organism is altered as it adjusts to the external stimuli. The word used by Piaget to signify the balance between assimilation and accommodation and the balance between self and other is equilibrium. When the assimilation and the corresponding accommodation are not balanced, disequilibrium is the result. When they

become balanced again, equilibrium is achieved, and the sequence is repeated. The adolescent thus moves to a higher level of knowing.

Genetic Epistemology: The Piagetian Analysis of Political Thought

Piaget's (1970) comprehensive theory of cognitive and intelligence formation is called genetic epistemology. Piaget defined genetic epistemology as an attempt to: "explain knowledge, and in particular scientific knowledge, on the basis of its history, its socio-genesis and especially the psychological origins of the notions and operations upon which it is based" (p.1). Genetic epistemology deals with both the formation and the meaning of knowledge:

> Our problem from the point of view of psychology and from the point of view of genetic epistemology, is to explain how the transition is made from a lower level of knowledge to a level that is judged to be higher...the transitions are historical or psychological or sometimes even biological...the fundamental hypothesis of genetic epistemology is that there is a parallelism between the progress made in the logical and rational organization of knowledge and the corresponding formative psychological process. (1970, p. 7-13)

Piaget engaged in epistemological analysis as well as psychological research "to chart intellectual development, but more importantly as an effort to develop a general theory of thinking" (p.19). Rosenberg et al (1980) extended Piaget's research to adults and politics. They suggested:

> Extending the example (of genetic epistemology) to political science, we argue that the discipline can benefit by adapting Piaget's analysis of the transformations of thought in general to the transformations of political beliefs in particular...the mechanisms by which thought is transformed are the basics of genetic epistemology. The purpose of the transformation is to provide more adequate knowledge, and genetic epistemology studies the ways in which the

> transformations move an individual from less adequate to more adequate systems of knowledge (p.40).

They argued that Piaget placed the "locus of structure in one individual...it calls for a truly social psychological conception of political life, one which realizes the full ramifications of the claim that politics is at once an individual and a collective phenomenon" (p.19).

Piaget (1958) identified four discrete stages of cognitive development. Each stage appears in sequence and demonstrates cognitive functioning qualitatively different from the previous stage. The first three stages will be treated briefly to demonstrate the sequential development of cognitive thought. The fourth stage is experienced during adolescence and is, thus, relevant to the study. The four stages are defined as follows:

1. The sensorimotor period "extends from birth to two years. Before language appears, the small child can only perform motor actions, without thought activity, but such actions display some of the features of intelligence as we normally understand it" (Piaget, 1958, p. 9).
2. Pre-operational thought extends from two to seven years "the symbolic functions appear, language, play...functional invention...imitation...mental imagery...the internalization of actions into thoughts become possible. The field in which intelligence plays a part becomes considerably enlarged" (Piaget, 1958, p. 1).
3. Concrete operational thought extends from seven to eleven years. Children begin to think logically about the here and now, but not about abstractions. Cognitive exchanges bring together information and place it in relation to other information.

4. Formal operational thought extends from age fifteen and remains throughout life. It is a crystallization and integration of the three proceeding stages of development. The attainment of formal operational thought implies that youth can think abstractly, reason logically, and examine political variables in a scientific manner. The following specifics of formal operational reasoning are important in solving problems, making decisions about cause and effect relationships, presenting proposals and drawing conclusions.

The Characteristics of Formal Operational Thought

Hypothetical-Deductive Thought

Youth with formal operational thought are "capable of reasoning like scientists. They form hypotheses, experiment, control variables, record effects, and from their results draw conclusions in a systematic manner" (Wordsworth, 1989, p. 118).

Reflective Abstraction

During the stage of formal operations, the adolescent becomes "capable of reflective thinking and his thoughts make it possible for him to escape the concrete present toward the realm of the abstract and the possible" (Inhelder and Piaget 1959, p. 342). "The adolescent is capable of projects for the future of nonpresent interests, and of a passion for ideas, ideals or ideologies" (Piaget, 1969, p. 23).

Combinatorial Reasoning

"Reasoning about a number of variables at one time is accomplished in a coordinated manner and can determine the effect of one, all, or some combination of a set of variables" (Wadsworth, 1989, p 118).

Cook (1985) explained the role of formal operations in political socialization:

> Adolescence provides the first opportunity to deal with politics on the level of formal operations. In their ability to visualize other worlds beyond the present one, and to comprehend concepts such as government in an abstract manner, adolescents clearly can think about political objects in a qualitatively different mode than their younger counterparts. ...the use of formal rules is not only associated with reasoning capacity and age, but also the individuals level of politicalization and the familiarity of the political problem at hand (p. 1088).

Baungart and Baungart (1998) contended that employing the scientific method was a practical way for adolescents to investigate political and social issues related to citizenship.

A "schemata" in Piaget's theory is the basic unit of cognition. Political schemas according to Lodge and Hamill (1986) were frameworks that provided "a potentially viable way of organizing information about government and politics...and (producing) distinct patterns of evaluation and action" (p. 507). They wrote:

> ...schemas about politics affect the way citizens think about government and politics and oneself as a citizen. One could, for instance see and interpret information about government and politics in terms of political parties and partisan conflicts, or perhaps, organize one's thinking about politics along ideological lines. Other schemas are possible as well...politics as race against race or policy disputes as the expression of class conflicts. (p.507)

Lodge and Hamill noted that schemas have been found to facilitate the grouping of information into larger, more meaningful, and more easily retrievable categories. Torney-Purta (1992, Summer, p. 24) explained:

> Schemata serve functions in the learning and recall of information, the comprehension of discourse, and the solving of political problems. This approach represents a promising new direction in the study of political socialization, conceptualized as the study of expansion and differentiation in individuals' private understanding of politics in ways that make public issues meaningful and engaging.

Cognitive Theory Summary

Using Piaget's cognitive theory as a political theory connects the sociopolitical and the psychological conception of politics as being an individual as well as a collective phenomenon. Genetic epistemology is the process whereby cognitive structures acquire, modify, or organize schemata to go from a lower level of knowledge to a level that is considered higher.

Psychologically, the adolescent is capable of integrating into the social political environment in such a way as to render it a part of herself/himself. Piaget calls this process assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the cognitive system's interaction with the environment causing cognitive change. Accommodation occurs when the schemata are altered to adjust to external stimuli or when there is a complete reorganization of a schemata or concept. When assimilation and accommodation are in balance, equilibrium results. When disequilibrium exists, accommodation corrects the balance. Through this modification, adolescents' schemata become progressively better

adjusted to their world and their intelligence grows. The present study considers schemata relating to political ideology, parties and policy.

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

The most influential extension of Piaget's cognitive theory and method can be found in Kohlberg's studies on moral development. Kohlberg theorized that there are three levels and six stages of moral development that are sequential, invariant and universal. Progression through the levels is dependent upon cognitive prerequisites and exposure to sociomoral experiences. Kohlberg (1984) places most adolescents in his conventional level of moral development. At this level, the individual is able to understand and conform to social conventions and engage in appropriate behavior to follow the rules of society.

Figure 1

Kohlberg's Six Stages of Moral Development

Level and Stage	Political Socialization perspective of stage
Level I: Pre-Conventional	
Stage I: Heteronomous Morality. Punishment and obedience orientation.	Egocentric point of view. Confusion of authority's perspective with one's own.
Stage II: Individualism, instrumental purpose and exchange.	Right is what is fair. An equal exchange, a deal, an agreement.
Level II: Conventional	
Stage III: Mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships and conformity.	Being "good" is important. Showing concern for others. Keeping mutual relationships, such as trust, loyalty, respect and gratitude. Belief in the

	Golden Rule.
Stage IV: Social Systems and Conscience. Law and order.	Fulfilling agreed-upon duties. Considers individual relations in terms of place in the system.
Level III: Post Conventional or Principled	
Stage V: Social contract or utility and individual rights.	Contractual commitment, freely entered upon to family, friendship, trust and work obligation. "...the greatest good for the greatest number." Considers moral and legal points of view: recognizes that they sometimes conflict and finds it difficult to integrate them.
Stage VI: Universal Ethical Principles	Principles are universal principles of justice: the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons. A sense of personal commitment to universal moral principles. Persons are ends in themselves and must be treated as such.

(adapted from Kohlberg, 1984, p. 174-176)

Identity Formation

The adolescents of this sample are situated in the period defined by Erik Erickson (1968) as psychological moratorium, during which society allows a delay of adult commitment on the part of youth. The young adult searches for a niche in some section of society that is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him/her.

The primary developmental task of adolescence is the *formation of an identity*, the attainment of a stable, coherent and integrated sense of self and what one stands for as a member of society. Erickson (1968) explained:

> The most obvious concomitants to an optimal sense of identity are a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count. (p. 165)

Marcia's (1980) identity model described four clearly differentiated identity statuses based on the amount of exploration and commitment that the adolescent is experiencing or has experienced in two areas of occupation and ideology:

> *Identity achievements* are individuals who have experienced a decision-making period and are pursuing self-chosen occupation and ideological goals.
> *Foreclosures* are persons who are committed to occupational and ideological positions, but these have been parentally chosen rather than self-chosen. They show little or no evidence of having resolved a crisis.
> *Identity Diffusions* are young people who have no set occupational or ideological direction, regardless of whether or not they may have experienced a decision-making period.
> *Moratoriums* are individuals who are currently struggling with occupational and/ or ideological issues, they are in an identity crisis. (p.161)

Yates and Youniss (1998) addressed the "interconnection of political socialization and identity formation of youths who participate in community services by confronting social and political problems" and in the process construct a *political identity* (p. 495). Youniss, McLelllan and Yates (March/April, 1997) posited that being involved in civic voluntarism during the "youth era can be seminal in the construction *of civic identity* that includes a sense of agency and social responsibility in sustaining the community's well being" (p. 620). "A *religious identity* is achieved by the adolescent who makes a well

defined commitment to religion after a period of exploration" (DeHaan and Schulenberg, 1997, p.531).

Hart, Atkins and Ford (1998) suggested moral identity is fundamental to political socialization. They defined *moral identity* as "a commitment consistent with one's sense of self to lines of action that promote or protect the welfare of others" (p.515). Maturation, experience, genetics and environment are important in the sequential development of Piaget's logical stage, Erikson's and Marcia's identity formation stage and Kohlberg's moral stages. All three psychological stages converge in adolescence.

Sociological Theories

The present study uses the contextual variables of family, school and community and the dimensions of individual interests, abilities and achievement in order to understand the political socialization of the adolescent in transition to adulthood. The sociological constructs of the ecology of human development, life course paradigm, and the tenets of political socialization are integrated so that they are applicable to the process of life long learning.

Theory of Ecology of Human Development

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory demonstrated how nested layers in the environment regulate linkages that already exist to facilitate the movement and reciprocal adaptations between the mirco- meso- exo- and macro systems. Social relationships define each level of this ecology. The microsystems include primary relationships,

mesosystems and exosystems consist of inter-group and community relationships, and macrosystems involve local, state, national, and international associations and agencies. Bronfenbrenner's addition of the chronosystem model to his environmental system provided structure to write the students biography in history by taking "into account changes over time not only within the person but also in the environment and-what is more critical-that permit analyzing the dynamic relation between the two" (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, p. 724).

The Life Course Paradigm

The role exit from adolescence and the role entry into adulthood is a distinctive part of the life course paradigm. Through a network of shared relationships and linked lives, youth navigate the life course within the challenges and constraints of the historical, cultural and political circumstances of their lives. Human agency, according to Elder is exhibited by individuals who construct their own life course to form a purposeful sense of self during their own biological and psychological development. Elder explained the likeness of his human agency principle with Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development theory: "An ecological view of organism/environment reaction...takes as its point of departure a conception of the person as an active agent who contributes to her own development" (Elder, 1995, p. 111).

Bronfenbrenner and Elder's interdisciplinary theories are relevant to the political socialization of adolescents and young adults. Moen and Erikson (1995) explained how the two theories are interwoven. The life course orientation "emphasizes the potential

importance of trajectories, transitions and their timing ... whereas the ecology of human development... emphasizes the significance of context and viewing development as a joint function of characteristics of the person and the environment" (p. 174). "In keeping with its attention to environmental influences, life course studies place greater emphasis on the social pathways of human lives, their sequence of events, transitions and social roles" (Elder, 1995, p. 103). Bronfenbrenner's ecological model was explained by Moen (1995):

> (it) requires behavior and development to be examined as a joint function of the characteristics of the person and the environment. The former includes both biological and psychological attributes (e.g., an individual's genetic heritage and personality). The later encompasses the physical, social, and cultural features of the immediate settings in which humans beings live (e.g., family, school, and neighborhood), as well as the still broader contemporary and historical context in which these settings are embedded (e.g., the society and times in which an individual is born). (p.1)

Bronfenbrenner's (1986) chronosystem model made possible examining the influences of the person's development of changes (and continuities) over time in the environments in which the person is living. Elder explained how the idea of chronosystem connects the ecology of human development and the life course theories.

> "The ecological concepts of a chronosystem were devised to capture all of these interacting elements over time: the developing person, the nature of the environment, and the proximal processing of interaction. This revision established another base of commonality between the ecological and life course paradigm" (Elder, 1995). (p. 123)

Elder (1995) noted that the life course paradigm and the theory of the ecology of human development: "share a common interest in explaining how dynamic worlds change people and how people select and construct their environments. Indeed, the two

perspectives have evolved and matured through a process of mutual exchange over the past two decades" (p. 103).

Huckfeldt, Plutzer and Sprague (1993) link Bronfenbrenner's concept of context and Elder's linked lives with the political socialization of the adolescent:

> contextual theories of politics build on the argument that individual political preference is not a simple function of individual characteristics alone, but rather the complex product of an individual's own characteristics in combination with the characteristics and predispositions of other surrounding individuals. (p.366)

Tenets of Political Socialization

Political socialization is a "process by which individuals obtain relative knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to function competently in the socio-political structure" (Austin and Nelson, 1993, p.420) and as "the learning about structures and environmental factors and internalizing of customs and rules governing public life that affects the quality of interactions between citizens and their government" (Garber, 1997, p. 191). Political scientist Roberta Sigel (1965, 1989, and 1998) asserted the political socialization of each generation contributes to the stability of the political system, and also its perpetuation during the periods of continuity and change. The transitional period of adolescence is a role entry point to full political participation. "Each new role carries with it recognizable expectations of acceptable patterns of activity, responsibility, and privilege that differ from other stages" (Stekenrider and Cutler, 1989, p. 59-60). Sears and Valentino (1997) listed three basic ideas about the pre-adult acquisition of a stable political predisposition:

> First, it is often acquired and strengthened through extensive exposure to political events, which in essence provide a catalyst for mass pre-adult political socialization. Second, such events are selective: they make certain attitude objects salient and socialize predispositions toward them, while attitudes toward other objects lie dormant, without further socialization. Third, since potentially socializing events tend to be periodic rather that continuous, political socialization may typically occur in bursts, during a period when political events make particular attitude objects salient rather than through the gradual and incremental accretion of experience (p. 58).

They suggested that as citizens, youth will be called upon to balance three concepts: readiness to explore and innovate; respect for the knowledge and values that constitute our heritage; and (the realization that they) are stewards of the future" (p. 79).

Three types of phenomenon cause political continuity and discontinuity over time: period effects, life cycle effects, and generational effects. Period effects of war, economic depression and technological innovations leave their marks on all of society. Life cycle effects are "caused by the demographic metabolism of life and death" (Putman, 1995, p.674); and generational effects when unique historical, cultural, and political events are experienced by a generational unit of cohorts, a bond is created and the mission to change the political status quo is adopted (Baungart and Baungart, 1991; Flanagan and Sherrod, 1998). The depression generation, the baby boomer generation, generation X, or the present generation Y are all examples of generational cohorts.

Huckfeldt, Plutzer and Sprague (1993) suggested:

> Every citizen lies in the center of a social experience produced by a series of interesting, overlapping, layered environments. Each of the environments, in turn, has potentially important consequences for politics because each serves to modify and deflect the opportunities and constraints that circumscribe social interaction - social interaction that serves as a vehicle for the transmission of political information and guidance. (p. 365)

Tenets of political socialization that are considered in this study are: the intergenerational transfer of political participation, non-political activity, and the programs and projects in the school and community.

Intergenerational Transfer of Political Participation

Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) listed four intergenerational processes that influence the political socialization of adolescents:

> "parental education and socioeconomic path to political activity...; parental education and political socialization in the home...; parental education and community roots...; and parental church attendance and community roots" (p. 458).

Non-political Activity as a Politicizing Experience

> Non-political institutions such as church, school, and community are: windows on a wider world of civic life...while undertaking activities having no demonstrable political content, people develop organizational and communication skills that can be transferred to politics. Not only are these institutions the training ground for civic skills, but they function as a site for political recruitment and nurture political engagement (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, 1995, p. 369).

Programs and Projects in the School and Community

Youth programs are sometimes intentionally designed to inculcate democratic beliefs and values. Conway (1990) explained that youth groups enhance the level of political participation:

> Political socialization of young people to political activism through group involvement can occur through participation in various types of youth activity. Participation in religious youth groups, school clubs, voluntary organizations, or student government activities provides an apprenticeship form of political socialization. Skills, attitudes and values are developed that can then be

> transferred to political participation through more politically relevant groups. (p. 299).

Political socialization is a process requiring the transfer of intergenerational ideologies, ideals and ideas along with the current circumstances of the political, historical and cultural entities of a democracy. Citizens acquire knowledge, skills, dispositions and motivations to participate in the political process. The tenets of political socialization are considered in the theoretical framework of psychological, sociological, and political principles.

Adult Education

Andragogy has been defined by Knowles (1984) as the "art and science of helping adults learn in contrast to pedagogy which is the art and science of teaching children" (p, 52). Initially viewing pedagogy and andragogy as dichotomous (one for children, the other for adults); however, Knowles later wrote:

> I now regard the pedagogical and andragogical models as parallel, not antithetical.... In some situations, such as when learners of whatever age are confronting a machine they have not seen before, they may be truly dependent on didactic instruction before they can take much initiative in their own learning; in such situations the pedagogical assumption of dependency is realistic and pedagogical strategies would be appropriate. (pp. 11-12)

A central theme of andragogy is the consistent emphasis on the learner who can be self-directed, peer oriented or teacher taught. Mezirow, Friere, and Brookfield argued the importance of critical thinking for adult education and political socialization. Alexander (1993) suggested:

> critical thinking means using logic to resolve problems; more broadly, it helps the student define a problem, select pertinent information that will help solve the

> problem, analyze relevant hypothesis and assumptions and ultimately draw valid conclusions through this process. (p. 85)

The concept of critical thinking for Mezirow (1990) is made possible by "the analysis of the concept of reflection and its three functions, to guide action, to give coherence to the unfamiliar, and to reassess the justification for what is already known." (p. xvi).

Friere's literacy model (1990) encourages the learner to exercise critical intellectual skills to name the crucial rules and roles of the cultural, social, political, and economic systems that create unequal power, subordination, and dehumanization. Such consciousness raising empowers citizens to dialogue and collectively transform that world.

Brookfield (1986) suggested that the development of critical thinkers is a political act for it encourages adult learners to be active members of a democratic society. Critical thinking for Brookfield meant bridging the gap between theory and practice and transferring critical analysis from the classroom to the workplace. "Only when theory becomes transformed into a political act can it realize its socially transformative potential according to Brookfield" (p. 200).

Critical Elements in the Political Socialization of the Adolescent

To fully understand the political socialization process, this research identified many pathways to social and political participation. The following variables are included in the questions that are an extension of the main research question. The variables are

referred to as agents of political socialization and range from intergenerational support to the political and non-political entities in the family, school and community.

Time budget concerns how students allocate their time during the school year across the domains of family, work, school extracurricular activities, church involvement, employment, mass media, leisure, civic involvement, and political participation. "The amount of time a population of children spends in that activity provides a rough index of their degree of exposure to, engagement with, and absorption of these experiences" (Larson and Verma, 1999, p. 702).

Demographics of age and grade point averages of the young people are examined.

Social Address Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) considers the environmental label that is used for the framework for these questions: What is your hometown population? Whom do you live with? Bronfenbrenner referred to the principal caregiver(s) as the "new demography." The questionnaire for the present study borrows Bronfenbrenner's idea and asks: Do you live with both parents, mother only, father only, mother and stepfather, father and stepmother, grand parents, foster parent(s), or guardian? To facilitate answering some of the questions for this study, demography is further separated into male parent, female parent, principle male caregivers or female caregivers.

The family is widely recognized as a preeminent agent of political consequence, not only for the individual, but also for the political system (Beck, 1982, p. 50). The family provides the context of identity and choices that are made by young adults. The amount and degree of involvement is governed by the definition of family.

Reciprocity: "Children have come to be seen as actively contributing to events and as doing so in ways that change as the children themselves change physically, cognitively, and socially" (Bugental and Goodnow, 1998, p. 389). The survey asks: Do you help with housework (cleaning, cooking, and running errands)? Do you help with home repair and maintenance (yard work, home and car maintenance and repair)? Do you baby sit at home?

Education of Parents: Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995, p. 429-430) believed that the main road for the intergenerational transmission of political involvement is parental education: "Parents' education has a large and significant effect on all three dependent variables: exposure to political stimuli at home, respondents' education, and activity in high school...Each influences political activity although through different processes" (p, 429-430).

The respondents were asked: Did your mother, father, primary male caregiver, or primary female care giver complete grade school? What was their highest level of academic achievement: High school diploma, some college, Bachelor's, Master's, or professional degree?

School: "Schools bear a special and historic responsibility for the development of civic competency and civic responsibility" (Branson, 1998, September, p. 7 of 28). Thus, the questionnaire asked respondents if they were involved in student government, producing a school newspaper or yearbook, or if they were involved in scholastic honors or class officer programs.

Extracurricular Activities: Baungart and Baungart (1998) stated that "research has suggested...that extracurricular activities are effective ways to learn citizenship skills i.e. group participation, leadership, taking responsibility, applying democratic principles and conflict resolutions" (p. 118). The question for the present study asked if the student participated in the extracurricular activities sanctioned by the Montana State Board of Education (1999-2000). There are 16 activities approved for boys and 15 for girls attending high school in Montana.

Computers: The new technological tool is used by American youth for a variety of reasons. Borrowing from (Barna, 1999, p. 33), the measuring device for the present study asked the adolescent if he/she used the computer to play games, buy products, find information or to participate in on-line chat groups.

Community: Learner (1995) explained the importance of community involvement:

> Without bringing the perspective of the community into the plan for research, the scholar may very likely fail to address the correct problems of human development-the ones involved in the actual lives of the people he or she is studying, and if the wrong problem is being addressed, any "answers" that are found are not likely to be relevant to the actual lives of people. (p. 55)

Questions concerning involvement in church, employment, leisure and recreation, political, and civic activity and the mass media were included in this section of the study.

Church: Kellstedt (1993) believes that religion matters politically and summarizes his beliefs: "No survey of American public opinion that attempts to understand the nature of that public can afford to be without measures of church involvement, private devotionalism and salience" (p.24). Sampled students were asked:

What is your denominational identity? Does your religious background help you in your daily decision-making? Is private daily prayer important to you? Should students in public schools be allowed to offer prayer during special occasions such as school assemblies, graduation exercise, and sports events?

Employment: Labor force participation among youths who are enrolled in high school is due to a "large increase in minimum wage, entry-level positions that are highly suitable for high school students who are seeking part time work" (Carr, Wright, Brody, 1996, p. 66). The questionnaire asks: Are you employed for wages? Choose one that best describes your paid employment: agricultural (farm, ranch work, etc.); food service (fast food, supermarket, restaurant etc.); self-employment (baby-sitting, seasonal work, maintenance, etc.); sales (department store, hardware, etc.); employment specifically geared to your chosen occupation/vocation? Students were also asked if they were saving some of their earnings for college.

Media: The massive exposure to the media "contributes to the life long process of political socialization and learning...people learn about political norms, rules, events and behaviors largely from the mass media including fictional as well as factual stories" (Graber 1997, p. 193). Graber believed that the media are a tremendously powerful political force. Respondents were asked: How have you been gathering information about our national, state and local government (watching national television news programs, reading national news magazines, watching local television news programs, reading local newspapers, listening to the radio, accessing the Internet; family discussions at home, discussions in school)?

Leisure and Recreation: "Leisure is relevant to moral, social, physical, aesthetic, spiritual, political, psychological, and intellectual development... Leisure is equally, if not more, relevant as an opportunity to live life as fully and meaningfully as the limits and potential of human beings allow" (Sylvester, 1995, p. 130). Students were asked if they were involved in these non-school related activities: sports, church-related youth group, non-church related youth groups, and talent lessons and performance (music, drama, and art).

Political and Civic Participation of the Adolescent and Parents: The measuring device was designed to deal with questions related to the involvement of the adolescent and his/her parents in significant community programs and projects. The educational, charitable and social programs of the church, structured volunteer projects in the community, and politically related activities are all considered in this study. "Some of this activity is political, some is non-political, and some is on the fuzzy border between the two" (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995, p.7).

"Students active involvement in grappling with controversial issues or dilemmas in which they must construct and defend their own positions while remaining aware of the views of others has a positive effect on political awareness" (Torney-Purta, 1990, p. 476).

How does this group of Montana leaders interpret the "music of the law" as it relates to the moral and social aspects of political ideologies? How do the future parents of Montana who are assembled at Montana Boys and Girls' States define the family, how do they view the social and moral issues of abortion and pornography?

Intergenerational Transfer of Political Behavior and Attitudes

The pathway to political socialization of pre-adults may be the result of intergeneration transfers of political involvement, attitudes and behavior. Bronfenbrenner (1995) wrote:

> The lives of all family members are interdependent. Hence, how each family member reacts to a particular historical event or role transition affects the development course of other family members, both within and across generations. The bi-directional links between generations is rooted in the fact that genetic potentials for development are not merely passive possibilities but active dispositions expressed in selective patterns of attention, action and response. (p. 642)

According to Moen and Erickson (1995), the proper assessment of intergenerational pathways to adult behavior and dispositions required:

> Recognition that parents and children are each progressing along both developmental and life course paths. The links between each generation are bi-directional with the development and experiences of parents and children invariably interdependent and influenced by those of the other. (p. 168)

Learner (1995) explained:

> (bi-directional relationships between child and parent) are reciprocally related to the other social networks within which the dyad exists in the broader societal and cultural context...Bronfenbrenners's model of ecology of human development allows us to devise a means to represent the idea that the bi-directional socialization that occurs between children and their parents is embedded in a still more complex system of social networks and of societal, cultural and historical influences. (p.27)

This study considered the intergenerational influences of the education of parents, political and civic involvement and religious orientation, all of which are important to the political socialization of pre-adults.

Education of Parents

Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995) believed that perhaps the main road for the intergenerational transmission of political involvement was parental education:

> All studies of political activity emphasize the strength of the relationship between formal education and participation...Indeed, education enhances nearly every single one of the participatory factors: those who are well-educated have higher incomes and exercise more civic skills; they are more politically interested and informed; they are more likely to be educated in institutional settings from which they can be recruited to politics. (p. 420)

Results of the study by Verba et al. showed that parental education had a "large and significant effect on all three variables: exposure to political stimuli at home, respondents' education and activity in high school" (p. 430). On the other hand, parents who are not well educated, but who attend church put their children "in a position to acquire civic skills and to be recruited into politics" (p. 459). The multiple effects of non-political institutions:

> are windows on a wider world of civic life while undertaking activities having no demonstratable political control, people develop organizational and communication skills that can be transferred to politics. Not only are these institutions the training ground for civic skills, but they also function as a site for political recruitment and nurture political engagement. (p. 369)

The family plays a significant role in the political socialization of the adolescent by "setting the broad boundaries of the individuals' education and occupational opportunities and providing exposure to political stimuli and to religious institutions" (p. 459). Verba et al. suggested:

> American churches function as a manner similar to voluntary associations in nurturing politically relevant skills and exposing members to various sorts of political stimuli. Thus, it is possible that religious institutions in America partially compensate for the weakness of unions and play a role in bringing into politics those who might not otherwise be involved. (p. 385)

Opportunities to develop civic skills in church are available to the children of parents who might otherwise be resource poor, according to Verba et al.

The four-wave longitudinal panel study, *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and Parents* (Jennings, Niemi, 1965, 1973, 1982, 1999), was conducted at the Survey Research Center and Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. The original sample was composed of 1469 parents and their high school senior offspring that "lie dead center in the protest movement" (Jennings, 1987, p. 369). Six hundred and thirty-six of the parents/student pairs (56 %) enabled researchers to construct parents/child pairs as units of analysis in 1999 comment on the results of the longitudinal study:

The importance of the family as a source of partisan loyalties was firmly established in their study in 1968 and subsequent longitudinal analysis of the 2nd and 3rd and 4th waves of the parent/child panel data. (Jennings, Stokes and Bowers (1999) comment on the results of the longitudinal study:

> Spanning 3 generations and over 3 decades, the results of our analysis demonstrates the continuing centrality of partisanship as an outcome of familial socialization. Children are more likely to adopt the partisanship orientations of the parent than any other political trait. (p.22)

An international study by Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Cspo and Sheblanova (1998) examined the intergenerational ethos of civic voluntarism concerning familial norms of social responsibility and the young generations' reciprocal exchanges beyond the family. The total sample for the study was 5,579 adolescents from 7 countries. A minimum of 500 adolescents aged 12 to 18 from each of 4 countries considered to be

fledgings democracies (Russia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republican and Hungary) and from each of 3 countries who have enjoyed longer histories of democratic politics (Australia, Sweden, and the United States). Data were gathered via surveys administered in schools in a large urban area of each country between March and May, 1995.

Results of Flanagan et. als.' study showed that youth in all 7 countries reported the intergenerational transfer of familial norms of improving society and building democracy was instrumental in their decision to adopt a life-long goal of voluntarism. Beyond family borders, youth who established solidarity and social identity in school and other institutions form "ties that bind" them to the larger political community. The benefits of voluntary activities are explained by Flanagan et. al:

> Volunteer work ...is one of the rare occasions when young people can link with other citizens they would normally not meet, understand the concept of public work, and conceive of themselves as civic actors...not only does the voluntary sector provide the social integuments of civil society, it provides an outlet for adolescents to identify with public goals. (p. 46)

Summary

In terms of political socialization, the similarities of the political and civic activities of the adolescents and their parents are studied in Verba et. al., Jennings and Niemi, and Flanagan et. al. . The results of each study show that politically active parents, civic orientated parents, and parents who are religious and attend church regularly, enable their children to stockpile the necessary prerequisites to become active in the sociopolitical sphere.

Reciprocity

How Do You Help at Home?

For this study, reciprocal relationships are characterized by interpersonal responsibilities and obligations among family members. "Giving and receiving assistance are part of the role definitions of family member" (Amato, 1990, p. 32). "People may help much of the time, not because they have personality traits conducive to helping...or because situational factors are favorable...but because helping is part of their role requirement" (p. 41). Amato believed that helping is simply part and parcel of what it means to occupy certain roles in relation to others.

> "Reciprocity in interpersonal relations has been a building block in many theoretical developmental models. Developmentalists have employed terms that focus on the interdependent, reciprocal character of social interactions." (Magnusson, Stattin, 1998, p. 702)

For the past two decades family research on the division of household labor has emphasized social, political and economic dimensions. Ahlander and Bahr (Feb. 1995) believed its emergence was:

> associated with the continuing increase in women's paid employment, political appeals for gender equality, and the rise of women's studies devoted to illuminating women's subordination and domination. (p. 54)

Benin and Edwards (May 1990) evaluated time diaries written for a national longitudinal study conducted in1975 and again in 1981. The sample was 176 youth from two-parent families between the ages of 12 and 17, "the impressionable years for formulating sex-role stereotypes and house hold work habits" (p. 366). The major dependent variable was the amount of time spent on 65 household tasks performed on

school and non-school days. Benin and Edwards found that traditional families "were socializing children to perform chores along highly stereotypical gender lines." Daughters in full time dual earner families spent 7.5 hours more per week performing tasks than sons. Benin and Edwards believed that "ull time dual-earner parents contribute to a perpetuation of inequality in housework...a clear message is being sent that [sons] are not equally responsible for household maintenance" (p. 371).

Benin and Edwards acknowledged that the period of adolescence was not too late to train children of both sexes to perform a wide variety of household tasks:

> If parents will start training their teenagers to perform both traditionally male and female tasks, then perhaps the next generation can achieve greater marital equality in household division of labor that is true of the current generation. (p. 371)

Camarena, Stemmler and Peterson (1994) believed that even as family systems change, the family is likely to remain a major force shaping all experiences of the individual across the entire period of adolescence. "It also needs to be acknowledged that the relationship between the larger social context and the developmental orientations of adolescents is reciprocal in nature." (p. 219) The purpose of Camarena et al.'s study was to "investigate the gender differentiated nature of work and family experiences and expectations across adolescence" (p. 205).

Peterson's (1984) *Early Adolescent to Young Adulthood* longitudinal study (p.103-105) was used by Camarena et al. to illustrate "the gender differential significance of work and family" (p. 205). The first study consisted of 245 early adolescents (age 11-14). At the age of 21, 147 of the participants returned for the young adult part of the longitudinal study. Camarena et al. called their sample "resource rich and high

achieving" young adolescents who "provide an interesting opportunity to examine the influence of gender in a context where both boys and girls were encouraged and given the resources to achieve" (p. 205).

Camarena et al. asserted the family is one of the primary settings in which gender is defined. "Chores begun in the home signal the start of the gender-differentiated assignments of tasks and may be reflected in later attitudes toward adult working roles" (p. 218). They also stated that even as greater numbers of young women began to aspire to succeed in the labor force worlds traditionally dominated by men, there has not been the same corresponding investment in family work on the part of the young men:

> ...women are increasingly entering the labor force. The need to adequately prepare both adolescent boys and girls for the potentially competing demands of family and work roles requires significant changes in the work and family contexts that model and prepare adolescents for these later adult roles. In addition, societies need to examine what is valued and important, and design social policies accordingly. (Camarena, Stemmler, Peterson, 1994, p. 219)

Camarena et al. reported the results of their investigation:

> ...girls had more positive or open attitudes toward women's roles...and the young men's attitudes were extended or broadened across the adolescent years to more closely approximate the attitudes of the young women. ...relative to girls, emotional well being became more independent of family and school experience across time for boys. ... As a whole these findings support the contention that young women anticipate substantial conflict in attaining both valued work and family roles, conflict that is not anticipated by young men. ...it is clear from these analyses that the relationship between work and family experiences and expectations are substantially more complex for girls than for boys. (p. 209-215)

They concluded that "the current generations of boys and men are now growing up with the realization that their roles may well have to alter to more effectively match the role of their future spouses." (Camarena, Stemmler, Peterson, 1994)

Reciprocity and the Development of Competence

Call, Mortimer and Shanahan (1995) contended that there is a reciprocal relationship between helpfulness and the development of adolescent competence. Their study investigated reciprocity and helpfulness in two spheres of the adolescents' lives: the family and paid employment. One measure of helpfulness in the family context is the time spent per week in ten different household tasks (e.g. cleaning, cooking, shopping and yard work). A second measure is the time spent caring for others.

The four-year longitudinal study by Call et al. involved approximately 1000 teenagers in the St. Paul, Minnesota school district and 96% of the mothers and 90% of the fathers with whom they were living. The purpose of the study was to examine adolescent's competence as it is related to helpfulness. Family conditions considered as moderators of the effects of helpfulness include the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship and the degree of autonomy and choice surrounding the performance of household tasks. The adolescents also rated the closeness of supervision they experienced at work, the supervisor's style in allocating work, and the freedom to disagree with the supervisor.

The investigation showed that adolescents from large families, with limited financial resources, and whose mothers were employed take on more household responsibilities. According to Cal et al. (1995), girls in the study did not spend significantly more time doing chores than boys. Results of the study showed that helpfulness may enhance competence when need makes the adolescent's contribution to family welfare indispensable and appreciated, conversely, a lack of parental support, and the use of coercive control reduces self efficacy. Helpful acts performed in the

workplace are considered to be an important step in the path to adulthood. Like parents, work supervisors who do not allow some measures of autonomy and self-direction and who are not supportive, minimize the adult-like character of adolescent work. They concluded that the effects of helpfulness depend on the helper's motivation and the meaning of the task. Performance of adult-like tasks moves the adolescent toward the "adult possible self" which fosters positive outcomes and intensifies adolescent competence. On the other hand, negative outcomes are possible when the meaning of the helpful act is child-like and not harmonious with the "adult-possible self" toward which the adolescent is headed. The interface between adolescent competence and reciprocity is both relational and situational.

Recent research by Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer and Robinson (2000) provided strong evidence that there has been a significant decrease in women's time spent on household tasks and a narrowing of the time gap for men and women. Data were gathered from four large national longitudinal studies in the United States in 1965, 1975, 1985, and 1995. The sample of 4,107 married couples ages 25 to 65, age-mates to the parents of the respondents in the present study, reported all of their 24-hour daily primary activities within a structured daily format. Three dependent variables were examined: the husband's total weekly housework hours, wives total weekly household hours and the housework gender gap. They reported that performing household tasks appear to be more equalitarian in recent years:

> Women have cut their housework in hours almost in half since the 1960's; about half of women's 12-hour-per-week decline can be accounted for...increased labor force participation, later marriage, and fewer children. In contrast, men's housework time has almost doubled during this period (to the point where men are responsible for a third of housework in the 1990's, (p. 191.)

Women still perform the core traditionally feminine tasks while men perform more episodic or discretionary tasks. Biachi et. al. saw a cultural change on ideas about women's work. Men appeared more willing to perform these tasks and realized the importance of reciprocity in maintaining current and long-term care of family and home.

Summary

Traditional gender role expectations are being challenged at every level of our social, political and economic stratum. In the transition out of adolescence into adult roles, there is a need for both boys and girls to properly prepare for the possible combination of future family obligations and employment responsibilities. Negotiation between family and competing work roles has primary significance for adolescent girls and young women. However, reciprocal experiences within the family can have lasting benefits for young men and their future families.

There is a reciprocal relationship between helpfulness and adolescent competence. When tasks performed, skills and knowledge acquired, and responsibilities accepted are in line with the development trajectory toward adulthood, the adolescent's competence is enhanced. The reciprocal relationship is positive when social circumstances provided by parents and work supervisors are supportive and the adolescent is allowed to exercise a certain amount of autonomy and self-direction. The adolescent's competence is diminished when assigned tasks are incongruent with adult status, when poor interpersonal relationships exist, and when a non-supportive environment is apparent. Competence development and reciprocal interactions are both

relational and situational. Secure relationships ground the adolescent in the present situation and are important in the formation of future relationships.

School and Extracurricular Activities

The political socialization of high-school students can be facilitated by involvement in extracurricular activities, student government and clubs and by producing school publications. Youniss, McLellan, and Yates (1997) explained the non-political process that could be transferred to adult political participation:

> In tasks such as producing a yearbook or weekly newspaper, youth experience the virtues of coordinating a distribution of talents that are focused on a shared goal. When editors, reporters, photographers, layout artists, and salespeople execute their respective roles, the result is clearly greater than the individual parts. Moreover, although these coordinated actions enhance one another, they also produce a benefit for the audience and larger community. (p.624)

School programs and projects can facilitate adolescent development, provide social-political relatedness and contribute to youths' identity as members of a school community. Involvement in extracurricular activities can also provide pathways to conventional social networks and limit opportunities to engage in problematic behaviors. Eccles and Barber (1999) asserted:

> Involvement in high school activity is predictive of several indicators of healthy adult development, including active participation in the political process and other types of volunteer activities. (p.12)

Herbert W. Marsh and Sibina Kleitman (Winter, 2000, 2003) proposed three theoretic perspectives in studying extracurricular and school activities: the zero sum model in which the varying amounts of time devoted to academics, social, or athletic pursuits are suggested to be in competition with each other; the threshold model

considered that at some optimal level athletics may have benefits, but athletic participation beyond the optimal level has diminishing returns. The identification/ commitment model posited that athletic participation can increase school identification, involvement and commitment in ways that enhance more narrowly defined academic and non-academic outcomes.

Four waves of data were collected from the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) and a major longitudinal study sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for the U.S. Department of Education to "provide trend data about critical transitions experienced by young people as they develop, attend school and embark on their careers" (NCES, 1996, p. 5). The data were collected prior to the start of high school, 1988, 8th grade; during high school, 1990, 10th year; at the end of high school, 1992, 12th year; and 1994, 2 years after graduation from high school. Using these data, Marsh and Kleitman's examined the effects of athletic participation on growth and change during high school. The results were predominately positive:

> Students who participated had higher grades; higher Carnegie units, higher self esteem, and higher education aspirations...spent more time on homework, applied to more universities and experienced higher parental expectation. (p. 215)

Testing the threshold model, the study showed only one outcome, the number of university applications was affected by total athletic participation. In contrast, the zero-sum model results indicated athletic participation, especially in extramural sports, owed and to a lesser extent team sports, complimented rather than competed with traditional curricular goals to enhance academic and nonacademic achievement. Marsh and Kleitman (Winter, 2002) concluded that participating in school-based activities such as sports, student government and school publication products provided a unique set of

socializing experiences that enhanced identification and commitment with school values.

Homework and Computer Use

The American Freshman Survey (2002), now in its 37th year, is conducted annually by UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute. The sample included 282,549 students entering 437 four-year colleges and universities as freshman in 2002. Shaena Engle reported a record low (33.4%) of today's entering freshman report studying or doing homework six or more hours per week during their senior year in high school. The percentage of students studying less than one hour per week has nearly doubled (from 8.5% to 15.9%) over the past 15 years.

The study also found that frequent use of personal computers hit a record 83.9% in 2002. The percentage of freshman indicating they used the Internet for research their last year in high school rose to 78.4% in 2002. Barna Research Group Ltd (1999, p. 13) analyzed data drawn from seven nationwide telephone and mail surveys of random samples of teenagers aged 13-18 years. The study arranged student uses for computer in this order: finding information, chat rooms, games, and buying products.

There is a connection between the nonpolitical experiences of school activities and the emerging confidence of adulthood. Students learn communicational and organizational skills, the interdependence of teammates and adults, the desire to do ones best, and respect for authority. The school environment provides an opportunity to learn and practice democratic ideals that are easily transferred to the adult world of politics.

Church and Religion as Agents of Political Socialization

The longitudinal qualitative study of Myers (1996) examined the magnitude of religiosity inheritance by interviewing two generations of the same family at different times. Parents who had a child 7 years or older living at home were interviewed in 1980 to evaluate their religious beliefs and practices. Four hundred and seventy 19 year old offspring with complete parent/offspring files were interviewed in 1990 to determine their religiosity when they became adults. Issues addressed in the interview were: the effects of childhood, parental, and family influence on the religiosity of the offspring; the factors that condition the ability of parents to transmit their religiosity; and the results of contemporaneous experiences on the family influences. The study's results included: parents' religiosity as the primary influence on the religiosity of their adult offspring, the experiences of the adolescent have independent effects on religious behavior, but do not diminish the intergenerational transfer of religiosity; and offspring from a traditional family structure appear to replicate their parents' religiosity to a greater extent than do offspring from families organized in a less traditional manner.

Smith, Denton, Faris and Regnerus (2002) analyzed data from three recent, reputable national surveys of American youth to explore the fundamental aspects of youth church participation, religious affiliation and involvement in church youth groups. They found that:

> Although the vast majority of American youth remain within the Christian tradition, proportionately more youth consider themselves not religious and are affiliating with non Christian traditions over time. It is clear that American youth are gradually becoming more religiously pluralistic. (p.609)

Smith et. al. believed these changes may partly be attributed to the influx of immigrants over the past 7 years. While the majority of recent immigrants come from Roman Catholic countries, substantial numbers come from atheist, Buddhist, Orthodox or Hindu cultures. Religious involvements tended to cluster among youth. Those youth who were religiously involved tend to be so through multiple forms of religious participation. Older American youth were less likely to report having a religious affiliation, attending church services regularly, or being involved in a religious youth group. "This may reflect increased autonomy from authority of religious parents and increased participation in projects that compete with religious activities." (p. 609)

Not included in Smith et. al.'s study but pertinent to the present study, is the membership of the five largest churches in Montana listed by Merrill and Jacobson (1997): the Catholic Church, with 125,799 members; Angelical Lutheran Church of America, with 49, 106 members; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, with 28, 620 members; United Methodist Church with 19,461 members; and Assemblies of God with 16, 235 members.

Devotionalism

Leege, Wald and Kellstedt (1993) subjected the 1990 NES data on private prayer and Bible reading to "rigorous questions concerning devotionalism and politics" and concluded:

> ...private devotionalism remains an independently important predictor of party identification, candidate choice, political ideology, moral traditionalism and position on issues such as abortion and affirmative action. (p. 153)

They believed that explanations of American political behavior and the positions voters take on current problems and legislative policies can be understood through private devotional life. Kellstedt (1993) added: "public religious practices, private devotional acts and religious salience matter politically" (p. 282).

Voluntarism in Church

Voluntarism is a cultural as well as legal and institutional phenomenon. Williams (1998) believed voluntarism has "roots deep in both American religious and political culture-and the centrality of each reinforces the other" (p.774). Church volunteers become a part of social and political networks that facilitate political evolvement and political efficacy. Voluntary activity in both religious and secular domains outside of politics intersects with politics in many ways. "Participation in these spheres can develop skills that are transferable to politics even when the activity itself has nothing to do with politics." (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba, 1994, p. 967)

Metz, McClellan and Youniss (March 2003) studied types of voluntary service that might facilitate the development of civic and moral identity in adolescents. One hundred and twenty two youths (50% of the sample) were put in direct contact with people in need or with issues of inequality and injustice. Social-cause type of service allows students to find remedies for social problems, confront unfamiliar persons and challenging social issues. It was usually performed within a church or non-profit group. They found students who volunteered under this sponsorship were exposed to definite political/moral rationale for social action as they participated alongside adults who represented these organizations and could espouse their basic philosophies. It was, thus,

possible for these students to see themselves as engaged in social causes and even as political actors who could take active stands for political and moral reasons. The study showed other types of volunteer activities performed by others in the sample had the potential to stimulate civic orientation by giving students practical experience working with those in need; however, evidence of inequality and injustice provided an "experience with the unfamiliar, intense interest in ideological positions, or a sense of challenge in going beyond one's previously sensed capacities" (p.200).

Youniss and Yates (1997) presented a theoretical rationale for youths' involvement in community service and the developmental experiences of a group of adolescents volunteering in a homeless center in Washington D.C. Participation in community problem solving promoted the development of personal and collective identity:

> Identity development requires stepping into history by adopting a respected ideology that connects youth to other generations, gives meaning to present experiences, and provides hope for the future.

The three core theoretical principles of identity are agency or industry, social relatedness and political/moral understanding (Youniss, McClellan, Zu, and Yates, April 1999, p.249).

The sample for the study was 132 predominately black high school juniors attending a Catholic school in Washington D.C. The students were observed and interviewed as they progressed through a required course in social justice in which service at the soup kitchen was a mandatory and essential part. The study was designed to collect qualitative data that reflect students' understanding of service, self and society. As the year unfolded, the students began to view the people at the shelter, not as

stereotypical "homeless" but as individuals. The youths became aware of the opportunity to become political and moral agents with the responsibility to make society a better place. The formation of political identity began as students questioned the political responsibility of providing accessible housing, job training, and welfare reform for the homeless. Moral identity was evident in the youths' compassion and respect for the homeless.

"As persons assimilate moral reasoning and behavior into their self definition, morality becomes an integral part of their identity" (p. 84). Reflecting on the political-moral circumstances of homelessness and by talking with their peers, other adults, and those at the soup kitchen, the adolescents were able to construct identities that were integrated with ideological stances and political-moral outlooks.

Youth Employment

Employment as an Agent of Political Socialization

Sigel and Hoskin (1977) believed that work does not fall outside the topic of political socialization. "There is no other phase of a person's life of the same political impact, or potential impact as his work situation" (p. 272). Work symbolizes the transition from adolescence to adulthood. "Whereas socialization during early adolescence occurs primarily in the family, school and peer context, work becomes a significant socialization setting in late adolescence when school and work are often conjoined" (Mihalic, and Elliot, 1997, p.464).

"Having a job while still in high school became normative during the 1970s and remains so today. ... By current estimates, at any one time during the school year, well over 6 million American high school students are working" (Steinberg, 1999, p. 220.)

The Report on the Youth Labor Force (November, 2000) stated:

> In the 1996-1998 school months, 39 percent of employed youths worked in service occupations and 27 percent worked in sales; 27 percent of working youth were employed in food preparation and service occupations; 13 percent of youths were employed in general labor occupations and 8 percent in administrative, including clerical work. (p. 37)

Steinberg (1999) believed: "with occasional exception, most teenagers' jobs are repetitive, monotonous and unlikely to be intellectually stimulating. Some are even highly stressful, requiring youngsters to work under intense time pressures without much letup and exposing teen workers to injury and accidents." "Once motivated by the economic needs of the family, most adolescent work today represents "luxury" employment of which adolescents themselves are the beneficiaries"(Greenberger and Steinberg, 1986, p. 7). A fair percentage of the earnings are spend on drugs and alcohol. "It may be...that adolescent workers have more contact with older teenagers and adults who may introduce them to drug activity as well as the financials reserves to buy alcohol and drugs." (Sayfer, Leahy, Colan, 1995, p. 3)

Steinberg, Geenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero, and Vaux (1982) studied a group of 176 high school students to examine the costs as well as the benefits of part time employment during the school year. A short term, cross sectional longitudinal format was used. The study uncovered three patterns that they believe warrant further investigation. 1) The impact of work on the development of responsibility (i.e. self management), but not social responsibility (i.e concern for others). 2) The negative

impact on the adolescent's involvement in and commitment to activities in school, family, and peer relationships in non-work settings. 3) The impact of work on less than desirable behaviors such as increased drug, alcohol, and marijuana use.

Work and School Performance

Warren, Le Pore, and Mare (Winter, 2000) examined data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (Nels 88) to assess how working during high school and students' grades in academic courses were related. A cohort was tracked for three years (1990, 1992, and 1993). They found that students who had higher educational aspirations and were on the college track, were more likely to do well in school as seniors, and were less likely to work intensively.

Positive Effects of Youth Employment

Mortimer, Shanahan, and Ryu (1993) examined the effects of work on 1001 9th graders and 962 of these same students one year later. Work intensity was measured by hours of employment per week. The researchers reported "Many youths perceive their jobs and schools as mutually enhancing. ...their jobs led to greater appreciation of the value of education or a better understanding of their academic interests" (p. 321). Mortimer et al. (1994) concluded that a positive effect of working is the contact of youth with working peers as well as adult workers. These co-workers may provide new reference groups and role models of more adult behaviors.

Positive Formation of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Values

The longitudinal study of Mortimer, Shanahan, and Ryu (1993) was extended two

years to include 11th and 12th graders. Of the original 1001 participants, 93% were retained over the four-year period. Mortimer, Pimentel, Ryu, Nash, and Lee (June, 1996) examined the data to determine if part-time work during high school increased stable intrinsic and extrinsic value dimensions. Self-administered questionnaires were answered in school classrooms each year (grades 9 through 12). Four items referenced extrinsic values: income, advancement, opportunity, security and prestige. Intrinsic values refer to using skills and abilities, becoming autonomous and responsible, and interacting and being helpful to others. When adolescents perceive their jobs as allowing them to move forward in their occupational trajectories, enabling them to learn how to accept responsibilities, get along with people, be on time, manage money, and follow directions, they come to view the benefits of work as important (p. 1412).

They concluded that in the earliest transitions to work, job conditions are not significantly affected by adolescent's values about work. However, as they move through high school, young people's intrinsic values increasingly shape the kind of work they do, at the same time as they are presented with greater job choices.

The Iowa Youth and Families Project was a longitudinal study conducted by Elder and Conger (2000) in the years from 1989-1994. The purpose of the study was to investigate the social/psychological consequences of the 1980 farm crisis in 8 north central counties of Iowa. The sample was 451 families with two parents, a seventh grade child and a sibling within four years of age. Many of the seventh graders were "children of the farm crisis" born at the end of Iowa's rural prosperity. The inclusion of a sibling provided an opportunity to observe sibling relationships to determine whether economic hardships are expressed differently among children within the same family. The

families were followed up with questionnaires and interviews.

With few exceptions, the Iowa youth worked for pay by the end of high school. Elder and Congers' (2000) interviewed 12th grade students to find out why they thought paid employment was important. Over and over again the youth referred to the confidence acquired in completing the work expectations of a demanding employer, the personal mastery of social and self-skills and the ability to contribute to family during the hardship years of adolescence. Farm youth are taught the skills of planting, nurturing, harvesting, and selling crops, caring for new born livestock continuously until they are marketed, and maintaining land and buildings. Farm work can be a form of apprenticeship that prepares youth for the transition to adult employment in a farm-related occupation. The project was included in the present study because the highest percentage of participants at both Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State were from rural areas and work at agricultural type jobs.

Negative Effects of Employment

The purpose of Steinberg, Fegley and Dornbushe's (1993) study of high school students was to examine the problems associated with employment in excess of 15 to 20 hours a week. A self-report survey was administered to 1,800 high school sophomores. The heterogeneous groups were from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds and community settings. Results show that before working, some adolescents were less engaged in school and were granted more autonomy by their parents. However, taking a job for more than 20 hours a week further disengaged youth from school, increased delinquency and drug use, increased autonomy from parents, and diminished self-reliance.

Negative Effects on Educational Attainment

A study by Carr, Wright and Brody (1996) examined the effects of adolescents working on educational attainment for roughly a decade after completing high school. The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1975, enrolled 2,716 youths who were 16-19 years old and followed yearly ever since, allowing for analysis of young adults who were 28-31 years old in 1991. Findings for long-term results (12 years later) "suggest that the short-term educational decrement does not disappear later in life...working teenagers forego rather than delay, some amounts of educational attainment" (p. 75). They concluded that teenagers, parents and teachers, "need to weigh cautiously the costs and benefits of working during the high school years, while acknowledging that for many, the immediate benefits may overshadow any long term costs" (Carr, Wright, Brody, 1996, p. 79).

Warren, LePore and Mare (Winter 2000) addressed the negative effects caused by allocation of time: "The common-sense argument against working while attending school is that the time students devote to work detracts from the time available for studying, doing homework, or becoming involved in other school related activities" (p. 946). Absenteeism, time lost from homework, and lower grades have short-term consequences and long-term ramifications for future academic achievement.

Summary

Research examining adolescent part-time employment has yielded conflicting conclusions. The potential for producing either positive or negative outcomes is contingent upon the nature, appropriateness, and intensity of the work, personal

characteristics of individual youth, and supportiveness of the work environment. Part-time work consumes valuable time and displaces school activities. A young person's educational performance and academic aspirations are often adversely determined by the time allocated to work. There are preexisting differences between adolescents who choose not to work and those who choose to work. Adolescents who are less academically inclined often enter the labor market to compensate for their lack of school interest and achievement. Students who work excessive hours during high school tend to limit their course selections to exclude mathematics, science, and foreign languages. They end up with a shortage of the right kind of credits necessary for college admission. Students who are on the college tract tend to work less and enroll in courses required to continue their education.

At the same time, youth employment provides an initiation into an important adult role. Young people become competent workers by practicing self-management, being dependable and acquiring skills and knowledge that sequence the adolescent trajectory toward adult employment. Three major tasks of adolescents in transition to adulthood that can be developed in the workplace are: valuing and pursuing the necessary academic requirements to achieve vocational identity, reaching optimal levels of autonomy and self direction, and increasing interpersonal relatedness by communicating and cooperating with co-workers to achieve a mutual purpose.

Media as an Agent of Political Socialization

Learning about the political world "is continuous and cumulative because people judge new information from the perspective of previously stored information and use new data to modify and refresh and, occasionally alter their fund of stored information" (Graber, 2004, p. 547). While declaring "political information is to democratic politics what money is to economics: it is the currency of citizenship," Delli, Carpini and Keeter (1996) suggested that citizens need to have a general familiarity of the rules of the game that apply to institutions and governance, the substance of politics relating to current international and domestic issues, and the characters and performance of specific politicians and parties. To test these assertions, they looked at data from four national surveys and several surveys of Virginia residents conducted from 1989 to 1992. The questionnaires contained 68 relevant variables. They concluded that "informed citizens are better citizens in a number of ways consistent with normative and pragmatic notions of what constitutes good citizenship" (p.19). Less informed citizens are less able to discern their political interests, are accordingly less likely to participate in the political process. Determinants of learning about politics are: individuals' level of interests in politics and civic duty, the types of political information available, and their knowledge base. The key to building an informed citizenry is building on prior knowledge: "Citizens develop more hooks...develop them early and at a greater pace, and are in an environment where these hooks are more likely to catch new pieces of information" (p.177). News media also have a strong impact on political communication and democratic citizenship:

> the explosion of new technologies and growing popularity of such new political forums as instant polls, interactive media, electronic town meetings, and talk show politics have all expanded the opportunities for civic participation. (p.4)

Diane Owens (October 1999) added "technologies have rendered print communications electronic as traditional news organizations establish online counterparts to their newspapers and magazines" (p.1). She believed new public spaces created by discussion and chat groups provided unprecedented opportunities for political discourse. The dominant technological formats used by the sampled adolescents to learn about politics are listed below.

Internet

"The Internet is democracy carried to its ultimate form: it is a means by which anyone can express his or her opinion on any topic, or electronic town meeting" (Marker, 1996, p. 244). Luna and McKenzie (1997) wrote of its importance in teaching political practices:

> Political science practitioners should be aware of the wealth of opportunity that currently exists in electronic media applicable to their discipline. Student responses to these teaching methods have been overwhelming favorable, leading to increased student enthusiasm and participation. It helps to speak the language of the MTV generation. (p. 60)

Television

Graber (1997) highlighted the impact of television:

> Television's greatest political impact as compared with other media, is derived from the ability to reach millions of people simultaneously with the same images. Major broadcasts enter nearly every home in the nation instantaneously and simultaneously. Televised events become shared experiences. What the poorly educated now learn from television...represents a quantum leap over their previous exposure and learning. (p. 140)

Home Discussions

Having politically active parents may provide a pathway to political participation for their offspring. "Parent's interest probably promotes discussion in the home awakening the child's interest in the world of politics" (Beck, Jennings, 1982, p.98). Parents knowledgeable about politics may activate a disposition and understanding of the political processes.

Classroom Discussions

Before or after watching television broadcasts at school, often students discuss current events, political policies, and political leadership. *Channel One* is a ten-minute newscast teaching current events to high-school students. While evaluating their learning, Anderman and Johnston (January 1998) concluded previous knowledge of news events was a powerful predictor of current events knowledge and viewing news daily in a supportive high-school environment increased familiarity with current events and encouraged news seeking behavior outside of school.

Radio

"Americans spend well over two hours a day listening to the radio, often while working or traveling by car" (Graber, 1997, p. 191). Radio, like television, has the potential to influence a multitude of listeners within a very brief timeframe.

Youth who participate in activities such as *Montana Boys and Girls' State* are taught to engage in simulated local and state government entities. This experience provides students with a knowledge base to develop what Delli, Carpini and Keeter

(1996) call "hooks." Building on prior knowledge, electronic media are essential in generating the hooks necessary to learn democratic citizenship and leadership. These hooks multiply as they move toward the adult world of politics.

Leisure and Recreation

Eccles and Barber (January 1999) characterized relaxed leisure activity as enjoyable but not demanding while constructive leisure requires effort and presents an occasion "to express one's identity and passion in sports, performing arts and leadership activities" (p.11). Eccles et. al. believe the latter provide opportunities to acquire and practice specific social, physical and intellectual skills, contribute to the well-being of one's community, belong to a socially valid group, establish supportive social networks, and/or experience and deal with challenges.

Focusing on the period of adolescence Kleiber, Larson, and Csikszentmihalyi (1986), recognized both the uniqueness of this age group and its continuity with other ages. Adolescents are challenged to combine their role of "worker" in school and experiences of childhood play with the serious demands of adult life. To determine how the adolescents' daily leisure activities prepare them for adulthood roles 75 students were asked to report their thoughts, feelings and activities to a central receiving source every two working hours for one week. Electric beepers and a booklet of self-report forms were used in accordance with the *Experiencing Sampling Method* (ESM). They found that the experiences offered in adolescent sports, games, arts and hobbies appear to

combine the subjective experience of childhood play with the requirement of structured attention that is part of many adult activities.

> It is expected that the enjoyment found within this category of leisure-whether it takes the form of sports, learning a musical instrument, carrying out a 4-H project or something similar lays a groundwork for experiencing enjoyment in more obligatory adult activities. (p. 175)

The researchers concluded that leisure associated with transitional activities provide the adolescent with an important developmental link to the demanding socio-political tasks of adulthood.

Development of Talent

Rathunde and Csiksentimihalyi (1993) studied 208 high school students selected by their teachers for having unusual talent in math, science, music, athletics or art. Information obtained using self-report forms was compared with school records and grades. They found that regardless of whether the teenagers were talented in math, science, music or athletics, the necessary combination for the development of talent was serious effort, undivided interest and the spontaneity of childhood playfulness. High achieving students also reported that the development of their talent was important to future goals.

Moral and Social Aspects of Political Ideologies

Maisel (1993-1994) explained the platform-writing process is done in the context of the presidential election, not as an independent political action:

> Those who favor responsible political parties see the platforms as central to the parties' missions; they give citizens reasons to support the parties' candidates. They lay the foundation for the policies that the parties will adopt if elected. Voters can measure party performance against party promises and hold future candidates accountable for past actions. (p.671)

The political platform is the most important documents political parties produce. Traditional principles of moral and ethical philosophy can be applied to the ideologies behind them The present study questions the students opinions on political legislation and ideologies concerning the moral/social aspects of the definition of family, abortion, and pornography.

Summary

As formal operational thinking converges with identity formation and moral reasoning, the adolescent is capable of forming a civic and political identity, and to think logically, morally and futuristically about the political process, candidates, policies and programs. Adolescents move from an egocentric position to a multilevel socio-centric perspective and begin to understand how legislation and political policies affect the individual, family, community, the state and the nation. Political socialization of youth is a process requiring the transfer of an intergenerational heritage and the contemporaneous circumstances of the political, historical and cultural entities of a democracy. Knowledge and skills acquired in the family, school and community, though often non-political, can be and are transferred to the political realm of adulthood.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, political and civic competencies can be transferred to adolescents through a democratic heritage as well as contemporaneous political and non-political agents. American families, schools and communities have been entrusted with safekeeping the values, beliefs and actions of prior generations and serve as transmitters to future generations. However, research has shown trends of increased disengagement of young adults in recent years. The purpose of this study was to describe the political socialization of a select group of adolescents in transition to adulthood from self reported participation in school activities (academic and extracurricular), family context and community involvement.

The following research questions guided the explorations of the relationships of the contextual elements of the students' lives and their political socialization:

1. What is the demographic profile of the young people who attended Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State (age, gender, and grade point average)?
2. How did the factors of home-town population, ethnicity, and "new demography" (both parents, single mothers, single fathers, grandparents, or guardians in the role of principal care giver) define the young adults in this study?

3. What are the academic choices, interests, abilities and achievements that are likely to contribute to citizenship development and leadership attainment through the political socialization agents of the family, school, community and the mass media?
4. Using a time-budget scale of hours per week, hours per month, and frequency distribution, how did respondents spend their school and non-school time (with attention to family reciprocity, involvement in school and extracurricular programs, and participation in community related activities of church and community youth groups, employment, mass media, leisure, recreation, and sports, voluntarism and politics)?
5. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' church involvement in educational, charitable and social programs and the young adults' own involvement in such programs?
6. How does employment effect the adolescence political socialization trajectory?
7. What were the sources of knowledge concerning political issues and trends that research has shown to lead to political socialization?
8. What influence does leisure and recreation have on the path to political participation?
9. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' structured community volunteer activities and the young adults' involvement in such activities?
10. What were the relationships between parental/primary care giver(s)' political participation and the young adults' involvement in politics or political affiliation?

11. What were the perceptions and beliefs of young adults about abortion, pornography, and the definition of family as related to traditional Christian mores.

Using the qualitative method of testing two samples similar to the doctoral study, family brainstorming of adolescents and family members, and input gathering from teachers, counselors, and pastors, the questionnaire evolved from an open-ended qualitative questionnaire to a quantitative instrument specifically designed to measure the political socialization of the pre-adult. The quantitative instrument was first used for the author's Master's project, *The Political Socialization of the Gifted Female Adolescent*, and again for the doctoral pilot study. Later, it was reformatted using Mark-sense forms so that it could be computer scanned at Montana State University Information Technology Center. The directors of Montana Boys' and Girls' State distributed the questionnaire at a simulated government meeting, and told the participants that the study was voluntary and confidential. The responses were analyzed and the data were presented in the forms of frequencies, percentages, and correlations.

The Participants

The young men and women who attended Montana Boys' and Girls' State provide an ideal purposive sample of students whose academic and extracurricular activities have been shown to be predictors of students who have been politically socialized. These young adults were selected through the following process: Students at all high schools in Montana were given an opportunity to apply to attend the Conference. A committee at each high school made up of teachers, counselors, and administrators considered all applicants in terms of their leadership activities, character, scholarship,

and personal integrity. In addition, the committees consulted other teachers concerning circumstances that would prevent the youths' participation. The eligibility of each candidate was further confirmed by three references attesting to the candidate's integrity, scholarship and leadership. The American Legion and its Auxiliary sponsor Montana Boys' State and Girls' State Conferences to "foster and perpetuate one hundred percent Americanism and to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation" (*American Legion's Preamble*, 1982, p. 2).

Montana Boy's State met at Western Montana College of the University of Montana in Dillon, Montana, and the members of Montana Girl's State convened at Carroll College, Helena, Montana in June, 2002. Three hundred and forty-six young men attended Montana Boys' State. Of these, 282 responded to the survey producing usable data. Three hundred and thirty six women attended Montana Girls' State. Of these, 177 returned completed and usable questionnaires

Development of the Measuring Instrument

Rationale

Given the intent of the study to examine the relationship of various demographic, variables, and personal-related activities in the context of family, school and community, a survey instrument was constructed using the rationale discussed by Rosenberg and Gay below:

The rationale for the construction of the instrument used for the study of political socialization is explained by Rosenberg (1986):

> The survey questionnaire is the primary instrument of data collection for virtually all the political socialization research. Two conditions must be satisfied: 1. All the subjects surveyed must have a comparable understanding of the survey items. 2. The researcher must interpret the responses to those items in a manner consistent with that understanding... These conditions are considered satisfied when all the subjects are members of the same group and the researcher is sensitive to that group (p. 718-719).

The development of a questionnaire for a descriptive study is reviewed by Gay (1996).

> Frequently, since one is generally...seeking information that is not already available, a descriptive study requires the development of an instrument appropriate for obtaining the desired information. Of course, if there is a valid, reliable instrument available, it can be used, but using an instrument just _because it is there_ is not a good idea. If you want the correct answers, you have to ask the right questions. If instrument development is necessary, the instrument should be tried out and revised where necessary before it is used in the actual study. (p. 250-251)

Preliminary Testing

The questionnaire was developed over a decade in which students, parents, teachers, administrators, church officials contributed their respective input. In particular, the following sources of input were significant in the questionnaire development: 1) A study of adolescents, sponsored by the American YMCA; 2) Family brainstorming; 3) Input in 1991 of two groups of adults attending a conference in Helena, Montana. The first was the Federal Office of Substance Abuse, attended by teachers, administrators, ministers, and counselors. The second was the Montana Student Council meeting attended by parents and educational leaders. A qualitative questionnaire was constructed to allow respondents to state what they thought Montana adolescents needed from the State of Montana government, parents and family, friends and peers, and teachers and counselors to guide them safely into the 21st century. The responses to these questions provided the base upon which a quantitative instrument was developed. Finally, this

quantitative instrument was used as the basis for a Master's project.

Study of Adolescents

The American YMCA and various local groups sponsor the Montana Youth and Government Program. Roughly 200 youth of both sexes between the ages of 14 and 18 met in Helena, Montana during the first week in May, 1991. Open-ended questionnaires asking about the students' political socialization were distributed to 180 young men and women. The data from the 65 returned provided a student perspective pertinent to this study.

Family Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a procedure whereby ideas are proposed and listed without any type of criticism or judgement. Five adolescents met with their grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles in July, 1991 to brainstorm about issues surrounding political socialization. Using the same open-ended questionnaire as the other groups, family brainstorming generated fresh insights into the interconnected relationships among adolescents and family members and the perceived needs of the adolescent in the wider sociopolitical environment.

Study of Adults

The same open-ended qualitative questionnaire was distributed to thirty teachers, administrators, ministers and counselors who attended the Federal Office of Substance Prevention meeting in Helena, in May 1991 and to 40 adults who accompanied the Montana Student Council members to Helena in October 1991.

Answers, opinions, and suggestions charted in the open-ended qualitative survey used by these different groups provided the knowledge base needed to construct a quantitative questionnaire. The use of this open-ended instrument allowed the researcher to glean valuable information and develop a deeper understanding of this period of adolescence in reference to politicalization.

The resulting questionnaire became the bases of the researcher's Master's Thesis, *The Political Socialization of the Gifted Female Adolescent* (October, 1993). The participants for this study were members of the Montana Association of Student Councils assembled in Helena during the period from October 21-23, 1993.

Pilot Study for the Current Study

The participants for the pilot study were young men attending Montana Boy's State at the University of Montana, Dillon, Montana, and the young women gathered for Montana Girls' State at Carroll College, Helena, Montana during the first weeks of June, 1995. The questionnaire included four areas: 1) demographic characteristics, 2) self-development activities, 3) time-scale budget of activities at home, school, community, and mass media usage. A fourth area considered the social and moral aspects of current legislation affecting the definitions of family, abortion and pornography.

Data entry and management of about 600 responses for the pilot study was performed by Dr. Gary Conti Ph.D. and graduate students at Montana State University. These data were analyzed to determine if questions elicited the information needed to provide insights about political socialization of young adults. From the results of this analysis, the researcher constructed a 120-item questionnaire that was used in the present

study. The questionnaire was formatted so that responses could be scanned at the Montana Information Technology Center. Through this process, an electronic data base was built that included the responses to the questionnaire. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was then used to analyze data.

Questionnaire Content and Structure

The development of the content in the questionnaire is research based and described and justified in detail in Chapter II. The logic for the structure of the study is described below.

Section one of the study focuses on Bronfenbrenner's (1986) "social address model" to examine the environmental labels that are used for the framework for this question: What is the home-town population, ethnicity, and what Bronfenbrenner calls the "new demography" (both parents, single mothers, single fathers, grandparents, or guardians in the role of principle care giver) for this sample of young Montanans?

Section two considers the academic choices, interests, abilities, and achievements that are likely to be related to political socialization as defined by contributions of family, school, community, and the mass media.

Section three is patterned after suggestions made by the *National Commission on Time and Learning Act* (Pub. L. No. 102-62, 105 Stat. 306. 1991, 1994) to examine "the quality and adequacy of the study and learning time of... secondary students... the extent and role of homework, how time is used for academic subjects... how children spend their time outside school with particular attention to how much of that time can be considered 'learning time'. Time budget charts allow the respondent to record time spent on these

various activities.

Section four was constructed using Sandra Day O'Connor's (1995) idea of "listening to the music of the law" to determine the moral and social aspects of legal decisions. Ideological questions relating to family issues (definition of family, abortion, and pornography) were taken from the content of the 2000 political platform of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Human Subjects Review Questionnaire Distribution and Collection

After viewing the on-line video course, Human Participant Protection Education for Research sponsored by the National Institute of Health, the researcher was given a certification of completion . The Human Subjects Committee at Montana State University approved the questionnaire and permission was given to distribute it to the young people attending 2002 Montana Boys' and Girls' State (See Appendix B). Instructions written at the top of the instrument informed students that their participation in the study was voluntary. Students were also told by the directors of both Montana Boys' and Girls' State that their cooperation was voluntary and confidential.

The directors of Montana Boys' and Girls' States agreed to distribute the survey during a simulated government meeting. Most students completed the survey in less than one-half hour. The young men in Dillon were asked to return the instrument before leaving the room. The young women at the Helena meeting were not given a specific time to complete the survey, and handed them in over a five- day period. This may explain why 61.4 percent of the boys but only 38.6 percent of the girls responded.

Data Analysis and Management

Responses to the questionnaire were scanned at the Montana Information Technology Center at Montana State University, Bozeman. The outcome of this process was an ASCH file that was transmitted to the researcher's computer. This file was converted to a SPSS file. Statistical analysis were run using the statistical procedures in the SPSS suite of analytic programs. Data analysis were descriptive in nature and consisted of frequency distributions, cross tabulations and correlations. The results of these analysis are presented in the following chapter.

Summary

The questionnaire used in the present descriptive study was constructed using information gleaned from related literature in professional publications. In addition, pilot studies completed by the researcher over the past decade provided support and experience in the development of the survey instrument. The validity of the instrument for the purpose of measuring the trajectory of political socialization for the group of adolescents attending 2002 Montana Boys' and Girls' State, was established through interaction with the professional literature. Using Mark-sense forms, the data were scanned at Montana State University Information Technology Center. SPSS was used to manage and analyze data. Descriptive statistics using frequencies, percentages, cross tabulations and correlations were used to analyze the responses to the questionnaire. In Chapter IV the findings of the study are presented, followed by a discussion of the findings and their implications.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

Political and civic competencies can be transferred to adolescents through a democratic heritage, as well as contemporaneous political and non-political agents. American families, schools and communities have been entrusted with safekeeping the values, beliefs and actions of prior generations and serve as transmitters to future generations.

Families are primary agents of political socialization for the adolescent. Schools also have a special responsibility for democratizing each generation. "Schools fulfill the competency and civic responsibility through both formal and non formal education beginning in the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process." (Branson, 1998, p. 7) Schools synthesize inherited standards and traditions with contemporary experiences and events into a core curriculum that can draw students into the political arena at the macro-level. "Involvement in high school extra curricular activities is predictive of several indicators of healthy adult development, including active participation in the political process and other types of volunteer activities." (Eccles, Barber, 1999, p.12)

The purpose of the study was to describe the political socialization of a select group of adolescents in transition to adulthood from self-reported participation in school

activities (academic and extracurricular), family context, and community involvement. The study identified factors related to family, school, and community that provide adolescents with structural opportunities and constraints that research has shown to have political consequences in adulthood.

The research questions in this study were designed to determine how the participants in the Montana Boys' and Girls' State programs were socialized in the political and civic structures of society. To explain the political socialization process, this study considered many pathways to social and political participation. The following research questions guided the exploration of the relationships of these contextual elements of the students' lives and their political socialization.

1. What is the demographic profile of the young people who attended Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State (age, gender, and grade point average)?
2. How did the factors of hometown population, ethnicity, living situation, and the "new demography" (both parents, single mothers, single fathers, grandparents, and guardians in the roles of principal caregiver) define the young adults in this study?
3. Using a time-budget scale of hours per day, hours per week, hours per month, and frequency distributions how did respondents spend their school and non-school time (with attention to family reciprocity, involvement in school and extra-curricular programs, and participation in community related activities of sports, church, employment, youth groups, leisure and recreation, voluntarism and politics)?

4. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregiver(s) church involvement in educational, charitable and social programs and the young adults' involvement in such programs?
5. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregiver(s)' structured community volunteer activities and young adults' involvement in such activities?
6. What were the sources that young adults reported as related to their knowledge of political issues and trends that research has shown to lead to political socialization?
7. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregiver(s)' political participation and the young adults' involvement in politics or political affiliation?
8. What were the perceptions and beliefs of young adults about abortion, pornography, and the definition of a family as they relate to traditional Christian mores?

Findings

In this section, responses to the questionnaire are presented in terms of frequency distributions, percentages and correlation coefficients. The presentations are organized by each of the research questions.

1. What is the demographic profile of the young people who attended Montana Boys' State and Montana Girls' State (age, gender, and grade point average)?

Of the three hundred and forty six (346) young men attending Montana Boys' State in June 2002, 289 completed the survey. Seven of these were incomplete and, were thus dropped from the study resulting in a total of 282 usable responses. Of the three

hundred thirty six (336) young women attending Montana Girls' State 177 provided usable responses to the survey. The distribution of the respondents by gender and age are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Age of Participants

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
15 years	0	0	1	.6%
16 years	28	9.9%	23	13.0%
17 years	214	75.9%	149	84.2%
18 years	38	13.5%	4	2.3%
Missing	2	.7%	0	0

Respondents ranged in age from 15 to 18 years. As illustrated in Table 1, over 90% of male respondents were 17 or 18 years old, while this same age group accounted for over 86% of the female respondents. Most outstanding students of both genders were 16 years old.

Table 2. Cumulative GPAs

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1.00-1.99	0	0	1	.6%
2.00-2.50	7	2.5%	1	.6%
2.51-2.99	19	6.7%	7	5.1%
3.00-3.49	56	19.9%	20	11.3%
3.50-4.00	199	70.6%	146	82.5%
Missing	1	.4%	2	1.1%

In Table 2, the distribution of high school GPAs by gender as reported by respondents is presented. Given the method of selecting Boys' and Girls' State participants, it is not surprising that the bulk of respondents were academically successful. Indeed, 70.6% of boys and 82.5% of girls indicated they maintained GPAs over 3.50 and just 9.2% and 5.1% of each respectively reported GPA's below 3.00.

2. How did the factors of hometown population, ethnicity, living situation, and the "new demography" (both parents, single mothers, single fathers, grandparents, and guardians in the roles of principal caregiver) define the young adults in this study?

In Table 3, the students' responses to the question, "With whom do you live during the school year?" are presented by gender. The majority of boys (80.9%) and girls (79.1%) indicated they resided with both parents. While 12.1% of male and 9% of female respondents lived only with their mothers, a small number of respondents indicated other living situations. Regrettably, these findings were clouded by the fact that many students checked more than one situation. For example, although 18 students indicated that they resided with grandparent(s), all but 2 also reported living with other family members. See the notes in Table 3 for further explanation.

Table 3. Living Situations during the School Year

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Both parents	228	80.9%	140	79.1%
Mother only	34[1]	12.1%	16[4]	9.0%
Father only	7	2.5%	7	4.0%
Mother & stepfather	15	5.3%	17	9.6%
Father & stepmother	8	2.8%	2	1.1%
Grandparents	13[2]	4.6%	5[5]	2.8%
Foster parent(s)	1	.4%	1	.6%
Guardian	8[3]	2.8%	4[6]	2.3%

[1]Ten of these respondents also indicated they lived with both parents (3), father only (2), mother and stepfather (3), father and stepmother (2), or grandparents (1).
[2]Eleven of these also stated they lived with both parents and one said he/she lived with mother only.
[3]Three students also reported living with both parents.
[4]Five respondents indicated other living situations: father only (2), mother and stepfather (2), grandparent (1) and guardian (1).

[5]All of these students also reported that they live with other family members including both parents (3), mother only (1), and mother and stepfather (1).
[6]All indicated other situations: both parents (3) and mother only (1).

In Table 4, the primary ethic backgrounds of the respondents are presented. Representatives of the listed ethnic categories are found in the state; however, the percentages of these participants did not reflect the same distribution as found in the state. For example, approximately 10% of the state's population is American Indian, while this ethnic classification accounted for less than 2% of respondents.

Table 4. Primary Ethnic Background

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
White	266	94.3%	171	96.6%
Hispanic	4	1.4%	0	--
Black	2	.7%	1	.6%
American Indian	5	1.8%	2	1.1%
Asian/Pacific Islander	4	1.4%	1	.6%
Missing	1	.4%	2	1.1%

As can be seen in Table 4, most boys (94.3%) and girls (96.6%) responding to the survey identified themselves as White. A small percentage of the respondents indicated they were Hispanic, Black, American Indian, and Asian, or Pacific Islander.

The hometown populations of the respondents ranged from fewer than 5,000 to over 50,000. The sample provides a strong cross-sectional representation of communities of various sizes. The largest share of students of both genders came from towns with populations of 0-5,000; the second largest group was from towns with populations of over 50,000; the third largest group was from towns of 5,001 to 10,000. The smallest number of respondents came from hometowns with populations between 10,001-30,000

people. The distribution of urban and rural residents was consistent with Montana's overall demographics.

Table 5. Hometown Population

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
0-5,000	135	47.9%	103	58.2%
5, 001-10,000	48	17.0%	24	13.6%
10,001-30,000	16	5.7%	6	3.4%
30,001-50,000	23	8.2%	10	5.6%
Over 50,000	58	20.6%	32	18.1%
Missing	2	.7%	2	1.1%

Reported in Table 7a and Table 7b are the highest levels of academic achievement of fathers/male caregivers and mothers/female caregivers as indicated by the respondents.

Table 6a. Boys' Parents/Primary Caregivers' Highest Level of Academic Achievement

	Father/male caregiver	Percent	Mother/female caregiver	Percent
High school diploma	51	18.1%	53	18.8%
Some college	71	25.2%	64	22.7%
Bachelor's Degree	76	27.0%	99	35.1%
Master's Degree	54	19.1%	48	17.0%
Professional Degree	24	8.5%	14	5.0 %
Missing	6	2.1%	4	1.4%

Table 6b. Girls' Parents/Primary Caregivers' Highest Level of Academic Achievement

	Father/male caregiver	Percent	Mother/female caregiver	Percent
High school diploma	40	22.6%	34	19.2%
Some college	54	30.5%	54	30.5%
Bachelors Degree	47	26.6%	62	35.0%
Masters Degree	27	15.3%	18	10.2%
Professional Degree	7	4.0%	5	2.8%
Missing	2	1.1%	4	2.3%

Nearly 80% of participants' parents/caregivers attended some college. Male respondents indicated that nearly 30% of their male caregivers and approximately 22% of their female caregivers had post baccalaureate degrees. The girls on the other hand indicated that 19% of their male caregivers and 13% of their female caregivers earned post baccalaureate degrees.

3. Using a time-budget scale of hours per day, hours per week, hours per month, and frequency distributions how did respondents spend their school and non-school time (with attention to family reciprocity, involvement in school and extra-curricular programs, and participation in community related activities of sports, church, employment, youth groups, leisure and recreation, voluntarism and politics)?

Student Reciprocity

In Tables 7-9, the data concerning student contributions at home are presented.

Table 7. Students Helping at Home with Cleaning, Cooking, and Running Errands

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Yes	272	96.5%	175	98.9%
No	10	3.5%	2	1.1%

Table 8. Students Helping with Yard Work, House, and Car Maintenance

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Yes	268	95.0%	145	81.9%
No	14	5.0%	32	18.1%

Table 9. Students Baby Sitting at Home

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Yes	59	20.9%	44	24.9%
No	222	78.7%	133	75.1%
Missing	1	.4%	0	--

From these data, there appears to be little sex-stereotypical division of labor in tasks performed at home by boy and girl respondents. Approximately 96.5% and 98.9% respectively of boys and girls did cleaning, cooking, or running errands, yard work, home, and car repair and maintenance. In addition, 20.9% of boys and 24.9% of girls helped with babysitting.

Extracurricular School Activities

Extracurricular activities for both males and females are presented in Tables 10a and 10b.

Table 10a. Male Extracurricular Activities

	Involved	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
Band	108	38.3%	172	61.0%	2	.7%
Chorus	60	21.3%	219	77.7%	3	1.1%
Drama	57	20.2%	220	78.0%	5	1.8%
Orchestra	14	5.0%	267	94.7%	1	.4%
Speech	62	22.0%	218	77.3%	2	.7%
Basketball	125	44.3%	152	53.9%	5	1.8%
Cross-country	48	17.0%	230	81.6%	2	.7%
Football	151	53.5%	130	46.1%	4	1.4%
Golf	70	24.8%	211	74.8%	1	.4%
Soccer	32	11.3%	249	88.3%	1	.4%
Softball	23	8.2%	258	91.5%	1	.4%
Swimming	23	8.2%	259	91.8%	0	--
Tennis	21	7.4%	261	92.6%	0	--
Track	131	46.5%	151	53.5%	0	--
Volleyball	9	3.2%	271	96.1%	2	.7%
Wrestling	29	10.3%	252	89.4%	1	.4%

Table 10b. Female Extracurricular Activities

	Involved	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
Band	74	41.8%	100	56.4%	3	1.7%
Chorus	76	42.9%	101	57.1%	0	--
Drama	54	30.5%	121	68.4%	2	1.1%
Orchestra	13	7.3%	164	92.7%	0	--
Speech	43	24.3%	134	75.7%	0	--
Basketball	80	45.2%	97	54.8%	0	--
Cross-country	21	11.9%	155	87.6%	1	.6%
Football	8	4.5%	169	95.5%	0	--
Golf	22	12.4%	155	87.6%	0	--
Soccer	20	11.3%	157	88.7%	0	--
Softball	30	16.9%	146	82.5%	1	.6%
Swimming	27	15.3%	149	84.2%	1	.6%
Tennis	26	14.7%	150	84.7%	1	.6%
Track	61	34.5%	116	65.5%	0	--
Volleyball	88	49.7%	88	49.7%	1	.6%
Wrestling	3	1.7%	173	97.7%	1	.6%

All sixteen extracurricular activities listed are sanctioned by the Montana State Board of Education (1999-2000) for Montana high-school students. Of these activities, for males, football (53.5%), track (46.5%), basketball (44.3%), and band (38.3%) were the most common choice. The four favorite activities for females were volleyball (49.7%), basketball (45.2%), chorus (42.9%), and band (41.8%).

The time respondents indicated that they spent on these extra-curricular activities during the school year are found in Table 11.

Table 11. Hours a Week Involved in Extracurricular Activities during the School Year

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1-4 hrs.	25	8.9%	15	8.5%
5-8 hrs.	37	13.1%	24	13.6%
9-12 hrs.	77	27.3%	57	32.2%
13-16 hrs.	69	24.5%	42	23.7%
17-19 hrs.	70	24.8%	29	16.4%
Missing	4	1.4%	10	5.6%

Slightly less than 80% of boys reported that they spent between 9 and 19 hours participating in extracurricular activities. On the other hand, about 70% of girls indicated they spent between 9 and 19 hours a week on extracurricular activities.

School Projects and Programs

The respondents were asked to indicate how much time they spent on other school related activities. Their responses are detailed in Tables 12a and 12b.

Table 12a. Male Participation in Other School-sponsored Activities

	Involved	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
School Newspaper	51	18.1%	227	80.5%	4	1.4%
Student Govern	123	43.6%	159	56.4%	0	--
Class Offices	116	41.1%	164	58.2%	2	.7%
Honors Program	197	69.9%	82	29.1%	3	1.1%
Yearbook	49	17.4%	232	82.3%	0	--

Table 12b. Female Participation in Other School-sponsored Activities

	Involved	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
School Newspaper	35	19.8%	142	80.2%	0	--
Student Govern	93	52.5%	84	47.5%	0	--
Class Offices	100	56.5%	76	42.7%	1	.6%
Honors Program	144	81.4%	32	18.1%	1	.6%
Yearbook	52	29.4%	124	70.1%	1	.6%

Although a higher percentage of girls were engaged in these activities, the high rates of involvement in school newspapers, student government, class offices, honors programs, and yearbooks were reported by both genders.

The participants indicated varying amounts of time spent on homework. As can be seen in Table 13, males indicated that they spend less time working on homework than the girls.

Table 13. Hours a Week Spent on Homework

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1-4 hrs.	103	36.5%	33	18.6%
5-8 hrs.	87	30.9%	53	29.9%
9-12 hrs.	44	15.6%	46	26.0%
13-16 hrs.	22	7.8%	26	14.7%
16-20 hrs.	24	8.5%	16	9.0%
Missing	2	.7%	3	1.7%

Computer Usage

As indicated in Table 14, 96% of boys and 97% of girls had access to computers at home.

Table 14. Students Claiming to Have a Computer at Home.

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Computer at home	270	95.7%	172	97.2%
No computer	12	4.3%	3	1.7%
Missing	0	--	2	1.1%

Selected computer-uses presented are presented in Tables 15a and 15b. Respondents from both genders indicated they heavily used computers were all the listed purposes.

Table 15a. Male Computer Use

	Using	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
Homework	261	92.6%	20	7.1%	1	.4%
Search Info	272	96.5%	10	3.5%	0	--
Shop	171	60.9%	110	39.0%	1	.4%
Play Games	245	86.9%	35	12.4%	2	.7%
Chat Online	155	55.0%	127	45.0%	0	--

Table 15b. Female Computer Use

	Using	Percent	Not	Percent	Missing	Percent
Homework	170	96.0%	5	2.8%	2	1.1%
Search Info	168	94.9%	7	4.0%	2	1.1%
Shop	88	49.7%	87	49.7%	2	1.1%
Play Games	126	71.2%	49	27.7%	2	1.1%
Chat Online	82	46.3%	93	52.5%	2	1.1%

Nearly 95% of the sampled young men and women used computers to do homework and seek information. 60.9 % of men and 49.7% of women used computers to shop or purchase products. Playing computer games was enjoyed by 86.9% of boys and 71.2% of girls; 55% of the young men and 46.3% of the young women participated in on-line chat rooms.

When asked how much time the respondents spent using the computer per week during the school year, over 78 % indicated that they spent between 1 and 12 hours. The largest number of boys (29.8%) used their computers 5 to 8 hours a week; the largest number of girls (35.6%), used computers 1 to 4 hours a week. The heaviest computer use (17 to 20 hours) was reported by 13.8% and 4.5% of boys and girls. The full data are presented in Table 16.

Table 16. Time Spent Using a Computer during the School Year

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1-4 hours	72	25.5%	63	35.6%
5-8 hours	84	29.8%	57	32.2%
9-12 hours	52	18.4%	32	18.1%
13-16 hours	33	11.7%	15	8.5%
17-20 hours	39	13.8%	8	4.5%
Missing	2	.7%	2	1.1%

4. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregivers' church involvement in educational, charitable and social programs and the young adults' involvement in such programs?

The students' reported religious affiliations of the students are presented in Table 17. Roughly 60% of boys and girls specified that they were either Catholic or Protestant. Only 16% of boys and 10.7% of girls indicated no religious affiliation.

Table 17. Religious Affiliation

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Catholic	98	34.8%	67	37.9%
Protestant	72	25.5%	37	20.9%
Jewish	1	.4%	0	--
Other	64	22.7%	52	29.4%
None	45	16.0%	19	10.7%
Missing	2	.7%	2	1.1%

The students were asked if their religious background influenced their decision-making. In Table 18 the distribution of responses is presented. The majority of students believed that their religious background influences the decisions they make.

Table 18. Students Believing their Religious Background Influences their Decision-making

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Yes	177	62.8%	124	70.1%
No	101	35.8%	51	28.8%
Missing	4	1.4%	2	1.1%

When asked about the importance of private prayer, about 64 % of boys and 75% of girls indicated that private prayer is somewhat or very important to them. The full distribution of responses to the question is charted in Table 19.

Table 19. Students Believing Private Prayer is Important

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Very important	71	25.2%	60	33.9%
Somewhat important	109	38.7%	73	41.2%
Not important	97	34.4%	43	24.3%
Missing	4	1.4%	1	.6%

In Table 20, the responses to a question about the appropriateness of private prayer in school activities are presented.

Table 20. Respondents Believing Prayer Should Be Allowed at Various School Activities

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
School assemblies	128	45.4%	100	56.5%
Graduation exercises	166	58.9%	138	78.0%
Sports events	184	65.2%	119	67.2%

Regarding prayer in public schools, 45.4% of boys and 56.5% of girls believe that students should be allowed to pray at school assemblies; 58.9% and 78.0 % of boys and girls believe students should be allowed to pray at graduation exercises; 65.2% of boys and 67.2% of girls think prayer should be allowed at sports events.

Tables 21a through 21e report involvement in various church and religious activities.

Table 21a. Frequency of Participation in Bible Studies

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Daily	12	4.3%	7	4.0%
Weekly	87	30.9%	53	29.9%
Bi-weekly	6	2.1%	15	8.5%
Monthly	9	3.2%	12	6.8%
Never	163	57.8%	89	50.3%
Missing	5	1.8%	1	.6%

Though 57.8% and 50.3% of boys and girls did not participate in Bible studies, 30.9% and 29.9% attended weekly. Smaller numbers attended Bible studies bi-weekly or monthly.

Table 21b. Males and their Parents/Primary Caregivers' Involvement in Church Activities

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
Education Prog.	85	30.1%	137	48.6%	145	51.4%
Charitable Prog.	105	37.2%	136	48.2%	130	46.1%
Social Programs	107	37.9%	138	48.9%	155	55.0%

Table 21c. Females and their Parents/Primary Caregivers Involvement in Church Activities

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
Education Prog.	57	32.2%	84	47.5%	110	62.1%
Charitable Prog.	70	39.9%	97	54.8%	102	57.6%
Social Prog.	83	46.9%	109	61.6%	114	64.4%

Table 21d. Hours Spent in Church-related Activities in the Past Month as Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
None	123	43.6%	101	35.8%	116	41.1%
1-4 hrs.	83	29.4%	87	30.9%	89	31.6%
5-8 hrs.	37	13.1%	48	17.0%	36	12.8%
9-12 hrs.	11	3.9%	13	4.6%	14	5.0%
13-16 hrs.	19	6.7%	28	9.9%	22	7.8%
Missing	9	3.2%	5	1.8%	5	1.8%

Table 21e. Hours Spent in Church-related Activities in the Past Month as Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
None	77	43.5%	63	35.6%	55	31.1%
1-4 hrs.	55	31.1%	60	33.9%	64	36.2%
5-8 hrs.	28	15.8%	31	17.5%	33	18.6%
9-12 hrs.	6	3.4%	9	5.1%	12	6.8%
13-16 hrs.	6	3.4%	10	5.6%	9	5.1%
Missing	5	2.8%	4	2.3%	4	2.3%

Respondents indicated that 41.1% of the young men, 43.6% of their fathers/male caregivers, and 35.8% of their mothers/female caregivers are not involved in the educational, charitable nor social programs of the church. Of the girls, approximately 31.1 indicated that they were not involved in church educational, charitable or social programs; and reported that neither are 43.5 % of their fathers/primary caregivers nor 35.6% of their mothers/primary female caregivers were involved.

To explore the relationships between parent/caregivers and students' levels of involvement in church activities, correlation coefficients were calculated between reported church related activities for students and parents. Tables 22a and 22b details the results. While all correlations were moderate to high and statistically significantly at the .01 level, those between boys and their fathers/male caregivers and girls and their mothers/female caregivers were highest within each group being .74 and .64 respectively.

Table 22a. Correlations between Hours Spent in Church-related Activities by Boys and their Parents/Primary Caregivers

	Hours involved in church related activities by father or male caregiver.	Hours involved in church related activities by mother or female caregiver.	Hours involved in church related activities by Boys.
Hours involved in church related activities by father or male caregiver.	1.00	.79	.74
Hours involved in church related activities by mother or female caregiver.		1.00	.67
Hours involved in church related activities by boys.			1.00

All correlations listed are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

Table 22b. Correlations between Hours Spent in Church-related Activities by Girls and their Parents/Primary Caregivers

	Hours involved in church related activities by father or male caregiver.	Hours involved in church related activities by mother or female caregiver.	Hours involved in church related activities by girls.
Hours involved in church related activities by father or male caregiver.	1.00	.56	.52
Hours involved in church related activities by mother or female caregiver.		1.00	.64
Hours involved in church related activities by girls.			1.00

All correlations listed are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

5. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregiver(s)' structured community volunteer activities and young adults' involvement in such activities?

Employment

The reported employment characteristics of the students are presented in Tables 23a – 23d. Respectively 68.4% and 71% of the sampled boys and girls reported being employed for wages. Given the large number of respondents who came from small towns and rural areas and the nature of Montana's rural economy, it is not surprising that 27.7 % of boys and 13.0 % of girls reported being employed in agricultural related jobs. While 13.1% of boys and 15.8% of girls were self-employed, 10.3% of boys and 11.9% of girls held positions relating to their future vocational/career aspirations. In describing their jobs, 21.6% of boys and 18.1% of girls thought them challenging, while16.7% of boys and 9.6% of girls saw them as boring.

Table 23a. Youth Employed for Wages

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Employed	193	68.4%	127	71.8%
Not Employed	83	29.4%	47	26.6%
Missing	6	2.1%	3	1.7%

Table 23b. Types of Paid Employment.

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Agricultural	78	27.7%	23	13.0%
Food service	52	18.4%	47	26.6%
Self employment	37	13.1%	28	15.8%
Sales	22	7.8%	17	9.6%
Job related to future vocation/career	29	10.3%	21	11.9%
Missing	64	22.7%	41	23.2%

Table 23c. Students' Descriptions of their Jobs

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Challenging	61	21.6%	32	18.1%
Boring	47	16.7%	17	9.6%
Satisfying	97	34.4%	80	45.2%
Missing	77	27.3%	48	27.1%

Table 23d: Hours Employed a Week during the School Year.

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1-4 hours	36	12.8%	34	19.2%
5-8 hours	19	6.7%	24	13.6%
9-12 hours	27	9.6%	21	11.9%
13-16 hours	16	5.7%	15	8.5%
17-20 hours	104	36.9%	38	21.5%
Missing	80	28.4%	45	25.4%

As reported in Table 23d, the largest percentage of respondents, 36.9% of boys and 21.5% of girls, worked between 17 and 20 hours a week during the school year. Additionally, 70.9% of boys and 81.4% of girls indicated that they were saving some of earnings for college.

Leisure and Recreation

The type and number of hours per week students reported spending on leisure and recreation activities are presented in Tables 24a and 24b. At the end of the school year (May), 79.4% of male and 66.7% of female respondents were engaged in leisure sports; 42.2% of boys and 56.5% of girls participated in church youth groups; 23.8% and 26% of the young men and women were engaged in non-church related groups; and 27.7% and 38.4% were involved in music, art and drama lessons, and community performances. For May 2002, 23.0% of boys and 21.5% of girls reported spending from 1to 4 hours

participating in community leisure and recreational activities; 29.8% and 31.6% of the young men and women spent 5 to 8 hours; 17.7% and 18.1 % were involved for 9 to 12 hours; and 8.9% and 10.2% spent 13 to 16 hours.

Table 24a. Involvement in Community Leisure and Recreation Activities for the Past Month

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Sports	224	79.4%	118	66.7%
Church-related youth group	119	42.2%	100	56.5%
Non-church related youth group	67	23.8%	46	26. 0%
Talent lessons & performances (including music, drama, art)	78	27.7%	68	38.4%

Table 24b. Hours Spent in Community Leisure and Recreational Activities in the Past Month

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
1-4 hours	65	23.0%	38	21.5%
5-8 hours	84	29.8%	56	31.6%
9-12 hours	50	17.7%	32	18.1%
13-16 hours	25	8.9%	18	10.2%
17-20 hours	38	13.5%	21	11.9%
Missing	20	7.1%	12	6.8%

Structured Volunteer Activities

Tables 25a - 25d include responses to questions relating to involvement in structured community service activities. The data are presented by the gender of the respondents.

Table 25a. Involvement in Structured Community Service Activities as Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
Involved	95	33.7%	112	39.7%	171	60.6%
Not involved	180	63.8%	166	58.9%	107	37.9%
Missing	7	2.5%	4	1.4%	4	1.4%

Table 25b. Involvement in Structured Community Service Activities as Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
Involved	75	42.4%	96	54.2%	135	76.3%
Not involved	98	55.4%	80	45.2%	40	22.6%
Missing	4	2.3%	1	.6%	2	1.1%

Table 25c. Hours Spent in the Past Month in Structured Community Service Activities as Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
None	152	53.9%	140	49.6%	92	32.6%
1-4 hrs.	75	26.6%	92	32.6%	98	34.8%
5-8 hrs.	24	8.5%	29	10.3%	53	18.8%
9-12 hrs.	7	2.5%	11	3.9%	16	5.7%
13-16 hrs.	13	4.6%	5	1.8%	17	6.0%
Missing	11	3.9%	5	1.8%	6	2.1%

Table 25d. Hours Spent in the Past Month in Structured Community Service Activities as Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
None	100	56.5%	74	41.8%	43	24.3%
1-4 hrs.	51	28.8%	61	34.5%	68	38.4%
5-8 hrs.	11	6.2%	22	12.4%	39	22.0%
9-12 hrs.	6	3.4%	11	6.2%	15	8.5%
13-16 hrs.	4	2.3%	7	4.0%	11	6.2%
Missing	5	2.8%	2	1.1%	1	.6%

Participation in structured community service activities reported by boys shows 60% of boys, 33.7% of their fathers/male caregivers, and 39.7% of their mothers/female caregivers were involved. Girls indicated that 76.3 % of girls, 42.4% of their fathers/male caregivers, and 54.2% of their mothers/female caregivers were involved. Given their greater inclination to become involved in community service, it is unsurprising that girls also reported spending more hours in such activities than boys. Still, the largest share of both sexes devoted between one and eight hours: 60.4% of girls and 53.6% of boys. Both boys and girls indicated their mothers/female caregivers spent more time in structured community service than their fathers/male caregivers. While around 45% of mothers/female caregivers devoted one to eight hours (42.9% for boys and 46.9% for girls), only 35% of fathers/male caregivers did the same.

To explore the relationships between parent/caregivers and students' levels of involvement in community service activities, correlation coefficients were calculated between reported involvement of each of parents/caregivers and students. In Tables 26a and 26b, the resulting correlation coefficients are presented. While all correlations are

statistically significant at the .01 level, they are relatively low and indicate little practical importance.

Table 26a. Correlations between Boys and Parents/Primary Caregivers' Involvement in Structured Community Service

	Involvement of father or male caregiver in community service.	Involvement of mother or female caregiver in community service.	Involvement of Boys in community service.
Involvement of father/male caregiver in community service.	1.00	.63	.37
Involvement of mother/female caregiver in community service.		1.00	.41
Involvement of Boys in community service.			1.00

All correlations listed in this table are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

Table 26b. Correlations between Girls and Parents/Primary Caregivers' Involvement in Structured Community Service

	Involvement of father or male caregiver in community service.	Involvement of mother or female caregiver in community service.	Involvement of Girls in community service.
Involvement of father/male caregiver in community service.	1.00	.49	.23
Involvement of mother/female caregiver in community service.		1.00	.38
Involvement of Girls in community service.			1.00

All correlations listed in this table are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed).

6. What were the sources that young adults reported as related to their knowledge of political issues and trends that research has shown to lead to political socialization?

Media as a Political Socializer

Table 27 charts data relating various medium students use to gather information about government. When asked about how they learned about national, state, and local government, students responded that their primary news sources were in the order of importance: school discussions, national television news, local newscasts, local newspapers, and radio. Of lesser importance were the Internet, national news magazines, and home discussions.

Table 27. Means of Gathering Information about National, State and Local Government

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
National TV news programs	224	79.4%	137	77.4%
National news magazines	144	51.1%	80	45.2%
Local TV news programs	191	67.7%	135	76.3%
Local newspapers	208	73.8%	146	82.5%
Radio	181	64.2%	140	79.1%
Internet	194	68.8%	110	62.1%
Discussions at home	157	55.7%	104	58.8%
Discussions in school	226	80.1%	154	87.0%

7. What were the relationships between parental/primary caregiver(s)' political participation and the young adults' involvement in politics or political affiliation?

Political Participation

In Tables 28a and 28b responses to questions concerning political identification are presented by gender and parent/caregiver. In addition, cross tabulations of political identification by gender and parent/care giver are reported (Tables 28c – 28f). As for party affiliation, 36.9% and 34.5% of young men and women embraced the Republican Party. Similar percentages of Republicans were reported for fathers/male caregivers and mothers/female caregivers. A smaller number of young men, women and parents/ caregivers identified with the Democratic Party. About a third of boys and girls claim no party affiliation for themselves or parents/caregivers. Only 8.2% and 12.4% of boys and girls identified themselves as independent. Fewer than 5% of parents/caregivers were reported as independents.

Table 28a. Political Identifications Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
Don't know	86	30.5%	87	30.9%	93	33.0%
Republican	118	41.8%	114	40.4%	104	36.9%
Democrat	52	18.4%	60	21.3%	43	15.2%
Independent	13	4.6%	13	4.6%	23	8.2%
Other	3	1.1%	2	.7%	13	4.6%
Missing	10	3.5%	6	2.1%	6	2.1%

Table 28b. Political Identifications Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
Don't know	68	38.4%	60	33.9%	60	33.9%
Republican	70	39.5%	72	40.7%	61	34.5%
Democrat	27	15.3%	34	19.2%	30	16.9%
Independent	7	4.0%	8	4.5%	22	12.4%

Table 28b (Cont'd)

Other	2	1.1%	2	1.1%	3	1.7%
Missing	3	1.7%	1	.6%	1	.6%

Table 28c. Cross Tabulations for the Reported Political Identifications of Boys and their Fathers/Male Caregivers

	Reported political identifications of Boys				
Fathers/male caregivers' political identification	Don't know	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other
Don't know/ Frequency	66	9	6	3	1
Percentage within Boys	73.3%	8.7%	14%	13.6%	7.7%
Republican/ Frequency	7	91	6	9	5
Percentage within Boys	7.8%	88.3%	14%	40.9%	38.5%
Democrat/ Frequency	14	2	30	4	2
Percentage within Boys	15.6%	4.9%	69.8%	18.2%	15.4%
Independent/ Frequency	3	1	1	6	2
Percentage within Boys	3.3%	1%	2.3%	27.3%	15.4%
Other/ Frequency	-	-	-	-	3
Percentage within Boys	-	-	-	-	23.1%
Total (n=271)	90	103	43	22	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 28d. Cross Tabulations for the Reported Political Identifications of Girls and their Fathers/Male Caregivers

	Reported political identifications of girls				
Fathers/male caregivers' political identification	Don't know	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other
Don't know/ Frequency	47	8	5	8	-
Percentage within Boys	78.3%	13.3%	17.2	36.4%	-
Republican/ Frequency	11	47	8	3	1
Percentage within Boys	18.3%	78.3%	27.6%	13.6%	33.3%
Democrat/ Frequency	2	5	16	3	1
Percentage within Boys	3.3%	8.3%	55.2%	13.6%	33.3%
Independent/ Frequency	-	-	-	7	-
Percentage within Boys	-	-	-	31.8%	-
Other/ Frequency	-	-	-	1	1
Percentage within Boys	-	-	-	4.5	33.3%
Total (n=174)	60	60	29	22	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 28e. Cross Tabulations for the Reported Political Identifications of Boys and their Mothers/Female Caregivers

	Reported political identifications of Boys				
Mothers/female caregivers' political identification	Don't know	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other
Don't know/ Frequency	66	11	6	3	-
Percentage within Boys	71.7%	10.6%	14%	13%	-
Republican/ Frequency	11	85	5	7	6
Percentage within Boys	12%	81.7%	11.6%	30.4%	46.2%
Democrat/ Frequency	13	5	31	9	2
Percentage within Boys	14.1%	4.8%	72.1%	39.1%	15.4%
Independent/ Frequency	2	3	1	4	2
Percentage within Boys	2.2%	2.9%	2.3%	17.4%	23.1%
Other/ Frequency	-	-	-	-	2
Percentage within Boys	-	-	-	-	15.4%
Total (n=275)	92	104	43	23	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 28f. Cross Tabulations for the Reported Political Identifications of Girls and their Mothers/Female Caregivers

	Reported political identifications of girls				
Mothers/female caregivers' political identification	Don't know	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other
Don't know/ Frequency	44	6	3	7	-
Percentage within Boys	73.3%	9.8%	10%	31.8%	-
Republican/ Frequency	12	52	3	4	1
Percentage within Boys	20%	85.2%	10%	18.2%	33.3%
Democrat/ Frequency	4	3	23	3	1
Percentage within Boys	6.7%	4.9%	76.7%	13.6%	3.33%
Independent/ Frequency	-	-	-	8	1
Percentage within Boys	-	-	-	36.4%	-
Other/ Frequency	-	-	1	-	1
Percentage within Boys	-	-	3.3%	-	33.3%
Total (n=176)	60	61	30	22	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The results of the Crosstabs indicate that overall, 72.3% of boys and 67.8% of girls reported having the same political identifications as their fathers/male caregivers and 68.4% of boys and 72.7% of girls reported having the same political identifications as their mothers/female caregivers. Accordingly, boys were slightly more likely to have the same party affiliations as their fathers/male caregivers than their mothers/female caregivers and conversely girls were slightly more likely to have the same party affiliations as their mothers/female caregivers than their fathers/male caregivers.

In Tables 29a-29d, the reported political participation of respondents and their parents/caregivers is presented. Fewer than 20% of boys, girls, and their parents/caregivers served on a school board. Though 28.0% of boys and 41.2% of girls won an elective office, less than 20% of their parents/caregivers did so, 16.3% of boys, 26.6% of girls, and slightly smaller percentages of parents/caregivers helped a political candidate. Fewer than 15% of the girls, boys, and parents/ caregivers received a political appointment.

Table 29a. Political Participation in the Past Year as Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
Served on a school board.	50	17.7%	35	12.4%	26	9.2%
Won elective office.	37	13.1%	22	7.8%	79	28.0%
Helped political candidate.	48	17.0%	47	16.7%	46	16.3%
Received politi-cal appointment	16	5.7%	15	5.3%	28	9.9%

Table 29b. Political Participation in the Past Year as Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
Served on a school board.	27	15.5%	20	11.3%	20	11.3%
Won elective office.	35	19.8%	25	14.1%	73	41.2%
Helped political candidate.	32	18.1%	29	16.4%	47	26.6%
Received political appointment	21	11.9%	17	9.6%	23	13.0%

Table 29c. Hours Spent Participating in Politics in the Past Month as Reported by Boys

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Boys	Percent
None	200	70.9%	214	75.9%	192	68.1%
1-4 hrs.	45	16.0%	38	13.5%	45	16.0%
5-8 hrs.	7	2.5%	9	3.2%	20	7.1%
9-12 hrs.	6	2.1%	6	2.1%	3	1.1%
13-16 hrs.	11	3.9%	8	2.8%	16	5.7%
Missing	13	4.6%	7	2.5%	6	2.1%

Table 29d. Hours Spent Participating in Politics in the Past Month as Reported by Girls

	Father/ male caregiver	Percent	Mother/ female caregiver	Percent	Girls	Percent
None	121	68.4%	126	71.2%	100	56.5%
1-4 hrs.	33	18.6%	30	16.9%	44	24.9%
5-8 hrs.	7	4.0%	11	6.2%	14	7.9%
9-12 hrs.	3	1.7%	6	3.4%	7	4.0%
13-16 hrs.	8	4.5%	1	.6%	8	4.5%
Missing	5	2.8%	3	1.7%	4	2.3%

A small percentage of respondents participated in the political sphere. 16.0% of boys and 24.9% of the girls contributed 1 to 4 hours over the previous month. Only

13.9% of boys and 16.4% of girls gave more than four hours. Involvement rates might have been higher if the survey had been administered in a September or October prior to an election.

8. What were the perceptions and beliefs of young adults' about abortion, pornography, and the definition of a family as related to traditional Christian mores?

Selected Issues Related to Political Socialization

In the Tables 30a – 30f, the responses to questions related to current social issues that have been shown to impact political socialization are presented. These issues include definition of family, same sex marriage, abortion, and censorship.

Respondents were asked to identify the definition of family that used by the US Census Bureau. Factually, the Bureau defines a family as two or more people living together connected by blood, marriage or adoption. While a majority of boys (61.3%) and girls (65.6%) identified the correct definition, 38.7% and 34.4% of boys and girls respectively did not (Table 30).

Table 30a. Which Definition of Family is Used by the U.S. Bureau of Census?
A. Two or more people living together connected by blood, marriage or adoption
B. A group of people living together in the same household
C. Unmarried partner household both male partners or both female partners

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Definition A	173	61.3%	116	65.5%
Definition B	93	33.0%	56	31.6%
Definition C	7	2.5%	2	1.1%
Missing	9	3.2%	3	1.7%

Although 30.9% of boys and 36.2% of girls indicated that same-sex partners should be allowed to marry, 50.4% of boys and 33.3% of girls disagreed. Those undecided accounted for 15.6% of boys and 29.4% of girls.

Table 30b. Opinions Regarding Same-sex Marriage

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Agreeing	87	30.9%	64	36.2%
Undecided	44	15.6%	52	29.4%
Disagreeing	142	50.4%	59	33.3%
Missing	9	3.2%	2	1.1%

For boys, 38.3% considered themselves as pro-choice and 36.2 % pro-life, while 23.0% were undecided. For girls, 34.5% considered themselves pro-choice, 45.8% were pro-life, and 16.4% were undecided. In regards to Internet blocking, 54.6% of boys and 75.7% of girls that filter "materials harmful to minors" was acceptable. While 25.9% of boys and 7.9% of girls disagreed, 16.0% of Boys and 13.6% of Girls were undecided. While 60.6% of Boys and 42.9% of girls agreed art must be free from censorship; 14.2% of boys and 15.8 % of girls disagreed and 22.0% of boys and 36.2% of girls were undecided.

Table 30c. Students Believing Human Life Begins at Conception

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Agreeing	132	46.8%	98	55.4%
Undecided	60	21.3%	41	23.2%
Disagreeing	81	28.7%	33	18.6%
Missing	9	3.2%	5	2.8%

Table 30d. Views on Abortion

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Pro-choice	108	38.3%	61	34.5%
Pro-life	105	36.2%	81	45.8%
Undecided	65	23.0%	29	16.4%
Missing	7	2.5%	6	3.4%

Table 30e. Students Believing Internet Blocking to Filter Materials Harmful to Minors Should Be Used in Public Libraries

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Agreeing	145	54.6%	134	75.7%
Undecided	45	16.0%	24	13.6%
Disagreeing	73	25.9%	14	7.9%
Missing	10	3.5%	5	2.8%

Table 30f. Students Believing Art Must Be Free from Censorship

	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent
Agreeing	171	60.6%	76	42.9%
Undecided	62	22.0%	64	36.2%
Disagreeing	40	14.2%	28	15.8%
Missing	9	3.2%	9	5.1%

Correlation coefficients were calculated by gender between time spent in church activities and views on same-sex marriage, abortion, and Internet blocking. The relationships between students' reported levels of church involvement and their reported views on same-sex marriage, abortion, and Internet-blocking are weak or non-existent. Correlations of -.322 and -.233 were found between boys and girls' levels of church activity and views on when human life begins. While a correlation of .233 exists between the boys' views on same-sex marriage and their levels of church involvement,

no significant correlation was found for girls. A similar split was found in regard to church involvement and Internet-blocking in public libraries.

Table 31. Correlations between Students' Time Spent in Church Activities and their Views on Same-sex marriage, Abortion, and Internet Blocking

	Hours spent in church activities reported by boys	Significance (two-tail)	Hours spent in church activities reported by girls	Significance (two-tail)
Agreeing same-sex couples should be allowed to marry	.223*	.00	.118	.124
Agreeing life begins at conception	-.322*	.00	-.233*	.002
Agreeing Internet-blocking should be used at public libraries.	-.177*	.004	-.035	.651

*Indicates a significant correlation.

Summary of Findings

Sixty-one percent of the young men attending Montana Boys' State and 39% of the young women attending Montana Girls' State filled out to the questionnaire. Seventy one percent of male students and 83% of female students maintained a high-school GPA of 3.50 to 4.00. A large majority of boys and girls lived with both parents. Their race was overwhelmingly White. Some 48% of boys and 58% of the girls lived in rural areas; the second largest group of boys (21%) and girls (18%) was from hometowns with populations over 50,000. The third largest group of boys (17%) and girls(14%) had hometowns with populations of 5,000 to 10,000. Less than 15% of boys and girls were from populations between 10,001 and 50,000.

Student reported data suggests a large majority of both sets of parents/caregivers have high-school diplomas. Approximately 25% of the boys' parents/primary caregivers and 30% of girls' parents/caregivers completed some college work. Twenty seven percent of the fathers/male caregivers for both boys and girls earned a Bachelor's degree, while 35% of mothers/female caregivers for both boys and girls earned a Bachelor's degree. Less than 20% of parents/caregivers possess a Master's Degree and less than 10% have professional degrees.

Reciprocity

Reciprocal chores at home represent responsibilities that are part of the give and take of everyday of family life. Although some tasks may traditionally be considered male or female specific, student responses suggest boys and girls perform similar tasks and were not limited by gender stereotypes.

Extra-Curricular School Activities

Sixteen extracurricular activities are sanctioned by the Montana State Board of Education for high-school students. The top four activities chosen by boys are: football (54%), track (47%), basketball (44%), and band (38%). Volleyball (50%), basketball (45%), chorus (43%), and band (42%) were most commonly cited by girls. Fifty percent of boys and girls spent 16 to 19 hours a week participating in such activities.

School Projects and Programs

A higher percentage of girls were involved in the five listed school programs and projects. Seventy percent of boys and 81 % of girls were involved in the honors program

and 44% of the boys and 53% of girls participated in student government. While 37% of boys and 19% of girls spent only 1-4 hours a week doing homework, roughly 30% of respondents spent 5 to 8 hours, 16 % of boys and 26% of girls spent 9-12 hours, and 16% of boys and 26% of girls spent 13 to 20 hours.

School Computer Usage

Ninety six percent of boys and 97% of girls have access to a computer at home. Doing homework, searching for information, and playing games were the principal uses for computers. While 61% of boys and 50% of girls shop using computers, roughly half of young men and women participate in online chat rooms.

Religious Affiliation

The sample included many Catholics (35% of boys and 38% of girls) and Protestants (26% of boys and 21% of girls). While 23% of boys and 29% of girls claimed a religion other than Catholicism or Protestantism, 16% of boys and 11% of girls indicated that they were non-religious. Correlations between the hours spent in church-related activities by each set of parents/caregivers were moderate to high. Those between boys and their fathers/male caregivers and girls and their mothers/female caregivers were highest within each group. Participants appear to be more strongly invested in church programs than in politics.

Employment

As many young men and women are from rural areas, it is not surprising that 28% of boys and 13% of girls were employed in agricultural-type work. A large percentage of

the other respondents were part of the labor force. Ten percent of boys and 12 % of girls believed their employment was specifically geared to their future chosen occupations/vocations.

Media as a Political Socializer

The new electronic media is a powerful means for politically socializing youth for democratic citizenship. Boys listed the forums they use to gather information about local, state and national news about government in this order: school discussions, national news programs, local newspapers, Internet, local television news programs, radio, discussions at home, and national news magazines. Medium used by the girls were listed in this order: school discussions, local newspapers, radio, national television news programs, local television news programs, discussion at home, and national news magazines. For these students, it appears that school discussions are the most influential source of learning about political issues. Second to school discussions is the media of local print, radio, and television.

Leisure and Recreation

Some 25% of the youth were members of non-church related youth groups and 28% of boys and 38% of girls were involved in talent lessons and performances. Forming organizational and communication skills, playing by the rules and making commitments are skills that can be carried over to political activity in adulthood.

Structured Volunteer Activity

Volunteer activities provide networks, through which individuals can be recruited to political life, and present opportunities in nonpolitical situations to learn, maintain or improve skills that can be transferred to the political realm. The correlation between the students' involvement in structured community service and that of their parents/caregivers are statistically weak to moderate. The relationships between mothers/female caregivers and sampled youths' involvements are stronger than those with father/male caregivers for both boys and girls.

Political Participation

A small number of the sampled boys (14%) and girls (2%) were old enough to vote; other respondents will be eligible for full political participation in 2003 and 2004. The Republican Party was the party of choice for about 40% the young men, their fathers/male caregivers, and their mothers/female caregivers. Thirty five percent of girls, 40% of their fathers/male caregivers and 41% of their mothers/female caregivers embraced the Republicans. In contrast, 15% of young men as well as 18% and 21% of their fathers/male caregivers, and mothers/female caregivers identified with the Democratic Party and 17% of girls, 15% of their fathers/male caregivers, and 19% of their mothers/female caregivers were reportedly Democrats. Roughly a third of participants did not identify with a political party nor did they know the party of their parents/caregivers. Boys were slightly more likely to have the same party affiliations as their fathers/male caregivers (72.3%) than their mothers/female caregivers (68.4%) and

conversely girls were slightly more likely to have the same party affiliations as their mothers/female caregivers (72.7%) than their fathers/male caregivers (67.8%).

Selected Issues Related to Political Socialization

The analysis of the data indicates that the parents/caregivers and their offspring are involved in the educational, social and charitable organizations of the church. In the analysis of the responses in this section, the statistical relationship between the youths' church involvement and the responses to questions about abortion, pornography and same-sex marriage are week to non-significant. Considering the background of the youth in this study and their involvement in church activities, these results are surprising.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Political and civic competencies can be transferred to adolescents through a democratic heritage as well as contemporaneous political and non-political agents. American families, schools and communities have been entrusted with safekeeping the values, beliefs and actions of prior generations and serve as transmitters to future generations.

Families are primary agents of political socialization for the adolescent. Schools also have a special responsibility for democratizing each generation. "Schools fulfill the competency and civic responsibility through both formal and non formal education beginning in the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process" (Branson, 1998, p. 7). Schools synthesize inherited standards and traditions with contemporary experiences and events into a core curriculum that can draw students into the political arena at the macro-level. "Involvement in high school extra curricular activities is predictive of several indicators of healthy adult development, including active participation in the political process and other types of volunteer activities" (Eccles, Barber, 1999, p.12).

The problem addressed in this study is that many young people in the United States are not being adequately prepared for the roles and responsibilities of adult citizenship and political participation. Research has shown that trends of increased disengagement have continued throughout the years. From elementary level into college level, students appear to be less informed and concerned with politics and political participation.

The purpose of this study was to describe the political socialization of a select group of adolescents in transition to adulthood from self reported participation in family reciprocity, school activities (academic and extracurricular), church, family context, and community involvement. The contextual and environmental opportunities and constraints afforded the pre-adult are examined in the light of political consequences in adulthood.

The major contributions of political science theory and research have been in the area of citizenship development. "It is now widely accepted that citizenship is as much a psychological developmental concept as it is a legal/philosophical one" (Reshon, 1990, p. 313). For this study, the psychological dimension of political socialization focuses on cognitive, affective, and moral determinations of adolescents in transition to adulthood. The sociological model considers the development of the political socialization trajectory in the realms of family, school and community. As such, in this study, the multidisciplinary constructs of human development, life-course transition and the tenets of political socialization were examined to determine how these components are linked with the importance of life-long learning of citizenship and leadership.

A questionnaire was developed to answer the question: How were the members of the 2001 Montana Boys and Girls' State politically socialized in the political and civic structures as well as in "the non-political" crucibles of family, school and community? Respondents were asked their opinions about the moral/ethical dilemmas of abortion, pornography, and definition of family. Boys' and Girls' State participants are chosen by school administrators, teachers, and counselors based on the student's leadership activities in the school, character, scholarship, and integrity. As such, these students reflect a profile of young adults who have achieved high levels of political socialization for citizenship and leadership.

Findings and Conclusions

Parents' education, political participation, volunteer and political orientation, and church involvement influence the intergenerational transfer of prerequisites for adolescents' future commitment to the political process. In addition, Jennings, Stoker and Bowers (1999) found that parents exert a high degree of influence on the children's political party identification. Correspondently, a large percentage of surveyed students for the present study claimed the same party affiliation as their parents/primary caregivers. Surprisingly however, nearly 47% of surveyed students claimed they "don't know," are "independent", or belong to an "other" political party in our two-party system. Moreover, roughly a third of the boys and girls did not know their parents/primary caregivers' party affiliation. Independents or unrealized partisans may be at the foreclosure stage of identity formation because they have not explored,

examined or committed to a major party. Carmines, McIver and Stimson (1989) contend that individuals in this stage of their political development are politically unsophisticated or perhaps have inherited a partisanship at odds with their personal beliefs, and, may not be prepared for the roles expected of them in a democratized society. It can be concluded therefore, that while nearly half of the respondents reflected the same political affiliations as their parents, the same number of young adults surveyed had not reached a level of political maturation that one might have expected from this group of high achieving students.

Correlations between the hours spent in church activities by students and their parents/caregivers were moderate to high. Those between boys and their fathers/male caregivers and girls and their mother/female caregivers were highest within each group. The results of Meyer's (1996) longitudinal study indicate that adult religiosity is determined largely by parental religiosity, independent of human agency and life course effects. Meyers found that even after young adults moved from their parents' home and established their own households, parental religiosity was of life long importance. Jennings, Stoker and Bowers (1999) found that parents exerts a powerful influence on the religious beliefs and practices of their children. The results of this present study tend to reflect these findings.

The questionnaire used in the present study was administered seven months after the 2000 presidential election. Responses indicated that the young adults attending Montana Girls' and Boys' State did not appear to be well politicized. However, Valentino and Sears (1997) believe that the period before a general election is a

communicative intense period important for socializing young adults. Often, poorly informed attitudes among young adults will change as political socialization gains are made during the passage of time through the process of maturation and the on going political socialization independent of political campaigns. These authors stressed the importance of communication patterns within the family in shaping the political make up of the child. More than half of the young men and women respondents reported that discussions at home were an important means of gathering information about national, state and local governments and it was this same percentage of young men and women who reported political identifications with one of the major political parties. As such, it appears that when discussions about political issues occur in the home, these young adults tended to report political affiliation with one of the primary political parties.

Education of Parents

The preponderance of the young adults parents/primary caregivers completed high school. Around 30% of fathers/male caregivers and 35% of mothers/female caregivers for all sampled students earned a Bachelor's degree; less than 20% of both sets of parents/primary caregivers hold a Master's Degree and less than 10% have professional degrees. Results from Verba's et. al. Civic Voluntarism Model show that although there are many links from the family to the participatory factors, the key link is education which provides an important initial condition in the process of resource accumulation. The young adults in this study had parents/primary care givers who in general were well educated.

Reciprocal expectations for performing household chores for both sexes were largely equal. An overwhelming majority of the boys (97%) and girls (99%) helped at home with the stereotypical female gendered tasks of cleaning, cooking and running errands. Likewise, a large number of boys (95%) and surprisingly, a majority of the girls (82%) also helped with the stereotypical male gendered tasks of home and car repair and maintenance. Burns, Schlozman and Verba (2001) believed that what happens in the home has consequences for participation in politics. The cultural progression of the equalitarian distribution of sex stereotypical chores is demonstrated by research during the past two decades, there appears to be a breakdown in gender-based types of chores and duties assumed by young adults in their homes. Consistent with these research findings there appears to have been no gender stereotypical division of labor among the sampled Montana Boys' and Girls' State members who reported equal contribution to household tasks.

School

A significant finding of Verba, et. al. (1995) is the fact that school experiences give youth the opportunity to practice democracy in high school government classes, and other clubs and these activities are pathways to lifelong political participation. High school activity illustrates the apprenticeship mechanism of socialization. Traits relevant to citizenship and leadership can be learned in such activities as student government, newspaper and yearbook production and in class office and honor programs. The organizational and communication skills and participatory acumen gained in the non-political environment can be transferred to the political world. Youniss, McLellan and

Yates (1997) also believe that school activity in the non-political arena can be transferred to the political realm. They believe that team participation teaches coordination and cooperation of talents to achieve collective results greater than individual achievement and in the process benefits for the individual, the school and the larger community are realized.

Extracurricular Activities

Equal sports opportunities for young women have increased dramatically since Title IX was passed in 1974 in an effort to eliminate sexual discrimination in educational institutions receiving federal aid. Title IX reflects the assumption that educational and extra-curricular activities that are of value to one sex are of potentially equal value to persons of the other sex. Montana parents and their high-school daughters filed a complaint in 1987 challenging the practices in Montana high-school athletic programs that the plaintiffs maintained unlawfully favored male students. Allegations concerned discrimination against girls in the scheduling of sport events, coaching, uniforms, use of school band, pep rallies, locker room facilities, and access to trainers and transportation. The parties agreed on minimum requirements and compliance measures for obtaining sex equity in athletics in Montana. Compliance with Title IX is evident in the equal opportunities now afforded Montana adolescents. The four activities most commonly cited by the young men were football, track, basketball, and band. Girls preferred volleyball, basketball, chorus and band. Political skills and democratic orientations acquired in high school programs and extra-curricular activities often enlarge the trajectory of political socialization by providing prerequisites for future involvement in

the political arena. As such, the young adults in this study in general are participating at high levels in activities that have been shown to contribute to their political socialization.

Religious Perspectives

Many churches offer programs where peers, parents, and grandparents interact. Close to 60% of girls and 50% of boys involved themselves in church educational, social, and charitable programs. Almost 40% of the fathers/male caregivers of boys and girls participated in church charitable and social programs while 30% of their fathers/male caregivers were involved in church educational programs. Sixty-two percent of the girls' mothers/female caregivers were involved in church educational and charitable programs.

About 60% of the sampled young men and women reported they were either Catholic or Protestant, less than 30% claimed they were other than Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, while 16% of boys and 10% of girls indicated they had no religious affiliation. The results of the present study seem to confirm earlier research that indicates affiliation or traditional Christian beliefs are no longer strongly related to former political structures. Results of DeHaan and Shulenberge's (1997) study of 209 college students were similar to the present study. They found the relationship between religious and political identities both to each other and to the religious and political beliefs as marginal or unrelated. They believed that as adolescents are reaching maturity, they become more informed about political policies, issues and candidates and are ready to make a commitment to achieving political and religious identity. The results of the present study seem to confirm earlier research that indicates that religious affiliation or traditional Christian beliefs are no long strongly related to formal political structures. It can be

concluded that religious involvement and political convictions are less linked among young adults than those found traditionally.

It is clear from the responses that many of the young adults attending Boys and Girls State had religious affiliation and were active in church related activities. Sixty four percent of boys and 75% of girls in the present study believed that private prayer is somewhat or very important to them. Roughly 30% of young men and young women attended weekly Bible studies and smaller groups of each sex attended biweekly or monthly classes. When asked if students in public schools should be allowed to offer prayer during special occasions such as school events, many students thought prayer should be allowed in school assemblies (45.4% boys and 56.5% girls), at graduation exercises (58.9% and 78%), at sports events (65.2% boys and 67% girls). Religion can be a critical variable in the process of political socialization. Wald, Owen, and Hill (1990) assert church is an authoritative power influencing the formation of political values. Sixty three percent of male and 70% of female respondents indicated their religious background influences their decision-making. These findings may indicate personal conflicts for many of the young adults surveyed in this study when their beliefs and practices concerning private prayer are at odds with public law.

In conclusion, political participation can partly be transmitted from generation to generation through parental religious involvement. That parents exert a powerful influence on the religious involvement of their children is evident in this study. By their own participation in religious activities, parents play an important role in the development of their offspring's political conviction and development of faith maturity. The results of this study indicate that parental influence in the development of political

identity is strong. However, the responses of the young adults in this study indicate that there is a "disconnect" between their own traditional religious conviction and political identity.

Limitations

The sample for this study is purposeful; therefore, the results of the study cannot be generalized to other populations. The absence of longitudinal data beyond this snapshot makes it impossible to track the respondents' sequencing steps in their political socialization. Thus, it is impossible to determine if any of the values and orientations internalized at Montana Boys and Girls' State will be maintained during adulthood.

Recommendations for Further Study

The width of the research is sufficient for this study, but its depth could be enhanced by replicating the study and adding more questions related to beliefs about religious and moral beliefs. Generalizability could be established if the study were repeated using a random sample in a different socio-political setting. Parents and youth in this study were very active in church activities but there was little statistical relationship between youth involvement in church and their views on abortion, same-sex marriage, and Internet blocking.

When listening to the "music of the law," a large percentage of the students were neutral or agreed with political ideologies in conflict with their stated religious beliefs. Research can be a means of raising consciousness to the critical challenges youth face when moral and ethical education is inadequate. Adolescents make life-changing choices

everyday. They must be informed about current laws concerning the beginning of life, abortion, pornography and same-sex marriages. Strategies need to be introduced to prepare young people to use their intelligence, moral guidelines and faith traditions when making decisions about laws and policies that could affect their own future families.

The sampled adolescents claiming to be "independent" or "don't know" their political identity may not be familiar with the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. Young people should be encouraged to study the platforms of the major parties to understand their values, beliefs, policies and promises. After exploring and evaluating the material, they would be more prepared to commit themselves and achieve a political identity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CERTIFICATION OF COMPLETION OF STUDY OF HUMAN RESEARCH SUBJECT VIDEO

Completion Certificate

This is to certify that

Patricia Nelson

has completed the **Human Participants Protection Education for Research Teams** online course, sponsored by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), on 05/13/2002.

This course included the following:

- key historical events and current issues that impact guidelines and legislation on human participant protection in research.
- ethical principles and guidelines that should assist in resolving the ethical issues inherent in the conduct of research with human participants.
- the use of key ethical principles and federal regulations to protect human participants at various stages in the research process.
- a description of guidelines for the protection of special populations in research.
- a definition of informed consent and components necessary for a valid consent.
- a description of the role of the IRB in the research process.
- the roles, responsibilities, and interactions of federal agencies, institutions, and researchers in conducting research with human participants.

National Institutes of Health
http://www.nih.gov

APPENDIX B

PERMISSION FROM HUMAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT STUDY